

Matrix Clauses Bearing Morphological Markers of Subordination in Tlingit

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General Phenomenon:

Across a variety of textual types and dialects, one occasionally finds in Tlingit texts clauses with the following puzzling combination of characteristics:

- (a) The main predicate of the clause bears morphology otherwise indicative of embedded clauses.
- (b) Contrary to its morphological marking, the clause does not appear to be embedded in any larger clause. That is, by external syntactic criteria, these appear to be matrix (main) clauses.
- (c) Consonant with property (b), these clauses are translated into English as finite matrix clauses by the linguists who originally recorded the texts (and thus, given the specific history of Tlingit documentation, by native or near-native speakers of the language, and in some cases by the original narrators of the text).
- (d) Consonant with properties (b) and (c), direct translation of these clauses into English as finite (or non-finite) subordinate clauses does not result in a felicitous structure of English. Such direct translations are either simply ungrammatical or pragmatically very 'odd' (in English).

(1) **Some Illustrative Examples of the Phenomenon in Question**¹

- a. Tlél too awunoogú áwé tle.
not inside felt.SUB foc-part then
He didn't even feel [the sea].
(Lit. 'That he didn't even feel it.')Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 112; line 69
- b. Hé! Ch'u yeikáa núkt axa yé.
Excl. just everyone grouse eat.REL way
Everybody was eating grouse.
(Lit. 'The way that everyone was eating grouse.')Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 70; line 593
- c. Ach áwé du tláax wusiteeyi aa.
it.because foc.part her mother became.REL one
This is how she became her mother.
(Lit 'Because of it, one who became her mother.')Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 178; line 56

¹ Section 5 of these notes provides the full corpus of examples that I have been able to extract from my collection of Tlingit texts. In that section, I provide for each example the lines immediately preceding and following it, to substantiate the claim that it is not syntactically embedded in either.

Unless indicated otherwise, the free translation provided for the example sentences are the original translations given in the textual sources.

Outline of the Following Notes:

- (a) Relevant background on the morpho-syntax of subordination in Tlingit
- (b) Categorization of the general phenomenon into three structural subtypes:
 - (i) Bare subordinate clauses
 - (ii) Relative clauses modifying the light noun *yé* ‘way, manner, place’
 - (iii) Relative clauses modifying another light noun (e.g. *át* ‘thing’, *aa* ‘one’)
- (c) Categorization of the general phenomenon into four semantic subtypes:
 - (i) Exclamatives
 - (ii) Rhetorical Questions
 - (iii) Sentences describing results (or causes)
 - (iv) Sentences with no distinctive meaning.
- (c) Potentially related phenomena:
 - (i) Absolutive Constructions
 - (ii) The ‘*No way X is possible*’ Construction
- (d) Corpus of Collected Examples

1. Morpho-syntactic Preliminaries

Embedded clauses in Tlingit fall into two morphological types, traditionally called ‘attributive clauses’ and ‘subordinate clauses’. Attributive clauses are all and only relative clauses (whether or not they modify an overt head); for this reason, we may simply refer to them as ‘relative clauses’. All remaining embedded clauses fall into the ‘subordinate clause’ type.

These two types of embedded clauses are morphologically distinct from one another and from matrix clauses. Some of these morphological distinctions are general, and hold across modes. Others are associated specifically with the ‘decessive mode’. The following chart summarizes the differences.

(2) Morphological Properties of Embedded vs. Main Clauses in Tlingit

(a) Contrasts Holding Across Modes

Main Clause	Relative Clause	Subordinate Clause
<u>x</u> wasiteen <i>I saw it</i>	<u>x</u> wasiteeni <i>which I saw</i>	<u>x</u> wasateen(i) <i>that I saw it</i>
verb takes an ‘I-series’ classifier in the modes that require it (e.g. perfective)	verb takes an ‘I-series’ classifier in the modes that require it, <i>as well as in the negative</i>	verb <i>never</i> takes an ‘I-series’ classifier
verb is unsuffixed	verb appears with the suffix <i>-i</i> (invariable low tone) whenever it also bears an ‘I-series’ classifier	verb can optionally take suffix <i>-i</i> (variable tone) in any mode

(b) Contrasts Reflected in the Decessive Mode Specifically

Main Clause	Relative Clause	Subordinate Clause
<u>X</u> wasakóowun <i>I used to know it</i>	<u>x</u> wasakóowu <i>which I used to know</i>	<u>x</u> wasakóowu yeeyí <i>that I used to know it</i>
decessive mode marked by suffix <i>-in</i> (variable tone)	decessive mode marked by suffix <i>-i</i> (variable tone)	decessive mode marked by post-verbal particle <i>yeeyí</i>

2. Matrix Clauses Bearing the Morphology of Embedded Clauses: Structural Types

Textual data indicate that Tlingit speakers occasionally use as ‘stand alone’ utterances clauses exhibiting the morphological characteristics of either ‘relative clauses’ or ‘subordinate clauses’.

Furthermore, when we examine the full range of this general construction type, we find that it may be further divided into three (possibly distinct) constructions. These are as follows:

(3) The Structural Sub-Types of ‘Matrix Embedded Clauses’

- a. Clauses bearing morphology indicative of the ‘subordinate clause’ type (cf. (1a))

Ach áwé wé dziyáak tlél yan kaysheeyí.
it.because foc.part that earlier not you.finish.singing.SUB
This is the reason a while ago you didn't finish your song.
(Lit. 'Because of this, that you didn't finish singing.')

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 216; 39 - 45

- b. Relative clauses modifying the light noun *ye* ‘way, manner, place’ (cf. (1b))

Ch'u shóogu áx wulixáat'i yé áwé.
just same there.at stuck.REL place foc.part
He stuck to the spot right there.
(Lit. 'The way that he stuck to the spot right there.')

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 110; line 22

- c. Relative clauses modifying another light noun (e.g. *át* 'thing', *aa* 'one') (cf. (1c))

Aax yá gaaw yá aan xat kawdudlixetli át.
then.from this time this it.with I.have.been.blessed.REL thing
From that time to this, I have been blessed with this weaving.
(Lit. 'From then until now, a thing that I have been blessed with.')

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 198; lines 48 - 49

The following sections describe each of these constructions in more detail.

(6) **Example of 'Subordinate-Marked' Main Clause**

Ch'a uwayáa yáadei yeeteeyi yáx áwé wootee.
It was as if you put your mourning aside for us.

Ach áwé wé dziyáak tlél yan kaysheeyí.

A-ch áwé wé dziyáak tlél yan **ka-wu-yi-Ø-shee-yí.**
it-INST foc-part that earlier not finish thm-PERF-2plS-[non-I-classifier]-sing-SUB
This is the reason a while ago you didn't finish your song.
(Lit. 'Because of this, that you didn't finish singing earlier'.)

Aaa, haa tuwáa sigóo ha yá at shí ch'a wtoosheeyí
Yes, we would like to sing this song.
Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 216; lines 39 - 45

In both the examples above, the main verb of the second sentence (highlighted in the morpheme-by-morpheme gloss) has the following core properties:

- (a) It is suffixed by the (variable toned) subordinate suffix *-í*
- (b) It does not take an I-series classifier ²

For these reasons, we may say that these verbs bear the morphology indicative of subordinate verbs. Interestingly, this is despite the fact that the sentences they head are not structurally embedded in either the preceding or the following clause.

Section 5 lists all the examples of this structural sub-type that I have been able to extract from my Tlingit texts. As in (5) and (6) above, each example is paired with the immediately preceding and following lines of texts, to substantiate the claim that it is not actually syntactically subordinated.

In the remainder of this sub-section, I list some further key properties of this construction.

(7) **Frequency**

Of the **38** total examples of the three structural sub-types, **16** were of this type.

(8) **Meaning**

Among the 16 examples of this construction, there does not appear to be any shared semantic feature. Each of the four semantic sub-types (see Section 3) is represented.

Three of the examples are **exclamatives**.

Three of the examples are **rhetorical questions**.

Two of the examples describe **results or causes**.

The remaining **eight** have no distinctive semantic feature.

² This property is relevant only for the sentence under (5), which would be otherwise expected to surface with an I-series classifier (due to the presence of the perfective). Because of the presence of negation, the sentence under (6) would independently not be expected to appear with an I-series classifier.

(9) **Dialect Distribution**

This structural sub-type is exhibited in each of the three regional Tlingit dialects represented in the textual corpus (Interior, Greater Northern, Tongass).³

12 examples come from speakers of **Greater Northern Tlingit**.

2 examples come from speakers of **Interior Tlingit**.

2 examples come from speakers of **Tongass Tlingit**.

The fact that the majority of examples are from Greater Northern Tlingit is likely due simply to the fact that the majority of texts are in that dialect.

(10) **Distribution Across Genres**

This structural sub-type is exhibited in each of the four narrative genres represented in the textual corpus (Ancient Narrative, History, Personal History, Formal Oratory).

7 examples are found in **Ancient Narrative** (*Tláagu*)

2 examples are found in **History**

1 examples are found in **Personal History**

6 examples are found in **Formal Oratory**

The fact that the majority of examples are from Ancient Narrative or Formal Oratory is likely due simply to the fact that the majority of texts are from these two genres.

2.2 **Relative Clauses Modifying the Light Noun *Yé* 'Way, Manner, Place'**

To reiterate, we find in Tlingit texts clauses with the following properties:

(11) **Characterization of the Phenomenon**

- (a) The main predicate of the clause bears morphology otherwise indicative of relative clauses, and modifies the light noun *yé* 'way, manner, place'.
- (b) Contrary to its morphological marking, the clause does not appear to be embedded in any larger clause. That is, by external syntactic criteria, these appear to be matrix (main) clauses.
- (c) Consonant with property (b), these clauses are translated into English as finite matrix clauses by the linguists who originally recorded the texts.
- (d) Consonant with properties (b) and (c), translation of these clauses into English as complex NPs headed by *way* does not result in a felicitous structure of English.

³ I do not at present have texts exemplifying the other three dialects of Tlingit: Far Northern Tlingit, Transitional Southern Tlingit, and Sanya-Henya Southern Tlingit. However, it should be noted that my study here *does* include texts of Tongass Tlingit, the southernmost and most historically conservative dialect of the language. The presence of these structures both in Tongass Tlingit and in the more northerly Interior and Greater Northern dialects makes it probable that they are also features of the other three dialects as well.

The following is a morpheme-by-morpheme analysis of the two examples we have seen thus far of this construction (i.e. (1b) and (3b)). These examples are also paired here with their original textual context, so that claim (11b) above may be substantiated.

(12) **Example of 'Way / How' Main Clause**

Tle haa uwatsin.
That was good nourishment for us.

Hé! Ch'u yeikáa núkt a_xa yé.
 Hé! Ch'u yeikáa núkt a_xa yé.
 excl. just everyone grouse 3O-eat way
Everybody was eating grouse.
 (Lit. 'My! The way that everyone was eating grouse.')

Tle wé aax kuwdi.oowu aa áwé tle has akaawachák.
The leftover ones they packed away.
 Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 70; lines 592 - 594

(13) **Example of 'Way / How' Main Clause**

E! Kei wjik'én.
My! He leaped to the shore.

Ch'u shóogu á_x wulixáat'i yé áwé.
 Ch'u shóogu á_x wu-li-xáat'-i yé áwé.
 just same there-AT PERF-[I-series-classifier]-stick-REL way foc.part
He stuck to the spot right there.
 (Lit. 'The way that he stuck to the spot right there.')

Héendei guxshax'éeł' yóo áwé duwajée.
They thought he would slip into the sea.
 Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 110; lines 21 – 23

In both the examples above, the main verb of the second sentence (highlighted in the morpheme-by-morpheme gloss) has the following core properties:

- (a) Verb appears to modify the light noun *yé* 'way, manner, place'
- (a) Verb takes an I-series classifier (in the modes that require it)⁴
- (b) It bears the (low-toned) relative-clause suffix *-i* (if it also has an I-series classifier)

For these reasons, we may say that these verbs bear the morphology indicative of relative clauses, and that they seem to modify the light noun *yé* 'way, manner, place'.

Section 5 lists all the examples of this structural sub-type that I have been able to extract from my Tlingit texts. As in (12) and (13) above, each example is paired with the immediately

⁴ This property is relevant only for the sentence under (13), which would be expected to surface with an I-series classifier (due to the presence of the perfective). Because the verb in (12) appears in the imperfective mode, the only evidence of its exemplifying this construction is its modification of *yé*.

preceding and following lines of texts, to substantiate the claim that it is not actually syntactically subordinated.

In the remainder of this sub-section, I list some further key properties of this construction.

(14) **Frequency**

Of the **38** total examples of the three structural sub-types, **19** were of this type.

(15) **Meaning**

Among the 16 examples of this construction, there does not appear to be any shared semantic feature. Three of the four semantic sub-types (see Section 3) are represented.

Eight of the examples are **exclamatives**.

One of the examples is a **rhetorical question**.

None of the examples describe **results or causes**.

The remaining **ten** have no distinctive semantic feature.

It does appear that there is a tendency for these structures to be interpreted as exclamatives, perhaps due to the lexical semantics of *yé* 'way, manner'.

(16) **Dialect Distribution**

This structural sub-type is exhibited in each of the three regional Tlingit dialects represented in the textual corpus (Interior, Greater Northern, Tongass).

15 examples come from speakers of **Greater Northern Tlingit**.

3 examples come from speakers of **Interior Tlingit**.

1 example comes from speakers of **Tongass Tlingit**.

The fact that the majority of examples are from Greater Northern Tlingit is likely due simply to the fact that the majority of texts are in that dialect.

(17) **Distribution Across Genres**

This structural sub-type is exhibited in each of the four narrative genres represented in the textual corpus (Ancient Narrative, History, Personal History, Formal Oratory).

5 examples are found in **Ancient Narrative** (*Tláagu*)

8 examples are found in **History**

1 examples are found in **Personal History**

5 examples are found in **Formal Oratory**

2.2.1 A Phenomenon that Might be Related

In many of the examples of this construction, the light noun *yé* 'way, manner, place' is not translated by the original authors, and seems not to contribute to the meaning of the sentence in context.

A similar state-of-affairs is found in sentences where *yé* seems to function as a vacuous clausal subordinator, and is similarly not translated by the original authors. Two examples of such sentences from my textual corpus appear below.

(18) **Light Noun *Yé* Functioning as Vacuous Subordinator**

Yak'ei wé ax sáni aadéi du saayí ijeet aawatiyi yé
 it.is.good that my uncle it.towards his name to.you bought.REL way.
It's good that my uncle gave his name to you.
 (Lit. 'It is good, the way that my uncle gave you his name.')

Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 24; line 305

(19) **Light Noun *Yé* Functioning as Vacuous Subordinator**

Ch'a áx' gaaxtusiteeni yé yáx kunaaliyi yé áwé,
 just there one.can.see.it.REL place he.was.near.REL place foc-part,
 haa een aawach'íx' wé sít'.
 us.with he.indicated that glacier

When he had gotten close enough for us to see, he pointed at the glacier.
 (Lit. 'The place where he was near to the place where one could see it, he pointed at the glacier.')

Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 44; line 38.

From a typological perspective, it would not be surprising if Tlingit were in the process of grammaticalizing the noun *yé* 'way, manner' as a clausal subordinator (cf. *how* in English). If this were the case, then perhaps the structure described in this section could be collapsed with the 'matrix subordinates' from Section 2.1.

On the other hand, there are also the other 'light N' structures described in the following sub-section.

2.3 Relative Clauses Modifying Another Light Noun

To reiterate, we find in Tlingit texts clauses with the following properties:

(20) **Characterization of the Phenomenon**

- (a) The main predicate of the clause bears morphology otherwise indicative of relative clauses, and modifies a light noun (e.g. *át* 'thing', *aa* 'one').
- (b) Contrary to its morphological marking, the clause does not appear to be embedded in any larger clause. That is, by external syntactic criteria, these appear to be matrix (main) clauses.
- (c) Consonant with property (b), these clauses are translated into English as finite matrix clauses by the linguists who originally recorded the texts.
- (d) Consonant with properties (b) and (c), translation of these clauses into English as complex NPs does not result in a felicitous structure of English.

The following is a morpheme-by-morpheme analysis of the two examples we have seen thus far of this construction (i.e. (1c) and (3c)). These examples are also paired here with their original textual context, so that claim (20b) above may be substantiated.

(21) **Example of Light Noun Construction**

Du tláa eetéex ayawsikáa "atléi."
In place of her mother, she called her "mother".

Ach áwé du tláax wusiteeyi aa.

A-ch áwé du tláa-x wu-si-tee-yi aa.
 it-INST foc.part her mother PERF-[I-series-classifier]-be-REL one

This is how she became her mother.

(Lit 'Because of it, one who became her mother.')

Du éesh yádix xat sateeyéech, xát tsú tle ax yát x'awdliyoó, "ax éek'."

Because I became the child of her father, she also adopted me, calling me "my brother."

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 178; lines 54 - 59

(22) **Example of Light Noun Construction**

Wednesday ka Sunday, yaa xat jigatánch cháchdei.
Wednesday and Sunday, she would take me by the hand to church.

Aax yá gaaw, yá aan xat kawdudlixetli át.

Aa-x yá gaaw
 then-from this time

yá aa-n xat-ka-wu-du-dli-xetli-i át.
 this it-with 1sgO-thm-PERF-ImpS-[I-series-classifier]-blessed-REL thing

From that time to this, I have been blessed with this weaving.

Gunalchéesh yee tuwáa sagoowú.

Thank you for wanting it.

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 198; lines 45 - 50

In both the examples above, the main verb of the second sentence (highlighted in the morpheme-by-morpheme gloss) has the following core properties:

- (a) Verb appears to modify a light noun (e.g. *át* 'thing', *aa* 'one')
- (a) Verb takes an I-series classifier (in the modes that require it)
- (b) It is suffixed by the relative-clause suffix *-i* (when verb takes an I-series classifier)

For these reasons, we may say that these verbs bear the morphology indicative of relative clauses, and that they seem to modify a light noun.

Section 5 lists all the examples of this structural sub-type that I have been able to extract from my Tlingit texts. As in (21) and (22) above, each example is paired with the immediately preceding and following lines of texts, to substantiate the claim that it is not actually syntactically subordinated.

In the remainder of this sub-section, I list some further key properties of this construction.

(23) **Frequency**

Of the **38** total examples of the three structural sub-types, **3** were of this type.

(24) **Meaning**

Among the 16 examples of this construction, there does not appear to be any definite shared semantic feature. Two of the four semantic sub-types (see Section 3) are represented.

None of the examples are **exclamatives**.

None of the examples is a **rhetorical question**.

Two of the examples describe **results or causes**.

The remaining **one** has no distinctive semantic feature.

Notably absent from the corpus are examples of this construction which receive interpretations as either exclamatives or rhetorical questions. However, given the paucity of overall examples, one cannot draw any conclusions.

(25) **Dialect Distribution**

In the present corpus, this construction type is only exhibited in texts of the **Greater Northern Dialect**. Again, however, given the paucity of examples, and the fact that the majority of texts are taken from this dialect, it is impossible to draw any conclusions.

(26) **Distribution Across Genres**

In the present corpus, this construction type is only exhibited in texts of the **Formal Oratory** genre. However, given the paucity of examples, it is impossible to draw any conclusions.

3. **Matrix Clauses Bearing the Morphology of Embedded Clauses: Semantic Types**

The preceding section classified Tlingit 'matrix embedded clauses' into three distinct structural sub-types. In this section, we will classify these structures according their interpretation, separating them into four semantic sub-types. These are illustrated below.

(27) **The Semantic Sub-Types of 'Matrix Embedded Clauses'**

a. Exclamatives

Aadéi yaa kana.en yé yú síť.

it.towards it.is.growing way that glacier

How swiftly the glacier was growing.

(Lit. 'The way that the glacier is growing.')

Dauenahuer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 256; line 227

b. Rhetorical Questions

Ch'u wáa yóo tukdatangi sá kwshíwé wé shaatk' kwa?
just how she.was.thinking.SUB Q dubit. that girl though
What was she thinking, anyway, that young girl?
(Lit. 'What she was thinking, that young girl?')
Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 244; lines 21 – 23

c. Sentences Relating to Results (or Causes)

Ach adaa yóo x'axatangi át ax sani há.s.
it.because it.about I.am.speaking.REL thing my uncle pl.
This is the reason why I'm talking about it, my uncles.
(Lit. 'Because of this, a thing that I am talking about, my uncles.')

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 224; line 220

d. Sentences Lacking any 'Special' Interpretation

Haa Lingít^x sateeyí kut kei naxíxi.
our Tlingit being away it.is.running.SUB
Our Tlingit identity is being lost.
(Lit. 'That our Tlingit identity is being lost.')

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 302; 96 - 97

Note that each of the four sentences above also illustrates each of the three structural sub-types in Section 2. As we will see, there do not appear to be any interesting relationships between the structural type and the semantic type of a Tlingit 'matrix embedded clause': in principle, any structural type admits of any of the four above interpretations.

3.1 Matrix Embedded Clauses Interpreted as Exclamatives

Across a variety of Tlingit texts and dialects, many of the clauses circumscribed by the structural descriptions of Section 2 appear to be used as exclamative utterances. The following provides a morpheme-by-morpheme analysis of example (27a). This example is also paired here with its original textual context, to substantiate its status as a free-standing utterance.

(28) Example of Exclamative Matrix Embedded Clause

Ch'u tle ch'u tle yasatgi át áyu ayaawadlaak^x.
It was even, even faster than anything!

Aadéi yaa kana.en yé yú sít'.

Aa-déi yaa-ka-na-en yé yú sít'.
it-towards PROG-thm-PROG-grow way that glacier
How swiftly the glacier was growing.
(Lit. 'The way that the glacier was growing.')

Aagáa áwé tle has kawdichák.
This was when they packed.

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 256; lines 226 – 229

Section 5 lists all the examples of this semantic sub-type that I have been able to extract from my Tlingit texts. As in (28) above, each example is paired with the immediately preceding and following lines of texts, to substantiate the claim that it is not actually syntactically subordinated.

In the remainder of this sub-section, I list some further key properties of this construction.

(29) **Frequency**

Of the **38** total examples of the four semantic sub-types, **11** were of this type.

(30) **Structural Type**

It appears that all the examples witnessing this semantic sub-type either contain a wh-word, or are relative clauses modifying the light noun *yé* 'way, manner, place'.

Thus, this semantic type is distributed across the structural types in the following manner:

Three of the examples are bare 'subordinate' clauses.

Eight of the examples are relative clauses modifying the light noun *yé*.

None of the examples are relative clauses modifying another light noun.

(31) **Dialect Distribution**

In the present corpus, this construction type is only exhibited in texts of the **Greater Northern Dialect**. Again, however, given the paucity of examples, and the fact that the majority of texts are taken from this dialect, it is impossible to draw any conclusions.

(32) **Distribution Across Genres**

This semantic sub-type is witnessed in three of the four genre types exhibited in the textual corpus (its absence from the Personal History genre is likely an artifact of the sample).

5 examples are found in **Ancient Narrative** (*Tláagu*)

1 example is found in **History**

No examples were found in **Personal History**

5 examples were found in **Formal Oratory**

3.2 **Matrix Embedded Clauses Interpreted as Rhetorical Questions**

Across a variety of Tlingit texts and dialects, many of the clauses circumscribed by the structural descriptions of Section 2 appear to be used as rhetorical questions. The following provides a morpheme-by-morpheme analysis of example (27b). This example is also paired here with its original textual context, to substantiate its status as a free-standing utterance.

(33) **Example of Matrix Embedded Clause used as Rhetorical Question**

Aa yéi haa yatee.
We were living there.

Ch'u wáa yóo tukdatáangi sá kwshíwé wé shaatk' k̲wa?

Ch'u wáa yóo-tu-ka-da-táng-i sá kwshíwé wé shaatk' k̲wa?
just how thm-mind-thm-[non-I-classifier]-think-SUB Q dubit. that girl though
What was she thinking, anyway, that young girl?
(Lit. 'What she was thinking, that young girl?')

At t'éit dus.áa.
She was curtained off.
Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 244; lines 20 – 24

Section 5 lists all the examples of this semantic sub-type that I have been able to extract from my Tlingit texts. As in (33) above, each example is paired with the immediately preceding and following lines of texts, to substantiate the claim that it is not actually syntactically subordinated.

In the remainder of this sub-section, I list some further key properties of this construction.

(34) **Frequency**

Of the **38** total examples of the four semantic sub-types, **4** were of this type.

(35) **Structural Type**

As with the exclamative sub-type in Section 3.1, it appears that all the examples witnessing this semantic sub-type either contain a wh-word, or are relative clauses modifying the light noun *yé* 'way, manner, place'.

Thus, this semantic type is distributed across the structural types in the following manner:

Three of the examples are bare 'subordinate' clauses.

One of the examples is a relative clause modifying the light noun *yé*.

None of the examples are relative clauses modifying another light noun.

(36) **Dialect Distribution**

In the present corpus, this construction type is only exhibited in texts of the **Greater Northern Dialect** and the (closely related) **Interior Dialect**. Again, however, given the paucity of examples, and the fact that the majority of texts are taken from the former dialect, it is impossible to draw any conclusions.

Three of the examples come from speakers of **Greater Northern Tlingit**

One of the examples comes from a speaker of **Interior Tlingit**

None of the examples come from a speaker of **Tongass Tlingit**

(37) **Distribution Across Genres**

This semantic sub-type is witnessed in three of the four genre types exhibited in the textual corpus (its absence from the Personal History genre is likely an artifact of the sample).

2 examples are found in **Ancient Narrative** (*Tláagu*)

1 example is found in **History**

No examples were found in **Personal History**

1 example was found in **Formal Oratory**

3.3 **Matrix Embedded Clauses Describing Results or Causes**

Across a variety of Tlingit texts and dialects, many of the clauses circumscribed by the structural descriptions of Section 2 appear to be used to describe either the results or the causes of some previously described event. The following provides a morpheme-by-morpheme analysis of example (27c). This example is also paired here with its original textual context, to substantiate its status as a free-standing utterance.

(38) **Example of Matrix Embedded Clause Describing Result / Cause**

Aagáa áwé yéi kaa x'éit us.aaxch.

This is when it would hear us.

Ach **adaa** **yóo** x'**axatangi** **át** ax **sani** **hás.**

A-ch a-daa **yóo-x'a-xa-tang-i** **át** ax **sani** **hás.**
it-because it-about thm-thm-1sgS-speak-REL thing my uncle pl.

This is the reason why I'm talking about it, my uncles.

(Lit. 'Because of this, a thing that I am talking about, my uncles.')

Kaa x'éit us.aaxch.

They listen to us.

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 224 - 255; lines 217 - 222

Section 5 lists all the examples of this semantic sub-type that I have been able to extract from my Tlingit texts. As in (38) above, each example is paired with the immediately preceding and following lines of texts, to substantiate the claim that it is not actually syntactically subordinated.

In the remainder of this sub-section, I list some further key properties of this construction.

(39) **Frequency**

Of the **38** total examples of the four semantic sub-types, **4** were of this type.

(40) **Structural Type**

It appears that all the examples witnessing this semantic sub-type are either simple subordinate clauses, or relative clauses modifying a light N. None of the examples consist of relative clauses modifying the light noun *yé* 'way, manner, place.' However,

given the relative paucity of examples, it is not possible to draw any conclusions from this fact.

Thus, this semantic type is distributed across the structural types in the following manner:

Two of the examples are bare 'subordinate' clauses.

None of the examples are a relative clause modifying the light noun *yé*.

Two of the examples are relative clauses modifying another light noun.

(41) **Dialect Distribution**

In the present corpus, this construction type is only exhibited in texts of the **Greater Northern Dialect**. Again, however, given the paucity of examples, and the fact that the majority of texts are taken from this dialect, it is impossible to draw any conclusions.

(42) **Distribution Across Genres**

This semantic sub-type is witnessed in only two of the four genre types exhibited in the textual corpus.

1 examples are found in **Ancient Narrative** (*Tláagu*)

No example is found in **History**

No examples were found in **Personal History**

3 examples were found in **Formal Oratory**

3.4 Matrix Embedded Clauses Lacking any 'Special' Interpretation

Across a variety of Tlingit texts and dialects, many of the clauses circumscribed by the structural descriptions of Section 2 appear to have no discernable special semantic content at all, being translated as (e.g.) plain declarative main clauses. The following provides a morpheme-by-morpheme analysis of example (27d). This example is also paired here with its original textual context, to substantiate its status as a free-standing utterance.

(43) **Example of Matrix Embedded Clause with No Special Semantic Content**

Kusa^xán yaadachóon_x satí, yaadachóon yoo x'atánk.

Love is honesty, speaking honestly.

Haa Lingít_x sateeyí kut kei naxíxi.

Haa Lingít_x sateeyí **kut kei-na-xíx-i.**

our Tlingit being away up-prog-run-SUB

Our Tlingit identity is being lost.

(Lit. 'That our Tlingit identity is being lost.')

Dleit Káach óo at wulituwu aa, l haa x'eiya.áax_{ji} aa, yá gaaw yoo x'axatángi,

"Tammmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmm," yéi áwé duwa.áx_{ch} has du shantóox' yeedát.

To those of us who were educated by white men, the ones who don't understand us, while I'm speaking at this time, "Tammmmmmmm" is how it's sounding in their heads right now.

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 302; lines 93 - 103

Section 5 lists all the examples of this semantic sub-type that I have been able to extract from my Tlingit texts. As in (43) above, each example is paired with the immediately preceding and following lines of texts, to substantiate the claim that it is not actually syntactically subordinated.

In the remainder of this sub-section, I list some further key properties of this construction.

(44) **Frequency**

Of the **38** total examples of the four semantic sub-types, **19** were of this type.

(45) **Structural Type**

Each of the three syntactic sub-types are witnessed among the examples of this semantic sub-type.

Eight of the examples are bare 'subordinate' clauses.

Ten of the examples are a relative clause modifying the light noun *yé*.

One of the examples is a relative clause modifying another light noun.

(46) **Dialect Distribution**

In the present corpus, this construction type is exhibited in texts of all three of the represented dialects.

Twelve of the examples come from speakers of **Greater Northern Tlingit**

Four of the examples come from a speaker of **Interior Tlingit**

Three of the examples come from a speaker of **Tongass Tlingit**

(47) **Distribution Across Genres**

This semantic sub-type is witnessed in all four genre types exhibited in the textual corpus.

Three examples are found in **Ancient Narrative** (*Tláagu*)

Nine example are found in **History**

Two examples are found in **Personal History**

Five examples are found in **Formal Oratory**

4. **Some Potentially Related Constructions**

In this last substantive portion of these notes, I would like to describe two other constructions in Tlingit that are thematically similar to the 'matrix embedded clauses' described above. The first is simply the use of subordinate clauses as adjoined 'absolutives' in the languages. The second is a special construction for expressing a proposition's impossibility.

4.1 Abslutive Constructions in Tlingit

In terms of their form and meaning, the 'matrix embedded clauses' above are most similar to the language's 'abslutive constructions', exemplified below.

(48) Abslutive Constructions in Tlingit

- a. **á áyá adaa yoo tuxatángi áyá,**
it foc-part it.about I.am.thinking.SUB foc-part

hás, ch'u ch'áagudáx áa yéi s teeyí,
excl. just long.ago.from there they.live.SUB

has du een gé yá woochdáx haa wusdaagéen.
them with Q that each.other.from we.separated

*You know, **thinking about them**, if they've been living there a long time, maybe we separated and migrated from them.*

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 70; lines 151 – 153

- b. **áyá tsu yá át aayí áwé**
foc-part also that there she.sits.SUB foc-part

ch'a aadéi héen du yadaanáx kaawadaayi yé
just it.towards water her face.through it.flowed.REL way

ch'a aan áwé át oolgeinch Yoo Luklihashgi X'aa lutú.
just it.with foc-part there she.watched Y. L. X. tip

It was while she was sitting there again, as her tears flowed down her face, that she kept looking at the tip of Yoo Luklihashgi X'aa.

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 100; lines 387 - 389

- c. **Ax shagóon aadéi yoo shukawsixixi yé ax tláanáx,**
my ancestry it.towards it.ran.through way my mother.through

aaa, Wooshkeetaan dachxáanx áyá xat wusitee.
yes W. grandchild foc-part I.became

The way my ancestry took its course through my mother, yes, I became a grandchild of Wooshkeetaan.

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 288; lines 45 - 50

As shown above, abslutive constructions in Tlingit can either be bare subordinate clauses (48a) or relative clauses modifying the light noun *yé* (48b, c). Thus the form of an abslutive clause is practically identical to those clauses identified here as 'matrix embedded clauses.'

Indeed, many times during this study it has been unclear to me whether I should classify a given structure as a 'matrix embedded clause', or discard it as an adjoined abslutive. I do not doubt that some readers would choose to analyze certain examples in Section 5 as simply being abslutives, as the line between these two constructions rests on the rather vague matter of

whether the clause could be considered 'a part' of either the preceding or the following utterance. Nevertheless, I also doubt whether all 38 examples compiled in Section 5 could be explained away as absolutive constructions of some sort.

4.2 The '*No Way X is Possible*' Construction

As first described by Leer (1991), a special construction is often used by Tlingit speakers in order to express a given proposition's impossibility, one that may be directly translated into English as the nominal 'no way that X is possible'. The following examples illustrate.

(49) Examples of the '*No Way X is Possible*' Construction

- a. Tlél aadéi ch'a aadóoch sá ch'a wáa sá has woonaxsikaayi yé.
not it.towards just who.erg Q just how Q they.can.say.REL way
No one will be able to say anything against you.
(Lit. 'No way that anyone could say anything.')
- Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 22; line 279
- b. Tlél aadéi haa gwaaxsiteeni yé.
not it.towards he.can.see.us.REL way
He couldn't see us there.
(Lit 'No way that he could see us.')
- Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 64; line 487
- c. Wé American Custom-x isateeyí tlél aadé has nagisineeyi yé.
that A. C. you.are.REL not it.towards you.can.do.them.REL way
You American customs agents could do nothing to them.
(Lit. 'You who are American Customs agents, no way that you could do anything to them.')
- Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 88; line 952

Note that, these constructions satisfy the first three of the criteria outlined on page 1: (a) they are clauses where the main verb bears the morphological markers of subordination, (b) they do not appear to be embedded in a larger clause, (c) they are translated by the authors into English as matrix finited clauses.

On the other hand, these constructions definitely fail to satisfy the fourth criterion; as shown above, direct translation of these clauses into English as complex NPs *does* result in a felicitous, natural sounding, English structure. Thus, while both this construction and its English equivalent do still cry out for analysis, they are distinguished in this study from the (somewhat) more puzzling structures outlined in Section 5.

Nevertheless, it is quite clear that a better understanding of both the Tlingit construction under (49) and its English equivalent may advance our understanding of the 'matrix embedded clauses' collected below. A distinct possibility is that the latter represents some form of 'generalization' of the processes underlying the former (as well as the 'absolutive construction' of Section 4.1).

5. Corpus of Collected Examples

The following is the complete list of 'matrix embedded clauses' that I have (thus far) been able to extract from a corpus of Tlingit texts. These examples all come from the following textual collections: Daenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; Williams, Williams & Leer 1978; Nyman & Leer 1993.

Under each Roman numeral, I provide the putative 'matrix embedded clause', highlighted in boldface. I also provide the lines both preceding and following the putative example, to substantiate the claim that it is a 'stand alone utterance', not embedded in either. Finally, I provide various critical information regarding the passage: the identity of the speaker, the dialect spoken, the genre of the text, and finally the structural and semantic sub-types of the putative example.

I will not here provide morpheme-by-morpheme analyses of the putative examples, though I intend to include such information in future versions of these notes.

Finally, the English translation given is that provided in the original textual source.

I)

Ch'a kaa jeewú kwá at yoowx'ú tóo yéi dagaatee wé héen.

But they had some inside animal stomachs, some water.

X'oon kuxéi sáwé yá éil' káx'.

How many days they had been going on the ocean.

Tléináx aach áwé t'aayaawakaa...

One man yelled out...

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 98; lines 312 – 313

Speaker: A.P. Johnson

Dialect: Greater Northern Tlingit (Sitka)

Genre: Ancient Narrative (Kaax'achgóok)

Structural Type: Plain Subordinate Clause

Semantic Type: Exclamative

II)

é! Kei wjik'én.

My! He leaped to the shore.

Ch'u shóogu áx wulixáat'i yé áwé.

He stuck to the spot right there.

Héendei guxshax'éel' yóo áwé duwajée.

The thought he would slip into the sea.

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 110; lines 21 – 23

Speaker: Willie Marks

Dialect: Greater Northern Tlingit (Juneau)

Genre: Ancient Narrative (Naatsilanéi)

Structural Type: Relative Clause Modifying *Yé*

Semantic Type: No Special Meaning

III)

“A tayedéi nagú!” yóo ash yawsikaa.
“Go under this,” it said to him.

Tlél tóo awunoogú áwé tle.
He didn't even feel the sea.

Gwá! Aan, hít!
Oh! It's a village, a house!

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 112; lines 68 – 70.
Speaker: Willie Marks
Dialect: Greater Northern Tlingit (Juneau)
Genre: Ancient Narrative (Naatsilanéi)
Structural Type: Plain Subordinate Clause
Semantic Type: No Special Meaning

IV)

Wududzikóo lingít áwé áwu; át uwagút.
They knew a human was there; one had come

Wé át, wé át aadéi koogeyi yé;
How many the hooligans were!

aatlein atxá ayú.
there was a lot of food!

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 158; lines 111 - 114
Speaker: Willie Marks
Dialect: Greater Northern Tlingit (Juneau)
Genre: Ancient Narrative (Kaakwx'wti)
Structural Type: Relative Clause Modifying Yé
Semantic Type: Exclamative

V)

Ts'as shóogu áwé tlél yéi tootí.
At first she didn't want to go.

Yá du toowóo gíwé tle gúshé aadéi yoo amsineiyi yé.
Maybe he did something with her mind.

Yáax' áwé tle aan woo.aat.
Then she went with him.

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 168; lines 46 – 48
Speaker: Tom Peters
Dialect: Interior Tlingit (Teslin)
Genre: Ancient Narrative (The Woman Who Married the Bear)
Structural Type: Relative Clause Modifying Yé
Semantic Type: Rhetorical Question

VI)

Aagáa ch'a gunayéiei áwé s woo.aat.
Then they moved to a different place.

Ch'u tle ch'u yéi teeyí ch'u yéi teeyí.

Then they stayed there, they stayed there.

Wáa yei kunayáat' sá kwshéi wé tle dáxnáx at yátx'i du jee yéi wootee.
She was with him long enough to have two children.

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 172; lines 131 - 133

Speaker: Tom Peters

Dialect: Interior Tlingit (Teslin)

Genre: Ancient Narrative (The Woman Who Married the Bear)

Structural Type: Plain Subordinate Clause

Semantic Type: No Special Meaning

VII)

Tayeedéi s woo.aat.
They went to bed.

Hél wáa sá uteeyí.⁵

Because there wasn't anything different.

Ch'a lingít ch'u shóogu lingít.
Just a human, a real human.

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 198; lines 98 – 100

Speaker: Frank Dick Sr.

Dialect: Greater Northern Tlingit (Sitka, Dry Bay)

Genre: Ancient Narrative (The Woman Who Married the Bear)

Structural Type: Plain Subordinate Clause

Semantic Type: Describes Results / Causes

VIII)

Du aayí ku.aa áwé tle yakoolkées'ch wé héenx sateeyí.
Hers though would keep going out, being water logged.

Wáanáx sá yéi kdayéini?

Who knows why it was like this!

Ách áwé áa shakawduwajáa yáa du yáx sháach wudlitl'ak'i aa.
So the other women showed her what to do with the wet ones.

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 202; lines 159 – 163

Speaker: Frank Dick Sr.

⁵ The English translation of this clause includes the overt subordinator *because*. However, this does not correspond to any overt words in the original Tlingit sentence, *Hél wáa sá uteeyí*, which could be more literally translated as 'that there was nothing wrong'. It is for this reason that I include this sentence amongst the examples.

Dialect: Greater Northern Tlingit (Sitka, Dry Bay)
Genre: Ancient Narrative (The Woman Who Married the Bear)
Structural Type: Plain Subordinate Clause
Semantic Type: Rhetorical Question

IX)

De át wudigwáat'.

She was only crawling around.

Tla_x wáa teeyí sáwé.
How bad off she was.

Yóoná_x naashóo aas

There was a tree standing over there.

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 214 - 216; lines 426 - 428

Speaker: Frank Dick Sr.

Dialect: Greater Northern Tlingit (Sitka, Dry Bay)

Genre: Ancient Narrative (The Woman Who Married the Bear)

Structural Type: Plain Subordinate Clause

Semantic Type: Exclamative

X)

Ch'al yéi óosh gé wuteeyéen

If only things hadn't happened this way,

aadéi oosh gé ngwateeyi yé dé.
how would it have been?

Ch'u tle át_x áwé na_xwsateeyi át áwé yú.á.

It would have really been something.

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 236; lines 376 – 377

Speaker: J. B. Fawcett

Dialect: Greater Northern Tlingit (Juneau, Hoonah)

Genre: Ancient Narrative (Kaats')

Structural Type: Relative Clause Modifying *Yé*

Semantic Type: Rhetorical Question

XI)

A_x goot ku.aa, wé yatseeneit, du shát.

But she'd come to him, that brown bear, his wife.

Aadéi óosh gé ngwateeyi yé gé
How it would have been

ch'u mistake l yoo oosneigi kát wé shaawát xá.

if the woman hadn't made the mistake, you see.

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 238; lines 411 – 415

Speaker: J. B. Fawcett
Dialect: Greater Northern Tlingit (Juneau, Hoonah)
Genre: Ancient Narrative (Kaats')
Structural Type: Relative Clause Modifying *Yé*
Semantic Type: Exclamative

XII)
áa yéi haa yatee.
We were living there.

Ch'u wáa yóo tukdatángi sá kwshíwé wé shaatk' kwa wooweidí?
It was then, what was she thinking, anyway, that young girl, at the start of her enrichment?

At t'éit dus.áa.
She was curtained off.

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 244; lines 20 – 24
Speaker: Susie James
Dialect: Greater Northern Tlingit (Hoonah, Sitka)
Genre: History
Structural Type: Plain Subordinate Clause
Semantic Type: Rhetorical Question

XIII)
De wé Aax'w Xoo duwasáagu yé de a t'ikáwu áwé wé sít'.
The glacier was outside the place called Aax'w Xoo.

Aadéi yaa kana.en yé.
How swiftly it was growing.

Ch'u tle ch'u tle yasatgi át áyu ayaawadlaak.
It was even, even faster than anything!

Aadéi yaa kana.en yé yú sít'.
How swiftly the glacier was growing.

Aagáa áwé tle has kawdichák.
This was when they packed.

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 256; lines 222 – 229
Speaker: Susie James
Dialect: Greater Northern Tlingit (Hoonah, Sitka)
Genre: History
Structural Type(s): Relative Clause Modifying *Yé*
Semantic Type(s): Exclamative

XIV)

Ch'u l ák' has ooheeni áwé tle yíndei yei yanaxs'ut, wé a yeet aa hít, de yíndei áwé.
While they couldn't believe it, it was sliding downward, the house she sat in, downward.

Naaléi áyú aax duwa.axji yé yú kaa sé. Aadéi gaxdusti yé.
Their voices could be hard from far away, crying.

Hel tsu latseen koostí.
They had no more strength.

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 280; lines 408 - 410

Speaker: Amy Marvin

Dialect: Greater Northern Tlingit (Hoonah)

Genre: History

Structural Type: Relative Clause Modifying Yé

Semantic Type: No Special Meaning

XV)

Wéit yinági ax xoonx'í, yee eedéi x'akkwatáan.
You who are standing there, my relatives, I will speak to you.

Ha yáa yeedát táakw, aadéi haa toowú kawligéiyi yé.
Well, this last winter, how proud we were!

Adaat yee eedéi x'akkwatáan.
I will speak to you about it.

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 156; lines 1 – 5

Speaker: Unidentified Speaker (Earliest Recording of Tlingit; wax cylinder dated 1899)

Dialect: Greater Northern Tlingit (Sitka)

Genre: Formal Oratory

Structural Type: Relative Clause Modifying Yé

Semantic Type: Exclamative.

XVI)

Ldakát yéidie haa toowú sigóo T'aakú aankáax'u haadéi gaxdu.ix' nook.
We were happy in many ways when the Taku aristocrats were invited here.

A tuwáatx haa toowú litseeni yé,
How much strength of mind we gained because of it,

ayáx wootee ka yá Kaagwaantaanx haa sateeyí.
and because we are Kaagwaantaan.

Dauenhuaer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 156; lines 7 – 12

Speaker: Unidentified Speaker (Earliest Recording of Tlingit; wax cylinder dated 1899)

Dialect: Greater Northern Tlingit (Sitka)

Genre: Formal Oratory

Structural Type: Relative Clause Modifying Yé

Semantic Type: Exclamative

XVII)

ách áyú tlél tsu a kináa yéi at utée.

This is why nothing else can surpass it.

Xíxch'I Hít dzeidí gal'éex' aadéi haa toowú yateeyi yé.

How bad we felt when the steps of the Frog House broke.

Ldakát lingit'aani Koonóogu kináax' yéi wootee.

It surpassed all over events in the world.

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 158; lines 34 – 39

Speaker: Unidentified Speaker (Earliest Recording of Tlingit; wax cylinder dated 1899)

Dialect: Greater Northern Tlingit (Sitka)

Genre: Formal Oratory

Structural Type: Relative Clause Modifying Yé

Semantic Type: Exclamative

XVIII)

Du tláa eetéex ayawsikáa, "atléi."

In place of her mother, she called her "mother".

ách áwé du tláax wusiteeyi aa.

This is how she became her mother.

Du éesh yádix xat sateeyéech, xát tsú tle ax yát x'awdliyoó, "ax éek'."

Because I became the child of her father, she also adopted me, calling me "my brother."

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 178; lines 54 - 59

Speaker: Charlie Joseph

Dialect: Greater Northern Tlingit (Sitka, Lituya bay)

Genre: Formal Oratory

Structural Type: Relative Clause Modifying Other Light Noun

Semantic Type: Describes Results / Causes

XIX)

Wednesday ka Sunday yaa xat jigatáanch cháchdei.

Wednesday and Sunday, she would take me by the hand to church.

Aax yá gaaw yá aan xat kawdudliyetli át.

From that time to this, I have been blessed with this weaving.

Gunalchéesh yee tuwáa sagoowú.

Thank you for wanting it.

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 198; lines 45 - 50

Speaker: Jennie Thlunaut

Dialect: Greater Northern Tlingit (Klukwan)

Genre: Formal Oratory

Structural Type: Relative Clause Modifying Other Light Noun

Semantic Type: No Special Meaning (possibly describes results / causes)

XX)

Ch'a uwayáa yáadei yeeteeyi yáx áwé wootee.
It was as if you put your mourning aside for us.

ách áwé wé dziyáak tlél yan kaysheeyí.
This is the reason a while ago you didn't finish your song.

Aaa, haa tuwáa sigóo ha yá at shí ch'a wtoosheeyí
Yes, we would like to sing this song.

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 216; lines 39 - 45
Speaker: Austin Hammond
Dialect: Greater Northern Tlingit (Haines)
Genre: Formal Oratory
Structural Type: Plain Subordinate Clause
Semantic Type: Describes Results / Causes

XXI)

Aagáa áwé yéi kaa x'éit us.aaxch.
This is when it would hear us.

ách adaa yóo x'axatangi át ax sani hás.
This is the reason why I'm talking about it, my uncles.

Kaa x'éit us.aaxch.
They listen to us.

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 224 - 225; lines 217 - 222
Speaker: Austin Hammond
Dialect: Greater Northern Tlingit (Haines)
Genre: Formal Oratory
Structural Type: Relative Clause Modifying Other Light Noun
Semantic Type: Describes Results / Causes

XXII)

Yan asawlihík yá haa tláach.
This mother of ours has completed everything.

Ha tlax wáa laxétlx sá haa wootee yá haa xoox' yéi teeyí yá haa tláa.
And what a great gift we have that this mother of ours is among us.

Haa káx háni yáx yatee.
It is as if she's standing for us.

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 260; lines 9 - 14
Speaker: Matthew Lawrence
Dialect: Greater Northern Tlingit (Hoonah)
Genre: Formal Oratory
Structural Type: Plain Subordinate Clause
Semantic Type: Exclamative

XXIII)

Ch'a tléix' at shí yáx gíyáa yaa kgwashée ch'a tléix'.
Maybe they will sing as one song, when it's sung, as one.

Ch'a wáa kawuháax' sá tléil has du tuwáa ushgú yax has ashalaheegí.
Why is it that they don't like to complete the song?

Ch'a aadéi kwá yéi has gaxyi.oo.
But please forgive them.

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 270; lines 105 - 109

Speaker: Charlie Joseph

Dialect: Greater Northern Tlingit (Sitka, Lituya bay)

Genre: Formal Oratory

Structural Type: Plain Subordinate Clause

Semantic Type: Exclamative

XXIV)

Yóo áwé sh kalnik noojéen haa káak has haa léelk'w hás. Aaa.
This is what our maternal uncles used to tell us, our grandfathers. Yes.

Yáa yeedát yáat xaháni áwé aaa.⁶
Now that I am standing here, yes.

Ax húnxw Kichnáalx du kéek' áwé yéi wduwasáa Yéil Hít daa yéi s jine nóok Yéilk'.
My older brother, Kichnáalx, his younger brother was named Yéilk' - little Raven - when they were building the Raven House.

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 286; lines 17 - 26

Speaker: Charlie Jim

Dialect: Greater Northern Tlingit (Angoon)

Genre: Formal Oratory

Structural Type: Plain Subordinate Clause

Semantic Type: No Special Meaning

⁶ Note that in this instance the translators have chosen to directly translate this sentence into English as a subordinate clause. Nevertheless, in their translation, this subordinate clause does not appear to have a structural (or semantic) relation with either the preceding or the following clauses. Although it may represent a 'false start', in other places the translators state that they have edited 'false starts' from their transcriptions. For this reason, I include this sentence amongst the examples of 'matrix subordinate clauses'.

XXV)

And the opposite tribe on that side they have to stand up and hold your hands up, chuch kaax áyá kakgidachóox yú yéik.

And the opposite moiety would stand with their hands raised to ward off the spirit.

Aadéi kut kei ntugix' yé haa kusteeyí.

How much we are losing our culture.

Ach áyá yeedát a daa yoo x'aaxaatánk.

This is why I'm speaking about it now.

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 302; line 76 - 82

Speaker: George Jim

Dialect: Greater Northern Tlingit (Juneau)

Genre: Formal Oratory

Structural Type: Relative Clause Modifying Yé

Semantic Type: Exclamative

XXVI)

Kusaxán yaadachóonx satí yaadachóon yoo x'atánk.

Love is honesty, speaking honestly.

Haa Lingítx sateeyí kut kei naxíxi.

Our Tlingit identity is being lost.

Dleit Káach óo at wulituwu aa, l haa x'eiya.áaxji aa, yá gaaw yoo x'aaxatángi, "Tammmmmmmm," yéi áwé duwa.áxch has du shantóox' yeedát.

To those of us who were educated by white men, the ones who don't understand us, while I'm speaking at this time, "Tammmmmmmmmm" is how it's sounding in their heads right now.

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 302; lines 93 - 103

Speaker: George Jim

Dialect: Greater Northern Tlingit (Juneau)

Genre: Formal Oratory

Structural Type: Plain Subordinate Clause

Semantic Type: No Special Meaning

XXVII)

A yát shuxwaatán. Aaa.

I'm bracing it. Yes.

Ax léelk'u háa a tóodáx woo.aadí.

My grandfathers left them behind.

Ax jiyís yan yéi wdudzinéi.

One was made for me.

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 304; lines 125 - 128

Speaker: George Jim

Dialect: Greater Northern Tlingit (Juneau)

Genre: Formal Oratory
Structural Type: Plain Subordinate Clause
Semantic Type: No Special Meaning

XXVIII)

A kwa ch'a déix ayoo yaanáx koos.áaych kindachóon, ka yoo k'uwaaní tsú.
That one has two (stalks) growing out (from the root), and deer cabbage also.

A tsu ch'a déix woosh t'aaqx' kana.éini.
That one also has two (leaves) side by side

Ch'u tle k'wát'x' sáani yáx katxwas' a kayaaní.
it's leaves are like little eggs.

Williams, Williams & Leer 1978; *About Tlingit Medicine*; lines 188 - 191
Speaker: Emma Williams
Dialect: Tongass Tlingit
Genre: History
Structural Type: Plain Subordinate Clause
Semantic Type: No Special Meaning

XXIX)

Yan shkwa hítx'i l uldook déin kwa daatnei nuch,
The summer houses they would keep clean.

yóo at akin yé,⁷
Here they lived

tléil ch'éix'w too yéi ookéech.
They did not live in filth.

Williams, Williams & Leer 1978; *The Lazy Woman*; lines 10 - 14.
Speaker: Emma Williams
Dialect: Tongass Tlingit
Genre: History
Structural Type: Relative Clause Modifying Yé
Semantic Type: No Special Meaning

⁷ It is possible that the Tlingit phrase here *yóo at akin yé* 'the place where they sat' functions as an appositive to the NP in the previous sentence *yan shkwa hítx'i* 'the summer houses'. However, it is translated here into English as a finite matrix clause. Given that the translator is a native speaker of the language, I have included this sentence among the examples of 'matrix embedded clauses.'

XXX)

At kawdwa.át wé sháa, ch'a wé káa.

The women rushed there in a body, and even the men.

We eex táax has al.aadí.

They were dipping (their dishes) in the oil.

áwé ch'u yaa nagúdi áwé shaawát ch'u kaa jeegáa yakaawagei.

But while the woman was still walking along - there was still plenty for everyone.

Williams, Williams & Leer 1978; *The Lazy Woman*; lines 108 - 112

Speaker: Emma Williams

Dialect: Tongass Tlingit

Genre: History

Structural Type: Plain Subordinate Clause

Semantic Type: No Special Meaning

XXXI)

Tle haa uwatsin.

That was good nourishment for us.

Hé! Ch'u yeikáa núkt axa yé.

Everybody was eating grouse.

Tle wé aax kuwdi.oowu aa áwé tle has akaawachák.

The leftover ones they packed away.

Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 70; lines 592 - 594

Speaker: Elizabeth Nyman

Dialect: Interior Tlingit (Atlin)

Genre: Personal History

Structural Type: Relative Clause Modifying *Yé*

Semantic Type: No Special Meaning

XXXII)

Shóogoonáx aadéi yóo at kawdiyayi yé ya Lingít,⁸

For the things that happened to the Tlingits in the beginning

shayadiheni aa yéi shkalneek yá ixkéenax áyá, haat haa wsidák yá ixkée.

many say that we migrated here through the south, the south.

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 66; lines 82 – 88

Speaker: R. Zuboff

Dialect: Greater Northern Tlingit (Angoon)

Genre: Historical Text (Basket Bay)

Structural Type: Relative Clause Modifying *Yé*

Semantic Type: No Special Meaning

⁸ It may be that the Tlingit clause here *Shoogoonáx aadéi yóo at kawdiyayi yé ya Lingít* 'the way that things happened to the Tlingit from the beginning' functions as an absolutive, adjoined to the following sentence.

XXXIII)

Wé gaa áwé, yá Xutsnoowú yax'áak, yax ilt'éex', t'éex' kát aa uwa.át, wé gaaw áwé,
At that time, across from Brown Bear Fort, when it froze, they walked over the ice, at that time,

aagáa daak kuwligas'i yé.⁹

at the point when they moved across.

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 70: lines 135 – 140

Speaker: R. Zuboff

Dialect: Greater Northern Tlingit (Angoon)

Genre: Historical Text (Basket Bay)

Structural Type: Relative Clause Modifying *Yé*

Semantic Type: No Special Meaning

XXXIV)

Yáa yeedát aadéi gunéi sh kakkwalnik yé yáa yagiyee.¹⁰

Now this is the way I will begin telling the story today.

Haa, Shux'ánáx, aadéi yoo haa kudiyeigi yé yá Glacier Bay.¹¹

Now, at the beginning of how things happened to us at Glacier Bay.

Aadéi áx' yoo haa kawdiyayi yé.¹²

The way things happened to us there.

Haa xoodáx áyá yá shatkátsk'u Chookaneidí.

This little girl was one of us Chookaneidí.

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 260; lines 1 – 9

Speaker: Amy Marvin

Dialect: Greater Northern Tlingit (Hoonah)

Genre: History

Structural Type: Relative Clause Modifying *Yé*

Semantic Type: No Special Meaning

⁹ I am uncertain as to the meaning of the English translation *at the point when they moved across*. Note that the original Tlingit phrase might also be directly translated as 'the way that they moved across.' Either way, given its uncertain relationship to either the preceding or the following lines, I include this passage here amongst the examples of 'matrix embedded clauses'.

¹⁰ Note that this Tlingit phrase directly translates into English as 'Now, the way that I will begin telling the story today.'

¹¹ Note that this Tlingit phrase directly translates into English as 'Now, at the beginning, the way that things first happened to us at Glacier Bay.' Thus, this sentence might be understood as announcing the topic of the following discourse.

¹² Note that the translators have here directly translated this Tlingit phrase into English as a complex NP. Note also that this NP may be functioning as an appositive to the preceding complex NP.

XXXV)

Tlél public-déi kaa yátx'i yóo jidul.átgin aagáa yú gaaw, woosh yáa awudané kat.

People didn't take their children out in public in those days because they respected one another.

Aadéi at téeyi yé.

This is how things were.

Tlél kaa yátx'i ch'a baby tsú tlél át yóo koodujélk.

People didn't take children, even the babies.

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 264; lines 86 – 91

Speaker: Amy Marvin

Dialect: Greater Northern Tlingit (Hoonah)

Genre: History

Structural Type: Relative Clause Modifying *Yé*

Semantic Type: No Special Meaning

XXXVI)

Aagáa ku.aa ch'u t'ukanéiyi wáa sá wuneiyi ch'u tle yax yaa kuwaklajách wé toowóo neekw.

At that time, though, if anything happened to even an infant, the grief would leave us weak.

Aadéi woosh goonée kuditeeyi yé.¹³

The way we didn't want to loose each other.

Aadéi kwdayen yé.

The way things were.

Aaa, ách áwé yaakwnáx wudihaan.

Yes, this was why he stood up in the canoe.

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 280; lines 415 – 419

Speaker: Amy Marvin

Dialect: Greater Northern Tlingit (Hoonah)

Genre: History

Structural Type: Relative Clause Modifying *Yé*

Semantic Type: No Special Meaning

¹³ Note that in this sentence and the one following, the authors have directly translated the original Tlingit phrases into English as complex NPs. However, given the fact that these NPs seem not to bear a structural or semantic relation to either the preceding or the following lines, I include them here amongst the examples of 'matrix subordinate clauses'.

XXXVII)

Haa aani kwáani yáx áhé s yatee
They are like people of our land,

yá aadéi haa x'éináx yoo s x'ali.atgi yé.¹⁴
how they can speak our language

Ha ch'áakw, áyú ch'áakw, ch'áagu káawu, ha ye áyá woosh wuskóowun.
This is how long ago, the people from long, long ago, used to know each other.

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 174; lines 28 - 33

Speaker: Tom Peters

Dialect: Interior Tlingit (Teslin)

Genre: Formal Oratory

Structural Type: Relative Clause Modifying *Yé*

Semantic Type: No Special Meaning

XXXVIII)

Jée, dax xasik'éi, a xoo aa áwé tle t'ooch' yáx dagaatee, yá a kach'éch'xi tle yóo.
My, but the seals had nice fur! Some had black spots like this.

A kaadé ligée wé t'ooch' yáx xasateeyí.¹⁵
The places where the fur was black and shiny.

Tle á áwé tle dax has alx'éesh tle.
Those are the ones they were skinning.

Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 46; lines 87 - 90

Speaker: Elizabeth Nyman

Dialect: Interior Tlingit (Atlin)

Genre: Personal History

Structural Type: Plain Subordinate Clause

Semantic Type: No Special Meaning

¹⁴ Note that this NP may function as an absolutive adjoined to the preceding clause.

¹⁵ Note that in this sentence, the authors have directly translated the original Tlingit phrase into English as a complex NP. However, given the fact that this NP seems not to bear a structural or semantic relation to either the preceding or the following lines, I include it here amongst the examples of 'matrix subordinate clauses'