Tlingit Verbal Structure Handbook

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Dzéiwsh

Kaaḵáak'w Hít Deisheetaan, S'iknax̲.ádi y., Shtax'héen K̲wáan

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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. *V́V̀*, which is conceptually a sequence of high and low tones.

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

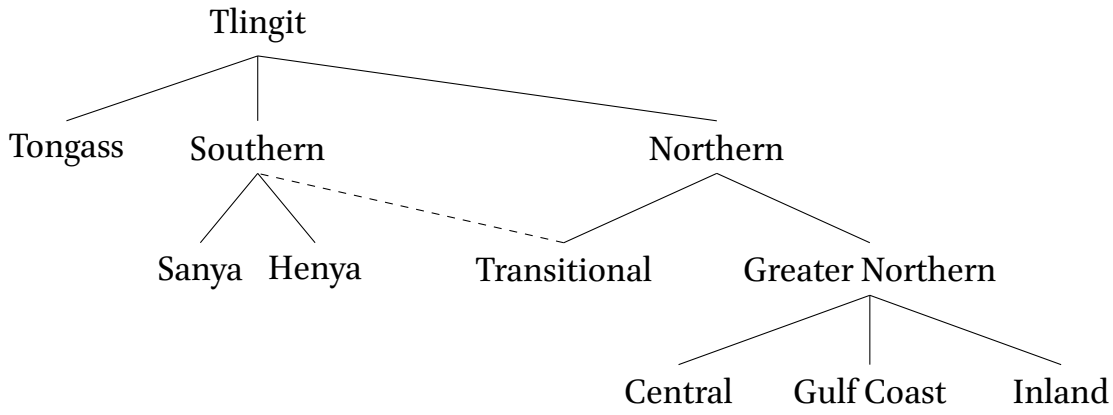

Figure 1: Tlingit dialect overview.

- Tongass Tlingit (T): Duke Island *Yee'x̲*, Metlakatla *Taahkw Aahni* (now Coast Tsim. *Maxłakxaała*), Port Stewart *G̲aahnax̲*, Tongass *Katuk̲x̲uka*
- Southern Tlingit (S)
  - Sanya Tlingit (S): Cape Fox *G̲aash*, Kah Shakes Cove *G̲unéik̲'an Héènak'u*, Naha Bay *Naa.á*, Unuk River *Joonáx̲*, Chickamin River *X̲eel*, Yes Bay *Yees G̲eeyí*
  - Henya Tlingit (H): Craig *Shaanséet*, Klawock *Laawaak*, Tuxekan *T'ak̲jik.aan*, ʔKuyu *Kooyú*
- Northern Tlingit (N)
  - Transitional Tlingit (R): Wrangell *K̲aachx̲an.áak'w*, Petersburg *Gantiyaakw Séedi ~ Séet Ká*, Kake *K̲éex̲'*, ʔKuyu *Kooyú*, ʔSumdum *S'aawdáan*, some in Angoon *Aangóon*
  - Greater Northern Tlingit (N)
    - Central Tlingit (N): Sitka *Sheet'ká*, Angoon *Aangóon*, Killisnoo *Kanasnoow*, Tenakee *T'anag̲eiy*, ʔSumdum *S'aawdáan*, Taku *T'aak̲ú*, Juneau *Dzánti K'ihéeni ~ Jóonu*, Douglas *X'áat'k' T'iká*, Auke Bay *Áak'w*, Hoonah *Xunaa*, Haines *Deishú*, Klukwan *Tlákw.aan*, Skagway *Shg̲agwéi*
    - Gulf Coast Tlingit (G): Lituya Bay *Ltu.áa*, Dry Bay *G̲unax̲oo*, Yakutat *Yaakwdáat*, Icy Bay *Ÿaas'é*, Kaliakh *G̲alyáx̲*
    - Inland Tlingit (I): ʔSumdum *S'aawdáan*, Atlin *Áatlein*, Teslin *Deisleen*, Tagish *Taagish*, Carcross *Naadaashahéeni ~ Naatasehéeni*

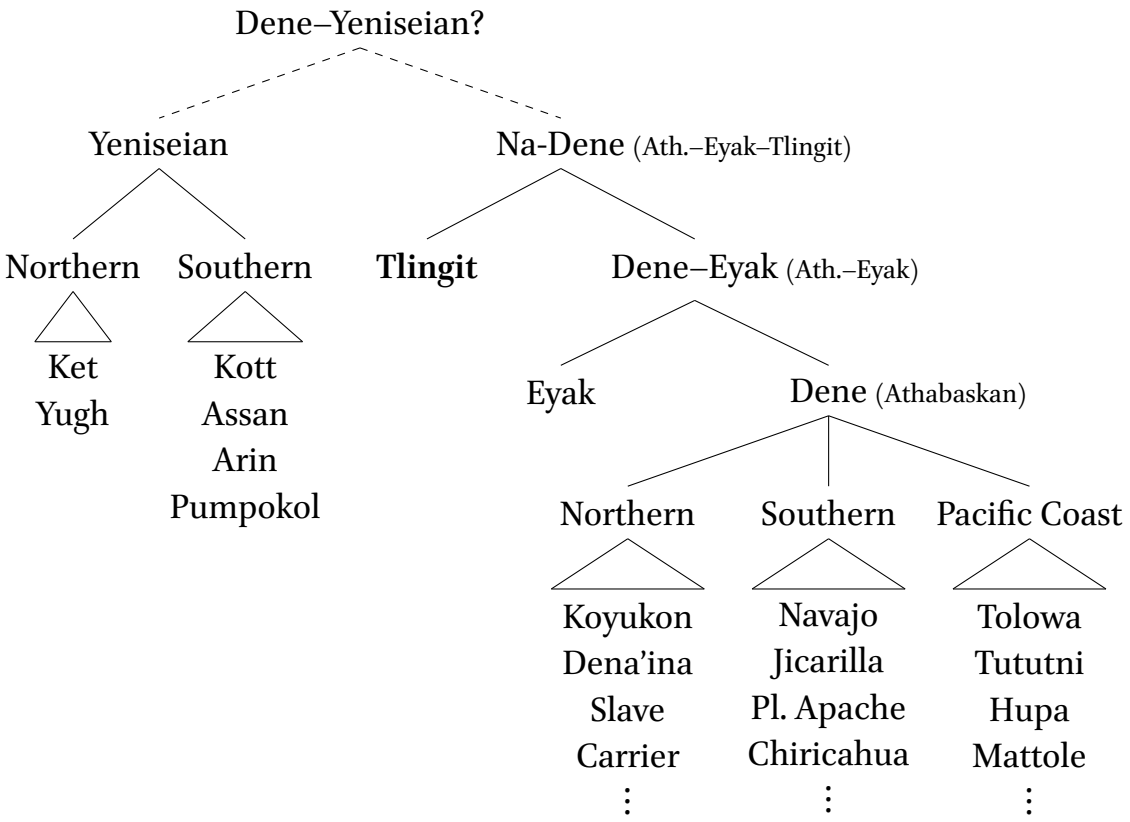

Figure 2: Tlingit's family tree.

Tongass		*Southern*				*Northern*		*Leer 91*	*Translation*
		Sanya		*Henya*					
V	*ta*	V́	*tá*	V́	*tá*	V́	*tá*	*tá*	sleep
V	*ta ḵaa'*	V́	*tá ḵáà*	V̀	*ta ḵáà*	V̀	*ta ḵáa*	*ta qá'*	sleeping man
V^{h}	*shaah*	V̀ː	*shaa*	V̀ː	*shaa*	V̀ː	*shaa*	*ša'*	mountain
V^{h}R	*aahn*	V̀ːR	*aan*	V̀ːR	*aan*	V̀ː	*aan*	*a'n*	land, town
V^{ʔ}	*ḵaa'*	V́V̀	*ḵáà*	V́V̀	*ḵáà*	V́ː	*ḵáa*	*qá'*	man
Vː	*aa*	V́ː	*áa*	V́ː	*áa*	V́ː	*áa*	*á·*	lake
VːR	*ÿeehwaan*	V́V̀R	*yeewáàn*	V́V̀R	*yeewáàn*	V́ːR	*yeewáan*	*ÿi'wá·n*	you (pl.)
Vː	*haa*	V̀ː	*haa*	V̀ː	*haa*	V̀ː	*haa*	*ha·*	us, our
VːR	*x'aan*	V̀ːR	*x'aan*	V̀ːR	*x'aan*	V̀ːR	*x'aan*	*x'a·n*	anger

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

	bilabial	*alveolar*	*postalv.*	*lateral*	*palatal*	*velar*	*lab.-vel.*	*uvular*	*lab.-uvu.*	*glottal*	*lab.-glot.*
unasp. stop	(b)	d				g	gw	g̲	g̲w		
asp. stop		t				k	kw	k̲	k̲w		
ejv. stop		t’				k’	k’w	k̲’	k̲’w	.	(.w)
nasal	(m)	n		(n̲)							
plain fric.		s	sh	l		x	xw	x̲	x̲w	h	(hw)
ejv. fric.		s’		l’		x’	x’w	x̲’	x̲’w		
unasp. aff.		dz	j	dl							
asp. aff.		ts	ch	tl							
ejv. aff.		ts’	ch’	tl’							
approx.				(l̲)	y	ÿ	w				

Table 2: Tlingit consonant inventory in Coastal orthography.

	low tone V̀						*high tone V́*					
	short V̀			*long V̀:*			*short V́*			*long V́:*		
	fnt.	*ctr.*	*bck.*	*fnt.*	*ctr.*	*bck.*	*fnt.*	*ctr.*	*bck.*	*fnt.*	*ctr.*	*bck.*
high	i		u	ee		oo	í		ú	ée		óo
mid	e			ei			é			éi		
low		a			aa			á			áa	

Table 3: Northern Tlingit vowel inventory in Coastal orthography.

	low tone V̀						*high tone V́*					
	short V̀			*long V̀:*			*short V́*			*long V́:*		
	fnt.	*ctr.*	*bck.*	*fnt.*	*ctr.*	*bck.*	*fnt.*	*ctr.*	*bck.*	*fnt.*	*ctr.*	*bck.*
high	i		u	ì		ù	í		ú	î		û
mid	e			è			é			ê		
low		a			à			á			â	

Table 4: Northern Tlingit vowel inventory in YNLC orthography.

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

Table 5: Tongass Tlingit vowel inventory in orthographic representation.

	falling V́V̀ (V̂:)		
	front	*centre*	*back*
high	éè		óò
mid	éì		
low		áà	

Table 6: Southern Tlingit falling tone vowels.

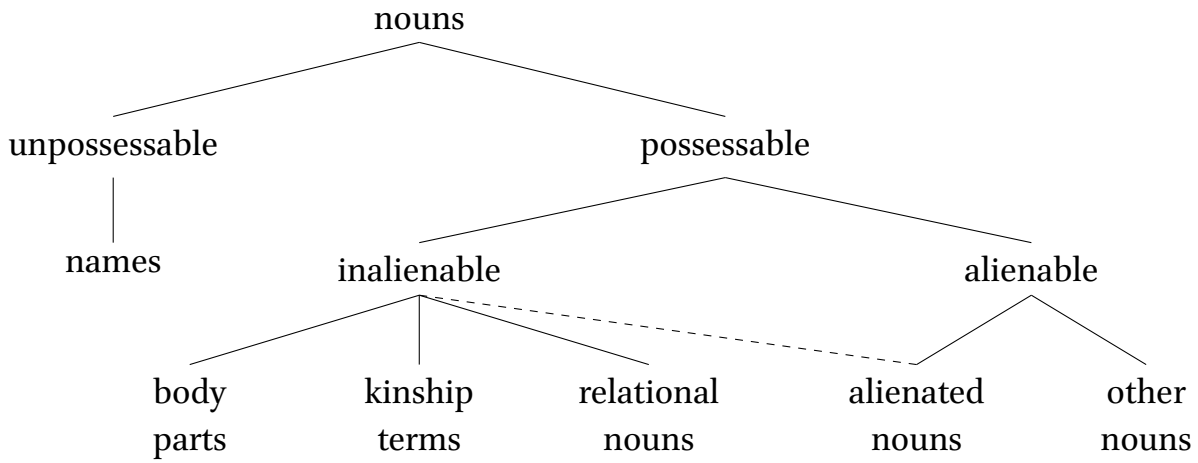

Figure 3: Noun possession types.

	consonant final		*vowel final*	
	+round	*–round*	*+round*	*–round*
low	-ú	-í	-wú	-yí
high	-u	-i	-wu	-yi

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

Form	*Abv.*	*Name*	*Meaning*
-ch	ERG	ergative	subject of transitive verb
-x'	LOC	locative	at, on, in, by
-t	PNCT	punctual	at a point, to a point, around a point
-x̲	PERT	pertingent	contacting, form of, concerning
-dé	ALL	allative	to, toward, until, manner of
-dáx̲	ABL	ablative	from, out of
-náx̲	PERL	perlative	along, by, via, during, across
-g̲áa	ADES	adessive	around, about, by, after, for
-n	INST	instrumental	with, using, as soon as
teen	COM	comitative	along, with, accompanying
-ú	LOCP	locative predicate	verbless locative phrase
yáx̲	SIM	similative	like, as, similar to
ÿís	BEN	benefactive	for, benefiting
g̲óot	ABES	abessive	without, lacking
nák̲	ELAT	elative	away from, leaving behind
ÿáanáx̲	more	superlative	more than
k̲ín	less	sublative	less than

Table 8: Case suffixes and postpositions.

	Noun	*Allative -dé*	*Direction -naa*	*Preverb*
up above	*(di)kée*	*(di)kínde*	*(di)keenaa*	*kei=*
down below	*(di)ÿée*	*(di)ÿínde*	*(di)ÿeenaa*	*ÿei=*
upstream, north	*naakée*	*nánde*	*naan(ÿ)aa*	—
downstream, south	*ixkée, éex*	*íxde*	*ixinaa*	—
up from shore	*dáak̲*	*dák̲de*	*dag̲inaa*	*daak̲=*
down to shore	*éek̲*	*ík̲de*	*ig̲inaa*	*ÿeik̲= ~ eek̲=*
ashore	*ÿán*	*ÿánde*	—	*ÿan=*
out to sea, open	*deikée*	*dákde*	*daginaa*	*daak=*
across, other side	*diÿáa*	*diÿáade*	—	*ÿan=*
inside	*neil*	*neildé*	—	*neil=*
outside	*gáan*	*gánde ~ gáande*	—	—
back, reverse	—	*k̲úx̲de*	—	*k̲ux̲=*
aground	—	*kúxde*	—	*kux=*

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

–*daa* around, about
–*daagaanyaa* outcast, excluded
–*daaká* around outside surface
–*daakashú* detriment of, expense of
–*daat* about, regarding
–*daséix'* out of reach
–*dayéen* facing
–*déin* vicinity
–*déinnáx̲* right way, properly
–*digiygé* middle of
–*dook* close by, alongside
–*dzúk* back, right behind
–*eetí* remains, imprint
–*géide* against, opposing, wrong
–*gukáax'* speaking clearly
–*guyee* area at base, foot
–*g̲ei* between folds
–*g̲oot* lacking, without
–*g̲unayáak* separate, apart from
–*ít* after, following
–*jee* possession
–*jig̲áa* enough, adequate
–*jig̲ei* inside bend, curve
–*jik̲ín* not enough
–*jink̲* taking away, depriving
–*jís* for having (–*jiyís*)
–*jix̲ooní* working with, pitching in
–*jiyee* ready to be used
–*jiyeet* burdened by, suffering
–*ji.een* working with, helping
–*ká* horizontal surface
–*káax'* depending on, based on
–*kagé* meeting
–*kakán* vantage point
–*kayaa* sort of like, not quite
–*kayee* pattern, model, template
–*kat'óot'* partway up inside
–*kayís* for it
–*keek* along with
–*keeká* across from, facing
–*kík* alongside, catching up
–*kíknáx̲* in addition
–*kináak* above
–*kooká* paralelling, reminding
–*kujín* motivated by
–*k'í* base (standing)
–*k̲ín* too little, not enough
–*k̲óox'* amidst crowd
–*lú* nose, point
–*lukaax̲* hurry, spur of moment
–*nák̲* leaving behind, away
–*niyís* preparation for (time)
–*niÿaa* direction
–*náa* draped over
–*shakée* top, above
–*shá* head
–*shagóon* source, origin, fundament
–*shú* end, tip
–*shuká* front, ahead
–*sóox̲* ready, hurry, early for
–*táak* bottom (cavity)
–*tadaa* exterior bottom
–*taká* inside bottom
–*tawán* right next to, up close
–*tayee* underneath, below
–*tóok̲* bottom (sitting)
–*tóog̲aa* pleasing, like wanted
–*tú* inside (hollow obj.)
–*tuwáx'* opinion, feeling
–*tuk̲ín* not meeting expectations
–*tuk̲yee* below outlet, low lying area
–*tushuyee* in contrition, deference
–*t'aak̲* beside
–*t'einyaa* inside (lining)
–*t'iká* past, outskirts
–*t'áak* behind, inland
–*t'aak̲* beside, alongside
–*t'éik* behind
–*wán* edge
–*wanyáa* apart from
–*wanyeedé* set aside, hidden
–*wak̲daséix'* hidden from view
–*wak̲g̲áa* pleasing to see
–*wak̲ká* blocking view
–*wak̲káx'* plainly, obviously
–*wak̲náx̲* leaving vision
–*wak̲shiyee* visible, before eyes
–*wak̲shú* avoiding vision of
–*wak̲yík* middle of clearing
–*x'aan* tip, top (branch)
–*x̲oo* among
–*x̲án* near
–*x̲'áak* between
–*x̲'adaséix'* out of eating/speaking
–*x̲'ajihéen* disgusted by speech
–*x̲'ak̲ín* not enough to eat
–*x̲'anák̲* taking away food
–*x̲'ashú* avoiding talking with
–*x̲'at'aak̲* verbal support
–*x̲'ax'aa* brink, edge
–*x̲'ayee* waiting to eat/speak
–*x̲'é* mouth
–*x̲'éig̲aa* good to eat, good words
–*x̲'éis* to eat (–*x̲'eiyís*)
–*yík* inside (shallow obj.)
–*ÿá* face, vertical surface
–*ÿáanáx̲* too much
–*ÿat'éik* behind his back
–*ÿax̲oo* among faces
–*ÿaÿee* waiting for
–*ÿayís* anticipating
–*ÿa.áak* room, space, opportunity
–*ÿee* below, inside (bldg.)
–*ÿeeg̲áa* waiting for
–*ÿináa* covering
–*yuwaa* missing, avoiding; belly
–*yuwaaká* back and forth between

Table 10: Commonly encountered relational nouns.

	Dial.	*Unsuf.*	*-CV~*	*-C*	*-n*	*-’* (LOC)
3N	N	*á*	*aa*-CV́~	*á*-C	*aan*	*áa*
	S	*á*	*aa*-CV́~	*á*-C	*aan*	*áà*
	T	*a*	*aah*-CV~	*a*-C	*aahn*	*aa’*
HSFC	N	*–ká*	*–kaa*-CV́~	*–ká*-C	—	*–káa*
	S	*–ká*	*–kaa*-CV́~	*–ká*-C	—	*–káà*
	T	*–ka*	*–kaah*-CV~	*–ka*-C	—	*–kaa’*
VSFC	N	*–ÿá*	*–ÿaa*-CV́~	*–ÿá*-C	—	*–ÿáa*
	S	*–yá*	*–yaa*-CV́~	*–yá*-C	—	*–yáà*
	T	*–ÿa*	*–ÿaah*-CV~	*–ÿá*-C	—	*–ÿaa’*
1SG	N	*x̲át*	*x̲aa*-CV́~	*x̲áa*-C	*x̲aan*	*x̲áa*
	S	*x̲át*	*x̲aa*-CV́~	*x̲áa*-C	*x̲aan*	*x̲áà*
	T	*x̲at*	*x̲aah*-CV~	?	*x̲aahn*	*ʔx̲aa’*
BASE	N	*=ee*	*=ee*-CV́~	*=ée*-C	*=een~éen*	*=ée*
	S	*=ee*	*=ee*-CV́~	*=ée*-C	*=een~éèn*	*=éè*
	T	*=ee*	?	*=ee*-C	*=eehn*	*=ee’*
poss’n	N	*–jee*	*–jee*-CV́~	*–jée*-C	—	*–jée*
	S	*–jee*	*–jee*-CV́~	*–jée*-C	—	*–jéè*
	T	*–jeeh*	*–jeeh*-CV~	*–jeeh*-C	—	*–jee’*
inside	N	*–tú*	*–too*-CV́~	*–tóo*-C	*–tóon*	*–tóo*
	S	*–tú*	*–too*-CV́~	*–tóo*-C	*–tóòn*	*–tóò*
	T	*–tu*	*–too*-CV~	*–too*-C	?	*–too’*

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

	Form	*Meaning*	*Compare*
Prenominal	*aak'é* _	good, well	√*k'éi* 'good'
	aatlein _	much, lots	_ *tlein* 'big'
	ch'áagu _	old, ancient	*ch'áakw* 'long ago'
	ḵáa _	male, he-	*ḵáa* 'man'
	ḵúnáx̲ _	very, actual, real	*ḵú-náx̲* 'AREAL-PERL'?
	ḵustín _	giant, monstrous	*ḵu-*CL[+D,S]-√*tin*?
	Lingít _	Tlingit, traditional	*Lingít* 'Tlingit'
	sheech _	female, she-	
	shóogu _	first, initial	–*shú* 'end, tip'
	tatgéiÿi _	of yesterday	*tatgé* 'yesterday'
	té _	stone, rock	*té* 'stone, rock'
	tlagu(*wu*) _	ancient, forever	*tlaagóo* 'legend'
	tl'eitáḵw _	pure	√*tl'en* 'dirty', √*tl'it* 'trash'
	ÿées _	new, young	
Postnominal	_ *k'wát'*	round, egg-shaped	*k'wát'* 'egg'
	_ *ḵ'áatl'*	thin and flat	*ḵ'áach'* 'ribbon kelp'
	_ *létl'k*	soft, pliable	√*lel* 'lax, flabby'?
	_ *sákw*	future, to be, for	
	_ *shaan*	old, elderly	√*shan* 'old'
	_ *shís'ḵ*	raw	√*shís'ḵ*$^{\times}$ 'raw'
	_ *téitl'*	fat (animal)	√*tetl'* 'fat (animal)'
	_ *tóoch*	fresh (fish)	√*tuch* 'fresh caught'
	_ *t'éex'*	hard	√*t'ix'* 'hard; frozen'
	_ *tlein*	large, big	√*tla* 'stout'
	_ *tlénx'*	large, big (pl.)	_ *tlein* 'big'
	_ *xook*	dry, dried	√*xuk* 'dry'
	_ *uwaa*	similar, fake	√*ÿa* 'resemble'
	_ *ÿádi*	small, little, childlike	–*ÿát* 'child'
	_ *ÿéeÿi*	past, former, ex-	*ÿee* 'time'?
	_ *ÿéis'*	dark, dusky, immature	*ÿéis'* 'black stone'

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

		Pronominals		*Pronouns*		
		Object	*Subject*	*Possessive*	*Independent*	*Postpositional*
local	1SG	*x̲at- ~ ax̲-*	*x̲a-*	*ax̲*	*x̲át*	*ax̲=ee- ~ x̲a-*
	1PL	*haa-*	*tu-*	*haa*	*uháan*	*haa=ee- ~ haa(n)-*
	2SG	*i-*	*i-*	*i*	*wa.é*	*i=ee-*
	2PL	*ÿi-*	*ÿi-*	*yi*	*ÿiháan*	*ÿi=ee-*
nonlocal	3H	*Ø- ~ a-*	*Ø-*	*du*	*hú*	*du=ee- ~ u-*
	3N			*a*	*á*	*a=ee- ~ a-*
	3PRX	*ash-*	—	*ash*	*ash*	*ash=ee-*
	3OBV	—	*du-*	*a*	*á*	*a=ee- ~ a-*
	IND.H	*k̲aa- ~ k̲u-*	*du-*	*k̲aa*	*k̲áa*	*k̲aa~k̲u=ee-*
	IND.N	*at-*	—	*at*	*át*	*at=ee-*
	PART	*aa-*	—	*aa*	*aa*	*aa=ee-*
other	AREAL	*k̲u-*	—	—	*ʔk̲ú*	*k̲u- ~ ʔk̲ú-*
	RFLX	*sh- ~ Ø-*	—	*chush ~ sh*	*chúsh*	*chush=ee-*
	RECIP	*woosh=*	—	*woosh*	*wóosh*	*woosh=ee-*
	(3)PL	*has=*	*has=*	*has-du*	*hás*	*has-du=ee-*

Table 13: Pronouns and verb pronominals.

Valence category	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)

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

Table 15: Verb template structure.

	Position		Affixes
proclitics	+18		N-*x'*, N-{*t*, *x̲*, *dé*}, N-*náx̲*, N-*dáx̲*, N *x̲'é-'*, N *dasé-'*, N *g̲unaÿá-'* N *eetéenáx̲*, …
	+17	F	*g̲unayéi~g̲unéi=*, *áa=*, *shóo=*, *héeni=*, *gági=*, *éeg̲i=*, *daag̲i=*
		E2	*k̲ut=*, *yux̲=*, *yaax̲=*, *héenx̲=*, *ux̲=*, *k̲wáak̲x̲=*, *yedx̲=*, *ÿaanax̲~ÿaahnax̲*$_{T}$=
		E1	*ÿan*=*, *neil*=*, *haa*=*, *yóo*=*, *k̲ux̲*=*, *kux*$_{I}$**=
		D	*kei~keih*$_{T}$=, *yei~yeih*$_{T}$=, *ÿeik̲~ÿeek̲*$_{S}$*~eehk̲*$_{T}$=, *daak̲~daahk̲*$_{T}$=, *daak~daahk*$_{T}$=
		C	*yéi~yeih*$_{T}$= ‘thus’, *yóo~yoo*$_{T}$= QUOT
		B	*ÿaa~ÿaah*$_{T}$= MENT
		A	*ÿaa~ÿaah*$_{T}$= ‘along’, *yoo~yooh*$_{T}$= ALT
	+16		*woosh*= RECIP, *dax̲*= DISTB
	+15		*has*= ~ *s-* ~ *as*=$_{T}$ PL
	+14		*x̲at~ax̲-*, *haa~haah*$_{T}$*-*, *i-*, *yi-*, *a~Ø-*, *ash-*, *k̲aa~k̲u-*, *at-*, *aa-*, *sh~Ø-*
	+13		*k̲u-* AREAL
	+12		*ÿaan-*, *shakux-*, *ÿata-*, *x̲'asakw-*, *g̲ax̲-*, *xee~xei-*, *k̲ee~k̲ei-*, *yee~yei-*, *l'il'-*, *kanik-*, *yak̲a-*, *saa-*, *aan-*, *naa-*, *sha.ax̲w-*, *yakw-*, *hin-*, *lux'-*, *has'-*, *luk-*
	+11		*ji-*, *x̲'e~x̲'a-*, *k̲'a-*, *tu-*, *sha-*, *shu-*, *lu-*, *se~sa-*, *x̲a-*, *gu-*, *ta-*, *daa-*, *x̲oo-*, *x̲an-*, *x̲'aa-*, *t'éi-*, *t'aa-*, *yik-*, *yee-*, *k̲i-*, *gin-*, *x̲i-*, *s'aan-*, *lidíx̲'*, *wak̲-*, *s'ak̲-*, *x̲'us-*, *s'ee-*, *duk-*, *laka-*, *tl'ik̲-*, *keey-*, *tóox'-*, *x̲'atu-*, *tuk̲x̲'e~tuk̲'e-*, *daa.it-*, *tax̲'-*
prefixes	+10		*ÿa-* VSFC
	+9		*ka-* HSFC
	+8		*ga-* SBEN
	+7		*ga-* GCNJ
	+6		*u-*, *w-*, *oo-* (all IRR)
	+5		*Ø-* ZCNJ, *na-* NCNJ, *g̲a-* G̲CNJ
	+4		*ÿu-* PFV, *u-* ZPFV, *g̲a-* G̲MOD
	+3		*dag̲a~dax̲-* DISTB
	+2		*x̲a-* 1SG.S, *tu-* 1PL.S, *i-* 2SG.S, *yi-* 2PL.S, *Ø-* 3.S, *du-* 3OBV.S, *du-* INDH.S
	+1		CL[D, S, I]: D ∈ {+D, −D}, S ∈ {*Ø*, *s*, *l*, *sh*}, I ∈ {+I, −I}
	0		√root (CVC, CVC’, CV’C, CV, CV^{h}, invar.)
	−1		*-'*, *-ː*, *-h*, *-n*, *-ÿ* (all VAR)
suffixes	−2		*-án*, *-shán*, *-ch*, *-ák̲w*, *-aa*, *-x̲aa*, *-ÿí*, *-ee*, *-k*, *-ál'~ch'ál'*, *-k̲*, *-nas*, *-nás'*, *-kát'*
	−3		*-k* REP, *-x̲* REP, *-ch* REP, *-t* ICT.REP, *-x'* PL, *-t'* PL, *-s'* SER, *-l'* SER
	−4		*-ch* HAB, *-(n)ée~(n)eeh*$_{T}$ COND, *-ín* CTNG
	−5		*-een~eehn*$_{T}$ DEC, *-eek̲~eehk̲*$_{T}$*~k̲* PHIB/OPT
	−6		*-ée~eeh*$_{T}$ SUB, *-i* REL
enclitics	−7		*=nóok*$_{N}$*~néekw*$_{SRI}$*~neekw*$_{T}$, *=nooch*$_{N}$*~nukch*$_{G}$*~neech*$_{SRI}$*~neehch*$_{T}$, *=noojeen*$_{N}$ *~neejeen*$_{SRI}$*~*$^{?}$*neehjihn*$_{T}$, *=núknee*$_{N}$*~níkwnee*$_{I}$*~níkwni*$_{SR}$*~nikwneeh*$_{T}$, *=g̲anúgun*$_{N}$*~g̲anígun*$_{I}$*~g̲aníkw*$_{S}$*~g̲anikw*$_{T}$

Table 16: Verb morphemes.

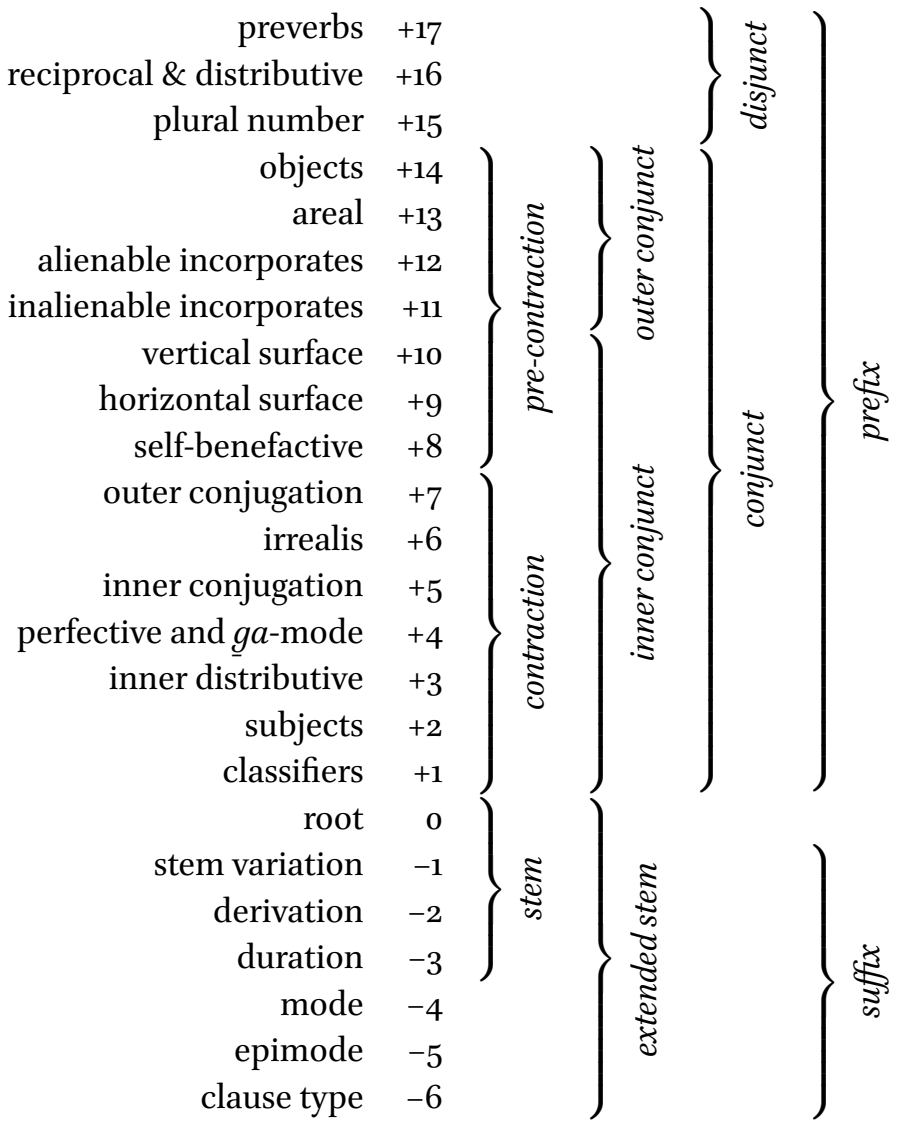

Figure 4: Domains of the verb.

Grp.	*Preverb*	*Gloss*	*Cnj.*	*Description*
F	*g̲unaÿéi~g̲unéi~g̲un(aÿ)ei'*$_{T}$	INCEP	Ø	inceptive: beginning, starting
	áa~aa'$_{T}$	LOC	—	locative: there
	áa~aa'$_{T}$ (+ *ÿax̲*)	ROT	Ø	rotatory: turning over
	shóo~shoo'$_{T}$ (+ *ÿax̲*)	ADROT	Ø	adrotatory: turning over endwise
	héeni~heeni$_{T}$	INAQ	Ø	inaquative: into water
	gági	ABUMB	Ø	abumbrative: from shadow into open
	éeg̲i~eeg̲i$_{T}$	ABSILV	Ø	absilvative: from woods to shore
	dáag̲i~daag̲i$_{T}$	ABAQ	Ø	abaquative: from water to shore
	k̲ut (*k̲ut~k̲awt*$_{I}$)	ERR	ga	errative: astray, lost, excessively (*-t*)
	ÿan, ÿax̲, ÿánde	CPLTV	Ø	completive: completing, finishing (*-**)
	yux̲	out	na	outside (*-x̲*)
	yaax̲~yaahx̲$_{T}$	INVEH	g̲a	invehicular: into vehicle (*-x̲*)
E2	*héenx̲~heenx̲*$_{T}$	INAQ	g̲a	inaquative: into water (*-x̲*)
	ux̲ (+ *kei~keih*$_{T}$)	UNCTL	Ø	uncontrolled: blindly, out of control (*-x̲*)
	k̲wáak̲x̲ (+ *daak̲~daahk̲*$_{T}$)	wrong	Ø	by mistake, wrongly (*-x̲*)
	yetx̲~yedax̲$_{T}$	INIT	Ø	initial: starting off, taking off (*-dáx̲*)
	ÿanax̲~ÿaahnax̲$_{T}$	under	g̲a	underground (*-náx̲*)
E1	*ÿan, ÿax̲, ÿánde~ÿandeih*$_{T}$	shore	Ø	abmarine: ashore, onto ground, resting
	neil(t), neilx̲, neildé~neihldei$_{T}$	home	Ø	inside, homeward, into building
	haat, haax̲, haadé~haahndei$_{T}$	here	Ø	here, this way, toward speaker
	yóot, yóox̲, yóode~yoodeih$_{T}$	hence	Ø	hence, away, off (indefinite location)
	k̲ux̲, ʔ*k̲ux̲x̲, k̲úx̲de~k̲ux̲deih*$_{T}$	REV	Ø	revertive: aback, reversed direction
	kux$_{I}$, *kux̲x̲*$_{I}$, *kúxde*$_{I}$	AGRND	Ø	aground, into shallow water (IT only)
D	*kei~keih*$_{T}$	up	Ø	upward
	yei~yeih$_{T}$	down	Ø	downward, out of vehicle
	ÿeik̲~ÿéèk̲$_{S}$*~eehk̲*$_{T}$	ADLIT	Ø	adlitoral: down to shore, beachward
	daak̲~dáàk̲$_{S}$*~daahk̲*$_{T}$	ABLIT	Ø	ablitoral: inland from shore, back from open, off of fire
	daak~dáàk$_{S}$*~daahk*$_{T}$	ADMAR	Ø	admarine: seaward, into open, falling from sky, onto fire
C	*yéi~yei'*$_{T}$*~yeih*$_{T}$	thus	—	manner: thus, so (*yeih*$_{T}$= is thematic)
	yóo~yoo$_{T}$	QUOT	—	quotation
B	*ÿaa~ÿa-~ÿaah*$_{T}$	MENT	—	mental state or activity
A	*yoo~yooh*$_{T}$	ALT	Ø	alternating: back and forth, to and fro
	ÿaa~ÿaah$_{T}$	along	na	along, down, obliquely, progressive

Table 17: Preverbs (+17).

	Gloss	*Source*		*Unmarked*	*Punctual*	*Pertingent*	*Allative*
		Form	*Trans.*		-t	-x̲	-dé
Northern	ABMAR	*ÿán*	‘shore’	*ÿan-*	*ÿan-*	*ÿax̲-*	*ÿánde-*
	home	*neil*	‘home’	*neil-*	*neil(t)-*	*neilx̲-*	*neildé-*
	here	*haa* ?	‘us’ ?	—	*haat-*	*haax̲-*	*haadé-*
	hence	*yóo*	‘distal’	*yóo-*	*yóot-*	*yóox̲-*	*yóode-*
	REV	*k̲u*	‘areal’	*k̲ux̲-*	*k̲ux̲-*	*k̲ux̲-*	*k̲úx̲de-*
	aground	*kux* ?	‘dry’ ?	*?kux*$_{\text{I}}$-	*kux*$_{\text{I}}$-	*kuxx̲*$_{\text{I}}$-	*kúxde*$_{\text{I}}$-
Southern	ABMAR			*ÿan-*	*ÿan-*	*ÿax̲-*	*yánde-*
	home			*neil-*	*neilt-*	*neilx̲-*	*neildé-*
	here			*?haa-*	*haat-*	*haax̲-*	*haadé-*
	hence			*?yóo-*	*yóot-*	*yóox̲-*	*yóode-*
	REV			*?k̲ux̲-*	*k̲ux̲-*	*?k̲ux̲x̲-*	*k̲úx̲de-*
Tongass	ABMAR			*ÿan-*	*ÿan-*	*ÿax̲-*	*yandeih-*
	home			*?neihl-*	*neihlt-*	*neihlx̲-*	*neihldei-*
	here			*?haah-*	*haaht-*	*haahx̲-*	*haahdei-*
	hence			*?yoo-*	*yoot-*	*yoox̲-*	*yoodeih-*
	REV			*?k̲ux̲-*	*k̲ux̲-*	*?k̲ux̲x̲-*	*k̲ux̲deih-*

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

Prefix	*Source noun*
ÿaan~ÿaahn$_{T}$-	*yaan* ‘hunger’
shakux-	*shakoox~shakuhx*$_{T}$ ‘thirst’
ÿata-	*–ÿá* ‘face’? *ÿa-* classifier? + *tá* ‘sleep’
x̲’asakw-	*x̲’aséikw* ‘breath, life’
g̲ax̲-	*g̲ax̲* ‘crying, weeping’, √*g̲ax̲* ‘cry’
xei$_{N}$*~ xee*$_{SR}$*~xeeh*$_{T}$-	*xee* ‘dusk, shadow’ (cf. *shaa xeiyí* ‘mtn. shadow’)
k̲ei$_{N}$*~k̲ee*$_{SR}$*~k̲eeh*$_{T}$-	*k̲ee* ‘dawn’ (cf. *k̲ee.á* ‘dawn’, *k̲eex̲’é* ‘daybreak’)
yei$_{N}$*~ʔyee*$_{SR}$*~ÿeeh*$_{T}$-	*ÿee* ‘time’ (cf. *yeedát* ‘moment’)
l’il’-	*l’éel’* ‘feces’, √*l’il’* ‘defecate’
kanik-	*kaneek~kaneehk*$_{T}$ ‘report, news’
kayik-	*kayéik* ‘noise’
yak̲a-	*yak̲á* ‘curse, reproach, rebuke’
saa~saah$_{T}$-	*saa* ‘name’
aan~aahn$_{T}$-	*aan* ‘land, town, settlement’
naa~naah$_{T}$-	*naa* ‘clan, nation, people’
sha.ax̲w-	*sha.aax̲w* ‘bundle’
yakw-	*yaakw~yahkw*$_{T}$ ‘canoe, boat’
hin-	*héen*$_{N}$*~héèn*$_{S}$*~heen*$_{T}$ ‘fresh water, river, stream’
lux’-	*lóox’* ‘urine’, √*lux’* ‘urinate’
has’-	*háas’* ‘vomit’, √*has’* ‘vomit’
luk-	√*luk* ‘sip’
k’ei-	√*k’éi*^{x} ‘good’

Table 19: Alienable incorporated nouns (+12).

Prefix	*Source noun*
ji-	*–jín* ‘hand, arm’, *–jee* ‘possession’
x̲’a~k̲’a-	*–x̲’é* ‘mouth’
tu-	*–tú* ‘inside; mind, emotions’
sha-	*–shá* ‘head’
shu-	*–shú* ‘end’
lu-	*–lú* ‘nose, point’
se~sa-	*–séi* ‘voice’
x̲a-	*–x̲aaw* ‘fur’
gu-	*–gú* ‘base, butt’
ta-	*–tá* ‘bottom; head of bay’
daa~daah$_{\text{T}}$-	*–daa~daah*$_{\text{T}}$ ‘around, surrounding, periphery’
taa-	?? ‘lonesome’
x̲oo-	*–x̲oo* ‘among, amidst, within’
x̲an-	*–x̲án* ‘vicinity, near’
x̲’aa-	*–x̲’aa* ‘space between, interstice’
t’éi$_{\text{N}}$~$^{\text{?}}$*t’ée*$_{\text{SR}}$~$^{\text{?}}$*t’ee’*$_{\text{T}}$-	*–t’éi* ‘behind, screened by, obscured by’
t’aa-	*–t’áa~t’áak* ‘landward side’
yik-	*–yík* ‘inside (concave)’
yee-	*–yee* ‘underneath, beneath’
k̲i-	√*k̲i* ‘sit’?
gin-	*–geen* ‘tail flipper’
x̲i-	*–x̲ee* ‘shoulder’
s’aan-	$^{\text{?}}$*–s’aan* ‘limb’?
lidíx̲’-	*–lidíx̲’* ‘neck, throat’
wak̲- (+ *ka-*)	*–waak̲* ‘eye’
s’ak̲- (+ *ka-*)	*s’aak̲* ‘bone’ (alienable; *k̲aa s’aagí* ‘one’s bone’)
x̲’us- (+ *ka-*)	*–x̲’oos* ‘foot, leg’
s’ee- (+ *ka-*)	*–s’ee* ‘eyebrow’
duk- (+ *ka-*)	*dook* ‘skin’ (alienable; *k̲aa doogú* ‘one’s skin’)
la- (+ *ka-*)	*–laká* ‘inside of mouth’ (cf. *–leitóox̲’* ‘in the throat’)
tl’ek̲- (+ *sha-*)	*tl’eek̲*$_{\text{RS}}$*~tl’eehk̲*$_{\text{T}}$*~tl’eik̲*$_{\text{N}}$ ‘finger’
tl’ik̲- (+ *sha-*)	*–tl’eek̲*$_{\text{SR}}$ ‘finger’ + *–shá* ‘head’ → *–tl’ik̲shá* ‘fingertip’
keey-	*–keey* ‘knee’
tóox’- (+ *ka-*)	*–tóox’-ká* ‘kneeling’
x̲’atu-	*–x̲’é* ‘mouth + *–tú* ‘inside’
tuk̲x̲’e~tuk̲’e-	*–tuk̲x̲’é* ‘anus’ (< *–túk̲* ‘butt’ + *–x̲’éi* ‘mouth’)
daa.it-	*–daa.éet* ‘joint’
tax̲’-	*–téix̲’* ‘heart’

Table 20: Inalienable incorporated nouns (+11).

Stem Var. Suffix	*Closed roots*			*Open roots*	
	CVC	CVC’	CV’C	CV	CV^{h}
-n	CV́C	CV́C’	CV́C	CV̋ː-n	CV̋ː-n*
-ː	CV́ːC	CV́ːC’	**CV́’C**	CV́ː	CV́ː
-ÿ					
habitual *-ch* (*∅*-conj.)				CV́ːÿ-ch	CV́ːÿ-ch
habitual *-ch* (non-*∅*)	CV́C	CV́C’	CV́C	CV̋ː-ch	CV̋ː-ch
otherwise				CV́ː	CV́ː
-h					
imperative	**CVhC**	CV́’C’	CV́’C	CV́	CV́
otherwise				CVh	CVh
-X $\in$ {*-k*, *-x̲*, *-ch*, *-t*, *-x’*, *-t’*, *-s’*, *-l’*}$_{\text{slot }-3}$					
two suffixes (*-kw-t*)	—	—	—	CV́-X-X	CV́-X-X
one suffix	CV́C-X	CV́C’-X	CV́C-X	CV̋ː-X	**CV̈h**-X
-’ (open roots only)					
no other suffix				CV́	CV́
auxiliary (hab., dec. hab., consec., …)				CV́ː=…	CV́ː=…
prohibitive-optative *-k̲*				CV́ː-k̲	CV́ː-k̲
decessive *-ee(h)n*				CV́’-ÿee(h)n	CV́’-ÿee(h)n
other sfxs with *i~ee(h)* (subord., conting., …)				CVh-ÿ…	CVh-ÿ…
closed plain					
relative clause	CVC	CVC’	CVC		
otherwise	CV́C	CV́C’	CV́C		

* Exception: CV^{h} stems *√ni^{h}* ‘become’ and *√ÿa^{h}* ‘resemble’ have *neen~neehn*$_{\text{T}}$ and *ÿein~ÿeihn*$_{\text{T}}$ instead of **néen~neen*$_{\text{T}}$ and **ÿéin~ÿein*$_{\text{T}}$.

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	CV́C	CV́C’	CV́C	CV̋ː-n	CV̋ː-n*
-ˑ	CV́ːC	CV́ːC’	CV́ːC	CV́ː	CV́ː
-ÿ					
habitual *-ch* (*Ø*-conj.)				CV́ːÿ-ch	CV́ːÿ-ch
habitual *-ch* (non-*Ø*)	CV́C	CV́C’	CV́C	CV̋ː-ch	CV̋ː-ch
otherwise				CV́ː	CV́ː
-h					
imperative	**CVːC**	CV́ːC’	CV́ːC	CV́	CV́
otherwise				CVː	CVː
-X ∈ {*-k*, *-x̲*, *-ch*, *-t*, *-x’*, *-t’*, *-s’*, *-l’*}$_{\text{slot }-3}$					
two suffixes (*-kw-t*)	—	—	—	CV́-X-X	CV́-X-X
one suffix	CV́C-X	CV́C’-X	CV́C-X	CV̋ː-X	**CV̈ː**-X
-’ (open roots only)					
no other suffix				CV́	CV́
auxiliary (hab., dec. hab., consec., …)				CV́ː=…	CV́ː=…
prohibitive-optative *-k̲*				CV́ː-k̲	CV́ː-k̲
decessive *-éen*				CV́ː-ÿeen	CV́ː-ÿeen
other sfxs with *i~ee* (subord., conting., …)				CVː-ÿ…	CVː-ÿ…
closed plain					
relative clause	CVC	CVC’	CVC		
otherwise	CV́C	CV́C’	CV́C		

* Exception: CV^{h} stems √*ni^{h}* ‘become’ and √*ÿa^{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.

Suffix	*Modes*
-ÿ	*-ÿ* stative imperfective, *-ÿ* extensional stative imperfective, realis *∅* perfective, *∅-ÿ* potentials, most *∅* habituals, *∅-ÿ* imperatives, *∅-ÿ* hortatives
-n	*-n* active imperfective, *-n* positional imperfective, progressive, *-n* stative imperfective, conditional, contingent
-ː	realis *-ː* active imperfective, realis *-ː* positional imperfective, realis *-ː* stative imperfective, realizational, realis future, admonitive, consecutive
-h	irrealis *-ː* active imperfective, irrealis *-ː* positional imperfective, *-h* active imperfective, *-h* positional imperfective, irrealis *-h* stative imperfective, realis *-h* stative imperfective of *√tiʰ* 'be', *-h* extensional stative imperfective, irrealis *∅* perfective of closed roots, non-*∅* perfective, irrealis future, most potentials, some *∅* habituals, non-*∅* imperatives, some *∅* imperatives, non-*∅-ÿ* hortatives
-'	*-'* active imperfectives, irrealis *-ÿ* stative imperfective of open roots irrealis *-ÿ* extensional stative imperfective of open roots, irrealis telic perfective of open roots
-X	*-k* repetitive imperfective, [+ɪ]*-...-k* repetitive imperfective, *yoo=*[+ɪ]*-...-k* repetitive imperfective, *-x̲* repetitive imperfective, *-ch* repetitive imperfective, *-t* active (repeated) imperfective, *-x'* active (plural) imperfective, *-t'* active (plural) imperfective, *-s'* active (serial) imperfective, *-l'* active (serial) imperfective

Table 23: Distribution of stem variation suffixes across modes.

		–D		+D	
		–I	+I	–I	+I
S (series)	∅	*∅-*	*ÿa-*	*da-*	*di-*
	s	*sa-*	*si-*	*s-*	*dzi-*
	l	*la-*	*li-*	*l-*	*dli-*
	sh	*sha-*	*shi-*	*sh-*	*ji-*

Table 24: Classifier morphemes.

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

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

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

Table 26: Stative imperfective (declarative) modes.

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

Table 27: Non-imperfective declarative modes.

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

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

Cls.	*Pfx.*	*Preverb*	*Pfv.*	*Rep. Impfv.*	*Telicity*	*Movement*
Ø	*Ø-*	none ~ *ÿaa=* 'along'	*-ÿ*	*-x̲*	telic	bounded
na	*na-*	none ~ *ÿaa=* 'along'	*-h*	*yoo=*[+1]*-…-k*	atelic	unbounded
g̲a	*g̲a-*	*yei=* 'down'	*-h*	*yei=…-ch*	atelic	downward
ga	*ga-*	*kei=* 'up'	*-h*	*kei=…-ch*	atelic	upward

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

Class	*Preverb*	*Classifier*	*Suffix*	*Example*
Ø	none	[–1]	*-x̲*	*as.éex̲* 'he cooks it'
na	*yoo=*	[+1]	*-k*	***yoo ayal'únk*** 'he hunts it'
g̲a	*yei=*	[–1]	*-ch*	***yei alg̲wéich*** 'he wipes it'
ga	*kei=*	[–1]	*-ch*	***kei latsínch*** 'he gets strong'

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

Class	*Preverb*	*Example*
Ø	*ÿaa=*	*aadé **yaa** has na.át* ‘they are walking along there’
na	*ÿaa=*	*aagáa **yaa** k̲unashéen* ‘he is going along searching for it’
g̲a	*yei=*	***yei** analg̲wéin* ‘he is wiping it’
ga	*kei=*	***kei** ndahán* ‘he is standing up’

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

Cls.	*Derivation*	*Meaning*
with *-h* repetitive imperfective		motion toward terminus
Ø	N-{*t*,*x̲*,*dé*}	arriving at N, coming to N
Ø	*ÿan= ~ ÿax̲= ~ ÿánde=*	moving ashore, to rest, completing
Ø	N-*x’ ÿan=~…*	coming to rest at N
Ø	N-*náx̲ ÿan=~…*	moving across N, to other side of N
Ø	*ÿan=~… + k’i-*	setting up, erecting
Ø	*ÿan=~… + sha-*	setting up, leaning against
Ø	*kux= ~ kuxx̲= ~ kúxde=*	moving aground, into shallow water
Ø	*neil(t)= ~ neilx̲= ~ neildé=*	moving inside, coming home
Ø	N-*x’ neil(t)=~…*	moving inside house at N
Ø	*haat= ~ haax̲= ~ haa(n)dé=*	coming here
Ø	*yóo-*{*t*,*x̲*,*de*}=	going away, going off somewhere
with *-ch* repetitive imperfective		motion toward area
Ø	*kei=*	moving up
Ø	*ux̲=kei=*	moving out of control, blindly, amiss
Ø	N-*x̲’é-x’ kei=*	catching up with N
Ø	*yei=*	disembark, exit boat or other vehicle
Ø	*yeek̲*$_{S}$*~ÿeik̲*$_{N}$*~eehk̲*$_{T}$=	moving down to shore
Ø	*héeni=ÿeik̲=…*	moving down into water
Ø	*daak̲=*	moving up from shore, back from open
Ø	*dáag̲i=daak̲=*	moving further up from shore
Ø	*k̲wáak̲x̲=daak̲=*	moving by mistake, wrongly
Ø	*daak=*	seaward, out into open, falling from sky
Ø	*k̲ux̲= ~ k̲úx̲de=* [+D]-	reverting, returning
Ø	N-*x’ k̲ux̲=* [+D]-	reverting, returning to N

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

Cls.	*Derivation*	*Meaning*
with *-x̲* repetitive imperfective — motion confined to a location		
∅	N-*x'*	coming near N
∅	N-*ÿá-'*	coming up to N
∅	N *gunaÿá-'*	separating from N
∅	N *jishá-'*	getting ahead of N
∅	*gági=*	emerging, coming out into open
∅	*dáagi=*	coming out of water
∅	*héeni=*	going into water
∅	*gunayéi~gunéi=*	beginning
∅	N-*x̲*	moving in place at N, while stuck at N
∅	N-*x' ÿax̲=*	turning over by N
∅	*á-'=ÿax̲=*	turning over
∅	*shú-'=ÿax̲=*	turning over end by end
∅	*ÿetx̲~ÿedax̲*$_{T}$*=*	starting, taking off, picking up
with *yoo=*[+*I*]*-...-k* repetitive imperfective — oscillating motion		
∅	*yoo=*	moving back and forth, to and fro
∅	*ÿan=yoo=*	moving up and down (from surface)
with *ÿa-oo- ~ ÿaa=* and *-ch* repetitive imperfective — oblique unbounded motion		
∅	N-*x̲ ÿa-oo- ~ ÿaa=*	moving obliquely, circuitously along N
∅	N *daa-x̲ ...*	circling around N
∅	N-*dé ÿa-oo- ~ ÿaa=*	moving obliquely, circuitously toward N
∅	*hé-dé ...*	moving over that way, aside, out of the way
∅	N-*dáx̲ ÿa-oo- ~ ÿaa=*	moving obliquely, circuitously away from N
∅	N *jikaa-dáx̲ ...*	getting out of N's way
∅	N-*náx̲ ÿa-oo- ~ ÿaa=*	moving obliquely, circuitously along N
∅	N-*x' ÿa-oo- ~ ÿaa=*	moving obliquely, circuitously at N
∅	N *daséi-x' ...*	exchanging places with N
with N-*x̲ sha-ÿa-oo-* and *-ch* repetitive imperfective — hanging		
∅	N-*x̲ sha-ÿa-oo-*	hanging up at N
∅	*ÿax̲=sha-ÿa-oo-*	hanging up
with *a-ÿa-oo-*[+*D*]- and *-x̲* repetitive imperfective — revertive motion		
∅	*a-ÿa-oo-*[+*D*]-	reverting, turning back

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

Cls.	*Derivation*	*Meaning*
with *yoo*=[+1]-...-*k* repetitive imperfective — unbounded directed motion		
na	—	moving along, lateral, horizontal
na	N-*x̲*	moving along N
na	N-*dé*	moving toward N
na	N-*dáx̲*	moving away from N
na	N-*náx̲*	moving by way of, through N
na	*yux̲*=	moving out of house
na	N-*x' yux̲*=	moving out of house at N
na	N-*nák̲*	leaving N behind
na	N-*g̲áa*	going for (to obtain) N
without imperfective — unbounded undirected motion		
na	N-*t*	moving around N
na	N *áa*	moving around
with -*ch* repetitive imperfective — downward motion		
g̲a	—	falling (intransitive uncontrolled themes), downward
g̲a	*ÿaa*=	moving down (no *ÿaa*= with *yei*=)
g̲a	*yaax̲*=	embarking, getting into boat, vehicle
g̲a	*ÿanax̲*=	moving down into ground
g̲a	N-*x̲*	moving down along N
g̲a	*héen-x̲*=	moving into water
g̲a	*káx̲ sha-*	falling over, prone
g̲a	N-*náx̲*	moving down by way of, through N
with -*ch* repetitive imperfective — initiatory motion		
ga	—	starting off, picking up, upward
ga	N-*dáx̲*	starting off or picking up from N
without imperfective — wrongly		
ga	*k̲ut*=	going astray, getting lost

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

Cls.	*Derivation*	*Ephemera*	*Name*	*Meaning*
Inceptive & Terminative				
∅	*g̲unaÿéi=* ~ *g̲unéi=* ~ *g̲unaÿei'*=T ~ *g̲unei'*=T	*-x̲* Rep	inceptive	beginning, initiating
∅	*ÿan=* ~ *ÿax̲=* ~ *ÿánde=*	*-h* Rep	terminative	finishing, ending
Exhaustive				
∅	N-*x̲ ÿax̲=* + *ÿa-*[*s*]-	*-x̲* Rep	exhaustive	exhausting; affecting all/many
∅	N-*x̲ ÿa-*[*s*]-	*-x̲* Rep	exhaustive	exhausting; affecting all/many
g̲a	N-*x̲*	—	exhaustive	exhausting; affecting all/many
g̲a	*ÿax̲=*	—	exhaustive	exhausting; affecting all/many
Areal				
∅	*k̲wáak̲-t=*	—	errative	wrongly, mistakenly, in error
∅	*k̲wáak̲x̲=daak̲=*	—	errative	wrongly, mistakenly, in error
∅	*k̲unáax̲=daak̲=*	—	explanative	explaining, clarifying
ga	*k̲ut=* (*k̲awt*=I)	—	excessive	getting carried away

Table 35: Non-motion derivation strings.

Ci-		Ca-		C- ~ Cɑ-	
Form	*Features*	*Form*	*Features*	*Form*	*Features*
di-	+D ∅ +I	da-	+D ∅ −I		
si-	−D s +I	sa-	−D s −I	sɑ-	−D s −I
dzi-	+D s +I			s-	+D s −I
li-	−D l +I	la-	−D l −I	lɑ-	−D l −I
dli-	+D l +I			l-	+D l −I
shi-	−D sh +I	sha-	−D sh −I	shɑ-	−D sh −I
ji-	+D sh +I			sh-	+D sh −I

Table 36: Classifiers by phonological shape, excluding ∅- and *ÿa-*. See table 37 for ɑ.

+14	*...*	*+6*	*+5*	*+4*	*+3*	*+2*	*+1*
a-							C*a*-
		u-					C*a*-
			na-				C*a*-
			#g̲a-				C*a*-
				#g̲a-			C*a*-
				ÿu-			C*a*-
				u-			C*a*-
					daga-		C*a*-
						du-	[+D]

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

pre-contraction prefixes							*contraction prefixes*						
+14	*+13*	*+12*	*+11*	*+10*	*+9*	*+8*	*+7*	*+6*	*+5*	*+4*	*+3*	*+2*	*+1*
i-	k̲u-		ji-	ÿa-	ka-	ga-	ga-	u-	Ø-	ÿu-		x̲a-	Ø-
ÿi-			x̲'a-					w-	na-	u-		tu-	ÿa-
a-			k̲'a-					oo-	g̲a-	g̲a-		i-	da-
k̲u-			tu-									ÿi-	di-
			shu-									Ø-	sa-
			lu-									du-	si-
			se-									du-	s-
			sa-										dzi-
			x̲a-										la-
			gu-										li-
			ta-										l-
			k̲i-										dli-
			x̲i-										sha-
													shi-
													sh-
													ji-

Table 38: Verb prefixes participating in prefix contraction.

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

Table 39: Contracting prefix sequences and their associated modes.

Subj.	*Prefixes*	*Classifier shape*				
		Ci-	Ca-	C- ~ Ca-	∅-	ÿa-
1SG	ÿu-x̲a-	x̲waCi	x̲waCa	x̲waC	x̲wa	x̲waa
1PL	ÿu-tu-	wutuCi	wutuCa	wutooC	wutoo	wutuwa
2SG	ÿu-i-	ÿiCi	ÿiCa	ÿiC	ÿi	ÿee
2SG	u-i-	ÿiCi	ÿiCa	ÿiC	ÿi	iÿa
2PL	ÿu-ÿi-	ÿeeÿCi	ÿeeCa	ÿeeÿC	ÿeeÿ	ÿeeÿ
IND.H	ÿu-du-	wuduCi	—	wuduC	wudu	wuduwa
3/*none*	ÿu-(∅-)	wuCi	—	wuC	wu	woo
3/*none*	u-(∅-)	wuCi	—	wuC	wu	uwa
1SG	CV-ÿu-x̲a-	CVx̲wCi	CVx̲waCa	CVx̲waC	CVx̲wa	CVx̲waa
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/*none*	CV-ÿu-(∅-)	CVwCi	—	CVwuC	CVwu	CVːwa
3/*none*	CV-u-(∅-)	CUːCi	—	CUːC	CUː	CUːwa

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

Subj.	*Prefixes*	*Classifier shape*		
		Ca-	C- ~ Ca-	∅-
1SG	ga-w-g̲a-x̲a-	kuk̲aCa kwk̲aCa kk̲waCa	kuk̲aC kwk̲aC kk̲waC	kuk̲a kwk̲a kk̲wa
1PL	ga-w-g̲a-tu-	gax̲tuCa	gax̲tooC	gax̲too
2SG	ga-w-g̲a-i-	gag̲iCa kg̲iCa	gag̲eeC kg̲eeC	gag̲ee kg̲ee
2PL	ga-w-g̲a-ÿi-	gax̲ÿiCa	gax̲ÿiC	gax̲ÿi
IND.H	ga-w-g̲a-du-	gax̲duCa	gax̲duC	gax̲du
3/*none*	ga-w-g̲a-(∅-)	gux̲Ca	gug̲aC kg̲waC	gug̲a kg̲wa
1SG	CV-ga-w-g̲a-x̲a-	CVkwk̲aCa	CVkwk̲aC	CVkwk̲a
1PL	CV-ga-w-g̲a-tu-	CVgax̲tuCa	CVgax̲tooC	CVgax̲too
2SG	CV-ga-w-g̲a-i-	CVkg̲iCa	CVkg̲eeC	CVkg̲ee
2PL	CV-ga-w-g̲a-ÿi-	CVgax̲ÿiCa	CVgax̲ÿiC	CVgax̲ÿi
IND.H	CV-ga-w-g̲a-du-	CVgax̲duCa	CVgax̲duC	CVgax̲du
3/*none*	CV-ga-w-g̲a-(∅-)	CVgux̲Ca	CVkwg̲aC	CVkwg̲a
1SG	**ka**-ga-w-g̲a-x̲a-	kakwk̲aCa kook̲aCa	kakwk̲aC kook̲aC	kakwk̲a kook̲a

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

Subj.	*Prefixes*	*Classifier shape*				
		Ci-	Ca-	C- ~ Ca-	Ø-	ÿa-
1SG	Ø-x̲a-	x̲aCi	x̲aCa	x̲aC	x̲a	x̲aa
1PL	Ø-tu-	tuCi	tuCa	tooC	too	tuwa
2SG	Ø-i-	iCi	iCa	eeC	ee	iÿa
2PL	Ø-ÿi-	ÿiCi	ÿeeÿCa	ÿiC	ÿi	ÿeeÿ
IND.H	Ø-du-	duCi	—	duC	du	duwa
3/*none*	Ø-(Ø-)	Ci	Ca	iC	Ø	ÿa
1SG	u-Ø-x̲a-	x̲waCi ux̲Ci	x̲waCa ux̲Ca	x̲waC	x̲wa ux̲a	x̲waa ux̲aa
3/*none*	u-Ø-(Ø-)	uCi	—	uC	u	uwa
IND.H	u-Ø-du-	— —	— —	uduC duC	udu du	— —
1SG	CV-Ø-x̲a-	CVx̲Ci	CVx̲Ca	CVx̲aC	CVx̲a	CVx̲aa
1PL	CV-Ø-tu-	CVtuCi	CVtuCa	CVtooC	CVtoo	CVtuwa
2SG	CV-Ø-i-	CeeCi	CeeCa	CeeC	Cee	Ceeÿa
2PL	CV-Ø-ÿi-	CVÿeeÿCi	CVÿCa	CVÿiC	CVÿ	CVÿeeÿ
IND.H	CV-Ø-du-	CVduCi	—	CVduC	CVdu	CVduwa
3/*none*	CV-Ø-(Ø-)	CVCi	CVCa	CVC	CV	CVÿa
3/*none*	ka-Ø-(Ø-)	kaCi	kaCa	kaC	ka	kaa
3/*none*	CV-ka-Ø-(Ø-)	CVkCi	CVkCa	CVkaC	CVka	CVkaa
1SG	CV-u-Ø-x̲a-	CU:x̲Ci	CU:x̲Ca	CU:x̲aC	CU:x̲a	CU:x̲aa
3/*none*	CV-u-Ø-(Ø-)	CU:Ci	CU:Ca	CU:C	CU:	CU:ÿa
IND.H	CV-u-Ø-du-	— —	— —	CU:duC CVduC	CU:du CVdu	— —
1SG	CV-oo-Ø-x̲a-	Cux̲Ci	Cux̲Ca	Cux̲aC	Cux̲a	Cux̲aa
3/*none*	CV-oo-Ø-(Ø-)	CooCi	CooCa	CooC	Coo	Cuwa
3/*none*	CV-w-Ø-(Ø-)	CuCi	CuCa	CuC	Cu	Coo

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

Subj.	*Prefixes*	*Classifier shape*				
		Ci-	Ca-	C- ~ Ca-	Ø-	ÿa-
1SG	na-x̲a-	nax̲Ci	nax̲Ca	nax̲aC	nax̲a	nax̲aa
1PL	na-tu-	natuCi	natuCa	natooC	natoo	natuwa
2SG	na-i-	niCi	niCa	neeC	nee	niÿa
2PL	na-ÿi-	naÿCi	naÿCa	naÿiC	naÿ	naÿeeÿ
IND.H	na-du-	naduCi	—	naduC	nadu	naduwa
3/*none*	na-(Ø-)	naCi	—	naC	na	naa
1SG	u-na-x̲a-	unx̲aCi nax̲waCi	unx̲aCa nax̲waCa	unx̲aC nax̲waC	unx̲a nax̲wa	unx̲aa nax̲waa
3/*none*	u-na-(Ø-)	unaCi	—	unaC	una	unaa
1SG	CV-na-x̲a-	CVnax̲Ci	CVnax̲Ca	CVnx̲aC	CVnx̲a	CVnx̲aa
1PL	CV-na-tu-	CVntuCi	CVntuCa	CVntooC	CVntoo	CVntuwa
2SG	CV-na-i-	CVniCi	CVniCa	CVneeC	CVnee	CVniÿa
2PL	CV-na-yi-	CVnaÿCi	CVnaÿCa	CVnaÿC	CVnaÿ	CVnaÿeeÿ
IND.H	CV-na-du-	CVnduCi	—	CVnduC	CVndu	CVnduwa
3/*none*	CV-na-(Ø-)	CVnCi	—	CVnaC	CVna	CVnaa
1SG	CV-u-na-x̲a-	CUːnax̲Ci CVnax̲wCi	CUːnax̲Ca CVnax̲wCa	CUːnx̲aC CVnx̲waC	CUːnx̲a CVnx̲wa	CUːnx̲aa CVnx̲waa
3/*none*	CV-u-na-(Ø-)	CUːnCi	CUːnCa	CUːnaC	CUːna	CUːnaa
1SG	CV-oo-na-x̲a-	Cunax̲Ci	Cunax̲Ca	Cunx̲aC	Cunx̲a	Cunx̲aa
3/*none*	CV-oo-na-(Ø-)	CunCi	—	CunaC	Cuna	Cunaa
3/*none*	CV-w-na-(Ø-)	CunCi	—	CunaC	Cuna	Cunaa

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

Subj.	*Prefixes*	*Classifier shape*				
		Ci-	Ca-	C- ~ Ca-	∅-	ÿa-
1SG	g̱a-x̱a-	ḵaCi	ḵaCa	ḵaC	ḵa	ḵaa
1PL	g̱a-tu-	g̱atuCi	g̱atuCa	g̱atooC	g̱atoo	g̱atuwa
2SG	g̱a-i-	g̱iCi	g̱iCa	g̱eeC	g̱ee	g̱iÿa
1PL	g̱a-ÿi-	g̱aÿCi	g̱aÿCa	g̱aÿiC	g̱aÿ	g̱aÿeeÿ
IND.H	g̱a-du-	g̱aduCi	—	g̱aduC	g̱adu	g̱aduwa
3/*none*	g̱a-(∅-)	g̱aCi	—	g̱aC	g̱a	g̱aa
1SG	u-g̱a-x̱a-	ḵwaCi	ḵwaCa	ḵwaC	ḵwa	ḵwaa
3/*none*	u-g̱a-(∅-)	g̱waCi	g̱waCa	g̱waC	g̱wa	g̱waa
1SG	CV-g̱a-x̱a-	CVḵaCi	CVḵaCa	CVḵaC	CVḵa	CVḵaa
1PL	CV-g̱a-tu-	CVx̱tuCi	CVx̱tuCa	CVx̱tooC	CVx̱too	CVx̱tuwa
2SG	CV-g̱a-i-	CVg̱iCi	CVg̱iCa	CVg̱eeC	CVg̱ee	CVg̱iÿa
1PL	CV-g̱a-ÿi-	CVx̱ÿiCi	CVx̱ÿiCa	CVx̱ÿiC	CVx̱ÿi	CVx̱ÿeeÿ
IND.H	CV-g̱a-du-	CVx̱duCi	—	CVx̱duC	CVx̱du	CVx̱duwa
3/*none*	CV-g̱a-(∅-)	CVx̱Ci	CVx̱Ca	CVg̱aC	CVg̱a	CVg̱aa
1SG	CV-u-g̱a-x̱a-	CU:ḵaCi	CU:ḵaCa	CU:ḵaC	CU:ḵa	CU:ḵaa
3/*none*	CV-u-g̱a-(∅-)	CU:x̱Ci	CU:x̱Ca	CU:g̱aC	CU:g̱a	CU:g̱aa
1SG	CV-oo-g̱a-x̱a-	CuḵaCi	CuḵaCa	CuḵaC	Cuḵa	Cuḵaa
3/*none*	CV-oo-g̱a-(∅-)	Cux̱Ci	Cux̱Ca	Cug̱aC	Cug̱a	Cug̱aa

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

Subj.	*Prefixes*	*Classifier shape*				
		Ci-	Ca-	C- ~ Ca-	∅-	ÿa-
1SG	ga-x̲a-	gax̲Ci	gax̲Ca	gax̲aC	gax̲a	gax̲aa
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-x̲a-	gox̲Ci	gox̲Ca	gox̲aC	gox̲a	gox̲aa
3/*none*	ga-u-(∅-)	ʔgooCi	—	gooC	goo	ʔgoowa
1SG	CV-ga-x̲a-	CVgax̲Ci	CVgax̲Ca	CVkx̲aC	CVkx̲a	CVkx̲aa
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-x̲a-	CVgox̲Ci	CVgox̲Ca	CVkwx̲aC	CVkwx̲a	CVkwx̲aa
3/*none*	CV-ga-u-(∅-)	ʔCVgooCi	—	CVgooC	CVgoo	ʔCVgoowa

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

Subj.	*Prefixes*	*Classifier shape*				
		Ci-	Ca-	C- ~ Ca-	∅-	ÿa-
1SG	∅-g̱a-x̱a-	ḵaCi	ḵaCa	ḵaC	ḵa	ḵaa
1PL	∅-g̱a-tu-	g̱atuCi	g̱atuCa	g̱atooC	g̱atoo	g̱atuwa
2SG	∅-g̱a-i-	g̱iCi	g̱iCa	g̱eeC	g̱ee	g̱iÿa
1PL	∅-g̱a-ÿi-	g̱aÿCi	g̱aÿCa	g̱aÿiC	g̱aÿ	g̱aÿeeÿ
IND.H	∅-g̱a-du-	g̱aduCi	—	g̱aduC	g̱adu	g̱aduwa
3/*none*	∅-g̱a-(∅-)	g̱aCi	—	g̱aC	g̱a	g̱aa
1SG	u-∅-g̱a-x̱a-	ḵwaCi	ḵwaCa	ḵwaC	ḵwa	ḵwaa
3/*none*	u-∅-g̱a-(∅-)	g̱waCi	g̱waCa	g̱waC	g̱wa	g̱waa
1SG	CV-∅-g̱a-x̱a-	CVḵaCi	CVḵaCa	CVḵaC	CVḵa	CVḵaa
1PL	CV-∅-g̱a-tu-	CVx̱tuCi	CVx̱tuCa	CVx̱tooC	CVx̱too	CVx̱tuwa
2SG	CV-∅-g̱a-i-	CVg̱iCi	CVg̱iCa	CVg̱eeC	CVg̱ee	CVg̱iÿa
1PL	CV-∅-g̱a-ÿi-	CVx̱ÿiCi	CVx̱ÿiCa	CVx̱ÿiC	CVx̱ÿi	CVx̱ÿeeÿ
IND.H	CV-∅-g̱a-du-	CVx̱duCi	—	CVx̱duC	CVx̱du	CVx̱duwa
3/*none*	CV-∅-g̱a-(∅-)	CVx̱Ci	CVx̱Ca	CVg̱aC	CVg̱a	CVg̱aa
1SG	CV-u-∅-g̱a-x̱a-	CUːḵaCi	CUːḵaCa	CUːḵaC	CUːḵa	CUːḵaa
3/*none*	CV-u-∅-g̱a-(∅-)	CUːx̱Ci	CUːx̱Ca	CUːg̱aC	CUːg̱a	CUːg̱aa
1SG	CV-oo-∅-g̱a-x̱a-	CuḵaCi	CuḵaCa	CuḵaC	Cuḵa	Cuḵaa
3/*none*	CV-oo-∅-g̱a-(∅-)	Cux̱Ci	Cux̱Ca	Cug̱aC	Cug̱a	Cug̱aa

Table 46: Northern prefix contractions with +5 *∅*-conjugation and +4 *g̱a*-modal. Uː represents *oo* if V is *a*, or lengthened V otherwise.

Subj.	*Prefixes*	*Classifier shape*				
		Ci-	Ca-	C- ~ C*a*-	∅-	ÿa-
1SG	na-g̲a-x̲a-	naḵaCi	naḵaCa	naḵaC	naḵa	naḵaa
1PL	na-g̲a-tu-	nax̲tuCi	nax̲tuCa	nax̲tooC	nax̲too	nax̲tuwa
2SG	na-g̲a-i-	nag̲iCi	nag̲iCa	nag̲eeC	nag̲ee	nag̲iÿa
2PL	na-g̲a-ÿi-	nax̲ÿiCi	nax̲ÿiCa	nax̲ÿiC	nax̲ÿi	nax̲ÿeeÿ
IND.H	na-g̲a-du-	nax̲duCi	—	nax̲duC	nax̲du	nax̲duwa
3/*none*	na-g̲a-(∅-)	nax̲Ci	nax̲Ca	nag̲aC	nag̲a	nag̲aa
1SG	u-na-g̲a-x̲a-	unḵaCi naḵwaCi	unḵaCa naḵwaCa	unḵaC naḵwaC	unḵa naḵwa	unḵaa naḵwaa
3/*none*	u-na-g̲a-(∅-)	unax̲Ci nax̲wCi	unax̲Ca nax̲wCa	ung̲aC nag̲waC	ung̲a nag̲wa	ung̲aa nag̲waa
1SG	CV-na-g̲a-x̲a-	CVnḵaCi	CVnḵaCa	CVnḵaC	CVnḵa	CVnḵaa
1PL	CV-na-g̲a-tu-	CVnax̲tuCi	CVnax̲tuCa	CVnax̲tooC	CVnax̲too	CVnax̲tuwa
2SG	CV-na-g̲a-i-	CVng̲iCi	CVng̲iCa	CVng̲eeC	CVg̲nee	CVng̲iÿa
2PL	CV-na-g̲a-ÿi-	CVnax̲ÿiCi	CVnax̲ÿiCa	CVnax̲ÿiC	CVnax̲ÿi	CVnax̲ÿeeÿ
IND.H	CV-na-g̲a-du-	CVnax̲duCi	—	CVnax̲duC	CVnax̲du	CVnax̲duwa
3/*none*	CV-na-g̲a-(∅-)	CVnax̲Ci	CVnax̲Ca	CVng̲aC	CVng̲a	CVng̲aa
1SG	CV-u-na-g̲a-x̲a-	CUːnḵaCi CVnḵwaCi	CUːnḵaCa CVnḵwaCa	CUːnḵaC CVnḵwaC	CUːnḵa CVnḵwa	CUːnḵaa CVnḵwaa
3/*none*	CV-u-na-g̲a-(∅-)	CUːnax̲Ci CVnax̲wCi	CUːnax̲Ca CVnax̲wCa	CUːng̲aC CVng̲waC	CUːng̲a CVng̲wa	CUːng̲aa CVng̲waa
1SG	CV-oo-na-g̲a-x̲a-	Cunḵaci	Cunḵaca	Cunḵac	Cunḵa	Cunḵaa
3/*none*	CV-oo-na-g̲a-(∅-)	Cunax̲Ci	Cunax̲Ca	Cung̲aC	Cung̲a	Cung̲aa
3/*none*	CV-w-na-g̲a-(∅-)	Cunax̲Ci	Cunax̲Ca	Cung̲aC	Cung̲a	Cung̲aa

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

Subj.	*Prefixes*	*Classifier shape*				
		Ci-	Ca-	C- ~ Ca-	∅-	ÿa-
1SG	g̲a-g̲a-x̲a-	k̲aak̲aCi	k̲aak̲aCa	k̲aak̲aC	k̲aak̲a	k̲aak̲a
1PL	g̲a-g̲a-tu-	g̲aax̲tuCi	g̲aax̲tuCa	g̲aax̲tooC	g̲aax̲too	g̲aax̲tuwa
2SG	g̲a-g̲a-i-	g̲aag̲iCi	g̲aag̲iCa	g̲aag̲eeC	g̲aag̲ee	g̲aag̲iÿa
2PL	g̲a-g̲a-ÿi-	g̲aax̲ÿiCi	g̲aax̲ÿiCa	g̲aax̲ÿiC	g̲aax̲ÿi	g̲aax̲ÿeeÿ
IND.H	g̲a-g̲a-du-	g̲aax̲duCi	—	g̲aax̲duC	g̲aax̲du	g̲aax̲duwa
3/*none*	g̲a-g̲a-(∅-)	g̲aax̲Ci	g̲aax̲Ca	g̲aag̲aC	g̲aag̲a	g̲aag̲aa
1SG	u-g̲a-g̲a-x̲a-	k̲waak̲aCi	k̲waak̲aCa	k̲waak̲aC	k̲waak̲a	k̲waak̲aa
3/*none*	u-g̲a-g̲a-(∅-)	g̲waax̲Ci	g̲waax̲Ca	g̲waag̲aC	g̲waag̲a	g̲waag̲aa
1SG	CV-g̲a-g̲a-x̲a-	CVk̲aak̲aCi	CVk̲aak̲aCa	CVk̲aak̲aC	CVk̲aak̲a	CVk̲aak̲aa
1PL	CV-g̲a-g̲a-tu-	CVg̲aax̲tuCi	CVg̲aax̲tuCa	CVg̲aax̲tooC	CVg̲aax̲too	CVg̲aax̲tuwa
2SG	CV-g̲a-g̲a-i-	CVg̲aag̲iCi	CVg̲aag̲iCa	CVg̲aag̲eeC	CVg̲aag̲ee	CVg̲aag̲iÿa
2PL	CV-g̲a-g̲a-ÿi-	CVg̲aax̲ÿiCi	CVg̲aax̲ÿiCa	CVg̲aax̲ÿiC	CVg̲aax̲ÿi	CVg̲aax̲ÿeeÿ
IND.H	CV-g̲a-g̲a-du-	CVg̲aax̲duCi	—	CVg̲aax̲duC	CVg̲aax̲du	CVg̲aax̲duwa
3/*none*	CV-g̲a-g̲a-(∅-)	CVg̲aax̲Ci	CVg̲aax̲Ca	CVg̲aag̲aC	CVg̲aag̲a	CVg̲aag̲aa
1SG	CV-u-g̲a-g̲a-x̲a-	CU:k̲aak̲aCi	CU:k̲aak̲aCa	CU:k̲aak̲aC	CU:k̲aak̲a	CU:k̲aak̲aa
3/*none*	CV-u-g̲a-g̲a-(∅-)	CU:g̲aax̲Ci	CU:g̲aax̲Ca	CU:g̲aag̲aaC	CU:g̲aag̲a	CU:g̲aag̲aa
1SG	CV-oo-g̲a-g̲a-x̲a-	Cuk̲aak̲aCi	Cuk̲aak̲aCa	Cuk̲aak̲aC	Cuk̲aak̲a	Cuk̲aak̲aa
3/*none*	CV-oo-g̲a-g̲a-(∅-)	Cug̲aag̲aCi	Cug̲aag̲aCa	Cug̲aag̲aC	Cug̲aag̲a	Cug̲aag̲aa

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

Subj.	*Prefixes*	*Classifier shape*				
		Ci-	Ca-	C- ~ Ca-	∅-	ÿa-
1SG	ga-g̲a-x̲a-	gak̲aCi	gak̲aCa	gak̲aC	gak̲a	gak̲aa
1PL	ga-g̲a-tu-	gax̲tuCi	gax̲tuCa	gax̲tooC	gax̲too	gax̲tuwa
2SG	ga-g̲a-i-	gag̲iCi	gag̲iCa	gag̲eeC	gag̲ee	gag̲iÿa
2PL	ga-g̲a-ÿi-	gax̲ÿiCi	gax̲ÿiCa	gax̲ÿiC	gax̲ÿi	gax̲ÿeeÿ
IND.H	ga-g̲a-du-	gax̲duCi	—	gax̲duC	gax̲du	gax̲duwa
3/*none*	ga-g̲a-(∅-)	gax̲Ci	gax̲Ca	gag̲aC	gag̲a	gag̲aa
1SG	ga-u-g̲a-x̲a-	gook̲aCi	gook̲aCa	gook̲aC	gook̲a	gook̲aa
3/*none*	ga-u-g̲a-(∅-)	goox̲Ci	goox̲Ca	—	goog̲a	goog̲aa
1SG	CV-ga-g̲a-x̲a-	CVkk̲aCi	CVkk̲aCa	CVkk̲aC	CVkk̲a	CVkk̲aa
1PL	CV-ga-g̲a-tu-	CVgax̲tuCi	CVgax̲tuCa	CVgax̲tooC	CVgax̲too	CVgax̲tuwa
2SG	CV-ga-g̲a-i-	CVkg̲iCi	CVkg̲iCa	CVkg̲eeC	CVkg̲ee	CVkg̲iÿa
2PL	CV-ga-g̲a-ÿi-	CVgax̲ÿiCi	CVgax̲ÿiCa	CVgax̲ÿiC	CVgax̲ÿi	CVgax̲ÿeeÿ
IND.H	CV-ga-g̲a-du-	CVgax̲duCi	—	CVgax̲duC	CVgax̲du	CVgax̲duwa
3/*none*	CV-ga-g̲a-(∅-)	CVgax̲Ci	CVgax̲Ca	CVkg̲aC	CVkg̲a	CVkg̲aa
1SG	CV-ga-u-g̲a-x̲a-	CVkwk̲aCi	CVkwk̲aCa	CVkwk̲aC	CVkwk̲a	CVkwk̲aa
3/*none*	CV-ga-u-g̲a-(∅-)	CVgoox̲Ci	CVgoox̲Ca	CVkwg̲aC	CVkwg̲a	CVkwg̲aa

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

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

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

Form	*Gloss*	*Definition*	*Auxiliary Affixes*
neech$_{\text{SRI}}$ *nooch*$_{\text{RN}}$ *nukch*$_{\text{G}}$ *noohch*$_{\text{T}}$	HAB.AUX	habitual	*-ch*
neejéen$_{\text{SRI}}$ *noojéen*$_{\text{RN}}$ *noohjeen*$_{\text{T}}$	DEC.HAB.AUX	decessive habitual	*-ch-een*
néekw$_{\text{SRI}}$ *nóok*$_{\text{N}}$ *neekw*$_{\text{T}}$	CSEC.AUX	consecutive	*-ː*
níkwnee$_{\text{SRI}}$ *núknee*$_{\text{RN}}$ *nukneeh*$_{\text{T}}$	COND.AUX	conditional	*-n-ee*
g̲aníkw$_{\text{SR}}$ *g̲anígún*$_{\text{I}}$ *g̲anúgún*$_{\text{N}}$ *ʔg̲anikw*$_{\text{T}}$	CTNG.AUX	contingent	*g̲a-…-n-ín*

Table 51: Verb auxiliaries (–7).

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

Table 52: Derivational suffixes (–2).

Sfx.	*Stem*	*Pg.*	*Root*	*Stem meaning*
	haanán	274	*haan*	(sg.) restore confidence by reelection
	naag̲án	284	*naak̲*	(pl.) restore confidence by reelection
-án	*taanán*	292	*taan*	reconsider; reset bone/joint
	xeexán	325	*xeex*	be restored to normality; become normal
	x̲eenán	338	*x̲een*	get back into joint by itself
	.únx̲aa	270	*.oon*	miss target when shooting
	t'áchx̲aa	296	*t'aach*	miss target when slapping
	dzéix̲aa	296	*dzoo*	miss target when throwing round object
-x̲aa	*shátx̲aa*	309	*shaat*	miss target when grabbing something
	gwálx̲aa	319	*gwaal*	miss target when punching with fist
	k̲'íshx̲aa	337	*k̲'eesh*	miss target when hitting with stick
	x̲íchx̲aa	341	*x̲eech*	miss target when hitting with stick

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

Sfx.	*Stem*	*Pg.*	*Root*	*Stem meaning*
	.éiyáx̲w	265	*.eik ?*	have a useless/injured limb
	nóox'áx̲w	283	*nóox'*$_n$	remove shell, esp. from gumboots
	ch'éeyáx̲w	306	*ch'ee ?*	be slow
-áx̲w	*tl'éiláx̲w*	311	*tl'eil*$_n$	remove milt from fish
	g̲eiyáx̲w	332	*g̲ei*$_n$	scoop out, esp. from clamshell
	x̲aayáx̲w	340	*x̲aaw*	shed hair, esp. of animal in spring
	x̲oonáx̲w	S66:56	*x̲oon ?*	drowning ?
	séewch'áx̲w	S66:56	*seew*$_n$	tasteless, rain-flavoured
	héix̲waa	271	*heex̲w*	make magic, perform positive rites
	wéinaa	278	*woo*$_2$	powder face; have face powdered
	t'áax'aa	296	*t'aax'*	play with marbles
	t'ájaa	296	*t'aach*	play at swimming
	ts'ígwaa	299	*ts'eek*	be a delicate issue, require diplomacy
-aa	*ts'í(s)x(w)aa*	300		sneeze (onomatopoetic?)
	ch'éit'aa	306	*ch'eet' ?*	play with ball, esp. basketball
	dlénx̲aa	310	*dlaan ?*	tempt, try out, test
	kíts'aa	321	*keets'*	play on seesaw
	k'éinaa	322	*k'ein*	play at jumping or twirling around
	góol'aa	S66:55	*gool'*	wink
	deegáa	91	*deek*	dipnet
	sáyjaa	301	*saay*	give off lots of heat; be sweaty
-jaa	*g̲íx̲'jaa*	334	*g̲eex̲'*	creak, squeak; play bowed instrument
	x'éel'jaa	S66:55	*xeel' ?*	groan
	.áax̲ch'án	270	*.aax̲*	be fascinating to listen to (*-ch-sh...*?)
-shán	*tées'shán*	289	*tees'*	be fascinating to watch; be fascinated
	x̲éetl'shán	338	*x̲eetl'*	be dangerous
	x̲'wáal'shán	342	*x̲'waas'*$_1$ *?*	be soft like down; (neg.) lack softness
	x'wás'x̲	330	*x'us'*$_n$ *?*	be numb, circulation cut off
-x̲	*yát'x̲x'*	S66:59	*yaat'*	be long (pl.)
	tsínx̲x'	S66:59	*tseen*	be expensive (pl.)
	yáshx̲	S66:59	*yaach' ?*	be scarce

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

Sfx.	*Stem*	*Pg.*	*Root*	*Stem meaning*
	gúgu		*gúk*$_n$	have ear or loop
	g̲eiwú	91	*g̲ei ?*	dipnet
-í	*jíni*	S66:54	*jín*$_n$	have arms or sleeves
	koodzí	320	*kootl ?*	be amazing, awesome
	l'eedí	S66:54	*l'eet*$_n$	have a tail or handle
	saayí	301	*saa*$_2$	have an important name
	tleilk'ú	310		make string figures
	x̲'oosí		*x̲'oos*$_n$	have feet or legs
	s'óoshkw	303		pinch with fingers and thumb
	tlék̲wk	311	*tlei k̲w ?*	be greedy, eat fast, eat like a pig
-k	*tl'únkw*	312	*tl'oon*	murmur, grumble (< REP)
	xwáchk	328	*xwaach*	be paralyzed by sickness
	k̲áchk	336	*k̲aach*	be lame, limp
-(á)ch'	*g̲eig̲ách'*	332	*g̲eik̲*$_1$	swing
	séewch'ák̲w	S66:56	*seew*$_n$	tasteless, rain-flavoured
-ál'	*néegwál'*	280		paint; make jam, preserve fruit
-g̲ákw	*seig̲ákw*	300	*saa*$_2$	regain breath, get one's wind back
-nás	*k̲éenás*	334	*k̲ei*$_1$	in-law property exchange
-nás'	*x̲aanás'*	334	*x̲aa*$_2$	travel by raft
-át'	*tl'éekát'*	311	*tl'een ?*	thread stick through to stiffen
-x̲	*ch'ách'x̲*	307	*ch'aach'*	be spotted (inanimate) (< REP)

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

Verb theme	*Object class*	*Example nouns*
O-S-[*Ø*]-√*ti*	general generic	*té* ‘rock’, *x’úx’* ‘book’ *tá*<u>*k*</u>*l* ‘hammer’, *téel* ‘shoe’
O-ka-S-[*Ø*]-√*ti*	small round small round	*gút* ‘dime’, *x’áax’* ‘apple’ *k’wát’* ‘egg’, *kawóot* ‘bead’
O-S-[*s*]-√*ti*	frame-like; internal parts string mass; woven container	*káaya*<u>*k*</u>*ijeit* ‘chair’, *séek* ‘belt’ <u>*x*</u>*aaw* ‘hair’; *gwéil* ‘bag’, <u>*k*</u>*ákw* ‘basket’
O-ka-S-[*s*]-√*ti*	round frame-like string of small round	*kées* ‘bracelet’ *seit* ‘necklace’, *kawóot* ‘bead’
O-ji-S-[*s*]-√*ti*	— string mass with ends	— *tás* ‘thread’, *kaxées’* ‘wire’
O-ji-ka-S-[*Ø*]-√*ti*	coiled rope-like —	*tíx’* ‘rope’, *kakéin* ‘yarn’ —
O-ji-ka-S-[*s*]-√*ti*	uncoiled rope-like —	*tíx’* ‘rope’, *kakéin* ‘yarn’ —
O-S-[*Ø*]-√*tan*	empty container bone/wooden; container	*gúx’aa* ‘cup’, *gaaw* ‘drum’, *k’wátl’* ‘pot’ *kéit’u* ‘pickaxe’; <u>*k*</u>*óok* ‘box’
O-ka-S-[*Ø*]-√*tan*	stick-like	<u>*k*</u>*áas’* ‘stick’
O-S-[*s*]-√*tan*	stick-like bone/wooden with handle	*xít’aa* ‘broom’, *óonaa* ‘rifle’ *jáaji* ‘snowshoe’; *cháash* ‘bough’
O-ka-S-[*s*]-√*tan*	small stick-like small stick-like	*kooxéedaa* ‘pencil’, *táax’ál’* ‘needle’ *u*<u>*x*</u>*gan*<u>*k*</u>*áas’* ‘match’, <u>*g*</u>*áax’w* ‘herring eggs’
O-S-[*s*]-√*.in*	full container full container	*gúx’aa* ‘cup’, *tléi*<u>*k*</u>*w* ‘berries’ *kwás* ‘aged urine’
O-S-[*Ø*]-√*.a*<u>*x*</u>	fabric flat flexible	*ji*<u>*g*</u>*wéinaa* ‘towel’, *k’oodás’* ‘shirt’ <u>*g*</u>*áach* ‘mat’, *atdoogú* ‘skin’, *x’óow* ‘blanket’
O-S-[*l*]-√*na*	flat flexible bundle	*ji*<u>*g*</u>*wéinaa* ‘towels’
O-S-[*s*]-√*ta*	dead animal —	<u>*x*</u>*aat* ‘fish’, <u>*g*</u>*uwakaan* ‘deer’, *cháatl* ‘halibut’ —
O-S-[*s*]-√*nuk*	live animal	*káax’* ‘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.