2. The Verb Theme (Excerpt from Eggleston, 2013)

As first introduced in Section 1.3 above, the Tlingit verb is templatic, each piece of information occupying a specific position in the template. While there are up to twenty-five of these positions (depending on whether one chooses to lump or split various prefixes and suffixes), only the elements that are basic to a given verb are included in the theme. This means that any affixes that reference time, negativity, reciprocity, etc. are omitted from the theme because these are not the minimally required elements of any verb theme. For a full template of the Tlingit verb, please refer to Story & Naish (1973:349), Leer (1991:Figure 17), Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer (2000:213), and Crippen (2012:Table 10).

The method used here for representing a verb theme is based on that of Leer (1991), with a few minor adaptations meant to make the representation more transparent. For example, to indicate that a theme requires the D-component of a classifier, Leer uses '+D', while I simply include the letter d- (classifiers are discussed in detail in Section 2.3). Leer uses '*' to indicate a variable stem while I use '~', since the asterisk is traditionally used in Linguistic literature to indicate an ungrammatical form. (Note that verb stem variation is discussed in Section 2.4 and Chapter 3).

In order to represent all of the minimally required elements of a Tlingit verb, a given theme will contain (maximally) the following elements: verb stem, classifier, subject, thematic prefix(es), object, conjugation prefix, verb type, and any required adverbial phrases, nominal objects, and postpositions (each of these will be described in this chapter in detail). The adverbial phrase, nominal object, and postpositional phrases occur before the verb word, and are written as separate words in the orthography. Therefore, these are given as a separate word, to the left of the verb, in the theme. It is important to understand however, that these elements are a basic part of the verb and are required in order for the utterance to be complete. The conjugation prefix

and verb type are given in parentheses following the verb word in the theme. As shown in Table 4 below, the conjugation prefix occupies a position between the thematic prefix and subject in the verb template, however it is given in parentheses following the verb in the theme because it only surfaces in a few verb forms. The following table illustrates the order in which the prefixes occur in the verb template.

Table 4. Thematic Elements of the Verb Template

object	thematic prefix(es)	conjugation prefix	subject	classifier	verb stem

At the top of each verb entry on the CD the verb theme is given, along with an English translation of the theme. It is important to read the theme translation in order to get the full meaning of the verb. A verb can have multiple meanings, however only one of those meanings is translated below each given verb form in order to save space. All the known possible meanings of the verb are given in the translation of the verb theme. Example (3) below is the theme for the verb *aadé aawatee* 's/he carried it there'. As was mentioned above, many verb themes in Tlingit have required elements beyond the verb word itself. *Aadé* 'there' in Example (3) illustrates this point, as this is a required part of this verb theme, and leaving it out renders an incomplete utterance. Note the use of 'for' in the English translation of the verb theme in (3). This is a convention adopted from Leer's work. I use it because it allows for the English verb to be in the infinitive form (not conjugated for person or tense), helping to convey the unconjugated nature of the Tlingit verb theme. The English translation as such will not be easily confused with the translation of an actual spoken verb form.

(3)   *P-dé O-S-Ø-tee~ (na motion)*
        'for S to carry, take O (general, often compact object) to P'

At first, the abstract and formulaic appearance of a verb theme can be alarming, but with a little practice, it can become a very useful tool for understanding the structure of a verb and for conjugating a verb (creating spoken forms of a verb in which person, tense, number, etc. are specified). In what follows each element of the theme will be described in turn, beginning with the *S* (subject). For simplicity, the conjugation prefix and verb type will be omitted from the themes until they are discussed in Section 2.9.

2.1 S (subject)

Let's begin by looking at the theme for the verb *datóow* 's/he reads; s/he is reading', given in Example (4).

(4)   *S-d-tóow*
        'for S to read'

Uppercase *S* represents the subject of the verb. The *S* in the theme indicates where the subject prefix goes. The subject prefixes in Tlingit are: *x̲a-* 'I', *i-/ee-* 'you', *tu-/too-* 'we', *yi-/yee-* 'you' (plural), or *du-* 'someone'. Note that the subject prefix for 'he/she/it' is *Ø-* (unmarked, not pronounced). The third person plural marker is *has* 'they', which goes to the left of the object prefix. The '*d*' in the theme above is the classifier, which is realized as *'da'* in the forms in (5a-f), and which will be discussed in detail in Section 2.3. The verb stem is *–tóow* 'read'. Replacing the *S* in the theme above with actual subject prefixes renders these spoken forms:

(5a)   *x̲adatóow*   'I read; I am reading'
(5b)   *idatóow*   'you read; you are reading'
(5c)   *datóow*   's/he reads; s/he is reading'
(5d)   *tudatóow*   'we read; we are reading'
(5e)   *yidatóow*   'you all read; you all are reading'

(5f)   *has datóow*   'they read; they are reading'

(5g)   *dutóow*   'someone reads; someone is reading'

The fact that this verb only has a subject (and no object) makes it an intransitive verb. Note the *S* in the English translation of the theme above. The *S* in the English translation 'for S to read' corresponds to the *S* in the theme. This helps the reader keep track of who is doing what to whom when moving between the two languages.

2.2 O (object)

To discuss the object, let's look at the theme for the verb *yak'éi* 'he/she/it is fine':

(6)   ***O-Ø-k'éi***

       'for O to be good, fine, pretty'

Uppercase *O* represents the object of the verb. This is where the object prefix goes. Tlingit object prefixes are listed in Table 5. The plural marker for third person object is the same as that for third person subject: *has*, which occurs before the object prefix. In the event of a third person plural subject and/or object, there is ambiguity as to whether the subject or object is plural and must be determined by context. For example, the verb *has awsiteen* can have the following meanings: 'he/she/it sees them'; 'they see him/her/it'; or 'they see them'.

Table 5. Object Prefixes

Person	Prefix	English gloss
1.sg.	*xat-*	'me'
1.pl.	*haa-*	'us'
2.sg.	*i-*	'you'
2.pl.	*yee-*	'you (plural)'
3.sg. (neutral/recessive)	*Ø- / a-*	'him/her/it'
3.sg. (salient)	*ash-*	'him/her/it (salient)'
4. (human)	*ku-*	'someone'
4. (non-human)	*at-*	'something'
Reflexive	*sh- / Ø-*	'oneself'
Reciprocal	*woosh-*	'each other'
Partitive	*aa-*	'some of; one of'

While Naish (1966:127) treats the object pronominals as separate words, Leer (1991:122) and Crippen (2012:315) consider them to be verbal prefixes. In the orthography, only three of them (*i-, a-,* and *ku-*) are written as part of the verb word. These in particular are written as part of the verb word because, ending in a short vowel, these three contract with following prefixes, changing their sound (and hence spelling), making word division a tricky issue in these cases. For example, consider the verb in the phrase *tlél eesátk* 'you're not fast', which consists of the second person object prefix *i-*, the irrealis (negative) prefix *u-*, the *Ø-* classifier (which will be discussed in Section 2.3), and the verb stem *–sátk* 'fast'. Here, the object prefix *i-* and the irrealis prefix *u-* have contracted, resulting in the long vowel *ee-*.

A very important thing to note is that the third person object prefix *a-* is only present when all of the following conditions hold: 1) a subject is also required by the theme, 2) the subject is third person ('he, she, or it'), 3) if the subject is expressed as a noun phrase and has the *–ch* (ergative) suffix, the subject is NOT directly before

the verb, and 4) the object is indefinite. Otherwise it is unmarked (not present). Examples (7-9) will clarify. In (7), there is a subject and it is third person ('Mary'). The subject does not have the ergative suffix *(-ch)*. The object is indefinite (*x'úx'* 'a book' rather than *wé x'úx'* 'that book'). Therefore, the object prefix *a-* is present on the verb *atóow* in (7). In (8) the subject is first person plural *too-* ('we'), so the third person object prefix is not present. In (9) the object is definite *wé x'úx'* ('that book') and the third person subject has the ergative suffix ('Mary-*ch*'). Because of these conditions, the third person object prefix is not present in (9).

(7)   *Mary x'úx' atóow.*   'Mary is reading a book.'
(8)   *X'úx' tootóow.*   'We are reading a book.'
(9)   *Wé x'úx' Mary-ch tóow.*   'That book, Mary is reading it.'

The choice of third person object prefix (between neutral/recessive (*Ø-/a-*), and salient (*ash-*)) has to do with the "salience" of the referent in comparison to the subject. In Leer's words: "...the salient referent is the one with which the speaker identifies: a human as opposed to an animal, and usually also a Tlingit as opposed to an outsider, an adult as opposed to a child, a virtuous person as opposed to an evil one. The salient referent is typically the protagonist of a narrative sequence..." (1990:4). Therefore, in utterances in which the object is more salient than the subject, the object prefix *ash-* is used, and where the subject is more salient than the object, the neutral/recessive object prefix *a-/Ø-* is used. There are also syntactic restrictions as to when the salient object prefix *ash-* is used. These are described in detail in Leer (1990:3-4).

The reflexive object prefix *sh-* 'oneself' has the variant form *Ø-* when it comes before an incorporated inalienable noun. "Incorporated" means that it has become a basic part of the verb theme. An "inalienable" noun is one that must be grammatically possessed and refers to a part of something or someone that is seen as being

inseparable from its whole. Examples of inalienable nouns are *a ká* 'its surface', *a yá* 'its face', and *a x'é* 'its mouth'. These incorporated inalienable nouns fall into the category of "thematic prefix", and are discussed in Section 2.8. A pair of examples below will illustrate the uses of the alternate forms of the reflexive prefix. In (10) below, the *sh-* form of the reflexive object prefix is used, as there is no incorporated inalienable noun in the verb. In (11) from Leer (1991:98) however, the incorporated inalienable noun *ya-* 'face' is present, and therefore the *Ø-* form of the reflexive prefix is used.

(10) *sh wudi.óos'*   's/he washed herself/himself'

sh-	*wu-*	*Ø-*	*di-*	*-.óos'*
reflexive obj.-	perfective-	3.sg.subj.-	classifier-	-wash

(11) *yawdi.óos'*   's/he washed his/her (own) face'

Ø-	*ya-*	*wu-*	*Ø-*	*di-*	*-.óos'*
reflexive obj.-	thematic prefix.face-	perfective-	3.sg.subj.-	classifier-	-wash

Although classifiers are discussed in the following section (2.3), it should be noted here that both the reflexive and reciprocal object prefixes always co-occur with the D component of the classifier. For now, note the *di-* labeled 'classifier' in Examples (10) and (11) above, and compare with Example (12) below, where the classifier is *ya-*. Example (12) does not have either the reflexive or reciprocal prefixes and does not have the D component of the classifier. (There are also contractions taking place with the combinations of prefixes in Examples (11) and (12). This is discussed in Chapter 5 for perfective forms).

(12)   *du yá aawa.óos'*   's/he washed his/her (another's) face'

     du   yá   a-   wu-   ya-   -.óos'

     his/her face   3.sg.obj.-   perfective-   classifier-   -wash

Example (13) illustrates that the reciprocal prefix *woosh-* 'each other' also co-occurs with the D-component of the classifier. Note the *di-* in (13), as compared to the *ya-* classifier in (12) above. Also note the position of *woosh* with respect to *has*. *Woosh* is the only object prefix that occurs before the third person plural marker *has*.

(13)   *woosh has wudi.óos'* 'they washed each other'

     woosh   has   wu-   di-   -.óos'

     reciprocal obj.-   plural perfective-   classifier-   -wash

Not all Tlingit verb themes require an *S*. Themes which only require an *O* are called "objective", and have an *O*, but no *S* in the theme. This indicates that you must use an object prefix with this theme, not a subject prefix. Such themes then are neither transitive (having both *S* and *O*) nor intransitive (having only *S*). For example, let's go back to the verb *yak'éi* 'he/she/it is fine'. This is an objective verb which requires an object prefix, not a subject prefix, as indicated in the theme in (6) above. If we were to replace the *O* in the theme with actual object prefixes, we get the forms in (14a-g). Note that the third person forms *yak'éi* 'he/she/it is fine' and *has yak'éi* 'they are fine' do not have the third person object prefix *a*. This is because this verb has no subject, as just described above. (Note also the classifier *ya-* in these examples. This replaces the *Ø* in the theme in (6) above, and will be explained in Section 2.3).

(14a)   *x̲at yak'éi*   'I am fine'
(14b)   *iyak'éi*   'you are fine'
(14c)   *yak'éi*   'he/she/it is fine'

(14d) *haa yak'éi*   'we are fine'

(14e) *yee yak'éi*   'you all are fine'

(14f) *has yak'éi*   'they are fine'

(14g) <u>*ku*</u>*yak'éi*   'people are fine' (also means 'the weather is fine')

Now, let's look at a transitive verb. A transitive verb theme is one with both a subject *S* and an object *O*. Consider the theme for the verb *altín* 's/he is watching him/her/it' in (15).

(15)   *O-S-l-teen~*

'for S to look at, gaze at, watch O'; 'for S to watch, take care of, mind, look after O'

Replacing the *O* and *S* in the theme in (15) above with actual object and subject prefixes gives us the forms in (16a-i). Note also that the form of the classifier in these examples is *la* (described in Section 2.3) and the verb stem form is *tín* (verb stem variation described in Section 2.4 and Chapter 3).

(16a) *i<u>x</u>latín*   'I'm watching you'

(16b) <u>*x*</u>*alatín*   'I'm watching him/her/it'

(16c) <u>*x*</u>*at ilatín*   'you're watching me'

(16d) *ilatín*   'you're watching him/her/it'

(16e) <u>*x*</u>*at latín*   'he/she/it is watching me'

(16f) *ilatín*   'he/she/it is watching you'

(16g) *altín*   'he/she/it is watching him/her/it'

(16h) *itulatín*   'we are watching you'

(16i) *has yilatín*   'you (plural) are watching them'

The first thing to note is that Example (16g) has the third person object prefix *a-* in *altín* 'he/she/it is watching him/her/it'. This is because the verb also has a subject AND that subject is third person *Ø-* 'he/she/it'. The third person object prefix *a-* is not present in any other forms. Note also that *ilatín* can mean both 'you're watching him/her/it' and 'he/she/it is watching you,' and must be determined by context. Remember that the third person subject prefix is always *Ø-* (unmarked) and the third person object prefix is unmarked unless the subject is also third person. This is why these two forms are identical. In *ilatín* 'you're watching him/her/it', the *i-* is the second person subject prefix, and in *ilatín* 'he/she/it is watching you', the *i-* is the second person object prefix.

Because of their meaning, some verbs are generally restricted to referring to third person 'it'. Such verbs are often descriptive in nature. The verbs *si.áat'* 'it's cold (inanimate object) and *yawdig̱íl* 'it's dull, blunt' serve as good examples. Because the third person subject prefix is unmarked and the third person object prefix is unmarked (unless there's a third person subject), these verbs have neither subject nor object marking. While we might assume that they are objective, since many known objective verbs tend to be descriptive, it is not possible to establish for certain given the absence of any pronominal morphology. Therefore, in conducting research with native speakers, whenever I was only able to obtain third person forms for a verb (and not first or second person forms), I documented the theme for that verb without *S* or *O*. This leaves these verb themes in a sort of syntactic limbo, as they are not considered either intransitive nor objective. In fact for these themes, as long as they are only applied to third person, we don't need to know whether they have subject or object pronominals. The themes for the examples just given follow in (17) and (18). Note the absence of *S* and *O*.

(17)   *s-.áat'*
         'for an inanimate object to be cold'

(18)   *ya-d-g̲éel~*

　　　 'for an edge to be blunt, dull'

2.3 Classifiers

Let's begin the discussion of classifiers by looking at the theme for the verb *yat'éex'*
'it is difficult' in (19). (Note that as discussed in Section 2.2, this is a theme that has
neither *S* nor *O*).

(19)   *Ø-t'éex'*

　　　 'for something to be hard (abstract), difficult'

The classifier always comes immediately before the stem, the stem being the final
element of the verb word in the theme, and the part of the word that carries the
basic meaning of the verb. The classifier in the theme above is *Ø-* and the stem is –
t'éex'. Every Tlingit verb is minimally comprised of a stem and a classifier. There are
sixteen classifiers in Tlingit, and they can be grouped into four sets of four, as
exemplified in Table 6 (adapted from Leer 1991: fig. 19 and Story & Naish
1973:369). The classifiers are first organized into four groups by their unifying
consonant, which is most easily seen in the top row. From left to right, we have *s-,
sh-, l-,* and *Ø-* (no consonant). Within each group of four, the classifiers are then
organized according to vowel, the left column of each group containing *i-*
(represented by +I, and called the "I component" in the literature), the right column
not containing *i-* (represented by –I). Note the apparent exception in the final group,
which contains *ya-* in the +I column. This is in fact consistent in that *i* and *y* are
phonologically very similar, as you will notice when pronouncing them in
succession. *Y* itself is the I component and takes a dissimilar vowel *(a)* to make it
salient. This is supported by the fact that the *ya-* classifier indeed patterns with the
other +I classifiers throughout the grammar. The other organizing feature is the
presence of *d-* in many of the forms listed in the bottom row. We refer to this feature

as the "D component", those in the bottom row having the D component, those in the top row lacking it. Note that I follow Leer in using the labels –D and +D (as opposed to Story & Naish's 'odd' and 'even') and Leer's +I and –I (as opposed to Story & Naish's 'A' and B') because Leer's labels are more transparent.

Table 6. Classifiers

	+I	-I		+I	-I		+I	-I		+I	-I
-D	*si-*	*sa-*		*shi-*	*sha-*		*li-*	*la-*		*ya-*	*Ø-*
+D	*dzi-*	*s-*		*ji-*	*sh-*		*dli-*	*l-*		*di-*	*da-*

Every Tlingit verb has a classifier from one of the groups above. The actual form of the classifier (+I, -I, +D, -D) changes according to a variety of factors including mode, whether realis or irrealis, reciprocity, transitivity, as well as others. For example, for the most part, realis forms (which the speaker uses to assert something as a truth, or known fact) require the +I form of the classifier, as in *aw**si**.ée* 's/he cooked it', while irrealis forms (which denote an untruth, whether a negative statement or something which is not yet true) require the –I form of the classifier, as in *agux**sa**.ée* 's/he will cook it'.

Since the actual form of a classifier changes according to the grammar, the theme always presents the classifier of a particular verb simply as the representative consonant of its group: *s-, sh-, l-,* or *Ø-*(no consonant). The classifier is always given in a lowercase letter, thus the lowercase classifier *s-* is not to be confused with the subject prefix *S-,* which is given as an uppercase letter, as in the theme for: *awsi.ée* ('s/he cooked it') in (20).

(20)   *O-**S-s**-.ee~*
          'for S to cook O'

To summarize what we've discussed so far, given the above theme, we know that this verb uses the *s-* group of classifiers *(si-, sa-, dzi-, s-)*. Most verb forms (except for the imperfective) require a specific form of each classifier group (either +I or -I). This means that a learner can predict which member of a classifier group will be used in a given mode for a given verb. For example, if we know that all negative perfective forms require the –I form of the classifier, and we know that the verb 'cook' uses the *s-* group of classifiers, we can predict that the negative perfective form will have the *sa-* classifier, as in *tlél x̲wasa.í* 'I didn't cook it'.

Regarding the Ø- group classifiers, the reason for using Ø- as the representative form even though it is not pronounced is that its alternate form *ya-* will appear in certain verb modes. By representing the classifier in the theme, this alerts the student to watch for *ya-* which sometimes contracts with a preceding syllable and is only apparent through the resulting vowel length. For more information on contractions in Tlingit, see the appendix in Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer (2002). See also Leer (1991:185-202) and the appendices of this dissertation for a complete set of prefix combination charts.

Verbs which exclusively use the +D forms of a classifier group are given in the theme as *d-* plus the consonant which represents the group. For example, the verb *k̲oowdzitee* 'he/she/it was born' always requires the D component of the *s-* classifier group (meaning that the classifier will either be *dz-* or *s-* throughout the paradigm), and this is represented in the theme accordingly, with *d-s-* directly before the verb stem, as shown in (21):

(21)   *O-k̲u-**d-s**-tee~*
       'for O to be, be in existence, live; for O to be born'

Note that when the D component of the Ø- group is required by a verb, just the *d-* is given in the theme, and the Ø- is omitted for simplicity. For example, see the theme for *awdigaan* 'it's sunny':

(22)   *a-**d**-gaan~*
        'for the sun to shine'

Given the *d-* in the theme above, we know that the classifier belongs to the Ø- group and will always be either *di-* or *da-* in conjugated forms. For more detailed information on the use of the D component and the +I/-I feature of classifiers, see Leer (1991:94-103).

2.4 Verb Stem Variation

Because Chapter 3 is dedicated to introducing the phenomenon of verb stem variation in detail, we will only touch on it briefly here in order to illustrate this element of the verb theme. Leer (1991) provides the first thorough analysis of verb stem variation, and Crippen (2013) makes the information much more accessible. The information presented here is based on these, and confirmed by the data on the CD. The stem is the final element of the verb theme. The stem of the verb *yasátk* 'he/she/it is fast' is *–sátk,* given in bold in the theme in (23).

(23)   *O-Ø-**sátk***
        'for O to be fast (at doing things)'

All verb stems are either variable or invariable. An invariable stem is one in which the tone and length of the vowel in the stem never change. For example, the stem of the verb *lidzée* 'it's difficult' is *–dzée*. This verb always has a long, high vowel *(ée)* in the stem, no matter the verb mode: *wulidzée* 'it was difficult', *kei guxladzée* 'it will be difficult', *tlél uldzée* 'it's not difficult', and so on. Invariable stems require no special

notation in the theme since they never change. Note however that there are some verbs with invariable stems that have irregular forms in one or two modes. These are illustrated in Chapter 15.

A variable stem is one in which the length and/or tone of the vowel in the stem changes with the verb mode. For example, note the changes in the stem vowel length and tone in the following forms: *aawaxáa* 'he/she/it ate it', *tlél awuxá* 'he/she/it didn't eat it', and *agaxaa* 'let him/her/it eat it'. The stem changes from –*xáa* to –*xá* to –*xaa*, depending on the mode. A variable stem is indicated in the theme by a tilde (~) following the stem. Note the tilde following the stem in the theme for *aawaxáa* in (24).

(24)   *O-S-Ø-xaa~*
          'for S to eat O'

Variable stems can have two variants or three variants. The capital letter 'V' will be used here to represent any vowel letter (a, e, i, o, u). 'V́' (with an accute accent mark over it) represents any vowel letter with a high tone. Two-variant stems have either of the following stem length and tone patterns: V́ (short high) or V́V (long high). Three-variant stems have any of the following stem length and tone patterns: V́ (short high), V́V (long high), or VV (long low). For two-variant stems, the form given in the theme is the long high form: V́V. For three-variant stems, the form given in the theme is the long low form: VV. This way, the user will know how many variants a stem has by looking at the form given in the theme.

Table 7. Verb Stem Variation

Two variant stems: V́	V́V (form given in theme)	
Three variant stems: V́	V́V	VV (form given in theme)

Here are some examples to clarify. For now, we'll just focus on the verb stem, which is given in bold in the examples. All of the prefixes and suffixes related to the different verb modes will be discussed in the ensuing chapters. The verb *aawasháat* 's/he caught it' has a two-variant stem. The stem is always either *–sháat* or *–shát*, depending on the mode. The stem has a long, high vowel in the perfective form: *aawa**sháat*** 's/he caught it' and in the future form: *kei akg̲wa**sháat*** 's/he will catch it', but a short high stem in the perfective habitual form: *aga**shát**ch* 's/he catches it (every time)' and in the prohibitive form: *Líl kei i**shát**jik̲!* 'Don't catch it!' Since this is a two-variant stem, the basic stem is considered the one with a long, high vowel, -*sháat* and is given as such in the theme, as illustrated in (25).

(25)   *O-S-Ø-sháat~*

   'for S to catch O; for S to grab, take hold of, snatch O; for S to arrest O; for S to trap O'

To summarize, the tilde following the stem indicates that the stem is variable. The long, high vowel in the stem tells the user that this is a two-variant stem, always being either long and high (-*sháat*) or short and high (-*shát*). This verb never has a long, low vowel in the stem.

An example of a verb with a three-variant stem is *has woo.**aat*** 'they walked'. This verb stem has a long, low vowel in the perfective form (just given), a long high vowel in the future form: *has gug̲a.**áat*** 'they will walk', and a short high vowel in the perfective habitual form: *has na.**át**ch* 'they walk (every time)'. The stem that is

considered the basic stem is the one with the long, low vowel, -*.aat*, and is given as such in the theme in Example (26):

(26)   *S-Ø-.aat~*

  'for (plural) S to walk, go (by walking or as a general term)'

By noting the long, low vowel in the stem followed by the tilde in the theme, the user knows that this is a three-variant stem.

As will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3, verb roots can be divided into two major categories based on whether they have a final consonant: open (ending in a vowel) and closed (ending in a consonant). Open roots can be further subdivided into two groups based on their behavior in modes that require a suffix. The two groups are abstractly represented as CVV and CVV^h. A superscript ^{h} is used at the end of the root in the verb theme to notate that the theme belongs to the CVV^h category. This ^{h} is not pronounced as such, but alerts the user to the fact that the verb belongs to this category of roots, and thus follows a certain pattern of stem variation, the details of which are described at length throughout the following relevant chapters of the dissertation. For now, consider (27) which illustrates a theme that belongs to this category.

(27)   *S-Ø-taa^h~*

  'for S to sleep'

Be aware that the superscript ^{h} notates a certain type of open root and be assured that the implications will be described in detail in Chapters 3, 7, and 11.

2.5 P- (postpositional object) Plus Postposition

One class of verbs in Tlingit, called "motion verbs" are defined, in part, by the fact that they require a postpositional phrase. A postpositional phrase consists of a postpositional object (usually a noun or pronoun) and a postposition, and generally conveys information pertaining to the location or direction of motion described by the verb. For example, let's look at the theme for the motion verb *át uwagút* 's/he arrived there' in (28).

(28)   *P-t~ S-Ø-goot~*

      'for S to arrive at P, go to P (by walking or as a general travel term)'

This verb cannot occur without a postpositional phrase such as *át* 'there'. The presence of the *P-t~* in the theme indicates that having a postpositional phrase is an absolutely necessary part of the verb. This particular postpositional phrase is comprised of two elements: a postpositional object (pronoun) *á-* 'it, there', plus a postposition *–t~* 'at, to'. In the verb theme, the postpositional object is always represented by capital *P*. The postposition in the theme is fixed, since the particular postposition one uses changes the meaning of the verb, and sometimes the conjugation prefix, which will be discussed in Section 2.9. The *P* can be replaced with any noun or pronoun that makes sense for the particular verb, but the postposition must match the one indicated in the theme to retain the basic meaning of the verb. Note that in the relevant verb paradigms on the CD, the *P* is always replaced by the indefinite pronoun *á* 'it, there' in the given verb forms. This *á* can be replaced with any desired noun. To illustrate, let's replace the *P* in the theme in (28) above with a few different nouns while retaining the postposition *–t* throughout. In Example (29) below, we have replaced the *P* with *hoon daakahídi* 'store', in (30), we have *du x̱án* 'by him/her', and in (31) we have *ḵaa x'aḵá* 'meeting', all with the postposition *–t*. The verb word *uwagút* 's/he arrived' remains constant throughout.

(29)　*hoon daakahídit uwagút*　　's/he arrived at the store'

(30)　*du x̱ánt uwagút*　　　　　's/he came to him/her'

(31)　*ḵaa x̱'akát uwagút*　　　　's/he arrived at the meeting'

Note the tilde following the postposition *–t~* in the theme in (28) above. As with its use with the variable verb stems, the tilde here represents variation. This particular postposition *–t~* 'at, to' has alternate forms that are used with different modes. The alternate forms are *–dé(i)* and *-x̱*. The form used in the perfective, imperative, and perfective habitual is *–t*; the form used in the future and progressive imperfective is *–dé(i)*; and the form used in the repetitive imperfective is *–x̱*, to name a few. These forms are illustrated in Table 8 below, all using the same verb theme.

Table 8. Variant Forms of the Postposition *–t~*

Post-position variant	Mode	Verb form	English
-t	perfective	*át uwagút*	's/he arrived there'
	imperative	*Át gú!*	'Go there!'
	perfective habitual	*át ugootch*	's/he goes there (every time)'
	hortative	*át g̱agoot*	'let him/her go there'
	potential decessive	*át g̱wagoodín*	's/he would've gone there'
	conditional	*át gútni*	'if/when s/he goes there'
-dé(i)	progressive imperfective	*aadé yaa nagút*	's/he is going there'
	future	*aadé ḵgwagóot*	's/he will go there'
-x̱	repetitive imperfective	*áx̱ goot*	's/he goes there (regularly)'

Most postpositions are invariable, and therefore are given in the theme without the tilde, as in the theme for the verb *át kala.át* 'they are lying there', given in (32) below. Note that this postposition *–t* is distinct from the one illustrated in Table 5 *(–t~)* in that it is not variable.

(32)   *P-t ka-l-.át*

      'for small objects to lie at P'

Another example of a postposition that is not variable is *–dáx* 'from', as in *aadáx woogoot* 's/he left there'. The theme for this verb is given in (33).

(33)   *P-dáx S-Ø-goot~*

      'for (singular) S to walk, go (by walking or as general term) away from P'

Using this verb, Examples (34-36) illustrate that the postposition *–dáx* 'away from' does not change with the mode:

(34)   *du hídidáx woogoot*   's/he left his/her house' (perfective)

(35)   *aasgutúdáx yaa nagút*   's/he is walking out of the woods' (progressive)

(36)   *sgoondáx yoo yagútk*   's/he leaves school (regularly)' (repetitive)

Table 9 below lists the postpositions. The table was reproduced from the list of postpositions given in Leer (1991:33-34). The left column gives the linguistic label, the middle column gives the spoken form, and the right column gives the meaning and use of the postposition. Note that, as discussed above, the variant forms of the punctual postposition *–t~* are dependent on verb mode. The variant forms of the others (locative, ablative, and comitative) are chosen based largely on the ending sound of the word on which the postposition attaches. For a full descrption of these alternations, see Leer (1991:34-35).

Table 9. Postpositions

Label	Form	Meaning / Use
Ergative	*-ch*	'because of'; 'by means of' (indicates agent of transitive verb with definite object)
Punctual	*-t*	with position themes '(resting) at'
	-t~ (-t/-de(i)/ -x̲)	with Ø conjugation themes '(coming) to, (arriving) at'
	-t	with *na* conjugation themes '(moving) about'
Pertingent	*-x̲*	'(in prolonged contact) at'; '(repeatedly arriving) at'; 'being, in the form of'
Locative	*-x'/-'/-Ø*	'at (the scene of)'; 'at (the time of)'
Vicinative	*-g̲aa*	'(distributed) in the area of, (going) after, (waiting) for'; 'about the time of'
Allative	*-de(i)*	'to, toward'; 'until'; (in lexicalized expressions) 'in the manner of'
Ablative	*-dáx̲/-- tx̲*	'from, out of'; 'since'
Perlative	*-náx̲*	'along, via'; 'including the time of'
Comitative	*-tin / - (ee)n*	'(along) with, by means of'; 'as soon as'
Locative Predicative	*-u*	'is/are at'

2.6 N (nominal object)

Some verbs must be accompanied by a noun phrase to give their complete meaning. An example is *du tuwóo sigóo* 's/he is happy'. The noun phrase here is *du tuwóo* 'his/her mind, feelings' and the verb is *sigóo* 'happy'. The verb is not complete without the noun phrase. The theme for this verb follows in (37):

(37)   *N toowú s-góo*
       'for N to be happy, glad'

I follow Leer (1991:39) here in using the term 'nominal object' to refer to the posessor of a possessed noun. The posessor is considered an object of the noun because of the similarity in form and function of verbal object pronominals (described in Section 2.2) and nominal object (possessive) pronominals. The *N* element in the theme represents the nominal object, which means that *N* is the possessor of the noun that follows. The possessed noun is always specified in the theme, as it provides part of the basic meaning of the theme. Together, the possessor *N* and the possessed noun form the noun phrase which is required by the verb theme. *N* will always be replaced by either a possessive pronoun, a person's name, or a noun in actual spoken forms, the options for replacing *N* being restricted only by the meaning of the verb. The possessive pronouns in Tlingit are given in Table 10. Note that in the orghography, posessive pronouns are written as separate words. As was mentioned for the subject and object prefixes, the third person plural marker is *has*, which occurs before the third person possessive pronoun *du*, as in *has du* 'their'.

Table 10. Possessive Pronouns

Person	Pronoun	English gloss
1.sg.	*ax̱*	'my'
1.pl.	*haa*	'our'
2.sg.	*i*	'your'
2.pl.	*yee*	'your (plural)'
3.sg. (human, neutral)	*du*	'his/her'
3.sg. (human, salient)	*ash*	'his/her'
3.sg. (recessive)	*a*	'his/her/its'
4. (human)	*ḵaa*	'someone's'
4. (non-human)	*at*	'something's'
Reflexive	*chush / sh*	'one's own'
Reciprocal	*woosh*	'each other's'
Partitive	*aa*	'some of its; one of its'

If we replace the *N* in (37) with actual possessive pronouns, we get the forms in
(38a-c):

(38a)   *ax̱ toowú sigóo*   'I'm happy'
(38b)   *yee toowú sigóo*   'you all are happy'
(38c)   *has du toowú sigóo*   'they are happy'

Here is another example of a verb that requires a noun phrase: *a yáx̱ yatee*
'he/she/it is like it', where *yáx̱* is a noun meaning 'similar to, like', and *a* is its
posessor meaning 'its', *a* replacing *N* in the theme in (39).

(39)   *N yáx̱ O-Ø-tee~*
        'for O to be like, similar to N'

Here, we can replace *N* with a pronoun, a person's name, or a noun. Examples are given in (40a-c).

(40a)   *du yá<u>x</u> yatee*   'he/she/it is like him/her'

(40b)   *John yá<u>x</u> yatee*   'he/she/it is like John'

(40c)   *keitl yá<u>x</u> yatee*   'he/she/it is like a dog'

As was described for the object prefixes in Section 2.2, the refexive and reciprocal possessive pronouns require the D component of the classifier. Compare (41b) and (41c) below, where (41b) uses the recessive pronoun *a-* and (41c) the reflexive pronoun *sh.* In (41b) the classifier is *la-* (which doesn't have the D component) and in (41c) the classifier is *l-* (which does have the D component). (Review Table 6 in Section 2.3 for the D component and classifiers). Example (41a) gives the theme for the verbs in (41b) and (41c). Example (41c) comes from Hotch (2005).

(41a)   *N ká<u>x</u> <u>x</u>'a-S-l-.aat~*   'for (plural) S to speak on behalf of N'

(41b)   ***a** ká<u>x</u> yoo <u>x</u>'atu**la**.átgi*   'that we speak for the benefit of it'

(41c)   ***sh** ká<u>x</u> yoo <u>x</u>'atoo**l**.átgi*   'that we speak for ourselves'

The choice between neutral, salient, and recessive third person possessive pronouns is based on the same factors as for the object prefixes, as described in Section 2.2.

Sometimes noun phrases with postpositions are required by a verb. An example is *du jeet aawatée* 's/he gave it to him/her', the theme illustrated in (42):

(42)   *N jee-t~ O-S-Ø-tee~*

   'for S to give, take, hand O (general, esp. abstract objects) to N'

Here we have a possessor *N* followed by the noun *jee-* 'hand' with the variable postposition *-t~* 'at, to'. The *N* can be replaced by a possessive pronoun or a person's name. See Examples (43a-c) below.

(43a) *Ax̱ jeet tí!*   'Give it to me!'

(43b) *Mary jeet aawatée*   's/he gave it to Mary'

(43c) *i jeedé k̲gwatée*   's/he will give it to you'

2.7 Adverbial Phrases

Some verb themes require an adverbial phrase; this is indicated by way of *(yéi)* to the left of the verb in the theme. The parentheses indicate that an adverbial phrase is required by the theme, but it does not necessarily have to be *yéi* 'thus, so'. *Yéi* is simply there as a placeholder to show that the verb requires an adverbial phrase. Here is an example: *yéi yatee* 'he/she/it is that way'. The theme for this verb is in (44).

(44)   *(yéi) O-Ø-tee~*

       'for O to be (that way)'

The definition of an adverbial phrase, for our purposes here, is any phrase that describes the time, location, number or manner of the verb. The options for replacing *yéi* in the theme above are relatively unlimited. (45a-c) are some examples, where *daax'oon* translates as 'four', *wáa sá* as 'how', and *adawóotl'* as 'trouble'.

(45a) *daax'oon yatee*   'there are four'

(45b) *Wáa sá iyatee?*   'How are you?'

(45c) *adawóotl' yatee*   's/he is in trouble, having a hard time'

Verbs such as this one rely on the adverbial phrase to provide the full meaning of the phrase. *Yatee* by itself just means 'is', and requires the adverb to convey the rest of the meaning. Another example of such a verb is *yéi yaawakaa* 's/he said that', the theme for this verb given in (46) below. Here, *yéi* can be replaced with an adverb such as *wáa sá* 'what' as in *wáa sá yaawakaa?* 'what did s/he say?'. The important thing to remember is that when a verb theme contains *(yéi)*, it means that an adverb must accompany that verb, and that *yéi* can be replaced by a different adverb, depending on the desired meaning. For verb themes with *yéi* (no parentheses), the *yéi* is always required and cannot be replaced. An example is the theme given in (47) below, where the *yéi* in *yéi jiné* 's/he works; s/he is working' is part of the verb phrase and cannot be replaced with anything else. Note the lack of parentheses in this theme.

(46)   *(yéi) ya-S-Ø-kaa~*
        'for S to say (a certain thing)'

(47)   *yéi ji-S-Ø-nei~*
        'for S to work; for S to do'

2.8 Thematic Prefixes

Some verb themes contain prefixes other than subject, object, and classifier, etc. These prefixes are called "thematic" because they are a basic element of the verb theme. The most common thematic prefixes are *ka-* 'surface'; *ya-* 'face'; *ji-* 'hand'; *tu-* 'inside, mind'; *x'a-* 'mouth'; and *ku-* 'weather'. The thematic prefixes preceed the subject prefix *S* and follow the object prefix *O*. While it is sometimes clear how the thematic prefixes relate semantically to the verb theme to which they belong, this is not always the case. An example is the verb *yéi jiné* 's/he is working'. The theme is given in (48). Here it is clear that the meaning of the theme 'work' relates to the thematic prefix *ji-* 'hand'.

(48)   *yéi ji-S-Ø-nei~*

      'for S to work; for S to do'

An example of a theme containing a thematic prefix that is not so clearly related to the meaning of the verb is that of the verb *akawlineek* 's/he told the story of it', which contains the *ka-* 'surface' prefix, given in (49):

(49)   *O-ka-S-l-neek*

      'for S to tell the story of O; for S to talk into O'

The thematic prefix *ku-* is used with verbs that describe the weather. Here is an example: *kuyak'éi* 'the weather is good'. Note that this form is just like *yak'éi* 'he/she/it is good', plus the thematic prefix *ku-* which refers specifically to the weather. The theme for this verb is given in (50).

(50)   *ku-Ø-k'ei~*

      'for the weather to be good'

For some themes, the third person object prefix *a-* is lexically specified. For these themes, the *a-* does not refer to any participant and cannot be interchanged with another object prefix. The *a-* in such themes is thus considered a thematic prefix. Examples are *al'eix* 's/he is dancing', *al'oon* 's/he is hunting', and *ast'eix* 's/he is trolling'. The themes for these verbs are given in (51-53) below. Note that these are intransitive verbs, having only *S* in the theme, and no *O*.

(51)   *a-S-Ø-l'eix*

      'for S to dance'

(52) *a-S-Ø-l'óon*
      'for S to hunt'

(53) *a-S-d-s-t'eix̱*
      'for S to fish with hooks, catch on a hook, troll'

To distinguish between the thematic use of *a-* and its use as a third person object prefix for a given theme, it is necessary to see whether the *a-* is present with a subject other than third person. For example, given the verb *al'eix̱* 's/he is dancing', we can't be sure whether the *a-* is thematic, or an object prefix, since the subject is third person, and the presence of a third person object prefix *a-* would be possible (potentially referring to 'it' (as in a type of dance, for example)). However, given the first person form *ax̱al'eix̱* 'I am dancing', we see that the *a-* is still present and therefore is a thematic prefix and not an object prefix. (Remember from Section 2.2 that the third person object prefix is unmarked unless the subject is also third person).

Compare the intransitive theme in Example (52) above with the transitive theme in (54) below. In this pair of themes, the intransitive one requires the thematic prefix *a-* and the transitive counterpart requires an object, which means that the third person forms for these two themes will be the same: *al'óon* 's/he is hunting' (intransitive) and *al'óon* 's/he is hunting it' (transitive). The distinction is there however, for subjects other than third person. Compare *ax̱al'óon* 'I am hunting' (intransitive) to *x̱al'óon* 'I am hunting it' (transitive).

(54) *O-S-Ø-l'óon*
      'for S to hunt O'

2.9 Conjugation Prefixes

All verbs except motion verbs belong to precisely one of four conjugation categories.
These categories are defined by a representative conjugation prefix (*Ø-, na-, ga-,* or
ga-) which surfaces in certain modes, and by patterns of verb stem variation. In
other words, verbs belonging to the same conjugation category will use the same
conjugation prefix, and will follow the same patterns of verb stem variation (first
described by Boas (1917) and elaborated upon by ensuing scholars including Story
& Naish (1966, 1973) and Leer (1991)). (Motion verbs can use all four conjugation
prefixes and are described in further detail in Section 2.10). Knowing the
conjugation prefix associated with a given verb is critical for conjugating the verb
(altering its form according to the grammatical rules) for certain modes. For
example, the conjugation prefix surfaces in the imperative (command) form, but not
in the imperfective. Consider the verb *al'eix̱* 's/he is dancing', which uses the *na-*
conjugation prefix, as seen in the imperative form in (55):

(55)   *Anal'eix̱!*   'Dance!'

The imperative form of a verb reveals which conjugation prefix the verb uses.
Compare (55) above to (56), which gives the imperative of the verb *yak'éi* 'he/she/it
is good', which belongs to the *ga* conjugation category:

(56)   *Igak'éi!*   'Be good!'

Other verb forms requiring the conjugation prefix are the hortative ('let'), perfective
habitual ('every time'), potential ('might'), and conditional ('if/when'). To
summarize, it is impossible to conjugate a verb for these forms without knowing
which conjugation category it belongs to. In the verb theme, the conjugation prefix is
given in parentheses directly after the stem (as is the verb type, which will be
discussed in Section 2.10). Note that the information in parentheses has been

omitted up until this point for the sake of simplicity. The complete theme for the verbs mentioned above *al'eix̱* 's/he is dancing' and *yak'éi* 'he/she/it is good' are given in (57) and (58) below:

(57)   *a-S-Ø-l'eix̱~ (na act)*
        'for S to dance'

(58)   *O-Ø-k'éi (ga state)*
        'for O to be good, fine, pretty'

For some verbs, because they only occur in certain modes which don't require the conjugation prefix, it is impossible (and irrelevant) to know which conjugation prefix the verb takes. In these cases, we leave that information out of the theme. An example is *át la.át* 'they're lying there'. The theme for this verb is given in (59):

(59)   P-t l-.át (position)
        'for several things to lie at P; for several persons or animals to lie dead, unconscious, or incapacitated at P'

Because this verb only occurs in the imperfective form, and the conjugation prefix is not required in the imperfective form, we don't need to know what conjugation prefix it takes. Therefore, the verb theme simply gives the verb type in parentheses, omitting the conjugation prefix. For a more detailed description of the conjugation prefixes, see the appendix of Story & Naish (1973).

2.10 Verb Theme Types

There are four main types of verb themes: active, stative, eventive, and motion. The type of each is given in the theme in parentheses following the conjugation prefix, using the abbreviations *act, state, event,* and *motion*. Each type is unique in its

argument and postposition requirements, as well as bearing a slightly different paradigm. These unique qualities of each type play a crucial role in the verb paradigm, and a description of each, along with concrete examples, will serve to help readers understand the layout and content of the verb paradigms on the CD.

Active and stative verb themes have basic imperfective forms while eventive and motion themes do not. A "basic" imperfective form is defined semantically as one which indicates a present or incomplete situation and formally as one which lacks any morphology (prefixes, suffixes) beyond that basic to the verb theme. Eventive and motion themes use progressive imperfective or repetitive imperfective forms to indicate a present continuous action. Stative themes use the +I form of the classifier in the basic imperfective form, but active themes, with a few minor exceptions, do not. For example, consider the stative verb *lidzée* 'it is difficult', whose imperfective form uses the +I classifier *li-,* as compared to the active verb *aklas'úk* 's/he's frying it', which uses the –I form of the classifier *la-* in the imperfective. Motion themes require a word or phrase that specifies the direction of motion (either an adverb or a postpositional phrase) while no other verb theme types do. Table 11 outlines these differences. Note that "N/A" indicates that the column is not applicable to the associated verb theme type.

Table 11. Verb Theme Types

Do verb themes of this type...	have a basic imperfective form?	use the +I form of the classifier in the basic imperfective form?	require a word or phrase that specifies direction of motion?
active	yes	no	no
stative	yes	yes	no
eventive	no	N/A	no
motion	no	N/A	yes

Of these four verb theme types, motion verbs require the most extensive explanation. As was stated earlier, each verb belongs to one of four conjugation categories: *na, ga, ga, or Ø* (unmarked). Motion verbs can in fact belong to all four. The conjugation category of a motion verb is determined by the direction word or phrase that accompanies it. "Direction words" consist of adverbs such as *kei* 'up', *yei* 'down', and *daak* 'out to sea; out into the open', and postpositional phrases such as *aadé* 'toward there', *aadáx* 'from there', and *a tóonáx* 'through it'. Each of these direction words/phrases, no matter which motion verb it accompanies, belongs to one of the four conjugation categories. Therefore, it is the direction word/phrase and not the verb itself that determines the conjugation category of a motion verb theme.

To illustrate this point, consider the postposition *–dáx* 'from'. This belongs to the *na* conjugation category. Any motion verb theme accompanied by the postposition *–dáx* then, will take the *na-* conjugation prefix. Three examples, all given in the imperative form to show the conjugation prefix, are *Aadáx nagú!* 'Leave there!', *Aadáx naxóot'!* 'Drag it out of there!', and *Aadáx nakoox!* 'Drive away from there!', their themes given in (60), (61), and (62) respectively.

(60)   *P-dáx̱ S- Ø-goot~ (na motion)*

'for (singular) S to walk, go (by walking or as a general travel term) away from P'

(61)   *P-dáx̱ O-S- Ø-x̱óot'~ (na motion)*

'for S to drag, pull O (esp. person) away from P'

(62)   *P-dáx̱ S- Ø-ḵoox̱~ (na motion)*

'for S to travel, go away from P (in a boat, car)'

For comparison, let's consider the (variable) postposition *–t~* '(arriving) at, to', which belongs to the *Ø* conjugation category. Here are three examples using the same verb stems as above, but with the *–t~* postposition, all given in the imperative form: *Át gú!* 'Walk to it!', *Át x̱út'!* 'Drag it to it!', and *Át ḵúx̱!* 'Drive to it!' Note that the verb stem length and tone change depending on the conjugation category. The themes for these verbs are given in (63), (64), and (65) respectively.

(63)   *P-t S- Ø-goot~ (Ø motion)*

'for (singular) S to arrive at P, go to P (by walking or as a general travel term)'

(64)   *P-t~ O-S- Ø-x̱óot' (Ø motion)*

'for S to drag, pull O (esp. person) to P'

(65)   *P-t~ S- Ø-ḵoox̱~ (Ø motion)*

'for S to travel, go to P (by boat, car)'

The next set of examples serve to contrast between the variable postposition *–t~* (which belongs to the *Ø* conjugation category) and the invariable postposition *–t*,

which belongs to the *na* conjugation category and means 'around, about'. Examples (66-68) use the same verb stems as above: *Át nagú!* 'Walk around!', *Át nax̱óot'!* 'Drag it around!', and *Át nakoox̱!* 'Drive around!' The themes for these verbs are given in (66), (67), and (68) respectively.

(66) *P-t S- Ø-goot~ (na motion)*
      'for (singular) S to walk, go (by walking or as a general travel term) around at P'

(67) *P-t O-S- Ø-x̱óot'~ (na motion)*
      'for S to drag, pull O (esp. person) around at P'

(68) *P-t S- Ø-koox̱~ (na motion)*
      'for S to travel, go around at P (in a boat, car)'

Within each of the four conjugation categories, these direction words and phrases can be further grouped according to prefixes that may be required on the verb theme as well as the type of repetitive imperfective form that a verb using that particular group of direction words takes. Leer (1991) uses the term "derivational string" to describe these direction word plus conjugation prefix plus any other required verbal prefix combinations, and there are roughly sixty derivational strings which fall into nine groups (six groups within the *Ø* conjugation category, and one each in the *na*, *ga*, and *ga̱* categories). These groups of derivational strings appear in Leer (1991:295-297) and in the appendix of Edwards (2009a). On the CD attached to this dissertation motion verbs are followed by a roman numeral in the English gloss and this numeral corresponds to the group of derivational strings to which the theme belongs. At the top of each motion verb entry, in the section labeled "alternate adverbial phrases", the complete list of direction words/phrases belonging to the group is given. For example, the top portion of the entry 'go on foot

(singular subject) I' is reproduced in Table 12 below. Note that the 'I' indicates that this theme belongs to Group I, and can be cross-referenced with the appendix of Edwards (2009a).

Table 12. Sample Motion Verb Entry

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go on foot (singular subject) I

Theme: kei S-ø-goot~ (ø motion)
for (singular) S to walk, go up (by walking or as general term)

Naish-Story: ya-goot

Alternate Adverbial Phrases

kei	moving up
ux kei	moving out of control, blindly, amiss; going the wrong way
N x'éi kei	catching up with N
yei	getting out of a canoe, boat, vehicle
yeek / yeik / eeñ	moving down; moving toward beach, shore
héeni yeek	moving down into the water
daak	moving up from beach, back away from open, inland
kwáakx daak	doing by mistake, erroneously
daak	moving out to sea, into open, onto fire
kux / kúxdei	returning, going/coming back
P-x' kux	returning to P

Group I consists of eleven different direction words and phrases. The defining characteristics of Group I are that: 1) they belong to the $\emptyset$ conjugation category, and 2) verbs accompanied by any of these nine direction words will have a *–ch* suffix in the repetitive imperfective form. Group I direction words have in common the general meaning of motion toward an area (Leer, 1991). Verb stem tone and length vary from group to group, but are always consistent within a group for a given mode and for a given verb. For example, if we know that the verb stem *–goot* 'to walk' has a short, high vowel in the perfective form when accompanied by *kei* as in *kei uwagút* 's/he walked up', then we know that the perfective form for that verb will also have

a short, high stem when accompanied by any other direction word from Group I, such as in *daak uwagút* 's/he walked up from the beach' and *kux uwagút* 's/he walked back'. Let's consider the repetitive forms for Group I. If we know that *kei gútch* is the correct way to say 's/he walks up (regularly),' we know that *daak gútch* is the correct form for 's/he walks up the beach (regularly)' and *kux gútch* is the way to say 's/he returns (regularly).' So, given a complete motion verb paradigm using a direction word from a particular group, we can confidently replace that direction word with any other direction word from that same group and know that the verb paradigm will remain the same. This information is extremely helpful, since if a language learner has access to a verb with a direction word from a particular group, the learner can simply replace that direction word with another from the same group to change the meaning to the desired direction, without changing other parts of the verb. While there is a wide variety of possible motion verb plus direction word combinations, four common verb stems have been systematically included in the data on the CD using at least one direction word from each of the nine groups. These verb stems are *-goot* 'for a singular subject to go by foot'; *-.aat* 'for plural subjects to go by foot'; *-koox* 'to go by motor vehicle'; and *–taan* 'to carry, take a container or hollow object'. Looking up these entries will help shed light on the system of motion verbs. There is, of course, much more to say about motion verbs, but this should provide enough of a foundation to reference the verb paradigms on the CD included with this dissertation and understand the basic structure of motion verbs.

In addition to the four verb theme types just illustrated, there is one minor type yet to be discussed, and that is position verb themes. Position verb themes describe the physical position of a person or object, only occur in the imperfective form, and tend to require the postposition *–t*, although not all do. Note that this is a third postposition *–t*, distinct from the two others previously described, and used only with position themes, meaning '(resting) at'. An example of a position verb is *át tán*

('it is lying there'). In this case, the postpositional phrase is required and the theme is as given in (69):

(69) *P-t Ø-tán (position)*
       'for a container or hollow object to lie at P'

Another example of a position verb is *.áa* 's/he is sitting'. To say 's/he is sitting there,' the postposition *–t* 'at' is used, as in *át .áa*. The postpositional phrase *át* 'there' is not required however, and the conjugation prefix is unknown so the theme is simply as given in (70):

(70) *S-Ø-.aa~ (position)*
       'for (singlular) S to sit, be seated'

2.11 Review of the Verb Theme

Table 13 provides a review of the elements of a Tlingit verb theme. Some themes require a noun phrase, consisting of a nominal object (represented by *N* in the theme) and a posessed noun. The *N* in the theme can be replaced by a possessive pronoun, a personal name, or a noun, and serves as the possessor of the noun it precedes. The posessed noun is always specified in the theme, as it provides part of the core meaning of the verb theme.

Some themes require a postpositional phrase, consisting of a noun or pronoun plus postposition. The interchangeable part (noun or pronoun) is represented by *P* in the theme and serves as the base to which the postposition attaches. The postposition is always specified in the theme and is not interchangeable without changing the basic meaning of the theme. If the postposition is followed by a tilde, this indicates that the postposition is variable, dependent on the verb mode.

Some themes require an adverbial phrase, which provides the time, location, number, or manner of the verb. If the adverbial phrase is given in parentheses, then it is interchangeable with any other adverb that gives the desired meaning. If the adverbial phrase is given without parentheses, then it is not interchangeable, but is part of the theme as specified.

Any required noun phrase, postpositional phrase, or adverbial phrase required by a theme is given to the left of the verb word in the theme. In Table 13 below elements represented in uppercase letters are those which are substituted for actual words/phrases/prefixes when creating a spoken form of the verb. Elements given in lowercase are specified in the theme and are not interchangeable. The exception here is the adverbial phrase which is given both in parentheses (interchangeable) and without (not interchangeable) to more closely represent what is found in an actual theme.

The required elements of the verb word are given with hyphens between each part, and can include object (indicated in a theme as *O*), thematic prefix(es) (such as *ka-, ya-, x'a-*, *tu-*.), subject (given in a theme as *S*), classifier, and verb stem. The verb theme's conjugation prefix (cp in Table 13) and type are given in parentheses following the verb word. The conjugation prefix will be *na-, ga-, ga-*, or *Ø-*. The verb type will be act, state, event, motion, or position.

Table 13. Elements of a Verb Theme

N + possessed noun		
P-postposition	O-thematic prefix-S-classifier-stem	(cp, type)
(adverbial phrase) *or*		
adverbial phrase		