TOPICS IN TLINGIT VERB SYSTEM AND ORTHOGRAPHIES

Yukon Native Language Centre

Whitehorse, Yukon

and

Dr. Jeff Leer

Alaska Native Language Center

Based on the Tlingit Literacy Session

September 11-13 2006, YNLC

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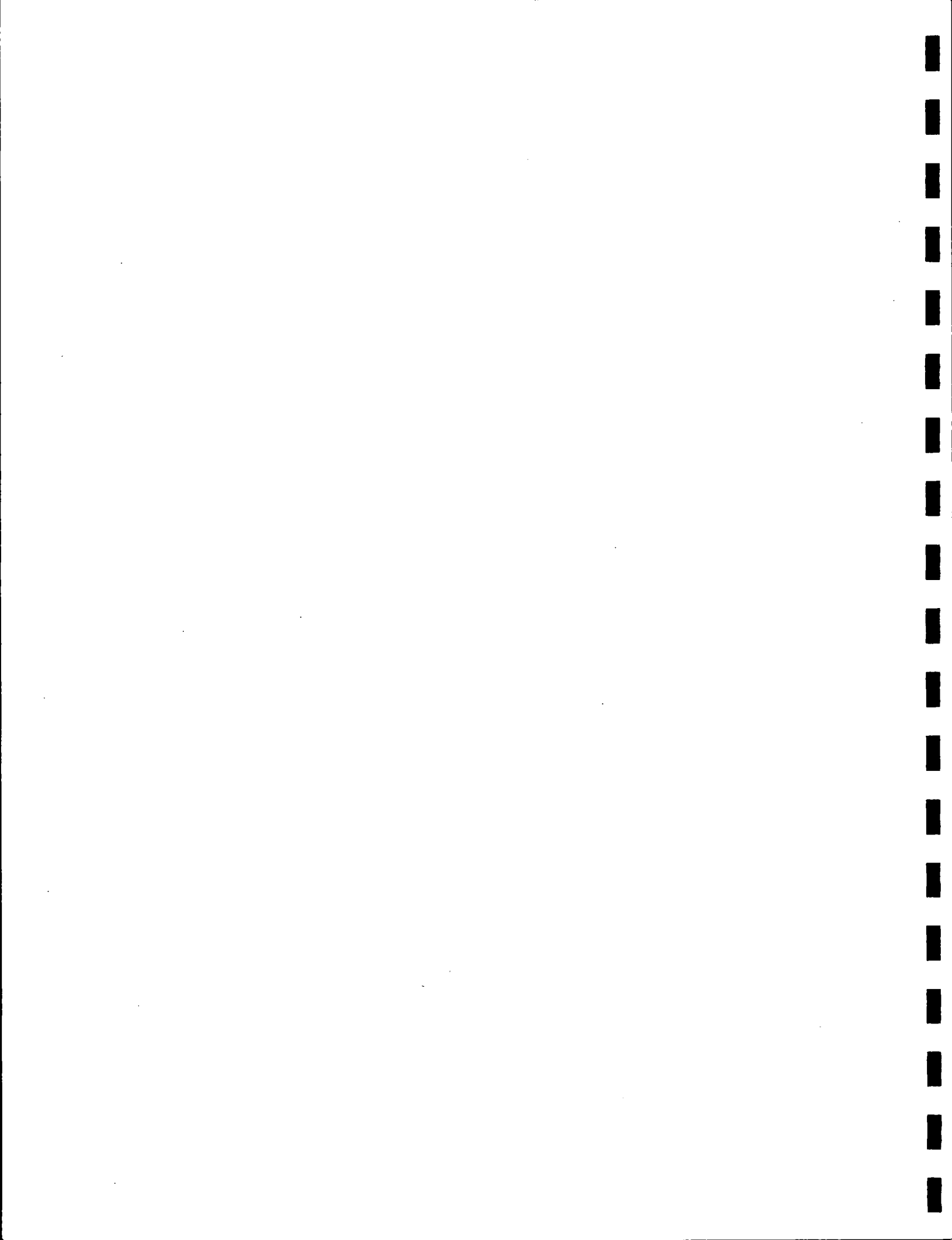
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HISTORICAL RELATIONSHIPS

E. Sapir's **Na-Dene** originally consisted of Haida, Tlingit and Athabascan, and Eyak was later added to this group.

We have now been able to demonstrate that Tlingit, Eyak and Athabascan are without doubt related, but that the relationship with Haida is doubtful at best. So we have proposed a new name for the language family consisting of Athabascan, Eyak and Tlingit, namely **Tlina-Dene**. This is based on the Athabascan, Eyak and Tlingit words for *person*.

Proto-Athabascan:	*dəne:	"person"
Eyak:	ɬila:'	"man"
Tlingit:	ɬin-gít	"person"
from earlier ɬina-git		(git is Haida for "child")

Eyak **l** regularly develops from earlier **n** , so Eyak **ɬila:'** "man" regularly corresponds to Tlingit ***ɬina** , evidently the original word for "person", referring also to "The People", that is, the original Tlingit of the interior.

When a **"Łina"** man married a woman of a different tribe (such as a Haida or Tsimshian), their children would be referred to as **"Łina-git"**, that is, "Child of the Łina". As the Tlingit became more and more intermarried in the process of becoming a coastal nation, these children of mixed ancestry became the majority, and eventually the name **"Łina-git"** came to symbolize the emergence of the Tlingit among the prosperous nations of the Northwest Coast.

Therefore in the new name **Tlina-Dene** , the first part **(Tlina)** refers to the two coastal nations (Tlingit **ɬina** and Eyak **ɬila:'** , originally meaning "person") and the second part refers to the widespread Athabascan family **(Dene)**. This term has the advantage of being similar to E. Sapir's term **Na-Dene** , but the change of **Na-** to **Tlina-** emphasizes that Haida is no longer included in this ancient family of languages.

To sum up:

Tlina-Dene
- Athabaskan
- Eyak
- Tlingit

does not include Haida (an isolated language).

TLINGIT ORTHOGRAPHIES DURING THE AMERICAN PERIOD

Many of the early European explorers gathered at least a few words and phrases in the native languages they encountered in their journeys. These words and phrases were not written in any systematic way, as a rule, but impressionistically, with little or no appreciation of unfamiliar sounds. Most of these explorers described the sound systems of the Northwest Coast languages such as Tlingit as "harsh" and "guttural", and made no secret of their distaste for these languages. Their purpose in documenting the languages was motivated by a desire to establish profitable trade relations with these native people; most of them had little or no interest in the languages per se. There were notable exceptions, however, in particular the Russian Orthodox priest Father Ivan Veniaminov, who later became Bishop Innocent and is now St. Innocent. He was genuinely interested in the languages and cultures of the people among whom he preached, and made a good start at distinguishing the various unfamiliar sounds of Tlingit.

In the American period, the linguistic documentation of the Tlingit language became more precise and detailed. In 1904, the missionary William A. Kelly and Francis H. Willard, a Chilkat Tlingit, published their Grammar and Vocabulary of the Tlingit Language of Southeastern Alaska, at the same time as ethnologist John R. Swanton collected Tlingit myths, histories, songs, clan names and the like under the supervision of the "father of American anthropology" Franz Boas. It was unfortunate that these teams did not collaborate; together they could have gained a much deeper understanding of Tlingit. Kelly and Willard succeeded in identifying all contrasting consonants except dl and tl' , and their transcriptions are virtually perfect except for tone, and distortions based on Kelly's insistence on "Websterian orthoepy". Swanton had a much less evolved understanding of the sound system; his transcriptions are often difficult to decipher.

In 1914 Boas himself worked on Tlingit with Louis Shotridge (Stùwukhâ), also a Chilkat Tlingit. They achieved a complete phonological analysis, identifying all the consonants, vowels, and tone as well. However, there are sometimes errors of transcription due to Boas' misperception of the vowel system. He distinguished the vowels as **reduced** α ε ι υ as opposed to **full** a e i u , evidently identifying the difference as one of vowel quality; actually, the crucial distinction is that of **vowel length**; the vowels a e i u (and the rare o) can occur long or short. It is true that in most Northern dialects, and particularly the Chilkat dialect, short vowels are pronounced more lax than long vowels: káts "lime" sounds like English "cuts", and hít "house" sounds like English "hit". These vowels are nevertheless clearly short. Long vowels are usually tense, but in the

Northern dialects, particularly Chilkat, stem-final long low **i** and **u** tend to be pronounced lax, as in yê yatì , where the last syllable can sound almost like the Irish pronunciation of "tea" / tiʟ / or even with a completely lax vowel / tʟ·/.

At any rate, Boas not infrequently confuses the "lax" and the "tense" vowels with each other. Naish and Story, on the other hand, distinguish stem vowels correctly, but do not consistently distinguish the length of prefixal vowels; they often write "oo" for both short u and long ù in prefixes, and sometimes also "ee" for both i and ì. This is the only flaw in their spelling system.

Another problem with the vowel system is that the vowels of suffixes ending with -i / -u (as the possessive suffix), the decessive suffix -in / -un, the prohibitive suffix -ikh / -ukh, and the postposition -de "to, toward" can be pronounced short, half-long or fully long. Such suffixes are underlyingly long, but are fully long only in emphatic and deliberate speech. More usually the suffix vowel is half-long, but it can also be pronounced completely short.

The same is true of enclitics like tsú / tsû "also", tsá / tsâ "only then", khu.a / khu.à "however", áyá / áyâ "this is ...", áwé / áwê "that is ..." and the like, as well as some very particles like de / dè "already", tle / tlè "just (then)", ch'u / ch'ù "even". This variability in the length of many of the most common suffixes and short words is one of the main motivations behind the Interior Tlingit system of writing both the short and the long vowel with the same symbol (a e i u) and indicating vowel length together with vowel tone by means of diacritics.

In this way, words are written with the same letters even if the length of the final syllable can vary from speaker to speaker or even from sentence to sentence. The variable length is distinguished simply by the choice of diacritic, which does not stand in the way of the readability of the word. Simply stated, the Interior Tlingit orthography is easier to read and it is easier to learn to write than the Coastal Tlingit orthography.

Following is a comparative chart of the Tlingit orthographies that have been used in the 19th century. Five of them are "scientific" orthographies and four of them are "practical" orthographies.

Leer's "practical scientific" orthography is designed for the Tlingit, Eyak and Athabascan languages, as well as neighbouring languages such as Haida and Tsimshian. Very few special symbols are allowed: accented vowels, ÿ and ł, all of which are found on standard fonts. (In email, all these may be avoided by using e.g. /a for á, \a for à, and ^a for â, as well as y" for ÿ and L for ł.)

COMPARATIVE CHART OF TLINGIT "SCIENTIFIC" ORTHOGRAPHIES

Obstruents

Swanton [1]	Boas & Shotridge [1]	Naish & Story M.A. Theses	Leer Dissertation	Leer "Practical Scientific"
d	d	d	d	d
t	t'	t	t	t
t!	t'	t?	t'	t'
Ḷ	Ḷ	λ	λ	dl
L	L	ƛ	ƛ	tł
L!	L'	ƛ?	ƛ'	tł'
ł	ł	ł	ł	ł
L!	ł'	ł?	ł'	ł'
dz	dz	ȝ	ȝ	dz
ts	ts	c	c	ts
ts!	tš	c?	c'	ts'
s	s	s	s	s
s!	š	s?	s'	s'
dj	dj	ǯ	ǯ	dzh
tc	tc	č	č	tsh
tc!	tč	č?	č'	tsh'
c	c	š	š	sh

COMPARATIVE CHART OF TLINGIT "PRACTICAL" ORTHOGRAPHIES

Obstruents

Kelly & Willard[1]	Naish & Story[1]	Coastal Orthography[1]	Interior Orthography[1]
d	d	d	d
t	t	t	t
dt	t'	t'	t'
dl	dl	dl	dl
tl	tl	tl	tl
dl	tl'	tl'	tl'
hl	l	l	ł
DL	l'	l'	ł'
ds	dz	dz	dz
ts	ts	ts	ts
dts	ts'	ts'	ts'
s	s	s	s
sz	s'	s'	s'
j	j	j	j
ch	ch	ch	ch
dj	ch'	ch'	ch'
sh	sh	sh	sh

Obstruents (cont)

Swanton [1]	Boas & Shotridge [1]	Naish & Story M.A. Theses	Leer Dissertation	Leer "Practical Scientific"
g	g	g	g	g
k	k'	k	k	k
k!	$\check{k}$	$k^{?}$	k'	k'
$\underset{.}{x}$ [!!] [2]	x	x	x	x
q!	$\underset{.}{\overset{?}{x}}$	$x^{?}$	x'	x'
g^{u}, g^{o}	$g^{u}/...k^{u\prime}$	g^{w}	g^{w}	gw
k^{u}, k^{o}	$k^{u\prime}$	k^{w}	k^{w}	kw
$k!^{u}$, $k!^{o}$	$\check{k}^{u}$	$k^{?w}$	k'^{w}	k'w
$\underset{.}{x}^{u}$, $\underset{.}{x}^{o}$	x^{u}	x^{w}	x^{w}	xw
$q!^{u}$, $q!^{o}$	$\overset{?}{x}^{u}$	$x^{?w}$	x'^{w}	x'w
$\underset{.}{g}$	$\underset{.}{g}$	G	G	G
q	q'	q	q	q
q!	$\underset{.}{q}$	$q^{?}$	q'	q'
x [!!] [2]	$\underset{.}{x}$	X	$\underset{.}{x}$	X
q!	$\underset{.}{\overset{?}{x}}$	$X^{?}$	$\underset{.}{x}'$	X'
$\underset{.}{g}^{u}$, $\underset{.}{g}^{o}$	$\underset{.}{g}^{u}$	G^{w}	G^{w}	Gw
q^{u}, q^{o}	$q^{u\prime}$	q^{w}	q^{w}	qw
$q!^{u}$, $q!^{o}$	$\underset{.}{q}^{u}$	$q^{?w}$	q'^{w}	q'w
x^{u}, x^{o}	$\underset{.}{x}^{u}$	X^{w}	$\underset{.}{x}^{w}$	Xw
$q!^{u}$, $q!^{o}$	$\underset{.}{\overset{?}{x}}^{u}$	$X^{?w}$	$\underset{.}{x}'^{w}$	X'w

Obstruents (cont)

Kelly & Willard[1]	Naish & Story[1]	Coastal Orthography[1]	Interior Orthography[1]
g	g	g	g
c	k	k	k
g'	k'	k'	k'
CH	x	x	x
g`	x'	x'	x'
gw	gw	gw	gw
kw, k^{oo}	kw	kw	kw
g'w, g'^{oo}	k'w	k'w	k'w
CHW, CH^{oo}	xw	xw	xw
g`w, g`^{oo}	x'w	x'w	x'w
ġ	g̲	g̲	gh
k̲	k̲	k̲	kh
k̲	k̲'	k̲'	kh'
`h	x̲	x̲	xh
g̈	x̲'	x̲'	xh'
ġw	g̲w	g̲w	ghw
qu	k̲w	k̲w	khw
k̲w, k̲^{oo}	k̲'w	k̲'w	kh'w
`hw, `h^{oo}	x̲w	x̲w	xhw
g̈w, g̈^{oo}	x̲'w	x̲'w	xh'w

Obstruents (cont)

Swanton [1]	Boas & Shotridge [1]	Naish & Story M.A. Theses	Leer Dissertation	Leer "Practical Scientific"
(no symbol)	ʼ	ʔ	ʔ	7
(lacking)	(lacking)	ʔ ʷ	ʔ ʷ	7w
h	h	h	h	h
hᵘ, hº	(lacking)	h ʷ	h ʷ	hw

Sonorants

Swanton [1]	Boas & Shotridge [1]	Naish & Story M.A. Theses	Leer Dissertation	Leer "Practical Scientific"
y	y	y	y	y
y.	y.	(lacking)	ÿ	ÿ
w	w	w	w	w
n	n	n	n	n
			m	m

Notes

Note 1: Syllable final non-glottalized stops are usually released, but they are not aspirated, so underlyingly they are plain stops. They are written as plain stops in Naish and Story's and in Leer's scientific orthography; in the other orthographies they are written (incorrectly) as aspirated stops. Therefore in the Tlingit practical orthographies:

> syllable-final d is written t
> syllable-final dl is written tl
> syllable-final dz is written ts
> syllable-final j is written ch
> syllable-final g is written k
> syllable-final gw is written kw
> syllable-final gh/g̱ is written kh/k̲
> syllable-final ghw/g̱w is written khw/kw

Note 2: Be careful not to get confused by Swanton's use of x̣ and x. Swanton uses x̣ for the **velar** fricative, which Boas and Shotridge write as x ; Swanton uses x for the **uvular** fricative, which Boas and Shotridge write as x̣ .

Obstruents (cont)

Kelly & Willard[1]	Naish & Story[1]	Coastal Orthography[1]	Interior Orthography[1]
(no symbol)	.	.	.
(lacking)	(lacking)	.w	.w
h	h	h	h
wh	(lacking)	hw	hw

Sonorants

Kelly & Willard[1]	Naish & Story[1]	Coastal Orthography[1]	Interior Orthography[1]
y [note 3]	y	y	y
(lacking)	(lacking)	ÿ (or y̲)	ÿ [note 5]
w [note 4]	w	w	w
n	n	n	n
		l̲ (rare)	l [note 6]
		m (rare)	m [note 6]

Notes

Note 3: Kelly and Willard use
ī in place of äy (Coastal aay, Interior ày / ây)

Note 4: Kelly and Willard use
ū in place of yōō (Coastal yoo, Interior yù / yû)
au in place of äw (Coastal aaw, Interior àw / âw)

Note 5: The sonorant ÿ does not occur in most modern Tlingit; it is regularly
replaced by y.

Note 6: The sonorants l and m only rarely occur as distinctive sounds in
modern Tlingit.
In Coastal Tlingit, l is heard from some older speakers as a variant
of n.
The sonorant m is common only in Teslin Tlingit.

Vowels

Short

Swanton	Boas & Shotridge		Naish & Story M.A. Theses		Leer Dissertation		Leer "Practical Scientific"	
	low tone	*high tone*	*low tone*	*high tone*	*low tone*	*high tone*	*low tone*	*high tone*
A , a	ȁ	ȁ́	ʌ	ʌ́	a	á	a	á
ê , e	è	é	ɛ	ɛ́	e	é	e	é
î , i	ì	í	ι	ί	i	í	i	í
u , o [note 1]	ù	ú	υ	ύ	u	ú	u	ú

Long

Swanton	Boas & Shotridge		Naish & Story M.A. Theses		Leer Dissertation		Leer "Practical Scientific"	
	low tone	*high tone*	*low tone*	*high tone*	*low tone*	*high tone*	*low tone*	*high tone*
ā [note 2]	à	á	a	á	a·	á· [3]	a:	á:
ē	è	é	e	é	e·	é· [3]	e:	é:
ī	ì	í	i	í	i·	í· [3]	i:	í:
ū , ō [note 1]	ù	ú	u	ú	u·	ú· [3]	u:	ú:

Notes

Note 1: Swanton uses short o and long ō instead of u and ū especially next to a uvular consonant, where the vowel tends to be affected by the uvular.

Note 2: Swanton uses long â in place of ā next to a rounded consonant; moreover, he does not indicate the rounding of the consonant. (I think Boas sometimes writes ʔ for such a vowel.

Note 3: Leer distinguishes two types of long high-tone vowels: (1) those that are long in Tongass Tlingit are written á· , etc. in his composite orthography; (2) those that are glottalized in Tongass Tlingit are written á' etc. in his composite orthography. Also, long low vowels are written a` , etc. in his composite orthography if they are fading vowels in Tongass Tlingit.

Vowels

Short

Kelly & Willard	Early Naish & Story		Coastal Orthography		Interior Orthography	
	low tone	*high tone*	*low tone*	*high tone*	*low tone*	*high tone*
ŭ	u	ú	a	á	a	á
ĕ	e	é	e	é	e	é
ĭ	i	í	i	í	i	í
ŏŏ	o	ó	u	ú	u	ú

Long

Kelly & Willard	Early Naish & Story		Coastal Orthography		Interior Orthography	
	low tone	*high tone*	*low tone*	*high tone*	*low tone*	*high tone*
ä	a , à	á	aa	áa	à	â
ā	ei , èi	éi	ei	éi	è	ê
ē	ee , èe	ée	ee	ée	ì	î
ōō	oo , òo	óo	oo	óo	ù	û

Notes

Note 4: Early Naish and Story add a "helper" h (which is not pronounced) to a single vowel at the end of a word, e.g.

   t'úh for t'á "king salmon"
   t'áh for (Coastal) t'áa , (Interior) t'â "board"

Note 5: Naish and Story write low tone with the grave accent **only on the stem vowel**. Otherwise they use no tone mark for a low vowel.

Vowels

Three of the vowels have changed in the Coastal Tlingit orthography established by Naish and Story - see Vowels (1).

u ⟶ a

a ⟶ aa

o ⟶ u

This gives the vowel system in Vowels (2), currently used for Coastal Tlingit.

Also, in the earliest Naish-Story orthography, one-letter vowels were followed by silent **h** at the end of the word. So for example what is now written **a daa** "around it" in Coastal Tlingit (Interior Tlingit **a dà**) was earlier written **uh dàh**.

Coastal Tlingit 1		Coastal Tlingit 2	
(original Naish-Story system)		(revised Naish-Story system)	
u	a	a	aa
e	ei	e	ei
i	ee	i	ee
o	oo	u	oo

Comparison between Coastal and Interior spellings of vowels, illustrated with the vowel a :

	Naish-Story	Coastal Tlingit	Interior Tlingit
short low	u	a	a
short high	ú	á	á
long low	a or à	aa	à
long high	á	áa	â

Example words and sentences

	Naish-Story	Coastal Tlingit	Interior Tlingit
I am fine	x̱ut yuk'éi	x̱at yak'éi	xhat yak'ê
me	x̱út	x̱át	xhát
root	x̱àt	x̱aat	xhàt
fish, salmon	x̱át	x̱áat	xhât

TL'ANAXÎDÁKHW

Don Cameron xh'êdaxh sh kaɫnìk,
John R. Swanton-ch kawshixidi, 1909,
Tlingit Texts and Myths, pp. 292-3

Âk'wx' áyú yê yatì khâ,
â kàdé wùgùt gánghà.

A yàxhdé ÿà nagúdi áyú
awsitìn shàwát
yû a digiygê sh wudlihàsh.

Du shaxhàwú yê kwdliyât'.

Ch'âkw aɫtíni áyá awsitìn
yê kwdzigèyi à at yátx'i.

Àxh à wùshât nèɫdé.

Yan khukashghît áyú àwaxhêx'w.

Xhach Tl'anaxîdákhw yádi ásíyú.

Tàt áwé yú ànxh'atûxh yàwagút,
khà wàkh kè akàwajéɫ.

Ÿà khèga.â yú shàwát ÿát àwa.ù.

Ts'ùtàt áyû ÿà shandanúk,
du xhánx' nèɫ uwagút atk'átsk'u yê xh'uɫ'kuɫigê.

Xhach khà wàghí ásíyú ashawɫihík.

Ɫdakát yú khu.ù, khà wàghí áyú àxh kè akàwajéɫ.

Wùtsàghâ ash jìhú yú shàwát.

Ash xháni nèɫ uwagút yú atk'átsk'u.

THE STORY OF THE TL'ANAXÎDÁKHW

as told by Don Cameron
and written by John R. Swanton, 1909
Tlingit Texts and Myths, pp. 292-3

There was a man at Auke Lake;
he went to the lake for firewood.

As he was coming to the shore
he saw a woman
floating by herself in the center of [the lake].

She had long hair.

While watching her for a long time, he saw
small children.

He took one of them home.

When it was fully dark the people went to bed.

But actually it was the Tlanaxîdákhw's child.

During the night it went through the town
taking people's eyes out.

Toward dawn a woman had a child.

In the morning [as] she was getting up
in came a child with a big belly.

Actually it was full of the people's eyes.

All those people, it had taken out their eyes.

That woman had a cane.

The child came into her house.

Tl'anaxîdákhw (cont)

Du wàkhdé ÿà gashìch,
ch'u tle duwutsàgháÿìch yût akùłtákhch.

Daxh.à yê nasgît akakawłitákh.

Ts'as khà wàghích shawłihík.

Hítx'i tûxh ÿàwagút yú shàwat ajâkhdáxh.

Adaxh áyú sh dàdé yê jiwdinè.

Du ÿátk'u àwayâ ch'a kùgeÿiyêde.

"Tl'anaxîdákhwxh xhat guxhsatî," yû ÿàwakhà.

Ÿèkh ghagúdín yàk axhâ nuch.

Wùsh ghèdé atsuw nuch yú yàk nûx'u.

Ch'a át anagútch,
ch'a àn axh'awù.âych du ÿátk'u.

The Story of the Tl'anaxîdákhw (cont)

It kept reaching out for her eyes
but every time she just batted [its hands] away with her cane.

The second time [it came after her], she skewered its [swollen belly].

It was just full of human eyes.

The woman went through the houses after she killed the child [and found all the corpses].

After that she put a bunch of clothing on.

She put her baby on her back and packed it off, wandering aimlessly.

"I am to be the Tl'anaxîdákhw," she said.

When she went down on the beach, she would eat mussels.

She would put the mussel shells one inside the other.

She is always just walking around,
and as she does, she pacifies her little baby.

Notes on Tl'anaxîdákhw :

1. As seen in this text, turn of the century Sitka had the sound **ÿ**, which is pronounced like **w** but with the lips unrounded. It is quite similar to the **gh** of the neighboring Athabascan languages, where **gh** is a velar approximant, that is to say (1) not uvular but with the tongue poised near the roof of the mouth, and (2) phonetically not a velar fricative, but articulated with the tongue too far from the roof of the mouth to cause air turbulence, so that no rasping sound is made when pronouncing **gh**.

   (As far as I know, in Athabascan languages where **gh** is velar, it is always phonetically an approximant, like **l**, even though it behaves morphophonologically like a voiced fricative. In other Athabascan languages, **gh** is a either a voiced uvular fricative or a uvular approximant that behaves like a voiced fricative.)

2. â ká here refers to the lake area: â kàdé *to the lake* rather than *onto the lake*.

3. sh wudlihàsh literally means *she caused herself to float*, meaning that she was keeping herself in a floating posture.

4. àn xh'atú is unattested elsewhere: àn xh'atûxh ÿàwagút *went through the town*. It seems to be a variant of àn xh'ayì. Compare hítx'i tûxh ÿàwagút *went through the houses*. Outside this construction, hít tú (or hítx'i tú) doesn't seem to occur; instead one says hít ÿì *inside the house*.

5. xhach is a variant of xhaju *actually, in fact*, which in most dialects is khaju or khach.

6. khà wàghí ashawłihík is unusual, perhaps actually a causative meaning *had it (his stomach) full of human eyes*. A more usual way to say this is khà wàghích shawłihík *(his stomach) was full of human eyes*. This occurs further down in the text.

7. Wùtsàghâ ash jìhú is remarkable in two ways. First, ...jìhú preserves the old form of the predicate locative, namely **-hu** after a vowel but **-u** after a consonant. This same form is now found exclusively in the Carcross dialect as represented by Lucy Wren. The rest of Tlingit has ...jìwú, with the predicate locative suffix **(-)wu**.

   Second, this is the only example I have found where precedent third person pronoun **ash** occurs unopposed to another third person. Most people nowadays would say Wùtsàghâ du jìwú, with the ordinary human third person pronoun **du**. I suppose that Mr. Cameron uses this pronoun here so as to disambiguate the reference: the woman has the cane, not the child.

8. ÿà gashìch is a progressive habitual, *keeps on reaching out*.

9. akakawłitákh is not elsewhere recorded. The first ka- visualizes the belly as a small round object, like an abscess, that bursts when poked.

10. sh dàdé yê jiwdinè is not elsewhere recorded. It sounds like it would be used of dressing in preparation for war, and so also here it could characterize the woman as in effect dressing for battle, putting on as many clothes as possible, knowing that she would never return and would always be walking the earth.

Notes on Tl'anaxîdákhw (cont):

11.   ch'a kùgeÿiyêde is not elsewhere recorded. Today people usually say ch'a kùgêyi *any old way, any which way.*

12.   Wùsh ghèdé atsuw nuch refers specifically to fitting one shell inside the curve of the next shell. Whenever people saw stacks of shells on the beach, they would look around to see if they could find the Tl'anaxîdákhw and secure a blessing from her.

13.   Ch'a át anagútch literally means *A person is always just walking around* (perfective habitual). Perhaps a better translation would be *There's always someone just walking around* [on the beach].

14.   Ch'a àn axh'awù.âych: axh'awù.âych is the perfective habitual of axh'aÿàwa.â *she pacified (her baby), kept it from crying by nursing it, feeding it, caressing it...* Ch'a àn most often means *nevertheless*, but Swanton gives the meaning *at the same time.*

TÂX'À ANAXH SHUKAWSIXI YÉ

Stùwukhâch kawshixidi, 1914
Franz Boas, *Notes on the Language of the Tlingit Indians (1917)*, pp. 168-9

Ghunanà khuwa.û.

Has du xhùx' áwé khût jìwahâ hat kasayá.

Ch'u tle ghunayê wugùdídáxh
tlêł łingít yáxh wutì.

Ch'u du tlâ tsú tlêł at yáxh a dà tuwutì.

Ch'a tlákw at gutût nagútch kanałs'âkw kha ts'útsgúx' sâni ìn.

Ch'a yà nałgêni yáxh áwé dèsgwach uxhì at gutûde.

Wâ nanî sáwé du ìn wù.àdi atk'átsk'u ghût nèł uwagút.

"Gùsû i ìn à khu.à?" du tlâch xh'èwawûs'.

Ts'as "Gushé áwé," yan awłijákhw.

Ch'a kagênáxh áwé dèsgwach tsu khut à wdzigìt atk'átsk'u,
dèsgwach tsu khut à wdzigìt.

Wé at kasayêk' tsu dèsgwach yà yinayát' at gutûde.

Du kâk hás dàx'ùnínáxh has yatì.

Hásch khu.à de has ayakhìt has du kêłk',
ch'a àn áwé du tlâch tlêł â ùłxáchxh du yîtk'.

THE ORIGIN OF THE MOSQUITOES

written by Louis Shotridge, 1914
Franz Boas, *Notes on the Language of the Tlingit Indians (1917)*, pp. 168-9

A group of Athabascans were living [somewhere].

Among them some kind of alien being was born to a woman.

Even from the time he began to walk
he was not like a human being.

Even his own mother had a strange feeling about him.

He was always out in the woods killing squirrels and small birds.

As he got older he started spending more and more nights in the woods.

One time he came home without the boy who had gone with him.

"Where is your companion?" his mother asked him.

He simply insisted on answering, "How should I know?"

Over a long period of time first one boy was lost
and then another.

That little alien being spent more and more time in the woods.

He had four maternal uncles.

They were suspicious of their nephew,
but his mother never gave up on her son.

Tâx'à anaxh shukawsixi yé (cont)

Ch'ù nânáxh akhìnî áwé ghàkh nèł àwayâ.

Tlèdahîn du tlâ tlaxh du tùwú sigû du yîtk'i kàxh,
du kàk hás khu.à áwé ch'a ash uwakhít.

Yan at xhâ áwé du tlâch yê yawsikhà,
"Axh yîtk', gúsá tlaxh ł yû khà shadu.ús'gùn.

Hàndé, i shât khukhahâdi."

Wâ sá khà tlâ khà kù.ánk'u nùch
a yáxh áwé tût ashàwatî du yîtk'.

Tle a shâde yà nashîni ìn áwé ash xètkát shawudit'éxh'.

"Tlegâ dê! Tlaxh khútxh xhat kaysixhán!"

Tle káxh dàkh shàwaxíx wé shàwát.

Wé Ts'axíchk'i khu.à tle gânt wujixíx.

Gwàá! ch'u tle gwâyá du xètkâ yan uwa.â hat ín chunèt xh'èdí.

Tle tlêł tsu wudasá.

Ch'u tle ásgíwé du shakwk'utûwu à hat ín wé Ts'axíchk'i.

Ch'u tle du tlâ awujàghídáxh hú khu.à tle tlêł tsu wudustìn.

Ch'a yikàwayât'i yáxh áwé
dèsgwach łingít tlánx' ał'ûni tsu tlêł hàxh u.àt.

De tlaxh khúdáxh yà khà shunaxíxi áwé,
wûsh ìn wudi.àdi wùch ìn à tlênáxh hàt à uwagút.

Ch'a hûch áwé tsâ khùn akàwanìk,
"Ts'axíchk'ich khúdáxh yà shunałxíxi wé ànt akhìni."

Ch'u tle dàxh awdunùgú tûxh áwé wułigâs' wé Ghunanà.

Ch'u adaxh áyá tlêł yankáxh hà ułgás'xh.

The origin of the mosquitoes (cont)

[One time] when they were sitting quietly at home, he came home packing a lynx.

That one time his mother was happy for her son,
but his uncles just got [more] suspicious of him.

When he finished eating his mother said to him,
"My son, why have you gone so long without washing your hair?

Bring [your head] over here so I can run my fingers through your hair."

Just as a mother babies her child,
so she took her son's head in her hands and drew it to herself.

But just as she was reaching out for his head, he rammed his head into her chest.

"Begone now! You are making too much of a fuss over me."

The woman just fell over backward.

Little Ts'axíchk'i then ran outside.

But look! they could see some kind of flint arrowheads stuck in her chest.

She breathed no more.

It seemed that little Ts'axíchk'i had some kind of flint in his little scalp.

After he killed his mother, he was no longer to be seen.

Over a long period of time
one by one, adult hunters wouldn't come back [from hunting].

Now when far too many people were going missing,
of a pair of friends who had gone out together, [only] one came home.

It was he himself who finally told the people,
"It is little Ts'axíchk'i who is killing off the townspeople."

As the realization sank in, the Athabascans moved away.

Ever since then, we have never lived permanently in one place.

Notes on Tâx'à anaxh shukawsixi yé:

General. The most characteristic feature of the Chilkat dialect is the replacement of most instances of original short e by short a, as in łingít tlánx' adults, which is łingít tlénx' in most Tlingit. This is seen a number of times in the text. However, the Chilkat dialect does have short e from two sources: first, from cases where original i is lowered to e before a uvular consonant, e.g. àwat'éxh' pounded it with a rock or other heavy object; in Tlingit dialects further south this is pronounced àwat'íxh'. (A derivative form át shawdit'éxh' rammed his head into it, headbutted it is found on line 25.) Chilkat short e is also found in particles and enclitics originally ending in long e, such as the particles tle (from tlè) just, just then and gushé (from original *gushê) I don't know.

Another feature of the Chilkat dialect is the pronunciation of short a after a rounded consonant. Here short a is rounded to the point where it sounds almost like short u. Mr. Shotridge in fact writes this vowel as ʊ or u (like short u), but I am not convinced that Cwa is in fact completely indistinguishable from Cu. An example from this text is dèsgwach gradually, by degrees more and more, which Mr. Shotridge writes as dèsguch.

Line 2. hat kasayá would be said at kasayé by most speakers. The vowel e is found, however, in at kasayêk' little alien being (with the vowel lengthened before diminutive -k') in line 13.

The word hat seems no longer to be used or even recognized, although Mr. Shotridge uses it rather often in this text, including here and lines 29 and 31. It is a prenominal modifier meaning some kind of...; Mr. Shotridge translates it as a certain.... It implies that the noun in question is something unknown, not encountered in ordinary day-to-day experience, e.g. hat ín refers to something that at first glance looks like flint but is somehow different.

Line 6. ts'útsgúx' sâni little birds in the Chilkat dialect corresponds to ts'ítsgúx' sâni in most Northern Tlingit. Kanałs'âkw kha ts'útsgúx' sâni in is a verbal noun meaning killing squirrels and little birds; compare a.ìn is killing them. (This ìn just happens to look like the much more common postposition ìn with.)

Line 17. Louis Shotridge writes khàkh ; this may well be the old Chilkat pronunciation of ghàkh lynx.

The implication here is that little Ts'axíchk'i came bursting into the house and disturbed the peace by acting more aggressive than usual. This is probably what put his uncles on guard. Apparently the aggression went unnoticed by his mother, who was instead pleased with her son's gift, and proud of his prowess as a hunter.

Line 21. I'm not sure about the frame particle gúsá, used with negative ł to mean why...not...? (Gúsá is from gù sá *where?*)

Here the mother addresses her son obliquely with the fourth person (indefinite human) pronominals khà and du- , literally, *My son, why did one go so [long] without washing one's head/hair?* But even the fact that she addressed him as her little child

was no doubt offensive, even insulting, to little Ts'axíchk'i, because he had just proved himself an adult, and mothers were not supposed to talk directly to their adult sons in those days.

Line 24. tût ashàwatî , literally *took his head to herself.*

Line 25. A contemporary English translation of ash xètkát shawdit'éxh' would be *he headbutted her chest* (specifically, her breastbone).

The precedent pronoun ash refers to little Ts'axíchk'i's mother, who precedes Ts'axíchk'i here. In line 19, however, ash refers to Ts'axíchk'i, who in this context precedes his uncles.

Line 26. Tlegâ dê! *Begone (now)!* or *Enough already!*

Line 30. Tlêł tsu wdasá. *She didn't breathe again/any more.* She was already dead.

Line 31. du shakwk'utûwu à *there is/are some in his little scalp,* where du shakwk'utú *his little scalp* is the diminutive of du shakwtú *his scalp.* The diminutive prefix is inserted inside the compound noun shakwtú /sha+gu+tú/ *hair+base+inside,* figuratively the *hair-forest,* referring literally to the surface at the base of the hairs of the head, just as at gutú *the forest* refers to the ground at the base of the trees.

The diminutive suffix often occurs in this text referring to Ts'axíchk'i, perhaps because he was physically small, and perhaps to express contempt for him and for the vicious little critters he spawned as his final act of vengeance against mankind. This text ends with these words:

Wé káł't' khu.à tlè tâx'àxh wusitì. Á áyá ch'u Ts'axíchk'i káł't'i áyá yìdát łingít asxhá.

But the ashes became mosquitoes. And so even now little Ts'axíchk'i's ashes eat people.

Line 38. Ts'axíchk'ich khúdáxh yà shunałxíxi.. is a subordinative progressive with -i, which is unusual in a main clause. Here khúdáxh might be a shortened form of khûdáxh *from the people,* i.e. Ts'axíchk'i is causing people to vanish from the community (khûdáxh). Apparently little Ts'axíchk'i was by this time so indifferent to the people's reaction as to publicly admit his crimes. He wouldn't have dared to say this unless he had come to the conclusion that the townspeople couldn't do anything do him, and apparently they came to the same conclusion, because from then on they never stayed long in one place.

Mr. Shotridge writes what looks like ànt akhìní, a variant of the usual word ànt khìní *townspeople,* literally *those sitting/dwelling in town.*

Naish and Story

Jesus-ch wooxòoxoo Philip ḵuh Nathanael
(Jesus calls Philip and Nathanael)

43. Yúh ít àh yukyèe Jesus doo toondutánee yéi wootèe Galilee kàh-dei
n'gugòot. Jesus Philip kúx ḵoowushèe; yéi uh yawsiḵàh, "X̱àn nu.úh."

44. Bethsaida ḵwán-x sitèe Philip. Andrew úx' yéi yutèe, ḵuh Peter tsóo.

45. Philip Nathanael kúx ḵoowushèe; àn uh kawunèek,
"Doo kúx ḵoowtoowushèe wéh Moses-ch uh dàt kuwooshxeedee àh,
wéh uh káh ḵootoodziteeyee yoox̱'utúngee x'óx'oo kúx' ;
wéh Dikée Anḵáwoo x'éi-tx̱ ut kunèekx'ee-ch tsóo ḵòon kawunèek.
Jesus uwéh, Nazareth kàx̱, Joseph yéet-x sutèeyee."

46. "Dat yuk'eiyee út súweh Nazareth kàx̱ ḵoodzitèe," Nathanael-ch
woowóos'. Philip uh yáx' yéi yawuḵàh, "Hàh góh; gustèen."

47. Jesus-ch uh woostèenee Nathanael doo x̱ún-dei yah nugódee, uh dàh
yoo x̱'eiwutún, "Wéidoo, ḵónux̱ Israel tooyikyúdee ; tléil sh-wooduyèil."

48. Nathanael-ch x̱'eiwuwóos', "Wah-nux̱ súweh x̱ut yeesikóo ?" Jesus yéi
yawuḵàh, "Tlèi wéh tléiḵw àsee, fig yóo doowusagoo às k'éet ee.àyee,
ee x̱w'sitèen ; ch'uh 'l Philip ee gwux̱òox̱jee."

49. Nathanael yéi ush yawsiḵàh, "Rabbi, wu.éh x̱áh uwéh Dikée Anḵáwoo
doo Yéet, ḵuh Israel kúx' king tsóo."

50. Jesus yéi yawuḵàh, "Ee èen kux̱unèegee, ee x̱w'sutèenee yóo tléiḵw àsee
k'éet ee.àyee, únux̱ ugéh ux̱ éek' eeyuhèen ?
Tlux̱ ḵónux̱ uh yáh-nux̱ koogeiyee út yei k'geesutéen."

51. Agah uyúh yéi's ush yawsiḵàh, "Uh yúx̱ yee èen kukwḵunéek,
dikée góos' wóosh-dux̱ guduk'ótsnee, yei gux̱yeesutéen Dikée Anḵáwoo
kooḵénayee kei nu.údee, tsoo woosh dux̱èinee-x' yei n'du.údee, ux̱ x̱ún-dei,
Doolnokx̱oo Ḵáh-x̱ x̱ut sutèeyee."

Wycliffe Bible Translators

43. Yá ít à yakyì Jesus du tundatâni yê wùtì Galilee kàdé
nghagùt. Jesus Philip káxh khùwashì; yê ayawsikhà, "Xhàn na.á."

44. Bethsaida khwânxh sitì Philip. Andrew áx' yê yatì, kha Peter tsú.

45. Philip Nathanael káxh khùwashì; àn akàwanìk,
"Du káxh khuwtuwashì wé Moses-ch a dàt kawushxìdi à,
wé a kâ khutudzitìyi yùxh'atángi x'úx'u káx';
wé Dikî Ànkhâwu xh'êtxh at kanìkx'ích tsû khùn kàwanìk.
Jesus áwé, Nazareth kàxh, Joseph yîtxh satìyí."

46. "Dàt yak'êyi át sàwé Nazareth kàxh khuwdzitì," Nathanael-ch wùsûs'.
Philip a yâx' yê yàwakhà, "Hàgú; ghastìn."

47. Jesus-ch wustìní Nathanael du xhánde yà nagúdi, a dà
yù xh'èwatán, "Wêdu khúnáxh Israel tuyikyádi; tlêł sh wudayèł."

48. Nathanael-ch xh'èwasûs', "Wânáxh sáwé xhat yisikû?" Jesus yê
yàwakhà, "Tle wé tlêkhw àsí, fig yû duwasâgu às k'ît ì.àyí
ixhwsitìn; ch'a ł Philip ighwaxhùxhjí."

49. Nathanael yê ash yawsikhà, "Rabbi, wa.é xhâwé Dikî Ànkhâwu
du Yît, kha Israel káx' king tsû."

50. Jesus yê yàwakhà, "I ìn kaxhanìgí ixhwsatìní yû tlêkhw àsí
k'ît ì.àyí, ánáxh ágé axh îk' ìyahìn?
Tlaxh khúnáxh a yânáxh kùgeyi át yè kghisatîn."

51. Àghâ áyá yê s ash yawsikhà, "A yáxh yì ìn kakkhwanîk,
dikî gûs' wûshdáxh ghadak'útsni, yè gaxhyisatîn Dikî Ànkhâwu
kùkhénayi kè na.ádi, tsu wùsh daxhèníx' yè nda.ádi axh xhánde,
Dułnukxhu Khâxh xhat satìyí."

YÈŁNÀWÚ

Dèslìn Khwân, 1972
Haa Tuwunáagu Yís, *for Healing Our Spirit*
Nora Marks Dauenhauer & Richard Dauenhauer, pp. 172-4

X'êghà
axh tùwû yak'ê
áyá yìdát.

Áyá ghuna.àndáxh
hà xhùt has uwa.át.

Tléł tsu has du îxh khutùjìyí áyá yâx'
hà xhùt has uwa.át.

Ha hà xhùnx'í
áyá mtusitìn.

Tlaxh x'êghà
àk'é khu.ù áyú yê yatì.

Ha hà tùwú tlaxh dàt yáxh sá a kàxh yak'ê.

Àdáxh ûsh
ch'a tlákw
ch'a yê yiguwâtl'
yè wùsh tùstínch
kha wùsh yáxh kè tutudatánch,
àa,
áyá yè wùsh tùstínji.

Ha ch'a tlaxh a yânáxh áyá
tléł tsu à sá yè tusatínch.

Shayadihên wé Łingít.

Yèłnàwú (cont)

Áyá Ghunanà yû tsú à daxhduwasâkw, de ch'as á áwé,
ha tléł yá hà yáxh yù xh'ałi.atgi à.

Adaxh hás khwá yá yìdát yá hà xhù yê s yatìyi à khwá ch'u tle
tle x'êghà
hà àni khwâni yáxh áhé s yatì
yá àdê hà xh'ênáxh yù s xh'ałi.atgi yé.

Ha ch'âkw,
áyú ch'âkw,
ch'âgu khâwu
ha yê áyá wùsh wuskûwun.

Grammar & Vocabulary of the Tlingit Language of Southeastern Alaska

William A. Kelly and F. H. Willard
1904

pages 733 - 735

TO TELL.
INDICATIVE MOOD.

NOTE. - Remember *c* has the sound of *k*.

Present

Singular	*Plural*
Cŭ-'hŭ-nēc´ , *I tell.*	Cŭ-tōō-nēc´ , *we tell.*
Cē- nēc´ , *thou tellest.*	Cŭ-yē-nēc´, *you tell.*
Ŭ-cŭ- nēc´ , *he tells.*	Hŭs ŭ-cŭ-nēc´, *they tell.*

Future

Cōō-kŭ-nēc´, *I shall tell.*	Cŭ' h-tōō-nēc´, *we shall tell.*
Cŭ-ġē-nēc´, *thou shalt tell.*	Cŭ' h-yē-nēc´, *you shall tell.*
Ŭc-ġuâ-nēc´, *he shall tell.*	Hŭs-ŭc-ġuâ-nēc´, *they shall tell.*

Perfect

Cŭ´-'hwä´-nēc´ , *I told.*	Cŭ 'w´-tōō´-wŭ´-nēc´ , *we told.*
Cē´-yŭ´-nēc´ , *thou didst tell.*	Cŭ-yē-nēc´, *you told.*
Ŭ´-cä´-wŭ´- nēc´ , *he told.*	Hŭs-ŭ-cä-wŭ- nēc´ , *they told.*

Kelly and Willard (by Dr. Jeff Leer)

William A. Kelly and Frances H. Willard seemed to work well as a team. The transcriptions are phonetically near-perfect, so perfect in fact that I suspect it was Mrs. Willard who wrote the Tlingit words and sentences. Aside from a few minor defects in the transcription system, all the sounds in the language are clearly distinguished. The only thing lacking is the tone.

One peculiar spelling is an-kau, *lord, chief,* which represents ànkhâwu.

They managed to identify an impressive number of verb paradigms, but were unable to achieve a global understanding of the verb system, evidently because they tried to fit the multifaceted Tlingit verb system into a restricted number of categories designed for European languages like Latin and Greek. It would have been like trying to put a glove on an octopus. To their credit, however, they correctly identified both the potential and the decessive potential verb modes.

For some reason unknown to me, the future forms given by Kelly and Willard lack the thematic prefix ka-. Every dialect I know of has thematic ka- in the future as well, and so did my teacher Nelly Willard, also a Chilkat speaker. I give the ordinary future forms with thematic ka- in brackets.

Imperfective (K&W "present")
Du ìn kaxhanîk. *I'm telling him.*

kaxhanîk	katùnîk
kìnîk	kayìnîk
akanîk	has akanîk

Future
Du ìn kakkhwanîk. *I'll tell him. I'm going to tell him.*

kukhanîk [kakkhwanîk]	kaxhtùnîk [kagaxhtùnîk]
kaghìnîk [kakghìnîk]	kaxhyìnîk [kaghaxhyìnîk]
akghwanîk [akakghwanîk]	has akghwanîk [has akakghwanîk]

Perfective (K&W "perfect")
Du ìn kaxhwànìk. *I told him. I've told him.*

kaxhwànìk	kawtuwanìk
kìyanìk	kayìynìk
akàwanìk	has akàwanìk

Grammar & Vocabulary of the Tlingit Language of Southeastern Alaska (cont)

Pluperfect

Cŭ-'hŭ-nēc-ĭn´, *I had told.*	Cŭ-tōō-nēc-ĭn´, *we had told.*
Cē- nēc-ĭn´, *thou hadst told.*	Cŭ-yē-nēc-ĭn´, *you had told.*
Ŭ-cŭ- nēc-ĭn´, *he had told.*	Hŭs-ŭ-cŭ-nēc-ĭn´, *they had told.*

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD.

Future

Cŭn-'hŭ-nĭc´-nĭ, *if I tell.*	Cŭn-tōō-nĭc´-nĭ, *if we tell.*
Cŭ-nē-nĭc´-nĭ, *if thou tellest.*	Cŭ-nŭ-yē-nĭc´-nĭ, *if you tell.*
Ŭ-cŭ-nŭ-nĭc´-nĭ, *if he tell.*	Hŭs-ŭ-cŭ-nŭ-nĭc´-nĭ, *if they tell.*

IMPERATIVE MOOD.

Present

Cŭ´-nŭ´-nēc´, *tell thou.*	Cŭ´-nŭ´-yē´-nēc´, *tell ye.*

INFINITIVE MOOD.

Present

Cŭ-'hŭ-nēc-ĭ´, *(me) to tell.*	Cŭ-tōō-nēc-ĭ´, *(us) to tell.*
Cē-nēc-ĭ´, *(thee) to tell.*	Cŭ-yē-nēc-ĭ´, *(you) to tell.*
Ŭ-cŭ-nēc-ĭ´, *(him) to tell.*	Hŭs-ŭ-cŭ-nēc-ĭ´, *(them) to tell.*

Future

Cōō-ku̱-nēc-ĭ´, *(me) about to tell.*	Cŭ'h-tōō-nēc-ĭ´, *(us) about to tell.*
Cŭ-ġē-nēc-ĭ´, *(thee) about to tell.*	Cŭ'h-yē-nēc-ĭ´, *(you) about to tell.*
Ŭc-ġuâ-nēc-ĭ´, *(him) about to tell.*	Hŭs-ŭc-ġuâ-nēc-ĭ´, *(them) about to tell.*

Kelly and Willard (by Dr. Jeff Leer) (cont)

Decessive Imperfective (K&W "pluperfect")
Du ìn kaxhanìgín. *I was telling him.*

kaxhanìgín	katùnìgín
kìnìgín	kayìnìgín
akanìgín	has akanìgín

Conditional (K&W "subjunctive future")
Du ìn kanxhaníkni at gughashûkh. *If I tell him he'll laugh.*

kanxhaníkni	kantùníkni
kanìníkni	kanayìníkni [kanayníkni]
akananíkni	has akananíkni

Imperative (K&W "imperative present")
Du ìn kananìk. *Tell him!*

kananìk	kanayìnìk [kanaynìk]

Subordinative Imperfective (K&W "present infinitive")
Du ìn kaxhanìgí áwé anaxh nèl uwagút du shát. *As I was telling him, his wife came in.*
Yak'ê khùn at kìnìgí. *It's good for you to tell people things.*

kaxhanìgí	katùnìgí
kìnìgí	kayìnìgí
akanìgí	has akanìgí

Subordinative Future (K&W "future infinitive")
Du ìn kakkhwanìgí áwé du dlàk'ch wù.îx'. *When I was about to tell him, his sister called to him.*

kukhanìgí [kakkhwanìgí]	kaxhtùnìgí [kagaxhtùnìgí]
kaghìnìgí [kakghìnìgí]	kaxhyìnìgí [kagaxhyìnìgí]
akghwanìgí [akakghwanìgí]	has akghwanìgí [akakghwanìgí]

INFINITIVE MOOD.

Perfect

Cŭ-'hwâ-nēc-ĭ´, *(me) to have told.*	Cŭ'w´-tōō-nēc-ĭ´, *(us) to have told.*
Cŭ-yĭ-nēc-ĭ´, *(thee) to have told..*	Cŭ-yē-nec-ĭ´, *(you) to have told.*
Ŭ-cŭ-wōō-nēc-ĭ´, *(him) to have told.*	Hŭs-ŭ-cŭ-wōō-nēc-ĭ´, *(them) to have told.*

PARTICIPLES.

Present

Cŭ´-'hŭ´-nĭc´, *(I am) telling.*	Cŭ-tōō-nĭc, *(we are) telling.*
Cē´-nĭc´, *(thou art) telling.*	Cŭ-yē-nĭc, *(you are) telling.*
Ŭ´-cŭ-nĭc´, *(he is) telling.*	Hŭs-ŭ-cŭ-nĭc, *(they are) telling.*

Future

Cōō´-ḵŭ´-nic´, *(I am) about to be telling.*	Cŭ'h´-tōō´-nĭc´, *(we are) about to be telling.*
Cŭ´-ġē´-nĭc´, *(thou art) about to be telling.*	Cŭ'h´-yē´-nĭc´, *(you are) about to be telling.*
Ŭc´-ġuâ´-nĭc´, *(he is) about to be telling.*	Hŭs´-ŭc´-ġuâ´-nĭc´, *(they are) about to be telling.*

Perfect

Cŭ´-'hwä´-nēc´-ĭ´, *(I) having told.*	Cŭ'w´-tōō´-wŭ´-nēc´-ĭ´, *(we) having told.*
Cē´-yŭ´-nēc´-ĭ´, *(thou) having told.*	Cŭ´-yē´-nec´-ĭ´, *(you) having told.*
Ŭ-cä-wŭ-nēc-ĭ´, *(he) having told.*	Hŭs´-ŭ´-cä´-wŭ´-nēc´-ĭ´, *(they) having told.*

Kelly and Willard (by Dr. Jeff Leer) (cont)

Subordinative Perfective (K&W "perfect infinitive")
Yak'ê gí du ìn kaxhwanìgí? *Is it all right for me to tell him?*
Axh ìn akawunìgích axh tùwú yak'ê. *I'm glad because he told me.*

kaxhwanìgí	kawtùnìgí
kayinìgí	kayìynìgí
akawunìgí	has akawunìgí

The following three conjugations are actually attributive forms of the verb; this means that they modify a noun. The attributive clause, which always ends with the verb, usually precedes the noun that it modifies. If you compare the attributive forms of the Imperfective and Future to the plain Imperfective and Future, you will see that the stem is shortened from ...nìk or ...nîk to ...nik in the attributive verb form.

Attributive Imperfective (K&W "present participle")
Du ìn kaxhanik át, *What I'm telling him*, literally, *the thing I'm telling him.*
Axh tuwâ sigû àdé kìnik yé. *I like the way you're telling it.*

kaxhanik (át)	katùnik (át)
kìnik (át)	kayìnik (át)
akanik (át)	has akanik (át)

Attributive Future (K&W "future participle")
Du ìn kakkhwanik át, *What I will tell him*, literally *the thing I will tell him*

kukhanik (át) [kakkhwanik (át)]	kaxhtùnik (át) [kagaxhtùnik (át)]
kaghìnik (át) [kakghìnik (át)]	kaxhyìnik (át) [kagaxhyìnik (át)]
akghwanik (át) [akakghwanik (át)]	has akghwanik (át) [has akakghwanik (át)]

Attributive Perfective (K&W "perfect participle")
Du ìn kaxhwànìgi át, *What I told him*, literally *the thing I told him.*
Axh ìn akàwanìgi khâ áwé. *That's the person that told me.*

kaxhwànìgi (át)	kawtuwanìgi (át)
kìyanigi (át)	kayìynìgi (át)
akàwanìgi (át)	has akàwanìgi (át)

OPTATIVE MOOD.

Present and future.

Cŭn´-ḵŭ˘ -nēc´, *let me tell.*	Cŭ´-nŭ˘'h´-nēc´ , *let us tell.*
Ŭ´-cŭn´-ġŭ˘ -nēc , *let him tell.*	Hŭs´-ŭ´-cŭn´-ġŭ˘ -nēc´, *let them tell.*

POTENTIAL MOOD.

Future.

Cŭn-quä-nēc , *I might tell.*	Cŭ-nŭ˘'h-to͝o-wŭ˘-nēc , *we might tell.*
Cŭn-ġē-yŭ˘-nēc , *thou mightest tell.*	Cŭ-nŭ˘'h-yē-nēc , *you might tell.*
Ŭ-co͞on-ġuä-nēc , *he might tell.*	Hŭs-ŭ˘-co͞on-ġuä-nēc , *they might tell.*

Pluperfect

Co͞on-ḵŭ˘-nēc-ĭn´, *I might have told.*	Cŭ-nŭ˘'h-to͞o-nēc-ĭn´, *we might have told.*
Cŭn-ġē-nēc-ĭn´, *thou mightst have told.*	Cŭ-nŭ˘'h-yē-nēc-ĭn´, *you might have told.*
Ŭ-co͞on-ġŭ˘-nēc-ĭn´, *he might have told.*	Hŭs-ŭ˘-co͞on-ġŭ˘-nēc-ĭn , *they might have told.*

Kelly and Willard (by Dr. Jeff Leer) (cont)

Hortative (K&W "present and future optative")
Hûch akanghanìk. *Let him tell it.*

kankhanìk	kanaxhtùnìk
akanghanìk	has akanghanìk

Potential (K&W "future potential")
Łíł axh xh'êt yayìs.àyíkh, axh tlâ ìn has akùnghànìk. *Don't kiss me (or) they might tell my mother.*

kankhwànìk [also kùnkhànìk]	kanaxhtuwanìk
kanghiyanìk	kanaxhyìynìk
akùnghwànìk [also akùnghànìk]	has akùnghwànìk [also has akùnghànìk]

Decessive Potential (K&W "pluperfect potential")
Xhwasatìnín ûsh, du ìn kùnkhanìgín. *If I had seen him, I would have told him.*

kùnkhanìgín	kanaxhtùnìgín
kanghìnìgín	kanaxhyìnìgín
akùnghanìgín	has akùnghanìgín

Boas Conjugation Markers

From the following chart (*Grammatical Notes on the Language of the Tlingit Indians,* p. 36), it is apparent that Boas had a basic understanding of the na-conjugation, the gha-conjugation, and the ga-conjugation, and how these conjugation markers can be paired with the gha-"hypothetical" prefix found in the hortative, potential, and habitual conditional verb modes.

(*a*) Forms without temporal prefix   Indicative; present; continuative.

(*b*) Forms with prefix *wv* . . . . .   Indicative; historic tense; transitional.

(*c*)   "   "   " *na* (*n*) . . .   Inchoative; temporal subordination.

(*d*)   "   "   " *ga* (*k'*)   }
(*e*)   "   "   " *ga* (*x̣*)   }   Temporal subordination.

(*f*)   "   "   " *gvga* (*gvx̣*) . .   Future.

(*de*)   "   "   " *gaga* (*gax̣*)   }
(*ee*)   "   "   " *gaga* (*gax̣*)   }   Temporal subordination.
(*ce*)   "   "   " *naga* (*nax̣*)   }

However, Boas apparently did not fully understand how the zero-conjugation fits into this scheme. The zero-conjugation has no marker except u- in the perfective habitual. The zero-conjugation, like the na-, gha-, and ga-conjugations, takes gha- in the hortative, potential, and habitual conditional. This gha-"hypothetical" prefix, without a conjugation prefix before it, is identical in form and behavior with the gha-conjugation prefix.

The top part of the following chart shows the modes that require the conjugation prefix. The Imperative, Admonitive, Consecutive, and Conditional modes require the conjugation prefix. So does the Perfective Habitual mode, but if the conjugation prefix is zero, the Perfective Habitual takes the prefix u-. The Hortative, Potential, and Contingent modes take the conjugation prefix plus the gha-"hypothetical" prefix.

Conjugation prefix	zero	na-	gha-	ga-
Imperative Admonitive Past Conditional Future Conditional	(no prefix)	na-	gha-	ga-
Perf. Habitual	u-	na-	gha-	ga-
Hortative Potential Habitual Conditional	gha-	na- gha-	ghà- gha-	ga- gha-
Conjugation proclitic				
Future (with prefixes ga- u- gha-)	(no proclitic)	(no proclitic)	yè	kè
Progressive (imperfective mode with na-; other modes with ga-)	yà	yà	yè	kè

Boas Conjugation Markers (cont)

The bottom half of this chart shows the modes where the conjugation of the verb is marked by a proclitic, that is, a particle that precedes the main verb word and cannot occur by itself, but only with a verb. The Future mode and the Progressive modes take the proclitic yè if the verb belongs to the gha-conjugation, and they take kè if the verb belongs to the ga-conjugation. If the verb belongs to the zero-conjugation or the na-conjugation, the Future mode has no proclitic, whereas the Progressive modes take the proclitic yà.

The Future mode is marked by the prefixes ga- u- gha-, in addition to taking the conjugation proclitics yè or kè. The Progressive mode is likewise marked with a combination of prefix and conjugation proclitic. In addition to the conjugation proclitic, the Progressive Imperfective is marked by the prefix na; however, all other modes are marked with the prefix ga- in addition to the conjugation proclitic.

Progressive Imperfective: yà **nagút** *is going (along), keeps on going*
Progressive Future: yà **kghwagût** *will go along; will keep on going* (k- < **ga-**)
Progressive Habitual: yà **gagútch** *always keeps on going*
Progressive Imperative: yà **gagú** *go along! keep on going!*
Progressive Hortative: yà **kghagùt** *let's go along! let's keep on going!* (k- < **ga-**)
and so on.

In the following selection (pp. 77-78), Boas takes a number of Imperative and Hortative forms and divides them into those that take no conjugation marker, those that take ga-, those that take gha-, and those that take na-. The Imperative forms are further subdivided into those that take no subject prefix in the singular Imperative and those that take the subject prefix i- or ì- in the singular Imperative. The rule here is that the second person singular prefix i- or ì- is used only if the verb takes a classifier with the d-component. The second person plural imperative always takes the second person plural subject prefix yì- or yi-, often contracted to y-.

(a) **zero**-conjugation
jákh *kill it!*
at shúkh *laugh!*
kè gú *come up!* (singular)
kè y.á *come up!* (plural)
nèł gú *come in!* (singular)
sa.í *cook it!*

(a') **zero**-conjugation with subject prefix
kè ìłghín *look up!*
át ayìłghín *look there!* (plural)
nèł ìłghín *look in!*
kè ìshk'én *jump up!*

Boas Conjugation Markers (cont)

(b) **ga-**conjugation
gasanú *(pick him up and) carry him!*
gasatàn *(pick it up and) carry it (a stick)*
ga.àxh *(pick it up and) carry it (a blanket)!*
at gashí *sing!*
yà kaganìk *go along telling it!*
> (This form is a Progressive Imperative. Compare the ordinary imperative
> kananìk *tell it!*)

gaghàxh *cry!*

(b') ga-conjugation with subject prefix
agìskà *be lazy!*
yà gìshìx *run along!*
yà gìs.í *keep on cooking it (for yourself)!*
> (The last two forms are Progressive Imperatives.)

(c) **gha-**conjugation
ghasnèxh *save him!*
yà ghagú *walk down!* (singular)
yà ghay.á *walk down!* (plural)
> (The first form Boas lists here, àghâ khushî *s/he is looking for it* , is actually an
> Imperfective. Here -ghâ is a postposition meaning *(searching) for...* , not the conjugation
> marker.)

(c') **gha-**conjugation with subject prefix
yà aghìłghìn *look down!*

(d) **na-**conjugation
natá *go to sleep!*
na.ìn *kill them!*
nagú *go! (singular)*
nay.á *go! (plural)*
yuxh nagú *go outside! (singular)*
> (yan hán! *stand!* is zero-conjugation)

(d') **na-**conjugation with subject prefix
yuxh anìłghìn *look outside! (singular)*
yuxh anayiłghìn *look outside!* (plural)
nìshìx *run!*

Boas Conjugation Markers (cont)

In the next section, Boas gives a few Hortative paradigms, illustrating how the Hortative is formed by the conjugation marker plus gha- hypothetical.

zero-conjugation: **gha-**
kè khagùt *let me go up*
kè ghagùt *let him go up*
kè xhtù.àt *let's go up*
kè has gha.àt *let them go up*

ga-conjugation: **ga-gha-**
yà kkhagùt *let me walk along*
yà kghagùt *let him walk along*
yà kaxhtù.àt *let's walk along* [for most speakers yà gaxhtù.àt]
yà has gagha.àt *let them walk along*

Note: These are actually Progressive Hortative forms, formed with the progressive proclitic yà and the progressive prefix ga-. The Progressive Imperfective is yà nagút *he is walking (along)* . Hortatives of ga-conjugation verbs do not take proclitics like yà and kè.

gha-conjugation: **ghà-gha-**
yà khàkhagùt *let me walk down*
yà ghàghagùt *let him walk down*
yà khàxhtù.àt *let's walk down* [for most speakers yà ghàxhtù.àt]
yà has ghàgha.àt *let them walk down*

Note: The proclitic yà followed by a gha-conjugation verb gives the meaning down . The Progressive Imperfective is yè nagút *he is walking down* . (The proclitic yè *down* found in the Progressive and the Future modes; everywhere else the proclitic yà *down* is used.)

na-conjugation: **na-gha-**
nakhagùt *let me walk*
naghagùt *let him walk*
naxhtù.àt *let's walk*
has nagha.àt *let them walk*

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8.32　Conjunctive Paradigms

...

　　　　Only six conjunctive perfectives (less than 2 per cent of the conjunctives occurring) have been found in the narrative text examined (of which two pairs occur in neighbouring sentences) and of these six, two 'mirror' perfectives. The conjunctive verb form under consideration is here said to 'mirror' the main verb form of the immediately previous sentence (or previous sentence not removed by more than two sentences) when the verbs contain the same verb theme. Frequently the identity extends to words of the verbal phrase and to other phrases comprised in the clauses, for example:

Perfective/perfective
(du X⁷é–X, wuduwʌtì) / Č⁷ʌs du X⁷é–X, wudutí / ...
'(They fed her). After feeding her ...'

(In the examples of this section, the phrases are set off by commas and the clauses by slashes. The verb phrases are clause final in these examples.)

　　　　The phenomenon of mirroring is characteristic of conjunctive verb forms. Most commonly, contemporaneous verb forms mirror perfectives, conditional verb forms mirror futures (11.212) (imperfectives), and contingent verb forms mirror frequentatives (10.2124) (non-perfectives):

Perfective/contemporaneous
(Gunʌyé, υwʌ⁷ʌ́d) / ⁷ʌ–d, hʌs ⁷ád / ...
'(They started off). When they got there ...'

Naish and Story (by Dr. Jeff Leer)

Constance Naish and Gillian Story have contributed much to our understanding of the verb. Their M.A. theses have much useful information in them; unfortunately, however, much of their linguistic terminology is idiosyncratic and difficult for even linguists to grasp. The richness of the Tlingit verb system, combined with the fact that Tlingit verbal categories are often extremely difficult to explain to the general linguistic public, requires an unusually large linguistic vocabulary. Leer's Ph.D. dissertation also makes use of an unfortunately--but necessarily--large number of linguistic terms. However, it may be possible to reduce the terminology to some extent, or at least reduce the load on the student of Tlingit by "bringing it down to earth."

One place in particular where it is possible to reduce the number of linguistic terms is in the terminology related to the Tlingit verb modes. Tlingit has 13 (!) such verb modes, compared to the 4 or 5 modes found in most Athabascan languages. However, 4 of these verb modes are very similar in nature; these are called "conjunctive paradigms" by Naish and Story; Leer calls them "circumstantial modes." For these modes in particular it is particularly difficult to remember the names of the modes, and moreover it is possible to simplify the terminology. In this book we will adopt the simplified terminology, adopting the label **Conditional** in place of N&S' "conjunctive" and Leers "circumstantial". The following chart sets out the simplified terminology and shows how it corresponds to the terminology in Leer's dissertation and N&S's theses.

Simplified terminology for the **Conditional** modes	Leer's dissertation	N&S's theses
Perfective Conditional	(lacking)	perfective conjunctive
Past Conditional	consecutive	contemporaneous
Future Conditional	conditional	conditional
Habitual Conditional	contingent	contingent

Note that N&S recognize a separate "perfective conjunctive" mode that is missing from Leer's dissertation. The following examples for these modes are taken from pp. 195-197 of Story's thesis. (Further examples can be found on pp. 399-417 of Leer's dissertation.) The conditional modes are typically paired with one of the indicative modes. The indicative mode states that something happened (Perfective), will happen (Future), or happens every time (Habitual Perfective); the paired conditional mode typically translates as "when" or "after" or (for the future conditional) "if" something happened/will happen/happens every time, as illustrated by these examples.

A. Perfective followed by **Perfective Conditional** (only one example)

Du xh'êxh wuduwatì. Ch'as **du xh'êxh wudutî...**
They fed it to her. After feeding it to her...

B. Perfective followed by **Past Conditional,**
which translates as **"when..."** or **"after..."** plus a verb in the past tense

Ghunayê uwa.át. Át has ât...
They started off. When they got there...

(du ǰì–d, wuduwʌtí) / du ǰì–d, dutí / ...
'(It was given to him). When it was given to him ...'

(hín–d, awʌXíǰ) / hín–d, ʌ Xíǰ / ...
'(He threw it in the water). When he threw it in the water ...'

(ʌ dà–de, Gunʌyé, awʌʔʌ́d) / ʌ dà–d, ʌ ʔád / ...
'(They started off for it). When they came there ...'

(du Xʌ́ni, ʌ yʌXʷǰιxíx) / du Xʌ́ni, ʌ yʌXʌšíx / ...
'(I returned to him). After returning to him ...'

(ʌ yíg–nʌX ʌwé, yud šawʌxíx) / ʌ yíg–nʌX, yud šaxíx / ...
'(His head stuck out). When his head stuck out ...'

(wé ʔàn iGayá–nʌX, yʌn ʋwʌqʋ́X) / wé ʔàn iGayá–nʌX, yʌn qʋ́X / ...
'(He came in front of the town). When he came in front of the town ...'

(du ʔíš yʌ́–X, wʋgùd) / wá nʌnís ʌyʌ́, xʔun ʔà, du ʔíš yʌ́–d, gúd ʌyʌ́ / ...
' (He kept coming to his father). Then after coming several times to his father ...'

(yʌ́ Gunʌnà–ǰ ʌyʌ́, ʌ wsιtìn) / yʌ́ Gunʌnà–ǰ, Gʌstín ...
'(The Interior Indian saw him). When he was seen by the Indian ...'

Future/conditional

(ʌ ǰιgʷGʌnáG) / ʌ ǰιnʌ́Gni / ...
'(He'll let it go). When he lets it go ... '

(ʔà–dʌX, dag gʌGiXút') / ʔà–dʌX, dag iXút'ni / ...
'(You'll pull it off). When you pull it off ...'

Naish and Story (by Dr. Jeff Leer) (cont)

Du jìt wuduwatî. **Du jìt dutî...**
It was given to him. **When it was given to him...**

Hînt àwaxhích. **Hînt axhîch...**
He threw it in the water. **When he threw it in the water...**

A dàdé ghunayî àwa.át. **A dàt a.ât...**
They started off for it. **When they came there [for it]...**

Du xháni ayaxhwjixíx. **Du xháni ayaxhashîx...**
I turned and ran back to him. **After I turned and ran back to him...**

A yíknáxh áwé yût shàwaxíx. **A yíknaxh yût shaxîx...**
His head stuck out of it. **When his head stuck out of it...**

Wé àn ìghayânáxh yan uwakhúxh. **We àn ìghayânaxh yan khûxh...**
He stopped in front of the town [by boat]. **When he stopped in front of the town...**

Du îsh yáxh wùgùt. Wâ nanî sáyá, **x'ùn à du îsh yát gût áyá...**
He kept coming to his father. Then **after coming to his father so many times...**

C. Future followed by **Future Conditional,**
which translates as **"when..."** or **"after..."** or **"if..."** plus a verb in the present tense

Ajikghwanâkh. **Ajinákhni...**
He'll let it go. **When he lets it go...**

Àdáxh dàk gaghìxhûť. **Àdáxh dàk ìxhút'ni...**
You'll pull it off. **When you pull it off...**

Gillian Story's Master's Thesis (cont)

Frequentative/contingent

(kʔɩdén, nʌdusnìǰ) / łdʌkʌd yéde, yʌn Gʌdusnìnɩn / ...
'(They repair it). When everything is done ... '

(wé X̌ád, ʌ yíg-de ʌwé, duGíǰ nùǰ) / yàgʷxʔ, GʌdʌGíǰɩn / ...
'(They pitch the fish in). When the boat has pitched ...'

In addition, when a subordinate verb form is contingent, the verb form of the nuclear clause is always frequentative. The converse does not hold.

Naish and Story (by Dr. Jeff Leer) (cont)

D. Habitual followed by **Habitual Conditional**,
which translates as **"when..."** or **"whenever..."** plus a verb in the present tense or else a verb preceded by "would"

K'idên nadusnìch. **Ldakát yêde yan ghadusnìnín...**
They repair it (every time). ***When everything is done...***

Wé xhât a yíkde áwé dughich nùch. **Yàkwx' ghadaghíjin...**
They pitch the fish in. ***When they have pitched them in the boat...***

In the first of these two examples, the first verb is in the Perfective Habitual. In the last example, the first verb is in the Imperfective Habitual (Imperfective plus ...nùch).

Note: This simplified terminology leads to a minor complication when talking about composite Conditional modes formed by combining a verb in the Future mode with a following auxiliary verb in one of the Conditional modes: níkw or nûk (Past Conditional), níkwni or núkni (Future Conditional), and ghanígún or ghanúgun (Habitual Conditional). These very rare composite modes can be called the Future-in-the-Past Conditional, the Future-in-the-Future Conditional, and the Habitual-in-the-Future Conditional. As an example, consider the **Future-in-the-Future Conditional** on p. 415 of Leer's dissertation: **yè guxhdaxhit núkni** *when (an animal) is about to give birth (then it will behave in a certain way).* This Future-in-the-Future Conditional verb form refers to a time in the future (in this case, the time when the animal is about to give birth) where something is going to happen in the even more distant future (in this case, the time when animal actually does give birth).

Leer - Past Narrative Sequence

The final reading is a passage from Leer's dissertation, pp. 318-320, taken from one of Mrs. Elizabeth Nyman's narratives about her life. Here Leer takes a section of a story set in the past and discusses how the use of the modes is used by the storyteller in such a way that the listener can follow the sequence of events even if the storyteller digresses from the narrative timeline so as to explain something that had happened in the past or will happen in the future relative to the events unfolding in the narrative.

Leer maintains that the Perfective mode is used to advance the timeline of a story told in the past, which he calls the "now-window". Imagine that the story is like a film in that the story is told by moving from scene to scene. In most cases, a verb in the **Perfective** signals that the narrator is moving forward to a new scene, or in Leer's terminology, opening a new "now-window", relative to which other modes such as Imperfectives, Futures, and sometimes even other Perfectives, are evaluated.

(d) Tle at wutuwaxùn.
We got ready to go. (Perfective) -- **a new now-window**

   (e) Sh xhadlitî.
   I rejoiced. (Imperfective) -- **same time as (d)**

   (f) Axh îsh xhánde gaxhtù.ât,
   We were going to see my father; (Future)
   (g) du ìn sh kakkhwadanîk.
   I would [be able to] tell him about myself. (Future) -- **in the future from (d)**

This scene or "now-window" is signaled by the **Perfective** verb in (d): they got ready to go. The **Imperfective** in (e) indicates that the narrator is rejoicing at that time. The two **Futures** in (f-g) indicate that the narrator would see and talk to her father at a future time relative to (d).

(h) Kètl at wàkhdé wtuwaghích,
We harnessed up the dogs (Perfective)
 (i) tle wtuwa.àt àdé.
and we went there. (Perfective) -- **a new now-window**

   (j-k) Wé t'akwanêyi tsú xát'à tût tusa.â, wêt'à wé S'igaxhshâk'w.
   We had the baby sit inside the sled--that one, S'igaxhshâk'w. (Imperfective) -- **same time as (h-i)**

Leer - Past Narrative Sequence (cont)

The **Perfectives** in (h-i) signal a transition to a new scene, where they hitch up the dogs and leave. At this time the baby is sitting in the sled, as indicated by the **Imperfective**.

(l) Á át wutuwa.át.
So we arrived there-- (Perfective) -- **a new now-window**

> (m) Hé', dzísk'w kwshêwé àwajákh axh îsh.
> *My! my father had killed a moose.* (Perfective)
> (n) Łdakát a yik.ádi áwé wdudzi.î,
> *They had cooked all the innards,* (Perfective)
> (o) wé axh tlâk'w khu.a kwshêwé sakhnên awsi.î.
> *[and] my aunt had cooked bread.* (Perfective) -- **in the past from (l)**

The **Perfective** in (l) advances the story, introducing a new scene: they have arrived. The **Perfectives** in (m-n-o), however, do not advance the story; in Leer's terms, they do not create new now-windows. Instead, these Perfectives can be compared to a flash-back in a movie: they refer to a time prior to (l). The couple discovers that a moose *had been killed* and a fine meal *had been prepared* (m-n-o) prior to their arrival (l).

(p) Dàkh hà wdudzi.át.
They led us back [to our seats]. (Perfective) -- **a new now-window**

> (q) At tùxhá.
> *We ate.* (Imperfective) -- **same time as (p)**

The **Perfective** in (p) introduces a new scene: they are seated at the table. The **Imperfective** in (q) refers to an activity going on in the same scene as (p): they are eating dinner.

(r) Yan at tùxhâ áwé, tle wé s'íx' tle xhùyaxhwłi.ûs',
After we ate (Past Conditional), *I washed the dishes,* (Perfective)
(s) tle kaxhwàchák has du jiyís.
and put the away for them. (Perfective) -- **a new now-window**

> (t) Ch'a tlákw axh tût wùxìx
> *I kept pondering* (Perfective with Imperfective meaning) -- **same time as (r-s)**
> wé àdé sh kukhasnì yé.
> *the thought of what I was going to do to myself.* (Future)
> -- **in the future from (r-s)**

> (u) A ch'u yìdádidé du kinàyêgi xhładlêkw nìch axh îsh.
> *To this very day I thank the guiding spirit of my father.* (Imperfective Habitual)
> -- **an aside, referring the absolute present** (that is, the time of the storytelling)

Leer - Past Narrative Sequence (cont)

(v) Ô, a yayìt tukxhwàjéł wé xânà tlèn.
Oh, I had stored up enough inside me [to talk about] all evening long. (Perfective) -- **in the past from (r-s)**

The **Perfectives** in (r-s) advance the story to a new scene, where she washes and puts away the dishes. At this time, she is pondering what she is going to do in the future (t). In (u), the narrator momentarily breaks away from the narrative timeline to explain the present consequences of the events in the story. She signals that this comment refers to the present time by the words ch'u yìdádidé *to this very day* followed by an **Imperfective Habitual** verb. Then in (v) she returns to the narrative timeline, using a **Perfective** to refer to a time previous to (r-s). While she does the dishes, she is mentally reviewing all the experiences she had previously gone through and wanted to discuss with her father.

Note: the Perfective in (t) is an example of a verb that is Perfective in form but Imperfective in meaning. If I happen to say, axh tût wùxìx, literally, *(the thought of) it is moving about in my mind*, I will be understood to mean that *I am pondering* something at present. In a past narrative context, however, this will be understood to mean that *I was pondering* at the time of that particular "scene" in the story, as above in (t).

Writing System Comparison

Coastal Tlingit	Interior Tlingit	English
aawaxáa	àwaxhâ	he/she ate it
tléil awuxá tlél awuxá	tlêł awuxhá tlêł awuxhá	he/she didn't eat it
aawaxayi át	àwaxhayi át	thing he/she ate
akgwaxáa	akghwaxhâ	he/she will eat it
tléil akgwaxaa	tlêł akghwaxhà	he/she won't eat it
woogoot	wùgùt	he/she went
tléil wugoot	tlêł wugùt	he/she didn't go
yaa nagút	yà nagút	he/she is going (along)
yaa nagut káa	yà nagut khâ	man/person who is going (along)
gugagóot	gughagùt	he/she will go
tléil gugagoot	tlêł gughagùt	he/she will not go

Note

Note that in the Interior Tlingit it is easier to recognize the stem of the verb. For example, compare the stems of the verb, "for one to go".

In Coastal Tlingit the four stem variants are:
goot , góot , gut , gút .

But in Interior Tlingit all four forms are written with the same letters:
gùt , gût , gut , gút .
This makes it easier to recognize and read the words.

Note also that there is frequently variation in vowel length in (all) Tlingit. An example above is the negative word **tlêł** or **tlél** , English "not".

In Coastal Tlingit these must be written with different letters: **tléil** or **tlél**.

But in Interior Tlingit both forms are written with the same letters, the only difference is the accent mark: **tlêł** or **tléł**.

Tlingit Verb Modes

The Tlingit verb is extraordinarily rich in complexity. Tlingit has 12 **verb modes** indicating mood, tense, and the like. Only 11 of them are now used productively.

Mode	meaning	prefix(es)	Classifier[1]	suffix
Imperfective	does, is doing	–	(I-)	
Perfective	did	wu-	I-	
Perfective Habitual	does every time	**conj.-**		-ch
Future	will do, is going to do	ga- u- gha-		
Potential	might do, could do	u- **conj.-** gha-	I-	
Imperative	do!	**conj.-**		
Hortative	let (him/her/them/ us/me) do	**conj.-** gha-		(-i)
Admonitive	better not do	u- **conj.-**		
Past Conditional	after (s/he) did	**conj.-**		

---

[1] Most of the modes take the non-I-form of the classifier. Only four modes take the I-form of the classifier. The **Stative Imperfective** and the **Perfective** take the I-form of the classifier only in their ordinary affirmative forms. Their negative, decessive, prohibitive and subordinative forms take the non-I-form of the classifier. The **Potential** takes the I-form of the classifier in the affirmative and negative, but not in the decessive. The **Realizational** has been found only in the affirmative.

Mode	meaning	prefix(es)	Classifier[1]	suffix
Future Conditional	if / when (s/he) does	**conj.-**		-ni
Habitual Conditional	whenever (s/he) does	**conj.-** gha-		-(n)ín
Realizational	did	**conj.-**	I-	

Note: the **Realizational** mode is virtually obsolete in Modern Tlingit. Most examples come from songs.

Note

The Tlingit verb theme is an abstract formula that specifies the elements common to every form of the verb.

- The verb theme must have a **verb root**. Variable verb roots are indicated by a tilde ~ after the root. So for example the root .us'~ (wash) is variable, and can appear as .ús' , .us' or .ûs' .

- The verb theme must have a **classifier**, immediately before the stem, i.e. Ø, ł- , s- , sh- , D-, D-ł-, D-s-, D-sh- . Zero classifier is not written. Here is a chart showing the classifiers, their non-I-forms, and their I-forms.

Classifier	Ø	ł-	s-	sh-	D-	D-ł-	D-s-	D-sh-
non-I-form	zero	ł(a)-	s(a)-	sh(a)-	da-	ł-	s-	sh-
I-form	ẏa-	łi-	si-	shi-	di-	dli-	dzi-	ji-

- The verb theme may have **thematic prefix(es)** such as
  ka-, **ÿa-** , **ji-** , **xh'e-** among many others.

- The verb theme specifies **transitivity**, that is, whether the verb requires a
  subject, an **object**, both subject and object, or neither. The subject is indicated
  by __ and the object is indicated by O- . The subject __ comes after the
  thematic prefix(es), if any, and before the classifier. The object O- comes
  before the thematic prefix(es).

- At the end of the verb theme, in parentheses, we indicate the conjugation of the
  verb and whether it is a **state**, an **event**, or an **act**. So, for example, the verb for
  "wash" is labelled "(na act)"; that is, is takes na- conjugation and is an active
  verb.

We will illustrate the various forms of the verb using the theme for "wash":

Imperfective Mode

Verb theme: O- __.us'~ (na act)   __ washes O

Imperfective stem   .úsk

Imperfective:	a.ús'k	he/she is washing it *object = a- (it), subject = zero (he/she),* *root = us'~ (wash) , suffix = -k (repetitive)*
1st person sing.	xha.ús'k	I'm washing it *object = zero (it), subject = xha- (I)*
2nd person sing.	ì.ús'k	you (one) are washing it *object = zero (it), subject = ì- (you)*
3rd person sing.	a.ús'k	he/she is washing it *object = a-, subject = zero*
1st person pl.	tù.ús'k	we are washing it *object = zero (it), subject = tù- (we)*
2nd person pl.	yì.ús'k	you (guys) are washing it *object = zero (it), subject = yì- (you plural)*
3rd person pl.	has a.ús'k	they are washing it *object = zero (it), subject = zero,* *"has" indicates plural humans*
4th person (indefinite human)	du.ús'k	one (someone) is washing it *or* people are washing it *or* they are washing it *object = zero (it), subject = du- (indefinite* *human)*

Imperfective

Affirmative	a.ús'k	she/he is washing it
Negative	tlêł ù.ús'k	is not washing it *(a- u- → ù-)*
Decessive affirm.	a.ús'gin	was washing it
Decessive negative	tlêł ù.ús'gin	wasn't washing it
Prohibitive negative	łíł ù.ús'gikh łíł ì.ús'gikh	let him/her not wash it don't wash it
Subordinative affirm.	a.úsgi a.ús'gi-ch	as she is/was washing it because she is/was washing it
Subordinative neg.	ł ù.ús'gich a.ús'gi-dáxh	because she isn't/wasn't washing it after she was washing it, after she washed it

Perfective *(like the English past or perfect)*

Perfective marker: **wu-**

Note

The affirmative perfective takes the I- form of the classifier, i.e.
ÿa- , **łi-** , **si-** , **shi-** , **di-** , **dli-** , **dzi-** , **ji-** .

Perfective affirm.	àwa.ûs'	he/she washed it (a- wu- ÿa- .ûs') *object = a- (it), subject = zero (he/she),* *mode = wu- (perfective), classifier = ÿa-*
Perfective neg.	tlêł awu.ûs' tlêł uwa.ûs' (Teslin)	didn't wash it
Decessive affirm.	awu.ûs'in uwa.ûs'in (Teslin)	washed it (before something else happened but now it's dirty again)
Decessive neg.	tlêł awu.ûs'in tlêł uwa.ûs'in (Teslin)	she hadn't washed it (at the time)
	tlêł awu.ûs'in ûsh gí	if only she hadn't washed it /she shouldn't have washed it
Prohibitive neg. (2 sg)	łíł awu.ûs'ikh łíł uwa.ûs'ikh (Teslin)	Don't let him/her wash it!
	łíł yi.ûs'ikh	Don't wash it!
Subordinative **Perfective affirm.**	awu.ûs'i-ch uwa.ûs'i-ch (Teslin)	because she washed it
Subordinative **Perfective neg.**	ł awu.ûs'i-ch ł uwa.ûs'i-ch (Teslin)	because she didn't wash it

Notes

1. Teslin has the prefix combination **uwa-** where the rest of Tlingit has **awu-** .

2. The prohibitive particle is łíł ("don't ... !")

The negative particle is tłêł or tłéł ("not") in independent clauses, e.g.
   tłêł awu.ûs'   "she/he didn't wash it".

The negative particle is ł ("not") in dependent clauses, e.g.
   ł awu.ûs'ich   "because she/he didn't wash it".

Historical Note : łíł comes from łí or iłí ("don't!") plus ł negative.
                  tłêł comes from tłêk' ("no") plus ł negative.

3. Subordinative verb forms can take a number of postpositions, such as:

   -ch   because ...   **a.ús'gi-ch**   because she/he is washing it

   -dáxh   after ...   **a.ús'gi-dáxh**   after she/he was washing it
                                              after she/he washed it

   -de or -dé until ...   **a.ús'gi-dé**   until she/he washed it

   -náxh   during or around the time that ...
                             a.ús'gi-náxh   during the time that she/he
                                              was washing it

Future *(like the English future, meaning "will", "shall" or "going to" do something)*

Future markers: **ga-** **u-** **gha-**

Affirmative	akghwa.ûs'	will wash it, is going to wash it
Negative	tlêł akghwa.ûs'	won't wash it, isn't going to wash it
Decessive affirm.	akghwa.ûs'in	was going to wash it
Decessive neg.	tlêł akghwa.ûs'in	wasn't going to wash it
Subordinative affirm.	akghwa.ûs'i(ch)	because she is/was going to wash it
Subordinative neg.	ł akghwa.ûs'i(ch)	because she isn't/wasn't going to wash it

Akghwa.ûs'ich áwé tléł khut uwatì. (Teslin)

Because she was going to wash it, she didn't put it away.

Perfective Habitual ("every time", "always")

Negative Perfective Habitual ("not yet")

Perfective Habitual markers: conjugation, suffix **-ch**

Affirmative	ana.ûs'ch	she washes it (every time)
		(na = conjugation marker, -ch = habitual suffix)
Negative	tlêł ùna.ûs'ch	she hasn't washed it (yet)
Decessive affirm.	ana.ûs'jin	she used to wash it (every time)
Decessive neg.	tlêł ùna.ûs'jin	she hadn't washed it (yet)
Subordinative affirm.	ana.ûs'ji	when/after she would wash it
	ana.ûs'jich	because she would wash it
Subordinative neg.	ch'ùł ùna.ûs'ji	before she washes / washed it

Note

The Imperfective Habitual is formed by adding the auxiliary verb **nìch** (Coastal **nùch**) to the Imperfective. Compare, for example:

Perfective Habitual	ana.ús'ch	washes it (every time), always washes it
Imperfective Habitual	a.us'gi nìch	washes it (every time), is always washing it
Perfective Habitual negative	tlêł ùna.ús'ch	hasn't washed it yet
Imperfective Habitual negative	tlêł ù.us'gi nìch	doesn't wash it

The affirmative Imperfective Habitual means nearly the same thing as the affirmative Perfective Habitual: "(it happens) every time", but can also mean "(it is happening) every time".

The negative Imperfective Habitual, logically, means that something doesn't happen time after time. But the **negative Perfective Habitual** has an unexpected meaning: "not yet".

Potential ("might", "could", "would")

Potential markers: **u-** , **Conjugation**, **gha-**

Note

The potential takes the I- forms of the classifiers (but the decessive potential takes the non-I- forms).

Affirmative ⎫
Negative   ⎬   ùnghà.ûs'   he/she might wash it (not used
          ⎭   in Interior Tlingit)

a- u- na- gha- ẙa- .ûs'

tlêł   àdé ùnghà.ûs'i yé   (khùstí)
       ⎵_____⎵

literally   *not   a way that s/he might wash it   there exists*

i.e. there exists no way that s/he might wash it
(tlêł khùstí   "it doesn't exist; there is none")

                    she can't wash it / there's no way
                    she could / might wash it

tlêł   ùnghà.ûs'i át   (khùstí)
       ⎵_____⎵

literally   *not   a thing that s/he might wash   there exists*

                    she doesn't have anything to wash /
                    there's nothing for her to wash

tlêł   ùnghà.ûs'i khâ   (khùstí)
       ⎵_____⎵

literally   *not   a person that might wash it   there exists*

                    there's nobody to wash it

Decessive Potential   ùngha.ûs'in   she would have washed it

Dânà ûsh du jì yê tîyin, ùngha.ûs'in.
> If she had the money, she would /
> could / might have washed it.

Imperative

Imperative marker: **Conjugation**

The singular Imperative has no subject prefix before the classifiers Ø, ł- ,
s- , sh- , but the subject prefix i- (you) occurs before D- , D-ł- , D-s- ,
D-sh- . The plural Imperative always has yi- (you guys).

sing.	na.ûs'	wash it!
pl.	nạy.ûs' (Teslin)	wash it (you guys)!
	nay.us'	

Note

In Teslin,
nay.ûs' is pronounced nạy.ûs' , just as
tày ("fat") is pronounced tạy and
gàw ("drum; clock") is pronounced gạw .

Hortative Mode *(exhortation: "let ...")*

Hortative markers: **Conjugation, gha-**

Affirmative	angha.ûs'	let her wash it	
	a- na- gha- .ûs'		
	naxhtù.ûs'	let's wash it	
	na- gha- tù- .ûs'		
1 sing.	nakha.ûs'		
	na - gha - xha- .ûs'		
4	naxhdu.ûs'	let it be washed	
	na - gha - du- .ûs'		

Hortative with -t or yís ("in order to")

Affirmative	angha.ûs'it	so that she/he can wash it
	angha.ûs'i yís	
Negative	ł ùngha.ûs'it	so that she/he not wash it
	ł ùngha.ûs'i yís	so that she/he wouldn't wash it

Conditional Modes

Past Conditional – paired with Perfective

Future Conditional – paired with Future

Habitual Conditional – paired with Habitual

Perfective   Nà.át àwa.ûs'.   She washed clothes.

Past Conditional   Ana.ûs' àwé dàk wusitán.
                         When / After she washed them, it rained.

Future   Nà.át akghwa.ûs'.   She will wash clothes.

Future Conditional   Ana.ús'ni áwé aguxhsaxûk.
                         When / If she washes them, she'll dry them.

Habitual Perfective Nà.át ana.ûs'ch.   She washes clothes. (usually)

Habitual Conditional Angha.ús'ín áwé ùsxùkch.
                         Whenever she washes them, she dries them.

Admonitive Mode *(warning: "better not, be careful not to...")*

Admonitive marker: **u- Conjugation**

Admonitive with tsé meaning "had better not ..."

Nì.ûs' tsé !	You'd better not wash it.
Ùna.ûs' tsé !	She/he'd better not wash it.
Kùłkîs' tsé wé xh'an !	You'd better not let the fire go out! (Watch out;) don't let the fire go out!

Note

Łíł ì.ús'gikh.	Don't wash it.
Łíł ù.ús'gikh.	Don't let her wash it.

Admonitive with -ghâ meaning "lest ..." or "so that ... not ..."

Ùna.ûs'ghâ áwé khut àwa.àxh.
> Lest she wash it, he put it away.
> He put it away so she wouldn't wash it.

Kùk'îs'ghà áwé gán nèł ayamłi.át.
> Lest the fire go out, she brought in firewood.
> She brought in firewood so the fire wouldn't go out.

Realizational (an obsolete verb mode found mainly in songs)

Realizational marker: **Conjugation**

Note

The Realizational is very rare, almost never found in Interior Tlingit. It requires the I- form of the classifier.

Yê nàtî, ànkhâwu xhat ghashâ.
> Let it be that a rich man marries me.
> (Yê nàtî is a fixed phrase, meaning "Let it be", an old Realizational)

Realizational	"Dàk gałis'îs du tùwú i Yêłi." *"Let your Raven's mind blow out to sea."*
Perfective	Dàk wułis'ís. It blew out. (into the open, into open water)
Progressive	Dàk nałs'ís. It is blowing out.
Progressive	Yà (ha)s na.át. They are walking along.
Prog. Realizational (Coastal)	Dèshgí yà s gà.ât, dèshgí yà s gà.ât. They walked and they walked.
Prog. Realizational (Interior)	Dèshgí yà s ga.ât. They finally came.

Realizational (cont)

Perfective (Interior)   Yamtuwadlàkh.   We made it / we got there / we
Perfective (Coastal)   Yawtuwadlàkh.   arrived.

Realizational   Yantuwadlâkh !   We finally made it!

Past Conditional (Teslin) dèshgí yantùdlâkh

                              when we finally made it

Realizational   "Axh łiłak'w hás hídi a nákh yê naxhdzigît"
(from song)   "I have put my grandfathers' house
                                     behind me"

Perfective   a nákh yê xhwdzigìt
                                    "I have put it behind me"
                                    literally, "I have moved away from it"

An example of an event verb

dàk s-tan~ (event)   "it rains"

Perfective	dàk wusitán	it's raining, it rained
Decessive	dàk wustànín	it was raining (but not any more)
Future (will)	dàk guxhsatân	it will rain, it's going to rain
Decessive	dàk guxhsatànín	it was going to rain
Perfective habitual (every time)	dàk ustànch	it rains (every time)
Decessive	dàk ustànjín	it used to rain (every time)
Potential (might, could)	tlêł àdé dàk uxhsitàni yé (khùstí)	it can't rain
Decessive	dàk uxhsatànín	it might have rained
Imperative (command)	dàk satán !	Rain!
	dàk satàn !	Rain! (for an extended period of time)
Hortative (let ... !)	dàk ghasatàn !	Let it rain!

Admonitive (warning)	dàk ustân tsé !	It must not rain. / It better not rain.
	dàk ustânghà	lest it rain
Past Conditional	dàk satân (áwé)	when / after it rained ...
Future Conditional	dàk satánni (áwé)	when / if it rains ...
Habitual Conditional	dàk ghasatánín (áwé)	whenever it rains ...

Compound (Composite) Modes

The compound modes are formed by means of a small group of auxiliary verbs that follow the main verb. These are:

Habitual   nìch (Coastal nùch)

Past Conditional   nîkw / nûk "after ... (in the past)"

Future Conditional   níkwni / núkni "when/if ... (in the future)"

Habitual Conditional ghanígún / ghanúgún "whenever ... (every time)"

Only **Imperfective** and **Future** verb forms can be followed by these auxiliary verbs. In this way we can construct eight compound modes (four Imperfective and four Future).

Imperfective Habitual Imperfective + nìch	a.us'gi nìch	washes it (every time)
Decessive + nìjín	a.us'gi nìjín	
Imperfective Past Conditional imperf + nîkw / nûk	a.us'gi nûk	after she washed it ...
Imperfective Future Conditional imperf. + níkwni / núkni	a.us'gi núkni	when / if she washes it ...

Imperfective Habitual Conditional imperf. + ghanígún / ghanúgún	a.us'gi ghanúgún (áwé)	whenever she washes it ...
Future Habitual future + nìch	akghwa.us' nìch	is always going to wash it
Decessive .future + nìjín	akghwa.us' nìjín	was going to wash it (every time)
Future-in-the-Past Conditional	akghwa.us' nûk (áwé)	when she was going to wash it ...
Future-in-the-Future Conditional	akghwa.us' núkni (áwé)	if she is going to wash it ...
Future-in-the-Habitual Conditional	akghwa.us' ghanúgún	whenever she is going to wash it ...

Epiaspects - Progressive

Introduction

The **Progressive** refers to motion in progress, an event in progress, or a state coming into being.

yà nagút	is going (along)
yà nashíx	is running (along)
yà anajákh	is killing it
yà anał.át	is carrying them (along)
dàk nastán	it's starting to rain (dàk wusitán - it's raining)
yà anatîn	is carrying it (along)
kè nak'ên	is getting good / better
yà anaskwên	is getting to know it (awsikû - knows it)
yà anaxhên	is going along eating it (axhá - is eating it)

The Progressive must begin with a directional **preverb**, usually **yà**, **yè**, or **kè**, (but others may occur as well, such as **dàk** .) If the verb root ends in a consonant, the progressive stem is high short. If the verb root ends in a vowel, the progressive stem is high long with suffix **-n**.

Progressive (cont)

The Progressive is not a mode, but a higher category (epiaspect) which combines with the various modes. (However, there is no Progressive Perfective.) The **Progressive Imperfective** marker is **na-** . The progressive marker for the rest of the modes is **ga-** (often contracted to **k-** , this replaces the conjugation marker.) The conjugation of the verb is instead indicated by the choice of directional preverb:

Conjugation marker	Preverb in the progressive
zero	yà
na-	yà
gha-	yè
ga-	kè

Example of Progressives - to go along

Progressive Imperfective	yà **na**gút	is going (walking along)
No Progressive Perfective		
Progressive Future	yà **k**ghwagût _ga + u + gha + long high stem_	will go / walk along
Progressive Habitual	yà **ga**gútch	goes, walks along (all the time); is always going, walking along

Example of Progressives - to go along (cont)

Progressive Potential

tl. àdé yà **k**ghwàgùdi
yé (khùstí)

can't be walking along/
can't continue walking
along

Progressive Imperative

yà **ga**gú

walk along! keep walking!

Progressive Hortative

yà **k**ghagùt

let him/her walk along/
keep walking

Progressive Admonitive

yà **g**ùgût tsé

she/he better not keep
walking

Progressive Past Conditional

yà **ga**gût (áwé) ...

when she/he went along
... / after she/he went
along ...

Progressive Future Conditional

yà **ga**gûtni (áwé) ...

when she/he goes along
... / if she/he goes along
...

Progressive Habitual Conditional

yà **k**ghagudín (áwé) ...

whenever she/he goes
along ...

Types of Imperfectives

Introduction

There are many varieties of imperfectives. Many have stems with no suffix, but many have **imperfective suffixes**:

-xh ,   -ch ,   -k(w) ,   -t ,   -s' ,   -x'(w) ,   -t'

-xh	repeated acts, repeated attempts
-ch	repeated acts (with preverbs such as **yè** and **kè**)
-k or **-kw**	repeated acts (with **yù** ; in a few verbs without **yù**)
-t	repeated blows (repeatedly hitting, striking, shooting)
-s'	persistent acts (such as sewing, sifting, shaking out, rubbing, explaining, exhorting)
-x' or **-x'w**	multiple acts or acting on multiple objects/people
-t'	multiple acts or acting on multiple objects/people

basic Imperfective	a.ús'k	is washing
repetitive Imperfective	a.ús'xh	keeps washing it
	ch'a ghéghà a.ús'xh	keeps washing it in vain (it just keeps getting dirty again)

Types of Imperfectives (cont)

Perfective	amłisín	hid it
Progressive	yà anałsín	is hiding it (Progressive Imperfective)
repetitive with -xh	ałsínxh, ałsínch	keeps hiding it
multiple with -x'	ałsínx'	is hiding (several, one here, one there)

Perfective	wùnà	died
Progressive	yà nanân	is dying
repetitive with -kw	yù yanâkw	keeps dying
	ł yù uwanâgu à	immortal one (one that never dies)
multiple with -t'	has nât'	they are dying off, one after another

Types of Imperfectives (cont)

Each of these suffixed Imperfective verbs can generate its own set of modes, using the suffixed stem of the Imperfective. The conjugation marker of such derived Imperfective verbs is **na-** . For example:

	"burn O"		"burn O repeatedly, keep burning O"	"burn multiple O"
Imperfective		is burning it	asgánxh	asgánt'
Future	aguxhsagân	will burn it	aguxhsagánxh	aguxhsagánt'
Imperative	sagán	burn it!	**na**sganxh	**na**sgánt'
Hortative	ghatusagàn	let's burn it!	**na**xhtusagánxh	**na**xhtusagánt'

Future	xhat sagaxhdu.âxh	people will hear my voice
Future repetitive	xhat sagaxhdu.áxhch	people will keep hearing my voice

Verbs of Striking

Perfective	àwagwáł	punched it / her / him (once)
repetitive Imperfective with -t	agwáłt	punches it/him/her repeatedly; keeps punching it/him/her (with a series of blows)
repetitive Imperfective with -xh	agwáłxh	keeps punching it; keeps trying to punch it
Perfective	àwa.ún	shot it
repetitive Imperfective with -t	a.únt	shoots (at) it repeatedly; keeps shooting (at) it (with a series of shots)
repetitive Imperfective with -xh	a.únxh	keeps trying to shoot it
Perfective	àwadzû	hit it (by throwing something at it)
repetitive Imperfective with -t	adzèt	throws things (such as stones) at it repeatedly; keeps throwing things at it (with a series of throws)
repetitive Imperfective with -xh	adzèxh	keeps trying to hit it by throwing things at it

Verbs of Missing

Perfective   ayamłigwáłxhà   missed it (by punching, striking)

Perfective   ayamsi.únxhà   missed it (by shooting)

Perfective   ayamłidzêxhà   missed it (by throwing something at it)

Body part nouns incorporated into the verb

With some verbs, a noun referring to a body part may be incorporated into the verb as a prefix. For example, the noun yá "face" may be incorporated into the theme:

    O- __ - .us'~ (na act)   " __ washes O" ,

to give a new theme with ya- inserted after the object   (O-)

    O- ya- __ - .us'~ (na act)   " __ washes O's face".

Imperfective	aya.ús'k	is washing his/her face (i.e. someone else's face)
Perfective	ayàwa.ûs'	washed his/her face (i.e. someone else's face)
Imperative	yana.ûs'	wash his/her face! (i.e. someone else's face)

You can also say du yá a.us'k , du yá àwa.ûs' , du yá na.ûs' , where the body part noun is not incorporated into the verb.

From such verbs we can also form themes referring to **acting on one's own body**. Such themes have no object: instead, the D- form of the classifier is used to denote **acting on oneself**. So, for example, we find

    ya- __ D- .us'~ (na act)   " __ washes his/her own face".

Imperfective	yada.ús'k	is washing his/her (own) face
Perfective	yawdi.ûs'	washed his/her (own) face
Imperative	yanida.ûs'	wash your face!

You can also say du jín a.ús'k , du jín àwa.ûs' , i jín na.ûs' , where the body part is not incorporated.

Body part nouns incorporated into the verb (cont)

Note that in jinida.ûs', the subject i- (you) is required before the D- classifier.

ya - face	i yá na.ûs'	wash your face!
	yanida.ûs'	wash your (own) face!
	ya- (face) na- (conjugation) i- (you) da- (classifier) .ûs'	
	yana.ûs'	wash his/her face!
ji - hand(s)	jinida.ûs'	wash your hands!
xh'us - foot/feet	xh'usnida.ûs'	wash your feet!
dà - body	dànida.ûs'	wash your body!
sha head	shanida.ûs'	wash your hair!

As another example, from the theme

O- __ ł- xash ~ (na act)   "__ cuts O" (long, flexible object(s) such as hair or grass)

we get

O- sha- __ ł- xash ~ (na act)   "__ cuts O's hair, __ gives O a haircut"

Imperfective	ashałaxáshk	is cutting his/her hair (someone else's hair)
Perfective	ashawłixàsh	cut his/her hair (someone else's hair)
Imperative	shanałxàsh	cut his/her hair!

Body part nouns incorporated into the verb (cont)

For cutting one's own hair, we get

sha- __ D- ł- xash ~ (na act)   " __ cuts his/her own hair"

                                  " __ gives self a haircut"

Imperfective   shałxáshk   is cutting his/her (own) hair

Perfective   shawdlixàsh   cut his/her (own) hair

Imperative   shanìłxàsh   cut your hair!

Here again, the noun doesn't have to be incorporated. So the following sentences mean the same thing:

Axh shá nałxàsh. ⎫   Cut my hair!

Xhat shanałxàsh. ⎬   Give me a haircut!

Some Incorporated Body Parts

noun	meaning	incorporated form	example	meaning
du yá	his/her face	ya-	yaghwênà	"face-wiper" face cloth
du jín	his/her hand	ji-	jighwênà	"hand-wiper" hand towel
du łú	his/her nose	łu-	łughwênà	"nose-wiper" handkerchief
du xh'é	his/her mouth	xh'a-	xh'aghwênà	"mouth-wiper" napkin
du dà	his/her body	dà-	* dàghwênà	"body-wiper" bath towel

Note: xh'a- is underlyingly xh'e- , as we see when it is lengthened, e.g.

axh'a.ús'k   is washing his/her face

but

tléł axh'è.ús'k   is not washing his/her face

Some noun compounds

du dà	his/her body
a dà	its circumference, "around it"
du yadà	around his/her face
a shú	end of it
a shuyadà	around the end of it,
a shuwadà	circumventing it
a shuwadànáxh yàwagút	went around it (an obstacle)

Some noun compounds (cont)

du xh'ashuyadànáxh yàwagút   went around not to disturb his speech (literally, around the end of his/her mouth)

du jishuyadànáxh yàwagút   went around his/her workplace

a shûdáxh wùgùt   went out before the end of it

a shût â   "sitting at the end of it" i.e. sitting down to it

coffee shût â   sitting down to coffee

kâyakhijèt   chair

from

a kâ yè akhich át   "the thing on which people sit"

daxh'kâÿakhijèt   horse (obsolete word)

from

a daxh'kâ yè akhich át   "the thing on the back of which people sit"

The modern forms of these words are:

kâkhajèt	chair (Teslin)
kâyaghijèt	chair (Coastal)
gamdân	horse (Teslin)
gawdân	horse (Coastal)

Introduction to Noun Classes

Many Tlingit verbs also have different themes referring to different classes of objects, based on their physical appearance, their feel, and differences in the way they are handled. The verb of washing that we are studying here is one of these verbs.

The basic verb theme is modified in two different ways to indicate the class of objects.

1. If the classifier is zero or D- , the classifier component s- or ł- is added to the basic classifier to indicate that the object is "complex", specifically that it is:

> - an object with many strands (such as rope, seaweed, hair, grass or animal flesh), or
> - an object that branches out at one or both ends (such as a branch, a feather or an arrow), or
> - an object that has one or more lines/strings/ropes attached to it (such as an anchor, a fishing pole, or a spear or harpoon with a line attached), or
> - an object that is made up of many pieces joined or woven together (such as a ladder, a fence, or a woven basket or bag), or
> - a long flexible pole or a long skinny tree (such as a willow).

To indicate this class of "complex" objects, the classifier changes as follows:

> zero ⟹ ł-   or s-
>
> D-   ⟹ D-ł- or D-s-

2. The second way to modify the basic theme is to add one or more prefix. By far the most common prefix is **ka-** .

> **ka-** , referring to one or more small round objects (such as berries, fish eggs, eggs, pebbles, marbles, or pennies), or to small objects with round heads (such as pins, tacks, or nails)
>
> **wakh-ka-** , referring specifically to a hoop or hoop-like object
>
> **ji-ka- plus s/ł-** , referring specifically to a long flexible object (such as a rope, string or long slender pole).

As seen in the following verb, the prefix **ka-** may be combined with the addition of **s/ɫ-** to the classifier so as to refer to a string of small round objects (such as a string of beads, fish eggs in their skein, or a net line with buoys).

Verbs of washing different kinds of objects

		she/he washed the ...
àwa.ûs' wé	kayàní	leaves
	nà.át	clothing
	x'ûw	blanket
	té	stone

ɫ- classifier refers to a long flexible object, a strand, or an object with multiple strands or branchings

amɫi.ûs' wé	tíx'	rope
	ɫàkh'ásk	seaweed
	dûx	sinew (soft & flexible)
	t'àw	feather
	dlìy	meat

ka- refers to (1) small round objects or (2) a container

akàwa.ûs' wé	gúx'à	cup
	s'íx'	plate, dish
	kùch'êt'à	ball
	k'wát'	egg
	kh'wátl	pot, cooking pan
	kùt'âx'à	marble
	tlêkhw	berry, berries

ka-ł- refers to a strand of small round objects

akamłi.ûs' wé	kahâkw	(skein of) fish eggs
	sèt	necklace (string of beads)
axhùwa.ûs' wé	s'íx'	dishes

Addendum

	he washed her ...
ayàwa.ûs'	face
ajìwa.ûs'	hands
ashàwa.ûs'	head / hair
adàwa.us'	(whole) body

Verbs of eating different kinds of objects

		she/he ate the ...
àwaxhâ wé	sakwnên	bread, bannock
	xhât	fish
	xhât xh'úxhu	fish flesh
amsixhâ wé	dlìy	meat
	wasûs dlìyí	beef (cow flesh)
	t'ási	grayling
	łàkh'ásk	seaweed
	candy	candy (out of a bag)

		she/he ate the ...
· khusaxha khwân		cannibal, "person-eating tribe"
akàwaxhâ wé	x'âx'	apple
	k'wát'	egg
	tlêkhw	berry / berries / fruit
	k'únts'	potato
	kûx	rice
akamsixhâ wé	kahâkw	fish eggs
Coastal - kakashxhá Interior - kasxhá		is eating berries off the bush
kamdzixhâ		ate berries off the bush

Verbs of cooking different kinds of objects

As another example, let us take the verb

O- Ø- .i   (Ø conjugation)   "O gets cooked, O cooks (as food)"

It is cooked

uwa.î   of ordinary objects

wusi.î   of complex objects, such as seaweed, spaghetti
                              or animal flesh

kàwa.î   of small round objects, such as eggs, peas, or
                              potatoes

kawsi.î   of a string of small round objects, such as a
                              skein of fish eggs

The causative form of this verb is

O- __.s- .i   (Ø conjugation)   "__ cooks O"

Since this causative theme already has the classifier **s-** , it can be modified only
by adding the prefix **ka-** .

She/he cooked it

awsi.î   of ordinary objects or of complex objects

akawsi.î   of small round objects or a string of small round
                              objects

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SEPTEMBER 11-13, 2006

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SCHEDULE

	Monday Sep 11	Tuesday Sep 12	Wednesday Sep 13

9:00	Opening Prayer - Ida Calmegane
	
	Alphabet
	
	History of Writing Systems
		Verb Modes (cont):
		    Potential
		    Imperative
			Review of Simple Verb Modes

10:45	History of Writing Systems (cont)	Verb Modes (cont): Hortative	Composite Modes Progressives
noon	lunch	lunch	lunch

1:00	Verb Modes:
	    Imperfective
	    Perfective
		Verb Modes (cont):
		    Circumstantial
		    Admonitive
			Types of Imperfectives

2:45	Verb Modes (cont):
	    Future
		Verb Modes (cont):
		    Realizational
		    Progressive
		
		Verbs of Washing
		
		Verbs of Eating	

TLINGIT VOWEL CHART

T - Teslin, C - Carcross, A - Atlin

The basic Tlingit vowels are **a, e, i** and **u**. An **o** occurs sometimes in borrowed words and interjections.

The vowels can be long or short and can have either high or low tone.

short low	short high	long low	long high
(no mark)	´	`	^
ch'**a** *just*	**á** *that, there*	**à , ą̀** *yes*	**â** *sitting, lake*
d**e** *already*	t**é** *rock*	d**è** *trail, road*	d**ê** *enough*
i *your*	ł**í** *don't*	d**ì** *tea*	**î** *yuck!*
ts**u** *again*	ts**ú** *also, too*	gish**ù** (T, A) gesh**ù** (C) *pig*	nàsh**û** *extends*
	h**ó** h**ó** *thank you*		ah**ô** *I don't want to* *(coast: I understand)*

Tlingit Consonant Chart

	Labial (lips)	Alveolar (tongue tip behind teeth)				Velar (middle of tongue against roof of mouth)	Velar rounded	Uvular (back of tongue touches uvula at back of throat)	Uvular rounded	Glottal (vocal chords)	Glottal rounded (rare) (Note: 2)
Stops (stop off the breath)											
Plain		**dâ** *weasel*	**dlèt** *snow*	**dzèt** *ladder, bridge, stairs*	**jâji** *snowshoes*	**gán** *firewood*	**gwêł** *bag*	**ghâ** *(raven call)*	**łaghwán** *tie it into a bow*	**nay.á** *(you folks) go!*	**ana.wèch** *(usually) wears it*
Aspirated (followed by a puff of air)		**tá** *sleep*	**tlâ** *mother*	**tsâts** *bear root, hedysarum*	**chàn** *mother-in-law*	**kâni** *brother/sister-in-law*	**kwêy** *mark, landmark*	**khâ** *man*	**khwân** *people from ___*		
Glottalized (released with a popping sound)		**t'á** *king salmon*	**tl'átk** *earth, ground*	**ts'ats'î** *bird*	**ch'âk'** *eagle*	**k'ínk'** *fermented fish heads*	**k'wát'** *egg (not fish egg)*	**kh'atèł** *pitcher*	**kh'wátl** *pot*		
Fricatives (breath flows through narrow opening creating friction)											
Plain		**łûł** *fireweed*	**sà** *name*	**shà** *mountain*	**xíxch'** *frog*	**xwê** *whew!*	**xhát** *me, I*	**xhwàgùt** *I went*	**hás** *they, them*	**yà-nahwên** *is swimming along*
Glottalized (with vocal chords closed)		**ł'àk** *dress*	**s'ìkh** *smoke, cigarette*		**x'âx'** *apple*	**x'wán** *longjohns*	**xh'é** *mouth*	**xh'wâł'** *down feathers*		
Sonorants (softer, you can sing them continuously)											
Nasal (vibration through nasal cavity)	**mâ-sá?** *how?* (Note 2)	**ná'** *here; take it*									
Nonnasal	**wàkh** *eye*		**dalèyí** *trout*	**yá** *this*							

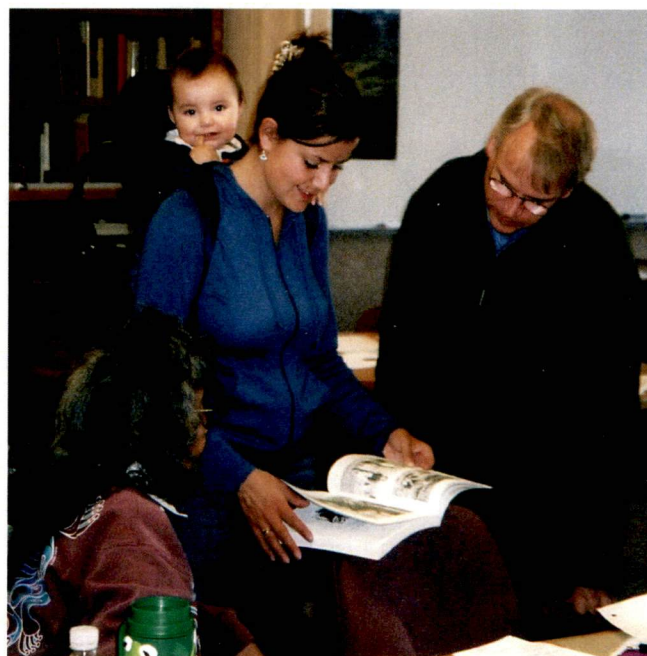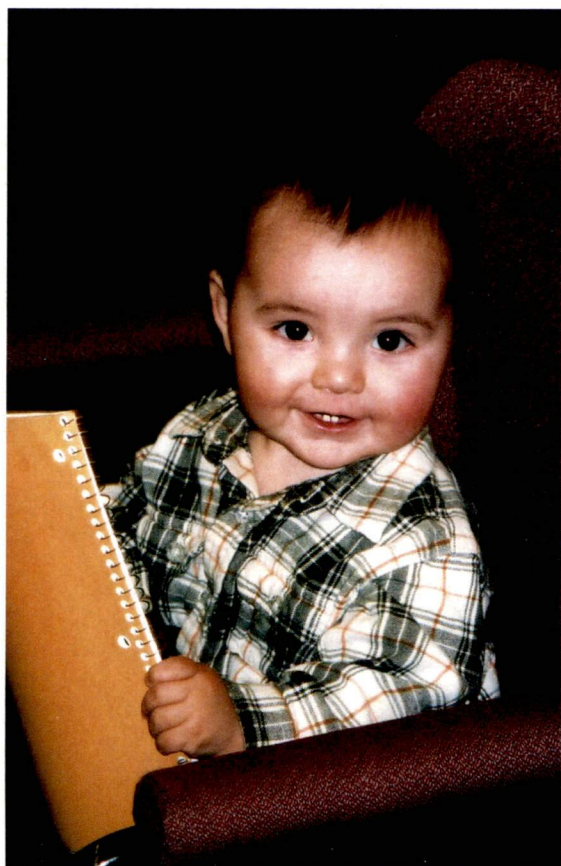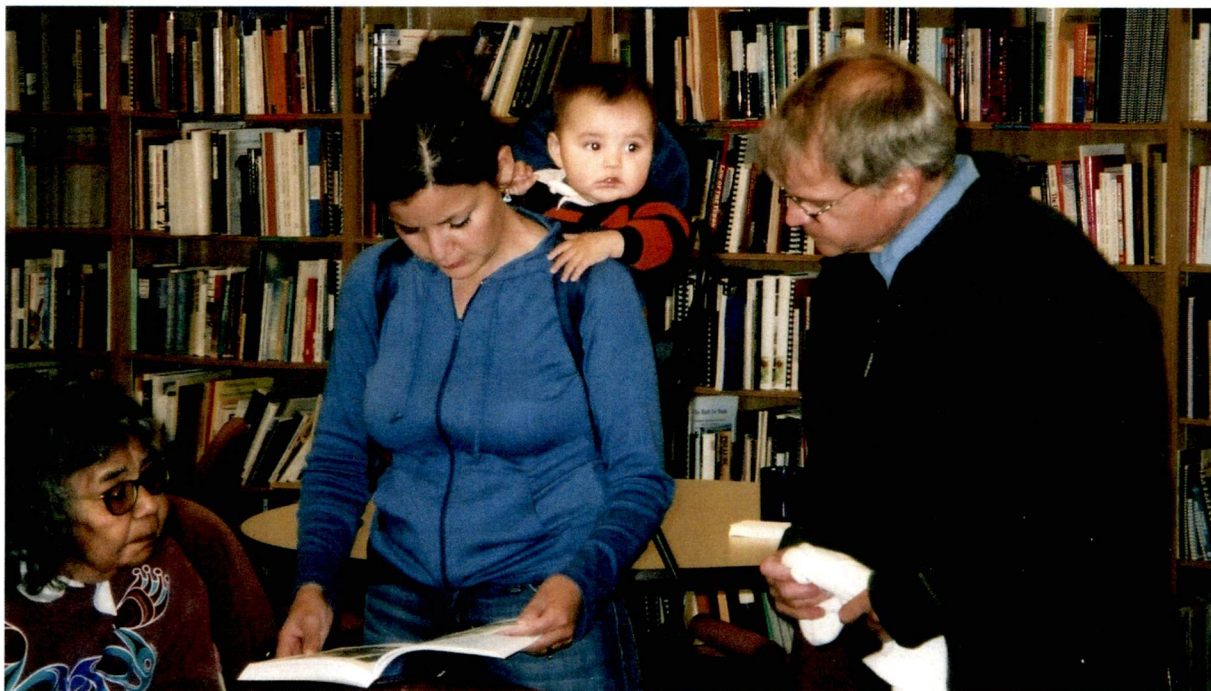•Note 1: rounded *w* and *hw* do not occur in the Teslin dialect
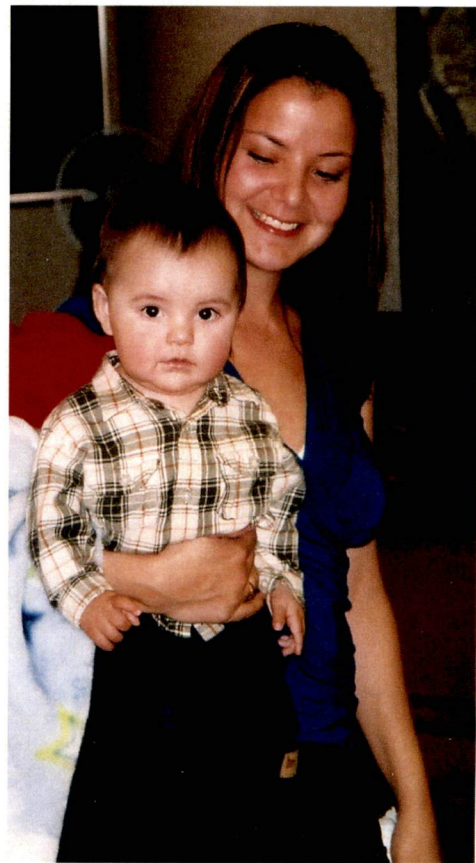
*Note 2: *m* does not occur in the Carcross dialect
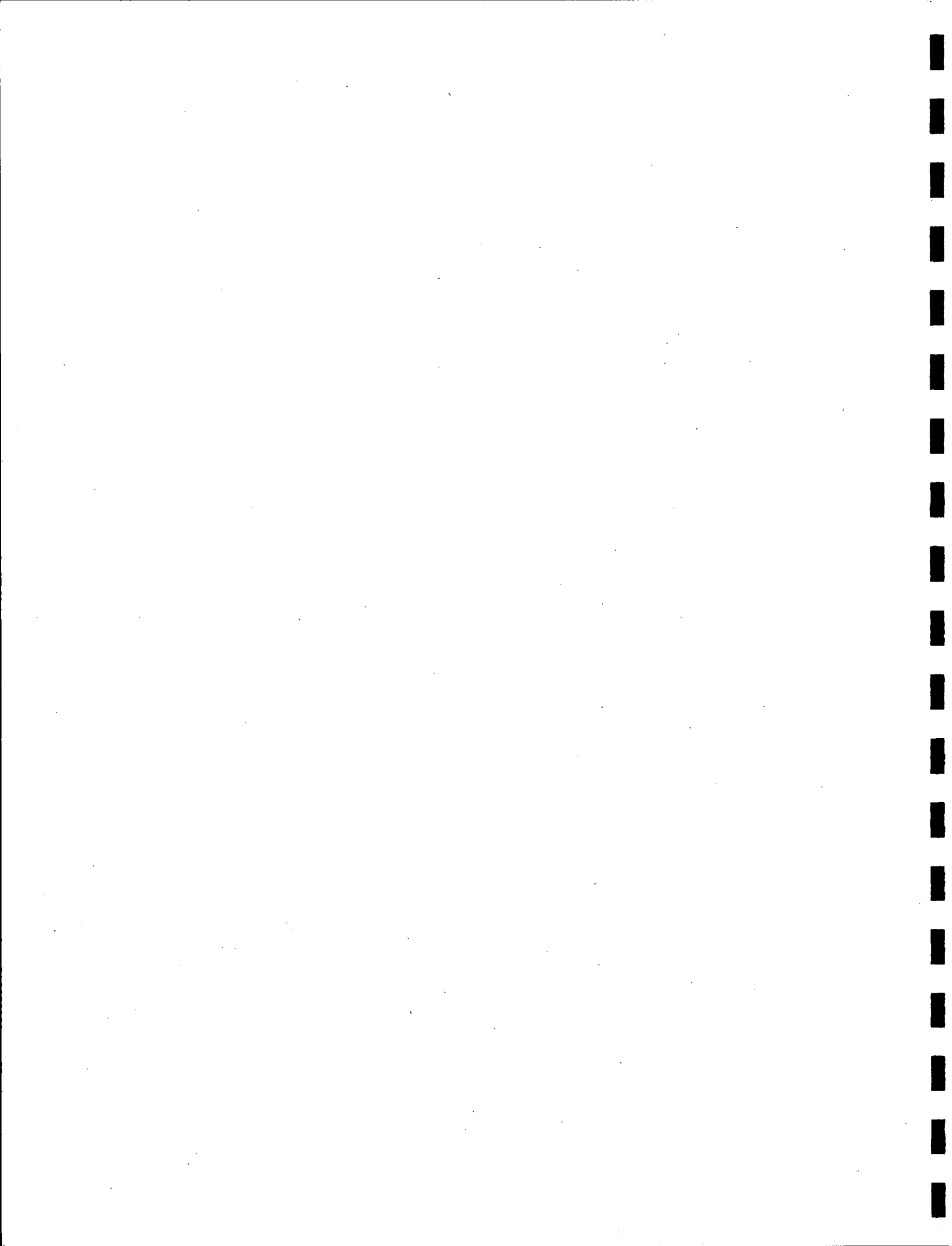
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