

Tlingit Verbal Structure Handbook

James A. Crippen

Department of Linguistics, University of British Columbia

jcrippen@gmail.com

Dzéiwsh

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

Draft of 2 July 2013

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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_T Tongass Tlingit, x_S Southern Tlingit (but x_S Sanya Tlingit versus x_H Henya Tlingit when the two are distinct), x_N Northern Tlingit, x_R Transitional Tlingit (Wrangell, Kake, etc.), x_G Gulf Coast Tlingit (Yakutat, Dry Bay, etc.), x_I Inland Tlingit. Lack of dialect specification indicates that an element is either identical in all dialects (except for certain details like variable vowel length) or that the element has only been documented in Northern Tlingit. Tongass Tlingit forms are often presented in opposition to forms which are identical in all the other dialects, in which case the latter forms are left unmarked. 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 VV' and VV'' from ordinary VV , a difficult reading requirement. The revised orthography used here is based on the Revised Popular orthography with adaptations from Michael Krauss's Eyak orthography which has a similar vowel system. Thus VVh is used for prior VV' and VV'' for prior VV . Leer's use of V' in transcription has been converted to VVh 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. $\acute{V}\grave{V}$, 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.

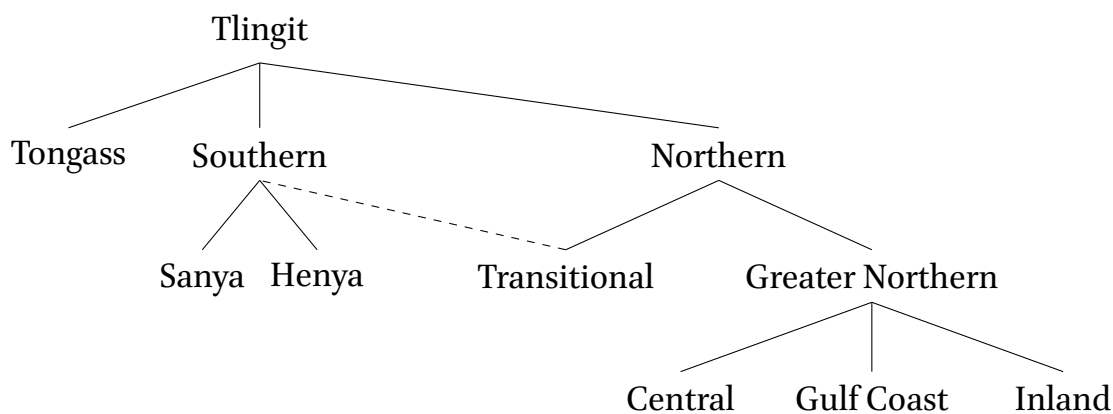


Figure 1: Tlingit dialect overview.

- Tongass Tlingit (T): Duke Island *Yee'x*, Metlakatla *Taahkw Aahni* (now Coast Tsim. *Maxłakxaatla*), Port Stewart *Gaahnax*, Tongass *Katukxuka*
- Southern Tlingit (S)
 - Sanya Tlingit (S): Cape Fox *Gaash*, Kah Shakes Cove *Gunéik'an Héènak'u*, Naha Bay *Naa.á*, Unuk River *Joonáx*, Chickamin River *Xeel*, Yes Bay *Yees Geeyí*
 - Hanya Tlingit (H): Craig *Shaanséet*, Klawock *Laawaak*, Tuxekan *T'akjik.aan*,
?Kuyu *Kooyú*
- Northern Tlingit (N)
 - Transitional Tlingit (R): Wrangell *Kaachxan.áak'w*, Petersburg *Gantiyaakw Séedi*
~ *Séet Ká*, Kake *Kéex'*, ?Kuyu *Kooyú*, ?Sumdum *S'aawdáan*, some in Angoon
Aangóon
 - Greater Northern Tlingit (N)
 - Central Tlingit (N): Sitka *Sheet'ká*, Angoon *Aangóon*, Killisnoo *Kanasnoow*,
Tenakee *T'anageiy*, ?Sumdum *S'aawdáan*, Taku *T'aakú*, Juneau *Dzánti*
K'ihéeni ~ *Jóonu*, Douglas *X'áat'k' T'iká*, Auke Bay *Áak'w*, Hoonah *Xunaa*,
Haines *Deishú*, Klukwan *Tlákwan.aan*, Skagway *Shgagwéi*
 - Gulf Coast Tlingit (G): Lituya Bay *Ltu.áa*, Dry Bay *Gunaḵoo*, Yakutat
Yaakwdáat, Icy Bay *Yáas'é*, Kaliakh *Galyáx*
 - Inland Tlingit (I): ?Sumdum *S'aawdáan*, Atlin *Áatlein*, Teslin *Deisleen*,
Tagish *Taagish*, Carcross *Naadaashahéeni* ~ *Naatasehéeni*

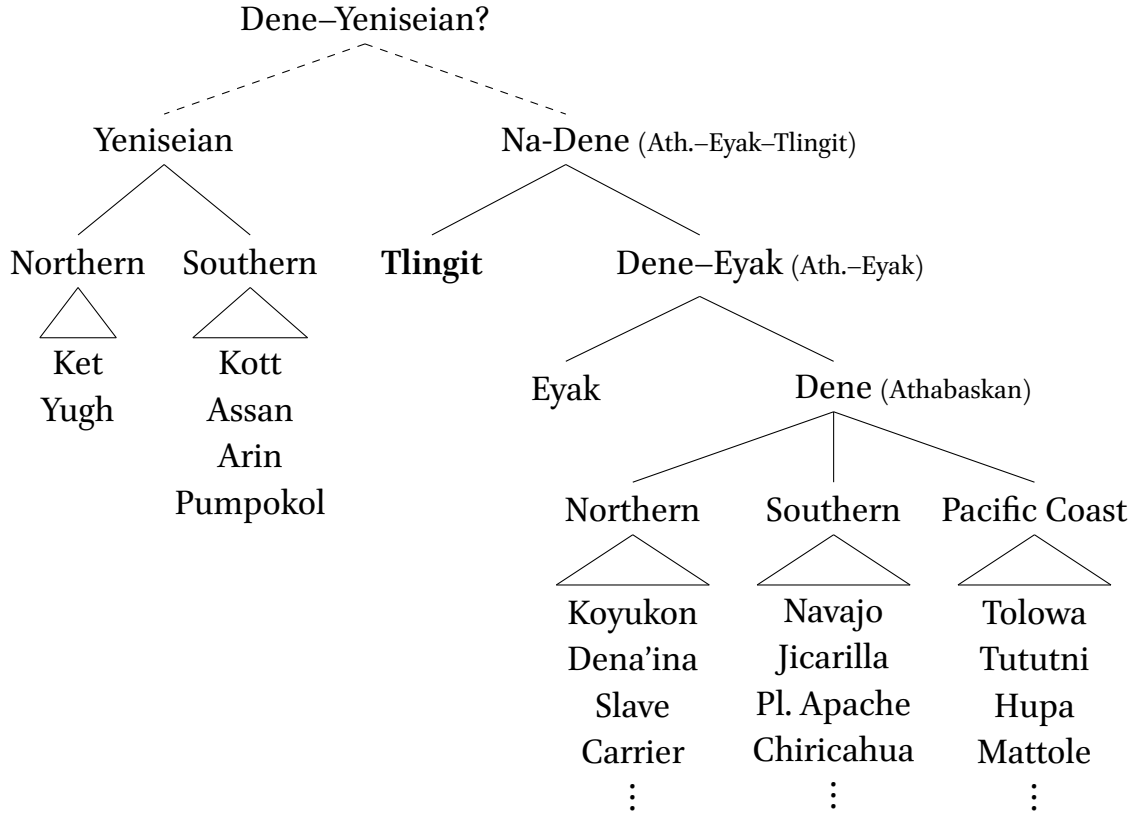


Figure 2: Tlingit’s family tree.

<i>Tongass</i>	<i>Southern</i>		<i>Northern</i>	<i>Leer 91</i>	<i>Translation</i>
	<i>Sanya</i>	<i>Henrya</i>			
V <i>ta</i>	Ṽ <i>tá</i>	Ṽ <i>tá</i>	Ṽ <i>tá</i>	<i>tá</i>	sleep
V <i>ta kaa'</i>	Ṽ <i>tá káà</i>	Ṽ <i>ta káà</i>	Ṽ <i>ta káa</i>	<i>ta qá'</i>	sleeping man
V ^h <i>shaah</i>	Ṽ: <i>shaa</i>	Ṽ: <i>shaa</i>	Ṽ: <i>shaa</i>	<i>ša'</i>	mountain
V ^h R <i>aahn</i>	Ṽ:R <i>aan</i>	Ṽ:R <i>aan</i>	Ṽ: <i>aan</i>	<i>a'n</i>	land, town
V [?] <i>kaa'</i>	ṼṼ <i>káà</i>	ṼṼ <i>káà</i>	Ṽ: <i>káa</i>	<i>qá'</i>	man
V: <i>aa</i>	Ṽ: <i>áa</i>	Ṽ: <i>áa</i>	Ṽ: <i>áa</i>	<i>á·</i>	lake
V:R <i>jeehwaan</i>	ṼṼR <i>yeewáàn</i>	ṼṼR <i>yeewáàn</i>	Ṽ:R <i>yeewáan</i>	<i>yi'wá·n</i>	you (pl.)
V: <i>haa</i>	Ṽ: <i>haa</i>	Ṽ: <i>haa</i>	Ṽ: <i>haa</i>	<i>ha·</i>	us, our
V:R <i>x'aan</i>	Ṽ:R <i>x'aan</i>	Ṽ:R <i>x'aan</i>	Ṽ:R <i>x'aan</i>	<i>x'a·n</i>	anger

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

	<i>bilabial</i>	<i>alveolar</i>	<i>postabv.</i>	<i>lateral</i>	<i>palatal</i>	<i>velar</i>	<i>lab.-vel.</i>	<i>uvular</i>	<i>lab.-uvu.</i>	<i>glottal</i>	<i>lab.-glot.</i>
<i>unasp. stop</i>	(b)	d				g	gw	g̥	g̥w		
<i>asp. stop</i>		t				k	kw	k̥	k̥w		
<i>ejv. stop</i>		t'				k'	k'w	ḳ'	ḳ'w	.	(.w)
<i>nasal</i>	(m)	n		(n̥)							
<i>plain fric.</i>		s	sh	l		x	xw	x̣	x̣w	h	(hw)
<i>ejv. fric.</i>		s'		l'		x'	x'w	x̣'	x̣'w		
<i>unasp. aff.</i>		dz	j	dl							
<i>asp. aff.</i>		ts	ch	tl							
<i>ejv. aff.</i>		ts'	ch'	tl'							
<i>approx.</i>				(l̥)	y	ÿ	w				

Table 2: Tlingit consonant inventory in Coastal orthography.

	<i>low tone V̂</i>						<i>high tone V̂</i>					
	<i>short V̂</i>			<i>long V̂:</i>			<i>short V̂</i>			<i>long V̂:</i>		
	<i>fnt.</i>	<i>ctr.</i>	<i>bck.</i>	<i>fnt.</i>	<i>ctr.</i>	<i>bck.</i>	<i>fnt.</i>	<i>ctr.</i>	<i>bck.</i>	<i>fnt.</i>	<i>ctr.</i>	<i>bck.</i>
<i>high</i>	i		u	ee		oo	í		ú	ée		óo
<i>mid</i>	e			ei			é			éi		
<i>low</i>		a			aa			á			áa	

Table 3: Northern Tlingit vowel inventory in Coastal orthography.

	<i>low tone V̂</i>						<i>high tone V̂</i>					
	<i>short V̂</i>			<i>long V̂:</i>			<i>short V̂</i>			<i>long V̂:</i>		
	<i>fnt.</i>	<i>ctr.</i>	<i>bck.</i>	<i>fnt.</i>	<i>ctr.</i>	<i>bck.</i>	<i>fnt.</i>	<i>ctr.</i>	<i>bck.</i>	<i>fnt.</i>	<i>ctr.</i>	<i>bck.</i>
<i>high</i>	i		u	ì		ù	í		ú	î		û
<i>mid</i>	e			è			é			ê		
<i>low</i>		a			à			á			â	

Table 4: Northern Tlingit vowel inventory in YNLC orthography.

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

Table 5: Tongass Tlingit vowel inventory in orthographic representation.

	<i>falling V̂V̂ (V̂:)</i>		
	<i>front</i>	<i>centre</i>	<i>back</i>
<i>high</i>	éè		óò
<i>mid</i>	èì		
<i>low</i>		áà	

Table 6: Southern Tlingit falling tone vowels.

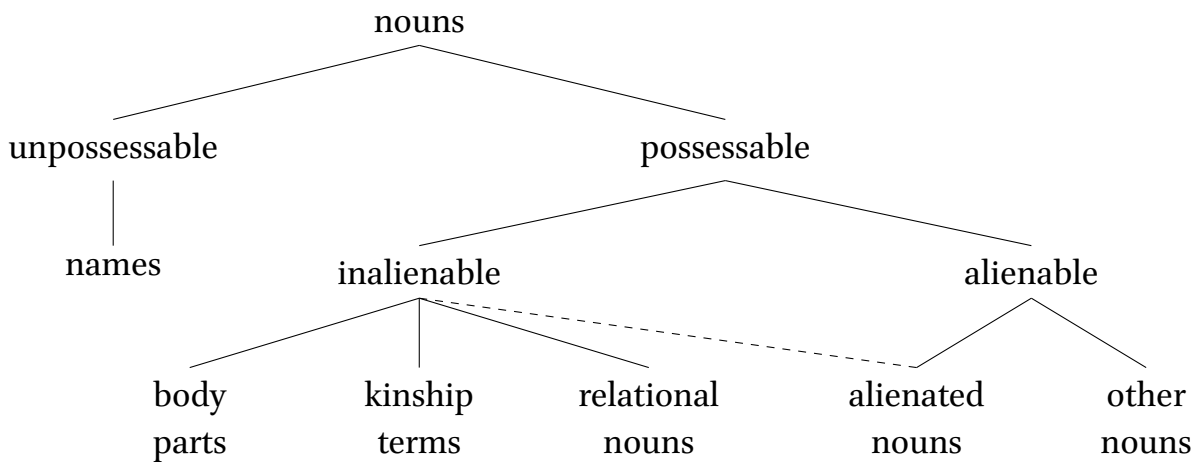


Figure 3: Noun possession types.

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

Table 8: Case suffixes and postpositions.

	<i>Noun</i>	<i>Allative -dé</i>	<i>Direction -naa</i>	<i>Preverb</i>
up above	(<i>di</i>) <i>kée</i>	(<i>di</i>) <i>kínde</i>	(<i>di</i>) <i>keenaa</i>	<i>kei</i> =
down below	(<i>di</i>) <i>yée</i>	(<i>di</i>) <i>yínde</i>	(<i>di</i>) <i>yeenaa</i>	<i>yēi</i> =
upstream, north	<i>naakée</i>	<i>nánde</i>	<i>naan(ý)aa</i>	—
downstream, south	<i>ixkée, éex</i>	<i>íxde</i>	<i>ixinaa</i>	—
up from shore	<i>dáaḳ</i>	<i>dáḳde</i>	<i>daginaa</i>	<i>daaḳ</i> =
down to shore	<i>éeḳ</i>	<i>íḳde</i>	<i>iginaa</i>	<i>yēiḳ</i> = ~ <i>eeḳ</i> =
ashore	<i>yán</i>	<i>yánde</i>	—	<i>yán</i> =
out to sea, open	<i>deikée</i>	<i>dáḳde</i>	<i>daginaa</i>	<i>daaḳ</i> =
across, other side	<i>díyáa</i>	<i>díyáade</i>	—	<i>yán</i> =
inside	<i>neil</i>	<i>neildé</i>	—	<i>neil</i> =
outside	<i>gáan</i>	<i>gánde</i> ~ <i>gáande</i>	—	—
back, reverse	—	<i>kúx̣de</i>	—	<i>kúx̣</i> =
aground	—	<i>kúx̣de</i>	—	<i>kúx̣</i> =

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

- <i>daa</i> around, about	- <i>keeká</i> across from, facing	- <i>wanyáa</i> apart from
- <i>daagaanyaa</i> outcast, excluded	- <i>kík</i> alongside, catching up	- <i>wanyeedé</i> set aside, hidden
- <i>daaká</i> around outside surface	- <i>kíknáx</i> in addition	- <i>wakdaséix'</i> hidden from view
- <i>daakashú</i> detriment of, expense of	- <i>kináak</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>kujín</i> motivated by	- <i>wakkáx'</i> plainly, obviously
- <i>dayéen</i> facing	- <i>k'í</i> base (standing)	- <i>waknáx</i> leaving vision
- <i>déin</i> vicinity	- <i>kín</i> too little, not enough	- <i>wakshiyee</i> visible, before eyes
- <i>déinnáx</i> right way, properly	- <i>kóox'</i> amidst crowd	- <i>wakshú</i> avoiding vision of
- <i>digiygé</i> middle of	- <i>lú</i> nose, point	- <i>wakyík</i> middle of clearing
- <i>dook</i> close by, alongside	- <i>lukaax</i> hurry, spur of moment	- <i>x'aan</i> tip, top (branch)
- <i>dzúk</i> back, right behind	- <i>nák</i> leaving behind, away	- <i>xoo</i> among
- <i>etí</i> remains, imprint	- <i>niyís</i> preparation for (time)	- <i>xán</i> near
- <i>géide</i> against, opposing, wrong	- <i>niyaa</i> direction	- <i>x'áak</i> between
- <i>gukáax'</i> speaking clearly	- <i>náa</i> draped over	- <i>x'adaséix'</i> out of eating/speaking
- <i>guyee</i> area at base, foot	- <i>shakée</i> top, above	- <i>x'ajihéen</i> disgusted by speech
- <i>gei</i> between folds	- <i>shá</i> head	- <i>x'akín</i> not enough to eat
- <i>goot</i> lacking, without	- <i>shagóon</i> source, origin, fundament	- <i>x'anák</i> taking away food
- <i>gunayáak</i> separate, apart from	- <i>shú</i> end, tip	- <i>x'ashú</i> avoiding talking with
- <i>ít</i> after, following	- <i>shuká</i> front, ahead	- <i>x'at'aak</i> verbal support
- <i>jee</i> possession	- <i>sóox</i> ready, hurry, early for	- <i>x'ax'aa</i> brink, edge
- <i>jigáa</i> enough, adequate	- <i>táak</i> bottom (cavity)	- <i>x'ayee</i> waiting to eat/speak
- <i>jigei</i> inside bend, curve	- <i>tadaa</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>jikín</i> not enough	- <i>tawán</i> right next to, up close	- <i>x'éis</i> to eat (- <i>x'eiyís</i>)
- <i>jinák</i> taking away, depriving	- <i>tayee</i> underneath, below	- <i>yík</i> inside (shallow obj.)
- <i>jís</i> for having (- <i>jiyís</i>)	- <i>tóok</i> bottom (sitting)	- <i>yá</i> face, vertical surface
- <i>jixooní</i> working with, pitching in	- <i>tóogaa</i> pleasing, like wanted	- <i>yáanáx</i> too much
- <i>jiyee</i> ready to be used	- <i>tú</i> inside (hollow obj.)	- <i>yat'éik</i> behind his back
- <i>jiyeeet</i> burdened by, suffering	- <i>tuwáx'</i> opinion, feeling	- <i>yaxoo</i> among faces
- <i>ji.éen</i> working with, helping	- <i>tukín</i> not meeting expectations	- <i>yayee</i> waiting for
- <i>ká</i> horizontal surface	- <i>tukyee</i> below outlet, low lying area	- <i>yayís</i> anticipating
- <i>káax'</i> depending on, based on	- <i>tushuyee</i> in contrition, deference	- <i>yá.áak</i> room, space, opportunity
- <i>kagé</i> meeting	- <i>t'aak</i> beside	- <i>yee</i> below, inside (bldg.)
- <i>kakán</i> vantage point	- <i>t'einyaa</i> inside (lining)	- <i>yeegáa</i> waiting for
- <i>kayaa</i> sort of like, not quite	- <i>t'iká</i> past, outskirts	- <i>yináa</i> covering
- <i>kayee</i> pattern, model, template	- <i>t'áak</i> behind, inland	- <i>yuwaa</i> missing, avoiding; belly
- <i>kat'óot'</i> partway up inside	- <i>t'aak</i> beside, alongside	- <i>yuwaaká</i> back and forth between
- <i>kayís</i> for it	- <i>t'éik</i> behind	
- <i>keek</i> along with	- <i>wán</i> edge	

Table 10: Commonly encountered relational nouns.

	<i>Dial.</i>	<i>Unsuft.</i>	<i>-CV~</i>	<i>-C</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-'</i> (LOC)
3N	N	á	aa-CV~	á-C	aan	áa
	S	á	aa-CV~	á-C	aan	áà
	T	a	aah-CV~	a-C	aahn	aa'
HSFC	N	-ká	-kaa-CV~	-ká-C	—	-káa
	S	-ká	-kaa-CV~	-ká-C	—	-káà
	T	-ka	-kaah-CV~	-ka-C	—	-kaa'
VSFC	N	-já	-jaa-CV~	-já-C	—	-jáa
	S	-já	-jaa-CV~	-já-C	—	-jáà
	T	-ja	-jaah-CV~	-ja-C	—	-jaa'
1SG	N	xát	xaa-CV~	xáa-C	xaan	xáa
	S	xát	xaa-CV~	xáa-C	xaan	xáà
	T	xat	xaah-CV~	?	xaahn	?xáa'
BASE	N	=ee	=ee-CV~	=ée-C	=een~éen	=ée
	S	=ee	=ee-CV~	=ée-C	=een~èèn	=èè
	T	=ee	?	=ee-C	=eehn	=ee'
poss'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	-tóòn	-tóò
	T	-tu	-too-CV~	-too-C	?	-too'

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

	<i>Form</i>	<i>Meaning</i>	<i>Compare</i>
<i>Prenominal</i>	<i>aak'é</i> _	good, well	√ <i>k'éi</i> 'good'
	<i>aatlein</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>kúnáx</i> _	very, actual, real	<i>kú-náx</i> 'AREAL-PERL'?
	<i>kustín</i> _	giant, monstrous	<i>kú-CL[+D,s]-√tin</i> ?
	<i>Lingít</i> _	Tlingit, traditional	<i>Lingít</i> 'Tlingit'
	<i>sheech</i> _	female, she-	
	<i>shóogu</i> _	first, initial	- <i>shú</i> 'end, tip'
	<i>tatgéyi</i> _	of yesterday	<i>tatgé</i> 'yesterday'
	<i>té</i> _	stone, rock	<i>té</i> 'stone, rock'
	<i>tlagu(wu)</i> _	ancient, forever	<i>tlaagóo</i> 'legend'
	<i>tl'eitákw</i> _	pure	√ <i>tl'en</i> 'dirty', √ <i>tl'it</i> 'trash'
	<i>yées</i> _	new, young	
<i>Postnominal</i>	_ <i>k'wát'</i>	round, egg-shaped	<i>k'wát'</i> 'egg'
	_ <i>k'áatl'</i>	thin and flat	<i>k'áach'</i> 'ribbon kelp'
	_ <i>létl'k</i>	soft, pliable	√ <i>lel</i> 'lax, flabby'?
	_ <i>sákw</i>	future, to be, for	
	_ <i>shaan</i>	old, elderly	√ <i>shan</i> 'old'
	_ <i>shís'k</i>	raw	√ <i>shís'k</i> ^x 'raw'
	_ <i>téitl'</i>	fat (animal)	√ <i>tetl'</i> 'fat (animal)'
	_ <i>tóoch</i>	fresh (fish)	√ <i>tuch</i> 'fresh caught'
	_ <i>t'éex'</i>	hard	√ <i>t'ix'</i> 'hard; frozen'
	_ <i>tlein</i>	large, big	√ <i>tla</i> 'stout'
	_ <i>tlénx'</i>	large, big (pl.)	_ <i>tlein</i> 'big'
	_ <i>xook</i>	dry, dried	√ <i>xuk</i> 'dry'
	_ <i>uwaa</i>	similar, fake	√ <i>ya</i> 'resemble'
	_ <i>yádi</i>	small, little, childlike	- <i>yát</i> 'child'
	_ <i>yéeyi</i>	past, former, ex-	<i>yee</i> 'time'?
	_ <i>yéis'</i>	dark, dusky, immature	<i>yéis'</i> 'black stone'

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

		<i>Pronominals</i>			<i>Pronouns</i>	
		<i>Object</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Possessive</i>	<i>Independent</i>	<i>Postpositional</i>
<i>local</i>	1SG	<i>xat-</i> ~ <i>ax-</i>	<i>xa-</i>	<i>ax</i>	<i>xát</i>	<i>ax=ee-</i> ~ <i>xa-</i>
	1PL	<i>haa-</i>	<i>tu-</i>	<i>haa</i>	<i>uháan</i>	<i>haa=ee-</i> ~ <i>haa(n)-</i>
	2SG	<i>i-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>wa.é</i>	<i>i=ee-</i>
	2PL	<i>yi-</i>	<i>yi-</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>yiháan</i>	<i>yi=ee-</i>
<i>nonlocal</i>	3H } 3	<i>∅-</i> ~ <i>a-</i>	<i>∅-</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>hú</i>	<i>du=ee-</i> ~ <i>u-</i>
	3N }			<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>kaa-</i> ~ <i>ku-</i>	<i>du-</i>	<i>kaa</i>	<i>káa</i>	<i>kaa~ku=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>
<i>other</i>	AREAL	<i>ku-</i>	—	—	<i>ʔkú</i>	<i>ku-</i> ~ <i>ʔkú-</i>
	RFLX	<i>sh-</i> ~ <i>∅-</i>	—	<i>chush</i> ~ <i>sh</i>	<i>chúsh</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 O	+	×	±
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>Cable & Crippen</i>	<i>Leer 1991</i>	
+18 bound phrases	—	—
+17 preverbs (A–D, E1, E2, F)	+8	proclitic adjunct phrases
+16 reciprocal & outer distributive	+7	b number prefixes
+15 plural number <i>has=</i> ~ <i>s-</i>		a
+14 objects	+6	b incorp. obj. pronominals
+13 areal <i>ku-</i>	—	—
+12 alienable incorporates		a incorp. alienable nouns
+11 inalienable incorporates	+5	c incorp. inalienable nouns
+10 vertical surface <i>ja-</i>		b
+9 horizontal surface <i>ka-</i>		a
+8 self-benefactive <i>ga-</i>	+4	e schetic prefixes
+7 outer conjugation		d
+6 irrealis		c
+5 inner conjugation		b
+4 perfective and <i>ga</i> -modal		a
+3 inner distributive	+3	distributive prefix
+2 subjects	+2	subject pronominals
+1 classifiers	+1	classifier
0 root	0	ROOT
-1 stem variation	-3	inner mode suffixes
-2 derivation	-1	derivational suffixes
-3 duration (A?, B?)	-2	durative suffixes (a, b)
-4 mode	-4	outer mode suffixes
-5 epimode		epimode and
-6 clause type	-5	clause type suffixes
-7 bound auxiliaries	—	—

Table 15: Verb template structure.

Position Affixes	
	+18 N- <i>x'</i> , N- <i>{t, x, dé}</i> , N- <i>náx</i> , N- <i>dáx</i> , N <i>x'é-</i> , N <i>dasé-</i> , N <i>gunayá-</i> N <i>eetéenáx</i> , ...
proclitics	+17 F <i>gunayéi~gunéi=</i> , <i>áa=</i> , <i>shóo=</i> , <i>héeni=</i> , <i>gági=</i> , <i>éegi=</i> , <i>daagi=</i> E2 <i>kut=</i> , <i>yux=</i> , <i>yaax=</i> , <i>héenx=</i> , <i>ux=</i> , <i>kwaakx=</i> , <i>yedx=</i> , <i>yaanax~yaahnaxT=</i> E1 <i>yan*=</i> , <i>neil*=</i> , <i>haa*=</i> , <i>yoo*=</i> , <i>kux*=</i> , <i>kuxI*=</i> D <i>kei~keihT=</i> , <i>yei~yeihT=</i> , <i>yeik~yeeKS~eehKT=</i> , <i>daak~daahKT=</i> , <i>daak~daahkT=</i> C <i>yéi~yeihT=</i> 'thus', <i>yóo~yooT=</i> QUOT B <i>yaa~yaahT=</i> MENT A <i>yaa~yaahT=</i> 'along', <i>yoo~yooHt=</i> ALT
	+16 <i>woosh=</i> RECIP, <i>dax=</i> DISTB
	+15 <i>has=</i> ~ <i>s-</i> ~ <i>as=T</i> PL
	+14 <i>xat~ax-</i> , <i>haa~haahT-</i> , <i>i-</i> , <i>yi-</i> , <i>a~∅-</i> , <i>ash-</i> , <i>kaa~ku-</i> , <i>at-</i> , <i>aa-</i> , <i>sh~∅-</i>
	+13 <i>ku-</i> AREAL
	+12 <i>yaan-</i> , <i>shakux-</i> , <i>yata-</i> , <i>x'asakw-</i> , <i>gax-</i> , <i>xee~xei-</i> , <i>kee~kei-</i> , <i>yee~yei-</i> , <i>l'il'-</i> , <i>kanik-</i> , <i>yaka-</i> , <i>saa-</i> , <i>aan-</i> , <i>naa-</i> , <i>sha.axw-</i> , <i>yakw-</i> , <i>hin-</i> , <i>lux'-</i> , <i>has'-</i> , <i>luk-</i>
	+11 <i>ji-</i> , <i>x'e~x'a-</i> , <i>k'a-</i> , <i>tu-</i> , <i>sha-</i> , <i>shu-</i> , <i>lu-</i> , <i>se~sa-</i> , <i>xa-</i> , <i>gu-</i> , <i>ta-</i> , <i>daa-</i> , <i>xoo-</i> , <i>xan-</i> , <i>x'aa-</i> , <i>t'éi-</i> , <i>t'aa-</i> , <i>yik-</i> , <i>yee-</i> , <i>ki-</i> , <i>gin-</i> , <i>xi-</i> , <i>s'aan-</i> , <i>lidíx'</i> , <i>wak-</i> , <i>s'ak-</i> , <i>x'us-</i> , <i>s'ee-</i> , <i>duk-</i> , <i>laka-</i> , <i>tl'ik-</i> , <i>keey-</i> , <i>tóox'-</i> , <i>x'atu-</i> , <i>tukx'e~tuk'e-</i> , <i>daa.it-</i> , <i>tax'-</i>
prefixes	+10 <i>ya-</i> VSFC
	+9 <i>ka-</i> HSFC
	+8 <i>ga-</i> SBEN
	+7 <i>ga-</i> GCNJ
	+6 <i>u-</i> , <i>w-</i> , <i>oo-</i> (all IRR)
	+5 <i>∅-</i> ZCNJ, <i>na-</i> NCNJ, <i>ga-</i> GCNJ
	+4 <i>yü-</i> PFV, <i>u-</i> ZPFV, <i>ga-</i> GMOD
	+3 <i>daga~dax-</i> DISTB
	+2 <i>xa-</i> 1SG.S, <i>tu-</i> 1PL.S, <i>i-</i> 2SG.S, <i>yi-</i> 2PL.S, <i>∅-</i> 3.S, <i>du-</i> 3OBV.S, <i>du-</i> INDH.S
	+1 CL[D, S, I]: D ∈ {+D, -D}, S ∈ {∅, s, l, sh}, I ∈ {+I, -I}
0 √root (CVC, CVC', CV'C, CV, CV ^h , invar.)	
suffixes	-1 <i>-'</i> , <i>-:</i> , <i>-h</i> , <i>-n</i> , <i>-y</i> (all VAR)
	-2 <i>-án</i> , <i>-shán</i> , <i>-ch</i> , <i>-ákw</i> , <i>-aa</i> , <i>-xaa</i> , <i>-yí</i> , <i>-ee</i> , <i>-k</i> , <i>-ál~ch'ál'</i> , <i>-k</i> , <i>-nas</i> , <i>-nás'</i> , <i>-kát'</i>
	-3 <i>-k</i> REP, <i>-x</i> REP, <i>-ch</i> REP, <i>-t</i> ICT.REP, <i>-x'</i> PL, <i>-t'</i> PL, <i>-s'</i> SER, <i>-l'</i> SER
	-4 <i>-ch</i> HAB, <i>-(n)ée~(n)eehT</i> COND, <i>-ín</i> CTNG
	-5 <i>-een~eehnT</i> DEC, <i>-eek~eehkT~k</i> PHIB/OPT
	-6 <i>-ée~eehT</i> SUB, <i>-i</i> REL
enclitics	-7 <i>=nóokN~néekwSRI~neekwT</i> , <i>=noochN~nukchG~neechSRI~neechhT</i> , <i>=noojeenN~neejeenSRI~?neehjihN</i> , <i>=núkneeN~níkwneeI~níkwniSR~nikwneehT</i> , <i>=ganúgunN~ganígunI~ganíkwS~ganikwT</i>

Table 16: Verb morphemes.

<i>Grp.</i>	<i>Preverb</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Cnj.</i>	<i>Description</i>
	<i>gunajéi~gunéi~gun(aj)ei_T</i>	INCEP	∅	inceptive: beginning, starting
	<i>áa~aa'_T</i>	LOC	—	locative: there
	<i>áa~aa'_T (+ jax)</i>	ROT	∅	rotatory: turning over
F	<i>shóo~shoo'_T (+ jax)</i>	ADROT	∅	adrotatory: turning over endwise
	<i>héeni~heeni_T</i>	INAQ	∅	inaquative: into water
	<i>gági</i>	ABUMB	∅	abumbrative: from shadow into open
	<i>éegi~eegi_T</i>	ABSILV	∅	absilvative: from woods to shore
	<i>dáagi~daagi_T</i>	ABAQ	∅	abaquative: from water to shore
	<i>kut (kut~kawt_I)</i>	ERR	ga	errative: astray, lost, excessively (-t)
	<i>jān, jāx, jānde</i>	CPLTV	∅	completive: completing, finishing (-*)
	<i>yux</i>	out	na	outside (-x)
	<i>yaax~yaahx_T</i>	INVEH	ga	invehicular: into vehicle (-x)
E2	<i>héenx~heenx_T</i>	INAQ	ga	inaquative: into water (-x)
	<i>ux (+ kei~keih_T)</i>	UNCTL	∅	uncontrolled: blindly, out of control (-x)
	<i>kwáakx (+ daak~daahk_T)</i>	wrong	∅	by mistake, wrongly (-x)
	<i>yetx~yedax_T</i>	INIT	∅	initial: starting off, taking off (-dax)
	<i>jānax~jāahnax_T</i>	under	ga	underground (-nax)
	<i>jān, jāx, jānde~jāndeih_T</i>	shore	∅	abmarine: ashore, onto ground, resting
	<i>neil(t), neilx, neildé~neihldei_T</i>	home	∅	inside, homeward, into building
E1	<i>haat, haax, haadé~haahndei_T</i>	here	∅	here, this way, toward speaker
	<i>yóot, yóox, yóode~yoodeih_T</i>	hence	∅	hence, away, off (indefinite location)
	<i>kux, [?]kuxx, kúxde~kuxdeih_T</i>	REV	∅	revertive: aback, reversed direction
	<i>kux_I, kuxx_I, kúxde_I</i>	AGRND	∅	aground, into shallow water (IT only)
	<i>kei~keih_T</i>	up	∅	upward
	<i>yei~yeih_T</i>	down	∅	downward, out of vehicle
	<i>jéik~jéèk_S~eehk_T</i>	ADLIT	∅	adlitoral: down to shore, beachward
D	<i>daak~dáàk_S~daahk_T</i>	ABLIT	∅	ablitoral: inland from shore, back from open, off of fire
	<i>daak~dáàk_S~daahk_T</i>	ADMAR	∅	admarine: seaward, into open, falling from sky, onto fire
C	<i>yéi~yei'_T~yeih_T</i>	thus	—	manner: thus, so (yeih _T = is thematic)
	<i>yóo~yoo_T</i>	QUOT	—	quotation
B	<i>jāa~jā~jāah_T</i>	MENT	—	mental state or activity
A	<i>yoo~yoo_H</i>	ALT	∅	alternating: back and forth, to and fro
	<i>jāa~jāah_T</i>	along	na	along, down, obliquely, progressive

Table 17: Preverbs (+17).

	Gloss	Source		Unmarked	Punctual -t	Pertingent -x̣	Allative -dé
		Form	Trans.				
Northern	ABMAR	<i>yán</i>	‘shore’	<i>yán-</i>	<i>yán-</i>	<i>yax̣-</i>	<i>yánde-</i>
	home	<i>neil</i>	‘home’	<i>neil-</i>	<i>neil(t)-</i>	<i>neilx̣-</i>	<i>neildé-</i>
	here	<i>haa</i> ?	‘us’ ?	—	<i>haat-</i>	<i>haax̣-</i>	<i>haadé-</i>
	hence	<i>yóo</i>	‘distal’	<i>yóo-</i>	<i>yóot-</i>	<i>yóox̣-</i>	<i>yóode-</i>
	REV	<i>ku</i>	‘areal’	<i>kux̣-</i>	<i>kux̣-</i>	<i>kux̣-</i>	<i>kúx̣de-</i>
	aground	<i>kux</i> ?	‘dry’ ?	<i>?kux̣₁-</i>	<i>kux̣₁-</i>	<i>kuxx̣₁-</i>	<i>kúx̣de₁-</i>
Southern	ABMAR			<i>yán-</i>	<i>yán-</i>	<i>yax̣-</i>	<i>yánde-</i>
	home			<i>neil-</i>	<i>neilt-</i>	<i>neilx̣-</i>	<i>neildé-</i>
	here			<i>?haa-</i>	<i>haat-</i>	<i>haax̣-</i>	<i>haadé-</i>
	hence			<i>?yóo-</i>	<i>yóot-</i>	<i>yóox̣-</i>	<i>yóode-</i>
	REV			<i>?kux̣-</i>	<i>kux̣-</i>	<i>?kuxx̣-</i>	<i>kúx̣de-</i>
Tongass	ABMAR			<i>yán-</i>	<i>yán-</i>	<i>yax̣-</i>	<i>yandeih-</i>
	home			<i>?neihl-</i>	<i>neihlt-</i>	<i>neihlx̣-</i>	<i>neihldei-</i>
	here			<i>?haah-</i>	<i>haaht-</i>	<i>haahx̣-</i>	<i>haahdei-</i>
	hence			<i>?yoo-</i>	<i>yoot-</i>	<i>yoox̣-</i>	<i>yodeih-</i>
	REV			<i>?kux̣-</i>	<i>kux̣-</i>	<i>?kuxx̣-</i>	<i>kúx̣deih-</i>

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

<i>Prefix</i>	<i>Source noun</i>
<i>yaan~yaahn_T-</i>	<i>yaan</i> ‘hunger’
<i>shakux-</i>	<i>shakoox~shakuhx_T</i> ‘thirst’
<i>yata-</i>	– <i>yá</i> ‘face’? <i>yá-</i> classifier? + <i>tá</i> ‘sleep’
<i>x’asakw-</i>	<i>x’aséikw</i> ‘breath, life’
<i>gax-</i>	<i>gax</i> ‘crying, weeping’, \sqrt{gax} ‘cry’
<i>xei_N~xee_{SR}~xeeh_T-</i>	<i>xee</i> ‘dusk, shadow’ (cf. <i>shaa xei_{yí}</i> ‘mtn. shadow’)
<i>kei_N~kee_{SR}~keeh_T-</i>	<i>kee</i> ‘dawn’ (cf. <i>kee.á</i> ‘dawn’, <i>keex’é</i> ‘daybreak’)
<i>yei_N~[?]yee_{SR}~yeeh_T-</i>	<i>yee</i> ‘time’ (cf. <i>yeedát</i> ‘moment’)
<i>l’il’-</i>	<i>l’éel’</i> ‘feces’, $\sqrt{l’il’}$ ‘defecate’
<i>kanik-</i>	<i>kaneek~kaneehk_T</i> ‘report, news’
<i>kayik-</i>	<i>kayéik</i> ‘noise’
<i>yaká-</i>	<i>yaká</i> ‘curse, reproach, rebuke’
<i>saa~saah_T-</i>	<i>saa</i> ‘name’
<i>aan~aahn_T-</i>	<i>aan</i> ‘land, town, settlement’
<i>naa~naah_T-</i>	<i>naa</i> ‘clan, nation, people’
<i>sha.aaxw-</i>	<i>sha.aaxw</i> ‘bundle’
<i>yakw-</i>	<i>yaakw~yahkw_T</i> ‘canoe, boat’
<i>hin-</i>	<i>héen_N~héèn_S~heen_T</i> ‘fresh water, river, stream’
<i>lux’-</i>	<i>lóox’</i> ‘urine’, $\sqrt{lux’}$ ‘urinate’
<i>has’-</i>	<i>háas’</i> ‘vomit’, $\sqrt{has’}$ ‘vomit’
<i>luk-</i>	\sqrt{luk} ‘sip’
<i>k’ei-</i>	$\sqrt{k’éi^*}$ ‘good’

Table 19: Alienable incorporated nouns (+12).

Prefix	Source noun
<i>ji-</i>	– <i>jín</i> ‘hand, arm’, – <i>jee</i> ‘possession’
<i>x’a~k’a-</i>	– <i>x’é</i> ‘mouth’
<i>tu-</i>	– <i>tú</i> ‘inside; mind, emotions’
<i>sha-</i>	– <i>shá</i> ‘head’
<i>shu-</i>	– <i>shú</i> ‘end’
<i>lu-</i>	– <i>lú</i> ‘nose, point’
<i>se~sa-</i>	– <i>séi</i> ‘voice’
<i>xa-</i>	– <i>xaaw</i> ‘fur’
<i>gu-</i>	– <i>gú</i> ‘base, butt’
<i>ta-</i>	– <i>tá</i> ‘bottom; head of bay’
<i>daa~daah_T-</i>	– <i>daa~daah_T</i> ‘around, surrounding, periphery’
<i>taa-</i>	?? ‘lonesome’
<i>xoo-</i>	– <i>xoo</i> ‘among, amidst, within’
<i>xan-</i>	– <i>xán</i> ‘vicinity, near’
<i>x’aa-</i>	– <i>x’aa</i> ‘space between, interstice’
<i>t’éi_N~?t’é_{SR}~?t’ee’_T-</i>	– <i>t’éi</i> ‘behind, screened by, obscured by’
<i>t’aa-</i>	– <i>t’áa~t’áak</i> ‘landward side’
<i>yik-</i>	– <i>yík</i> ‘inside (concave)’
<i>yee-</i>	– <i>yee</i> ‘underneath, beneath’
<i>ki-</i>	√ <i>ki</i> ‘sit’?
<i>gin-</i>	– <i>geen</i> ‘tail flipper’
<i>xi-</i>	– <i>xee</i> ‘shoulder’
<i>s’aan-</i>	?– <i>s’aan</i> ‘limb’?
<i>lidíx’-</i>	– <i>lidíx’</i> ‘neck, throat’
<i>wak_k- (+ ka-)</i>	– <i>waak_k</i> ‘eye’
<i>s’ak_k- (+ ka-)</i>	<i>s’aa_k</i> ‘bone’ (alienable; <i>kaa s’aagí</i> ‘one’s bone’)
<i>x’us- (+ ka-)</i>	– <i>x’oos</i> ‘foot, leg’
<i>s’ee- (+ ka-)</i>	– <i>s’ee</i> ‘eyebrow’
<i>duk- (+ ka-)</i>	<i>dook</i> ‘skin’ (alienable; <i>kaa doogú</i> ‘one’s skin’)
<i>la- (+ ka-)</i>	– <i>laká</i> ‘inside of mouth’ (cf. – <i>leitóox’</i> ‘in the throat’)
<i>tl’ek_k- (+ sha-)</i>	<i>tl’ee_{kRS}~tl’eeh_{kT}~tl’eik_N</i> ‘finger’
<i>tl’ik_k- (+ sha-)</i>	– <i>tl’ee_{kSR}</i> ‘finger’ + – <i>shá</i> ‘head’ → – <i>tl’ik_kshá</i> ‘fingertip’
<i>keey-</i>	– <i>keey</i> ‘knee’
<i>tóox’- (+ ka-)</i>	– <i>tóox’-ká</i> ‘kneeling’
<i>x’atu-</i>	– <i>x’é</i> ‘mouth + – <i>tú</i> ‘inside’
<i>tuk_kx’é~tuk_ke-</i>	– <i>tuk_kx’é</i> ‘anus’ (< – <i>túk_k</i> ‘butt’ + – <i>x’éi</i> ‘mouth’)
<i>daa.it-</i>	– <i>daa.éet</i> ‘joint’
<i>tax’-</i>	– <i>téix’</i> ‘heart’

Table 20: Inalienable incorporated nouns (+11).

Stem Var. Suffix	Closed roots			Open roots	
	CVC	CVC'	CVC	CV	CV ^h
-n	CVC	CVC'	CVC	CV̇:-n	CV̇:-n*
-:	CV:C	CV:C'	CVC	CV̇:	CV̇:
-ÿ					
habitual -ch (∅-conj.)				CV̇:ÿ-ch	CV̇:ÿ-ch
habitual -ch (non-∅)	CVC	CVC'	CVC	CV̇:-ch	CV̇:-ch
otherwise				CV̇:	CV̇:
-h					
imperative	CVhC	CVC'	CVC	CV̇	CV̇
otherwise				CVh	CVh
-X ∈ {-k, -x, -ch, -t, -x', -t', -s', -l'} _{slot -3}					
two suffixes (-kw-t)	—	—	—	CV̇-X-X	CV̇-X-X
one suffix	CVC-X	CVC'-X	CVC-X	CV̇:-X	CV̇h-X
-' (open roots only)					
no other suffix				CV̇	CV̇
auxiliary (hab., dec. hab., consec., ...)				CV̇:=...	CV̇:=...
prohibitive-optative -k̄				CV̇:-k̄	CV̇:-k̄
decessive -ee(h)n				CV̇'-ÿee(h)n	CV̇'-ÿee(h)n
other sfxs with i~ee(h) (subord., conting., ...)				CVh-ÿ...	CVh-ÿ...
closed plain					
relative clause	CVC	CVC'	CVC		
otherwise	CVC	CVC'	CVC		

* Exception: CV^h stems √ni^h 'become' and √jä^h 'resemble' have *neen~neehn*_T and *ÿein~ÿeihn*_T instead of **néen~neen*_T and **ÿéin~ÿéin*_T.

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.

Stem Var. Suffix	Closed roots			Open roots	
	CVC	CVC'	CV'C	CV	CV ^h
-n	CVC	CVC'	CV'C	CV̇:-n	CV̇:-n*
-:	CV:C	CV:C'	CV:C	CV:	CV:
-ÿ					
habitual -ch (∅-conj.)				CV̇:ÿ-ch	CV̇:ÿ-ch
habitual -ch (non-∅)	CVC	CVC'	CV'C	CV̇:-ch	CV̇:-ch
otherwise				CV:	CV:
-h					
imperative				CV	CV
otherwise	CV:C	CV:C'	CV:C	CV:	CV:
-X ∈ {-k, -x̣, -ch, -t, -x', -t', -s', -l'} _{slot-3}					
two suffixes (-kw-t)	—	—	—	CV̇-X-X	CV̇-X-X
one suffix	CV̇C-X	CV̇C'-X	CV̇C-X	CV̇:-X	CV̇:-X
-' (open roots only)					
no other suffix				CV	CV
auxiliary (hab., dec. hab., consec., ...)				CV̇:=...	CV̇:=...
prohibitive-optative -k̄				CV̇:-k̄	CV̇:-k̄
decessive -éen				CV̇:-ÿeen	CV̇:-ÿeen
other sfxs with i~ee (subord., conting., ...)				CV̇:-ÿ...	CV̇:-ÿ...
closed plain					
relative clause	CVC	CVC'	CVC		
otherwise	CVC	CVC'	CVC		

* Exception: CV^h stems √ni^h 'become' and √ja^h 'resemble' have *neen* and *ÿein* instead of **néen* and **ÿéin*.

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.

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

Table 23: Distribution of stem variation suffixes across modes.

		-D		+D	
		-I	+I	-I	+I
S (series)	\emptyset	\emptyset -	<i>ỵa</i> -	<i>da</i> -	<i>di</i> -
	s	<i>sa</i> -	<i>si</i> -	<i>s</i> -	<i>dzi</i> -
	l	<i>la</i> -	<i>li</i> -	<i>l</i> -	<i>dli</i> -
	sh	<i>sha</i> -	<i>shi</i> -	<i>sh</i> -	<i>ji</i> -

Table 24: Classifier morphemes.

<i>Mode</i>	<i>Preverb</i>	<i>Mode</i>	<i>I-Cpnt.</i>	<i>Var.</i>	<i>Suff.</i>
	+17	+7 - +4	+1	-1	-3
DECLARATIVE MODES					
<i>imperfectives</i> (now, continuously, generally)					
<i>-i</i> active (production, oral) & <i>-i</i> positional (sit, be situated)					
realis		∅-	-I		<i>-i</i>
irrealis		<i>u</i> -∅-	-I		<i>-h</i>
<i>-h</i> active (process, manipulation) & <i>-h</i> repetitive					
realis		∅-	-I		<i>-h</i>
irrealis		<i>u</i> -∅-	-I		<i>-h</i>
<i>-'</i> active (production, oral) & <i>-'</i> positional (sleep)					
realis		∅-	-I		<i>-'</i>
irrealis		<i>u</i> -∅-	-I		<i>-'</i>
<i>-n</i> active (grab, guard) & <i>-n</i> positional (default)					
realis		∅-	-I		<i>-n</i>
irrealis		<i>u</i> -∅-	-I		<i>-n</i>
<i>-X</i> active (<i>-s'</i> , <i>-l'</i> , <i>-t</i> , <i>-x'</i> , <i>-t'</i> , <i>-x</i> , <i>-ch</i> , <i>-k</i>) & <i>-X</i> repetitive (<i>-x</i> , <i>-ch</i> , <i>-k</i>)					
realis	(PVB=)	∅-	-I		<i>-X</i>
irrealis	(PVB=)	<i>u</i> -∅-	-I		<i>-X</i>
[+I]-...- <i>k</i> active & repetitive (alternating series)					
realis		∅-	+I		<i>-k</i>
irrealis		<i>u</i> -∅-	-I		<i>-k</i>
<i>yoo</i> =[+I]-...- <i>k</i> active & repetitive (alternating, oscillating)					
realis	<i>yoo</i> =	∅-	+I		<i>-k</i>
irrealis	<i>yoo</i> =	<i>u</i> -∅-	-I		<i>-k</i>
progressive (going along doing)					
realis	PVB=	<i>na</i> -	-I		<i>-n</i>
irrealis	PVB=	<i>u-na</i> -	-I		<i>-n</i>

Table 25: Non-stative imperfective (declarative) modes.

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

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

Table 27: Non-imperfective declarative modes.

<i>Mode</i>	<i>Preverb</i>	<i>Asp./Conj.</i>	<i>I-Cpnt.</i>	<i>Var.</i>	<i>Suff.</i>
	+17	+7 - +4	+1	-1	-3
DEONTIC MODES					
<i>imperatives</i> (command) — always realis					
<i>∅</i> -conjugation imperative					
open root CV		<i>∅</i> -	-I	- <i>h</i>	
open root CV active <i>∅</i> - <i>ỵ</i>		<i>∅</i> -	-I	- <i>ỵ</i>	
closed CVC with DIR=	DIR=	<i>∅</i> -	-I	- <i>h</i>	
closed CVC otherwise		<i>∅</i> -	-I	- <i>ỵ</i>	
<i>na</i> -, <i>ga</i> -, <i>ga</i> -conjugation imperative		CNJ-	-I	- <i>h</i>	
<i>hortative</i> (should, might, let's) — always realis		CNJ- <i>ga</i> -	-I	- <i>h</i>	(- <i>ée</i>)
open root CV active <i>∅</i> - <i>ỵ</i> themes		CNJ- <i>ga</i> -	-I	- <i>ỵ</i>	(- <i>ée</i>)
<i>admonitive</i> (lest) — always irrealis		<i>u</i> -CNJ-	-I	-:	
CIRCUMSTANTIAL MODES					
<i>conditional</i> (if)		CNJ-	-I	- <i>n</i>	- <i>ée</i>
<i>contingent</i> (whenever)		CNJ- <i>ga</i> -	-I	- <i>n</i>	- <i>ín</i>
<i>consecutive</i> (following)		CNJ-	-I	-:	

Table 28: Deontic and circumstantial (non-declarative) modes.

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

Table 29: Conjugation classes and their associated features. *yaa*= occurs in the progressive but not in the future.

<i>Class</i>	<i>Preverb</i>	<i>Classifier</i>	<i>Suffix</i>	<i>Example</i>
<i>∅</i>	none	[-I]	- <i>x̣</i>	<i>as.éex̣</i> 'he cooks it'
<i>na</i>	<i>yoo</i> =	[+I]	- <i>k</i>	<i>yoo ayal'únk</i> 'he hunts it'
<i>g̃a</i>	<i>yeyi</i> =	[-I]	- <i>ch</i>	<i>yeyi algwéich</i> 'he wipes it'
<i>ga</i>	<i>kei</i> =	[-I]	- <i>ch</i>	<i>kei latsínch</i> 'he gets strong'

Table 30: Conjugation class and repetitive imperfectives. Adapted from Edwards 2009: 26.

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

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

<i>Cls.</i>	<i>Derivation</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
	with <i>-h</i> repetitive imperfective	motion toward terminus
∅	N- <i>{t, x, dé}</i>	arriving at N, coming to N
∅	<i>yán= ~ yáx= ~ yánde=</i>	moving ashore, to rest, completing
∅	N- <i>x' yán= ~...</i>	coming to rest at N
∅	N- <i>náx yán= ~...</i>	moving across N, to other side of N
∅	<i>yán= ~... + k'i-</i>	setting up, erecting
∅	<i>yán= ~... + sha-</i>	setting up, leaning against
∅	<i>kux= ~ kuxx= ~ kúxde=</i>	moving aground, into shallow water
∅	<i>neil(t)= ~ neilx= ~ neildé=</i>	moving inside, coming home
∅	N- <i>x' neil(t)= ~...</i>	moving inside house at N
∅	<i>haat= ~ haax= ~ haa(n)dé=</i>	coming here
∅	<i>yóo- {t, x, de}=</i>	going away, going off somewhere
	with <i>-ch</i> repetitive imperfective	motion toward area
∅	<i>kei=</i>	moving up
∅	<i>ux=kei=</i>	moving out of control, blindly, amiss
∅	N- <i>x'é-x' kei=</i>	catching up with N
∅	<i>yei=</i>	disembark, exit boat or other vehicle
∅	<i>yee_Sk~yeik_N~eehk_T=</i>	moving down to shore
∅	<i>héeni=yeik=...</i>	moving down into water
∅	<i>daak=</i>	moving up from shore, back from open
∅	<i>dáagi=daak=</i>	moving further up from shore
∅	<i>kwáakx=daak=</i>	moving by mistake, wrongly
∅	<i>daak=</i>	seaward, out into open, falling from sky
∅	<i>kux= ~ kúxde= [+D]-</i>	reverting, returning
∅	N- <i>x' kux= [+D]-</i>	reverting, returning to N

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

<i>Cls.</i>	<i>Derivation</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
with \bar{x} repetitive imperfective — motion confined to a location		
∅	N- \bar{x} '	coming near N
∅	N- $\bar{y}\acute{a}$ -'	coming up to N
∅	N <i>gunayá</i> -'	separating from N
∅	N <i>jishá</i> -'	getting ahead of N
∅	<i>gági</i> =	emerging, coming out into open
∅	<i>dáagi</i> =	coming out of water
∅	<i>héeni</i> =	going into water
∅	<i>gunayéi</i> ~ <i>gunéi</i> =	beginning
∅	N- \bar{x}	moving in place at N, while stuck at N
∅	N- \bar{x} ' $\bar{y}ax$ =	turning over by N
∅	\acute{a} '= $\bar{y}ax$ =	turning over
∅	<i>shú</i> '= $\bar{y}ax$ =	turning over end by end
∅	$\bar{y}etx$ ~ $\bar{y}edax_T$ =	starting, taking off, picking up
with <i>yoo</i> =[+I]-...- <i>k</i> repetitive imperfective — oscillating motion		
∅	<i>yoo</i> =	moving back and forth, to and fro
∅	$\bar{y}an=yoo$ =	moving up and down (from surface)
with $\bar{y}a-oo-$ ~ $\bar{y}aa$ = and <i>-ch</i> repetitive imperfective — oblique unbounded motion		
∅	N- \bar{x} $\bar{y}a-oo-$ ~ $\bar{y}aa$ =	moving obliquely, circuitously along N
∅	N <i>daa</i> - \bar{x} ...	circling around N
∅	N- <i>dé</i> $\bar{y}a-oo-$ ~ $\bar{y}aa$ =	moving obliquely, circuitously toward N
∅	<i>hé-dé</i> ...	moving over that way, aside, out of the way
∅	N- <i>dáx</i> $\bar{y}a-oo-$ ~ $\bar{y}aa$ =	moving obliquely, circuitously away from N
∅	N <i>jikaa</i> - <i>dáx</i> ...	getting out of N's way
∅	N- <i>náx</i> $\bar{y}a-oo-$ ~ $\bar{y}aa$ =	moving obliquely, circuitously along N
∅	N- \bar{x} ' $\bar{y}a-oo-$ ~ $\bar{y}aa$ =	moving obliquely, circuitously at N
∅	N <i>daséi</i> - \bar{x} ' ...	exchanging places with N
with N- \bar{x} <i>sha</i> - $\bar{y}a-oo-$ and <i>-ch</i> repetitive imperfective — hanging		
∅	N- \bar{x} <i>sha</i> - $\bar{y}a-oo-$	hanging up at N
∅	$\bar{y}ax$ = <i>sha</i> - $\bar{y}a-oo-$	hanging up
with <i>a</i> - $\bar{y}a-oo$ -[+D]- and \bar{x} repetitive imperfective — revertive motion		
∅	<i>a</i> - $\bar{y}a-oo$ -[+D]-	reverting, turning back

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

<i>Cls.</i>	<i>Derivation</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
with <i>yoo</i> =[+I]-...- <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>yaa</i> =	moving down (no <i>yaa</i> = with <i>yei</i> =)
ga	<i>yaax</i> =	embarking, getting into boat, vehicle
ga	<i>yanax</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>Ephemera</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
Inceptive & Terminative				
∅	<i>ḡunāyēi</i> = ~ <i>ḡunéi</i> = ~ <i>ḡunāyēi'</i> '= _T ~ <i>ḡunēi'</i> '= _T	- <i>x</i> Rep	inceptive	beginning, initiating
∅	<i>yān</i> = ~ <i>yāx</i> = ~ <i>yānde</i> =	- <i>h</i> Rep	terminative	finishing, ending
Exhaustive				
∅	N- <i>x</i> <i>yāx</i> = + <i>yā</i> -[<i>s</i>]-	- <i>x</i> Rep	exhaustive	exhausting; affecting all/many
∅	N- <i>x</i> <i>yā</i> -[<i>s</i>]-	- <i>x</i> Rep	exhaustive	exhausting; affecting all/many
<i>ga</i>	N- <i>x</i>	—	exhaustive	exhausting; affecting all/many
<i>ga</i>	<i>yāx</i> =	—	exhaustive	exhausting; affecting all/many
Areal				
∅	<i>kḡwáak</i> - <i>t</i> =	—	errative	wrongly, mistakenly, in error
∅	<i>kḡwáakx</i> = <i>daak</i> =	—	errative	wrongly, mistakenly, in error
∅	<i>kunáax</i> = <i>daak</i> =	—	explanative	explaining, clarifying
<i>ga</i>	<i>kut</i> = (<i>kawt</i> = ₁)	—	excessive	getting carried away

Table 35: Non-motion derivation strings.

Ci-		Ca-		C- ~ Ca-	
<i>Form</i>	<i>Features</i>	<i>Form</i>	<i>Features</i>	<i>Form</i>	<i>Features</i>
di-	+D ∅ +I	da-	+D ∅ -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 ∅- and *yā*-. See table 37 for *a*.

+14	...	+6	+5	+4	+3	+2	+1
a-							Ca-
		u-					Ca-
			na-				Ca-
			#g̱a-				Ca-
				#g̱a-			Ca-
				ÿu-			Ca-
				u-			Ca-
					daga-		Ca-
						du-	[+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-	ḵu-		ji-	ÿa-	ka-	ga-	ga-	u-	∅-	ÿu-		x̱a-	∅-
ÿi-			x̱'a-					w-	na-	u-		tu-	ÿa-
a-			ḵ'a-					oo-	g̱a-	g̱a-		i-	da-
ḵu-			tu-									ÿi-	di-
			shu-									∅-	sa-
			lu-									du-	si-
			se-									du-	s-
			sa-										dzi-
			x̱a-										la-
			gu-										li-
			ta-										l-
			ḵi-										dli-
			x̱i-										sha-
													shi-
													sh-
													ji-

Table 38: Verb prefixes participating in prefix contraction.

<i>Prefixes</i>	<i>Perfective</i>	<i>Future</i>	<i>Imperfective</i>	<i>Ext.~Mul. Impfv.</i>	<i>Progressive</i>	<i>Realizational</i>	<i>Habitual</i>	<i>Potential</i>	<i>Imperative</i>	<i>Hortative</i>	<i>Admonitive</i>	<i>Consecutive</i>	<i>Conditional</i>	<i>Contingent</i>
ÿu-	+													
u-ÿu-	+													
u-	+													
ga-w-ga-		+												
∅-			+			+			+			+	+	
u-∅-			+				+				+	+	+	
∅-ga-										+				+
u-∅-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.

<i>Subj.</i>	<i>Prefixes</i>	<i>Classifier shape</i>				
		<i>Ci-</i>	<i>Ca-</i>	<i>C- ~ Ca-</i>	<i>∅-</i>	<i>ya-</i>
1SG	ÿu-xa-	xwaCi	xwaCa	xwaC	xwa	xwaa
1PL	ÿu-tu-	wutuCi	wutuCa	wutooC	wutoo	wutuwa
2SG	ÿu-i-	ÿiCi	ÿiCa	ÿiC	ÿi	ÿee
2SG	u-i-	ÿiCi	ÿiCa	ÿiC	ÿi	iya
2PL	ÿu-ÿi-	ÿeeÿCi	ÿeeCa	ÿeeÿC	ÿeeÿ	ÿeeÿ
IND.H	ÿu-du-	wuduCi	—	wuduC	wudu	wuduwa
3/ <i>none</i>	ÿu-(∅-)	wuCi	—	wuC	wu	woo
3/ <i>none</i>	u-(∅-)	wuCi	—	wuC	wu	uwa
1SG	CV-ÿu-xa-	CVxwCi	CVxwaCa	CVxwaC	CVxwa	CVxwaa
1PL	CV-ÿu-tu-	CVwtuCi	CVwtuCa	CVwtooC	CVwtoo	CVwtuwa
2SG	CV-ÿu-i-	CVÿCi	CVÿCa	CVÿiC	CVÿi	Ceeÿa
2PL	CV-ÿu-ÿi-	CVÿeeÿCi	CVÿeeÿCa	CVÿeeÿC	CVÿeeÿ	CVÿeeÿ
IND.H	CV-ÿu-du-	CVwduCi	—	CVwduC	CVwdu	CVwduwa
3/ <i>none</i>	CV-ÿu-(∅-)	CVwCi	—	CVwuC	CVwu	CV:wa
3/ <i>none</i>	CV-u-(∅-)	CU:ci	—	CU:C	CU:	CU:wa

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

<i>Subj.</i>	<i>Prefixes</i>	<i>Classifier shape</i>		
		Ca-	C- ~ Ca-	∅-
1SG	ga-w-ga-xa-	{ ku _k aCa kw _k aCa kk _w aCa	kuk _k aC kwk _k aC kk _w aC	kuk _k a kwk _k a kk _w a
1PL	ga-w-ga-tu-	gax _t uCa	gax _t ooC	gax _t oo
2SG	ga-w-ga-i-	{ gagiCa kgiCa	gageeC kgeeC	gagee kgee
2PL	ga-w-ga-yi-	gax _y iCa	gax _y iC	gax _y i
IND.H	ga-w-ga-du-	gax _d uCa	gax _d uC	gax _d u
3/ <i>none</i>	ga-w-ga-(∅-)	{ gux _g Ca	gugaC kgwaC	guga kgwa
1SG	CV-ga-w-ga-xa-	CVkw _k aCa	CVkw _k aC	CVkw _k a
1PL	CV-ga-w-ga-tu-	CVgax _t uCa	CVgax _t ooC	CVgax _t oo
2SG	CV-ga-w-ga-i-	CVkgiCa	CVkgeeC	CVkgee
2PL	CV-ga-w-ga-yi-	CVgax _y iCa	CVgax _y iC	CVgax _y i
IND.H	CV-ga-w-ga-du-	CVgax _d uCa	CVgax _d uC	CVgax _d u
3/ <i>none</i>	CV-ga-w-ga-(∅-)	CVgux _g Ca	CVkw _g aC	CVkw _g a
1SG	ka-ga-w-ga-xa-	{ kakw _k aCa kook _k aCa	kakw _k aC kook _k aC	kakw _k a kook _k a

Table 41: Northern prefix contractions with future *ga-w-ga-...CL[-I]-*. The CV prefix *ka-* with 1SG.S *xa-* has an additional optional contraction.

Subj.	Prefixes	Classifier shape				
		Ci-	Ca-	C- ~ Ca-	∅-	ÿa-
1SG	∅-x̄a-	x̄aCi	x̄aCa	x̄aC	x̄a	x̄aa
1PL	∅-tu-	tuCi	tuCa	tooC	too	tuwa
2SG	∅-i-	iCi	iCa	eeC	ee	iÿa
2PL	∅-ÿi-	ÿiCi	ÿeeÿCa	ÿiC	ÿi	ÿeeÿ
IND.H	∅-du-	duCi	—	duC	du	duwa
3/ <i>none</i>	∅-(∅-)	Ci	Ca	iC	∅	ÿa
1SG	u-∅-x̄a-	{ x̄waCi u _{x̄} Ci	{ x̄waCa u _{x̄} Ca	x̄waC	x̄wa	x̄waa
3/ <i>none</i>	u-∅-(∅-)	uCi	—	uC	u	uwa
IND.H	u-∅-du-	{ — —	{ — —	uduC duC	udu du	— —
1SG	CV-∅-x̄a-	CVx̄Ci	CVx̄Ca	CVx̄aC	CVx̄a	CVx̄aa
1PL	CV-∅-tu-	CVtuCi	CVtuCa	CVtooC	CVtoo	CVtuwa
2SG	CV-∅-i-	CeeCi	CeeCa	CeeC	Cee	Ceeÿa
2PL	CV-∅-ÿi-	CVÿeeÿCi	CVÿCa	CVÿiC	CVÿ	CVÿeeÿ
IND.H	CV-∅-du-	CVduCi	—	CVduC	CVdu	CVduwa
3/ <i>none</i>	CV-∅-(∅-)	CVCi	CVCa	CVC	CV	CVÿa
3/ <i>none</i>	ka-∅-(∅-)	kaCi	kaCa	kaC	ka	kaa
3/ <i>none</i>	CV-ka-∅-(∅-)	CVkCi	CVkCa	CVkaC	CVka	CVkaa
1SG	CV-u-∅-x̄a-	CU: x̄Ci	CU: x̄Ca	CU: x̄aC	CU: x̄a	CU: x̄aa
3/ <i>none</i>	CV-u-∅-(∅-)	CU: Ci	CU: Ca	CU: C	CU:	CU: ÿa
IND.H	CV-u-∅-du-	{ — —	{ — —	CU: duC CVduC	CU: du CVdu	— —
1SG	CV-oo-∅-x̄a-	Cu _{x̄} Ci	Cu _{x̄} Ca	Cu _{x̄} aC	Cu _{x̄} a	Cu _{x̄} aa
3/ <i>none</i>	CV-oo-∅-(∅-)	CooCi	CooCa	CooC	Coo	Cuwa
3/ <i>none</i>	CV-w-∅-(∅-)	CuCi	CuCa	CuC	Cu	Coo

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

Subj.	Prefixes	Classifier shape				
		Ci-	Ca-	C- ~ Ca-	∅-	ya-
1SG	na-xa-	na _x Ci	na _x Ca	na _x aC	na _x a	na _x aa
1PL	na-tu-	natuCi	natuCa	natooC	natoo	natuwa
2SG	na-i-	niCi	niCa	neeC	nee	niya
2PL	na-yi-	na _y Ci	na _y Ca	na _y iC	na _y	na _y ee _y
IND.H	na-du-	naduCi	—	naduC	nadu	naduwa
3/ <i>none</i>	na-(∅-)	naCi	—	naC	na	naa
1SG	u-na-xa-	{ un _x aCi	{ un _x aCa	{ un _x aC	{ un _x a	{ un _x aa
		{ na _x waCi	{ na _x waCa	{ na _x waC	{ na _x wa	{ na _x waa
3/ <i>none</i>	u-na-(∅-)	unaCi	—	unaC	una	unaa
1SG	CV-na-xa-	CVna _x Ci	CVna _x Ca	CVn _x aC	CVn _x a	CVn _x aa
1PL	CV-na-tu-	CVntuCi	CVntuCa	CVntooC	CVntoo	CVntuwa
2SG	CV-na-i-	CVniCi	CVniCa	CVneeC	CVnee	CVniya
2PL	CV-na-yi-	CVna _y Ci	CVna _y Ca	CVna _y C	CVna _y	CVna _y ee _y
IND.H	CV-na-du-	CVnduCi	—	CVnduC	CVndu	CVnduwa
3/ <i>none</i>	CV-na-(∅-)	CVnCi	—	CVnaC	CVna	CVnaa
1SG	CV-u-na-xa-	{ CU:na _x Ci	{ CU:na _x Ca	{ CU:n _x aC	{ CU:n _x a	{ CU:n _x aa
		{ CVna _x wCi	{ CVna _x wCa	{ CVn _x waC	{ CVn _x wa	{ CVn _x waa
3/ <i>none</i>	CV-u-na-(∅-)	CU:nCi	CU:nCa	CU:naC	CU:na	CU:naa
1SG	CV-oo-na-xa-	Cuna _x Ci	Cuna _x Ca	Cun _x aC	Cun _x a	Cun _x aa
3/ <i>none</i>	CV-oo-na-(∅-)	CunCi	—	CunaC	Cuna	Cunaa
3/ <i>none</i>	CV-w-na-(∅-)	CunCi	—	CunaC	Cuna	Cunaa

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

Subj.	Prefixes	Classifier shape				
		Ci-	Ca-	C- ~ Ca-	∅-	ya-
1SG	ga-xa-	kaCi	kaCa	kaC	ka	kaa
1PL	ga-tu-	gatuCi	gatuCa	gatooc	gatoo	gatuwa
2SG	ga-i-	giCi	giCa	geeC	gee	giya
1PL	ga-yi-	gayCi	gayCa	gayiC	gay	gayeeÿ
IND.H	ga-du-	gaduCi	—	gaduC	gadu	gaduwa
3/ <i>none</i>	ga-(∅-)	gaCi	—	gaC	ga	gaa
1SG	u-ga-xa-	kwaCi	kwaCa	kwaC	kwa	kwa
3/ <i>none</i>	u-ga-(∅-)	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	CVxyeeÿ
IND.H	CV-ga-du-	CVxduCi	—	CVxduC	CVxdu	CVxduwa
3/ <i>none</i>	CV-ga-(∅-)	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-(∅-)	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-(∅-)	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-	∅-	ÿa-
1SG	ga-xa-	gaxCi	gaxCa	gaxaC	gaxa	gaxaa
1PL	ga-tu-	gatuCi	gatuCa	gatooc	gatoo	gatuwa
2SG	ga-i-	giCi	giCa	geeC	gee	giÿa
2PL	ga-ÿi-	gaÿCi	gaÿCa	gaÿiC	gaÿ	gaÿeeÿ
IND.H	ga-du-	gaduCi	—	gaduC	gadu	gaduwa
3/none	ga-(∅-)	gaCi	—	gaC	ga	gaa
1SG	ga-u-xa-	gooxCi	gooxCa	gooxaC	gooxa	gooxaa
3/none	ga-u-(∅-)	?gooc	—	gooc	goo	?goowa
1SG	CV-ga-xa-	CVgaxCi	CVgaxCa	CVkxaC	CVkxa	CVkxaa
1PL	CV-ga-tu-	CVktuCi	CVktuCa	CVktooc	CVktoo	CVktuwa
2SG	CV-ga-i-	CVgiCi	CVgiCa	CVgeeC	CVgee	CVgiÿa
2PL	CV-ga-ÿi-	CVgaÿCi	CVgaÿCa	CVgaÿiC	CVgaÿ	CVgaÿeeÿ
IND.H	CV-ga-du-	CVkduCi	—	CVkduC	CVkdu	CVkduwa
3/none	CV-ga-(∅-)	CVkCi	CVkCa	CVgaC	CVga	CVgaa
1SG	CV-ga-u-xa-	CVgooxCi	CVgooxCa	CVkwxaC	CVkwxa	CVkwxaa
3/none	CV-ga-u-(∅-)	?CVgooc	—	CVgooc	CVgoo	?CVgoowa

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

Subj.	Prefixes	Classifier shape				
		Ci-	Ca-	C- ~ Ca-	Ø-	ÿa-
1SG	Ø-ga-xa-	k̲aCi	k̲aCa	k̲aC	k̲a	k̲aa
1PL	Ø-ga-tu-	gatuCi	gatuCa	gatooc	gatoo	gatuwa
2SG	Ø-ga-i-	giCi	giCa	geeC	gee	giÿa
1PL	Ø-ga-ÿi-	gäÿCi	gäÿCa	gäÿiC	gäÿ	gäÿeeÿ
IND.H	Ø-ga-du-	gaduCi	—	gaduC	gadu	gaduwa
3/none	Ø-ga-(Ø-)	gaCi	—	gaC	ga	gaa
1SG	u-Ø-ga-xa-	k̲waCi	k̲waCa	k̲waC	k̲wa	k̲waa
3/none	u-Ø-ga-(Ø-)	gwaCi	gwaCa	gwaC	gwa	gwaa
1SG	CV-Ø-ga-xa-	CVk̲aCi	CVk̲aCa	CVk̲aC	CVk̲a	CVk̲aa
1PL	CV-Ø-ga-tu-	CVxtuCi	CVxtuCa	CVxtooC	CVxtoo	CVxtuwa
2SG	CV-Ø-ga-i-	CVgiCi	CVgiCa	CVgeeC	CVgee	CVgiÿa
1PL	CV-Ø-ga-ÿi-	CVxÿiCi	CVxÿiCa	CVxÿiC	CVxÿi	CVxÿeeÿ
IND.H	CV-Ø-ga-du-	CVxduCi	—	CVxduC	CVxdu	CVxduwa
3/none	CV-Ø-ga-(Ø-)	CVxCi	CVxCa	CVgaC	CVga	CVgaa
1SG	CV-u-Ø-ga-xa-	CU:k̲aCi	CU:k̲aCa	CU:k̲aC	CU:k̲a	CU:k̲aa
3/none	CV-u-Ø-ga-(Ø-)	CU:x̲Ci	CU:x̲Ca	CU:gaC	CU:ga	CU:gaa
1SG	CV-oo-Ø-ga-xa-	Cuk̲aCi	Cuk̲aCa	Cuk̲aC	Cuk̲a	Cuk̲aa
3/none	CV-oo-Ø-ga-(Ø-)	Cux̲Ci	Cux̲Ca	CugaC	Cuga	Cugaa

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

Subj.	Prefixes	Classifier shape				
		Ci-	Ca-	C- ~ Ca-	∅-	ya-
1SG	na-ga-xa-	na _k aCi	na _k aCa	na _k aC	na _k a	na _k aa
1PL	na-ga-tu-	na _x tuCi	na _x tuCa	na _x tooC	na _x too	na _x tuwa
2SG	na-ga-i-	nagiCi	nagiCa	nageeC	nagee	nagiya
2PL	na-ga-yi-	na _x yiCi	na _x yiCa	na _x yiC	na _x yi	na _x yeeÿ
IND.H	na-ga-du-	na _x duCi	—	na _x duC	na _x du	na _x duwa
3/ <i>none</i>	na-ga-(∅-)	na _x Ci	na _x Ca	nagaC	naga	nagaa
1SG	u-na-ga-xa-	{ un _k aCi	un _k aCa	un _k aC	un _k a	un _k aa
		{ na _k waCi	na _k waCa	na _k waC	na _k wa	na _k waa
3/ <i>none</i>	u-na-ga-(∅-)	{ un _a xCi	un _a xCa	ungaC	unga	ungaa
		{ na _x wCi	na _x wCa	nagwaC	nagwa	nagwaa
1SG	CV-na-ga-xa-	CVn _k aCi	CVn _k aCa	CVn _k aC	CVn _k a	CVn _k aa
1PL	CV-na-ga-tu-	CVna _x tuCi	CVna _x tuCa	CVna _x tooC	CVna _x too	CVna _x tuwa
2SG	CV-na-ga-i-	CVngiCi	CVngiCa	CVngeeC	CVngnee	CVngiya
2PL	CV-na-ga-yi-	CVna _x yiCi	CVna _x yiCa	CVna _x yiC	CVna _x yi	CVna _x yeeÿ
IND.H	CV-na-ga-du-	CVna _x duCi	—	CVna _x duC	CVna _x du	CVna _x duwa
3/ <i>none</i>	CV-na-ga-(∅-)	CVna _x Ci	CVna _x Ca	CVngaC	CVnga	CVngaa
1SG	CV-u-na-ga-xa-	{ CU:n _k aCi	CU:n _k aCa	CU:n _k aC	CU:n _k a	CU:n _k aa
		{ CVn _k waCi	CVn _k waCa	CVn _k waC	CVn _k wa	CVn _k waa
3/ <i>none</i>	CV-u-na-ga-(∅-)	{ CU:n _a xCi	CU:n _a xCa	CU:n _a ngaC	CU:n _a nga	CU:n _a ngaa
		{ CVna _x wCi	CVna _x wCa	CVngwaC	CVngwa	CVngwaa
1SG	CV-oo-na-ga-xa-	Cun _k aCi	Cun _k aCa	Cun _k aC	Cun _k a	Cun _k aa
3/ <i>none</i>	CV-oo-na-ga-(∅-)	Cun _a xCi	Cun _a xCa	CungaC	Cunga	Cungaa
3/ <i>none</i>	CV-w-na-ga-(∅-)	Cun _a xCi	Cun _a xCa	CungaC	Cunga	Cungaa

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

Subj.	Prefixes	Classifier shape				
		Ci-	Ca-	C- ~ Ca-	∅-	ÿa-
1SG	ga-ga-xa-	k̄aak̄aCi	k̄aak̄aCa	k̄aak̄aC	k̄aak̄a	k̄aak̄a
1PL	ga-ga-tu-	gaax̄tuCi	gaax̄tuCa	gaax̄tooC	gaax̄too	gaax̄tuwa
2SG	ga-ga-i-	gaagiCi	gaagiCa	gaageeC	gaagee	gaagiÿa
2PL	ga-ga-ÿi-	gaax̄ÿiCi	gaax̄ÿiCa	gaax̄ÿiC	gaax̄ÿi	gaax̄ÿeeÿ
IND.H	ga-ga-du-	gaax̄duCi	—	gaax̄duC	gaax̄du	gaax̄duwa
3/none	ga-ga-(∅-)	gaax̄Ci	gaax̄Ca	gaagaC	gaaga	gaagaa
1SG	u-ga-ga-xa-	k̄waak̄aCi	k̄waak̄aCa	k̄waak̄aC	k̄waak̄a	k̄waak̄aa
3/none	u-ga-ga-(∅-)	gwaax̄Ci	gwaax̄Ca	gwaagaC	gwaaga	gwaagaa
1SG	CV-ga-ga-xa-	CVk̄aak̄aCi	CVk̄aak̄aCa	CVk̄aak̄aC	CVk̄aak̄a	CVk̄aak̄aa
1PL	CV-ga-ga-tu-	CVgaax̄tuCi	CVgaax̄tuCa	CVgaax̄tooC	CVgaax̄too	CVgaax̄tuwa
2SG	CV-ga-ga-i-	CVgaagiCi	CVgaagiCa	CVgaageeC	CVgaagee	CVgaagiÿa
2PL	CV-ga-ga-ÿi-	CVgaax̄ÿiCi	CVgaax̄ÿiCa	CVgaax̄ÿiC	CVgaax̄ÿi	CVgaax̄ÿeeÿ
IND.H	CV-ga-ga-du-	CVgaax̄duCi	—	CVgaax̄duC	CVgaax̄du	CVgaax̄duwa
3/none	CV-ga-ga-(∅-)	CVgaax̄Ci	CVgaax̄Ca	CVgaagaC	CVgaaga	CVgaagaa
1SG	CV-u-ga-ga-xa-	CU:k̄aak̄aCi	CU:k̄aak̄aCa	CU:k̄aak̄aC	CU:k̄aak̄a	CU:k̄aak̄aa
3/none	CV-u-ga-ga-(∅-)	CU:gaax̄Ci	CU:gaax̄Ca	CU:gaagaaC	CU:gaaga	CU:gaagaa
1SG	CV-oo-ga-ga-xa-	Cūk̄aak̄aCi	Cūk̄aak̄aCa	Cūk̄aak̄aC	Cūk̄aak̄a	Cūk̄aak̄aa
3/none	CV-oo-ga-ga-(∅-)	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.

<i>Subj.</i>	<i>Prefixes</i>	<i>Classifier shape</i>				
		Ci-	Ca-	C- ~ Ca-	∅-	ya-
1SG	ga-ga-xa-	gakaCi	gakaCa	gakaC	gaka	gakaa
1PL	ga-ga-tu-	gaxtuCi	gaxtuCa	gaxtooC	gaxtoo	gaxtuwa
2SG	ga-ga-i-	gagiCi	gagiCa	gageeC	gagee	gagiya
2PL	ga-ga-yi-	gaxyiCi	gaxyiCa	gaxyiC	gaxyi	gaxyeey
IND.H	ga-ga-du-	gaxduCi	—	gaxduC	gaxdu	gaxduwa
3/ <i>none</i>	ga-ga-(∅-)	gaxCi	gaxCa	gagaC	gaga	gagaa
1SG	ga-u-ga-xa-	gookaCi	gookaCa	gookaC	gooka	gookaa
3/ <i>none</i>	ga-u-ga-(∅-)	gooxCi	gooxCa	—	googa	googaa
1SG	CV-ga-ga-xa-	CVkkaCi	CVkkaCa	CVkkaC	CVkka	CVkkaa
1PL	CV-ga-ga-tu-	CVgaxtuCi	CVgaxtuCa	CVgaxtooC	CVgaxtoo	CVgaxtuwa
2SG	CV-ga-ga-i-	CVkgiCi	CVkgiCa	CVkgeeC	CVkgee	CVkgiya
2PL	CV-ga-ga-yi-	CVgaxyiCi	CVgaxyiCa	CVgaxyiC	CVgaxyi	CVgaxyeey
IND.H	CV-ga-ga-du-	CVgaxduCi	—	CVgaxduC	CVgaxdu	CVgaxduwa
3/ <i>none</i>	CV-ga-ga-(∅-)	CVgaxCi	CVgaxCa	CVkgaC	CVkga	CVkгаа
1SG	CV-ga-u-ga-xa-	CVkwkaCi	CVkwkaCa	CVkwkaC	CVkwka	CVkwkaa
3/ <i>none</i>	CV-ga-u-ga-(∅-)	CVgooxCi	CVgooxCa	CVkwgaC	CVkwga	CVkwгаа

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

<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.

<i>Form</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Definition</i>	<i>Auxiliary Affixes</i>
<i>neech</i> _{SRI}			
<i>nooch</i> _{RN}	HAB.AUX	habitual	- <i>ch</i>
<i>nukch</i> _G			
<i>noohch</i> _T			
<i>neejéen</i> _{SRI}			
<i>noojéen</i> _{RN}	DEC.HAB.AUX	decessive habitual	- <i>ch-eeen</i>
<i>noohjeen</i> _T			
<i>néekw</i> _{SRI}			
<i>nóok</i> _N	CSEC.AUX	consecutive	- <i>ɿ</i>
<i>neekw</i> _T			
<i>níkwnee</i> _{SRI}			
<i>núknee</i> _{RN}	COND.AUX	conditional	- <i>n-ee</i>
<i>nukneeh</i> _T			
<i>ganíkw</i> _{SR}			
<i>ganígún</i> _I	CTNG.AUX	contingent	<i>ga-...-n-ín</i>
<i>ganígún</i> _N			
<i>[?]ganíkw</i> _T			

Table 51: Verb auxiliaries (-7).

<i>Suffix</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
-án	restorative	REST	restore previous state
-xaa	amissive	MISS	miss the target of action
-ákʷ	deprivative	DEPRV	remove, deprive, lacking
-aa	play	PLAY	playing, pretending
-jaa	radiative ?	RAD	give off something? (<? -ch + -aa)
-shán	intensive ?	INTNS	intensifies meaning? (<? -án)
-k̄	excessive ?	EXCES	too much?
-í	property	PPTY	have, have the property of
-k	?	UNK	unknown
-(á)ch'	?	UNK	unknown
-ál'	?	UNK	unknown
-gákʷ	?	UNK	unknown
-nás	?	UNK	unknown
-nás'	?	UNK	unknown
-át'	?	UNK	unknown
-x̄	?	UNK	unknown

Table 52: Derivational suffixes (-2).

<i>Sfx.</i>	<i>Stem</i>	<i>Pg.</i>	<i>Root</i>	<i>Stem meaning</i>
	<i>haanán</i>	274	<i>haan</i>	(sg.) restore confidence by reelection
	<i>naagán</i>	284	<i>naak</i>	(pl.) restore confidence by reelection
-án	<i>taanán</i>	292	<i>taan</i>	reconsider; reset bone/joint
	<i>xeexán</i>	325	<i>xeex</i>	be restored to normality; become normal
	<i>xeenán</i>	338	<i>xeen</i>	get back into joint by itself
	<i>.únx̄aa</i>	270	<i>.oon</i>	miss target when shooting
	<i>t'áchx̄aa</i>	296	<i>t'aach</i>	miss target when slapping
	<i>dzéix̄aa</i>	296	<i>dzoo</i>	miss target when throwing round object
-x̄aa	<i>shátx̄aa</i>	309	<i>shaat</i>	miss target when grabbing something
	<i>gwálx̄aa</i>	319	<i>gwaal</i>	miss target when punching with fist
	<i>k'íshx̄aa</i>	337	<i>k'eesh</i>	miss target when hitting with stick
	<i>xíchx̄aa</i>	341	<i>xeech</i>	miss target when hitting with stick

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

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

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

<i>Sfx.</i>	<i>Stem</i>	<i>Pg.</i>	<i>Root</i>	<i>Stem meaning</i>
	<i>gúgu</i>		<i>gúk_n</i>	have ear or loop
	<i>geiwú</i>	91	<i>gei?</i>	dipnet
-í	<i>jíni</i>	S66:54	<i>jín_n</i>	have arms or sleeves
	<i>koodzí</i>	320	<i>kootl?</i>	be amazing, awesome
	<i>l'eedí</i>	S66:54	<i>l'ee_n</i>	have a tail or handle
	<i>saayí</i>	301	<i>saa₂</i>	have an important name
	<i>tleilk'ú</i>	310		make string figures
	<i>x'oosí</i>		<i>x'oos_n</i>	have feet or legs
	<i>s'óoshkw</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'ú_nkw</i>	312	<i>tl'oon</i>	murmur, grumble (< REP)
	<i>xwáchk</i>	328	<i>xwaach</i>	be paralyzed by sickness
	<i>káchk</i>	336	<i>kaach</i>	be lame, limp
-(á)ch'	<i>geigách'</i>	332	<i>geik₁</i>	swing
	<i>séewch'ák_w</i>	S66:56	<i>seew_n</i>	tasteless, rain-flavoured
-ál'	<i>néegwál'</i>	280		paint; make jam, preserve fruit
-gákw	<i>seigákw</i>	300	<i>saa₂</i>	regain breath, get one's wind back
-nás'	<i>kéénás</i>	334	<i>kei₁</i>	in-law property exchange
-nás'	<i>xaanás'</i>	334	<i>xaa₂</i>	travel by raft
-át'	<i>tl'éekát'</i>	311	<i>tl'een?</i>	thread stick through to stiffen
-x	<i>ch'ách'x</i>	307	<i>ch'aach'</i>	be spotted (inanimate) (< REP)

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

<i>Verb theme</i>	<i>Object class</i>	<i>Example nouns</i>
<i>O-S-[∅]-√ti</i>	general generic	<i>té</i> ‘rock’, <i>x’úx</i> ‘book’ <i>tákl</i> ‘hammer’, <i>téel</i> ‘shoe’
<i>O-ka-S-[∅]-√ti</i>	small round small round	<i>gút</i> ‘dime’, <i>x’áax</i> ‘apple’ <i>k’wát</i> ‘egg’, <i>kawóot</i> ‘bead’
<i>O-S-[s]-√ti</i>	frame-like; internal parts string mass; woven container	<i>káayakijeit</i> ‘chair’, <i>séek</i> ‘belt’ <i>xaaw</i> ‘hair’; <i>gwéil</i> ‘bag’, <i>kákw</i> ‘basket’
<i>O-ka-S-[s]-√ti</i>	round frame-like string of small round	<i>kées</i> ‘bracelet’ <i>seit</i> ‘necklace’, <i>kawóot</i> ‘bead’
<i>O-ji-S-[s]-√ti</i>	— string mass with ends	— <i>tás</i> ‘thread’, <i>kaxées</i> ‘wire’
<i>O-ji-ka-S-[∅]-√ti</i>	coiled rope-like —	<i>tíx</i> ‘rope’, <i>kakéin</i> ‘yarn’ —
<i>O-ji-ka-S-[s]-√ti</i>	uncoiled rope-like —	<i>tíx</i> ‘rope’, <i>kakéin</i> ‘yarn’ —
<i>O-S-[∅]-√tan</i>	empty container bone/wooden; container	<i>gúx’aa</i> ‘cup’, <i>gaaw</i> ‘drum’, <i>k’wátl</i> ‘pot’ <i>kéit’u</i> ‘pickaxe’; <i>kóok</i> ‘box’
<i>O-ka-S-[∅]-√tan</i>	stick-like	<i>káas</i> ‘stick’
<i>O-S-[s]-√tan</i>	stick-like bone/wooden with handle	<i>xít’aa</i> ‘broom’, <i>óonaa</i> ‘rifle’ <i>jáaji</i> ‘snowshoe’; <i>cháash</i> ‘bough’
<i>O-ka-S-[s]-√tan</i>	small stick-like small stick-like	<i>kooxéedaa</i> ‘pencil’, <i>táax’ál</i> ‘needle’ <i>uxgankáas</i> ‘match’, <i>gáax’w</i> ‘herring eggs’
<i>O-S-[s]-√in</i>	full container full container	<i>gúx’aa</i> ‘cup’, <i>tléikw</i> ‘berries’ <i>kwás</i> ‘aged urine’
<i>O-S-[∅]-√ax</i>	fabric flat flexible	<i>jigwéinaa</i> ‘towel’, <i>k’oodás</i> ‘shirt’ <i>gáach</i> ‘mat’, <i>atdoogú</i> ‘skin’, <i>x’óow</i> ‘blanket’
<i>O-S-[l]-√na</i>	flat flexible bundle	<i>jigwéinaa</i> ‘towels’
<i>O-S-[s]-√ta</i>	dead animal —	<i>xaat</i> ‘fish’, <i>guwakaan</i> ‘deer’, <i>cháatl</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.