

Exploring Tlingit relative clauses: Morphology and syntax

James A. Crippen*
University of British Columbia

I document and analyze the structure of relative clauses in the Tlingit language, from both existing and new data. I establish an analysis of the DP and show that relative clauses have a distinct position from prenominal adjectives contra Naish (1966). Relative clauses are always externally headed, relative pronouns are ungrammatical, nominalized clauses are distinct from relative clauses, and that everything in the NP accessibility hierarchy can be relativized. Objects and subjects use a gap strategy whereas other elements produce resumptive pronouns. Relativization out of subordinate clauses is permitted, but relativization out of adjunct subordinate clauses violates the Adjunct Island Constraint. I include an appendix on adjectives.

1 Introduction

In this article I document and analyze the structure of relative clauses in the Tlingit¹ language of southeastern Alaska and neighbouring British Columbia and the Yukon Territory. I describe the morphology and syntax of relative clauses from existing textual data, my transcriptions of existing audio recordings, and from my fieldwork with several native speakers. In section 3 I present an initial analysis of the determiner phrase in Tlingit, emphasizing that the order of constituents in within the DP is fixed, so that Tlingit cannot be a Free Word Order language (Schäufele 1991).² In addition I show that relative clauses are distinct from adjectives due to linear ordering constraints, contra Naish (1966). Section 4 establishes that relative clause heads are external, relative pronouns are not used, and that nominalized clauses are not

* Gunalchéesh aḵ eet yidasheeyí aḵ xoonx'i yán ka aḵ kóo at latéewu há:s aḵ léelk'w Keixwnéi Nora Dauenhauer, aḵ léelk'w Daasdiyaa Ethel Makinen, aḵ aat Yaaxl.aat Irene Paul, aḵ léelk'w Kaséix Selena Everson, aḵ aat Jigeit Tláa Irene Cadiente, aḵ aat Yaḵdulákt Lillian Austin, aḵ tláak'w Ḡuneiwí Marsha Hotch, aḵ naasháade káawu Kaalkáawu Cyril George, aḵ sáni Jeegéi Yaḵgóos' Jackie Williams, aḵ aat Seidaayaa Sigaxsháak'u Mary Anderson, aḵ aat Kudeina.át Margaret Gross-Hope, aḵ aat Koolyéik Roby Littlefield, aḵ sáni Xwaayeenák Dick Dauenhauer, aḵ húnxw Shak'únts' Seth Cable, aḵ sée Ts'ats'ée Christine Schreyer, ka aḵ advisor há:s Henry Davis, Rose-Marie Déchaine, ka Doug Pulleyblank. Wé Jacobs Research Fund-ch dáanaa aḵ ée s ayawlidlaak aḵ research yís.

1. Pronounced /'klɪŋ.kɪt/ or /'klɪŋ.git/ in English, from Tlingit *Lingít* /ʔɪn.kít/ 'person; Tlingit'. It is a member of the Na-Dene (or Athabaskan–Eyak–Tlingit) language family.

2. Tlingit permits any order of S, O, and V in main clauses (Cable 2010b: 19), so it could be said to be Free Phrase Order with some restrictions. But V must be final in all embedded clauses, and there seem to be constraints on phrase order within clauses, so I suspect that Tlingit is underlyingly SOV like its Na-Dene relatives. Focus, heavy NP shift, and other forms of dislocation could account for the variation in main clauses.

relative clauses. In section 5 I show that everything in the NP Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan & Comrie 1977) can be relativized, but that subjects and objects produce gaps whereas other elements produce resumptive pronouns. Finally, in section 6 I show that relativization is permitted out of subordinate clauses, and that relativization out of adjunct subordinate clauses apparently violates the Adjunct Island Constraint.

There has been little work on relative clauses in Tlingit. Consequently, most of my description and analysis in this paper is novel, though some of the data have been previously published. Naish (1966) offered the first principled analysis of Tlingit syntax in her master's thesis using the Tagmemic framework (e.g. Cook 1978). Naish documented 'attributive' verb forms that she equated with prenominal adjectives. Leer (1991: 22–45) sketched a nonconfigurational structure using Autolexical Syntax (Sadock 1991). Leer did not address the syntax of relativization, but he did provide an analysis of the verbal morphology of 'attributive' constructions, describing the distinction between the 'attributive' suffix and the other clause-type suffixes (Leer 1991: 158–159, 168, 214–215, 483–497). Cable (2010a,b) has presented some relative clauses in his work on other syntactic topics but has not offered any detailed analysis of relativization.

2 Relativization morphology

Because verb morphology in Tlingit is a vast topic, I will only briefly sketch the morphology of relativization here. I recommend that interested readers consult the cited work by Story (1966) and Leer (1991). I analyze Tlingit verbs as having a basic morphological structure like in (1), with subject 'S' and object 'O' slots for agreement prefixes.

(1)	...	O-	...	S-	CL[±D,S,±I]-	ROOT	-VAR	...
	...	+14	...	+2	+1	0	-1	...
	...	object	...	subject	classifier ⁴	root	stem variation	...

TRANSITIVE verbs are [+S, +O]; there are no ditransitives in Tlingit so there are no indirect objects. There are two kinds of intransitives: SUBJECT INTRANSITIVE verbs are unergative [+S, -O], and OBJECT INTRANSITIVE verbs are unaccusative [-S, +O]. This is a fixed (not fluid) split-intransitive system, but neither agentive nor active intransitives are necessarily [+S, -O] so that neither 'agent/patient' nor 'active/stative' (Mithun 1999: 213–214) are appropriate descriptions of Tlingit intransitivity. IMPERSONAL verbs have [-S, -O] with no core arguments marked in the verb, and correspondingly no coindexable NPs in A-positions. Most impersonal verbs have a lexicalized nonreferential O or S prefix or both, but a few have neither.

STEM VARIATION is the system of regular vocalic changes in the verb root due to a mostly abstract suffix; e.g. a root \sqrt{xa} 'eat' + *-n* gives a stem $x\acute{e}in$. It is distinct between relativized and non-relativized verbs (Leer 1991: 170–171). I was often given forms that violated Leer's rules and have seen many

4. The classifier, named by Boas (1917: 22, 27–35), has three features CL[±D,S,±I] with S = { \emptyset , s, l, sh}. It mostly indicates voice and valency, but is also involved in noun classification.

exceptions in published texts. I suspect the difference in stem variation between relatives and non-relatives is prosodic and intonational rather than morphophonological, and hence it may be more flexible than what Leer describes. I indicate stem variation in glosses but will otherwise ignore it.

Tlingit relative clauses exhibit distinct morphology on the relativized verb as described by Leer (1991: 158–159, 168–174, 214–215, 483–497, etc.). Relativized verbs are marked with a suffix *-i* REL in certain modes;⁵ other modes lack an overt suffix, so I adopt a $-\emptyset$ REL for symmetry. According to Leer (1991: 159), the modes that use *-i* are those that have the [+I] classifier feature in their realis forms. I came upon a few examples where this was possibly not the case, for example *Kaalkáawu* Cyril George's *yaa ndashani Yéil* 'Raven who is getting old' with the classifier *da-* CL[+D, \emptyset , -I] but relative *-i*, so Leer's morphological description should be revisited. Most of my examples given in this paper exhibit *-i* simply because it is easier to identify as relativization, but that should not be taken to imply a difference in frequency.

The following placenames in (2) demonstrate *-i* and $-\emptyset$ relative marking. Example (2a) is a relativized perfective with *yü-* PFV and [+I] in the classifier, hence the use of *-i*. Example (2b) is a relativized progressive imperfective with *yaa=* 'along', the *na-* conjugation prefix, and [-I], hence the use of $-\emptyset$.

(2) a. *perfective with -i relative suffix*

Kawlit'ix'i	Gawdáan
\emptyset_i -ka- yü-li - $\sqrt{t'ix'-i}$	gawdáan _i
3.0 _i -HSFC-PFV-CL[-D, I, +I]- $\sqrt{\text{hard-REL}}$	horse _i
it _i .be.hard.PFV-REL	horse _i
'horse that's in rigor mortis', 'Deadhorse' (a gulch in White Pass)	
(Keixwnéi Nora Dauenhauer)	

b. *progressive imperfective with $-\emptyset$ relative suffix*

Yaa Na\bar{x}'ákw	T'á
yaa=na - \emptyset_i - \emptyset - $\sqrt{x'ákw-n-\emptyset}$	t'á _i
along=NCNJ -3.S _i -CL[-D, \emptyset , -I]- $\sqrt{\text{swim-VAR-REL}}$	king.salmon _i
it _i .swim.PROG-REL	king.salmon _i
'king salmon ⁶ that is going upstream' (a river in the Taku watershed)	
(Yaxgóos' Jackie Williams)	

I call these structures that consist only of a relativized verb and a head noun SMALL RELATIVES. Previously the term 'attributive' has been used for relative clauses, presumably because small relatives were thought to be adjectival verbs. Since Tlingit has a closed class of adjectives (perhaps 26 total, see the appendix), small relatives serve as the primary means of nominal modification. About half of Tlingit's adjectives are prenominal, so Naish (1966: 102) lumped relativized verbs together with the prenominal adjectives in a class she called 'premodifiers'. As I will show, relative clauses are syntactically distinct from adjectives, and are true embedded clauses rather than

5. A MODE is a language-specific category subsuming tense, mood, aspect, modality, and polarity. Modes are marked with several discontinuous morphemes and features that are interleaved with lexical, derivational, and other inflectional morphology.

6. 'King salmon' is the local name for *Oncorhynchus tshawytscha* (Walbaum 1792).

merely specialized verbs. Small relatives are perhaps the most obvious instances of relative clauses, but Tlingit has much larger structures available.

3 The DP and relatives versus adjectives

There are four DEMONSTRATIVES in Tlingit: proximal *yá* PROX ‘right here’, mesiproximal *hé* MPRX ‘over here’, mesiodistal *wé* MDST ‘there’, distal *yú* DIST ‘off over there’. Despite the label, Tlingit’s demonstratives are more like English determiners than demonstratives. For example, unlike English *that* and *this* the Tlingit demonstratives cannot act as pronouns.

- (3) a. **wé** shaawát *xwasiteen*
wé shaawát_i Ø_i-y̨u-xa-si-√tin-h
 MDST girl_i 3.0_i-PFV-1SG.S-CL[-D,S,+I]-√see-VAR
 that girl_i I.see.PFV.her_i
 ‘I saw **that** girl’ (Jigeit Tláa Irene Cadiente & Yaxdulákt Lillian Austin)
- b. shaawát *xwasiteen*
 ‘I saw a girl’
- c. ***wé** *xwasiteen*
 ‘I saw **that**’
- d. *xwasiteen*
 ‘I saw it’

As can be seen by the contrast between (3a) and (3b), demonstratives seem to encode definiteness and their lack apparently results in indefiniteness. Demonstratives can also be suffixed by postpositions, hence acting as P complements. But, as shown in (4), in such contexts they never refer to entities, only locations or directions.⁷

- (4) a. **yóode** nayxaach!
yú-dé Ø-na-y̨i-Ø-√xach-h
 DIST-ALL 3.0-NCNJ-2PL.S-CL[-D,Ø,-I]-√tow-VAR
 there-toward you.PL.tow.IMP.it
 ‘tow it **away**’, ‘tow it **yonderward**’, *‘tow it toward **that**’
 (Keixwnéi Nora Dauenhauer)
- b. **yáax’** yatee
yá-x’ Ø-Ø-y̨a-√ti-h
 PROX-LOC 3.0-ZCNJ-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-√be-VAR
 here-at it.is.IMPFV
 ‘it is **here**’, *‘it is on **this**’⁸

Although this is not enough evidence to prove determinerhood, I adopt the working hypothesis that Tlingit’s demonstratives are determiners and hence D heads of DPs (Alexiadou, Haegeman, & Stavrou 2007). I further

7. There are distinct demonstrative pronouns such as *wéit’aa* ‘that one’ that refer to entities, and which block nouns: **wéit’aa shaawát*. These are unique lexical items, historically formed from DEM + -t PUNCT + aa PART, which are now nondecomposable pronouns.

8. A more natural formulation here would have the locative predicate suffix *-(d)ú* that avoids use of a verb: *yáadu* ‘it’s here’. The ‘it’ then does not surface, and *yá* still only denotes ‘here’.

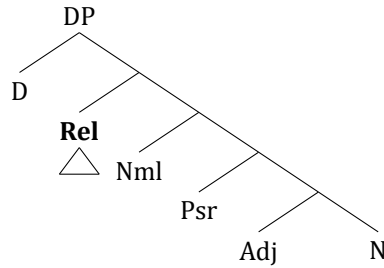


Figure 1: Structure of the Tlingit DP

then the numeral, then the possessor, then the prenominal adjective, and finally the head noun.¹⁰ Naish was correct about the position of all elements within the DP except for the placement of relative clauses. To illustrate, the following example shows a DP containing a numeral and prenominal adjective.

- (9) wé **dáxnáx** yées káax'w
 wé **déix-náx** yées káa^w-x'
 MDST **two-HUM** **young** man-PL
 'those two young men' (Keixwnéi Nora Dauenhauer)

A relative clause can then be inserted into this DP, but its position is fixed. Relative clauses only occur between the demonstrative and the numeral.

- (10) a. wé Yaakwdáat dáx haat has koowatini
 wé Yaakwdáat-dáx haa-t=has=ku-ýu-θ-ÿa-√tin-i
 MDST Yakutat-ABL here-PNCT=PL=AREAL-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,θ,+I]-√see-REL
dáxnáx yées káax'w
déix-náx yées káa^w-x'
two-HUM **young** man-PL
 'those two young men who visited here from Yakutat'
(Daasdiyaa Ethel Makinen)

a'.wé Yaakwdáat-dáx haat=has_i=koowatin-i **dáxnáx** yées káax'w_i
 that Yakutat from here=they_i=visit.PFV-REL **two** **young** men_i
 D [Rel NP P Adv¹²=V_[+S,-O]] Nml Adj N_i

All other linear orderings of the relative clause, numeral, and adjective are ungrammatical, as shown in example (11) below.

10. I am unsure if the quantifier *ldakát* 'all, every', which precedes the D, is within or outside of the DP. I have left it out of this discussion.

12. I will ignore the phrasal structure of preverbs such as *haa-t=* 'here-PNCT'. Morphophonologically they are proclitics but they might syntactically be AdvPs and/or PPs. I suspect that all are adjuncts, and that none can be relativized except for the manner *yéi=* 'thus'.

- (11) a. *wé [Yaakwdáat dǎx haat has koowatini] yées dǎxnǎx kǎax'w
 b. *wé dǎxnǎx yées [Yaakwdáat dǎx haat has koowatini] kǎax'w
 c. *wé yées dǎxnǎx [Yaakwdáat dǎx haat has koowatini] kǎax'w
 d. *wé dǎxnǎx [Yaakwdáat dǎx haat has koowatini] yées kǎax'w
 e. *wé yées [Yaakwdáat dǎx haat has koowatini] dǎxnǎx kǎax'w

The PP *Yaakwdáat dǎx* must be a constituent within the relative clause. This is because, as shown in (12), the demonstrative must precede both the PP and the relativized verb, and because the demonstrative cannot intervene between the two elements of the PP.

- (12) a. ***[Yaakwdáat dǎx]** wé [haat has koowatini] dǎxnǎx yées kǎax'w
 b. ***Yaakwdáat wé dǎx** [haat has koowatini] dǎxnǎx yées kǎax'w

Because of the distinct linear ordering of adjectives and relative clauses within the DP, relative clauses cannot be lumped together with adjectives. Furthermore, since adjectives are not conjugatable but relative clauses retain most of their argument and tense-mood-aspect conjugation possibilities, the two certainly constitute different constituent categories. Because relative clauses occur with non-noun elements between them and the head noun, relativized verbs are not merely proclitics of nouns. Also, since relative clauses can contain PPs and other phrases, they cannot be considered to consist solely of specialized verbs, but are instead true embedded clauses with internal phrase structure.

4 External headedness and nominalization

Tlingit relative clauses are always externally headed, with the head following the relativized verb. It is ungrammatical for a relative clause to lack a noun head, as shown in (13a) through (13d) below. It is also ungrammatical for the head to not follow the relativized verb as in (13e). All but (13e) can be rescued by the addition of e.g. the partitive pronoun *aa* 'one, some'.¹³ The last, if rescuing with *aa* is attempted, turns into two clauses: [*yú kǎa*], [*woonaawu aa*] 'that man', [one who died]'.¹³

- (13) a. *yú wootaawu
 'that who died' (*Keixwnéi* Nora Dauenhauer)
 b. *yú wootaawu **nás'k**
 'those **three** who died'
 c. *yú wootaawu **ax**
 'that **my** who died'
 d. *yú wootaawu **yées**
 'that **young** who died'
 e. *yú **kǎa** wootaawu
 'that who died **man**'

13. Or the possessed form *aayí* in (13c).

Relative clauses never include relative pronouns in Tlingit. My consultants actually admonished me for offering these sentences including wh-words “like in English”. One said “I think you know better than that”.

- (14) a. *yú xwasiteeni **aadóo** káa
 that I.see.PFV.him.REL **who** man
 ‘that man who I saw’ (Jigeit Tláa Irene Cadiente & Yaxdulákt Lillian Austin)
- b. *yú **aadóo** xwasiteeni káa
 that **who** I.see.PFV.him.REL man
 ‘that man who I saw’

Nominalized clauses might be considered to be a kind of headless relative clause, but are not. There are a variety of nominalizations with different verb morphology (Story 1966: 200–203). Leer (1991: 491–494) gave more details regarding the suffixless type, which I analyze as a $-\emptyset$ derivation. These look similar to $-\emptyset$ marked relative clauses but are distinct. One simple difference is that a relative clause cannot be possessed but a nominalized clause can be possessed. For example, the main clause verb in (15a) is nominalized and possessed in (15b).

- (15) a. tléil ushk'é
 tléil \emptyset -u- \emptyset -sha- $\sqrt{k'}$ é-'
 NEG 3.O-IRR-ZCNJ-CL[-D,sh,-I]- $\sqrt{\text{good}}$ -VAR
 not it.isn't.good.IMPFV
 ‘it's bad, not good’ (Jigeit Tláa Irene Cadiente & Yaxdulákt Lillian Austin)
- b. **ax** l ushk'éiyi
ax l \emptyset -u- \emptyset -sha- $\sqrt{k'}$ é-' \emptyset **-yí**
1SG.PSS NEG 3.O-IRR-ZCNJ-CL[-D,sh,-I]- $\sqrt{\text{good}}$ -VAR-NMZ **-PSS**
my not it.isn't.good.IMPFV-NMZ **-PSS**
 Psr [NP Neg V[-S,+O]-NMZ] **-PSS**
 ‘my badness’, ‘my sin’

A similar relative clause cannot be possessed, however. The form in (16a) is a relative clause based on the same verb and with the partitive pronoun *aa* ‘one, some’ as its head. The possessor *ax* ‘my’ cannot be positioned above the entire relative clause as in (16b), though it can occur between the relativized verb and the noun head in (16c) as already documented.

- (16) a. l ushk'é aa
 l \emptyset -u- \emptyset -sha- $\sqrt{k'}$ é-' \emptyset aa
 NEG 3.O-IRR-ZCNJ-CL[-D,sh,-I]- $\sqrt{\text{good}}$ -VAR-NMZ PART
 not it.isn't.good.IMPFV-REL one
 [Rel Neg V[-S,+O]] N
 ‘bad one’, ‘one that is not good’
 (Jigeit Tláa Irene Cadiente & Yaxdulákt Lillian Austin)
- b. ***ax** [Rel l ushk'é] aayí
 ‘my bad one’, ‘my one that is not good’
- c. [Rel l ushk'é] **ax** aayí
 ‘my bad one’, ‘my one that is not good’

mat' ending in *ch*, showing that the alternation *a-* → *∅-* is syntactic and not phonologically conditioned.

- (19) a. **as.ée**
a-∅-∅-*sa*-√*i-ÿ*
3.0-ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,S,-I]-√*cook*-VAR
 'he's cooking it' (Keixwnéi Nora Dauenhauer)
- b. **aḫ éesh**ch** sa.ée**
aḫ éesh-ch** ∅-∅-∅-*sa*-√*i-ÿ***
1SG.PSS father-ERG 3.0-ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,S,-I]-√*cook*-VAR
 'my father is cooking it'
- c. **aḫ éesh**ch** útlxi as.ée**
 'my father is cooking soup'
- d. **hó**ch** as.ée**
hú-ch** a-∅-∅-*sa*-√*i-ÿ***
3.H-ERG 3.0-ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,S,-I]-√*cook*-VAR
 'him, he's cooking it'
- e. **gáach as.ée**
 'he's cooking a rug'

Relativized nouns cannot occur both as the head and within the relative clause, so that simple copying is ungrammatical.

- (20) * **héen yat'ayi héen**
héen yat'a-i héen
 water_i it_i.hot.IMPV-REL water_i
 [Rel N_i V_[-S,+O]] N_i

Resumptive pronouns do not occur for intransitive objects or subjects, so that gaps are the only strategy permitted with relativization of intransitive verb arguments.

- (21) a. ***wé hú_i kawduwasayi káa**
wé hú_i ∅_i-ka-ÿu-du-ÿa-√*saÿ*-i káa
 MDST 3.H_i 3.0_i-HSFC-IND.H.N-CL[-D,∅,+I]-√*radiate*-REL man_i
 D [Rel N_i V_{[-S,+O]-REL}] N_i
 'that man [who he is hot]'
 (Jigeit Tláa Irene Cadiente & Yaḫdulákt Lillian Austin)

- b. ***yú hú haadé woogudi káa**
yú hú_i haa-dé=ÿu-∅_i-ÿa-√*gut*-i káa_i
 DIST 3.H_i here-ALL=PFV-3.S_i-CL[-D,∅,+I]-√*go*.SG-REL man_i
 that him_i here=he_i.come.PFV-REL man_i
 D [Rel N_i V_{[+S,-O]-REL}] N_i
 'that man [who he came here]'

Transitive objects and subjects are never produced with resumptive pronouns. My consultants were not strongly confident about the ungrammaticality of their inclusion, so this needs to be tested further.

(22) a. *	yú	Geetweinch	á	aawatlet'i	eex
	yú	Geetwein-ch	á	a-ÿu-Ø-ÿa-√tlet'-i	eex
	DIST	NAME-ERG	3.N	3.0-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-√lick-REL	oil
	that	Geetwein	it _i	he.lick.PFV.it _i -REL	oil _i
	D	[Rel N	N _i	V _[+S,+0] -REL] N _i
		'that oil [that <i>Geetwein</i> licked it]'			

(*Jigeit Tláa* Irene Cadiente & *Yaxdulákt* Lillian Austin)

b. ??	yú	hóoch	tsaa	eexí	aawatlet'i	káa
	yú	hú_i -ch	tsaa	eex-ÿí	a-ÿu-Ø-ÿa-√tlet'-i	káa _i
	DIST	3.H _i -ERG	seal	oil-PSS	3.0-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-√lick-REL	man _i
	that	he_i	seal	oil	he _i .lick.PFV.it-REL	man _i
	D	[Rel N _i	N	N	V _[+S,+0] -REL] N _i
		'that man [who he licked seal oil]'				

Resumptive pronouns always occur for relativized PPs, and omitting the resumptive is ungrammatical so that gaps cannot occur. I have not tested every single possible postposition, but I see no reason why any postposition should be an exception.

(23) a.	yá	aanáx	yaa	ntukux	héen
	yá	á_i -náx	ÿaa=na-tu-Ø-√kux-Ø		héen_i
	PROX	3.N _i -PERL	along=NCNJ-1PL.S-CL[-D,Ø,-I]-√go.boat-REL		river_i
	this	it_i -across	we.boat.go.PROG-REL		river_i
	this	[Rel [PP N _i -P] V _[+S,-0]] river_i
		'this river that we're going across by boat' (<i>Yaaxl.aat</i> Irene Paul)			

b.	yú	át	wutuwa _{kuxu}	aan	
	yú	á_i -t	ÿu-tu-ÿa-√kux-i	aan_i	
	DIST	3.N-PNCT	PFV-1PL.S-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-√go.veh-REL	town_i	
	that	it_i -to	we.vehicle.go.PFV-REL	town_i	
	that	[Rel [PP N _i -P] V _[+S,-0]] N_i	
		'that town that we drove ¹⁵ to' (<i>Keixwnéi</i> Nora Dauenhauer)			

I encountered a possible ordering restriction of PPs in relative clauses with example (24) below. I am uncertain why the resumptive PP must occur closer to the verb than the non-resumptive PP, and have not collected any other examples of this phenomenon. This judgement may be purely incidental but if not it will be important for determining clause-internal ordering, hence needing further elicitation.

(24) a.	wé	Kéex'de	aagáa	wutuwa _{kuxu}	shaaw
	wé	Kéex'-dé	á-gáa	Ø-ÿu-tu-ÿa-√kux-i	shaaw
	MDST	Kake-ALL	3.N-ADES	3.0-PFV-1PL.S-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-√go.boat-REL	gumboot
	that	Kake-to	it-for	we.boat.go.PFV-REL	gumboot
	D	[Rel N-P	N_i-P	V _[+S,-0]] N_i
		'those gumboots ¹⁶ we went (by boat) to Kake for ' (<i>Yaaxl.aat</i> Irene Paul)			

b.*	wé	aagáa	Kéex'de	wutuwa _{kuxu}	shaaw
		'those gumboots we went (by boat) for to Kake'			

15. The root √kux originally applied to movement by boat, but now is used for any vehicle.

16. The 'gumboot' is the giant Pacific chiton *Cryptochiton stelleri* (Middendorff 1947).

Tlingit lumps objects of comparison together with other complements of postpositions. Thus relativizations of objects of comparison are the same as other relativized PPs.

- (25) a. wé káa yáanáx̄ x̄at koogéi
 wé káa yáanáx̄ x̄at-ka-w-θ-ya-√ge-ÿ
 MDST man SUP 1SG.O-HSFC-IRR-ZCNJ-CL[-D,θ,+I]-√big-VAL
 that man more I.be.large.IMPFV.COMPV
 [_{PP} [_{DP} D N] P] V_[-S,+O]
 ‘I am bigger than that man’
- b. wé **du** yáanáx̄ x̄at koogeyi káa
 wé **du_i** yáanáx̄ x̄at-ka-w-θ-xa-ya-√ge-i káa_i
 MDST **3.H.PSS_i** SUP 1SG.O-HSFC-IRR-ZCNJ-CL[-D,θ,+I]-√big-REL man_i
 that **him_i** more I.be.large.IMPFV.COMPV-REL man_i
 D [_{Rel} [_{PP} **N_i** P V_[-S,+O]] N_i]
 ‘that man who I am bigger than’

Possessor relativization typically involves inanimate possessors, but also can occur for animate ones. These are fairly rare however. The following is an ‘in the wild’ example from a narrative by *Kooxíchx* Alex Andrews.

- (26) yá **du** yáx̄ yawdudziikaayi
 yá **du_i** yá-x̄ yá-yu-du-dzi-√ka-h-i
 PROX **3.H.PSS_i** face-PERT VSFC-PFV-IND.H.S-CL[+D,S,+I]-√say-VAR-REL
 this **his_i** face-on people.insult.PFV.REL
 D [_{Rel} [_{PP} **N_i** N-P] V_[+S,-O]]
 Stoonook
 Stoonook_i
 NAME_i
 NAME_i
 N

‘this *Stoonook* who was insulted’ (lit. ‘... whose face was insulted’)
 (Dauenhauer, Dauenhauer, & Black 2008: 332.163)

The verb here is a subject intransitive [+S, -O] with the indefinite human subject *du-* ‘someone; people’ marked in the verb. The subject *du-* is literally translated as ‘someone’ or ‘people’, but it also serves as a detransitivizing pseudopassive argument and hence is translated into English as a passive. Since the subject is indefinite, the proper name *Stoonook* in the external head position cannot be coindexed with the subject. *Stoonook* is instead the patient of the verb, expressed as the possessor of the NP *yá* ‘face’, and hence coindexed with the third person human possessive pronoun *du* ‘his’ within the relative clause.

6 Relativization out of subordinate clauses

Tlingit permits relativization of elements within dependent clauses, sometimes known as long distance relativization. Relativization out of dependent clauses in both object position and in lexically specified PPs is permitted.

In contrast, relativization out of at least one kind of adjunct dependent clause is not permitted, thus indicating that at least some adjuncts form islands and hence the Adjunct Island Constraint holds in Tlingit to some extent.

Relative clauses are themselves a type of dependent clause, as are nominalized clauses. Tlingit has an additional morphologically distinct dependent clause called a SUBORDINATE CLAUSE (Naish 1966: 23; Leer 1991: 214, 483).¹⁷ I will not explore the morphology other than noting that they have an *-ée* suffix¹⁸ that has tone opposite that of the stem, they have [-I] in the classifier, and they have irrealis-like stem variation.

A subordinate clause can be the core argument of a main clause verb, so that in (27) the subordinate clause consisting of the verb *xwaxaayí* ‘that I ate it’ is the object of the main clause verb *xwasikóo* ‘I know it’.

(27)	<i>xwasikóo</i>	<i>xwaxaayí</i>	
	Ø-ÿu-xa-si-√ku-ÿ	Ø-ÿu-xa-Ø-√xa-h-ée	
	3.0-PFV-1SG.S-CL[-D,S,+I]-√know-VAR	3.0-PFV-1SG.S-CL[-D,Ø,-I]-√eat-VAR-SUB	
	I.know.PFV.it	I.eat.PFV.it-SUB	
	V _[+S,+0]	[Sub V _[+S,+0]]
	‘I know [I ate it]’	(<i>Jigeit Tláa</i> Irene Cadiente & <i>Yaxdulákt</i> Lillian Austin)	

Subordinate clauses can also be complements of lexically specified postpositions. In (28) the subordinate-marked verb is the complement of the pertinent postposition *-x* that is lexically specified by the verb *N-x u-S-CL[-D,Ø]-√ji* (*na*; -ÿ Stv) ‘S think, believe N’.

(28)	du	yat'éix'	yoo x'atula.ádgix	
	du	ÿá-t'ei-x'	yoo=x'a-Ø-tu-la-√.at-k-ée	-x
		3.H.PSS face-behind-LOC	ALT=mouth-ZCNJ-1PL.S-CL-√handle.PL-REP-SUB	-PERT
		his face-behind-at	we.talk.IMPV.REP-SUB	that
	[PP [Sub Psr	N-N-P	Adv=V _[+S,-0]]P]
	uwajée			
	u-Ø-ÿa-√ji-ÿ			
	IRR-ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-√think-VAR			
	he.think.IMPV			
	V _[+S,-0]			
	‘he thinks that we are talking behind his back’			(Naish 1966: 26)

Finally, subordinate clauses can also occur as adjuncts. In (29) the subordinate clause *al'óon wugoodí* ‘while he went hunting’ has the subordinate-marked verb *wugoodí* ‘while he went’, which is neither a core argument of the main clause verb *ayaawa.óo* ‘he handled plural stick-like objects’ nor the complement of a postposition. The subordinate clause is entirely optional here, so I consider it to be an adjunct.

17. For Tlingit description, subordinate clauses are a subclass of dependent clauses, so that subordinate clause ≠ dependent clause. This is at odds with the meaning of ‘subordinate clause’ elsewhere, but like ‘classifier’ the traditional terminology has great inertia.

18. I segment this as *-ée* to distinguish it from other *i*-like suffixes, but its length varies among speakers between long and short so that it is often written *-í*.

	<i>object</i>	<i>PP</i>	<i>adjunct</i>
<i>ordinary</i> (IMPFV, PFV, FUT, HAB)	✓	✓	*
<i>restricted</i> (IMPFV, PFV)	✓	✓	?

Table 1: Relativization out of subordinate clause types.

- (29) al'óon wugoodí uxgankáas' du gatltóode ayaawa.óo
al'óon wugoot-ée uxgankáas' du gatltú-dé ayaawa.óo
hunting he.go.PFV-SUB matches his pocket-ALL he.put.PFV.it
{[Sub N V[+S, -O]] N Psr N-P V_[+S, +O]}
'he put matches in his pocket while he went hunting' (Edwards 2009: 270)

Leer (1991: 484–494) distinguishes between two types of subordinate-marked verbs depending on the range of mode marking permitted within them. ORDINARY SUBORDINATES permit any of the imperfective, perfective, future, or habitual modes.¹⁹ In contrast, RESTRICTED SUBORDINATES only allow imperfective or perfective mode marking. Verbs that subcategorize for subordinate clauses require one or the other of these types. For example, *O-S-CL[-D, S]-√ku* (\emptyset ; Evt) 'S know O' subcategorizes for an ordinary subordinate as an object, whereas *O-u-S-CL[-D, \emptyset]-√ya* (*na*; -; Stv) 'S resemble O' subcategorizes for a restricted subordinate as an object. The two types can also occur as complements of lexically specified postpositions. I encountered at least one instance where his claim did not hold, but I have not investigated this division thoroughly.

I tested relativization out of five kinds of subordinate clauses, as shown in table 1. I am uncertain if there are any adjunct subordinate clauses that are of the restricted type, and consequently did not test this combination. In the interest of spatial economy, I will not include examples of all the different types, instead illustrating only relativization from a restricted object subordinate and from an ordinary PP subordinate.

Example (30) shows a relative clause where the head is taken from within a restricted object subordinate clause. The subordinate-marked verb is *xwajaagí*, with the relativization being from within the complement PP *x'áat'-x'* 'island-LOC'. The relativized VP *ax éesh een keeyaneegi* 'that you told my father' (lit. 'that you recounted/storytold with my father') takes the subordinate clause as an object.

19. To avoid some confusing implications of Leer's terminology (his 'finite' vs. 'non-finite' and 'adjunct' vs. 'complement' do not mean what most syntacticians would expect), I employ more generic names for the two classes of subordinate-marked verbs.

(30) yú áx' s'eeek xwajaagí aḵ éesh een keeyaneegi x'áat', Wasóos X'áat' yoo duwasáakw

yú áx' s'eeek xwajaagí aḵ éesh een keeyaneegi
 that it-on blk.bear I.kill.PFV.it.SUB my father with you.tell.PFV.it.REL
 D [Rel [Sub N_i-P N V_[+S, +0]] Psr N P V_[+S, +0]]
 x'áat', Wasóos X'áat' yoo duwasáakw
 island Cow Island thus=they.call.IMP.FV.REP.it
 N_i N N V_[+S, +0]

'that island [that you told my father [I killed a black bear _ on], it's called Cow Island' (Jigeit Tláa Irene Cadiente & Yaḵdulákt Lillian Austin)

Example (31) demonstrates relativization out of an ordinary PP subordinate clause. Leer (1991: 488) claimed that the verb *N-x' a-ka-w-S-CL[+D, I]-√xéetl'* (*ga*; Stv) 'S be afraid of N' only permitted restricted subordinate clauses, but he was apparently mistaken since the subordinate verb here is in the future mode.

(31) yú haadé kgwagoodíx' akooḵdliḵéetl'i Kooshdaakáa, shákdé saḵwaa.áḵ tatgéiyi xáanaa

yú haadé kgwagoodíx' akooḵdliḵéetl'i
 that here=he.go.SG.FUT.SUB of I.be.afraid.PFV.REL
 D [Rel [PP [Sub - V_[+S, -0] Sub] P PP] V_[+S, -0] Rel]
 Kooshdaakáa shákdé saḵwaa.áḵ tatgéiyi xáanaa
 land.otter.man maybe I.hear.PFV.its.voice yesterday evening
 N Pcl V_[+S, +0] Adv Adv

'that Land Otter Man [I'm afraid [_ will come here]], I maybe heard its voice last night' (Jigeit Tláa Irene Cadiente & Yaḵdulákt Lillian Austin)

My elicited examples of long distance relativization were all grammatically acceptable but not structurally ideal. My consultants uniformly felt that dislocation of the subordinate clause to the right of the relative clause and head was somehow an improvement. Thus the form in (32) is better than (31) although both are acceptable sentences.²⁰

(32) yú áa akooḵdliḵéetl'i Kooshdaakáa, haadé kgwagoodí, shákdé ...

yú áa akooḵdliḵéetl'i Kooshdaakáa haadé kgwagoodí
 yú á_j'- akooḵdliḵéetl'-i Kooshdaakáa haadé=kgwagoodí_i
 that it_j-of I.be.afraid.PFV.REL land.otter.man_j here=he.go.FUT.SUB_i
 D [Rel N_i-P V_[+S, -0]] N_j [Sub -_j Adv=V_[+S, -0]]_i
 'that Land Otter Man_j [I'm afraid [-_j will come here]], maybe ...'

I believe that this preference for dislocation is part of a larger phenomenon in the language whereby 'heavy' phrases (compare Heavy-NP Shift, e.g. Haegeman 1994: 421) are dislocated from main clauses to achieve a certain total 'weight' for each clause. I doubt that this 'weight' is phonological, but instead suspect it is derived from interacting factors of discourse structure,

20. The -' is an allomorph of locative -x' that is preferred by many speakers with third person nonhuman á. Its phonological realization is high tone on a long vowel, or glottalization of the vowel in Tongass Tlingit. There is no functional difference between the two.

information structure, and morphological complexity. This dislocation phenomenon is also probably connected to the apparent freedom of constituent order in main clauses, so that Tlingit has a basic SOV order with rampant topicalization and dislocation deriving the other possible orderings. I have no analysis to offer at present, but I emphasize that even the excessively ‘heavy’ structures in my examples are still acceptable for native speakers.

I tested one instance of relativization out of an adjunct, given in example (33). My consultant found this to be atrociously ungrammatical. The adjunct phrase is a subordinate clause with the verb *yeey.aadí* ‘you (pl.) went’. I am uncertain if the PP *du een* ‘with him’ inside the subordinate clause is an adjunct itself, but if so then this would be relativization out of two islands rather than just one.

- (33) *yú du een neildé yeey.aadí x’áax’ yeexayi káa
 yú du een neildé yeey.aadí
 yú du_i een neil-dé=yú-ÿi-Ø-√.at-h-ée
 DIST 3.H_i INSTR home-ALL=PFV-2PL.S-CL[-D,Ø,-i]-√go.PL-VAR-SUB
 D [Rel [Sub N_i P Adv-P=V_[+S,-O]]
 x’áax’ yeexayi káa
 x’áax’ ÿu-i-ÿa-√xá-i káa_i
 apple PFV-2SG.S-CL[-D,Ø,+i]-√eat-REL man_i
 N V_[+S,+O]] N_i
 ‘that man [that you ate an apple [while going home with _]]’
 (G_{unewtí} Marsha Hotch)

Although I need more data to confirm that relativization from adjuncts is ungrammatical, I am fairly confident about this particular datum and expect that most other adjuncts will behave similarly. I cannot yet rule out the existence of weak islands, however.

7 Conclusions

I have shown in this article that relative clauses in Tlingit are prenominal but are distinct from prenominal adjectives. Relative clauses are externally headed, lack relative pronouns, and are not nominalizations. Anything in the NP accessibility hierarchy can be relativized, but objects and subjects use a gap strategy while other elements use resumptive pronouns instead. Long distance relativization out of subordinate clauses is possible, but not out of adjunct subordinates.

Most of the syntax and semantics of relative clauses remains to be explored. It is unclear whether there is a distinction between restrictive and appositive relative clauses, for example. The possibility that there are positional restrictions on constituents within the relative clause should be further pursued. Another pressing question is whether relative clauses form islands that prohibit e.g. wh-movement from Q phrase fronting as documented by Cable (2010b). The syntax and semantics of the DP in Tlingit is also an almost complete mystery, and though Leer (1991) documented clause typing morphology there are many open questions about the structure and function of main and dependent clauses in the language. In sum, this article represents

only the very beginning strokes of a long voyage into the realm of Tlingit syntax.

Appendix: Adjectives

Tlingit has two types of adjectives, with the division based on syntactic distribution. Prenominal adjectives precede the noun they modify, and postnominal adjectives follow the modified noun. Both are closed classes, with relatively small inventories of roughly the same size. Table 2 on page 18 gives the complete inventory of adjectives that I have encountered, though there may be a few more of either type. Swanton (1911: 168) only recognized the existence of postnominal adjectives, and Boas (1917) did not describe any kinds of adjectives at all. Naish (1966: 79–80) called them ‘modifiers’ and correctly recognized the division between prenominal and postnominal adjectives.

There are no established constituency tests for Tlingit adjectives, so that the inventory has been established empirically rather than formally, and hence varies among researchers. My usual test for a suspected adjective is whether it can occur with a demonstrative or possessor and no other noun; if this is ungrammatical then the word is not a true N head and hence is probably an adjective. I am unaware of any morphosyntactic processes in Tlingit that regularly produce adjectives from other lexical items. I exclude all relativized (‘attributive’) verbs since as I have argued in this paper they are not adjectives.

Many of the adjectives certainly derive from attributive noun compounding, such as *káa* – ‘male’ and – *k’wát* ‘round, egg-shaped’. These could be argued to still be nouns, but there are other adjectives with identical distributions and properties that lack corresponding noun functions, for example *sheech* – ‘female’ and – *sákw* ‘future’. Because the adjectives with noun counterparts are used to encode more abstract attributes than their corresponding nouns, e.g. *káa* – ‘male sex’ rather than ‘human male’ and – *k’wát* ‘round’ rather than ‘egg’, I treat them as separate lexical entries.

Several adjectives, both prenominal and postnominal, derive from verb roots. They are not however verbs because they cannot be conjugated for person, mode, or clause type, and do not exhibit any other paradigmatic verbal phenomena. Only one shows evidence of a non- \emptyset classifier: the prenominal adjective *kustín* ‘giant, monstrous’ which appears to have *s-* CL[+D,S,-I]. Like the other verb root-derived adjectives this is inconjugable.

There are no colour adjectives in Tlingit, nor indeed any specialized colour terms in general. Instead Tlingit uses the *N yáx O-CL[-D,Ø]-ti* ‘O be like N’ verb construction, with the similative postposition *yáx* and a noun N that has a possible colour-reference. Examples include *t’ooch’ yáx yatee* ‘it is like charcoal; it is black’ and *dleit yáx yatee* ‘it is like snow; it is white’. This construction is always semantically ambiguous so that the colour reference sense can only be determined pragmatically. Even pragmatics can break down given insufficient context: one can point to a chunk of burnt wood and say *t’ooch’ yáx yatee* which can be interpreted as either ‘it is black’ or ‘it is like charcoal’ with equal felicity.

	<i>Form</i>	<i>Meaning</i>	<i>Compare</i>
<i>Prenominal</i>	<i>aak'é</i> _	good, well	√ <i>k'éix</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>ku-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>tatgéiyi</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>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>shis'k</i>	raw	√ <i>shis'k</i> 'raw'
	_ <i>t'éex'</i>	hard	√ <i>t'ix'</i> 'hard; frozen'
	_ <i>tlein</i>	large, big	√ <i>tla</i> 'stout'
	_ <i>tlenx'</i>	large, big (pl.)	_ <i>tlein</i> 'big'
	_ <i>xook</i>	dry, dried	√ <i>xuk</i> 'dry'
	_ <i>uwaa</i>	similar, fake	√ <i>yá</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 2: Prenominal and postnominal adjectives.

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Dzéiwsh James A. Crippen
jcrippen@gmail.com

UBC Dept. of Linguistics
Totem Field Studios
2613 West Mall
Vancouver, BC V6T 1Z4
Canada