

Tlingit Verbal Structure Handbook

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Dzétwsh

Kaakáak'w Hít Deisheetaan, S'iknax-ádt'y, S'itax'héen Kwáan

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Verb theme	Object class	Example nouns
<i>O-S-[θ]-√ti</i>	general generic	<i>té</i> 'rock', <i>x'áax'</i> 'book' <i>tákl</i> 'hammer', <i>téel</i> 'shoe'
<i>O-ka-S-[θ]-√ti</i>	small round	<i>gít</i> 'dime', <i>x'áax'</i> 'apple' <i>k-wát'</i> 'egg', <i>kanóót</i> 'bead'
<i>O-S-[s]-√ti</i>	frame-like; internal parts	<i>káayakíjeit</i> 'chair', <i>séek</i> 'belt'
<i>O-ka-S-[s]-√ti</i>	string mass; woven container	<i>xáaw</i> 'hair'; <i>gwéil</i> 'bag', <i>kákaw</i> 'basket'
	round frame-like	<i>kéés</i> 'bracelet'
	string of small round	<i>seit</i> 'necklace', <i>kanóót</i> 'bead'
<i>O-ji-S-[s]-√ti</i>	string mass with ends	<i>tás</i> 'thread', <i>kaxéés</i> 'wire'
<i>O-ji-ka-S-[θ]-√ti</i>	coiled rope-like	<i>táx'</i> 'rope', <i>kakéin</i> 'yam'
<i>O-ji-ka-S-[s]-√ti</i>	uncoiled rope-like	<i>táx'</i> 'rope', <i>kakéin</i> 'yam'
<i>O-S-[θ]-√tan</i>	empty container	<i>gúx'aa</i> 'cup', <i>gaaw</i> 'drum', <i>k'wát'</i> 'pot'
<i>O-ka-S-[θ]-√tan</i>	bone/wooden; container	<i>kéit'u</i> 'pickaxe'; <i>kóok</i> 'box'
	stick-like	<i>káas</i> 'stick'
<i>O-S-[s]-√tan</i>	stick-like	<i>xít'aa</i> 'broom', <i>ónaa</i> 'rifle'
<i>O-ka-S-[s]-√tan</i>	bone/wooden with handle	<i>jáaji</i> 'snowshoe'; <i>cháash</i> 'bough'
	small stick-like	<i>kooxéédaa</i> 'pencil', <i>táax'ál</i> 'needle'
	small stick-like	<i>uxganakáas</i> 'match', <i>gáax'w</i> 'herring eggs'
<i>O-S-[s]-√in</i>	full container	<i>gúx'aa</i> 'cup', <i>tléikw</i> 'berries'
	full container	<i>kwás</i> 'aged urine'
<i>O-S-[θ]-√ax</i>	fabric	<i>jigwéinaa</i> 'towel', <i>k'oodás</i> 'shirt'
<i>O-S-[l]-√na</i>	flat flexible	<i>gáach</i> 'mat', <i>atdoogú</i> 'skin', <i>x'óow</i> 'blanket'
	flat flexible bundle	<i>jigwéinaa</i> 'towels'
<i>O-S-[s]-√ta</i>	dead animal	<i>xaat</i> 'fish', <i>gawakaaan</i> 'deer', <i>cháat'</i> 'halibut'
<i>O-S-[s]-√nuk</i>	live animal	<i>káax'</i> 'chicken'

Table 56: Selected list of handling verbs in Tlingit. The first row of each pair is from Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 2002, the second from Leer, Hitch, & Ritter 2001. Single rows are from Story & Naish 1973 not given elsewhere.

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This handbook is a summary of various aspects of Tlingit grammar and grammatical analysis in tabular and graphical form. It is abstracted from work by Naish and Story (1966, 1972, 1973, etc.), Leer (1978, 1991, etc.), Cable (2008, 2010, etc.), and from my own research. The tables and figures are identical with those in my *Basics of Tlingit Verbal Structure* manuscript, with the exact same files used to produce both.

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

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

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

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

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

Sfx.	Stem	Pg.	Root	Stem meaning
	<i>gúgu</i>		<i>gúk_n</i>	have ear or loop
	<i>geiwú</i>	91	<i>gei ?</i>	dipnet
-i	<i>jini</i>	S66:54	<i>jín_n</i>	have arms or sleeves
	<i>koodzi</i>	320	<i>kooli ?</i>	be amazing, awesome
	<i>leedi</i>	S66:54	<i>leeti_n</i>	have a tail or handle
	<i>sacyí</i>	301	<i>saa₂</i>	have an important name
	<i>tleik'ú</i>	310		make string figures
	<i>x'ooosi</i>		<i>x'ooosi_n</i>	have feet or legs
	<i>s'óoskw</i>	303		pinch with fingers and thumb
	<i>tlékwk</i>	311	<i>tleikw ?</i>	be greedy, eat fast, eat like a pig
-k	<i>tl'áinkw</i>	312	<i>tl'oon</i>	murmur, grumble (< REP)
	<i>xwáchk</i>	328	<i>xwaaach</i>	be paralyzed by sickness
	<i>káchk</i>	336	<i>kaach</i>	be lame, limp
-(a)ch'	<i>geig'ách'</i>	332	<i>gelí₂</i>	swing
	<i>seew'ch'ákw</i>	S66:56	<i>seew_n</i>	tasteless, rain-flavoured
-dl'	<i>néegwál'</i>	280		paint; make jam, preserve fruit
-gdákw	<i>seig'ákw</i>	300	<i>saa₂</i>	regain breath, get one's wind back
-nás	<i>kéenas'</i>	334	<i>kei₁</i>	in-law property exchange
-nás'	<i>xaanás'</i>	334	<i>xaa₂</i>	travel by raft
-dt'	<i>tléekát'</i>	311	<i>tleen ?</i>	thread stick through to stiffen
-x'	<i>ch'áach'x'</i>	307	<i>chaach'</i>	be spotted (inanimate) (< REP)

Table 55: Even more verbs with -2 derivational suffixes in Naish & Story 1973. x_n noun.

Sfx. Stem	Pg.	Root	Stem meaning
.éiyákw	265	.eikʔ	have a useless/injured limb
nóox'ákw	283	nóox' _n	remove shell, esp. from gumboots
ch'éyákw	306	ch'eeʔ	be slow
-ákw t'éilákw	311	t'eil' _n	remove milt from fish
geyákw	332	gei' _n	scoop out, esp. from clamshell
xaayákw	340	xaaw	shed hair, esp. of animal in spring
xoonaákw	S66:56	xoonʔ	drowning?
seewch'ákw	S66:56	seew' _n	tasteless, rain-flavoured
héixwaa	271	heexw	make magic, perform positive rites
wéinaa	278	woo2	powder face; have face powdered
t'áax'aa	296	t'aax'	play with marbles
t'ájaa	296	t'aach	play at swimming
ts'igwaa	299	ts'eek	be a delicate issue, require diplomacy
-aa ts'f(s)x(w)aa	300		sneeze (onomatopoetic?)
ch'éit'aa	306	ch'eeʔʔ	play with ball, esp. basketball
dlénxaa	310	dlaanʔ	tempt, try out, test
kíts'aa	321	keets'	play on seesaw
k'éinaa	322	k'ein	play at jumping or twirling around
gool'aa	S66:55	gool'	wink
deegáa	91	deek	dipnet
sáyjaa	301	saay	give off lots of heat; be sweaty
-jaa gíx'jaa	334	geex'	creak, squeak; play bowed instrument
x'éeł'jaa	S66:55	xeel'ʔ	groan
.áaxch'án	270	.aax	be fascinating to listen to (-ch-sh...?)
tées'shán	289	tees'	be fascinating to watch; be fascinated
-shán xéetl'shán	338	xéel'	be dangerous
x'wáal'shán	342	x'waaas' ₁ ʔ	be soft like down; (neg.) lack softness
x'wás'k	330	x'us' _n ʔ	be numb, circulation cut off
-k yát'kx'	S66:59	yaaʔ'	be long (pl.)
tsínkx'	S66:59	tseen	be expensive (pl.)
yáshk	S66:59	yaaçh'ʔ	be scarce

Table 54: More verbs with -2 derivational suffixes in Naish & Story 1973. x_n noun.

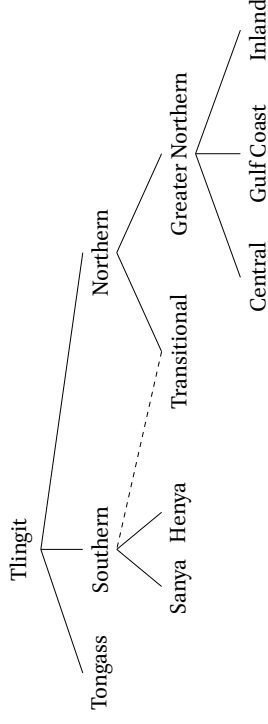


Figure 1: Tlingit dialect overview.

- Tongass Tlingit (T): Duke Island Yee'x, Metlakatla *Taahkw Aahni* (now Coast Tsim. *Maxtakxaata*), Port Stewart *Gaahnax*, Tongass *Katukxuka*
- Southern Tlingit (S)
 - Sanya Tlingit (S): Cape Fox *Gaash*, Kah Shakes Cove *Gunéł'án Héènak'u*, Naha Bay *Naa.á*, Unuk River *Joonáx*, Chickamin River *Xeel*, Yes Bay *Yees Geeyí*
 - Hanya Tlingit (H): Craig *Shaanseét*, Klawock *Lacwaaak*, Tuxekan *T'ájik.aan*, [?]Kuyu *Kooyú*
- Northern Tlingit (N)
 - Transitional Tlingit (R): Wrangell *Kaachxan.áak'w*, Petersburg *Gantíyaaakw Séedi* ~ *Séet Ká*, Kake *Kéex'*, [?]Kuyu *Kooyú*, [?]Sumdum *S'aawdáan*, some in Angoon *Aangóon*
 - Greater Northern Tlingit (N)
 - Central Tlingit (N): Sitka *Sheet'ká*, Angoon *Aangóon*, Killisnoo *Kanasnoow*, Tenakee *Tanagey*, [?]Sumdum *S'aawdáan*, Taku *Taa'kú*, Juneau *Dzánti K'ihéeni* ~ *Joonu*, Douglas *X'áat'k' T'íká*, Auke Bay *Áak'w*, Hoonah *Xunaa*, Haines *Deishú*, Klukwan *Tlákw.aan*, Skagway *Shaggwéi*
 - Gulf Coast Tlingit (G): Lituya Bay *Ltu.áa*, Dry Bay *Gunaaxoo*, Yakutat *Yaakwáat*, Icy Bay *Yáas'é*, Kaliakh *Galyáx*
 - Inland Tlingit (I): [?]Sumdum *S'aawdáan*, Atlin *Áatlein*, Teslin *Deisleen*, Tagish *Taagish*, Carcross *Naadaashahéeni* ~ *Naatasehéeni*

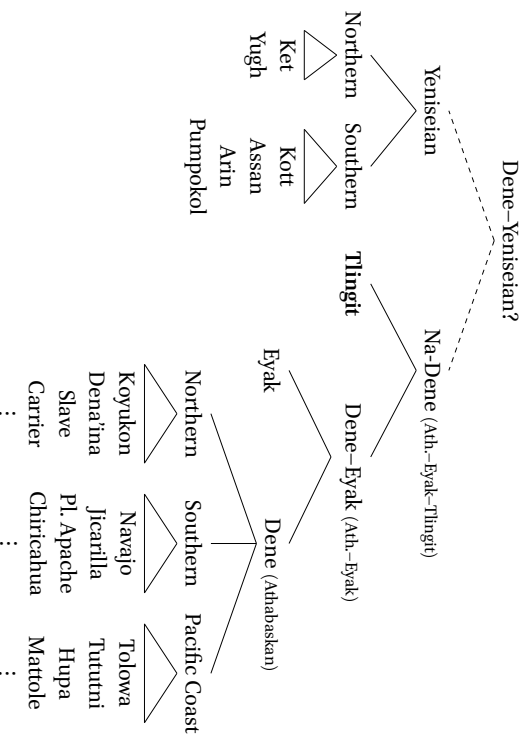


Figure 2: Tlingit's family tree.

	Southern			Northern			
Tongass	Sanya	Henrya				Leer gi	Translation
V <i>ta</i>	Ŷ <i>tá</i>	Ŷ <i>tá</i>	Ŷ <i>tá</i>	Ŷ <i>tá</i>	Ŷ <i>tá</i>	<i>tá</i>	sleep
V <i>ta kaa'</i>	Ŷ <i>tá káá</i>	Ŷ <i>ta káá</i>	Ŷ <i>ta káá</i>	Ŷ <i>ta káá</i>	Ŷ <i>ta káá</i>	<i>ta qá'</i>	sleeping man
V _h <i>shaah</i>	Ŷ: <i>shaa</i>	Ŷ: <i>shaa</i>	Ŷ: <i>shaa</i>	Ŷ: <i>shaa</i>	Ŷ: <i>shaa</i>	<i>ša'</i>	mountain
V _{hR} <i>aahln</i>	Ŷ:R <i>aam</i>	Ŷ:R <i>aam</i>	Ŷ:R <i>aam</i>	Ŷ:R <i>aam</i>	Ŷ:R <i>aam</i>	<i>a'n</i>	land, town
V ^o <i>kaa'</i>	ŶŶ <i>káá</i>	ŶŶ <i>káá</i>	ŶŶ <i>káá</i>	Ŷ: <i>káa</i>	Ŷ: <i>káa</i>	<i>qá'</i>	man
V: <i>aa</i>	Ŷ: <i>áa</i>	Ŷ: <i>áa</i>	Ŷ: <i>áa</i>	Ŷ: <i>áa</i>	Ŷ: <i>áa</i>	<i>á</i>	lake
V:R <i>jeehwaan</i>	ŶŶR <i>yeewáan</i>	ŶŶR <i>yeewáan</i>	Ŷ:R <i>yeewáan</i>	Ŷ:R <i>yeewáan</i>	Ŷ:R <i>yeewáan</i>	<i>ji'wáan</i>	you (pl.)
V: <i>haa</i>	Ŷ: <i>haa</i>	Ŷ: <i>haa</i>	Ŷ: <i>haa</i>	Ŷ: <i>haa</i>	Ŷ: <i>haa</i>	<i>ha-</i>	us, our
V:R <i>x'aan</i>	Ŷ:R <i>x'aan</i>	Ŷ:R <i>x'aan</i>	Ŷ:R <i>x'aan</i>	Ŷ:R <i>x'aan</i>	Ŷ:R <i>x'aan</i>	<i>x'aan</i>	anger

Table 1: Suprasegmental correspondences between dialects. R = sonorant.

Suffix	Name	Gloss	Meaning
- <i>an</i>	restorative	REST	restore previous state
- <i>xaa</i>	amissive	MISS	miss the target of action
- <i>akw</i>	deprivative	DEPRV	remove, deprive, lacking
- <i>aa</i>	play	PLAY	playing, pretending
- <i>jaa</i>	radiative ?	RAD	give off something? (<? - <i>ch</i> + - <i>aa</i>)
- <i>shan</i>	intensive ?	INTNS	intensifies meaning? (<? - <i>an</i>)
- <i>k</i>	excessive ?	EXCES	too much?
- <i>i</i>	property	PRTY	have, have the property of
- <i>k</i>	?	UNK	unknown
-(<i>á</i>) <i>ch'</i>	?	UNK	unknown
- <i>dl'</i>	?	UNK	unknown
- <i>gakw</i>	?	UNK	unknown
- <i>nás</i>	?	UNK	unknown
- <i>nás'</i>	?	UNK	unknown
- <i>át'</i>	?	UNK	unknown
- <i>x'</i>	?	UNK	unknown

Table 52: Derivational suffixes (-2).

Sfx. Stem	Pg.	Root	Stem meaning
<i>haanán</i>	274	<i>haan</i>	(sg.) restore confidence by reelection
<i>naagan</i>	284	<i>naak'</i>	(pl.) restore confidence by reelection
- <i>án taanán</i>	292	<i>taan</i>	reconsider; reset bone/joint
<i>xexán</i>	325	<i>xex</i>	be restored to normality; become normal
<i>xeenan</i>	338	<i>xeen</i>	get back into joint by itself
<i>.ínxaa</i>	270	<i>.oon</i>	miss target when shooting
<i>t'áchxaa</i>	296	<i>t'aach</i>	miss target when slapping
<i>dzeéxaa</i>	296	<i>dzoo</i>	miss target when throwing round object
- <i>xaa shátxaa</i>	309	<i>shaat</i>	miss target when grabbing something
<i>gwááxaa</i>	319	<i>gwaaal</i>	miss target when punching with fist
<i>k'ishxaa</i>	337	<i>k'eesh</i>	miss target when hitting with stick
<i>xíchxaa</i>	341	<i>xeech</i>	miss target when hitting with stick

Table 53: Some verbs with -2 derivational suffixes in Naish & Story 1973.

	bilabial	alveolar	postalv.	lateral	palatal	velar	lab-vel.	uvular	lab-uvul.	glottal	lab-glott.
<i>unaspl. stop</i>	(b)	d					g	g	g ^w		
<i>asp. stop</i>		t					k	ḳ	k ^w		
<i>epi. stop</i>		t'					k'	ḳ'	k' ^w		(.w)
<i>nasal</i>	(m)	n		(n)							
<i>plain fric.</i>		s	sh	l			x	x̣	x ^w	h	(hw)
<i>epi. fric.</i>		s'		l'			x'	x̣'	x' ^w		
<i>unaspl. aff.</i>		dz	j	dl							
<i>asp. aff.</i>		ts	ch	tl							
<i>epi. aff.</i>		ts'	ch'	tl'							
<i>approx.</i>			(l)	y	ÿ	w					

Table 2: Tlingit consonant inventory in Coastal orthography.

	low tone \dot{V}	high tone \check{V}
	short \dot{V}	long \dot{V} ;
	short \check{V}	long \check{V} ;
	<i>frnt. ctr. bck. frnt. ctr. bck. frnt. ctr. bck. frnt. ctr. bck.</i>	<i>frnt. ctr. bck. frnt. ctr. bck. frnt. ctr. bck. frnt. ctr. bck.</i>
<i>high</i>	i	ee
<i>mid</i>	e	ei
<i>low</i>	a	aa
		oo
		ú
		ée
		éi
		á
		áa

Table 3: Northern Tlingit vowel inventory in Coastal orthography.

	low tone \dot{V}	high tone \check{V}
	short \dot{V}	long \dot{V} ;
	short \check{V}	long \check{V} ;
	<i>frnt. ctr. bck. frnt. ctr. bck. frnt. ctr. bck. frnt. ctr. bck.</i>	<i>frnt. ctr. bck. frnt. ctr. bck. frnt. ctr. bck. frnt. ctr. bck.</i>
<i>high</i>	i	ì
<i>mid</i>	e	è
<i>low</i>	a	à
		ù
		í
		ú
		é
		á
		á

Table 4: Northern Tlingit vowel inventory in YNLC orthography.

Form	Gloss	Definition	Auxiliary Affixes
<i>neečs_{SRI}</i>			
<i>nooch_{RN}</i>	HAB.AUX	habitual	-ch
<i>nukch_G</i>			
<i>noohč_T</i>			
<i>neejeens_{SRI}</i>			
<i>noojeenn_{RN}</i>	DEC.HAB.AUX	decessive habitual	-ch-een
<i>noohjeent_T</i>			
<i>néekw_{SRI}</i>			
<i>nóok_N</i>	CSEC.AUX	consecutive	-:
<i>neekw_T</i>			
<i>níkwnes_{SRI}</i>			
<i>núkn_{ERN}</i>	COND.AUX	conditional	-n-ee
<i>nukneeč_T</i>			
<i>ganíkws_R</i>			
<i>ganígú_h</i>	CTNG.AUX	contingent	ga-...-n-ín
<i>ganígú_N</i>			
<i>ganík_{w_T}</i>			

Table 5: Verb auxiliaries (-7).

	<i>short V</i>		<i>long V:</i>		<i>glottalized V?</i>		<i>falling V^h</i>		
	<i>fit.</i>	<i>ctr.</i>	<i>bck.</i>	<i>fit.</i>	<i>ctr.</i>	<i>bck.</i>	<i>fit.</i>	<i>ctr.</i>	<i>bck.</i>
<i>high</i>	i	u	ee	oo	ee'	oo'	eeh		ooh
<i>mid</i>	e		ei		eɨ'		eih		
<i>low</i>	a		aa		aa'		aah		

Table 5: Tongass Tlingit vowel inventory in orthographic representation.

<i>falling V^h (V^h):</i>	
<i>front</i>	<i>centre back</i>
<i>high</i>	èè
<i>mid</i>	èì
<i>low</i>	àà

Table 6: Southern Tlingit falling tone vowels.

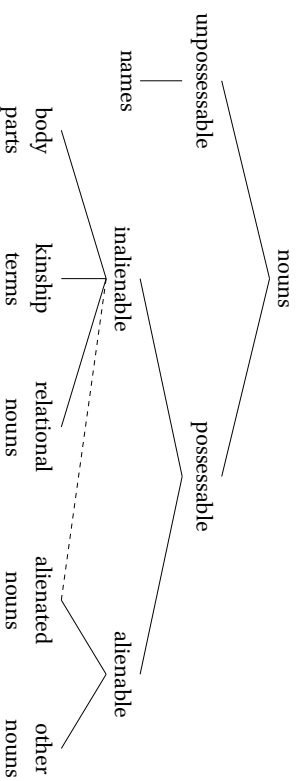


Figure 3: Noun possession types.

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

Table 7: Allomorphs of the possessive suffix -yí. The labels describe the presuffix syllable.

<i>Mode</i>	<i>Epimode</i>		<i>Clause type</i>	
	<i>Decessive</i>	<i>Prohib.-Opt.</i>	<i>Subord.</i>	<i>Relative</i>
<i>Declarative modes</i>				
imperfectives	±	±	±	±
perfectives	±	±	±	±
future	±	-	±	±
potential	±	-	-	±
habitual*	±	-	±	±
realizational	-	-	-	-
<i>Deontic modes</i>				
imperative*	-	-	-	-
hortative*	-	-	±	-
admonitive	-	-	-	-
<i>Circumstantial modes</i>				
consecutive	-	-	(+)	-
conditional	-	-	+	-
contingent	-	-	?	-
<i>Composite modes with auxiliaries</i>				
imperfective habitual	-	-	±	±
imperfective consecutive	-	-	-	-
imperfective conditional	-	-	-	-
imperfective contingent	-	-	-	-
future habitual	±	-	±	±
future consecutive	-	-	-	-
future conditional	-	-	-	-
future contingent	-	-	-	-

Table 50: Combinations of modes with epimode and clause type suffixes.

Form	Abv.	Name	Meaning
-ch	ERG	ergative	subject of transitive verb
-x'	LOC	locative	at, on, in, by
-t	PUNCT	punctual	at a point, to a point, around a point
-ɣ	PERT	pertinent	contacting, form of, concerning
-dé	ALL	allative	to, toward, until, manner of
-dǎx	ABL	ablative	from, out of
-nǎx	PERL	perlative	along, by, via, during, across
-gǎa	ADES	adessive	around, about, by, after, for
-n	INST	instrumental	with, using, as soon as
teen	COM	comitative	along, with, accompanying
-ú	LOCP	locative predicate	verbless locative phrase
yǎx	SIM	similitive	like, as, similar to
yís	BEN	benefactive	for; benefiting
góot	ABES	abessive	without, lacking
nák	ELAT	elative	away from, leaving behind
yáanǎx	more superlative		more than
kún	less	sublative	less than

Table 8: Case suffixes and postpositions.

	Noun	Allative-dé	Direction -naa	Preverb
up above	(di)kée	(di)kǐnde	(di)keenaa	kei=
down below	(di)yée	(di)yǐnde	(di)yeenaa	yei=
upstream, north	naakée	nǎnde	naan(y)aa	—
downstream, south	ix-kée, éex	ixde	ixinaa	—
up from shore	dǎak	dǎkde	daginaa	daak=
down to shore	éek	íkde	iginaa	yéik= ~ eek=
ashore	yán	yǎnde	—	yán=
out to sea, open	deikée	dǎkde	daginaa	daak=
across, other side	diyáa	diyáade	—	yán=
inside	neil	neildé	—	neil=
outside	gáan	gǎnde ~ gǎnde	—	—
back, reverse	—	kúxde	—	kúx=
aground	—	kúxde	—	kúx=

Table 9: Directionals (from Leer 1989: 614).

Subj.	Prefixes	Classifier shape				
		Ch-	Ca-	C- ~ Ca-	θ-	
1SG	ga-ga-xa-	gaḵaCi	gaḵaCa	gaḵaC	gaḵa	gakaa
1PL	ga-ga-tu-	gaḵtuCi	gaḵtuCa	gaḵtuC	gaḵtu	gaḵtuwa
2SG	ga-ga-i-	gaḵCi	gaḵCa	gaḵeeC	gaḵee	gaḵiḵa
2PL	ga-ga-yi-	gaḵyiCi	gaḵyiCa	gaḵyiC	gaḵyi	gaḵyeeḵ
IND.H	ga-ga-du-	gaḵduCi	—	gaḵduC	gaḵdu	gaḵduwa
3/none	ga-ga-(θ-)	gaḵCi	gaḵCa	gaḵaC	gaḵa	gaḵaa
1SG	ga-u-ga-xa-	gookaCi	gookaCa	gookaC	gooka	gookaa
3/none	ga-u-ga-(θ-)	gookCi	gookCa	—	gooka	gookaa
1SG	CV-ga-ga-xa-	CVkḵaCi	CVkḵaCa	CVkḵaC	CVkḵa	CVkḵaa
1PL	CV-ga-ga-tu-	CVgaḵtuCi	CVgaḵtuCa	CVgaḵtuC	CVgaḵtu	CVgaḵtuwa
2SG	CV-ga-ga-i-	CVkḵCi	CVkḵCa	CVkḵeeC	CVkḵee	CVkḵiḵa
2PL	CV-ga-ga-yi-	CVgaḵyiCi	CVgaḵyiCa	CVgaḵyiC	CVgaḵyi	CVgaḵyeeḵ
IND.H	CV-ga-ga-du-	CVgaḵduCi	—	CVgaḵduC	CVgaḵdu	CVgaḵduwa
3/none	CV-ga-ga-(θ-)	CVgaḵCi	CVgaḵCa	CVkḵaC	CVkḵa	CVkḵaa
1SG	CV-ga-u-ga-xa-	CVkwḵaCi	CVkwḵaCa	CVkwḵaC	CVkwḵa	CVkwḵaa
3/none	CV-ga-u-ga-(θ-)	CVgookCi	CVgookCa	CVkwḵaC	CVkwḵa	CVkwḵaa

Table 49: Northern prefix contractions with +7 ga-conjugation and +4 ga-modal.

- <i>daa</i> around, about	- <i>keeká</i> across from, facing	- <i>wanyáa</i> apart from
- <i>daagaaryaa</i> outside, excluded	- <i>kik</i> alongside, catching up	- <i>wanyeeedé</i> set aside, hidden
- <i>daaká</i> around outside surface	- <i>kironn</i> in addition	- <i>wakdaséix'</i> hidden from view
- <i>daakashú</i> detriment of, expense of	- <i>kánnak</i> above	- <i>wakgáa</i> pleasing to see
- <i>daat</i> about, regarding	- <i>kooká</i> paralleling, reminding	- <i>wakká</i> blocking view
- <i>daséix'</i> out of reach	- <i>kujin</i> motivated by	- <i>wakéex'</i> plainly, obviously
- <i>dayéen</i> facing	- <i>ké</i> base (standing)	- <i>wakéex'</i> leaving vision
- <i>déin</i> vicinity	- <i>kán</i> too little, not enough	- <i>wakshyee</i> visible, before eyes
- <i>déimnáx</i> right way, properly	- <i>kóax'</i> amidst crowd	- <i>wakshú</i> avoiding vision of
- <i>digyigé</i> middle of	- <i>lái</i> nose, point	- <i>wakýk</i> middle of clearing
- <i>dook</i> close by, alongside	- <i>luakax</i> hurry, spur of moment	- <i>x'taan</i> tip, top (branch)
- <i>dzik</i> back, right behind	- <i>núx</i> leaving behind, away	- <i>x'xoo</i> among
- <i>éet'</i> remains, imprint	- <i>nhyís</i> preparation for (time)	- <i>x'xin</i> near
- <i>géude</i> against, opposing, wrong	- <i>nhyáa</i> direction	- <i>x'tadk</i> between
- <i>gukáax'</i> speaking clearly	- <i>náa</i> draped over	- <i>x'tadaxéix'</i> out of eating/speaking
- <i>gyoyee</i> area at base, foot	- <i>shakéé</i> top, above	- <i>x'qhléen</i> disgusted by speech
- <i>gei</i> between folks	- <i>shá</i> head	- <i>x'táán</i> not enough to eat
- <i>goot</i> lacking, without	- <i>shagóon</i> source, origin, fundament	- <i>x'tandk</i> taking away food
- <i>gunayáak</i> separate, apart from	- <i>shú</i> end, tip	- <i>x'tashú</i> avoiding talking with
- <i>ti</i> after, following	- <i>shuká</i> front, ahead	- <i>x'tatadk</i> verbal support
- <i>jee</i> possession	- <i>sóox</i> ready, hurry, early for	- <i>x'tax'taa</i> brink, edge
- <i>jigáa</i> enough, adequate	- <i>áak</i> bottom (cavity)	- <i>x'gyeye</i> waiting to eat/speak
- <i>jigei</i> inside bend, curve	- <i>táada</i> exterior bottom	- <i>x'é</i> mouth
- <i>jiká</i> in the way, attainable	- <i>taká</i> inside bottom	- <i>x'éigaa</i> good to eat, good words
- <i>jikin</i> not enough	- <i>tawán</i> right next to, up close	- <i>x'éis</i> to eat (- <i>x'éyis</i>)
- <i>jindk</i> taking away, depriving	- <i>kyee</i> underneath, below	- <i>yik</i> inside (shallow obj.)
- <i>jis</i> for having (- <i>yis</i>)	- <i>óok</i> bottom (sitting)	- <i>yí</i> face, vertical surface
- <i>jixooni</i> working with, pitching in	- <i>tóogaa</i> pleasing, like wanted	- <i>yáandx'</i> too much
- <i>jyee</i> ready to be used	- <i>tít</i> inside (hollow obj.)	- <i>yát'éik</i> behind his back
- <i>jyeeet</i> burdened by, suffering	- <i>tawéx'</i> opinion, feeling	- <i>yaxoo</i> among faces
- <i>jicéen</i> working with, helping	- <i>tukin</i> not meeting expectations	- <i>yáyyee</i> waiting for
- <i>ká</i> horizontal surface	- <i>tuyee</i> below outlet, low lying area	- <i>yáyyis</i> anticipating
- <i>káax'</i> depending on, based on	- <i>tushyee</i> in contrition, deference	- <i>yáatak</i> room, space, opportunity
- <i>kagé</i> meeting	- <i>táak</i> beside	- <i>yee</i> below, inside (bldg.)
- <i>kakán</i> vantage point	- <i>téenyaa</i> inside (thing)	- <i>yiegdá</i> waiting for
- <i>kayaa</i> sort of like, not quite	- <i>títá</i> past, outskirts	- <i>yinda</i> covering
- <i>kayee</i> pattern, model, template	- <i>táak</i> behind, inland	- <i>yawaa</i> missing, avoiding, belly
- <i>kat'oot'</i> pathway up inside	- <i>táak</i> beside, alongside	- <i>yawawaká</i> back and forth between
- <i>kayís</i> for it	- <i>téik</i> behind	
- <i>keek</i> along with	- <i>wán</i> edge	

Table 10: Commonly encountered relational nouns.

Subj.	Prefixes	Classifier shape				
		Ci-	Ca-	C~Ca-	0-	ya-
1SG	ga-ga-xa-	kaakaCi	kaakaCa	kaakac	kaaka	kaaka
1PL	ga-ga-tu-	gaaxtuCi	gaaxtuCa	gaaxtooc	gaaxtoo	gaaxtuwa
2SG	ga-ga-i-	gaagCi	gaagCa	gaageec	gaagee	gaagy'a
2PL	ga-ga-yi-	gaaxyiCi	gaaxyiCa	gaaxyiC	gaaxyi	gaaxy'eey'
IND.H	ga-ga-du-	gaaxduCi	—	gaaxduC	gaaxdu	gaaxduwa
3/ <i>none</i>	ga-ga-(0-)	gaaxCi	gaaxCa	gaagC	gaaga	gaaga
1SG	u-ga-ga-xa-	kwaakaCi	kwaakaCa	kwaakac	kwaaka	kwaaka
3/ <i>none</i>	u-ga-ga-(0-)	gwaaxCi	gwaaxCa	gwaagac	gwaaga	gwaagaa
1SG	CV-ga-ga-xa-	CVkaakaCi	CVkaakaCa	CVkaakac	CVkaaka	CVkaakaa
1PL	CV-ga-ga-tu-	CVgaaxtuCi	CVgaaxtuCa	CVgaaxtooc	CVgaaxtoo	CVgaaxtuwa
2SG	CV-ga-ga-i-	CVgaagCi	CVgaagCa	CVgaageec	CVgaagee	CVgaagy'a
2PL	CV-ga-ga-yi-	CVgaaxyiCi	CVgaaxyiCa	CVgaaxyiC	CVgaaxyi	CVgaaxy'eey'
IND.H	CV-ga-ga-du-	CVgaaxduCi	—	CVgaaxduC	CVgaaxdu	CVgaaxduwa
3/ <i>none</i>	CV-ga-ga-(0-)	CVgaaxCi	CVgaaxCa	CVgaagac	CVgaaga	CVgaagaa
1SG	CV-u-ga-ga-xa-	CU:kaakaCi	CU:kaakaCa	CU:kaakac	CU:kaaka	CU:kaakaa
3/ <i>none</i>	CV-u-ga-ga-(0-)	CU:gaaxCi	CU:gaaxCa	CU:gaagaaC	CU:gaaga	CU:gaagaa
1SG	CV-oo-ga-ga-xa-	CukaakaCi	CukaakaCa	Cukaakac	Cukaaka	Cukaakaa
3/ <i>none</i>	CV-oo-ga-ga-(0-)	CugaagaCi	CugaagaCa	Cugaagac	Cugaaga	Cugaagaa

Table 48: Northern prefix contractions with +5 *ga*-conjugation and +4 *ga*-modal. U: represents *oo* if V is *a*, or lengthened V otherwise.

Subj.	Prefixes	Classifier shape				
		Ci-	Ca-	C-~Ca-	0-	ÿa-
1SG	na-ga-xa-	naŋkaCi	naŋkaCa	naŋkaC	naŋka	naŋkaa
1PL	na-ga-tu-	naŋtuCi	naŋtuCa	naŋtooc	naŋtoo	naŋtuwaa
2SG	na-ga-i-	nagiCi	nagiCa	nageeC	nagee	nagiÿa
2PL	na-ga-ÿi-	naŋÿiCi	naŋÿiCa	naŋÿiC	naŋÿi	naŋÿeÿeÿ
IND.H	na-ga-du-	naŋduCi	—	naŋduC	naŋdu	naŋduwaa
3/ <i>none</i>	na-ga-(0-)	naŋCi	naŋCa	nagaC	naga	nagaa
1SG	u-na-ga-xa-	{ unŋkaCi	unŋkaCa	unŋkaC	unŋka	unŋkaa
		{ naŋkwaCi	naŋkwaCa	naŋkwaC	naŋkwa	naŋkwaa
3/ <i>none</i>	u-na-ga-(0-)	{ unaxCi	unaxCa	unŋgaC	unŋga	unŋgaa
		{ naŋwCi	naŋwCa	nagwaC	nagwa	nagwaa
1SG	CV-na-ga-xa-	CVnŋkaCi	CVnŋkaCa	CVnŋkaC	CVnŋka	CVnŋkaa
1PL	CV-na-ga-tu-	CVnaŋtuCi	CVnaŋtuCa	CVnaŋtooc	CVnaŋtoo	CVnaŋtuwaa
2SG	CV-na-ga-i-	CVnŋgiCi	CVnŋgiCa	CVnŋgeeC	CVnŋnee	CVnŋÿÿa
2PL	CV-na-ga-ÿi-	CVnaŋÿiCi	CVnaŋÿiCa	CVnaŋÿiC	CVnaŋÿi	CVnaŋÿeÿeÿ
IND.H	CV-na-ga-du-	CVnaŋduCi	—	CVnaŋduC	CVnaŋdu	CVnaŋduwaa
3/ <i>none</i>	CV-na-ga-(0-)	CVnaŋCi	CVnaŋCa	CVnŋgaC	CVnŋga	CVnŋgaa
1SG	CV-u-na-ga-xa-	{ CU:nŋkaCi	CU:nŋkaCa	CU:mkaC	CU:mka	CU:nŋkaa
		{ CVnŋkwaCi	CVnŋkwaCa	CVnŋkwaC	CVnŋkwa	CVnŋkwaa
3/ <i>none</i>	CV-u-na-ga-(0-)	{ CU:naxCi	CU:naxCa	CU:nŋgaC	CU:nŋga	CU:nŋgaa
		{ CVnaŋwCi	CVnaŋwCa	CVnŋgwaC	CVnŋgwa	CVnŋgwaa
1SG	CV-oo-na-ga-xa-	CunŋkaCi	CunŋkaCa	CunŋkaC	Cunŋka	Cunŋkaa
3/ <i>none</i>	CV-oo-na-ga-(0-)	CunaxCi	CunaxCa	CunŋgaC	Cunŋga	Cunŋgaa
3/ <i>none</i>	CV-w-na-ga-(0-)	CunaxCi	CunaxCa	CunŋgaC	Cunŋga	Cunŋgaa

Table 47: Northern prefix contractions with +5 *na*-conjugation and +4 *ga*-modal. U: represents *oo* if V is *a*, or lengthened V otherwise.

	Dial.	Unsuf.	-CV-	-C	-n	'-(<i>loc</i>)'
3Z	N	á	aa-CV~	á-C	aan	áa
	S	á	aa-CV~	á-C	aan	áá
	T	a	aah-CV~	a-C	aahn	aa'
HSFC	N	-ká	-kaa-CV~	-ká-C	—	-káa
	S	-ká	-kaa-CV~	-ká-C	—	-káá
	T	-ka	-kaah-CV~	-ka-C	—	-kaa'
VSFC	N	-ÿá	-ÿaa-CV~	-ÿá-C	—	-ÿáa
	S	-ÿá	-ÿaa-CV~	-ÿá-C	—	-ÿáá
	T	-ÿa	-ÿaah-CV~	-ÿá-C	—	-ÿaa'
1SG	N	ḡát	ḡaa-CV~	ḡáa-C	ḡaan	ḡáa
	S	ḡát	ḡaa-CV~	ḡáa-C	ḡaan	ḡáá
	T	ḡat	ḡaah-CV~	?	ḡaahn	?ḡaa'
BASE	N	=ee	=ee-CV~	=éé-C	=een-éen	=éé
	S	=ee	=ee-CV~	=éé-C	=een-éen	=éè
	T	=ee	?	=ee-C	=eehn	=ee'
pos'n	N	-jee	-jee-CV~	-jée-C	—	-jée
	S	-jee	-jee-CV~	-jée-C	—	-jèè
	T	-jeeh	-jeeh-CV~	-jeeh-C	—	-jee'
inside	N	-tú	-too-CV~	-tóo-C	-tóon	-tóo
	S	-tú	-too-CV~	-tóo-C	-tóon	-tóò
	T	-tu	-too-CV~	-too-C	?	-too'

Table 11: Unpredictable nominal allomorphy. Note that suffixed 1SG is often *aŋ=ee...* using BASE instead of *ḡa...*, but the choice between them is idiolectal.

Form	Meaning	Compare
<i>aak'é</i> -	good, well	<i>v'k'éi</i> 'good'
<i>aadlein</i> -	much, lots	<i>-tlein</i> 'big'
<i>ch'áagu</i> -	old, ancient	<i>ch'áakw</i> 'long ago'
<i>káa</i> -	male, he-	<i>káa</i> 'man'
<i>kúndáx</i> -	very, actual, real	<i>ká-náx</i> 'AREAL-PERL?'
<i>kústin</i> -	giant, monstrous	<i>ká-cl[+D, s]-v'in?</i>
<i>Lingít</i> -	Tlingit, traditional	<i>Lingít</i> 'Tlingit'
<i>sheech</i> -	female, she-	
<i>shoogu</i> -	first, initial	<i>-shu'</i> 'end, tip'
<i>tatgéyí</i> -	of yesterday	<i>tatgé</i> 'yesterday'
<i>té</i> -	stone, rock	<i>té</i> 'stone, rock'
<i>tlágu(wu)</i> -	ancient, forever	<i>tláagóo</i> 'legend'
<i>tl'etákw</i> -	pure	<i>v't'en</i> 'dirty', <i>v't'i'</i> 'trash'
<i>yéés</i> -	new, young	
<i>-k'wát'</i>	round, egg-shaped	<i>k'wát'</i> 'egg'
<i>-k'yaatl'</i>	thin and flat	<i>k'áach'</i> 'ribbon kelp'
<i>-lel'ik</i>	soft, pliable	<i>v'lel'</i> 'lax, flabby?'
<i>-sákw</i>	future, to be, for	
<i>-shaan</i>	old, elderly	<i>v'shan</i> 'old'
<i>-shás'k</i>	raw	<i>v'shás'k</i> 'raw'
<i>-téát'</i>	fat (animal)	<i>v'teet'</i> 'fat (animal)'
<i>-tóoch</i>	fresh (fish)	<i>v'tuuch</i> 'fresh caught'
<i>-téex'</i>	hard	<i>v't'ix'</i> 'hard; frozen'
<i>-tlein</i>	large, big	<i>v'tla</i> 'stout'
<i>-tlenx'</i>	large, big (pl.)	<i>-tlein</i> 'big'
<i>-xook</i>	dry, dried	<i>v'xuk</i> 'dry'
<i>-uwaa</i>	similar, fake	<i>v'ya</i> 'resemble'
<i>-yáadi</i>	small, little, childlike	<i>-yáat'</i> 'child'
<i>-yéeyi'</i>	past, former, ex-	<i>yéé</i> 'time?'
<i>-yéés'</i>	dark, dusky, immature	<i>yéés'</i> 'black stone'

Table 12: Prenominal and postnominal adjectives. - is the host noun.

Subj.	Prefixes	Classifier shape				
		Ci-	Ca-	C ~ Ca-	θ-	yá-
ISG	θ-ga-xa-	kaCi	kaCa	kaC	ka	kaa
PL	θ-ga-tu-	gatuCi	gatuCa	gatooc	gatoo	gatuwa
2SG	θ-ga-i-	giCi	giCa	geec	gee	giya
PL	θ-ga-yi-	gayCi	gayCa	gayiC	gay	gay'eey
IND.H	θ-ga-du-	gaduCi	—	gaduC	gadu	gaduwa
3/none	θ-ga-(θ-)	gaCi	—	gaC	ga	gaa
ISG	u-θ-ga-xa-	kwaCi	kwaCa	kwaC	kwa	kwa
3/none	u-θ-ga-(θ-)	gwaCi	gwaCa	gwaC	gwa	gwa
ISG	CV-θ-ga-xa-	CVkaCi	CVkaCa	CVkaC	CVka	CVkaa
PL	CV-θ-ga-tu-	CVxtuCi	CVxtuCa	CVxtooC	CVxtoo	CVxtuwa
2SG	CV-θ-ga-i-	CVgiCi	CVgiCa	CVgeec	CVgee	CVgiya
PL	CV-θ-ga-yi-	CVxyiCi	CVxyiCa	CVxyiC	CVxyi	CVxy'eey
IND.H	CV-θ-ga-du-	CVxduCi	—	CVxduC	CVxdu	CVxduwa
3/none	CV-θ-ga-(θ-)	CVxci	CVxCa	CVgaC	CVga	CVgaa
ISG	CV-u-θ-ga-xa-	CU:kaci	CU:kaca	CU:kac	CU:ika	CU:kaa
3/none	CV-u-θ-ga-(θ-)	CU:xci	CU:xca	CU:gaC	CU:ga	CU:gaa
ISG	CV-oo-θ-ga-xa-	CukaCi	CukaCa	Cukac	Cuka	Cukaa
3/none	CV-oo-θ-ga-(θ-)	Cuxci	Cuxca	Cugac	Cuga	Cugaa

Table 46: Northern prefix contractions with +5-θ-conjugation and +4-ga-modal. U: represents oo if V is a, or lengthened V otherwise.

Subj.	Prefixes	Classifier shape				
		Ci-	Ca-	C ~ Ca-	0-	ya-
1SG	ga- <i>xa</i> -	ga \bar{x} Ci	ga \bar{x} Ca	ga \bar{x} aC	ga \bar{x} a	ga \bar{x} aa
1PL	ga-tu-	gatuCi	gatuCa	gatooc	gatoo	gatuwa
2SG	ga-i-	giCi	giCa	geeC	gee	giya
2PL	ga-yi-	gayCi	gayCa	gayiC	gay	gayee \bar{y}
IND.H	ga-du-	gaduCi	—	gaduC	gadu	gaduwa
3/none	ga-(0-)	gaCi	—	gaC	ga	gaa
1SG	ga-u- <i>xa</i> -	gooxCi	gooxCa	gooxaC	gooxa	gooxaa
3/none	ga-u-(0-)	? gooCi	—	gooC	goo	? gooowa
1SG	CV-ga- <i>xa</i> -	CVga \bar{x} Ci	CVga \bar{x} Ca	CVk \bar{x} aC	CVk \bar{x} a	CVk \bar{x} aa
1PL	CV-ga-tu-	CVktuCi	CVktuCa	CVktooC	CVktoo	CVktuwa
2SG	CV-ga-i-	CVgiCi	CVgiCa	CVgeeC	CVgee	CVgiya
2PL	CV-ga-yi-	CVgayCi	CVgayCa	CVgayiC	CVgay	CVgayee \bar{y}
IND.H	CV-ga-du-	CVkduCi	—	CVkduC	CVkdu	CVkduwa
3/none	CV-ga-(0-)	CVkCi	CVkCa	CVgaC	CVga	CVgaa
1SG	CV-ga-u- <i>xa</i> -	CVgooxCi	CVgooxCa	CVkw \bar{x} aC	CVkw \bar{x} a	CVkw \bar{x} aa
3/none	CV-ga-u-(0-)	? CVgooCi	—	CVgooC	CVgoo	? CVgoowa

Table 45: Northern prefix contractions with +7 *ga*-conjugation.

	Pronominals			Pronouns		
	Object	Subject	Possessive	Independent	Postpositional	
1SG	<i>xat</i> - ~ <i>ax</i> -	<i>xá</i> -	<i>ax</i>	<i>xát</i>	<i>ax=ee</i> - ~ <i>xá</i> -	
1PL	<i>haa</i> -	<i>tu</i> -	<i>haa</i>	<i>uháan</i>	<i>haa=ee</i> - ~ <i>haa(n)</i> -	
2SG	<i>i</i> -	<i>i</i> -	<i>i</i>	<i>wá.é</i>	<i>i=ee</i> -	
2PL	<i>yí</i> -	<i>yí</i> -	<i>yí</i>	<i>yíháan</i>	<i>yí=ee</i> -	
3H	$\left. \begin{matrix} 3 \\ 0- \sim a- \end{matrix} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{matrix} 3 \\ 0- \end{matrix} \right\}$	<i>du</i>	<i>hú</i>	<i>du=ee</i> - ~ <i>u</i> -	
3N	$\left. \begin{matrix} 3 \\ PRX \end{matrix} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{matrix} 3 \\ PRX \end{matrix} \right\}$	<i>a</i>	<i>á</i>	<i>a=ee</i> - ~ <i>a</i> -	
3PRX	<i>ash</i> -	—	<i>ash</i>	<i>ash</i>	<i>ash=ee</i> -	
3OBV	—	<i>du</i> -	<i>a</i>	<i>á</i>	<i>a=ee</i> - ~ <i>a</i> -	
IND.H	<i>káa</i> - ~ <i>kú</i> -	<i>du</i> -	<i>káa</i>	<i>káa</i>	<i>káa-kú=ee</i> -	
IND.N	<i>at</i> -	—	<i>at</i>	<i>át</i>	<i>at=ee</i> -	
PART	<i>aa</i> -	—	<i>aa</i>	<i>aa</i>	<i>aa=ee</i> -	
AREAL	<i>kú</i> -	—	—	$^?kú$	<i>kú</i> - ~ $^?kú$ -	
REFL	<i>sh</i> - ~ \emptyset -	—	<i>chush</i> - ~ <i>sh</i>	<i>chiúsh</i>	<i>chush=ee</i> -	
RECIP	<i>woosh</i> =	—	<i>woosh</i>	<i>wóosh</i>	<i>woosh=ee</i> -	
(3)PL	<i>has</i> =	<i>has</i> =	<i>has-du</i>	<i>hás</i>	<i>has-du=ee</i> -	

Table 13: Pronouns and verb pronominals.

<i>Valence category</i>	S	O	PP
transitive	+	+	±
subject intransitive (unergative)	+	-	±
object intransitive (unaccusative)	-	+	±
impersonal	-	-	±
object intransitive + thematic S	×	+	±
subject intransitive + thematic S	×	×	±
impersonal + thematic S	×	-	±
impersonal + thematic O	-	×	±
impersonal + thematic S & O	×	×	±
transitive + obligatory PP	+	+	+
subject intransitive + obligatory PP	+	-	+
object intransitive + obligatory PP	-	+	+
impersonal + obligatory PP	-	-	+
?	×	+	+
?	+	×	+
?	×	-	+
?	-	×	+
?	×	×	+

Table 14: Valency of Tlingit verbs. +: required present, -: required absent, ±: optional, ×: thematic (lexically specified and nonreferential)

<i>Subj.</i>	<i>Prefixes</i>	<i>Classifier shape</i>				
		Ci-	Ca-	C-~Ca-	θ-	ya-
1SG	ga-xa-	kaCi	kaCa	kaC	ka	kaa
1PL	ga-tu-	gatuCi	gatuCa	gatooc	gattoo	gatuwa
2SG	ga-i-	giCi	giCa	geec	gee	giya
1PL	ga-yi-	gayiCi	gayiCa	gayiC	gay	gayey
IND.H	ga-du-	gaduCi	—	gaduc	gadu	gaduwa
3/ <i>none</i>	ga-(θ-)	gaCi	—	gaC	ga	gaa
1SG	u-ga-xa-	kwaCi	kwaCa	kwaC	kwa	kwa
3/ <i>none</i>	u-ga-(θ-)	gwaCi	gwaCa	gwaC	gwa	gwa
1SG	CV-ga-xa-	CVkaCi	CVkaCa	CVkaC	CVka	CVkaa
1PL	CV-ga-tu-	CVxtuCi	CVxtuCa	CVxtooC	CVxtoo	CVxtuwa
2SG	CV-ga-i-	CVgiCi	CVgiCa	CVgeec	CVgee	CVgiya
1PL	CV-ga-yi-	CVxyiCi	CVxyiCa	CVxyiC	CVxyi	CVxyey
IND.H	CV-ga-du-	CVxduCi	—	CVxduc	CVxdu	CVxduwa
3/ <i>none</i>	CV-ga-(θ-)	CVxci	CVxCa	CVgac	CVga	CVgaa
1SG	CV-u-ga-xa-	CU:kaCi	CU:kaCa	CU:kaC	CU:ka	CU:kaa
3/ <i>none</i>	CV-u-ga-(θ-)	CU:xci	CU:xCa	CU:gac	CU:ga	CU:gaa
1SG	CV-oo-ga-xa-	CukaCi	CukaCa	Cukac	Cuka	Cukaa
3/ <i>none</i>	CV-oo-ga-(θ-)	Cuxci	CuxCa	Cugac	Cuga	Cugaa

Table 44: Northern prefix contractions with +5 *ga-* conjugation. U: represents *oo* if V is *a*, or lengthened V otherwise.

Subj.	Prefixes	Classifier shape			
		Ci-	Ca-	C- ~ Ca-	θ-
1SG	na- <i>xa</i> -	naxCi	naxCa	naxaC	naxa
1PL	na-tu-	natuCi	natuCa	natooc	natuwa
2SG	na-i-	niCi	niCa	neeC	niya
2PL	na-yi-	nayCi	nayCa	nayCiC	nayeeÿ
IND.H	na-du-	naduCi	—	naduC	naduwa
3/ <i>none</i>	na-(θ-)	naCi	—	naC	naa
1SG	u-na- <i>xa</i> -	{ unxaCi	unxaCa	unxaC	unxaa
3/ <i>none</i>	u-na-(θ-)	{ naxwaCi	naxwaCa	naxwaC	naxwaa
		unaCi	—	unaC	unaa
1SG	CV-na- <i>xa</i> -	CVnaxCi	CVnaxCa	CVnxaC	CVnxaa
1PL	CV-na-tu-	CVntuCi	CVntuCa	CVntooC	CVntuwa
2SG	CV-na-i-	CVniCi	CVniCa	CVneeC	CVniya
2PL	CV-na-yi-	CVnayCi	CVnayCa	CVnayC	CVnayeeÿ
IND.H	CV-na-du-	CVnduCi	—	CVnduC	CVnduwa
3/ <i>none</i>	CV-na-(θ-)	CVnCi	—	CVnaC	CVnaa
1SG	CV-u-na- <i>xa</i> -	{ CU:naxCi	CU:naxCa	CU:nxaC	CU:nxaa
3/ <i>none</i>	CV-u-na-(θ-)	{ CVnaxwCi	CVnaxwCa	CVnaxwaC	CVnaxwaa
1SG	CV-oo-na- <i>xa</i> -	CU:nCi	CU:nCa	CU:naC	CU:naa
3/ <i>none</i>	CV-oo-na-(θ-)	CunaxCi	CunaxCa	CunxaC	Cunxaa
3/ <i>none</i>	CV-w-na-(θ-)	CunCi	—	CunaC	Cunaa
3/ <i>none</i>	CV-w-na-(θ-)	CunCi	—	CunaC	Cunaa

Table 43: Northern prefix contractions with +5 *na*-conjugation. U: represents *oo* if V is *a*, or lengthened V otherwise.

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

Table 15: Verb template structure.

Position Affixes	
+18	N-x', N-{t, x, dé}, N-naá, N-dáx, N x'é', N dasé', N gunayá- N ce'ténaáx, ...
+17 F	gunayéi-gunéi=, áa=, shóo=, héeni=, gági=, éégi=, daagi=
E2	kút=, yáx=, yoaá=, héenx=, úx= k'wáákx=, yedá=, yaa'naáx-yaahnaáx'=
E1	yáa'*, neil'*=, haá'*=, yóó'*=, káx'*=, kaxi'*=
D	kei-keih ₁ =, yei-yeih ₁ =, yek'-yek's-ehl ₁ =, daak'-daakh ₁ =, daak'-daakh ₁ =
C	yéi-yeih ₁ = 'thus, yóo-yoo ₁ = QUOR
B	yáa-yaah ₁ = MENT
A	yáa-yaah ₁ = 'along', yoo-yoo ₁ = ALT
+16	woosh= RECI _P , dáx= DISTB
+15	has= ~ s- ~ as= ₁ PL
+14	áat-áx', haá-haah ₁ -, i-, yí-, a-θ-, ash-, kaa-kú-, at-, aa-, sh-θ-
+13	kú- AREAL
+12	yáan-, shakux-, yáa-, x'asakw-, gaá-, xee-xei-, kee-kei-, yee-yei-, líl', kanik'-yaka-, saa-, aan-, naa-, sha-axw-, yakw-, hir-, lux', has', luk- ji-, x'e-x'a-, k'a-, tu-, sha-, shu-, lu-, se-sa-, xa-, gu-, ta-, daa-, xoo-, xan-, x'aa-, téi-, ta-a-, yik-, yee-, kí-, gin-, xí-, s'aa-, lídax', wak-, s'at'-x'ús-, s'ee-, duk-, lakka-, tilik-, keey-, toox', x'átu-, tulx'e-huk'e-, daa-it-, tax'-
+11	yá- VSFC
+10	ka- HSFC
+9	ga- SBEN
+8	ga- GCNJ
+7	u-, w-, oo- (all IRR)
+6	θ- ZCNJ, na- NCNJ, ga- GCNJ
+5	yá- PFV, u- ZPFV, ga- GMOD
+4	daga- dáx- DISTB
+3	xá- ISG.S, tu- 1PL.S, i- 2SG.S, yi- 2PL.S, θ- 3.S, du- 3OBVS, du- INDHS
+2	cl[D, S, I]: D ∈ {+D, -D}, S ∈ {θ, s, l, sh}, I ∈ {+I, -I}
+1	Vroot (CVC, CVC', CV'C, CV'C', CV', CV'h, Invar)
0	-', -i-, -h-, -n-, -y' (all VAR)
-1	-án-, shán-, -ch-, dák-, -aa-, -xaa-, -yi-, -ee-, -k-, -dí-, -ch'áí-, -k-, -nas-, -nás', -kát'
-2	-k- REP, -x- REP, -ch REP, -t ICTREP, -x' PL, -t' PL, -s' SBR, -l' SBR
-3	-ch HAB, -(n)é-(n)ehl ₁ COND, -án CTNG
-4	-een-ehl ₁ DEC, -ee'-ehl ₁ -k' PHNj/OPt
-5	-é-ehl ₁ SUB, -l- REL
-6	=noók _N -neekw _{SRI} -neekw ₁ =nooch _N -nikw _h -neech _{SRI} -neech ₁ =noog _{EN}
-7	-nejeens _{SRI} -neehj _h =nikree _N -nikmnee ₁ -nikwis _{SR} -nikmnee ₁ =ganjúw _N -ganjúw ₁ -ganikw _S -ganikw ₁

Table 16: Verb morphemes.

Subj.	Prefixes	Classifier shape				
		Cl-	Ca-	C-~Ca-	θ-	yá-
1SG	θ-xa-	xáCi	xáCa	xáC	xá	xaa
1PL	θ-tu-	tuCi	tuCa	tooc	too	tuwa
2SG	θ-i-	iCi	iCa	eeC	ee	iya
2PL	θ-yi-	yiCi	yeyCa	yíC	yí	yey
IND.H	θ-du-	duCi	—	duC	du	duwa
3/none	θ-(θ-)	Ci	Ca	iC	θ	yá
1SG	u-θ-xa-	{ xwaCi uxCi uCi	{ xwaCa uxCa	xwaC	xwa	xwaa
3/none	u-θ-(θ-)	—	—	uC	u	uxaa
IND.H	u-θ-du-	{ — —	—	uduc	udu	—
1SG	CV-θ-xa-	CVxGi	CVxCa	CVxáC	CVxa	CVxaa
1PL	CV-θ-tu-	CVtuGi	CVtuCa	CVtooc	CVtoo	CVtuwa
2SG	CV-θ-i-	CeeCi	CeeCa	CeeC	Cee	Ceeya
2PL	CV-θ-yi-	CVyeyCi	CVyCa	CVyíC	CVyí	CVyey
IND.H	CV-θ-du-	CVduCi	—	CVduC	CVdu	CVduwa
3/none	CV-θ-(θ-)	CVGi	CVCa	CVC	CV	CVya
3/none	ka-θ-(θ-)	kaCi	kaCa	kaC	ka	kaa
3/none	CV-ka-θ-(θ-)	CVkCi	CVkCa	CVkaC	CVka	CVkaa
1SG	CV-u-θ-xa-	CU;xGi	CU;xCa	CU;xáC	CU:xá	CU:xaa
3/none	CV-u-θ-(θ-)	CU;Ci	CU;Ca	CU;C	CU;	CU;ya
IND.H	CV-u-θ-du-	{ — —	—	CU;duC	CU;du	—
1SG	CV-oo-θ-xa-	CuxCi	CuxCa	CuxáC	Cuxá	Cuxaa
3/none	CV-oo-θ-(θ-)	CooCi	CooCa	CooC	Coo	Cuwa
3/none	CV-w-θ-(θ-)	CuCi	CuCa	CuC	Cu	Coo

Table 42: Northern prefix contractions with +5 θ-conjugation. U: represents oo if V is a, or lengthened V otherwise.

Subj.	Prefixes	Classifier shape		
		Ca-	C-~Ca-	∅-
1SG	ga-w-ga-xa-	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kukCa} \\ \text{kwkaCa} \\ \text{kkwaCa} \end{array} \right\}$	kukCaC	kuk̄ka
			kwkaCaC	kw̄ka
			kkwaCaC	kk̄wa
1PL	ga-w-ga-tu-	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{gaxtuCa} \\ \text{gagiCa} \end{array} \right\}$	gaxtooC	gax̄too
			gageeC	gaḡee
2SG	ga-w-ga-i-	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kgiCa} \\ \text{gaxyiCa} \end{array} \right\}$	kgeeC	kḡee
			gaxyiC	gax̄yi
2PL	ga-w-ga-yi-	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{gaxduCa} \\ \text{guxCa} \end{array} \right\}$	gaxduC	gax̄du
			guxCaC	gux̄Ca
IND.H	ga-w-ga-du-	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{gugaC} \\ \text{kgwaC} \end{array} \right\}$	gugaC	guḡa
			kgwaC	kḡwa
3/none	ga-w-ga-(∅-)			
1SG	CV-ga-w-ga-xa-	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{CVkwkaCa} \\ \text{CVgaxtuCa} \end{array} \right\}$	CVkwkaC	CVkw̄ka
			CVgaxtooC	CVgax̄too
1PL	CV-ga-w-ga-tu-	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{CVkgiCa} \\ \text{CVgaxyiCa} \end{array} \right\}$	CVkgeeC	CVkḡee
			CVgaxyiC	CVgax̄yi
2SG	CV-ga-w-ga-i-	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{CVgaxduCa} \\ \text{CVguxCa} \end{array} \right\}$	CVgaxduC	CVgax̄du
			CVkwgaC	CVkw̄ga
IND.H	CV-ga-w-ga-du-	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kakwkaCa} \\ \text{kookaCa} \end{array} \right\}$	kakwkaC	kakw̄ka
			kookaCaC	kook̄a
3/none	CV-ga-w-ga-(∅-)			
1SG	ka-ga-w-ga-xa-			

Table 41: Northern prefix contractions with future *ga-w-ga-...C.V[-]*. The CV prefix *ka-* with 1SG.s *x̄a-* has an additional optional contraction.

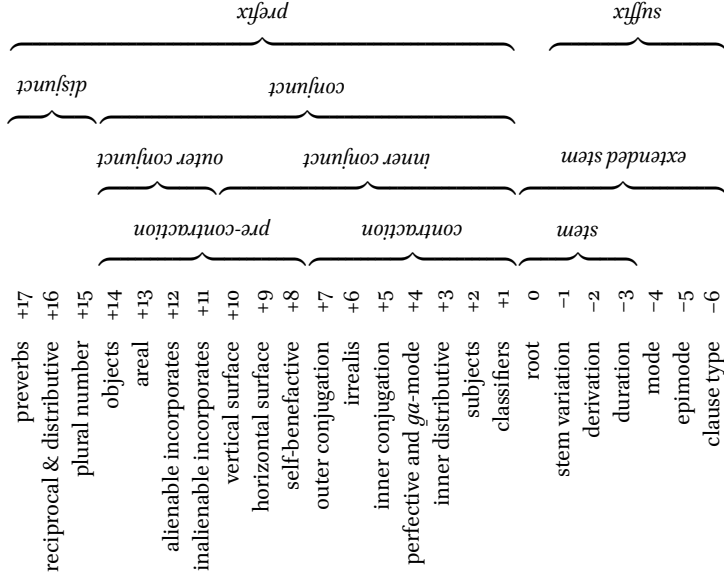


Figure 4: Domains of the verb.

Grp.	Preverb	Gloss	Crj.	Description
	<i>gunaxyéi-gunéi-gun(x)ei'</i> _r	INCEP	0	inceptive: beginning, starting
	<i>da-aat'</i> _r	LOC	—	locative: there
	<i>áa-aat'</i> _r (+ <i>yáx</i>)	ROT	0	rotatory: turning over
F	<i>shóo-shoo'</i> _r (+ <i>yáx</i>)	ADROT	0	adrotatory: turning over endwise
	<i>heeni-heeni'</i> _r	INAQ	0	inaquative: into water
	<i>gáigi</i>	ABUMB	0	abumbrate: from shadow into open
	<i>eegi-eegi'</i> _r	ABSIV	0	absilvative: from woods to shore
	<i>dáagi-daaqi'</i> _r	ABAQ	0	abaquative: from water to shore
	<i>kut (kut~kwut)</i>	ERR	ga	errative: astray, lost, excessively (- <i>t</i>)
	<i>yian, yiax, yíande</i>	CPLTV	0	completive: completing, finishing (-*)
	<i>yux</i>	out	na	outside (- <i>x</i>)
	<i>yaax-yaaht'</i> _r	INVEH	ga	invehicular: into vehicle (- <i>x</i>)
E2	<i>heenx~heenx'</i> _r	INAQ	ga	inaquative: into water (- <i>x</i>)
	<i>ux (+ kei-kei'h)</i>	UNCTL	0	uncontrolled: blindly, out of control (- <i>x</i>)
	<i>kwáakx (+ daak-daahk'</i> _r)	wrong	0	by mistake, wrongly (- <i>x</i>)
	<i>yetx-yedax'</i> _r	INVT	0	initial: starting off, taking off (- <i>dáx</i>)
	<i>yianx-yiahanx'</i> _r	under	ga	underground (- <i>náx</i>)
	<i>yian, yiax, yíande-yíandeh'</i> _r	shore	0	abmarine: ashore, onto ground, resting
	<i>neil(t), neilx; neiláe~neihdeh'</i> _r	home	0	inside, homeward, into building
	<i>haat, haax; haate~haahdeh'</i> _r	here	0	here, this way, toward speaker
E1	<i>yóot, yóox, yóode-yóodeh'</i> _r	hence	0	hence, away, off (indefinite location)
	<i>kax; káax; káade~kaxdeh'</i> _r	REV	0	revertive: aback, reversed direction
	<i>kaxi, kaxxi, káxde</i>	AGRND	0	aground, into shallow water (1T only)
	<i>kei-keih'</i> _r	up	0	upward
	<i>yei-yeih'</i> _r	down	0	downward, out of vehicle
	<i>yeik-yeéks~eehl'</i> _r	ADURT	0	aditorial: down to shore, beachward
D	<i>daak~dáákx~daahk'</i> _r	ABLIT	0	ablitoral: inland from shore, back from open, off of fire
	<i>daak~dáákx~daahk'</i> _r	ADMAR	0	admarine: seaward, into open, falling from sky, onto fire
C	<i>yéi-yei't~yeh't</i> _r	thus	—	manner: thus, so (<i>yeh't</i> = is thematic)
	<i>yóo-yoo't</i> _r	QUOT	—	quotation
B	<i>yia~yá~yiaht</i> _r	MENT	—	mental state or activity
A	<i>yoo-yooht</i> _r	ALT	0	alternating: back and forth, to and fro
	<i>yia~yiaht</i> _r	along	na	along, down, obliquely, progressive

Table 17: Preverbs (+17).

Subj.	Prefixes	Classifier shape				
		Gi-	Ca-	C~Ca-	0-	yá-
1SG	yü-xa-	xwáCi	xwáCa	xwáC	xwá	xwáa
1PL	yü-tu-	wutuCi	wutuCa	wutooC	wutoo	wutuwa
2SG	yü-i-	yíCi	yíCa	yíC	yí	yé
2SG	u-i-	yíCi	yíCa	yíC	yí	íya
2PL	yü-yi-	yéyCi	yéCa	yéyC	yéy	yéy
IND.H	yü-du-	wuduCi	—	wuduC	wudu	wuduwa
3/none	yü-(0-)	wuCi	—	wuC	wu	woo
3/none	u-(0-)	wuCi	—	wuC	wu	uwa
1SG	CV-yü-xa-	CVxwCi	CVxwáCa	CVxwáC	CVxwá	CVxwáa
1PL	CV-yü-tu-	CVwtuCi	CVwtuCa	CVwtooC	CVwto	CVwtuwa
2SG	CV-yü-i-	CVyCi	CVyCa	CVyíC	CVyí	Ceeyá
2PL	CV-yü-yi-	CVyeyCi	CVyeyCa	CVyeyC	CVyey	CVyey
IND.H	CV-yü-du-	CVwduCi	—	CVwduC	CVwdu	CVwduwa
3/none	CV-yü-(0-)	CVwCi	—	CVwuC	CVwu	CVwá
3/none	CV-u-(0-)	CU:Gi	—	CU:G	CU:	CU:wá

Table 40: Northern Tlingit prefix contractions with +4 perfective *yü-* or *u-*. U: represents *oo* if V is *a*, or lengthened V otherwise.

Prefixes	Perfective	Future	Imperfective	Ext~Mul Impfy.	Progressive	Realizational	Habitual	Potential	Imperative	Hortative	Admonitive	Consecutive	Conditional	Contingent
ÿu-	+													
u-ÿu-	+													
u-	+													
ga-w-ga-		+												
0-			+											
u-0-			+											
0-ga-														
u-0-ga-								+						
na-														
u-na-				+										
na-ga-				+										
u-na-ga-														
ga-														
u-ga-				+										
ga-ga-				+										
u-ga-ga-														
ga-				+										
ga-u-				+										
ga-ga-				+										
ga-u-ga-														

Table 39: Contracting prefix sequences and their associated modes.

Gloss	Source		Unmarked		Punctual		Pertingent		Allative	
	Form	Trans.			-t	-x	-x	-dé	-x	-dé
ABMAR	yán	'shore'	yán-	yán-	yán-	yáx-	yándé-			
home	neil	'home'	neil-	neil(t)-	neil(t)-	neilx-	neildé-			
here	haa?	'us'?	—	haat-	haat-	haax-	haadé-			
hence	yóo	'distal'	yóo-	yóot-	yóot-	yóox-	yóode-			
REV	k̄u	'areal'	k̄ux-	k̄ux-	k̄ux-	k̄ux-	k̄uxde-			
aground	kux?	'dry'?	?kux-	kux-	kux-	kuxx-	kuxde-			
ABMAR	yán		yán-	yán-	yán-	yáx-	yándé-			
home	neil		neil-	neilt-	neilt-	neilx-	neildé-			
here	?haa		?haa-	haat-	haat-	haax-	haadé-			
hence	?yóo		?yóo-	yóot-	yóot-	yóox-	yóode-			
REV	?k̄ux		?k̄ux-	k̄ux-	k̄ux-	?k̄uxx-	k̄uxde-			
ABMAR	yán		yán-	yán-	yán-	yáx-	yandéih-			
home	?neihl		?neihl-	neihlt-	neihlt-	neihlx-	neihldéi-			
here	?haah		?haah-	haahrt-	haahrt-	haahx-	haahde-			
hence	?yoo		?yoo-	yoot-	yoot-	yoox-	yoodéih-			
REV	?k̄ux		?k̄ux-	k̄ux-	k̄ux-	?k̄uxx-	k̄uxdeih-			

Table 18: Group E1 preverb (+17) variants. *kux* only in Inland Tlingit.

Prefix	Source noun
<i>yaaŋ-yiadhŋr-</i>	<i>yaaŋ</i> 'hunger'
<i>shakux-</i>	<i>shakoox-shakuhxŋr</i> 'thirst'
<i>yata-</i>	<i>-yá</i> 'face?' <i>yá-</i> classifier? + <i>tá</i> 'sleep'
<i>x'asákw-</i>	<i>x'aséikw</i> 'breath, life'
<i>gaɣ-</i>	<i>gaɣ</i> 'crying, weeping', <i>√gaɣ</i> 'cry'
<i>xeiŋ~xeesŋr~xeehŋr-</i>	<i>xee</i> 'dusk, shadow' (cf. <i>shaa xeyiŋ</i> 'mtn. shadow')
<i>keiŋ~keesŋr~keehŋr-</i>	<i>kee</i> 'dawn' (cf. <i>kee á</i> 'dawn', <i>keex'e</i> 'daybreak')
<i>yeiŋ~yeesŋr~yeehŋr-</i>	<i>yee</i> 'time' (cf. <i>yeeɗɗt</i> 'moment')
<i>lɪɪ-</i>	<i>l'ɛel</i> 'feces', <i>√lɪɪ</i> 'defecate'
<i>kanik-</i>	<i>kaneek~kaneehŋr</i> 'report, news'
<i>kayik-</i>	<i>kayéik</i> 'noise'
<i>yáka-</i>	<i>yaká</i> 'curse, reproach, rebuke'
<i>saa-saahŋr-</i>	<i>saa</i> 'name'
<i>aaŋ-aahŋr-</i>	<i>aaŋ</i> 'land, town, settlement'
<i>naa-naahŋr-</i>	<i>naa</i> 'clan, nation, people'
<i>shaaxw-</i>	<i>sha.aaxw</i> 'bundle'
<i>yákw-</i>	<i>yákw~yákwŋr</i> 'canoe, boat'
<i>hiŋ-</i>	<i>heeŋŋ~hééŋŋ~heeŋŋr</i> 'fresh water, river, stream'
<i>lux'-</i>	<i>loox'</i> 'urine', <i>√lux'</i> 'urinate'
<i>has'-</i>	<i>háas'</i> 'vomit', <i>√has'</i> 'vomit'
<i>luk-</i>	<i>√luk</i> 'sip'
<i>k'ei-</i>	<i>√k'ei'</i> 'good'

Table 19: Alienable incorporated nouns (+12).

+14	...	+6	+5	+4	+3	+2	+1
a-							Ca-
	u-						Ca-
		na-					Ca-
		# <i>ga-</i>					Ca-
			# <i>ga-</i>				Ca-
			<i>yü-</i>				Ca-
			u-		<i>daga-</i>		Ca-
						<i>du-</i>	[+D]

Table 37: Verb prefixes that cause deletion of the classifier *a* vowel in non- \emptyset series classifiers with [-D, -I]. Deletion only occurs with *ga-* when it is word-initial, others may have preceding prefixes. Deletion with *du-* is due to shift from [-D] to [+D].

<i>pre-contraction prefixes</i>				<i>contraction prefixes</i>									
+14	+13	+12	+11	+10	+9	+8	+7	+6	+5	+4	+3	+2	+1
i-	kü-		ji-	yá-	ka-	ga-	ga-	u-	Ø-	yü-		xá-	Ø-
yí-			x'a-					w-	na-	u-		tu-	yá-
a-			k'a-					oo-	gá-	gá-		i-	da-
kü-			tu-									yí-	di-
			shu-									Ø-	sa-
			lu-									du-	si-
			se-									du-	s-
			sa-									du-	dzi-
			xá-									la-	la-
			gu-									li-	li-
			ta-									ki-	di-
			xi-									xi-	sh-
													sh-
													ji-

Table 38: Verb prefixes participating in prefix contraction.

Cls.	Derivation	Ephemerera	Name	Meaning
Inceptive & Terminative				
0	<i>gunəyə́t</i> = ~ <i>guné́t</i> = ~ <i>gunəyə́t</i> '=ᵀ ~ <i>guné́t</i> '=ᵀ	-x Rep	inceptive	beginning, initiating
0	<i>yān</i> = ~ <i>yāx</i> = ~ <i>yānde</i> =	-h Rep	terminative	finishing, ending
Exhaustive				
0	N-x <i>yāx</i> = + <i>yā</i> -[s]-	-x Rep	exhaustive	exhausting; affecting all/many
0	N-x <i>yā</i> -[s]-	-x Rep	exhaustive	exhausting; affecting all/many
ga	N-x	—	exhaustive	exhausting; affecting all/many
ga	<i>yāx</i> =	—	exhaustive	exhausting; affecting all/many
Areal				
0	<i>kᵛáák-t</i> =	—	errative	wrongly, mistakenly, in error
0	<i>kᵛáákx</i> = <i>daák</i> =	—	errative	wrongly, mistakenly, in error
0	<i>kunáax</i> = <i>daák</i> =	—	explanative	explaining, clarifying
ga	<i>kut</i> = (<i>kawt</i> =1)	—	excessive	getting carried away

Table 35: Non-motion derivation strings.

Ci-		Ca-		C- ~ Ca-	
Form	Features	Form	Features	Form	Features
di-	+D 0 +I	da-	+D 0 -I		
si-	-D s +I	sa-	-D s -I	sa-	-D s -I
dzi-	+D s +I			s-	+D s -I
li-	-D l +I	la-	-D l -I	la-	-D l -I
dli-	+D l +I			l-	+D l -I
shi-	-D sh +I	sha-	-D sh -I	sha-	-D sh -I
ji-	+D sh +I			sh-	+D sh -I

Table 36: Classifiers by phonological shape, excluding *0-* and *yā-*. See table 37 for *a*.

Prefix	Source noun
ji-	- <i>jín</i> 'hand, arm', - <i>jee</i> 'possession'
x'a- <i>k'a</i> -	-x' <i>é</i> 'mouth'
tu-	- <i>tú</i> 'inside; mind, emotions'
sha-	- <i>shá</i> 'head'
shu-	- <i>shú</i> 'end'
lu-	- <i>lú</i> 'nose, point'
se~sa-	- <i>sé</i> 'voice'
xá-	- <i>xáaw</i> 'fur'
gu-	- <i>gú</i> 'base, butt'
ta-	- <i>tá</i> 'bottom; head of bay'
<i>daa</i> - <i>daah</i> -ᵀ	- <i>daa</i> - <i>daah</i> -ᵀ 'around, surrounding, periphery'
taa-	?? 'lonesome'
xoo-	- <i>xoo</i> 'among, amidst, within'
xán-	- <i>xán</i> 'vicinity, near'
x'aa-	-x' <i>aa</i> 'space between, interstice'
t'é _{IN} -? t'é _{SR} -? t'ee-ᵀ	- <i>t'é</i> 'behind, screened by, obscured by'
t'aa-	- <i>t'áa</i> - <i>t'áak</i> 'landward side'
yik-	- <i>yík</i> 'inside (concave)'
yee-	- <i>yee</i> 'underneath, beneath'
ki-	√ <i>ki</i> 'sit'?
gin-	- <i>geen</i> 'tail flipper'
xí-	- <i>xee</i> 'shoulder'
s'aan-	? - <i>s'aan</i> 'limb'?
<i>lidíx</i> -	- <i>lidíx</i> 'neck, throat'
<i>wak</i> - (+ <i>ka</i> -)	- <i>waak</i> 'eye'
s'aak- (+ <i>ka</i> -)	s' <i>aa</i> k 'bone' (alienable; <i>kaa s'aagí</i> 'one's bone')
x'us- (+ <i>ka</i> -)	-x' <i>oos</i> 'foot, leg'
s'ee- (+ <i>ka</i> -)	- <i>s'ee</i> 'eyebrow'
<i>duk</i> - (+ <i>ka</i> -)	<i>dook</i> 'skin' (alienable; <i>kaa doogú</i> 'one's skin')
la- (+ <i>ka</i> -)	- <i>laká</i> 'inside of mouth' (cf. - <i>leitóox</i> 'in the throat')
t'elk- (+ <i>sha</i> -)	t' <i>ee</i> k _{RS} -t' <i>ee</i> k _ᵀ -t' <i>ee</i> k _{IN} 'finger'
t'ík- (+ <i>sha</i> -)	-t' <i>ee</i> k _{SR} 'finger' + - <i>shá</i> 'head' → -t' <i>í</i> k _{shá} 'fingertip'
<i>keey</i> -	- <i>keey</i> 'knee'
tóox- (+ <i>ka</i> -)	- <i>tóox</i> - <i>ká</i> 'kneeling'
x'atu-	-x' <i>é</i> 'mouth + - <i>tú</i> 'inside'
<i>tuḵx</i> - <i>e</i> - <i>tuḵ</i> 'e-	- <i>tuḵx</i> ' <i>é</i> 'anus' (< - <i>tú</i> k' 'butt' + -x' <i>é</i> 'mouth')
<i>daa</i> - <i>éet</i> -	- <i>daa</i> - <i>éet</i> 'joint'
<i>táx</i> -	- <i>táx</i> ' 'heart'

Table 20: Inalienable incorporated nouns (+II).

Stem Var Suffix	Closed roots				Open roots	
	CVC	CVC'	CVC	CV	CV ^h	
- <i>n</i>	CVC	CVC'	CVC	CV	CV ^h	
- <i>i</i>	CVC	CVC'	CVC	CV	CV ^h	
- <i>y</i>						
habitual - <i>ch</i> (θ -conj.)				CV ^h <i>y</i> - <i>ch</i>	CV ^h <i>y</i> - <i>ch</i>	
habitual - <i>ch</i> (non- θ)	CVC	CVC'	CVC	CV ^h <i>i</i> - <i>ch</i>	CV ^h <i>i</i> - <i>ch</i>	
otherwise				CV ⁱ	CV ⁱ	
- <i>h</i>						
imperative	CVhC	CV ⁱ C'	CV ⁱ C	CV ⁱ	CV ⁱ	
otherwise				CVh	CVh	
- <i>X</i> ∈ { <i>k</i> , <i>x</i> , <i>ch</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>x'</i> , <i>t'</i> , <i>s'</i> , <i>f'</i> } _{slot -3}	—	—	—	CV ^h <i>X</i> - <i>X</i>	CV ^h <i>X</i> - <i>X</i>	
two suffixes (- <i>kw</i> - <i>t</i>)						
one suffix	CV ^h C- <i>X</i>	CV ^h C'- <i>X</i>	CV ^h C- <i>X</i>	CV ^h <i>i</i> - <i>X</i>	CV ^h <i>i</i> - <i>X</i>	
- <i>'</i> (open roots only)						
no other suffix				CV ⁱ	CV ⁱ	
auxiliary (hab, dec, hab, consec, ...)				CV ⁱ <i>h</i> =...	CV ⁱ <i>h</i> =...	
prohibitive-optative - <i>k</i>				CV ⁱ <i>h</i> - <i>k</i>	CV ⁱ <i>h</i> - <i>k</i>	
decessive - <i>ee(h)</i> <i>n</i>				CV ⁱ <i>h</i> - <i>yee(h)</i> <i>n</i>	CV ⁱ <i>h</i> - <i>yee(h)</i> <i>n</i>	
other sks with <i>i</i> - <i>ee(h)</i> (subord., conting, ...)				CVh- <i>y</i> ...	CVh- <i>y</i> ...	
closed plain						
relative clause	CVC	CVC'	CVC			
otherwise	CVC	CVC'	CVC			

*Exception: CV^h stems *vi^h* become *i* and *y^h* resemble *i* have *neen-neeh^h* and *y^hen-y^heh^h* instead of **neen-neeh^h* and **y^hen-y^heh^h*.

Table 21: Stem variation system (Leer 1991:168). Stem variation realizations that define the distinct root types are emphasized in bold. Invariable stems are excluded.

Cls	Derivation	Meaning
with <i>yoo</i> =[+1]-...- <i>k</i>	repetitive imperfective — unbounded directed motion	
na	—	moving along, lateral, horizontal
na	N- <i>x</i>	moving along N
na	N- <i>dé</i>	moving toward N
na	N- <i>dáx</i>	moving away from N
na	N- <i>náx</i>	moving by way of, through N
na	<i>yux</i> =	moving out of house
na	N- <i>x'</i> <i>yux</i> =	moving out of house at N
na	N- <i>nák</i>	leaving N behind
na	N- <i>gáa</i>	going for (to obtain) N
without imperfective — unbounded undirected motion		
na	N- <i>t</i>	moving around N
na	N- <i>áa</i>	moving around
with - <i>ch</i> repetitive imperfective — downward motion		
ga	—	falling (intransitive uncontrolled themes), downward
ga	<i>yáa</i> =	moving down (no <i>yáa</i> = with <i>yee</i> =)
ga	<i>yáax</i> =	embarking, getting into boat, vehicle
ga	<i>yáax</i> =	moving down into ground
ga	N- <i>x</i>	moving down along N
ga	<i>heen-x</i> =	moving into water
ga	<i>káx sha-</i>	falling over, prone
ga	N- <i>náx</i>	moving down by way of, through N
with - <i>ch</i> repetitive imperfective — initiatory motion		
ga	—	starting off, picking up, upward
ga	N- <i>dáx</i>	starting off or picking up from N
without imperfective — wrongly		
ga	<i>kut</i> =	going astray, getting lost

Table 34: *na*-, *ga*- & *ga*-conjugation class derivation strings for motion themes.

<i>Cls.</i>	<i>Derivation</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
	with -x repetitive imperfective — motion confined to a location	
0	N-x'	coming near N
0	N- <i>yá-</i> '	coming up to N
0	N <i>gunayá-</i> '	separating from N
0	N <i>jishá-</i> '	getting ahead of N
0	<i>gágl=</i>	emerging, coming out into open
0	<i>dáagl=</i>	coming out of water
0	<i>héeni=</i>	going into water
0	<i>gunayéi-gunéi=</i>	beginning
0	N-x	moving in place at N, while stuck at N
0	N-x' <i>yax=</i>	turning over by N
0	<i>á-²yax=</i>	turning over
0	<i>shú-²yax=</i>	turning over end by end
0	<i>yétx-yedax₁=</i>	starting, taking off, picking up
	with <i>yoo=</i> [+I]... <i>k</i> repetitive imperfective — oscillating motion	
0	<i>yoo=</i>	moving back and forth, to and fro
0	<i>yān=yoo=</i>	moving up and down (from surface)
	with <i>yā-oo- ~ yāa=</i> and <i>-ch</i> repetitive imperfective — oblique unbounded motion	
0	N-x <i>yā-oo- ~ yāa=</i>	moving obliquely, circuitously along N
0	N <i>daa-x</i> ...	circling around N
0	N <i>dé yā-oo- ~ yāa=</i>	moving obliquely, circuitously toward N
0	<i>hé-dé</i> ...	moving over that way, aside, out of the way
0	N <i>dáx yā-oo- ~ yāa=</i>	moving obliquely, circuitously away from N
0	N <i>jíkaa-dáx</i> ...	getting out of N's way
0	N <i>náx yā-oo- ~ yāa=</i>	moving obliquely, circuitously along N
0	N-x' <i>yā-oo- ~ yāa=</i>	moving obliquely, circuitously at N
0	N <i>daséi-x</i> ...	exchanging places with N
	with N-x <i>sha-yā-oo-</i> and <i>-ch</i> repetitive imperfective — hanging	
0	N-x <i>sha-yā-oo-</i>	hanging up at N
0	<i>yāx=sha-yā-oo-</i>	hanging up
	with <i>a-yā-oo-</i> [+D]- and -x repetitive imperfective — reverting motion	
0	<i>a-yā-oo-</i> [+D]-	reverting, turning back

Table 33: More θ -conjugation class derivation strings for motion themes.

<i>Stem Var. Suffix</i>	<i>Closed roots</i>			<i>Open roots</i>		
	<i>CVC</i>	<i>CVC'</i>	<i>CV'C</i>	<i>CV</i>	<i>CV^h</i>	
- <i>n</i>	<i>CVC</i>	<i>CVC'</i>	<i>CVC</i>	<i>CV^h-n</i>	<i>CV^h-n*</i>	
-:	<i>CV^h:C</i>	<i>CV^h:C'</i>	<i>CV^h:C</i>		<i>CV^h:C</i>	
- <i>y</i>				<i>CV^h:y-ch</i>	<i>CV^h:y-ch</i>	
habitual <i>-ch</i> (θ -conj.)				<i>CV^h:y-ch</i>	<i>CV^h:y-ch</i>	
habitual <i>-ch</i> (non- θ)	<i>CVC</i>	<i>CVC'</i>	<i>CVC</i>	<i>CV^h:ch</i>	<i>CV^h:ch</i>	
otherwise				<i>CV^h:C</i>	<i>CV^h:C</i>	
- <i>h</i>						
imperative	<i>CV:C</i>	<i>CV:C'</i>	<i>CV:C</i>	<i>CV</i>	<i>CV</i>	
otherwise				<i>CV:C</i>	<i>CV:C</i>	
- <i>X</i> \in { <i>k, x, -ch, -t, -x', -t', -s', -t'</i> } _{slot-3}						
two suffixes (<i>-kw-t</i>)				<i>CV^h-XX</i>	<i>CV^h-XX</i>	
one suffix	<i>CV^h-X</i>	<i>CV^h-X</i>	<i>CV^h-X</i>	<i>CV^h-X</i>	<i>CV^h-X</i>	
-' (open roots only)						
no other suffix				<i>CV</i>	<i>CV</i>	
auxiliary (hab., dec. hab., consec., ...)				<i>CV^h:...</i>	<i>CV^h:...</i>	
prohibitive-optative <i>-k</i>				<i>CV^h:k</i>	<i>CV^h:k</i>	
decessive <i>-éen</i>				<i>CV^h:yéen</i>	<i>CV^h:yéen</i>	
other suffixes with <i>i-ee</i> (subord., conting., ...)				<i>CV^h:y...</i>	<i>CV^h:y...</i>	
closed plain						
relative clause	<i>CVC</i>	<i>CVC'</i>	<i>CVC</i>			
otherwise	<i>CVC</i>	<i>CVC'</i>	<i>CVC</i>			

* Exception: CV^h stems *vni^h* 'become' and *yja^h* 'resemble' have *neen* and *yéin* instead of **néen* and **yéin*.

Table 22: Stem variation system in Northern Tlingit. Stem variation realizations that define the distinct root types are emphasized in bold. Invariable stems are excluded.

Suffix Modes	
-j	-j stative imperfective, -j extensional stative imperfective, reals \emptyset perfective, \emptyset -j potentials, most \emptyset habituals, \emptyset -j imperatives, \emptyset -j hortatives
-n	-n active imperfective, -n positional imperfective, progressive, -n stative imperfective, conditional, contingent
-:	reals -: active imperfective, reals -: positional imperfective, reals -: stative imperfective, realizational, reals future, admonitive, consecutive
-h	irrealis -: active imperfective, irrealis -: positional imperfective, -h active imperfective, -h positional imperfective, irrealis -h stative imperfective, reals -h stative imperfective of $\forall t^h$ 'be', h extensional stative imperfective, irrealis \emptyset perfective of closed roots, non- \emptyset perfective, irrealis future, most potentials, some \emptyset habituals, non- \emptyset imperatives, some \emptyset imperatives, non- \emptyset -j hortatives
-'	-' active imperatives, irrealis -j stative imperfective of open roots irrealis -j extensional stative imperfective of open roots, irrealis telic perfective of open roots
-X	-k repetitive imperfective, [+I]-...-k repetitive imperfective, $yoo=[+I]$ -...-k repetitive imperfective, -t active (repeated) imperfective, -ch repetitive imperfective, -t active (repeated) imperfective, -x' active (plural) imperfective, -t' active (plural) imperfective, -s' active (serial) imperfective, -l' active (serial) imperfective

Table 23: Distribution of stem variation suffixes across modes.

	-D		+D	
	-I	+I	-I	+I
\emptyset	\emptyset -	yi-	da-	di-
s	sa-	si-	s-	dzi-
l	la-	li-	l-	dli-
sh	sha-	shi-	sh-	ji-

Table 24: Classifier morphemes.

Class	Preverb	Example
\emptyset	yaa=	aadé yaa has na.át 'they are walking along there'
na	yaa=	aagáa yaa kúnas/héén 'he is going along searching for it'
ga	yei=	yei analgwéin 'he is wiping it'
ga	kel=	ket ndaðhan 'he is standing up'

Table 31: Conjugation class and progressive imperfective directional preverbs. Adapted from Edwards 2009: 25.

Cls.	Derivation	Meaning
	with -h repetitive imperfective	motion toward terminus
\emptyset	N-{t, x, de}	arriving at N, coming to N
\emptyset	yian= ~ yiax= ~ yünde=	moving ashore, to rest, completing
\emptyset	N-x' yian= ~ ...	coming to rest at N
\emptyset	N-náx yian= ~ ...	moving across N, to other side of N
\emptyset	yian= ~ ... + k'i-	setting up, erecting
\emptyset	yian= ~ ... + sha-	setting up, leaning against
\emptyset	kax= ~ kuxx= ~ kixxle=	moving aground, into shallow water
\emptyset	nell(t)= ~ nellx= ~ nellde=	moving inside, coming home
\emptyset	N-x' nell(t)= ~ ...	moving inside house at N
\emptyset	haat= ~ haax= ~ haad(n) dé=	coming here
\emptyset	yóo-{t, x, de}	going away, going off somewhere
	with -ch repetitive imperfective	motion toward area
\emptyset	kei=	moving up
\emptyset	ux=kei=	moving out of control, blindly, amiss
\emptyset	N-x' é-x' kei=	catching up with N
\emptyset	yei=	disembark, exit boat or other vehicle
\emptyset	yeekš~yeikš~eehk=	moving down to shore
\emptyset	heeni=yeik=...	moving down into water
\emptyset	daak=	moving up from shore, back from open
\emptyset	dáagf=daak=	moving further up from shore
\emptyset	kwaáax=daak=	moving by mistake, wrongly
\emptyset	daak=	seaward, out into open, falling from sky
\emptyset	kax= ~ kixxle= [+D]-	reverting, returning
\emptyset	N-x' kax= [+D]-	reverting, returning to N

Table 32: Some \emptyset -conjugation class derivation strings for motion themes.

<i>Mode</i>	<i>Preverb</i>	<i>Asp./Conj.</i>	<i>I-Cpnt.</i>	<i>Var.</i>	<i>Suff.</i>
DECLARATIVE MODES (cont'd)	+17	+7-+4	+1	-1	-3
<i>imperfectives</i> (cont'd)					
-j stative (default)					
realis		∅	+1	-j	
irrealis					
closed root CVC		u-∅-	-1	-j	
open root CV		u-∅-	-1	-'	
-h stative (perception, cognition, existence)					
realis		∅	+1	-h	
irrealis					
closed root CVC		u-∅-	-1	-h	
open root CV		u-∅-	-1	-'	
-: stative (possession, perception, cognition)					
realis		∅	+1	-:	
irrealis		u-∅-	-1	-h	
-n stative (only 'be many')					
realis		∅	+1	-n	
irrealis		u-∅-	-1	-h	
-kw stative (only 'be muddy')					
realis		∅	+1	-kw	
irrealis		u-∅-	-1	-kw	
stative with invariable root					
realis		∅	+1		
irrealis		u-∅-	-1		
-h extensional stative (motion as static situation)					
realis		CNJ-	+1	-h	
irrealis		u-CNJ-	-1	-h	
-j extensional stative (motion as static situation)					
realis		CNJ-	+1	-j	
irrealis		u-CNJ-	-1	-'	
-k multipositional stative (be in multiple locations)					
realis					
closed root CVC		CNJ-	+1	-k	
open root CV		CNJ-	+1	-kw-t	
irrealis					
closed root CVC		u-CNJ-	-1	-k	
open root CV		u-CNJ-	-1	-kw-t	

Table 26: Stative imperfective (declarative) modes.

<i>Mode</i>	<i>Preverb</i>	<i>Asp./Conj.</i>	<i>I-Cpnt.</i>	<i>Var.</i>	<i>Suff.</i>
DECLARATIVE MODES (cont'd)	+17	+7-+4	+1	-1	-3
<i>perfectives</i> (past, up to now)					
∅-conjugation perfective					
realis		yü- ~ u-	+1	-j	
irrealis					
open root CV		yü- ~ u-	-1	-'	
closed root CVC		yü- ~ u-	-1	-h	
na ^r -, ga ^r -, ga-conjugation perfective					
realis		yü-	+1	-h	
irrealis		yü-	-1	-h	
realizational (finally) — always realis					
realis		CNJ-	+1	-:	
habituals (always, usually)					
∅-conjugation habitual					
closed root CVC		u-∅-	-1	-h ~ -j	-ch
open root CV		u-∅-	-1	-j	-ch
na ^r -, ga ^r -, ga-conjugation habitual		CNJ-	-1		-ch
future (will, going to)					
realis		PVB= ga-w-ga-	-1	-:	
irrealis		PVB= ga-w-ga-	-1	-h	
potential (may, can, possible)					
closed root CVC		u-CNJ-ga-	+1	-h	
non-decessive		u-CNJ-ga-	-1	-h	
decessive		u-CNJ-ga-	-1	-h	
open root CV		u-CNJ-ga-	+1	-h	
non-decessive		u-CNJ-ga-	-1	-h	
decessive		u-CNJ-ga-	-1	-h	
open root CV active ∅-j themes					
non-decessive		u-∅-ga-	+1	-j	
decessive		u-∅-ga-	-1	-j	

Table 27: Non-imperfective declarative modes.