

# **The Interrogative Words of Tlingit**

## **An Informal Grammatical Study**

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# **The Interrogative Words of Tlingit <sup>1</sup>**

## **An Informal Grammatical Study**

### **1. Introductory Comments and Acknowledgments**

The following is intended as an informal guide to several aspects of the syntax (grammar) and semantics (meaning) of the interrogative words and phrases of Tlingit. Where possible, I have tried to keep my language relatively non-technical, and to explain facts and concepts that would be unfamiliar to a reader without a more focused background in syntax or semantics. The list of subjects treated here is rather selective, and far from exhaustive. Moreover, the treatment of many of the selected subjects is especially minimal, and in many places I indicate areas of the language that demand further descriptive study. The length of this still quite preliminary report upon a very specific sub-area of sentence structure is therefore testimony to the great richness and complexity of the Tlingit language, and thus the wider traditional knowledge structures within which it is embedded.

Throughout this report, the reader should bear in mind that I have been studying the Tlingit language for only three years. Moreover, I do not live within Southeast Alaska, and have enjoyed only minimal contact with native speakers of Tlingit. Thus, what is said within these pages should be taken with no small amount of salt. Interested students of the language should always seek to confirm the generalizations presented here with their own teachers.

In this context, it is also important to note that within any language community there are many very subtle and fascinating ways that people's speech may differ. Indeed, the speakers that I have consulted disagree regarding certain subtler details of the structures discussed below.<sup>2</sup> It is quite likely that other speakers may disagree with the generalizations and acceptability judgments reported here. Again, this is nothing unusual; particularly with respect to subtle aspects of syntactic form, there can be much individual variation within a language community. This report may be viewed as an attempt to describe the facts for certain speakers of the Tlingit language. How well these facts project into the larger community is at present unknown.

I would like to acknowledge here the fundamental contributions of a number of individuals, without whom this report would not exist. Special thanks are due first and foremost to David Katzeek and John Marks, the language consultants for this project. Their generosity, patience and energy are truly exceptional, and I thank them for all the knowledge and help they have provided me in my study of their language. Special thanks are also due to Keri Edwards, Yarrow Vaara, Rosita Worl, and everyone else at the Sealaska Heritage Institute. The time I have spent at SHI has always been remarkably productive, enjoyable and memorable. It is my hope that the information contained in this report – meager as it is – will be of some use to SHI, so that the resources and

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<sup>1</sup> This report is largely an expanded revision of Cable (2005a). Several proposals and generalizations found in Cable (2005a) which I now believe to have been in error are here corrected. Thus, this paper supercedes Cable (2005a), and where the two are in conflict, this paper should be regarded as more accurate.

<sup>2</sup> Both speakers are from Juneau, and thus speak the Northern Coastal Dialect of Tlingit (Leer 1991).

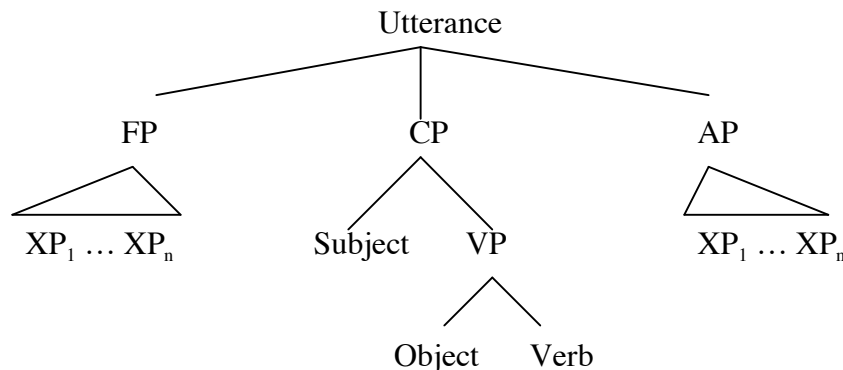
knowledge I have received from SHI may be repaid in some small way. I also wish to thank Roby Littlefield for inquiring about certain forms with Mary Anderson, and I wish to thank Mary Anderson for teaching both Roby and me these forms.

## 2. Background Assumptions

Throughout this report, I will employ without much explanation certain key facts and concepts regarding the grammar of Tlingit that are treated at length in other, published resources. The first is all the material contained under the “Tlingit Verb System Chart” developed by Richard and Nora Marks Dauenhauer. This information can be found in Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990 (p. 450, 451) as well as Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 2000 (p. 212, 213). I will also on occasion use certain key concepts from the analysis of Tlingit verbal morphology found in Leer (1991). When employing these concepts, I will often include page references, allowing the reader to more easily find the relevant material in Leer (1991).

As this is largely a report on Tlingit syntax, I will make extensive use of the proposals made in Leer 1991, Chapter 2 regarding the clausal structure of Tlingit. Of special importance are the concepts of the ForePhrase (FP), the Clause Proper (CP), the Verb Phrase (VP), and the AfterPhrase (AP). These phrases are argued by Leer to be organized into the following hierarchical structure.<sup>3</sup>

### (1) The Clausal Architecture of Tlingit, As Proposed in Leer (1991)



In place of the term ‘ForePhrase’, I will often employ the somewhat more language-neutral term ‘left periphery of the clause’ or simply ‘left periphery’. As the reader will see, I employ this more general terminology so as to emphasize the similarities and differences between Tlingit and other languages, both related and otherwise.

These ideas will be used throughout this report without special comment or explanation. The reader is thus encouraged to consult the works cited above for a thorough exposition of this material.

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<sup>3</sup> Leer (1991) notes that there is as yet little language-internal evidence supporting the existence of a VP in Tlingit. On the other hand, Leer (1991) does put forth one very interesting empirical argument in support of a Tlingit VP, and the only alternative proposal he considers seems to require the addition of an extra level of structure. Thus, a strong case for a Tlingit VP may, in the end, be possible.

### 3. The Interrogative Words of Tlingit

The following words share a host of properties, and they roughly correspond in meaning to the English words they are paired with. It is important to note, however, that their use is somewhat broader than their English correlates. Although they have many uses outside of questions, I will refer to these words as the ‘interrogative words’ of Tlingit.

#### (2) The Interrogative Words of Tlingit

a. Daat	<i>What</i> <sup>4</sup>
b. Daakw	<i>Which</i> <sup>5</sup>
c. Aa	<i>Who</i>
d. Aadoo	<i>Who</i> <sup>6</sup>
e. Goo	<i>Where</i>
f. Wáa	<i>How, why, what</i> <sup>7</sup>
g. X’oon	<i>How much</i>
h. Gwatk	<i>When (in the past)</i>
g. Gwatgeen	<i>When (in the future)</i>

This bulk of this report attempts to describe, in varying detail, certain of the many uses which these words receive.

### 4. Simple Questions in Tlingit

Perhaps the most commonly encountered use of Tlingit interrogative words is in the language’s ‘simple questions’. By the term ‘simple question’, I mean a clause which has the meaning of a question, and contains at most a single interrogative word that is logically a part of the main clause. The sentences below are all instances of ‘simple questions’ containing interrogative words.<sup>8,9</sup>

- |     |                                 |                           |
|-----|---------------------------------|---------------------------|
| (3) | a. Daa sá aawa <sub>x</sub> aa? | <i>What did he eat?</i>   |
|     | b. Aa sá aawa <sub>x</sub> aa?  | <i>Who ate it?</i>        |
|     | c. Aadoo jeewú sá wé dáanaa?    | <i>Who has the money?</i> |

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<sup>4</sup> The words *daat* and *wáa* undergo important phonological changes in certain environments. In particular, *daat* surfaces as *daa* and *wáa* surfaces as *waa* when they are directly followed by the particle *sá*.

<sup>5</sup> This word is recorded as *daakw* in Naish (1966) and Story & Naish (1973).

<sup>6</sup> It is not known to me whether there is any difference in meaning or grammar between ‘aa’ and ‘aadoo’. Their origins are also unknown to me, as well as which – if any – is the older form.

<sup>7</sup> ‘Wáa’ is translatable as *what* when it functions as the object of a verb of speaking or thinking. In other words, one does not ask in Tlingit the direct equivalent of ‘*what* did you say’, but rather ‘*how* did you say’. This is, indeed, a quite common pattern in the languages of the world.

<sup>8</sup> Sentences (3c – f) are taken from Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 2000.

<sup>9</sup> Of course, a question in Tlingit needn’t contain an interrogative word. ‘Yes/no questions’ such as “Did John leave” have their own very interesting grammar in Tlingit, one that naturally does not require the presence of an interrogative word. However, since the focus of this study is the syntax and semantics of Tlingit interrogative words, I will not cover here the formation of ‘yes/no questions’ in the language.

- |                               |                                     |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| d. Daakw aa naax sá isitee?   | <i>Which moiety are you?</i>        |
| e. Goox' sá yéi yatee i éesh? | <i>Where does your father live?</i> |
| f. Wáa sá ituwatee?           | <i>How are you feeling?</i>         |

#### 4.1 The Pre-Predicate Generalization

When appearing within simple questions, the interrogative words of Tlingit are subject to special conditions on their placement within the sentence. The most crucial of these is stated in the following generalization.

- (4) *Obligatory Pre-Predicate Position of Interrogative Words in Simple Questions:*  
Within a simple question in Tlingit, the interrogative word must precede the main predicate of the clause.

The term “predicate of the clause” in this generalization is intended to cover either the verb of the clause (if it is present) or the so-called ‘focus particles’ *áwé*, *áyá*, *áyú*, *áhé* in their ‘predicative use’.<sup>10</sup> Examples of predicative use of a focus particle are given in sentences (5 a, b) below.

- (5) a. Tás áyá.  
thread foc-part  
*This is a thread.*
- b. Daa sáwé?<sup>11</sup>  
what SA.foc-part  
*What is that?*

It is important to note that whenever a focus particle directly follows the particle *sá*, the two combine into a single ‘portmanteau’ form; this is illustrated in sentence (5b). I will gloss such forms as ‘SA.foc-part’, to indicate that they are a combination of both *sá* and the focus particle. These portmanteau forms are extremely common in texts and speech, but they will receive no further special mention or treatment. However, the particle *sá* will receive some specific discussion in a moment.

The generalization in (4) is apparent both from patterns within published Tlingit texts and from comments made by native speakers. The following chart demonstrates how the pattern described in (4) emerges across a range of published texts.

<sup>10</sup> I borrow the label ‘focus particle’ from Leer (1991). It isn’t clear to me, however, whether ‘focus particle’ is the best label for these particles. Story (1995) notes that the particles can serve equally well to either ‘background’ or to ‘foreground’ material. My own suspicion is that these particles can simply follow any element in the ForePhrase/Left-Periphery, whether that item is actually ‘focused’ or not. Such a particle has been independently reported for the neighboring language Haida (Enrico 2003), where it actually seems cognate with the Tlingit particle. I should note that such an account of these particles is essentially that proposed in Leer (1991), though it seems out of sorts with the label ‘focus particle’. Finally, Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer (1990) take the view that these particles are semantically empty, and can simply be optionally added to any prosodic phrase in the sentence.

<sup>11</sup> I gloss the particle *sá* simply as ‘SA’, to indicate its not being translatable into English.

(6) The Pre-Predicate Position of Interrogative Words in Simple Questions

Text	Sentences Containing Interrogative Word and a Predicate (either verb or <i>áwé</i> )	Of Those in First Column, Number in Which the Interrogative Word Precedes the Predicate
Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987	117	117
Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990	31	31
Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 2000	170	170
Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 2002	84	84
Nyman & Leer 1993	114	114
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>516</b>	<b>516</b>

In this chart, the middle column lists the number of simple questions in the text that contain both an interrogative pronoun and some predicate. The last column lists the number of those questions counted in the middle column in which the interrogative word precedes the main predicate of the clause. As the chart indicates, all the simple questions in the selected corpus containing a predicate place the interrogative word *before* the predicate.<sup>12</sup> This pattern strongly suggests that generalization (4) holds for Tlingit.

Generalization (4) is also confirmed by comments made by native speakers regarding the well-formedness of certain attempted Tlingit utterances. Speakers do not accept as well-formed simple questions in which the interrogative word follows the predicate.<sup>13</sup> Such sentences will be corrected by speakers to ones in which the interrogative word *precedes* the predicate.<sup>14</sup>

- (7) a. Aadóoch sá gugwatoow yá x'úx'?<sup>15</sup>  
       who.erg SA he.will.read.it this book  
       *Who will read this book?*
- b. Aadóoch sá yá x'úx' akgwatoow?  
       *Who will read this book?*

<sup>12</sup> An example of a simple question lacking any predicate might be a sentence like the following.

(i) Daa sá?  
     *What?*

Since such sentences lack any predicates, they are irrelevant for determining whether generalization (4) holds in Tlingit.

<sup>13</sup> One speaker commented that such sentences sound like 'baby Tlingit'.

<sup>14</sup> Throughout this report, I employ the now-standard practice amongst synchronic linguists of indicating ill-formed structures with an asterisk.

<sup>15</sup> Since the focus of this report is sentence grammar, the glosses I offer of the complex verbal forms of Tlingit are drastically oversimplified.



- c. Yá x'úx' aadóoch sá gugwatoow?  
*Who will read this book? (This book – who will read it?)*
- d. \* Yá x'úx' akgwatoow aadóoch sá ? <sup>16</sup>
- (8) a. Aadóoch sá kawshixet yá x'úx'?  
 who.erg SA he.wrote.it this book  
*Who wrote this book?*
- b. Yá x'úx' aadóoch sá kawshixet?  
*Who wrote this book? (This book – who wrote it?)*
- c. \* Yá x'úx' akawshixet aadóoch sá?
- (9) a. Aadóoch sá ax sakwnéin aawaxaa?  
 who.erg SA my bread he.ate.it  
*Who ate my bread?*
- b. Ax sakwnéin aadóoch sá uwaxaa?  
*Who ate my bread? (My bread – who ate it?)*
- c. \* Ax sakwnéin aawaxaa aadóoch sá?
- (10) a. Wáa sáyá at kuwanóok?  
 how SA.foc-part they.are.doing  
*What are those people doing?*
- b. \* At kuwanóok wáa sáyá?

As a momentary aside, the reader will note that accompanying all the interrogative words in the examples above is the particle *sá*. This particle is a constant companion of every interrogative word in Tlingit. It has a very interesting syntax all its own, which will be treated later in Section 11 of this report. For now, it suffices to say that if *any* sentence in Tlingit contains an interrogative word, then that sentence must also contain the particle *sá*. Removing *sá* from any of the sentences above results in an ill-formed structure.

- (11) a. Aadóoch sá ax sakwnéin aawaxaa?  
 Who.erg SA my bread he.ate.it  
*Who ate my bread?*
- b. \* Aadóoch ax sakwnéin aawaxaa?

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<sup>16</sup> As we will see in Section 9, interrogative words in Tlingit can be used as indefinites. Thus, the word *aadóo* can also sometimes mean 'someone'. Thus, sentence (7d) is reportedly acceptable as long as it means 'Someone will read this book'. The asterisk marking (7d) only indicates that the sentence cannot be used to mean 'Who will read this book?'

Of course, where one places *sá* within the sentence is also crucial for the structure's well-formedness. The exact position of *sá* within the sentence will be covered in our later discussion of the syntax of *sá*.

## 4.2 The Preference for the Interrogative Word to be Initial

In addition to the requirement that the interrogative word precede the predicate, it is also 'preferred' for the interrogative word to be the first word in a simple question. By saying that this order is 'preferred', I mean that this order is the one almost always offered by speakers in conversation and the one that almost always appears in naturally occurring speech. The following chart demonstrates the emergence of this pattern across a range of texts.

(12) The Initial Position of Interrogative Words in Simple Questions

<b>Text</b>	Simple Questions Containing Interrogative Word and a Second Major, Non-Predicate Constituent	Of Those in First Column, Those in Which Interrogative Word is Initial in the Clause	Of Those in Second Column, Those in Which the Initial Position of the Interrogative Word Does not Follow From Typical Word Order
Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 2002	18	18	8
Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 2000	27	27	19
Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990	21	20	11
Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987	43	43	32
Nyman & Leer 1993	58	58	44
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>167</b>	<b>166</b>	<b>144</b>

In this chart, the left column indicates the number of simple questions in the corpus containing some major constituent besides the interrogative word and the predicate. The middle column reports how many, from the questions represented in the left column, place the interrogative word initially in the clause. Finally, the right column indicates the number of questions in the middle column in which the initial position of the interrogative pronoun does *not* follow from more general word-order frequencies in Tlingit, such as the fact that 'subjects' tend to precede 'objects' in the language (Dryer 1985). The totals at the bottom of the chart indicate a clear preference for simple questions to begin with interrogative words.

Although it is preferred for the interrogative word to be initial in a simple question, this is not an obligatory requirement. As the chart in (12) indicates, there are certain contexts in which it is possible for the interrogative word *not* to be the first word

in the sentence. Although sentences such as the following are hardly ever offered by speakers, and they almost never appear in naturally occurring discourse, speakers do accept them on occasion, and they are sometimes naturally encountered.

- (13) a. I éesh daa sá aawaxaa?  
           your father what SA he.ate.it  
           *What did your father eat? (Your father – what did he eat?)*
- b. Wé kéet daa sá axá?  
           that killer.whale what SA he.eat.it  
           *What does a killer whale eat? (A killerwhale – what does that eat?)*
- c. Ldakát wé xáat aadóo sá aawaxaa?  
           all that fish who SA he.eat.it  
           *Who ate all the fish? (All that fish – who ate it?)*

One should note, however, that sentences such as those in (13) have a special use and meaning. As their English translations suggest, the material preceding the interrogative word in sentences such as these must be interpreted as a ‘topic’. This fact will be incorporated into the following generalization.

- (14) *Topic Status of Material Preceding the Interrogative Word in a Simple Question:*  
 Within a simple question in Tlingit, it is preferred for the interrogative word to be the first element in the clause. If any material precedes the interrogative word in a Tlingit simple question, that material receives a special ‘topic’ interpretation.

There are three main lines of evidence suggesting that material preceding the interrogative pronoun in a simple question must be interpreted as a topic. The first is the textual rarity of sentences such as (13). As indicated by the chart in (12), it is exceptionally rare for a simple question to place any material before the interrogative word. This textual rarity would follow from such structures possessing a special interpretation, one that would place strong limits on the kinds of contexts in which such structures might be embedded. In other words, if it were the case that the sentences in (13) possessed a special, ‘topicalization’ interpretation, they would be expected to be used only infrequently. Consider, for example, the textual rarity of the English topicalization structures used to gloss the sentences in (13).

A second piece of evidence supporting the generalization in (14) are the comments made by speakers themselves. Speakers sometimes sporadically reject sentences in which the interrogative word is not initial. Such an ‘uncertain’ status could be explained by the sentences requiring a very special, specific context of use. If this were the case, then the occasional rejection of such sentences by speakers might follow from an occasional difficulty in imagining a plausible discourse into which they could be felicitously embedded. Further indication that (14) is correct is that, when sentences like (13) are accepted, speakers translate them into English using ‘topicalization’ constructions, such as appear in the English glosses under (13).

- (15) a. A<sub>x</sub> éesh daa sá aawa<sub>x</sub>aa?  
 My father what SA he.ate.it  
*Translated as 'My father (though), what did he eat?'*
- b. Yá <sub>x</sub>áat aadóoch sá uwa<sub>x</sub>aa?  
 this fish who SA he.ate.it  
*Translated as 'That fish – who ate it?'*

That speakers choose to translate such sentences with this English construction – rather than with plain English content questions – indicates that the English construction is required to accurately reflect the use which the Tlingit sentence receives. Moreover, note that in the English translation, the material preceding the interrogative word in the Tlingit sentence receives a special, ‘topic’ interpretation. This is particularly strong evidence that the pre-interrogative material in the Tlingit sentence receives an identical, ‘topic’ interpretation in the original Tlingit sentence.

A third piece of evidence in support of (14) is the fact that pre-interrogative material in a Tlingit simple question must be referential. Note that in the two examples I have encountered of Tlingit simple questions with non-initial interrogative words, the pre-interrogative material is a referential definite description.

- (16) a. I <sub>k</sub>utaaní wáa sá wootee?  
 your summer how SA it.was  
*How was your summer?* (SHI; Tlingit Phrase of the Week; September 6, 2005)<sup>17</sup>
- b. Wé i sée daa<sub>k</sub>w aa sáwé?  
 that your daughter which one SA.foc-prtl  
*Which one is your daughter?* (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 298; line 10)

Moreover, speakers will not accept as well-formed any simple question in which a non-referential expression precedes the interrogative word.

- (17) a. Aa sáyá l daa sá u<sub>x</sub>á?  
 who SA.foc-prtl nothing he.eats.it  
*Who ate nothing?*
- b. \* L daa sá aa sáyá u<sub>x</sub>á?

One of the core criteria of ‘topics’ is that they can only be denoted by referential expressions (Li 1976). Thus, the generalization in (14) would accurately predict that any material preceding the interrogative word in a Tlingit simple question must be a referential expression.

On all these grounds, I conclude that the generalization in (14) is correct.

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<sup>17</sup> The Sealaska Heritage Institute regularly posts a ‘Tlingit Phrase of the Week’. This and others may be found at ‘[http://www.sealaskaheritage.org/programs/tlingit\\_phrase\\_of\\_week.htm](http://www.sealaskaheritage.org/programs/tlingit_phrase_of_week.htm)’.

### 4.3 The Generalization that Interrogative Words are Left Peripheral

We presently have two, core generalizations regarding the structure of simple questions in Tlingit. They are repeated below.

- (4) *Obligatory Pre-Predicate Position of Interrogative Words in Simple Questions:* Within a simple question in Tlingit, the interrogative word must precede the main predicate of the clause.
- (14) *Topic Status of Material Preceding the Interrogative Word in a Simple Question:* Within a simple question in Tlingit, it is preferred for the interrogative word to be the first element in the clause. If any material precedes the interrogative word in a Tlingit simple question, that material receives a special ‘topic’ interpretation.

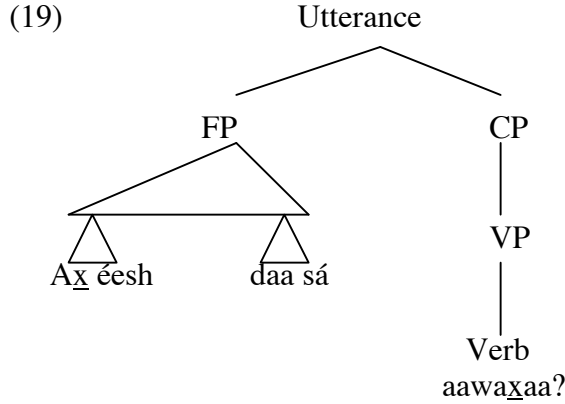
Now, we might at this point seek to simplify our description of Tlingit by finding some *broader* generalization from which (4) and (14) might follow as logical consequences. If such a broader generalization could be found, then (4) and (14) needn’t be stated (nor memorized) as separate grammatical rules; rather, only the one wider generalization would have to be stated. Let us note, then, that the generalizations in (4) and (14) would follow from the generalization in (18).

- (18) *Obligatory Displacement in Tlingit Simple Questions:* Within a simple question in Tlingit, the interrogative word must appear in the left periphery of the clause.

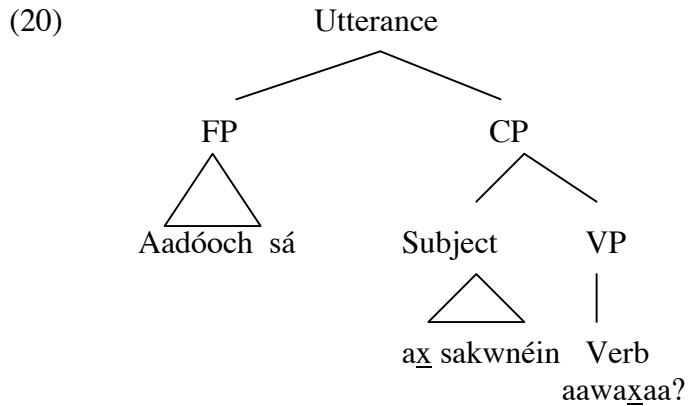
Let us first see that the generalization in (18) derives the generalization in (4). Assuming the structure in (1), any material occupying the left periphery of the clause (i.e., the FP) must necessarily precede the main predicate of the clause. Thus, if the interrogative words of a Tlingit simple question were required to appear within the FP, it would follow that they would always have to precede the predicate of the clause. Therefore, generalization (18) derives generalization (4) as a consequence.

Let us now see that generalization (18) derives generalization (14). First, note that left-periphery of the clause is a common location for expressions denoting ‘topics’; indeed, it is often the case in free word order languages that topics are placed in a left-peripheral position preceding any ‘focused’ expressions, such as interrogative words (Rudin 1986, Kiss 1995, Rizzi 1997). Now, assuming the structure in (1), if a phrase appears inside the FP of a Tlingit sentence, then anything appearing to its left within the sentence must *also* be within the FP. Thus, if the generalization in (18) were true, then any material preceding the interrogative word in a Tlingit simple question must *also* appear within the FP of the clause. Given that such a left-peripheral position is associated with properties of ‘topicality’, it follows that any material preceding the interrogative word must be construed as a topic. Thus, the generalization in (18) entails the one in (14).

To help clarify this preceding argument, let us examine in detail how the generalization in (18) derives some of the particular facts above. First, note that (18) entails that a sentence like (15a) must be assigned the structure in (19).



Since *aᵂ éesh* is within the FP, it must be construed as a topic, and so the closest English translation for the structure would be something like ‘My father – what did he eat.’ On the other hand, a sentence such as (11a) could be assigned the structure in (20).



Since the phrase *aᵂ sakwnéin* is not located within the FP in (20), this structure imputes no special properties of ‘topicality’ or ‘foregrounding’ to the phrase. Thus, this structure would correctly predict that the sentence in (11a) doesn’t specifically ‘flag’ the phrase *aᵂ sakwnéin* as a topic.

We see, then, that the generalization in (18) would correctly derive the generalizations in (4) and (14). Put less tersely, the hypothesis that interrogative words in Tlingit simple questions *must* appear within the left periphery of the clause would explain (i) the fact that they must appear before the main predicate of the clause, (ii) the overwhelming ‘preference’ for such interrogative phrases to appear initially in the clause, and (iii) the special discourse properties of the sentences in which this ‘preference’ is violated. I therefore conclude that the generalization in (18) is correct; interrogative words in Tlingit simple questions *must* appear within the left periphery of the clause. Further evidence supporting this conclusion will be presented in Section 5.

#### 4.4 Comparison with Other Languages

The requirement that interrogative words appear in the left periphery of questions is not uncommon in the languages of the world. There are many languages in which this

requirement holds. Although English and other European languages are well-known cases, this pattern can also be found in many languages of Africa and the Americas.<sup>18</sup> On the other hand, this pattern is far from being a linguistic universal. There are a great many languages in which interrogative phrases are permitted to stay within the Clause Proper of a simple question. This is the dominant pattern in the languages of South and East Asia (e.g. Tibetan, Chinese, Japanese, Korean), but it also exists in languages closely related to Tlingit. For example, in most Athabaskan languages, there is no requirement that the interrogative phrases appear displaced in the left periphery of the clause (Willie 1991, Denham 1997, Rice 1989). For example, in Babine-Witsuwit'en, the sentences in (21a) and (21b) are reported to be equally acceptable, the sentence in (21b) having no special discourse properties to distinguish it from (21a).

(21) Babine-Witsuwit'en (Denham 1997)

a. Ndu Lillian yunkët?  
     what Lillian bought  
     *What did Lillian buy?*

b. Lillian ndu yunkët?  
     *What did Lillian buy?*

It is thus quite interesting that leftward displacement of interrogative words is required in Tlingit questions, as its closest living relatives seem not to have such a requirement.<sup>19</sup>

Another pattern we've witnessed in Tlingit which is also common across languages is the placement of discourse topics before left-peripheral interrogative words in content questions. Especially within so-called 'discourse configurational' languages, this pattern is often encountered (Kiss 1995). The following sentences demonstrate this pattern in the Slavic language Bulgarian.

(22) a. Kakvo pravi Ivan  
         what does Ivan  
         *What is Ivan doing? (neutral)*

b. Ivan kakvo pravi?  
     *What is Ivan doing? (Ivan is TOPIC)* (Rudin 1986; p.89)

This pattern can also be witnessed in Haida, a language sometimes claimed to be related to Tlingit; the following sentence illustrates.

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<sup>18</sup> To name some examples, it is the standard pattern in the Kwa and Benue-Congo languages of Western Africa (e.g. Yoruba, Fongbe), and it can also be found in the Iroquoian, Mayan and Algonquian languages of America (e.g. Mohawk, Tzotzil and Passamaquoddy).

<sup>19</sup> It is unknown to me whether data was ever collected regarding the syntax of questions in the more closely related language Eyak.

- (23) Gam Bill gina ran 7uns7ad-s sk'yaan 7aasii masin-gaay tllruhlra-yaay-gu  
not Bill thing PP know-PR though this engine-DF fix-INF-PP

**giisd-.uu** 'laa-7ad kwaagiid-ang?  
who-FOC 3p-PP depend-PR

*Who is depending on Bill to fix this engine, even though he doesn't know anything?*

(Enrico 2003; p. 235)

As described in Enrico (2003), the left-peripheral interrogative word *giisd* 'what' in sentence (23) is preceded by a number of other left-peripheral phrases, such as the phrase meaning 'though Bill doesn't know anything' and the phrase meaning 'to fix this engine.' Such strings of multiple left-peripheral topics are also possible in Tlingit simple questions, as sentence (24) demonstrates.

- (24) Du tláach du éesh **wáa** sá yawsikaa?  
his mother his father how SA he.told.her.it  
*What did his mother tell his father? (His mother - his father - what did she tell him?)*

The following points summarize the preceding discussion.

#### (25) Simple Questions in Tlingit

- (a) The interrogative word of a simple question must precede the predicate of the clause. Thus, it must precede the verb if there is one, and it must precede a focus particle receiving a 'predicative' use.
- (b) There is a strong preference for the interrogative word to be initial in the sentence. If any phrase precedes the interrogative word, then that phrase must be understood as a 'discourse topic'. Consequently, only definite, referential expressions may precede the interrogative word in a simple question.
- (c) The facts in (25a) and (25b) follow from the condition in (18): the interrogative word in a Tlingit simple question must be displaced in the FP (left periphery) of the clause. This one rule straightforwardly entails that (i) the interrogative word of a simple question must precede the predicate of the clause, and (ii) that any element occurring to its left must also be in the FP, thus having the special 'topicality' and 'foregrounding' properties associated with that position.

### 5. Complex Questions and 'Pied-Piping' in Tlingit

Another structure in which Tlingit interrogative words are found is the language's 'complex questions'. By the term 'complex question', I mean any clause which has the meaning of a question, and which contains an interrogative word that is logically a part of



a *subordinate* clause within the sentence. The following sentences offer illustrative examples of complex questions in English.

- (26) a. What do you want to sing?  
b. Where do you think they are going?  
c. What did he say he was going to eat?

In each of these sentences, the interrogative word of the question is logically a part of a subordinate clause within the question. This can be seen by the kinds of answers that are offered for these questions.

- (27) a. Question: *What* do you want [ to sing \_\_\_\_ ] ?  
b. Answer: I want [ to sing *Ave Maria* ] .
- (28) a. Question: *Where* do you think [ they are going \_\_\_\_ ] ?  
b. Answer: I think [ they are going *to the movies* ].
- (29) a. Question: *What* did he say [ he was going to eat \_\_\_\_ ] ?  
b. Answer: He said [ he was going to eat *a hamburger* ].

Complex questions are often studied by linguists because they typically offer much insight into the structure of the languages under examination. In English, for example, we can see from the sentences in (26) that the interrogative word in a complex question must be fronted to the left periphery of the *main* clause, even though it is logically part of the subordinate clause. Leaving the interrogative word within the subordinate clause results in an ill-formed structure.

- (30) a. \* You want what to sing?  
b. \* You want to sing what? <sup>20</sup>
- c. \* You think where are you going?  
d. \* You think you are going where?
- e. \* He said what was he going to eat?  
f. \* He said he was going to eat what?

This property of English complex questions can be seen to follow from its more general requirement that the interrogative word of a question be fronted into the left-periphery of the clause. Since the main clause of the sentences in (26) is a question, this syntactic principle of English requires that the question's interrogative word be fronted into the FP of the main clause.

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<sup>20</sup> Sentences such as (30b), in which the interrogative word occupies the position of a non-interrogative word, are sometimes acceptable in English, but the sentences in question have very special prosodic and discourse-structural properties. The asterisk preceding (30b) may be understood as indicating that this sentence cannot be uttered in English as a plain, unmarked question.

As we have seen, however, not all languages require interrogative words to be fronted in questions. In Tibetan, for example, it is preferred for a question to have exactly the same word order as a regular declarative sentence.

- (31) a. Sgrolma-s    gare bzas pa    red.  
           Sgrolma-erg what eat    past aux  
           *What did Sgrolma eat?*
- b. Sgrolma-s    mogmog bzas pa    red.  
           Sgrolma-erg momo    eat    past aux  
           *Sgrolma ate a momo.*

Consequently, a complex question in Tibetan does not require the interrogative word to appear outside of the subordinate clause it is a logical component of. Contrast the well-formed Tibetan sentence in (32) with ill-formed English structure in (30f).

- (32) Norbu-s [ Sgrolma-s    gare bzas pa    red ] bsam pa    red.  
           Norbu-erg Sgrolma-erg what eat    past aux    think past aux  
           *What did Norbu think that Sgrolma ate?*

With these facts as background, let us now examine how complex questions are structured in Tlingit. When asked to translate English complex questions, speakers of Tlingit will offer sentences in which the interrogative word occupies the left periphery of the clause, outside of the subordinate clause it is a logical component of.

- (33) a. Daa    sá    i    tuwáa sigóo    [ \_\_\_\_ yéi isaneyí ] ?  
           what SA your spirit    be.glad                    you.do  
           *What do you want to do?*
- b. Daa    sá    haa koo at latóowu yawsikaa [ \_\_\_\_ wutootoowú ] ?  
           what SA our    teacher            he.said                    we.read  
           *What did our teacher tell us to read?*
- c. Goodéi    sá    i    shagóonich uwajée    [ \_\_\_\_ wutu.aadi ] ?  
           where.to SA your parents.erg they.think                    we.went  
           *Where do your parents think that we went?*

Furthermore, when they are presented with sentences in which the interrogative word remains within its subordinate clause, speakers of Tlingit consistently reject them as ill-formed. All the following sentences were reported by speakers not to be well-formed simple questions.

- (34) a. \*I    tuwáa sigóo    [ daa    sá    yéi isaneyí ] ?  
           your spirit be.glad    what SA    you.do  
           *What do you want to do?*

- b. \* Haa koo at latóowu yawsi<sup>1</sup>kaa [ daa sá wutootoowú ] ?<sup>21</sup>  
 our teacher he.said what SA we.read  
*What did our teacher tell us to read?*
- c. \* I shagóonich uwajée [ goodéi sá wutu.aadi ] ?  
 your parents.erg they.think where.to SA we.went  
*Where do your parents think that we went?*

The facts in (33) and (34) provide strong evidence for the following generalization.

- (35) *Obligatory Displacement in Tlingit Complex Questions:* Within a complex question in Tlingit, the interrogative word must appear in the left periphery of the main clause.

Let us now recall the generalization which I introduced and defended in the previous section.

- (18) *Obligatory Displacement in Tlingit Simple Questions:* Within a simple question in Tlingit, the interrogative word must appear in the left periphery of the clause.

Consider that both the statements in (35) and (18) would follow from the broader generalization that any question in Tlingit requires an interrogative word in the left periphery of its main clause. This generalization is introduced as the condition in (36).

- (36) *Obligatory Displacement in Tlingit Questions:* Within any content question in Tlingit, an interrogative word must appear in the left periphery of the main clause.<sup>22</sup>

Since the simpler, general statement in (36) performs the work of the two specific statements in (18) and (35), I conclude that the principles in (18) and (35) should be replaced with that in (36). Thus, our examination of both simple and complex questions in Tlingit teaches us that the language requires all its questions to contain an interrogative word within their left periphery.<sup>23</sup>

The requirement that the left periphery of a Tlingit question contain an interrogative word may, of course, be satisfied without that interrogative word being the

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<sup>21</sup> I believe that sentence (34b) can be interpreted as making the declarative statement “Our teacher told us what to read.” Similarly, sentence (34c) can, I believe, be interpreted as meaning “Your parents wonder where we have gone.” The asterisks next to these sentences, then, reflect their status as ill-formed complex questions.

<sup>22</sup> As I am not discussing ‘yes/no questions’ in this report, the principle in (36) is understood not to apply to such questions. Thus, the Tlingit translation of “Does your father sing?” would not necessarily contain an interrogative word in its left periphery.

<sup>23</sup> Note that there are languages (e.g. Hindi, Iraqi Arabic) where only complex questions are required to have an interrogative word within their left periphery. In these languages, interrogative words needn’t be fronted into the left periphery when they form part of a simple question.

only element within the left periphery. We have already seen from sentences like (24) that the left periphery of a simple question may also contain other referring expressions preceding the interrogative word. Furthermore, sentences such as (37) demonstrate that complex questions in Tlingit are no exception to this pattern.

- (37) Haa éesh daa sá uwajée [ \_\_\_\_\_ wutoo.oowú ] ?  
 our father what SA he.think we.bought  
*Our father – what does he think we bought?*

Interestingly, the condition in (36) would also be satisfied in cases where the left-peripheral interrogative word is contained *inside* a phrase that is itself located within the FP of the clause. Indeed, sentence (33c) presents us with just such a case. Strictly speaking, the word *goo* ‘where’ in (33c) is not directly contained within the FP. Rather, the word *goo* is combined with the postposition *déi* ‘towards’ into the Postpositional Phrase (PP) *goodéi* ‘towards where’.

- (38)
- 
- ```

graph TD
  PP --> Noun
  PP --> P
  Noun --- goo
  P --- déi
  
```

It is the PP *goodéi* which is directly contained within the FP of sentence (33c).

- (39)
- 
- ```

graph TD
  Utterance --> FP
  Utterance --> CP
  FP --> PP
  PP --> goo
  PP --> déi
  PP --> sá
  CP --> Triangle
  Triangle --- i_shagoonich_uwajée_wutu_aadi["i shagóonich uwajée wutu.aadi"]
  sá -.- Triangle
  
```

Nevertheless, because the left-periphery of the main clause in this structure does ultimately contain the interrogative word *goo*, condition (36) is satisfied, and the sentence is correctly predicted to be acceptable.

In structures such as (39), it seems as if the interrogative word draws the phrase containing it along into the left periphery of the clause. Thus, linguists often refer to this phenomenon by the colorful name ‘pied-piping’, after the European folktale of the Pied Piper. Almost every language in the world has some form of ‘pied-piping’ phenomenon. Languages differ, however, regarding the ‘size’ of the phrases that an interrogative word may ‘pied-pipe’ into the left periphery of their clause. For example, in English complex

questions, the interrogative word cannot pied-pipe the entire subordinate clause of which it forms a part.

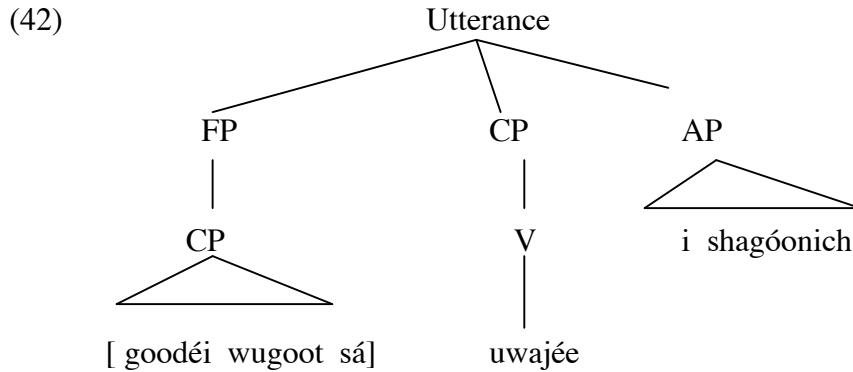
(40) a. \* [ He went where ] do your parents think?

b. Where do your parents think [ he went \_\_\_\_ ] ?

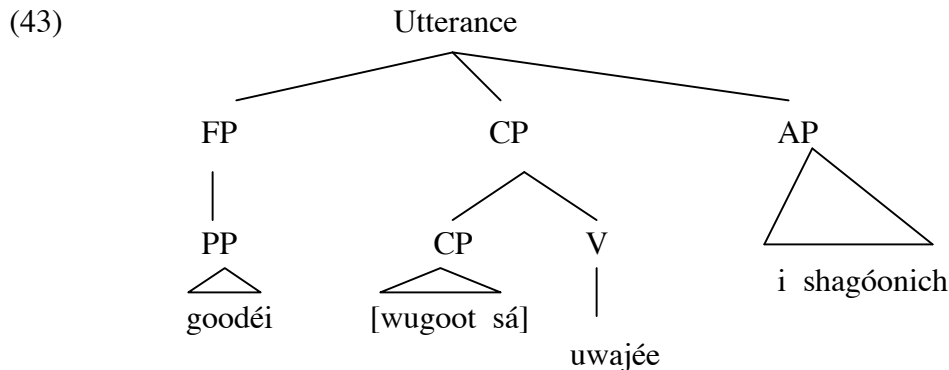
It is not, at present, known what – if any – ‘size limit’ is placed on pied-piping in Tlingit. Interestingly, however, the pied-piping shown above to be impossible in English *does* seem to be possible in Tlingit.

(41) [ Goodéi wugoot sá ] uwajée i shagóonich?  
 where.to he.went SA they.think your parents.erg  
*Where do your parents think that he went?*

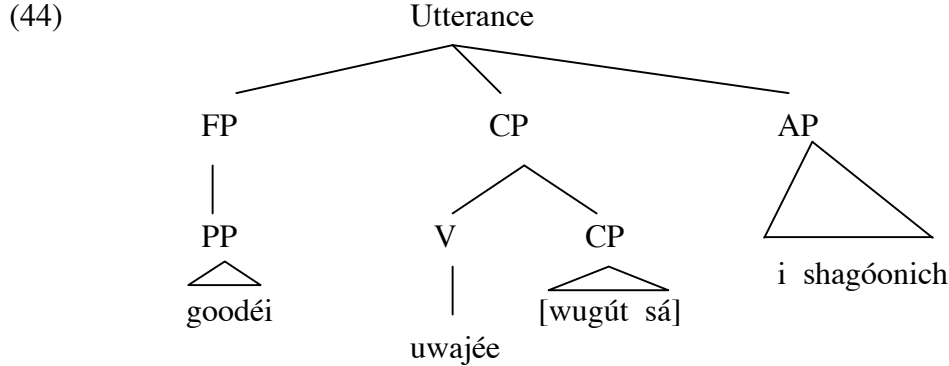
The complex question in (41) seems to contain an entire subordinate clause, *goodéi wugoot sá*, fronted into the left periphery of the main clause. The proposed structure is that diagrammed in (42).



One may wonder, however, whether sentence (41) doesn't simply contain *goodéi* alone within its left periphery, the subordinate clause *wugoot sá* being located within the Clause Proper of the main clause. The structure of this counterproposal is diagrammed in (43), below.



Evidence against the counterproposal in (43), however, lies in the position of *sá*. I will speak more regarding the syntax of *sá* in Section 11, but for now we may consider the following argument. If the structure in (43) were accurate, then it should be possible for the subordinate clause *wugoot* to be followed by *sá* and to appear within the Clause Proper of sentence (41), preceding the verb *uwajée*. Recall, however, that Tlingit allows for subordinate clauses both to follow and precede the verbs which govern them. The analysis in (43), then, would predict that the structure in (44) should also be allowable in Tlingit.



The structure in (44), however, does not appear to be one generated by Tlingit grammar. Speakers of Tlingit consistently judge the sentence in (44) to be ill formed.

- (45) \* Goodéi uwajée wugoot sá i shagóonich?  
 where.to they.think he.went SA your parents.erg

I conclude that the counterproposal in (43) is incorrect; *wugoot sá* is not a component of the Clause Proper in sentence (41). Instead, it appears that the analysis in (42) is correct, and the entire phrase *goodéi wugoot sá* occupies the Fore Phrase of the main clause. Thus, we find that Tlingit permits an interrogative word to ‘pied-pipe’ an entire subordinate clause into the left-periphery of the sentence.<sup>24</sup>

The statements in (46) summarize the results of this section.

#### (46) Complex Questions and Pied-Piping in Tlingit

- (a) Complex questions in Tlingit must contain an interrogative phrase in the left periphery of the main clause. The interrogative phrase *cannot* appear within the subordinate clause of which it forms a logical component.
- (b) The facts in (46a) and the condition in (18) both follow from the general requirement in (36) that *any* content question in Tlingit contain an interrogative phrase in the left periphery of its main clause.

<sup>24</sup> The pied-piping of subordinate clauses is a rare, though widely-discussed phenomenon. The languages most well-known for such pied-piping are Basque and Quechua.

- (c) In complex questions, as in simple questions, topical referring expressions may appear in the left periphery of the main clause, preceding the interrogative phrase.
- (d) Pied-piping phenomena exist in Tlingit. An interrogative word may pied-pipe into the left periphery a PP containing it. Quite interestingly, in a Tlingit complex question, an interrogative word may pied-pipe an entire subordinate clause containing it.

## 6. Multiple Questions and the ‘Superiority Condition’ in Tlingit

One final question-type worth considering in our study of Tlingit interrogative words is the language’s ‘multiple questions’. A ‘multiple question’ is any question which contains more than one interrogative word functioning to request information.<sup>25</sup> The sentences in (47) are examples of multiple questions in English.

- (47) a. Who ate what?
- b. Who went where?
- c. Who said what to who?
- d. What did you put where?
- e. Who wants us to buy what?
- f. Who thinks that they have what?

Note that sentences (47e) and (47f) contain interrogative words that are logical components of subordinate clauses. Thus, these sentences are examples both of multiple questions and of complex questions.

As with complex questions, linguists like to study a language’s ‘multiple questions’ because they often offer much insight into the grammar of the language. It is well-known, for example, that English does not permit more than one interrogative word in a question to front into the sentence’s left periphery. Although the sentences in (47) all contain one interrogative word in their left periphery, all other interrogative words in these sentences appear within the Clause Proper. If more than one interrogative word is moved from the CP into the left periphery, the result is an ill-formed structure; compare the sentences in (48) to those in (47).

- (48) a. \* Who what did eat?
- b. \* Who where did go?
- c. \* Who what to who did say?
- d. \* What where did you put?
- e. \* Who what does want us to buy?

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<sup>25</sup> As was mentioned in footnote 16, the interrogatives words of Tlingit may also function as indefinites. Thus a sentence such as (i) can have an interpretation as ‘Who ate something?’.

(i) *Aa sá daa sá aawaxaa*  
 who SA what SA he.ate.it  
*Who ate something?*

Under this interpretation, however, the interrogative word *daa* is not functioning to request information. Thus, under this interpretation, sentence (i) is not a ‘multiple question’.

- f. \* Who what does think that they have?

An interesting contrast to the English pattern is that found in the Slavic language Bulgarian. Within Bulgarian multiple questions, *every* interrogative word must be fronted into the left periphery of the main clause. If any interrogative word is left within the CP, the resulting sentence is ill formed. The following sentences illustrate.

(49) Bulgarian (from Pesetsky 2000) <sup>26</sup>

- a. Koj kakvo na kogo dade?  
who what to who gave  
*Who gave what to who?*
- b. \* Koj kakvo dade na kogo?  
who what gave to who  
*Who gave what to who?*
- c. \* Koj na kogo dade kakvo?  
who to who gave what  
*Who gave what to who?*
- d. \*\* Koj dade kakvo na kogo? <sup>27</sup>  
who gave what to who  
*Who gave what to who?*

In this context, it is quite interesting to consider multiple questions in Tlingit. Do they follow the pattern found in English, that found in Bulgarian, or some distinct pattern? The sentences in (50) indicate that a multiple question in Tlingit, unlike a multiple question in Bulgarian, needn't have more than one interrogative word in its left periphery.

- (50) a. Aa sá du tuwáa sigóo [ daa sá wutoo.oowú ] ?  
who SA their spirit be.glad what SA we.bought  
*Who wants us to buy what?*
- b. Aadoo sá yei uwajée [ daa sá du jee yéi teeyí ] ?  
who SA they.think what SA their hand it.is  
*Who thinks they have what?*

On the other hand, the sentences in (51) indicate that multiple questions in Tlingit, unlike multiple questions in English, needn't have *only* one interrogative word in their left periphery.

<sup>26</sup> The basic word order in a Bulgarian declarative clause is 'Subject, Verb, Object, Indirect Object'.

<sup>27</sup> The marking of this sentence with two asterisks indicates especially extreme ill-formedness.



- (51) a. Aa sá daa sá du tuwáa sigóo [ \_\_\_\_\_ wutoo.oowú ] ?  
           who SA what SA their spirit be.glad                we.bought  
           *Who wants us to buy what?*
- b. Aadoo sá daa sá yei uwajée [ \_\_\_\_\_ du jee yéi teeyí ] ?  
           who SA what SA they.think                their hand it.is  
           *Who thinks they have what?*

It seems, then, that multiple questions in Tlingit follow a pattern distinct from multiple questions in either English or Bulgarian. In a Tlingit multiple question, it is possible for the left periphery of the main clause to contain all the interrogative words in the sentence, or just a single interrogative word. Now, recall the principle which I introduced in (36), repeated below.

- (36) *Obligatory Displacement in Tlingit Questions:* Within any content question in Tlingit, an interrogative word must appear in the left periphery of the main clause.

A very simple ‘rider’ can be added to this principle which will correctly derive the properties of Tlingit multiple questions seen in (50) and (51).

- (52) *Obligatory Displacement in Tlingit Questions:* Within any content question in Tlingit, an interrogative word must appear in the left periphery of the main clause. When there are multiple interrogative words within the clause, the left periphery of the clause may contain more than one interrogative word, but this is not obligatory.

The generalization in (52) correctly entails the acceptability of the sentences in (50) and those in (51). I will thus take generalization (52) to henceforth replace the generalization in (36).

Besides the matter of how many interrogative phrases may occupy their left periphery, there are other interesting ways in which multiple questions differ across languages. One of the most widely studied concerns the so-called ‘Superiority Condition’. In its details, this condition is quite complicated and technical; for our purposes here, however, it can be stated as the following.

- (53) *Superiority Condition:* The relative order of the interrogative words in a multiple question must match the relative order that words with their grammatical function would have in a regular, declarative sentence.

One of the languages in which the Superiority Condition holds is English. We can see it at work in the pattern of ‘acceptability judgments’ below.

(54) Superiority Condition in English

- |                              |                         |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| a. My father ate a sandwich. | Subject precedes Object |
| b. Who ate what?             | Subject precedes Object |
| c. * What did who eat?       | Object precedes Subject |

In sentence (54a), the basic word order of a declarative English sentence is illustrated; in such sentences, the subject must linearly precede the object. Given the Superiority Condition, then, the subject must also linearly precede the object in an English multiple question. Thus, sentence (54b) is acceptable while sentence (54c) is not.

The Superiority Condition is not a principle limited to English, however. It is found in languages all over the world. One such language is Bulgarian. As mentioned in footnote 25, the basic word order of a Bulgarian declarative sentence places the subject to the left of the object. The pattern of judgments in (55) therefore indicates that the Superiority Condition is active within this language.

(55) Superiority Condition in Bulgarian (from Pesetsky 2000)

- a. Koj kakvo vižda?  
who what sees  
*Who sees what?*
- b. \* Kakvo koj vižda? <sup>28</sup>  
what who sees  
*Who sees what?*

The Superiority Condition, however, is not a linguistic universal. There are a great many languages in which the Superiority Condition seems not to hold. German is one well-studied example. Although there is much debate concerning the basic word-order of German, linguists widely agree that it places the subject to the left of the object. With this in mind, consider the pattern of judgments in (56).

(56) No Superiority Condition in German (from Richards 1997)

- a. Wer hat was gekauft?  
who has what bought?  
*Who bought what?*
- b. Was hat wer gekauft?  
what has who bought  
*Who bought what?*

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<sup>28</sup> Sentence (55b) can be interpreted to mean ‘What ate who?’ The asterisk marking this sentence, then, is intended to indicate that it is not a well-formed means of asking ‘Who ate what?’

In a multiple question, speakers of German will accept both the orders ‘subject-object’ and ‘object-subject’. This indicates that the Superiority Condition is not active in German. Another language in which the Superiority Condition seems not to hold is Haida. The ‘basic word order’ of Haida places subjects before objects (Enrico 2003; p. 74). However, as the following sentences indicate, an object *can* precede a subject in a Haida multiple question.

(57) No Superiority Condition in Haida (from Enrico 2003, p. 227)

- a. Guus-.uu giisda tyaah-gaa-ng?  
what-FOC who kill-EVID-INT  
*Who killed what?*
- b. Guus-.uu giisda taa-.asa-ang?  
what-FOC who eat-FUT-PR  
*Who will eat what?*

Given that the Superiority Condition holds in many, though not all languages, any study of Tlingit multiple questions should seek to determine whether the principle is active there. The following, quite robust pattern of judgments indicates that the Superiority Condition is indeed active in Tlingit.

(58) Superiority Condition in Tlingit

- a. Aa sá daa sá aawa<sub>x</sub>aa?  
who SA what SA they.ate.it  
*Who ate what?*
- b. \* Daa sá aa sá aawa<sub>x</sub>aa? <sup>29</sup>  
what SA who SA they.ate.it  
*Who ate what?*
- c. Aa sá goodéi sá woogoot?  
who SA where.to SA they.went  
*Who went where?*
- d. \* Goodéi sá aa sá woogoot?  
where.to SA who SA they.went  
*Who went where?*
- e. Aa sá wáa sá kuyawsikaa?  
who SA how SA they.said.to.someone  
*Who said what?*

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<sup>29</sup> Just as for sentence (55b), sentence (58b) can be understood to mean ‘What ate who?’ Its asterisk here, then, indicates that the sentence is not a well-formed means of asking ‘Who ate what?’

- f. \* Wáa sá aa sá kuyawsikaa?  
 how SA who SA they.said.to.someone  
*Who said what?*

The basic word order of Tlingit places subjects before objects and adverbial phrases (Leer 1991, Chapter 2). In the sentences above, we find that interrogative objects and adverbial phrases cannot precede interrogative subjects in Tlingit multiple questions. This strongly indicates that the Superiority Condition is active in Tlingit. As this is a result of some interest, I will introduce it as the following generalization.

- (59) *The Activity of the Superiority Condition in Tlingit:* The relative order of the interrogative words in a Tlingit multiple question must match the relative order that words with their grammatical function would have in a regular, declarative sentence.

Of course, more research must be done to fully test the generalization in (59). It is heartening to note, however, that all the naturally occurring examples of Tlingit multiple questions found in my selected corpus conform to the statement in (59). The following sentence, for example, comes from Frank Dick Sr.'s telling of "The Woman Who Married the Bear."

- (60) X'oon waa sákwshei aax aawa.aat.<sup>30</sup>  
 how.many how SA-dubit. there.at they.went  
*How many left in what way, I wonder?*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 196; line 60)

In sentence (60), we find that the interrogative word performing the role of the subject precedes that performing the role of an adverbial phrase, an order that is in conformity with the principle in (59).

The reader may have noticed that all the examples of Tlingit multiple questions above contain only two interrogative words. When linguists examine a language's multiple questions, they often give special attention to multiple questions that contain *more* than two interrogative words. Sometimes such sentences have special properties that distinguish them from multiple questions that have just two interrogative words. Unfortunately, it is often quite difficult to elicit judgments regarding such multiple questions. For example, although multiple questions with three interrogative words are possible in English, for most speakers, they begin to get quite awkward and difficult to understand. An English sentence such as "Who said what to who" will often sound rather 'silly' to an English speaker until a proper 'background story' is told. Sentences like "When did John eat what where?" will typically provoke an even more puzzled reaction, and speakers quickly lose confidence in their judgments. My attempts to elicit judgments regarding such multiple questions in Tlingit met with similar difficulty. It may be that multiple questions in Tlingit cannot have more than two interrogative words, or it may

<sup>30</sup> The translation of this sentence provided by Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer (1987) is "I wonder how many of them and how they got out of there?" I believe the gloss I provide in (60) to be a fair rephrasing of this English sentence that mirrors the syntax of the original Tlingit.

simply be that I was unable to construct a proper clarifying context for the sentences. Either way, more research is needed to determine whether such questions are possible in the language, and if so, what their grammar is.

Before we leave the subject of Tlingit multiple questions, let us consider a rather natural and practical question which has thus far escaped our attention. Recall that in Section 4, it was observed that if *any* sentence in Tlingit contains an interrogative word, then that sentence must also contain the particle *sá*. In a multiple question, however, there is more than one interrogative word. Must there correspondingly be more than one *sá* in a multiple question? Or, does a single *sá* suffice for the sentence? If the latter, is it impossible for there be more than one *sá* in a multiple question?

Although I wish to raise these questions here, they will be more thoroughly discussed in Section 11. Nevertheless, we may note immediately that the answer to the last of these questions is ‘no’. That more than one *sá* may appear within a Tlingit multiple question can be easily ascertained from the sentences in (50), (51) and (58). Sentences containing multiple *sá*’s are readily accepted by speakers, and every Tlingit multiple question I have ever been offered contained more than a single *sá*. It appears, then, that it is preferred for a multiple question in Tlingit to contain one *sá* for each of its interrogative words. This is introduced as the generalization in (61).

- (61) *Preference for Multiple Sá*: It is preferred for a multiple question in Tlingit to contain one *sá* for each of its interrogative words.

The generalization in (61) is also of no small typological interest. There are numerous languages that contain question particles that appear similar to *sá*. These languages differ, though, over whether multiple questions permit multiple question particles. In the Athabaskan language Navajo, for example, a multiple question cannot contain multiple instances of the question particles *sh* or *lá*.

- (62) Navajo (from Barss et al. 1991)

- a. \* Háí-lá      ha’át’íí-lá    nayiisnii’?  
           who-PRT    what-PRT    bought  
           *Who bought what?*
- b. Háí-lá      ha’át’íí    nayiisnii’?  
           who-PRT    what    bought  
           *Who bought what*

In the Indo-Aryan language Sinhala, however, it does seem possible for a multiple question to contain multiple instances of the Sinhala question particle *də*.

- (63) Sinhala (from Hagstrom 1998)

- Kau də monəwa də kieuwe?  
           who Q    what    Q read-E  
           *Who read what?*

More research is required, however, before it can be known how the Tlingit particle *sá* falls within a general typology of question particles.

Although it's easy to see that the answer to the last of our questions above is 'no', the answers to the first two are more difficult. The reader may note that sentence (60) seems to indicate that it is possible for a single *sá* to appear within a Tlingit multiple question. However, I believe I have found there to be some inter-speaker variation on the matter. This subject will be more completely addressed later in Section 11.

The following points summarize the preceding discussion.

(64) Multiple Questions and the 'Superiority Condition' in Tlingit

- (a) Within a Tlingit multiple question, the left periphery of the main clause can contain more than one interrogative word. It is not necessary, however, for *all* the interrogative words of a multiple question to appear within the clause's left periphery.
- (b) A multiple question in Tlingit is subject to the 'Superiority Condition'. That is, the relative order of the interrogative words in a Tlingit multiple question must match the relative order that words with their grammatical function would have in a regular, declarative sentence.
- (c) It is preferred for a multiple question in Tlingit to contain one *sá* for each of its interrogative words. Speakers differ over whether this preference is an absolute requirement (more details in Section 11).

## 7. Free Relatives and 'Matching Effects' in Tlingit

### 7.1 The Free Relative Construction in Tlingit

Thus far, our study of Tlingit interrogative words has focused upon their use in questions. It is quite common, however, for the interrogative words of a language to have a life outside of questions. Across languages, there tend to be many uses of interrogative words within declarative clauses. In English, for example, interrogative words such as 'who' and 'which' can function as relative pronouns.

- (65) a. The man *who* I saw at the game is here.  
b. The book *which* you lent to me is on the table.

A potentially related use of the English interrogative words is their appearance within the language's 'free relatives'. The term 'free relative' is a difficult one to explain in non-technical vocabulary. For our purposes, it suffices to say that a 'free relative' is a phrase that has the structure of an indirect question, but the meaning of a referring or quantificational expression. The following sentences illustrate the free relative construction in English.

- (66) a. I will go *where you go*.  
 b. I eat *what my dad eats*.  
 c. I read *what books he tells us to read*.  
 d. We will close the door *when he leaves*.  
 e. You will marry *who your father wants you to marry*.  
 f. He sang the song *how you sing it*.

In all the sentences above, the italicized material has the structural appearance of an indirect question.<sup>31</sup> However, these phrases do not have the meaning of indirect questions, but rather that of either referring expressions (66d, e, f) or quantificational expressions (66a, b, c). Sentence (66d), for example, may be paraphrased as “We will close the door at *the time that he leaves*”, while sentence (66b) may be paraphrased as “I eat *everything that my dad eats*.”

The free relative construction is a fairly common one in the languages of the world. Of course, not all languages have the construction; several East Asian languages, for example, seem not to have free relatives (e.g. Japanese and Tibetan). It is thus interesting to note that Tlingit does seem to have a free relative construction. The sentences in (67), all taken my selected corpus, contain structures that bear a definite similarity to English-style free relatives. Moreover, as their glosses indicate, these structures (indicated below in italics) can all be translated by means of an English free relative.<sup>32</sup>

(67) Free Relatives in Tlingit

- a. *Ch’a goo sá oil áa duhóon*, oil station, áwéanax nakúxch yaa yaakw.  
 just where SA oil part. they.buy, oil station, foc-part it.across they.go this boat  
*Wherever they would buy oil, an oil station, there the boats would sail.*  
 (Story 1995; p. 328; line 135)
- b. *Goo sáwé aax héenx latéedi yéeyi tle tléix’ áwé át uwagút...*  
 where SA-foc.part there.in water.in drift decess then once foc-part there.to he.went  
*Where he used to get washed into the sea, he went up just once...*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 170; line 44)
- c. *Tlax yáa daakw aa at xá sá du tuwáa sagóo noojín á áwé as.ée ...*  
 very this which part. food SA his spirit be.glad used.to that foc-part she.cook  
*Whichever foods he really used to like was what she cooked...*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 102; line 425)

<sup>31</sup> This is to say that if one takes the phrase “Do you know X”, and replaces the ‘X’ with the italicized material in these sentences, the result is a well-formed English sentence.

<sup>32</sup> Structures of this sort are briefly described in Naish (1966; p. 50), but few illustrative examples are provided.

- d. *Daa sá gaxyixáa á áyá gaxyi.een.*  
 what SA you.will.eat that foc-part you.will.kill  
*Whatever you'll eat is what you will kill.*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 120; line 214)
- e. *Goot'á sá anax kuyawóoli yeináx neilx kadagáan.*  
 where SA it.through there.be.holes thus.through house.at sun.shine  
*Wherever there were holes, the sun shone through into the house.*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 206; line 265)
- f. *Du tuwáa sigóowu át a káa yan ayawsikáa, daa sá ash tuwáa sagoowú.*  
 his spirit be.glad.REL thing for.it he.asked.him what SA his spirit be.glad  
*He asked him to get what he needed, whatever he needed.*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p.230; line 263)
- g. *Át gasa.aaxí aadooch sá has du een kawuneegí.*  
 to.them let.them.listen who.erg SA them.with they.speak  
*Let them listen to whoever tells them.*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 224; line 207)
- h. *Aanáx áwé woosh has uskóowjin, aaa, aadóo yádix sá kusateeyí.*  
 there.from foc-part each.other they.know yes who child.pred SA he.is  
*From there, they begin to know each other, yes, whoever's child a person is.*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 312; line 52)

Let us, then, consider in detail the claim that the Tlingit structures above should be classified as 'free relatives'. First, observe that these structures do appear to have the semantics of a free relative construction. This is indicated most clearly by the fact that they are above translated by means of English free relatives. Moreover, speakers of Tlingit will themselves use these Tlingit structures to translate English sentences containing free relatives. The following sentence was offered as a translation of the English sentence listed as its gloss.

- (68) *Aadóoch sá yéi wusneiyí ax yaagú du sée kkwashaa.*  
 who.erg SA he.fixed.it my boat his daughter I.will.marry  
*I will marry the daughter of whoever fixes my boat.*

More specifically, however, note that each of the italicized structures above has either the meaning of a definite description or of a universal expression. The italicized structures in sentences (67 b, c, e) and (68) are all interpreted as definite descriptions; sentence (67b), for example, may be faithfully translated as "He went up just once to *the place* where he used to get washed into the sea." Sentences (67a, d, f, g, h), however, are all interpreted as universal expressions; sentence (67d), for example, may be faithfully translated as "You will kill *everything* that you eat." As mentioned above, this ability to be interpreted either as a definite description or as a universal expression is the 'semantic hallmark' of



the free relative construction. I therefore conclude that the Tlingit structures above possess the characteristic semantics of free relatives.

Let us now examine whether these Tlingit structures have the characteristic syntactic form of a free relative construction. Observe that all the italicized structures above are all syntactically identical to indirect questions. In Tlingit, an indirect question (or ‘subordinate question’) has the following properties. First, in a Tlingit indirect question, the verb may be followed by the optional subordinative suffix *-i*. This suffix is illustrated in the following indirect questions, and may also be found in the italicized structures of (67 e, f, g, h) and (68).

- (69) a. Ch’a yeeháanch gax̣yisakóo [ wáa sá át gugateeyí ]  
           just 2pl.erg you.will.know how SA to.it it.will.be  
           *You will all find out what will happen.*  
           (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 214; line 420)
- b. Yoo kdujeek nuch áyá [ aadóo sá yoo x’atángi ]  
           they.wonder foc-part who SA he.is.talking  
           *People usually wonder who is talking.*  
           (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 82; line 10)
- c. Haa een akananík [ wáa sá wooch xáni yéi haa gux̣dateeyí ]  
           us with he.told how SA each.other area we.live  
           *He explained to us how we were to live together.*  
           (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 138; line 820)

More importantly, however, the verb of a Tlingit indirect question must appear within the ‘subordinative paradigm’. This paradigm may be distinguished by the following two qualities. First, the verb must bear a [-I] classifier, even if the mode of the verb would otherwise require a [+I] classifier (Leer 1991; p. 484). For example, note that a main verb in the perfective mode must bear a [+I] classifier (Leer 1991; p. 507).

- (70) a. Ax̣ éesh wusiteen.  
           my father he.saw  
           *He saw my father.*
- b. \* Ax̣ éesh wusateen.

Although the perfective mode otherwise requires a [+I] classifier, a perfective verb in an indirect question always takes a [-I] classifier; the following sentences illustrate.

- (71) a. ... has ax̣sakóowoot [ waa náx sá kuwusteeyí yá shí ]  
           so.that.they.know how through SA it.came.into.being this song  
           *... so that they will know why this song came into being.*  
           (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 284; line 457)

- b. Hél has wuduskú [ *waa sá has kawdayaayí* ]  
 not they.know how SA it.happened.to.them  
*No one knew what happened to them.*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 294; line 65)
- c. Kushtuyáx [ *wáa sá teet jiwustaaní* ]  
 it.doesn't.matter how SA wave they.pound  
*No matter how the waves pound.*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 170; line 54)
- d. Du een ka<sub>x</sub>anéek [ *wáa sáyú yóo xat kawdayaayí* ]  
 him with I.explain how SA.foc-pat it.happened.to.me  
*I told her what had happened to me.*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 116; line 351)

Similarly, note that a main verb in a stative imperfective mode must appear with a [+I] classifier (Leer 1991; p. 206, 207).

- (72) a. Lingít<sub>x</sub> haa **sítee**.  
 Tlingit.pred we.are  
*We are Tlingits.*

- b. \* Lingít<sub>x</sub> haa **satee**.

Again, although a stative imperfective mode requires a [+I] classifier, a stative imperfective verb in an indirect question takes a [-I] classifier.

- (73) Wududzikóo ku.aa [ *daat daax sá sateeyí* ]  
 they.know though what about.pred SA it.is  
*But it was known what it was for.*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 126; line 64)

All these data illustrate the general pattern that the ‘subordinative paradigm’ requires that a verb appear with [-I] classifier.

The italicized structures in (67) also seem to obey the requirement that the verb always appear with a [-I] classifier, even in modes otherwise requiring a [+I] classifier. The italicized verb in (67g) is in the perfective mode, and yet appears with the [-I] null classifier. Moreover, the italicized verbs in (67 c, f, h) are all in a stative imperfective mode. Nevertheless, they all appear with [-I] classifiers as well. Note, in particular, the interesting contrast in (67f) between the attributive clause *du tuwáa sigóowu* – which does contain a [+I] classifier<sup>33</sup> – and the free relative *daa sá ash tuwáa sagoowú* – which does not. I therefore conclude that the italicized structures in (67) carry one of the two

<sup>33</sup> There is no requirement that the verbs of attributive clauses carry [-I] classifiers. Indeed, a verb in an attributive clause will actually carry a [+I] classifier in *more* modes than a verb in a main clause, since a negated verb in an attributive clause may still bear a [+I] classifier (Story & Naish 1973; p. 372).

major formal properties of the subordinative paradigm: they must always appear with [-I] classifiers.

The other major formal property of the subordinative paradigm concerns the form of the decessive mode. The typical exponent of the decessive mode is the suffix *-in*, shown in (74a). In the subordinative paradigm, however, the decessive is signaled by means of the particle *yéeyi* (Leer 1991; p. 461); this is shown in (74b).

- (74) a. A<sub>x</sub> jeet awuteey**in** tl'atk.  
 my hand.to he.brought.it.decess land  
*She had given me some land.* (Leer 1991; p. 469; ex. 220)

- b. Wé sít' kanax awusxáat'i **yéeyich**.  
 that glacier surface.across he.dragged.it decess.because  
*Because he dragged it over the glacier.* (Leer 1991; p. 470; ex. 222)

In this context, then, note the italicized structure in (67b). In this structure, the decessive verb is accompanied by the particle *yéeyi*, a sure sign that the verb is in the subordinative paradigm. I therefore conclude that the italicized structures in (67) carry the second of the two major properties of the subordinative paradigm: the decessive mode is signaled by the particle *yéeyi*.

In general, then, it appears that the verbs within the italicized constructions in (67) are all within the subordinative paradigm. I therefore conclude that these italicized constructions are formally identical to Tlingit indirect questions. As they share the syntactic form of the language's indirect questions, I conclude that the italicized constructions in (67) possess the core syntactic characteristic of the free relative construction. Given our previous result that they also possess the core semantic characteristic of free relatives, I feel that it's quite appropriate to classify the italicized structures in (67) as 'free relatives'. Thus, Tlingit possesses the free relative construction, as exemplified by the sentences in (67).

The reader will note that a major premise of the preceding argument is that a verb appearing within the construction illustrated in (67) must appear in the subordinative paradigm. Note, however, that structures such as the following are infrequently encountered.

- (75) a. Daa sá yan wul<sup>i</sup>hash áwé alyéi<sub>x</sub>.  
 what SA shore it.drifted foc-part he.made.it  
*Whatever had drifted ashore is what he carved.*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 132; line 188)
- b. Aadóo sá du éet shukawdudli<sub>x</sub>ú<sub>xu</sub> áwé jeel<sub>x</sub>wá<sub>lch</sub> du yat'ákwx'.  
 who SA the.words.of.a.song.are.for foc-part he.shakes his face.beside.at  
*Whoever the words of a song are for would then rattle his hand beside his temple.*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 310; line 43)

c. *Aadóo sáyá kuhaankéex sitee, ka aadóo sáyá ch'a wáa sá yatee,*  
 who foc-part orphan.pred they.are and who foc-part just how SA they.are

tle ax téix' tóodáx áwé tle yóo naxsaneech.  
 then my heart inside.from foc-part then I.open  
*Whoever is an orphan, whoever has something the matter, I open up my heart to him.*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 126; line 546)

The structures italicized above look very much like the free relatives illustrated in (67). There is one interesting difference between them, however. In the italicized structures above, the verbs all carry [+I] classifiers. It follows that the verbs in these sentences are not in the 'subordinative paradigm', and so these structures are not entirely formally identical to the language's indirect questions.

Given the existence of the structures in (75), one might doubt whether the construction witnessed in (67) does require the component verb to appear within the subordinative paradigm. I will argue, however, that the structures illustrated in (75) are instances of a separate construction, one that should *not* be classified as a 'free relative', despite its other clear similarities to the structures in (67). For now, I will put off a grammatical analysis of the structures in (75), though one will be offered in Section 10.2. Briefly, I will argue that the italicized structures in (75) are related to the italicized structure in the following sentence.

(76) *Daa sá i tuwáa sigóowu át i jee yéi kgwatée.*  
 what SA your spirit be.glad thing your hand.at thus it.will.be  
*Whatever you want you will have.*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 128; line 607)

The italicized structure in (76) appears to be a noun phrase headed by the noun *át* 'thing'. This noun is then modified by the attributive clause *daa sá i tuwáa sigóowu* 'what you want'. A curious aspect of this attributive clause is the apparent use of an interrogative word as a relative pronoun. As I will discuss in Section 10.2, such uses of the interrogative word are to my knowledge not yet reported for Tlingit. Indeed, structures of the form in (76) are rather rare in texts<sup>34</sup>. However, assuming that it is generally possible for an attributive clause to contain an interrogative word functioning as a relative pronoun, the structures in (75) might be analyzed as such attributive clauses modifying a *phonologically empty* pronoun. The details of this analysis will be presented in Section 10.2. I merely wish to note here that the structures in (75) do not necessarily challenge the view that the structures in (67) may be categorized as 'free relatives'.

## 7.2 Matching Effects in Tlingit Free Relatives

One of the more fascinating properties of free relatives is that they display a class of phenomena known as 'matching effects' (Groos & van Riemsdijk 1981). Put simply, the interrogative phrase of a free relative must satisfy the 'selectional requirements' of the

<sup>34</sup> Though they are comparatively common in Nyman & Leer (1993).

phrase dominating the free relative. For example, a transitive verb like “touch” in English is required to have a noun phrase as its object. As the following sentences demonstrate, if anything other than a noun phrase is used as the object of “touch”, the resulting sentence is ill-formed.

- (77) a. I touched **the wall**.  
 b. \* I touched **to the wall**.

Linguists describe this property of “touch” by stating that “touch” *selects* for a noun phrase object; thus, the *selectional requirements* of “touch” include the fact that it must have a noun phrase object. Now consider the sentences in (78).

- (78) a. I touched [ **whatever** drawer you put it in ].  
 b. \* I touched [ **in whatever** drawer you put it ].

In both these sentences, the verb “touch” dominates a free relative. In the well-formed (78a), the interrogative phrase in this free relative is a noun phrase, while in the ill-formed (78b), the interrogative phrase is a prepositional phrase. Thus, it appears that the interrogative phrase of a free relative must satisfy the selectional requirements of whatever verb dominates that free relative. This is confirmed by looking at a wider class of verbs. Consider, for example, the verb “put”. As the following sentences demonstrate, this verb ‘selects for’ a prepositional phrase.

- (79) a. I put it **in the drawer**.  
 b. \* I put it **the drawer**.

Now, observe the facts in (80).

- (80) a. I put it [ **in whatever** drawer you put it ].  
 b. \* I put it [ **whatever** drawer you put it in ].

In the well-formed sentence (80a), the interrogative phrase of the free relative is a prepositional phrase, while in the ill-formed (80b), the interrogative phrase is a noun phrase. Again, we see that the interrogative phrase of the free relative must satisfy the selectional requirements of the verb that dominates the free relative. This property of free relatives is described by linguists as a ‘matching effect’.

Although more research is needed, such ‘matching effects’ might also be observable in the Tlingit free relative construction. First, note that the perfective mode of the telic, zero-conjugation derivative of the motion theme *ya-goot* ‘to go by foot’ requires the presence of a directional phrase marked by the ‘punctual’ postposition *-t*.

- (81) a. At            uwagút.  
           there.to he.walked  
           *He walked there.*

b. \* Aadéi            uwagút.  
           there.towards he.walked

c. \* Uwagút.

As the contrast between (81a) and (81 b, c) demonstrates, if this verbal form does not appear with a PP headed by *-t*, the sentence is ill-formed. Consider, then, the following sentence.

(82) Daakw aa      aant      xwagoodi sá uwagút.  
           which of.the town.to I.walked SA he.walked  
           *He walked to whatever city I walked to.*

In sentence (82), the only phrase marked by the postposition *-t* is the interrogative phrase of the free relative. Thus, the well-formedness of (82) indicates that the selectional requirements of the dominating verb *uwagút* can be satisfied by the interrogative phrase of the free relative that it dominates. Although more work must be done on this subject, it seems that ‘matching effects’ of the kind found for free relatives in other languages might also be found for the free relative construction of Tlingit.

The points in (83) summarize the material from this section.

#### (83) Free Relatives in Tlingit

- (a) Tlingit possesses a ‘free relative construction’. That is, it is possible for phrases with the form of indirect questions to act as referring or quantificational expressions.
- (b) More specifically, a free relative in Tlingit has the following properties. It is structurally identical to an indirect question in Tlingit. That is, any verb it contains must be in the ‘subordinative paradigm’, and can be marked by the suffix *-i*. However, despite this similarity in form, a free relative does not have the meaning of an indirect question. Rather, it functions either as a definite description or a quantificational expression.
- (c) Matching effects might be witnessed in Tlingit free relatives. That is, the interrogative phrase of the free relative can satisfy the selectional requirements of the phrase dominating the free relative.

## 8. Negative Polarity Indefinites in Tlingit

### 8.1 Negative Polarity Indefinites (‘NPIs’) and Interrogative Words

Another non-interrogative structure in Tlingit that employs the language’s interrogative words is its series of ‘negative polarity indefinites’. A concise non-technical explanation

of the term ‘negative polarity indefinite’ (or ‘NPI’) is quite impossible.<sup>35</sup> For our purposes here, however, we might simply enumerate the typical properties of NPIs across languages, using the English NPI “any” as an initial illustrative example. Then, we will see that the interrogative words of Tlingit share this range of properties. It follows that Tlingit interrogative words have a use as NPIs.

One of the hallmark properties of an NPI is that it functions as an ‘existential’ indefinite when contained within (i) a question, (ii) the ‘antecedent’ of a conditional statement (i.e., an ‘if’-clause in English), (iii) a negated phrase. Let us illustrate each of these properties using the English NPI “any”.

First, notice that “any” has the meaning of the ‘existential’ indefinite “some” when it is contained within a question.

- (84) a. Did you eat **any** cake? = Did you eat **some** cake?  
 b. Did you buy **any** soda? = Did you buy **some** soda?  
 c. Who has ever been to **any** parties? = Who has ever been to **some** parties?

This is also true of the indefinite phrases containing “any” as a sub-element, such as “anyone”, “anywhere”, “anything”, etc.

- (85) a. Did you see **anyone**? = Did you see **someone**?  
 b. Did you go **anywhere**? = Did you go **somewhere**?  
 c. Who has eaten **anything**? = Who has eaten **something**?

Next, note that “any” has the meaning of existential “some” when it is contained within an “if”-clause. The technical name for an “if”-clause is the ‘antecedent of a conditional statement.’

- (86) a. If you see **any** dogs, call me. = If you see **some** dogs, call me.  
 b. If he hears **any** music, he’ll dance. = If he hears **some** music, he’ll dance.  
 c. If we get **any** money, we’ll be lucky. = If we get **some** money, we’ll be lucky.

Again, this is also true of any indefinite phrases containing “any” as a sub-element.

- (87) a. If you see **anyone**, call me. = If you see **someone**, call me.  
 b. If he hears **anything**, he’ll dance. = If he hears **something**, he’ll dance.  
 c. If we go **anywhere**, we’ll call. = If we go **somewhere**, we’ll call.

Now, note that “any” again has the meaning of existential “some” or “a” when it is contained within a negated phrase.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> A concise *technical* definition is, of course, possible. By the term ‘negative polarity indefinite’, I mean an indefinite which functions as an existential quantifier only when in the scope of a (downward entailing) operator, and which functions as a universal (or ‘free choice’) quantifier when not in such a scope position.

<sup>36</sup> For independent reasons, the indefinite element “some” is often comparatively awkward in this environment, and usually carries a special interpretation.

- (88) a. Don't tell **any** teacher. = Don't tell **a** teacher.  
 b. He didn't catch **any** fish. = He didn't catch **a** fish.  
 c. No man with **any** sense would try. = No man with **some** sense would try.

Once more, this is also true of any indefinite phrases containing “any” as a sub-element.

- (89) a. Don't tell **anyone**. = Don't tell **someone**.  
 b. He didn't see **anything**. = He didn't see **something**.  
 c. We won't go **anywhere**. = We won't go **somewhere**.

In the sentences above, the indefinite “any” has the meaning of the existential indefinite “some”. A second ‘hallmark’ of an NPI such as “any” is that that when it doesn't appear in any of the environments listed above, it can have the meaning of the ‘universals’ “all” or “every”.

- (90) a. I will eat **any** sandwich. = I will eat **all** sandwiches.  
 b. Dave laughs at **any** joke. = Dave laughs at **every** joke.  
 c. This is true of **any** indefinite phrase containing “any”. =  
 This is true of **every** indefinite phrase containing “any”.

This isn't always so, however. Sometimes “any” just sounds awkward or ‘ungrammatical’ when it's on its own.

- (91) a. \* We danced **any** day last week. ≠ We danced **every** day last week.  
 b. \* I ate **any** of the sandwiches. ≠ I ate **all** of the sandwiches.  
 c. \* I have seen **any** of his movies. ≠ I have seen **all** of his movies.

As before, this property also holds of any indefinite phrase containing “any”.

- (91) a. He did **anything** we asked him to. = He did **everything** we asked him to.  
 b. She hates **anyone** on TV. = She hates **everyone** on TV.  
 c. I'll go **anywhere** with you. = I'll go **everywhere** with you.
- (92) a. \* We met **anyone** at the party. ≠ We met **everyone** at the party.  
 b. \* I've spent **anything** already. ≠ I've spent **everything** already.  
 c. \* We looked **anywhere** in the house. ≠ We looked **everywhere** in the house.

In summary, an NPI like English “any” functions as an ‘existential’ indefinite when contained inside (i) a question, (ii) the antecedent of a conditional, or (iii) a negated phrase. However, when it doesn't appear in one of those three environments, an NPI is either ‘awkward’, or has the meaning of a ‘universal.’

As illustrated above, the premier NPI of English is the element “any.” Moreover, as the following sentences demonstrate, the interrogative words of English *cannot* be used as NPIs.



- (93) a. \* Did you eat **what** pizza. (Did you eat **any** pizza?)  
 b. \* If you see **who**, tell me. (If you see **anyone**, tell me.)  
 c. \* He hasn't gone **where**. (He hasn't gone **anywhere**.)  
 d. \* I will eat **what**. (I will eat **anything**.)

As we will see in a moment, however, the interrogative words of Tlingit *can* be used as NPIs. With respect to this property, Tlingit is in good company. In many of the world's languages, interrogative words *do* have a 'second life' as NPIs. For example, Cheng (1991) reports that interrogative words in the Slavic languages Polish and Russian can function as NPIs. Cheng (1991) also reports that interrogative words may function as NPIs in Mandarin Chinese. Another Sino-Tibetan language in which interrogative words may function as NPIs is Tibetan (Cable 2005b). Some direct neighbors and relatives of Tlingit even share this property. The interrogative words of Navajo, a distant Athabaskan relative of Tlingit, have been reported to function as NPIs (Hale & Platero 2000). Finally, the interrogative words of Haida, a direct neighbor of Tlingit, can be used as NPIs. Let us pause to consider in more detail the behavior of interrogative words in Haida, as they will prove to be an interesting parallel to those in Tlingit.

As reported in Enrico (2003), an interrogative word in Haida may be interpreted as an existential indefinite when contained within a negated phrase.

- (98) Gam 7adàahl **tlíijaan**-tl'aa 'laa hl qing-.ang-gan.  
 not yesterday where-CL 3p I see-NEG-PA  
*I didn't see her anywhere yesterday.* (Enrico 2003; p. 504)

Interrogative words in Haida may also be interpreted as existentials when contained within the antecedent of a conditional.

- (99) **Nang**-.an dang qin-s-dluu-hl , 'laa kil 'laa-.ang  
 who-CL you see-PR-if-IMP 3p-to say.hello  
*If you see anyone, say hello (to them).* (Enrico 2003; p. 489)

Enrico (2003; p. 490) also reports that interrogatives may be interpreted as existential indefinites when contained within questions; however, no examples are given in the context of his discussion of this fact. Finally, it is reported that interrogative words in Haida may be interpreted as universals when they appear on their own, outside of the three aforementioned contexts.

- (100) **Ginn**-han 'la taa-gang-gang.  
 what-clitic 3p eat-FREQ-PR  
*He always eats anything.* (Enrico 2003; p. 490)

All the properties above indicate that the interrogative words of Haida may function as negative polarity indefinites.

## 8.2 Tlingit Interrogative Words as Negative Polarity Indefinites

Let us now turn to Tlingit, and consider whether it also follows this highly robust grammatical pattern. First, let us examine whether the interrogative words of Tlingit may function as existential indefinites when contained within negated phrases. As the following sentences amply demonstrate, this is indeed a highly frequent construction within the language.

### (101) Tlingit Interrogative Words as Existentials Within Negated Phrases

- a. **Tlél wáa** sáyú                      uneigị́k yóo.  
not how SA.foc-part let.it.not.happen  
*Don't let **anything** happen to it.*  
(Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 92; line 212)
- b. Yá nas'gi.aa **l daa** sá oọxsatéen, daax'oon.aa a yís yan uwanéi  
that third.time not what SA he.saw fourth.time for.it he.prepared  
*The third time, when he didn't see **anything**, he prepared for the fourth one.*  
(Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987, p. 112, line 59)
- c. Ku.aa x'wán **tlél wáa** sá yoo ysaneigị́k.  
though prtcl not how SA let.you.not.do  
*Please don't do **anything** to him.*  
(Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 134; line 233)
- d. **Tléil aadóo** sá ạ́x ulgeenéeḳ.  
not who SA it.at look  
*Don't **anybody** look at it!*  
(Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 304; line 39)
- e. **Tlél** tsu **aa** sá yéi tusatínch.  
not too who SA we.have.seen  
*We haven't seen **anyone**.*  
(Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 172; line 21)
- f. **Tlél** tsu Sitka, tlél tsu Hoonah, **tlél** tsu **goox'** sá yéi daaduné.  
not too Sitka not too Hoonah not too where.at SA it.is.done  
*It wasn't made in Sitka, or Hoonah, or **anywhere** else.*  
(Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 204; line 174)

- g. **Tlél** tsu tléix' wáa sá xat utí.  
 not too one how SA I.am  
*But, there wasn't **anything** wrong with me.* <sup>37</sup>  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 70; line 602)
- h. **Tlél** du too ushgú du éek' saayí ch'a **aadóoch** sá wulteení.  
 not her mind it.is.glad her brother name just who.erg SA he.watches.it  
*She didn't like **anyone** else to look after her brother's namesake.*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 140; line 858)
- i. **Tlél** tsu gíwé tsu **aadóo** sá ax x'éide toowú unéekw.  
 not too Q.foc-part too who SA my mouth.towards mind it.hurts  
*Not **any** of them seems to take offense at what I say.* <sup>38</sup>  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 158; line 1262)
- j. **Tlél** du too ushgú ch'a **daakw** aa sá du aat hás du een tooót  
 not his mind it.is.glad just which of.them SA his aunt pl with.him inside.to  
 wutoo.aadí du jiyís.  
 we.went his hand.for  
*But, he didn't want **any** of his aunts to be taken in by us for him to live with.*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 248; line 616)

These sentences clearly indicate that one of the four major properties of NPIs holds of Tlingit interrogative words.

Another major property of NPIs is that they may be interpreted as 'universals' when appearing alone, outside of any negated phrases, conditionals or questions. As the following sentences demonstrate, this is also a highly frequent usage of Tlingit interrogative words.

#### (102) Tlingit Interrogative Words as Universals

- a. Ch'a **aadóo** sá déix, tléix', yéi yaa dax has anayáan, uháan tsú.  
 just who SA two one thus they.were.carrying.them us too  
***Everyone** [had] one or two they were carrying in their pack, even us.*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 70; line 595)

<sup>37</sup> The translation of this sentence offered by Nyman & Leer (1993) is "But, I was doing just fine." I believe the gloss I provide in (101g) to be a fair rephrasing of his English sentence, and to more closely mirror the syntax of the original Tlingit. Actually, an even more faithful rendering of this Tlingit expression would perhaps be "I wasn't anyhow" or "I wasn't in any (particular) way." This highly frequent expression has a somewhat idiomatic interpretation as "I am fine" or "I am well."

<sup>38</sup> The translation of this sentence offered by Nyman & Leer (1993) is "None of them seem to take offense at what I say." I believe the gloss I provide in (101i) to be a fair rephrasing of his English sentence, and to more closely mirror the syntax of the original Tlingit.

- b. **Goot'át** sákwshéiwé kunxasheech du eegáa wé ax léelk'w yóo.á.  
 where SA.dubit.foc-part I.keep.searching for.her that my grandmother they.say  
*I kept searching for my grandmother **everywhere**, they say.*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 108; line 150)
- c. Tsu **daa** sá has du een ka<sub>x</sub>aneek tle k'adéin, ch'a kalx'áank.<sup>39</sup>  
 also what SA to.them I.explain then well just without.anger  
*I explain **everything** to them carefully, without anger.*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 158; line 1263)
- d. Tle ch'a **goodéi** sá kei shax'íl'ch tle yóo.  
 then just where.towards SA it.slides then thus.  
*It slides **every** which way.*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 168; line 28)
- e. Tsu yóodáx, **goodáx** sá gán yaa yakak<sub>x</sub>ajéilch.  
 also yonder.from where.from SA firewood I.would.bring.it  
*From far off, from **all over**, I would bring loads of firewood.*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 184; line 355)
- f. **Daa** sáwé – x'éitaa ka wé x'wáat' xá ... kei kawtuwajél tle.  
 what SA.foc-part cutthroat and that trout indeed we.pulled.them.out then  
***Anything** – cutthroat and trout...we pulled them out [of the water].*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 188; line 439)
- g. **Daa** sá – tlél tsu ch'a daa sá a góot wutee yú.á.<sup>40</sup>  
 what SA not too just what SA it without it.was they.say  
***Everything** – nothing was left out, they say.*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 234; line 335)

We find, then, that two of the four major properties of NPIs hold of Tlingit interrogative words.

The third major property of NPIs is that they may be interpreted as existentials when appearing within the antecedent of a conditional. Although such constructions are rather rare in texts, it does appear that it is possible for Tlingit interrogative words to be interpreted as existentials when contained within conditional antecedents. The following sentences illustrate.

<sup>39</sup> Note that the form *kalxáank* 'without anger' illustrates the textually rare nominal construction which Leer (1991; p. 458) argues to be the historical source of the Optative and Prohibitive modes.

<sup>40</sup> Note that this sentence also contains an interrogative word interpreted as an existential within a negated phrase.

(103) Tlingit Interrogative Words as Existentials Within Conditional Antecedents <sup>41</sup>

- a. **Wáa** sá wuneiyí ch'u tle yax yaa kuwaklajakch, wé toowóo néekw.  
 how SA it.happened just then it.would.leave.people.weak that spirit pain  
*If **anything** ever happened to an infant, the grief would leave us weak.*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 280; line 417)
- b. Ch'a **wáa** sá óosh xat woonee, tle kagaxducháak áwé.  
 just how SA dubit. it.happened.to.me then they.will.pick.them.up foc-part  
*If **something** were to happen to me, they would pack them up.*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 26; line 333)
- c. Kushtuyáx tle kóox' ch'a aadóo sá **wáa** sá wuneeyí.  
 it.doesn't.matter then people.at just who SA how SA it.happened  
*It doesn't matter to people if **something** happens to **someone**.*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 26; line 346)
- d. Ch'a **wáa** sá natéeni du ká ... yéi itukgwatée 'O – isháan ax wóo ...'  
 just how SA it.is.IF his surface thus you.will.think poor my father.in.law  
*If there is **anything** wrong with his grave, you will think 'O – my poor father in law'.*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 148; line 1054)
- e. Tsu **daa** sá a káx has xat x'eiwasoos'... "Ha yóo áyá yéi daadunéi ka yóo."  
 also what SA it about they.ask.me thus foc-part thus one.does and thus  
*And if they ask me about **anything**... "This what you do, this and that."*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 158; line 1265)

<sup>41</sup> Of the following sentences, only (103d) contains a clause explicitly marked as a conditional antecedent. In all the other sentences, the clause translated as the antecedent of a conditional is, syntactically, just a bare subordinate clause. One might wonder, then, to what extent these structures may be classifiable as 'concessive free relatives' (discussed later, in Section 10.3). Of course, if these clauses were simply a species of free relative, then they would not be evidence that interrogative words may be used as existentials in conditional antecedents.

A simple, non-technical answer to this question cannot be offered. One property that distinguishes concessive free relatives from conditional antecedents is whether the clause *presupposes* that there exists a referent of the indefinite expression. The reader might get a feel for this distinction by replacing the conditional antecedents in the English glosses with English concessive free relatives. For example, sentence (103d) would be rendered "Whatever is wrong with his grave, you will think..." The reader will note that the sentence with the concessive free relative *presupposes*, or *assumes*, that there *is* something wrong with the grave, while the original conditional gloss does not. In context, it is clear that the speaker does not mean to assume that there is something wrong with the grave, which is presumably why the translator chose the conditional construction as its translation rather than a concessive free relative. Similarly, all the above sentences share the property that, in context, the speaker does *not* assume that a referent for the indefinite expression exists. For this reason, the claim that these subordinate clauses are conditional antecedents – and not just a species of free relative – is justified.

f. Haa ch'a aa`dei      yei' xat na.oo`, **daa`** sa l a yax kxwanee`gi. <sup>42</sup>  
 just towards.it thus excuse.me what SA not like.it I.tell  
*Please excuse me, if I tell **anything** wrong.*  
 (Williams 1978; line 9)

Thus, we may conclude that three of the four major properties of NPIs hold of Tlingit interrogative words.

The fourth and final property of NPIs is that they may be interpreted as existentials when appearing inside of questions. Interestingly, within my selected corpus, there are no clear examples of interrogative words within questions functioning as existentials. The following sentence is the only potential example I was able to find.

(104) Tlingit Interrogative Words as Existentials Within Questions

Tleigíł ch'a **wáa** sá yakgeekaa yá i kéek' eetéex' xá?  
 then.Q.not just how SA you.will.say this your younger.brother absence.for indeed  
*Aren't you going to say **anything** to eulogize your younger brother?"*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 230; line 28)

The reader should note, though, that in the sentence above, the interrogative word is *also* contained within a negated sentence. Thus, the existential interpretation of the interrogative word could be licensed by the negation, and not necessarily by the question itself.

It is unclear what to conclude from the absence of the relevant structures from the corpus. Certainly, speakers should be consulted regarding the well-formedness of structures like *Daa sá gé iyatéen?* and whether they can mean "Can you see anything?" Note that structures of this form do occasionally appear within my corpus, but they are largely translated as self-directed (or "I wonder") questions.<sup>43</sup>

(105) a. **Wáa** teeyích sá kwshé wéi **gé** yéi xat daayaká?  
 how it.is SA dubit. foc-part Q thus he.says.to.me  
*I wonder why he's saying this to me.*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 170; line 69)

b. Ch'a **daat** yís át sákwshéiwégí?  
 just what for thing SA.dubit.foc-part-Q  
*I wonder what that could be for?*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 182; line 325)

<sup>42</sup> Sentence (103f) is from the Tongass dialect of Tlingit, which preserves the system of glottal modifications that developed into tones in the other dialects of Tlingit. For this reason, a special orthography is required for Tongass Tlingit vowels, one distinct from the orthography used throughout for examples from the more prevalent 'tonal' dialects of Tlingit. The sentence in (103f) is written in the orthography used in Williams (1978).

<sup>43</sup> It is actually a remarkably common pattern across languages for the addition of a yes/no particle to transform a plain content question into a 'self-directed' or 'rhetorical' question. For example, Rudin (1986; p. 113) has an extensive discussion of this grammatical pattern in Bulgarian.

- c. **Wáa** sákwshéǵí tsú tlél at jee<sub>x</sub> too.aat **ǵí**?  
 how SA.dubit.Q too not something's.hand.at we.walk Q  
*I wonder why we never ran into any wild animals.*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 186; line 418) <sup>44</sup>

In some cases, sentences of this form are translated as simple content questions, though in context it seems that they are all still self-directed (“I wonder”) questions.<sup>45, 46</sup>

- (106) a. **Wáa** **ǵí** s'é **ǵé** xwsinei wé kusaxa kwáan kél't'i **ǵé**?  
 how SA.Q dubit. Q I.do that cannibal ash Q  
*What more can I do to the cannibal's ashes?*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 78; line 119)
- b. **Aa** sá kwshí yóo **ǵé** tlax yéi daléich?  
 who SA dubit. foc-part Q very thus they.yell  
*Who were they that yelled that way?*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 90; line 170)
- c. **Aadóo** sákwshéǵé yanax éik ashuxsagoodín **ǵé**?  
 who SA.dubit.Q he.bring.s.him.down Q  
*Who would have brought him back down to us?*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 104; line 102)
- d. **Daat** yis. át sákwshéiwéǵé?  
 what for thing SA.dubit.foc-part.Q  
*What is that for, anyway?*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 120; line 444)

Therefore, it may be that the existence of the construction above renders inaccessible an existential use of interrogative words in Tlingit questions. Further research must be done to determine whether this is so.

If, in fact, Tlingit interrogative words *can't* be used as existentials in questions, that needn't undermine their status as NPIs. After all, they do possess three of the four

<sup>44</sup> The translation of this sentence offered by Nyman & Leer (1993) is “It's a wonder we never ran into any wild animals.” I believe that the gloss I offer above is a faithful restatement of the original gloss, one which also more directly reflects the syntax of the original Tlingit.

<sup>45</sup> Note that the sentences in (105) and (106) may contain multiple instances of the question particle *ǵé/ǵí*. It is not presently known how general is this ability to have more than one question particle in a sentence.

<sup>46</sup> The most common means of indicating that a question is ‘self-directed’ seems to be the ‘dubitative’ particle *kwshé/kwshí*. The following sentence illustrates its use.

(i) **Wáa** sá **kwshé** eewanéi?  
 how SA dubit. it.happened.to.you  
*I wonder what happened to you.* (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 222; line 165)

Observe that most of the sentences in (105) and (106) contain this particle in addition to the question particle *ǵé/ǵí*. Note, though, that *kwshé* may contain the particle *ǵé* underlyingly, the former particle being a contraction of the sequence *ǵé-u-shé*. Thus, it may be that the function of signaling a question as ‘self-directed’ is primitively associated with *ǵé/ǵí*.

‘core’ properties of NPIs. Moreover, across different languages, NPIs have sometimes been found to lack one of the four ‘core’ properties. For example, Cheng (1991; p. 104) reports that NPIs in Polish cannot be used as existentials in negated phrases. More interestingly, Haspelmath (1997) notes that in Hungarian, indefinites prefixed with *akár*- may be used as existentials in conditional antecedents, and negated phrases, and they may be used as universals (or ‘free choice’ items) when alone. However, such indefinites may not be used as existentials in questions. Thus, it may be that interrogative word NPIs in Tlingit possess precisely the distribution of the Hungarian *akár*- indefinites.<sup>47</sup> Future research will have to determine the matter.

### 8.3 The Use of Interrogative Words in Negated Expressions

By far, the most common context in which an interrogative word functions as an indefinite is within negated phrases. As this construction is the most commonly encountered, let us pause to consider a few additional rules that seem to govern it.

Let us first note that, in all the sentences in (101), the marker of negation precedes the interrogative word. In fact, this seems to be a rigid requirement for these structures. If the marker of negation does not precede the interrogative word, the interrogative word cannot be interpreted as an existential indefinite.<sup>48</sup>

- (107) a. **Tlél daa** sá xwaxaa.  
           not what SA I.ate  
           *I didn’t eat anything.*

- b. \* **Daa** sá **tlél** xwaxaa.

It is not, however, required that the marker of negation *directly* precede the interrogative word in this construction. As seen in sentences (101 e, f, g, h, i, j), the negative marker may be separated from the interrogative word by a variety of structures. In sentences (101 e, f, g, i), the particle *tsú* ‘also, too’ intervenes between the negation and the interrogative word.<sup>49</sup> The ability for this particle to intervene between negation and the interrogative word has been independently confirmed to me by native speakers, one of whom offered the following sentence as the translation of its English gloss.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>47</sup> On the other hand, note that such indefinites seem to be remarkably rare. Out of the forty language sample in Haspelmath (1997), only Hungarian possesses an NPI which can appear in all the ‘core’ NPI environments except questions.

<sup>48</sup> Sentence (107b) can, however, be interpreted as the question “What didn’t I eat?” Thus, the asterisk marking this sentence should be understood to indicate that it cannot be used to translate the English gloss of (107a).

<sup>49</sup> Note that in the sentences in question, this particle surfaces as *tsu*, with low tone. This is due to the fact that the high tone of the particle becomes ‘stolen’ when it precedes the noun it modifies (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 507).

<sup>50</sup> The semantic effect of adding the particle *tsú* in these contexts requires further study. I have the sense that it might be a rather weak ‘emphatic’ element here, somewhat akin to ‘at all’ in English sentences such as “My father didn’t eat anything at all.”



- (108) A<sub>x</sub> éesh **tlél** tsu **daa** sá awuxaa.  
 my father not too what SA he.ate  
*My father didn't eat anything.*

Furthermore, in sentence (101g), the numeral *tléix* 'one' intervenes between the two. In sentences (101 h, j), the particle *ch'a* 'just' intervenes, while in sentence (101i), the question particle *gíwé* does. Finally, in sentences (101 h, j), the negation appears in the matrix clause, before the matrix verb, while the interrogative word is contained within the subordinate clause.

Note, however, that the negative marker and the interrogative word cannot be separated by just any arbitrary material. For example, it seems that the negation cannot be separated from the interrogative word by the subject of the negation's clause. Speakers reject sentence (109) as ill-formed.

- (109) \* **Tlél** a<sub>x</sub> éesh **daa** sá awuxaa  
 not my father what SA he.ate  
*My father didn't eat anything.*

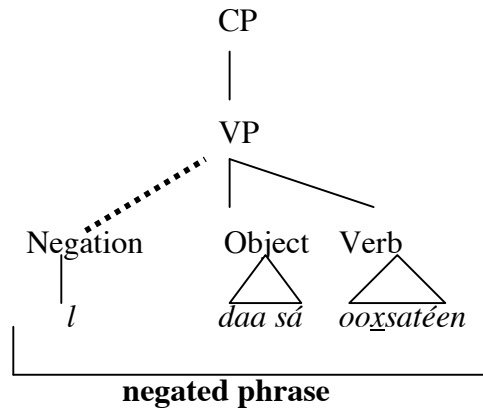
The contrast between sentence (109) and those in (101) is an interesting one that should be captured by our theory of Tlingit grammar. We might seek to derive these facts from a theory of the position of negation in a Tlingit clause. More specifically, let us entertain the following hypothesis.

- (110) *The Position of Negation in a Tlingit Clause:* Within a Tlingit clause, a negative marker can only directly precede a verb phrase or a noun phrase. When it precedes a verb phrase, the negation negates the entire clause. When it precedes a noun phrase, the negation negates only the noun phrase it directly precedes.

Let us see how this hypothesis accords with the facts above.

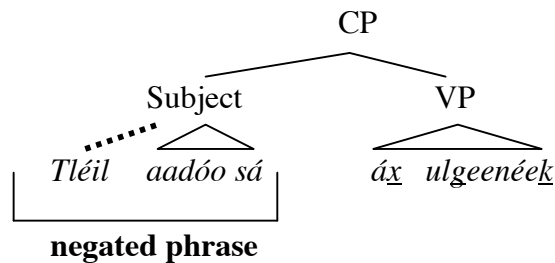
First, note that this hypothesis straightforwardly predicts that sentences (101a-d) are well-formed. Let us first consider sentences (101a-c). In each of these sentences, the interrogative word is located within a verb phrase that is directly preceded by negation. For example, in (101b), the interrogative word is the direct object of the verb *ooxsatéen*; thus, according to the structure in (1), this interrogative word is located within the verb phrase of the clause. The negation preceding this interrogative word may therefore be parsed as directly preceding the verb phrase containing it. According to the hypothesis in (110), then, the clause containing the interrogative word is negated, and so the interrogative word may be interpreted as an existential indefinite. The following structural diagram illustrates this argument.

(111) The Structure of Sentence (101b)



Let us now consider sentence (101d). In this sentence, the interrogative word *aadóo* is the subject of the clause. Thus, according to the structure in (1), this interrogative word is located *outside* of the verb phrase of the clause. The negation preceding this noun phrase therefore cannot be parsed as directly preceding the verb phrase of the clause. It can, however, be parsed as directly preceding the interrogative noun phrase itself. According to the hypothesis in (110), then, the subject noun phrase is the phrase negated by the negative marker. As the interrogative word is trivially contained within the subject phrase, it may be interpreted as an existential indefinite. The following structural diagram illustrates this argument.

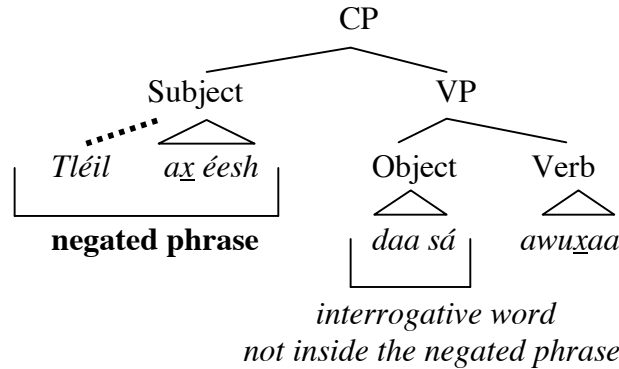
(112) The Structure of Sentence (101d)



In addition to predicting the well-formedness of (101a-d), the hypothesis in (110) also straightforwardly predicts the *ill*-formedness of sentence (109). In this sentence, the negation directly precedes a noun phrase, *ax éesh* ‘my father’. Since *ax éesh* is the subject of the clause, this noun phrase precedes the verb phrase of the clause. Thus, the negation in (109) cannot directly precede the verb phrase of the clause. According to hypothesis (110), then, the negation negates only this noun phrase. Thus, a sequence such as *tlél ax éesh* can mean only ‘not my father’. Now, note that the interrogative word *daa* is the direct object of the clause. Thus, it is contained within the VP of the clause. Therefore, the interrogative word is *not* a part of the negated phrase (i.e., the subject), and so it cannot be interpreted as an existential. It follows that sentence (109) cannot be used

to mean ‘My father didn’t eat anything.’ The following structural diagram illustrates the argument above.<sup>51</sup>

(113) The Structure of Sentence (109)



We find, then, that Hypothesis (110) accords with the facts in (101a-d) and (109). But, what about sentences (101e-j) and (108)? In each of these sentences, some additional material intervenes between the negation and the interrogative word. Let us now see whether Hypothesis (110) can correctly predict the well-formedness of these sentences.

First, recall that in sentences (101e, f, g, i) and (108), the particle *tsú* ‘too’ intervenes between the negation and the interrogative word. Interestingly, note that in these sentences the particle lacks its lexically specified high tone. This indicates that the particle is a proclitic combining with the following noun phrase, as in the following sentences (see Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 507).<sup>52</sup>

- (114) a. **Tsu hú** áyá yáat yan x’ayeey.áx.  
 too he foc-part here you.heard  
*You heard him here also.*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 248; line 88)
- b. **Ka** yáanáx á a shóodei han aa yá Kaatyé, **tsu hú**.  
 and here it its end.toward he.stands someone that Kaatyé too he.  
*And on this side, someone is standing next to it, Kaatyé, he too.*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 258; line 19)

<sup>51</sup> Note that the well-formedness of the following Haida sentence demonstrates that Hypothesis (110) cannot be true in that language.

(i) **Gam** weed-han **nan-tl’aa** tla.àwhlaa hlangaa-.ang-gang.  
 not now-CL who-CL fix could-NEG-PR  
*No one could fix it right now.*

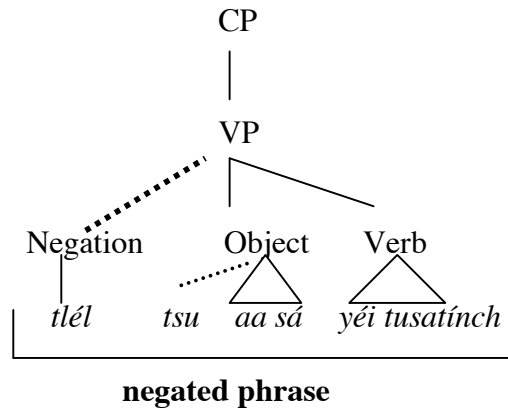
(Enrico 2003; p. 504)

In this sentence, the interrogative word *nan-tl’aa* is the subject of the clause. Thus, the preceding negation cannot be parsed as directly preceding the verb phrase. However, since the adverb *weed-han* cannot be parsed as a sub-part of the subject, the negation doesn’t directly precede the interrogative noun phrase either. Thus, Hypothesis (110) cannot be true for Haida.

<sup>52</sup> Note that the first *tsu* in sentence (101i) may indicate that *tsú* can also be an enclitic to *tlél*. Such an enclitic analysis of *tsu* would also account for sentences (101e, f, g) and (108).

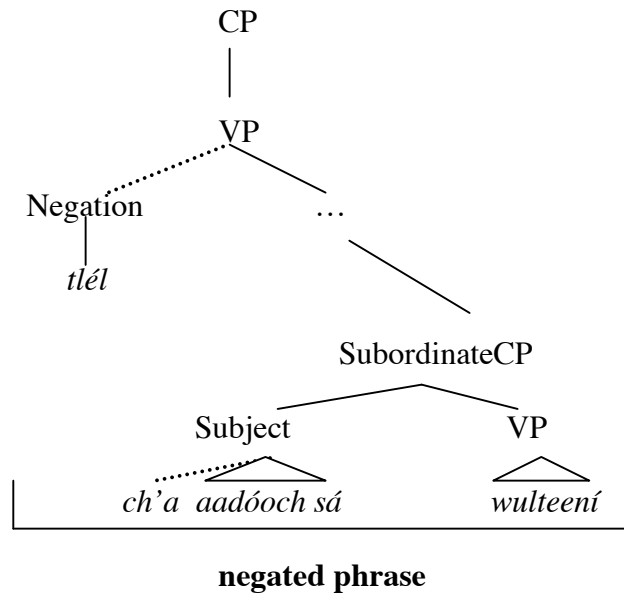
As the particle *tsú* in these sentences is a sub-component of the following interrogative phrase, it follows that these sentences are consistent with Hypothesis (110). For example, sentence (101e) could receive the following structural analysis, consistent with (110).

(115) The Structure of Sentence (101e)



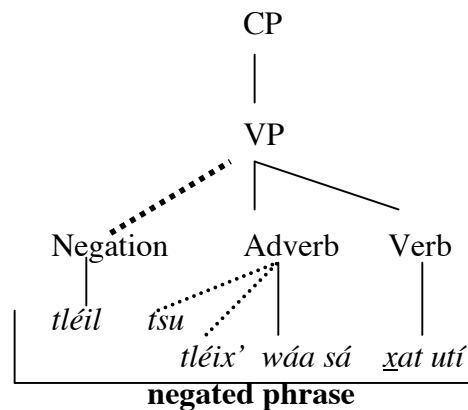
Note that the logic of this explanation can also provide an account of those sentences in which the particle *ch'a* 'just' intervenes between the negation and the interrogative word (101 h, j). Given that *ch'a* is a phrasal proclitic (Leer 1991; p. 31), it forms a subcomponent of the expression which follows it. Therefore, just as with the particle *tsú*, the intervention of these particles between the negation and the interrogative word is consistent with Hypothesis (110). The following structure provides a (partial) analysis of sentence (101h).

(116) The Structure of Sentence (101h)



This form of explanation might also account for sentence (101g). In this sentence, the numeral *tléix'* intervenes between the negation and the interrogative word. If this numeral were a subconstituent of the interrogative phrase projected by *wáa*, then a parse of this sentence consistent with Hypothesis (110) would be available. The structure in (117) illustrates.

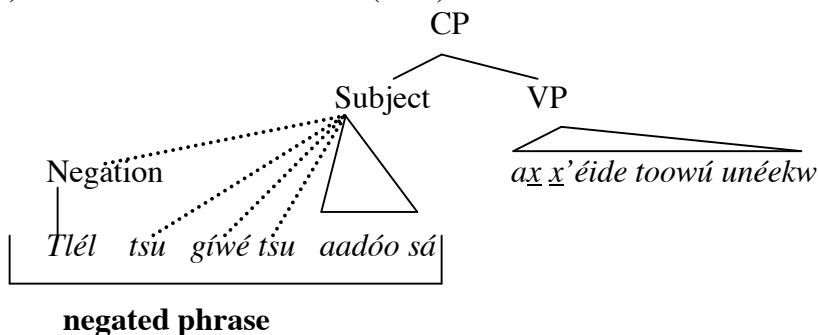
(117) The Structure of Sentence (101g)



Under this analysis, the numeral *tléix'* modifies the interrogative word *wáa*, the resulting sentence being loosely translatable as “There was not one thing wrong with me”. Therefore, a critical test of Hypothesis (110) would be to independently verify whether the numeral *tléix'* can, in fact, modify the interrogative word *wáa* in this way.

Let us now turn to sentence (101i), as it raises some interesting questions regarding the syntax of Tlingit ‘yes-no questions.’ In sentence (101i), the ‘yes-no’ question particle *gé/gí* intervenes between the negation and the interrogative word. As the interrogative word in this sentence is the subject, Hypothesis (110) entails that the preceding negation must be directly preceding the phrase projected by this interrogative word. Thus, the phrase projected by this interrogative word must somehow contain the question particle *gé/gí*. There are two potential ways in which this structure might be generated in a manner consistent with Hypothesis (110). First, it could be that the question particle *gé/gí* can be a proclitic subcomponent of a noun phrase. Under this analysis, sentence (101i) might receive the following analysis.

(118) The Structure of Sentence (101i)

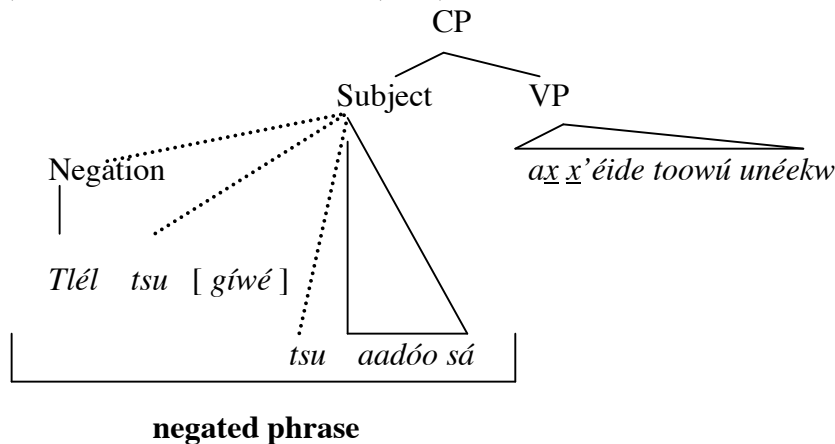


Another possibility, however, is that the question particle *gé/gí* is a so-called ‘second position clitic’, such as those found to exist in Algonquian languages like Passamaquoddy (Bruening 2001). A second position clitic is one that occurs after the first main constituent in a clause. In many cases, this clitic can ‘disrupt’ noun phrase constituents. Such ‘disruption’ is illustrated in the following Passamaquoddy sentence.

- (119) *Yuhk yaq ona Skicinu-w-ok sikte-hpay-ultu-wok.*  
 these Quot also indians-3P to.death-be.scared-Plural-3P  
*The Indians are scared to death.* (Bruening 2001; p. 54)

Even though the particles *yaq* and *ona* are not structural subcomponents of the noun phrase *Yuhk Skicinu-w-ok* ‘the Indians’, their status as ‘second position clitics’ allows them to be interposed between the two elements of the noun phrase. If the Tlingit question particle *gé/gí* were such a ‘second position clitic’, then it could be placed in between the elements of a noun phrase without actually being a structural subcomponent of that noun phrase. Thus, sentence (101i) might receive the following analysis, consistent with Hypothesis (110).

(120) The Structure of Sentence (101i)



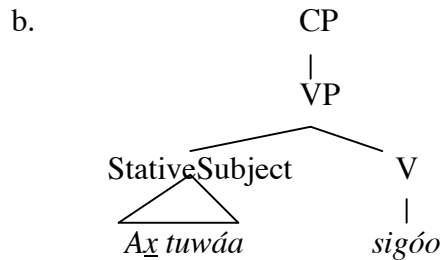
Thus, a crucial test of Hypothesis (110) is whether, in fact, the question particle *gé/gí* can either function as a nominal proclitic, or as a ‘second position clitic.’

Sentences (101h, j) provide another interesting challenge to Hypothesis (110). In these sentence, it appears that negation precedes the subject of the main clause *du too* ‘his/her mind’. Given the assumed clausal structure in (1), it follows that negation does *not* directly precede the main verb phrase in either of these sentences. Thus, Hypothesis (110) predicts that only the subjects in these sentences are negated. Given that the interrogative words in these sentences are contained within the verb phrase – and not the subject – Hypothesis (110) predicts that they cannot be interpreted as existential indefinites. Thus, Hypothesis (110) predicts that sentences (101h, j) should be as ill-formed as sentence (109), *contrary to fact*.

Note, however, that in both sentences the main clause subject is the sole argument of a Stative verb, *si-goo* ‘to be glad’. Recall that Stative verbs are distinguished by the fact that their subjects induce *objective* agreement prefixes on the verb. Suppose that, in

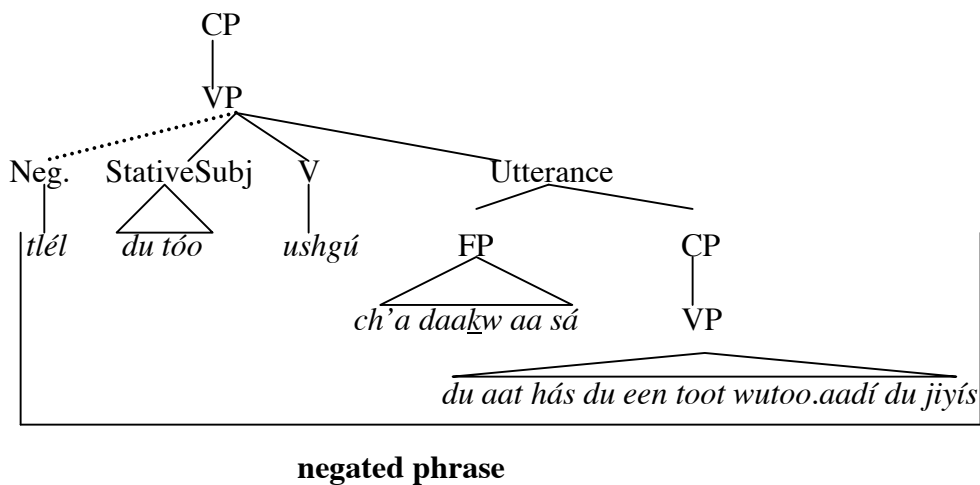
addition to this special morphological property, the subjects of Stative verbs also had the special syntactic property of being *internal to the verb phrase*. That is, suppose that – contrary to what is suggested by the structure in (1) – some subjects *are* internal to the verb phrase, specifically the subjects of Stative verbs. Thus, a sentence like (121a) would be assigned the structure in (121b).

- (121) a. *A<sub>x</sub> tuwáa sigóo.*  
           my spirit it.is.happy  
           *I want it.*



If this were the case, then sentences such as (101 h, j) pose no problems for the Hypothesis in (110). Since the subjects of Stative verbs are inside the verb phrase, the negation in (101 h, j) could be parsed as preceding the matrix verb phrase. Thus, according to Hypothesis (110), the entire clause could be understood as negated, and so the interrogative words inside the subordinate clause could be interpreted as existential indefinites. The following structure illustrates this argument.

- (122) The Structure of Sentence (101j)



It seems, then, that a crucial test of Hypothesis (110) would be to determine whether, in fact, the subjects of Stative verbs do occupy a position internal to the verb phrase. This latter, subordinate hypothesis might be tested by comparing the position of negation with respect to the subjects of Stative verbs and the subjects of Intransitive verbs. Note that if, in fact, the subjects of Stative verbs *can* occupy a verb phrase internal

position, then Hypothesis (110) predicts that clausal negation may precede the subjects of Stative verbs, but not the subjects of Intransitive verbs. Although more work must be done on these questions, the following data indicate that this prediction may be born out.

(123) Position of Clausal Negation with Subjects of Stative and Intransitive Verbs

*Intransitive Verb*      a. Tléil ul'eix      **wé ax xooní.**  
                                  not he.danced that my friend  
                                  *My friend didn't dance.*

b. \* Tléil **wé ax xooní** ul'eix.

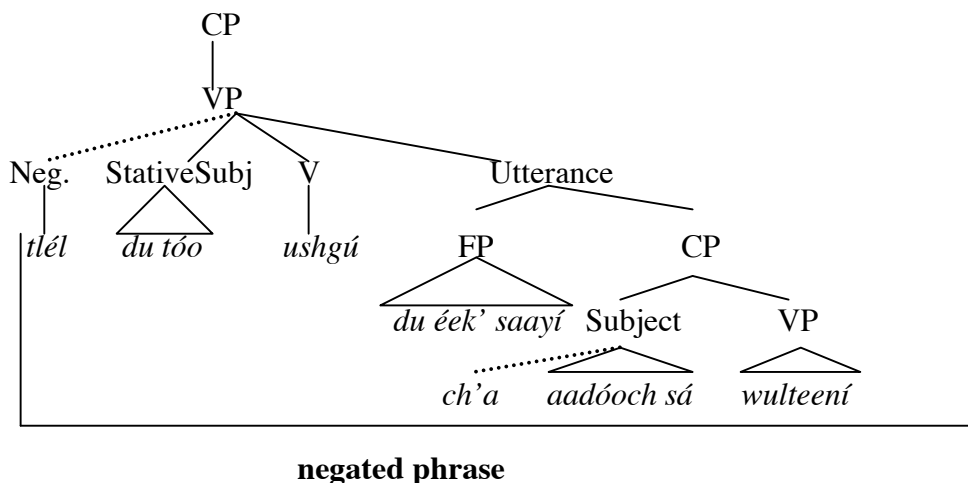
*Stative Verb*              c. Tléil wudaxweidl **wé ax xooní.**  
                                  not he.is.tired that my friend  
                                  *My friend isn't tired.*

d. Tléil **wé ax xooní** wudaxweidl.  
                                  *My friend isn't tired.*

In sentence (123b), clausal negation precedes the subject of the Intransitive verb *a-l'eix* 'to dance', and the structure is regarded as ill-formed. In sentence (123d), however, clausal negation precedes the subject of the Stative verb *di-xweidl* 'to be tired', and the structure is regarded as *well-formed*. Although many more Active-Stative pairs need to be examined, this data is in line with the predictions of Hypothesis (110) and the notion that the subjects of stative verbs may be positioned inside the verb phrase.

Finally, let us examine sentence (101h). In this sentence, the object of the subordinate clause intervenes between the negation and the interrogative word. Assuming that the subordinate clause object has been fronted into the left-periphery of the subordinate clause, sentence (101h) receives a straightforward analysis, consistent with Hypothesis (110). This analysis is illustrated with the following structural diagram.

(124) The Structure of Sentence (101h)





In summary, the contrast between sentence (109) and those in (101) is one that we should seek to capture under some wider generalization regarding the syntax of Tlingit. One possibility is that this contrast is the result of independent conditions on the placement of negation in Tlingit, such as the principle hypothesized in (110). We saw that Hypothesis (110) easily predicts the ill-formedness of (109) and the well-formedness of many of the sentences in (101). However, in order for Hypothesis (110) to be consistent with certain of the data in (101), a number of ancillary hypotheses must be invoked. Some of these – such as the notion that *tsú* and *ch’a* are nominal proclitics – are uncontroversial. For others, however, further research is needed before they may be fully accepted.<sup>53</sup>

The following points summarize the main results of Section 8.

#### (125) Negative Polarity Indefinites in Tlingit

- (a) A ‘negative polarity indefinite’ is characterized by the following properties. It functions as an existential indefinite in negated phrases, in questions, and in the antecedents of conditionals. Outside of these environments, it can either function as a universal indefinite, or is ill-formed.
- (b) In many languages, interrogative words have a ‘double life’ as negative polarity indefinites.
- (c) Interrogative words in Tlingit can serve as negative polarity indefinites. They may function as existential indefinites in negated phrases and in the antecedents of conditionals, and they may function as universals when not in these environments. (It is presently unknown whether they may function as existential indefinites in questions.)
- (d) When functioning as existentials in negated phrases, the interrogative word must precede the marker of negation.
- (e) When functioning as existentials in negated phrases, only certain phrases may intervene between the marker of negation and the interrogative word. Which phrases may intervene can largely be captured by the hypothesis in (110), that negation in Tlingit can only directly precede either a verb phrase or a noun phrase.

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<sup>53</sup> One other outstanding challenge to Hypothesis (110) is the apparent impossibility for a negated noun phrase to follow the verb. For example, speakers report the following contrast.

- (i) *A<sub>x</sub> éesh tlél awuxaa sakwnéin*  
my father not he.ate.it bread  
*My father didn’t eat any bread.*
- (ii) \* *A<sub>x</sub> éesh awuxaa tlél sakwnéin.*

If, as Hypothesis (110) states, negation in Tlingit can generally procliticize onto a noun phrase, the ill-formedness of sentence (ii) is quite unexpected. Future research will have to further explore this matter.

## 9. Tlingit Interrogative Words as Plain Existentials and Specific Indefinites

### 9.1 Tlingit Interrogative Words as Plain Existentials

We saw in Section 8 that the interrogative words of Tlingit can be used as negative polarity indefinites. That is, they can be used as existential indefinites in negated phrases, in questions, and in conditional antecedents, and outside of those contexts, they can be used as universal indefinites. This fact naturally raises the question, though, of whether Tlingit interrogative words may have a *general* use as existential indefinites. That is, can Tlingit interrogative words be used as existential indefinites outside of the three NPI environments?

In this context, it might be noted that in many languages, interrogative words may also be generally used as existential indefinites. For example, such uses of interrogative words are found both in German (Indo-European) and Passamaquoddy (Algonquian).

#### (126) Interrogative Words as Plain Existentials in German

Es hat **wer** geklingelt.  
it has who rung  
*Somebody has rung the bell.* (Bruening 2004; p. 5)

#### (127) Interrogative Words as Plain Existentials in Passamaquoddy

Kesq yaq pemacqim-a-htit otuhk-ol, on **keq** '-nutom-oni-ya.  
while Quot drag-Dir-3PConj deer-Obv then what 3-hear-N-3P  
*While they were dragging the deer, they heard something.* (Bruening 2004; p. 7)

Interrogatives may also be generally used as existentials in Haida.

#### (128) Interrogative Words as Plain Existentials in Haida

**Nang** xan-.uu gyaagan taa-gaa-gan.  
who CL-foc my eat-EVID-PA  
*Someone ate mine.* (Enrico 2003; p. 488)

The following sentences indicate that, like the languages above, Tlingit permits its interrogative words to generally function as existentials.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Given that Tlingit interrogative words can *generally* be used as existentials, one might wonder how this fact affects the argument that Tlingit interrogative words may function as NPIs. After all, their general use as existentials would alone account for their existential use within the three NPI environments.

Note, however, that a general use as existentials could not account for the use of Tlingit interrogative words as universals (or 'free-choice items') outside of the three NPI environments. Thus, it is ultimately the 'universal/free-choice' usage of Tlingit interrogative words that most clearly demonstrates their status as NPIs. There are further semantic properties of NPIs that could be examined for Tlingit interrogative words, but most of those are very difficult for non-native speakers to explore (i.e., properties relating to the words' denoting extrema along scales).

(129) Interrogative Words as Plain Existentials in Tlingit

- a. Ax̱ x̱'agáax'i yéi yatee ch'a **aadóoch** sá yawudlaagi.  
 my prayer thus it.is just who.erg SA they.get.it  
*My prayer is that **someone** learn it.*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 206; line 186)
- b. Ch'a **daat** yís sáwé yáat aas áa wsi.aa yáat.  
 just what for SA.foc-part here tree some they.grow here  
*For **some reason**, there are trees growing here.*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 4; line 47)
- c. Wé éexna<sub>x̱</sub>.á áwé, **daa** sáyá aya.á<sub>x̱</sub>ch.  
 that south.to.one foc-part what SA.foc-part he.heard.it  
*The [old man] to the south heard **something**.*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 10; line 34)
- d. **Daa** sáwé yóo dikéenax̱.á  
 what SA.foc-part yonder far.out.across.one  
*There was **something** up there.*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 14; line 103)
- e. ...áwé **daa** sáwé x̱wasiteen.  
 foc-part what SA.foc-part I.saw.it  
*...and I saw **something**.*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 66; line 497)
- f. Du díx' **wáa** sákwshéiwé téeyin.  
 her back how SA.dubit.foc-part it.was.decess  
***Something** was wrong with her back.*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 100; line 8)
- g. Ch'a **daa** sá aagáa kukkwatées'...  
 just what SA it.for I.will.search  
*I'll look for **something** there.*  
 (Nyman & Leer; p. 180; line 266)

Of course, there are many other words and expressions in Tlingit which can function as existentials; the generic nouns *káa* 'man/person' and *át* 'thing' are frequently used as indefinites meaning 'someone' and 'something', respectively. One might, therefore, wonder whether the use of an interrogative word as an indefinite conveys any special, additional information. Although none of the sentences above have glosses indicating any special implications associated with their interrogative indefinites, there are a few examples in the available corpus whose translations indicate that the use of the interrogative conveys a lack of knowledge. The following sentences illustrate.

(130) Tlingit Interrogative Words Conveying Speaker Ignorance

- a. Du ji.een áwé **daa** sáwé yéi daaxané wé ax aat.  
her hand.with foc-part what SA.foc-part thus I.did this my aunt  
*I did **some kind of work** together with my aunt.*  
(Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 116; line 359)
- b. Tle **x'oondahéen** sáwé dzísk'w yax ayawliják.  
then how.many.times SA.foc-part moose they.killed  
*I **don't know how many times** they went to kill moose.*  
(Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 52; line 240)
- c. **Daa** sákwhshéiwé sadaat'aay wududliyéix du shadaat kawduwayík.<sup>55</sup>  
what SA.dubit.foc-part scarf one.made.it her head.around.to they.dragged.it  
*A scarf made out of **something or other** was pulled over her head.*  
(Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 248; line 628)

In each of these sentences, the offered translation indicates that the speaker is signaling that they are ignorant as to the referent of the indefinite expression. Thus, sentence (130a) does not merely state that the speaker did some work, but also that the exact nature of the work presently eludes them. Such a lack of knowledge is explicitly stated in the English gloss of sentence (130b). In many languages, a special class of indefinite expressions is used when the speaker wishes to explicitly signal such ignorance (Haspelmath 1997; p. 45). From the examples above, it seems that the interrogative words of Tlingit might have such a function. Future research should explore this matter further.

In many – perhaps all – languages, indefinite expressions can carry special ‘appreciative’ connotations (Haspelmath 1997; p. 187). That is, across a great many languages, the use of an indefinite expression can connote or implicate that the referent is ‘remarkable’ in some way. The following sentences illustrate such an ‘appreciative’ use of existentials in English.

(131) Appreciative Connotations in English Existential Indefinites

- |    |  |   |   |
|----|--|---|---|
| a. | He thinks that he is <b>somebody</b> .   | = | He thinks that he is <b>important</b> .   |
| b. | We stayed there for <b>some time</b> .   | = | We stayed there for <b>a long time</b> .  |
| c. | That was <b>something</b> , wasn't it?   | = | That was <b>remarkable</b> , wasn't it?   |
| d. | He caught a fish of <b>some length</b> . | = | He caught a <b>long</b> fish.             |
| e. | They found <b>some number</b> of them.   | = | They found <b>a large number</b> of them. |

<sup>55</sup> Note that the word order in the constituent *daa sákwhshéiwé sadaat'aay wududliyéix* ‘a scarf made out of something’ could indicate that Tlingit possesses the ‘head-internal’ or ‘circumfixal’ relative clause of its Athabaskan relatives (Rice 1989, p. 1310; Woolford 1986; Saxon 2000), as well as its neighbor Haida (Enrico 2003, p. 564). To my knowledge, Tlingit has never been reported to have head-internal/circumfixal relative clauses.

Although it's not presently understood how and why indefinites come to acquire these appreciative connotations, they have been found to be a pervasive feature of indefinites across the world (Haspelmath 1997; p. 187). It is not surprising, then, that the interrogative indefinites of Tlingit are sometimes found to carry these appreciative connotations. The following sentences provide some illustrative examples.

(132) Appreciative Connotations in Tlingit Existential Indefinites <sup>56</sup>

- a. Tlax̣ **x'oon** aa yagiye shunaxéex sáwé ch'a yeisú axéx'w.  
 very how.many of.them days they.fell SA.foc-part just still they.slept  
*When **many** days went by, they were still asleep.*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 90; line 162)
- b. Gwál **x'oon** díś sá shoowaxeex aagáa yaa nagut yé.  
 maybe how.many moon SA they.fell then he.is.walking way  
*Probably **many many** months passed during his walk.*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 156; line 66)
- c. Tlax̣ **wáa** ku.aa sá yak'éi.  
 very how though SA it.is.good  
*It was **very** nice.*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 172; line 102)
- d. Gwál **x'oondahéen** sáwé aadéi yan uwakúx̣.  
 maybe how.many.times SA.foc-part there.towards he.sailed  
*He **made many** trips across.*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 80; line 820)
- e. Wé gánti yaakw yeegáa **x'oon** sákwshéiwé áa haa uwaxéé.  
 that ferry it.for how.many SA.dubit.foc-part those we.spent.the.night  
*We waited **many** days for a ferry.*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 208; line 867)
- f. Gwál tle **wáa sá yeekuwaát'** wé at t'éit as.aayí yú.á.  
 maybe then how SA it.is.long that thing inside.at she.kept.her they.say  
*Perhaps she had her in seclusion for **quite some time**, they say.*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 230; line 266)
- g. Tle **wáa yeekawuyáat'i** sáyú yóo át aax̣ tle yóo.  
 then how it.is.long SA.foc-part yonder thing there.from then thus  
*After **a long time**, the [scabs] [peeled] off like this.*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 238; line 401)

<sup>56</sup> Note that certain of these sentences (132 c, d, e) might also constitute 'exclamative' sentences, which are discussed in Section 10. Similarly, certain of the exclamative sentences found in Section 10 might actually be sentences in which an interrogative indefinite receives an appreciative connotation.

In each of the sentences above, the interrogative word appears to be translated into English by means of an indefinite expression explicitly indicating a large degree or amount. If we make the plausible assumption that indefinites in Tlingit can carry appreciative connotations, then these data nicely follow from the simple fact that Tlingit interrogative words may function as existential indefinites.

## 9.2 Tlingit Interrogative Words as Specific Indefinites

Many languages formally distinguish between ‘specific’ and ‘non-specific’ indefinites (Haspelmath 1997; p. 37). Loosely speaking, a ‘specific’ indefinite is an indefinite for which “the speaker presupposes the existence and unique identifiability of its referent” (Haspelmath 1997; p. 38), while a ‘non-specific’ indefinite is one for which the speaker *does not* presuppose such existence or unique identifiability.

This contrast is nicely illustrated by means of the following sentence.

(133) If a relative of mine dies, I will inherit a fortune.

In English, indefinites marked by the article *a* are ambiguous between specific and non-specific interpretations. Thus, sentence (133) is ambiguous, its meaning depending on whether the indefinite *a relative of mine* is understood as specific or non-specific. Under its specific interpretation, sentence (133) means, roughly, “There is a particular relative of mine such that if *that* person dies, I will inherit a fortune.” Under its non-specific interpretation, sentence (133) means, roughly, “If *any* one of my relatives die, I will inherit a fortune.”

Although the English indefinite article *a* is ambiguous, and permits either a specific or a non-specific construal, this is not so for other indefinite expressions in English. Indeed, most languages possess some means for explicitly disambiguating an indefinite as either specific or non-specific. In English, for example, the modifier *certain* – as in *a certain man* – explicitly indicates that the indefinite is specific. Note that sentence (134a) has only the ‘specific’ reading indicated in (134b); it does *not* have the non-specific reading indicated in (134c).

- (134) a. If a certain relative of mine dies, I will inherit a fortune.  
       b. There is a particular relative of mine such that if *that* person dies, I will inherit a fortune.  
       c. \* If any one of my relatives die, I will inherit a fortune.

On the other hand, the English NPI article *any* explicitly marks an indefinite as *non-specific*. Note that sentence (135a) has only the ‘non-specific’ reading in (135b); it does not have the specific reading in (135c).

- (135) a. If any relative of mine dies, I will inherit a fortune.  
       b. If any one of my relatives dies, I will inherit a fortune.  
       c. \* There is a particular relative of mine such that if *that* person dies, I will inherit a fortune.

Thus, we find that English possesses indefinite expressions which are unambiguously specific, ones which are unambiguously non-specific, and ones which are ambiguous between the two interpretations.

Given that indefinite expressions across languages can vary along this dimension of ‘specificity’, we might seek to determine whether the interrogative indefinites of Tlingit are ambiguous or univocal with respect to their specificity. A few of the sentences in Section 9.1 indicate that these interrogative indefinites can admit of non-specific interpretations. For example, in sentence (129a), the interrogative indefinite *aadóo* ‘who/someone’ receives a non-specific interpretation. In context, it is clear that the speaker’s prayer is that *any* one of her students learn her art, not that some particular student learn it. Although non-specific uses of Tlingit interrogative indefinites are comparatively prevalent, it is much harder to find cases where such indefinites are clearly paired with a specific interpretation. The following sentence is the most suggestive example from the selected corpus.

- (137) **Wáa** kunaaliyéi wugoodi sáwé                      wé t’akwanéiyi du dix’kaadé sh k’awdligáy.  
           how it.is.far she.went SA.foc-part this baby her back.on it.fussed  
           *After she had gone **a certain distance**, the baby began to fuss on her back.*  
           (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 226; line 184)

The translation paired with this sentence strongly suggests that the interrogative indefinite is to be construed with a specific interpretation. Similarly, speakers sometimes offer unambiguously specific English indefinites as translations for interrogative indefinites in Tlingit.

- (138) Tlingit phrase:                      **Daakw** aa            aant            sá  
   which of.them village.to SA

Comment by Speaker:                      *This can mean “To **a certain town**.”*

Given this suggestive data, we should seek further tests of whether interrogative indefinites in Tlingit may be interpreted ‘specifically’.

As the sentences in (133)-(135) demonstrate, the specificity of an indefinite within the antecedent of a conditional can often drastically affect the meaning of the conditional statement. For this reason, the antecedent of a conditional provides a fertile testing ground for determining whether a given indefinite can be interpreted either specifically or non-specifically. Indeed, careful study of indefinites in conditional antecedes has helped to identify ‘(non-)specific indefinites’ across a wide variety of the world’s languages, including Salishan languages such as St’át’imcets (Matthewson 1999).

Therefore, in order to further probe whether interrogative indefinites in Tlingit may be interpreted as specific indefinites, I inquired as to the translation into Tlingit of the following English passage.

- (139) Dave is my friend.  
 Many of Dave's in-laws don't like him.  
 But, Dave's brother-in-law loves him.  
 He said to Dave, "If I ever win the lottery, I'll buy you a house."  
 So, if one of Dave's in-laws wins the lottery, he'll get a house.

If interrogative indefinites in Tlingit can be used as specific indefinites, then it should be possible for the indefinite *one of Dave's in-laws* in this passage to be translated into Tlingit using an interrogative indefinite. Consider, then, the following Tlingit passage.

(140)

A<sub>x</sub> xooní áwé      Dave.  
 my friend foc-part Dave  
*Dave is my friend.*

Shayadihéini du káani tlél du tuwáa ushgú.  
 they.are.many his in-laws not their spirit be.glad  
*Many of his in-laws don't like him.*

Du káanich      ku.aa wusixán.  
 his brother-in-law.erg though he.loves.him  
*His brother-in-law, though, loves him.*

Yéi ayawsikaa, "Dáanaa kaa dulx'eix' át yaxwadlaagi, hít i jiyís gukwa.oo.  
 so he.told.him money on one.burns thing I.win.it house you hand.for I.will.buy.it  
*He said to Dave, "If I ever win the lottery, I will buy you a house."*

**Daakw aa du káanich sá yawudlaagi, hít ayakgwadlaak.**  
 which of his in-law.erg Q they.win.it house he.will.get.it  
*So, if a certain in-law of Dave's wins the lottery, he'll get a house.*

It has been affirmed to me that the passage in (140) is a comprehensible story, as well as an accurate translation of the English passage in (139).<sup>57</sup> Now, if interrogative indefinites in Tlingit *couldn't* be interpreted as specific indefinites, then the last line of (140) would have to mean 'If *any* of Dave's in-laws win the lottery, he'll get a house.' In the context of the story, however, this would not make any sense. Moreover, such a sentence would not be an accurate translation of the last line of the original English passage in (139). In order for the passage in (140) to be both internally consistent and a fair translation of (139), it must be that interrogative indefinites in Tlingit can be assigned specific interpretations.

<sup>57</sup> Note, however, that the speaker's own translation of the final line of (139) was the following.

(i) Du káanich yawudlaagi, hít ayakgwadlaak  
 his in-law.erg he.wins.it house he.will.get  
*If his brother in law wins the lottery, he'll get a house.*



Although this one result should be replicated with similar passages before anything definitive can be concluded, this fact does stand as strong evidence that Tlingit interrogative indefinites are fully ambiguous between specific and non-specific interpretations.

The following points summarize the material from this section.

(141) Tlingit Interrogative Words as Plain Existentials and Specific Indefinites

- (a) Interrogative words in Tlingit can generally be used as existential indefinites, even outside the three NPI contexts discussed in Section 8.
- (b) In some sentences drawn from the selected corpus, it seems that use of an interrogative word as an existential indefinite indicates that the speaker does not know the reference of the indefinite. Future research must determine how robust a pattern this is.
- (c) Interrogative indefinites in Tlingit often have appreciative connotations. That is, the use of an interrogative indefinite can connote or implicate that the referent is ‘remarkable’ in some way. In the selected corpus, this is reflected in the fact that many interrogative words are translated as indefinites explicitly denoting a large magnitude.
- (d) Like English indefinites marked by the article *a*, interrogative indefinites in Tlingit are ambiguous between ‘specific’ and ‘non-specific’ interpretations. This can be demonstrated via the interpretations of conditional clauses with interrogative indefinites within their antecedents.

## 10. Other uses of Tlingit Interrogative Words in Non-Interrogative Sentences

In Section 7, I noted that is common across languages for interrogative words to have uses outside of interrogative clauses. We have seen that ‘free relatives’, ‘negative polarity indefinites’ and ‘plain existentials’ are three examples in Tlingit of such “declarative uses of interrogative words”. In this section, I will quickly discuss a number of other cases where Tlingit interrogative words seem to be used within declarative clauses. I have not yet had a chance to investigate these constructions in any detail, and it is my hope to return to them in future field studies.

### 10.1 Question-Based Exclamatives in Tlingit

A very common ‘non-interrogative’ use of English interrogative words is in the formation of exclamative utterances. It is possible in English to form an exclamative sentence by fronting an interrogative word into the left periphery of the clause. The following sentences illustrate.

(142) Question-Based Exclamatives in English

- a. How proud I am of you!
- b. What a fine man you've become!
- c. How badly I hurt right now.

Exclamative sentences such as these appear similar in structure to English content questions, though some subtle differences do exist between the two constructions.<sup>58</sup>

It is actually quite common across languages for exclamative utterances to be similar in form to interrogative structures (Sadock & Zwicky 1985). Such 'question-based' exclamative structures can, for example, be found in Haida, where it is reported that the boundary between them and plain interrogatives is sometimes unclear (Enrico 2003; p. 156).

(143) Question-Based Exclamatives in Haida

- a. Na-gwàa **tlagu** riid-7ahl.  
house-Q how be-must  
*What a house!* (Enrico 2003; p. 162)
- b. Dajing-gw@ **tlgu** qyaang-ra 'laa tlljaaw-7ahlging.  
hat-Q how seeing-POSS nice how-must  
*What a nice-looking hat!* (Enrico 2003; p. 162)

Tlingit also seems to possess these question-based exclamatives. Indeed, such sentences are rather frequent in the selected corpus. The following are just a few such sentences taken from Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer (1987).

(144) Question-Based Exclamatives in Tlingit

- a. **Wáa** sá yak'úi eewóosi.  
how SA it.is.good you.ask  
*How good it is that you're asking about it.*  
(Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 238; line 402)
- b. **Wáa** sá du toowú yak'úi wé kusaxa kwáan.  
how SA his mind it.is.good that cannibal  
*How good the cannibal felt.*  
(Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 76; line 81)

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<sup>58</sup> One striking one is that in an English exclamative, there is no fronting of the auxiliary verb. If sentence (142c) were a question, for example, it would have to be "How badly do I hurt right now?"

- c. Tlax **wáa** sáyú      x'egaa    adanoogún      yú x'óon    dleeyí.  
 very how SA.foc-part indeed it.tasted.to.her that fur.seal meat  
*How she loved eating fur seal meat.*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987, p. 86, line 90)
- d. De **x'oondaheen** áyá      yei yanakáa    gíwé.  
 Now how.many.times foc-part thus they.say Q.foc-part  
*How many times they must have asked this.*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 190; line 453)
- e. E! **Wáa** sá gagáneh!  
 wow how SA it.burns  
*Wow! How it would burn!*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 200; line 141)
- f. **X'oon** táakw sá    shoowaxeex.  
 how.many winter SA they.have.fallen  
*How many years have passed!*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 218; line 11)

Note that each of the sentences above is translated in the source text by means of an English question-based exclamative. Moreover, although these sentences have the surface appearance of Tlingit content questions, it is clear in their original context that they are not requests for information; rather, they are most plausibly interpreted as exclamations. At this point, it should also be noted that speakers of Tlingit will sometimes translate constructed interrogative clauses as question-based exclamatives. For example, the constructed sentence in (145) – which was intended as the question ‘How good a boat did he build?’ – was translated by one speaker into English as the question-based exclamative listed below as its gloss.

- (145) **Waa** yak'éiyi      yaakw sá    awliyéix  
 how it.is.good.REL boat SA he.made.it  
*What a nice boat he built!*

Although the syntactic and semantic similarities between the Tlingit sentences in (144) and the Haida and English structures in (142) and (143) are suggestive, further work must be done to refine our understanding of this Tlingit construction. For example, we should seek to determine whether there are any structural properties that might distinguish these exclamative structures from Tlingit content questions. As one possibility, note that in sentence (144c), the left-peripheral interrogative word is preceded by the adverbial element *tlax* ‘very’. To my knowledge, this adverbial element does not precede the interrogative word in any textually attested content question. Thus, it may be that the ability for the interrogative word to be preceded by such particles might distinguish between these exclamative structures and Tlingit content questions.

Another issue which future research should examine is whether there exists any formal distinction in Tlingit between the exclamative structures above and appreciative uses of interrogative indefinites. Recall that sentences such as (132c) are translated as declarative clauses in which an interrogative indefinite carries an appreciative connotation. Note, however, that such sentences also appear formally identical to question-based exclamative clauses. Moreover, in context, sentences like (132c) could be translated as question-based exclamative clauses without much difference in meaning. One might therefore doubt whether there is a meaningful distinction between the two constructions. Such doubt may be allayed by the fact that there are sentences in (132) which are not so easily translated as exclamatives (e.g. (132 b, d, f, g)). Nevertheless, it would be quite useful to know whether any grammatical properties can be shown to distinguish between the two constructions, so that cases of potential ambiguity in texts might be resolved.<sup>59</sup>

## 10.2 Apparent Uses as Relative Pronouns

In Section 7, it was noted that the interrogative words of English play a role in the formation of its relative clauses. A relative clause in English can contain a so-called ‘relative pronoun’, a word which is typically identical to one of the language’s interrogative words.

- (146) a. The man **who** I know...  
 b. The dog **which** I bought...  
 c. The place **where** I live...  
 d. The summer **when** we left...

A relative clause in Tlingit, however, typically possesses a form quite different from its English correlates. Rather than contain a ‘relative pronoun’ or any other marker of relativization, a Tlingit relative clause possesses a verb appearing in a special morphological form, its ‘attributive mode’. The following sentences illustrate the typical appearance of a Tlingit relative clause; the relative clauses are indicated with italics.

### (147) Typical Tlingit Relative Clauses, Based on Attributive Verbs

- a. Yáa l átx wusiteeyi kaa  
 this not thing.at he.became.REL man  
*The man who didn’t amount to much.*  
 (Naish 1966; p. 105)
- b. Ldakát yáa has du eedax yawdutláagi tl’átk  
 all this plur them.from they.got.it.REL land  
*All the land which they had won from them.*  
 (Naish 1966; p. 105)

<sup>59</sup> Given that exclamative constructions are often based off of content question constructions, one possibility is that question-based exclamatives in Tlingit obligatorily place the interrogative word before the predicate of the clause (see Section 4.1).

c. Yóo át wulis'éesi yaakw tlein  
 that there.to it.sailed.REL boat big  
*That big boat which sailed.*  
 (Naish 1966; p. 106)

d. Wéi du shát áx kéet du een héent yawsigoowu yé  
 that his wife there.at killer.whale her with water.to it.swam.REL place  
*The place where the killer whale swam down with his wife.*  
 (Naish 1966; p. 106)

e. Du éeshch du jeedei yawuskáayi dáanaa  
 his father.erg his hand.to he.promised.REL money  
*The money which his father promised him.*  
 (Naish 1966; p. 107)

Unlike their English glosses, none of the Tlingit structures above contain any instances of the language's interrogative words.

Relative clauses in Tlingit almost always have the form of the pre-nominal 'attributive clauses' in (147). Interestingly, however, one does occasionally come across structures where it appears that a Tlingit relative clause contains an interrogative word functioning as a relative pronoun. One 'high profile' case is the traditional Tlingit translation of the Lord's Prayer, dating back to at least 1895. The prayer begins as follows.

(148) Haa Aayí Haa Éesh (from Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer, to appear)

Haa aayí, haa Éesh, **aadoo** sá dikée yéi yatee, dáa gaxlasaayí i aayí i saayí  
 our thing our father who SA above he.dwells please be.it.glorified you thing you name  
*Our father, who lives in Heaven, may your name be holy.*

In the line above, the relative clause expressed in English as 'who lives in Heaven' is expressed in Tlingit by means of the phrase *aadoo sá dikée yéi yatee*. Importantly, this latter structure contains the interrogative word *aadoo* 'who'. Moreover, the verb of this clause is *yéi yatee*, which does not appear in the attributive mode; rather, the verb has the form it would take if it were appearing in a main clause.

In the selected corpus, there is one other sentence with the form of sentence (148).

(149) Yá xáanaa gunalchéesh ... yá haat kuwatini aa, **aadoo** sá yá naaxein  
 this evening thank.you these here.to they.come ones who SA this C.weaving  
 yéi adaané.  
 they.do

*Thank you, tonight ... those who have come here, who are doing Chilkat weaving.*

In this passage, as in sentence (148), the relative clause expressed in English as ‘who are doing Chilkat weaving’ is expressed in Tlingit by means of the interrogative word *aadoo* ‘who’.

It appears, then, that there may be a limited use of interrogative words in Tlingit as relative pronouns. In this context, it may be relevant to note that the relative clauses in (148) and (149) are so-called ‘appositive’ relative clauses, as opposed to ‘restrictive’ ones. The distinction between appositive and restrictive relative clauses is often a very subtle one, but it can roughly be put as follows. An ‘appositive’ relative clause is one which adds information to a sentence regarding an entity already identified; a ‘restrictive’ relative clause helps one to identify an entity being referred to. For example, in sentence (148), the phrase *haa Éesh* already serves to identify the entity being referred to as Our Father; the phrase *aadoo sá dikée yéi yatee* then adds the information that Our Father lives in Heaven. Similarly, in sentence (149), the phrase *yá’ haat kuwatini aa* serves to identify the entity being referred to as ‘those who have come here’; the phrase *aadoo sá naaxein yéi adaané* adds the information that those people are doing Chilkat weaving. On the other hand, in a sentence like (147e), the relative clause *du éeshch du jeedei yawuskáayi* allows one to identify the money being spoken about as that which was promised to him by his father.

It is not unheard of for appositive relative clauses to differ syntactically from restrictive relative clauses; indeed, in English there are subtle differences between the two.<sup>60</sup> It may be, then, that appositive relative clauses – unlike restrictive relative clauses – can in Tlingit freely contain interrogative words functioning as relative pronouns. One should note, though, that appositive relative clauses *needn’t* contain relative pronouns; the following appositive relative clause is formed just like the restrictive relative clauses of (147).

- (150) Áwé yá woonaawu ax éeshch ku.aa wé awsikóo.  
 toc-part this he.died.REL my father.erg however that he.knew.it  
*But my father who is dead knew.*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 148; line 218)

In addition to appearing within appositive relative clauses, there is one other construction where it seems that Tlingit interrogative words may function as relative pronouns. For reasons to be discussed in a moment, this construction seems ‘halfway’ between a free relative and a full adnominal relative clause. In the following sentences, the construction of interest here is italicized.

<sup>60</sup> For example, one famous ‘test’ of appositive relative clauses in English is that they cannot ‘stack’. Compare the (comparably) well-formed sentence in (i) to the (comparably) ill-formed sentence in (ii).

- (i) I read the book which you bought which was about Napoleon.  
 (ii) \* I read War and Peace, which you bought, which was about Napoleon.

(151) Apparent ‘Light-Headed’ Relatives in Tlingit

- a. Tle yéi áwé **daa** sáyá ash gwalit’áayi **át**.  
 then thus foc-part what SA.foc-part it.might.keep.her.warm.REL thing  
*In this way [they brought] whatever might keep her warm.*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 274; line 293)
- b. **Daa** sá i tuwáa sigóowu **át** i jee yéi kgwatée.  
 what SA your spirit it.is.happy.REL thing your hand.at thus it.will.be  
*Whatever you want you will have.*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 128; line 607)
- c. **Daakw.aa** sá Goochx siteeyi **aa**.  
 which.of.them SA wolf.pred they.are.REL ones  
*For those of you who are of the Wolf clan.*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 26; line 338)
- d. Tsu kushtuyáx **daa** sá yaa tushigéiyi **át**, du jeedéi yatx gatooteeyín.  
 also it.doesn’t.matter what SA we.treasure.it.REL thing his hand.to we.brought.it  
*It doesn’t matter what we used to treasure, we used to offer them up to them.*<sup>61</sup>  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 266; line 54)
- e. **Daa** sá yóo héidei dultin **át** yéi wé du waagí yati  
 what SA one.openly.sees.it thing thus that his eye it.was  
*To his eyes, it was something done openly.*<sup>62</sup>  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 178; line 243)
- f. Wéit tle wé s’eenáa **wáa** sá yateeyi **yé**.  
 there then that light.beam how SA it.is.REL way  
*They were how a beam of light is.*<sup>63</sup>  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 178; line 255)

The special construction illustrated above has the following characterizing properties. First, a semantically ‘light’ noun phrase (e.g. *át* ‘thing’, *yé* ‘place’, *aa* ‘ones’) is modified by a preceding clause.<sup>64</sup> Moreover, this modifying clause is headed by a verb

<sup>61</sup> The translation for this sentence provided by Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer (1990) is “Even those things that we used to treasure, we used to offer them up to them.” I believe that the gloss I provide for (151d) is a fair restatement of this original gloss, which more closely matches the structure of the original Tlingit.

<sup>62</sup> The translation for this sentence provided by Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer (1987) is “But, it seemed to him as if she had done it openly.” I believe that the gloss I provide for (151e) is a fair restatement of the original gloss, and one which more closely matches the structure of the original Tlingit.

<sup>63</sup> The translation for this sentence provided by Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer (1987) is “They were just like a beam of light.” I believe that the gloss I provide for (151f) is a fair restatement of the original gloss, and one which more closely matches the structure of the original Tlingit.

<sup>64</sup> Note that each of these three nouns are so semantically ‘light’ that they often function as indefinites. Indeed, it may be that this construction is more properly characterized as one in which an *indefinite* is clausally modified. See Citko (2004; p. 100) for such light-headed relatives in Polish.

in the ‘attributive mode’. Interestingly, this pre-nominal attributive clause contains an interrogative word which seems to function as a relative pronoun. Finally, the resulting expression is often translatable into English as a free relative.

In a certain sense, then, the construction illustrated in (151) is ‘halfway’ between a free relative and a full adnominal relative clause.<sup>65</sup> The construction shares with an adnominal relative clause the properties that (i) the verb heading the modifying clause must be in the attributive mode, and (ii) the modifying clause must precede the noun modified. However, the construction shares with a free relative the properties that (i) the embedded clause contains a left-peripheral interrogative word, and (ii) the resulting phrase functions either as a referring expression or a quantificational expression, and thus may be translated into English as a free relative.

Given this characterization of the structures in (151), it is immediately evident that they are quite similar in form to the so-called ‘light-headed’ relatives found in many European languages (Citko 2004).

(152) Light-Headed Relatives (from Citko 2004)

- a. *Polish*      Jan czyta **to co** Maria czyta.  
                  Jan read this what Maria reads  
                  *Jan reads what Maria reads.*
  
- b. *Dutch*      Marie eet **dat wat** Jan eet.  
                  Marie eats that what John eats  
                  *Mary eats what John eats.*
  
- c. *German*    Mary isst **das was** auch John isst.  
                  Mary eats that what also John eats  
                  *Mary eats what John eats.*

In the light-headed relative construction illustrated above, a semantically light head (typically a demonstrative, but also potentially an indefinite) is modified by an embedded clause. This embedded clause, however, does not have the usual form of an adnominal clausal modifier. For example, in the Polish, Dutch and German sentences above, the modifying clause contains the ‘simplex’ interrogative pronoun; in these languages, this pronoun cannot generally function as a relative pronoun in an adnominal relative clause. These pronouns can, however, generally appear within the languages’ free relatives.

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<sup>65</sup> Note that I consider the structures in (151) to witness a different construction from those in (148) and (149). One might legitimately doubt why this should be, given that they might all simply be viewed as instances of a *general* relativization strategy involving interrogative words as relative operators. However, I believe they should be classified as different constructions for the following reasons. First, sentences (148) and (149) are the only ones I’ve ever encountered in which a ‘semantically rich’ expression is modified by a clause containing an interrogative word functioning as a relative pronoun. In contrast to this, the ‘light-headed’ relatives of (151) are comparatively prevalent; there are 13 such structures in just my selected corpus. Moreover, in both (148) and (149), the relative clause *follows* the expression it modifies, whereas in all the available examples of ‘light-headed’ relatives, the attributive clause *precedes* the light head. For these reasons, I feel that the structures in (151) witness a different construction from those in (148) and (149).



Thus, the light-headed relative construction in these languages is ‘halfway’ between a free relative and a full adnominal relative clause. Given the striking parallels between the constructions in (151) and (152), I conclude that the Tlingit construction in (151) would be accurately described as a ‘light-headed relative’.<sup>66</sup>

Given the existence of light-headed relatives in Tlingit, consider again those sentences, discussed in Section 7, where it appears that a Tlingit free relative does not contain a verb in the subordinative paradigm (e.g. the sentences in (75)). Note, however, that in each of these sentences, the problematic verb appears to be in the *attributive mode*. In each of these sentences, then, the problematic construction consists of an attributive clause containing an interrogative word in its left periphery. Recall, though, that light-headed relatives in Tlingit contain attributive clauses of *exactly this form*. Thus, the problematic constructions of (75) might be described – not as free relatives where the verb is not in the subordinative paradigm – but as *light-headed relatives* in which the modified ‘light’ noun appears to be absent.

This reanalysis, however, immediately begs the question of how the light-headed relatives in (75) can appear without a modified light noun. Recall, though, that a sentence of Tlingit often can contain only a single verb without any nouns at all; sentence (153) for example contains only the verb *yak’úi*.

- (153) *Yak’úi.*  
*It is good.*

This property of Tlingit distinguishes it from languages like English, where sentences have to contain nouns; the English translation of (153), for example, must contain the noun “it”.

- (154) a. It is good.  
 b. \* Is good.

The ability for the sentences of a language to contain no nouns at all is often referred to by linguists as ‘pro-drop’. Moreover, a popular analysis of ‘pro-drop’ languages is that they possess *unpronounced, phonologically empty* pronouns (Baker 1996). Thus, a sentence such as (153) in Tlingit might actually have the structural analysis shown in (155a), parallel to the syntax of (155b).<sup>67</sup>

- (155) a.  $\emptyset$  *yak’úi.*  
           it is.good  
           *It is good.*

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<sup>66</sup> Note that the Tlingit light-headed relative empirically challenges the analysis of light-headed relatives proposed in Citko (2004), which predicts a transparent morphological relationship between the modified light-noun and the interrogative word functioning as the ‘relative pronoun’.

<sup>67</sup> Recall that the symbol ‘ $\emptyset$ ’ represents an abstract, unpronounced, phonologically empty prefix (Story & Naish 1973; p. 350). In the same way, we might use this symbol to represent an abstract, unpronounced phonologically empty pronoun, as we do in (155a).

- b. Hú yak'úi.  
     he is.good  
     *He is good.*

Now, if we accept the existence of phonologically empty pronouns in Tlingit, an analysis of the sentences in (75) becomes readily available. Recall that the puzzling constructions in these sentences look just like *light-headed* relatives, except for the fact that they seem to be missing the ‘light’ noun. Given that Tlingit has phonologically empty pronouns, however, such sentences might just be categorized as simple light-headed relatives, in which the light noun is a *phonologically empty pronoun*. Therefore, the ‘problematic free relative’ in sentence (75b) might receive the abstract syntactic analysis in (156).

- (156) Aadóo sá du éet shukawdudlixu  $\emptyset$   
       who SA the.words.of.a.song.are.for PRO  
       *Whoever the words of a song are for...*

Again, under this analysis, the problematic construction is *not* a free relative lacking a verb in the subordinative paradigm, but is rather a light-headed relative in which the semantically ‘light’ noun is the phonologically empty pronoun ‘ $\emptyset$ ’.

Thus, the existence in Tlingit of light-headed relatives and phonologically empty pronouns together makes sense of the otherwise puzzling constructions in (75).

### 10.3 Concessive Free Relatives in Tlingit

Note how the following two English sentences mean approximately the same thing.

- (157) a. No matter what Dave cooks, he is going to win the baking contest.  
       b. Whatever Dave cooks, he is going to win the baking contest.

In sentence (157b), it appears that a free relative, ‘whatever Dave cooks’, can have the same meaning as the phrase ‘no matter what Dave cooks’ in sentence (157a). For our purposes here, we will use the term ‘concessive free relative’ to mean a free relative which – like the one in (157b) – can be translated into English by a phrase beginning with ‘no matter...’.<sup>68</sup> Further examples of concessive free relatives in English can be found below.

- (158) a. Wherever you go, I will find you.  
       b. No matter where you go, I will find you.
- (159) a. However hard you push, it’s not going to move.  
       b. No matter how hard you push, it’s not going to move.

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<sup>68</sup> A more precise, technical definition of ‘concessive free relative’ is a free relative which represents a question the answer to which is not relevant to the truth of the main clause. See Izvorski (2000) for fuller exposition.

- (160) a. Whoever you ask, the answer will be the same.  
 b. No matter who you ask, the answer will be the same.

The ‘concessive’ use of free relatives is a rather understudied phenomenon. Linguists still have very little to say about how a free relative can come to mean something akin to a phrase beginning with ‘no matter’. It is quite interesting to note, then, that Tlingit seems to possess ‘concessive free relatives.’ In all the following sentences, a structure with a form identical to a Tlingit free relative is translated by an English phrase beginning with ‘no matter’. The putative concessive free relative is indicated with italics.

(161) Concessive Free Relatives in Tlingit

- a. Ha *ch’a goo* *sá*, tle *wáa yei koowáat’* *sá*, tlél has du kaadéi haa sakw<sub>g</sub>wax’aak<sub>w</sub>.  
 well just where SA then how it.be.long SA not they surface.to we.will.forget  
*No matter where, no matter how long, we won’t forget them.*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990, p. 174, line 52)
- b. Daa *sáyá yaa yanaxíx yeedát* *kaa yáa* awuné *áyá yáat* *tookeení*.  
 what SA it.be.falling now one face respect AYA here.at we.sit  
*No matter what is in progress now, we are sitting here out of respect for each other.*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990, p. 302, line 86) <sup>69</sup>
- c. Chá *wáa yéi kuwáat’dei* *sá s* *kudzitee*, *átx* has agux<sub>l</sub>ayéíx.  
 just how it.be.long.towards SA pl. they.live thing.at pl. they.will.use.it  
*No matter how long they live, they will use it.*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990, p. 320, line 40) <sup>70</sup>
- d. Ch’a *x’oonínáx* *sáwé* *áa* haa yatee, ch’a aan.  
 just how.many.through SA.foc-part of.them we.are just it.with  
*No matter how few of us there are, [they’re] still [like that].*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1994; p. 158; line 1259)

It would benefit both our knowledge of Tlingit grammar and our knowledge of the free relative construction cross-linguistically to devote some future study to this construction.

<sup>69</sup> The translation of this sentence offered by Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer (1990) is “Whatever is in progress now, we are sitting here out of respect for each other.” Note that this English sentence has approximately the same meaning as the gloss in (161b). This indicates that the free relative in this English sentence is a concessive free relative, and its use to translate the Tlingit free relative in (161b) supports the conclusion that it is also a concessive free relative.

<sup>70</sup> Note that main verb of the italicized construction in (161c) is in the attributive mode. Accepting the analysis of such constructions offered in section 10.2, it follows that this italicized construction might be more accurately labeled as a ‘concessive light-headed relative’. Given the semantic similarities between free relatives and light-headed relatives, such a distinction is immaterial for present concerns. However, to my knowledge, such ‘concessive’ uses of light-headed relatives have not yet been reported in the literature on light-headed relatives.

## 10.4 Various Other Constructions Requiring *Waa* ‘How’ or *Daat* ‘What’

By far, the most frequent interrogative words in any Tlingit text are *waa* ‘how’ and *daat* ‘what’. Besides their appearance in the constructions examined above, these words may also appear in a variety of other, special constructions, ones that specifically require either *waa* or *daat*. Many of these constructions appear to be more-or-less ‘idiomatic’, meaning that the interpretation or function of the construction cannot be productively derived from its grammatical form, and that it is a rather idiosyncratic, language-specific convention for expressing the constructional meaning.

In the following sections, we will review a number of these special constructions, all of which are attested in my selected corpus. First, we will examine those constructions containing *waa* as a crucial subcomponent. We will then consider those constructions which are formed with *daat*.

### 10.4.1 Constructions Requiring *Waa* ‘How’

#### 10.4.1.1 Use of *Waa* to Mean ‘As’ or ‘So’

Perhaps the most semantically versatile interrogative word in Tlingit is *waa*. Although this word is most often translated as ‘how’, it is also frequently translatable as ‘why’ and ‘what’ (see Section 3). Besides these three uses, one will also often encounter sentences where this word appears to be translatable via the English degree words ‘as’ and ‘so’.

The sentences in (162) illustrate cases where *waa* has been translated into English as ‘so’.

#### (162) *Waa* Translated as ‘So’

- a. **Wáa** t’éex’i      sáyú      ch’a á wooch      isxá      aantkeení.  
so it.is.hard SA.foc-part just it each.other they.eat people  
*It was so hard the people ate each other.*  
(Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 74; line 45)

- b. **Wáa** latseení      sáyá      taan yátx’i      yóo ayagwáldi tle  
so he.is.strong SA.foc-part sea.lion cub      he.hit.them      then  
  
tle      a.een      ch’a du jín      tin.  
then he.killed.them just his hand with

*He was so strong when he punched the sea lion cubs, he killed them with his bare hands.*

(Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 146; line 147)

Note that it is quite hard to paraphrase the English glosses in (162) by means of sentences containing the English interrogative word ‘how’. The actual semantic function of the English adverb ‘so’ in sentences such as the glosses of (162) is rather murky, even among specialists. It is clear, however, that this function is not available to the English

interrogative word ‘how’. Thus, it appears that the use of *waa* in (162) constitutes a special, distinct function of the word, one that does not immediately follow from its appearance in either content questions, free relatives or indefinite expressions.<sup>71, 72</sup>

The sentences in (163) illustrate cases where *waa* has been translated into English as ‘as’.

(163) *Waa* Translated as ‘As’

- a. Ch’a **wáa** yeikuwáat’ sá yee xoo yéi xat gugaté.  
 just as it.is.long SA your area thus I.will.be  
*Let me live with you for as long as possible.*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 188; line 448)
- b. Kaa x’oos **wáa** sá kuligéi a yáx  
 person foot as SA it.is.big it like  
*As long as a person’s foot.*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 12; line 60)

In all cases, the translatability of *waa* as ‘as’ is due to the existence of free relatives in Tlingit. That is, sentences such as those in (163) are in context usually translatable as sentences containing free relatives. For example, sentence (163a) could just as faithfully be translated as “Let me live with you for *however long is possible*”, while sentence (163b) could be rendered “However long a person’s foot is.” Thus, the translation of *waa* as ‘as’ does not indicate a special construction or use of the interrogative word.

10.4.1.2 *The Construction Waa Nanéi Sáwé ‘At Some Point’*

One of the most frequently encountered idioms containing the interrogative word *waa* ‘how’ is the expression *waa nanéi sáwé*. This expression is notoriously difficult to translate into English, although it is most often rendered as ‘at some point’ or ‘at one point’.

<sup>71</sup> In the selected corpus, there are many sentences where *waa* is translated as ‘so’, but which might also easily be translated by means of either an exclamative or a sentence in which an interrogative indefinite receives an appreciative connotation. The sentence below illustrates.

(i) **Waa** sá yat’éex’, aaa, sh daat kaa shuwuxéex.  
 so SA it.is.hard yes refl around.to person they.fall  
*It is so difficult, yes, when your relatives have died off.*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 220; line 122)

In context, the sentence above could also be translated as “How difficult it is when your relatives have died off!”, which would reflect only the use of interrogative words in question-based exclamatives. I put aside such sentences in my discussion here, since they might only reflect the two aforementioned constructions.

<sup>72</sup> Another possibility, however, is that the sentences in (162) all contain free relatives interpreted as definite descriptions. These definite descriptions might then be contextually understood to provide a condition by which the main clause has been facilitated. For example, sentence (162a) might be more akin to an English sentence like “Given *how hard it was*, the people ate each other,” and sentence (162) might be paraphrasable as “Given *how strong he was* when he punched the sea lion cubs, he killed them with his bare hands.” There are ways in which this analysis might be tested, but future research will have to sort the matter out.

(164) Sentences Where *Waa Nanéi Sáwé* is Translated as ‘At Some / One Point’

- a. *Wáa nanéi sáwé át koowaháa.*  
 how it.happened SA.foc-part it.came.about  
*At one point it was time.*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 128; line 132)
- b. *Haa, wáannée sáyá kaa xoot has uwa.át.*<sup>73, 74</sup>  
 exclm how.it.happened SA.foc-part man area.to they.came  
*Now, at one point, they had come upon the others.*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 200; line 123)
- c. *Wáannée sáwé du jikaanáx wootee.*  
 how.it.happened SA.foc-part his hand.on.through it.was  
*At one point it overpowered him.*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 208; line 285)
- d. *Wáa nanéi sáyú át koowaháa.*  
 how it.happened SA.foc-part it.came.about  
*At one point, the moment came.*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 222; line 102)

Although a direct and completely faithful translation of *waa nanéi sáwé* is not possible, it is nonetheless clear what the semantic function of this expression is.<sup>75</sup> Throughout my selected corpus, use of this expression corresponds with a clear shift and resetting of the narrative scene, most commonly with a temporal ‘jump’ of some sort.<sup>76</sup> For example, in sentence (164a), the expression corresponds with a shift in the narrative scene from the conversation between Brant and Naatsilané to the scene where Brant takes Naatsilané to his wife. Similarly, in (164b), the expression corresponds with a shift from the scene where the Woman who Married the Bear sees the Bear as a bear for the first time, to the scene where she sees the other bears preparing for the winter. Although narrative ‘scene shifts’ are often difficult to independently characterize, in my own experience, all uses of this expression correspond with intuitively clear shifts in the narrative scene.

<sup>73</sup> Note the phonological reduction in both this example and the following one. Both sentences were produced by the same speaker.

<sup>74</sup> Note that the focus particle in this example is *áyá* rather than *áwé*. Similarly, the focus particle in sentence (164d) is *áyú*, and in (166d) it is *áhé*. Note, too, that in sentences (164b, c), the dialectal variant *née* is used rather than the root *néi*. Thus, although I characterize this construction as *waa nanéi sáwé*, it would be more accurate to characterize it as *waa na(néi / née) sá(wé / yá / yú / hé)*.

<sup>75</sup> As will be discussed in a moment, a literal translation of this phrase might be something like “How it happened”. The verbal form *nanéi* appears to be the verbal theme  $\emptyset$ -*néi* ‘to happen’ placed in the ‘consecutive mode’ (Leer 1991; p. 510). In this mode, the verb describes an event which occurs prior to the action described in the main clause (Leer 1991; p. 443).

<sup>76</sup> I am quite certain that I have read previous authors describing the function of this expression in similar terms. Unfortunately, I cannot at present locate in my references any discussion of this expression, though I am certain one exists somewhere.

Given its use as a signal of narrative scene shifts, the translation of *waa nanéi sáwé* as ‘at one / some point’ is rather accurate, given that the latter English expression can often serve to signal such shifts in the narrative. However, other English expressions can also be used to signal narrative scene shifts, and one often finds these other expressions being used to translate *waa nanéi sáwé*. The following sentences witness the wide assortment of English expressions used to translate *waa nanéi sáwé*. In all these cases, however, the core function of the expression remains the same: to signal a shift in the narrative scene.

(165) Sentences Where *Waa Nanéi Sáwé* is Translated via Some Other English Phrase

- a. *Wáa nanée sáwé yéi yawdudzikaa...*  
how it.happened SA.foc-part thus they.said  
*In a while, they said to him...*  
(Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 88; line 142)
- b. *Wáa nanéi sáwé áa yux aawagoot.*  
how it.happened SA.foc-part of.them yonder.at he.went  
*After a while, someone went out there.*  
(Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 102; line 409)
- c. *De wáa nanée sáwé ch’u tle wóosht has at jishoowanéi*  
now how it.happened SA.foc-part even then each.other.to they.fought  
*One day, they got into a fight [over it].*  
(Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 2; line 28)
- d. *De wáa nanée sdágáawé ax éesh aan x’ayeedé woogoot.*  
now how it.happened SA.ptcl.foc-part my father town.towards he.went  
*One time my father went to town.*  
(Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 102; line 56)
- e. *Wáa nanée sáwé yéi xat yawdudzikaa...*  
how it.happened SA.foc-part thus they.said.to.me  
*After some time, they asked me...*  
(Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 134; line 718)
- f. *Wáa nanée sáwé aax kei aa xwaaxút’.*  
how it.happened SA.foc-part there.from up of.them I.pulled.it  
*Eventually, I managed to pull one out.*  
(Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 66; line 516)
- g. *Wáa nanée sáwé aax aawataan.*  
how it.happened SA.foc-part there.from he.handed.it  
*Finally, he picked it up.*  
(Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 136; line 795)

Occasionally, one finds texts where this expression is translated as a question, such as ‘at what point was it?’ The following sentences illustrate.

(166) Sentences Where *Waa Nanéi Sáwé* is Translated as a Question

- a. Gwá! Wáannée sáyá yeik kukandak’ít tsu.  
exclm how.it.happened SA.foc-part down people.leaving again  
*Hey, at what point was it they were coming down again?*  
(Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 202; line 178)
- b. Wáa nanée sáwé aa gawdudlixwéin.  
how it.happened SA.foc-part of.them they.spooned.it  
*At what point was it that one of them took a spoonful?*  
(Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 306; line 90)
- c. Wáa nanéi sáwé a yáa uwagút wé x’eis’awáa.  
how it.happened SA.foc-part its face he.came that ptarmigan  
*At what point was it he came across a ptarmigan?*  
(Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 170; line 30)
- d. áhé de wáa nanéi sgíhé?  
foc-part now how it.happened SA.Q.foc-part  
*But then at what point was it?*  
(Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 170; line 67)

In most examples of this sort, use of the expression *waa nanéi sáwé* still seems to correlate with a shift in the narrative scene. Indeed, in most such examples (e.g. (166 a, b, c)), the original Tlingit sentence bears the punctuation of an assertion. Moreover, in context, the sentence could felicitously be translated as an assertion, employing the convention of translating *waa nanéi sáwé* as ‘at one point’. Thus, in most cases, it is unclear why the translators choose an English content question to translate the original Tlingit sentence. Such a translation might indicate the existence of some otherwise unsignalled interrogative force in the original Tlingit. Alternately, such translation could be an attempt by the translator to mirror the syntax of the original Tlingit sentence, given that the expression *waa nanéi sáwé* contains the interrogative pronoun *waa*.

There is, however, one sentence in the selected corpus where the interrogative force of the original Tlingit is more apparent. In sentence (166d), there is an overt marker of interrogative force: the ‘yes-no question’ particle *gí*. Moreover, the punctuation of the original sentence overtly flags it as a question. The function of this sentence also does not seem to be to signal a shift in narrative scene; sentence (166d) is interposed between two lines of a single conversation between two of the narrative’s characters. Finally, in context, the purpose of sentence (166d) seems to be signal the narrator’s lack of knowledge regarding when the following line of dialog was uttered. Thus, the interrogative translation in (166d) seems comparatively secure. Future research should look more carefully at structures of this sort, to examine in more detail whether



they can, in fact, function as interrogatives, and how such interrogative use relates to the more common, ‘adverbial’ use illustrated in (164) and (165).

Let us end our discussion of this very prevalent idiom with a few observations regarding its structure. First, it appears that this construction has as an obligatory subcomponent one of the four focus particles *áwé*, *áyá*, *áyú*, *áhé*. That is, although in the general case the particle *sá* needn’t co-occur with a focus particle, in the construction *waa nanéi sáwé*, such co-occurrence is obligatory. Nevertheless, it appears that *any* of these four focus particles may occur in the construction, the only condition being that one of them do. Moreover, strict adjacency between *sá* and the following focus particle is not required (e.g. (166d)). Thus, the general rule appears to be that in the construction *waa nanéi sáwé*, the particle *sá* must be followed – but not necessarily *immediately* followed – by a focus particle.

A second, highly salient feature of this construction is the use of the verbal form *nanéi* / *nanée*. This verbal form appears to be the verbal theme  $\emptyset$ -*néi* /  $\emptyset$ -*née* ‘to happen’ placed within the consecutive mode (Leer 1991; p. 510).<sup>77</sup> As described by Leer (1991; p. 443), the consecutive mode is used when the verb (i) is part of a so-called ‘past narrative’, and (ii) describes an event which occurs prior to the event described by the main clause. Thus, a direct, literal translation of *waa nanéi sáwé* might be something akin to ‘how it happened’ or perhaps ‘the way things having happened’. Given this literal meaning, it is perhaps not surprising that this expression should come to acquire an extended use as a signal of narrative scene shift. Moreover, this expression seems to be limited to ‘past narratives’, ones which concern single, non-habitual events in the past. This fact clearly follows from the fact that the verb in this construction appears in the consecutive mode, a mode which is restricted to past narratives. Nevertheless, in as much as the root *néi* / *née* is invariable in this construction,<sup>78</sup> *waa nanéi sáwé* seems to be a fixed, idiomatic expression. Thus, the appearance of *waa* here constitutes a special, distinct use of the interrogative word.

One final feature of this construction to note is that the particle *sá* must follow the verbal form *nanéi* / *nanée*. As will be discussed in Section 11, there is a general preference for *sá* to appear to the right of subordinate verbs when its associated interrogative word is inside a subordinate clause. However, in the general case, this is merely a preference, and a pre-verbal placement of *sá* is also generally acceptable. Importantly, when it is a subcomponent of the idiom *waa nanéi sáwé*, though, the particle *sá* must obligatorily follow the subordinate verb.

#### 10.4.1.3 The Construction Waa Nganein Sáwé ‘Sometimes’

In addition to *waa nanéi sáwé*, there exists a second, superficially similar idiom employing both the interrogative word *waa* and the verbal root *néi* / *née*. This construction is nearly structurally identical to *waa nanéi sáwé*, the principle difference

<sup>77</sup> Note that such an analysis would assume that the verbal theme  $\emptyset$ -*néi* ‘to happen’ is of the *na*-conjugation class. I do not know whether this is so, but it would seem to violate the (defeasible) condition that verbal themes in the *na*-conjugation are atelic.

<sup>78</sup> To my knowledge, one cannot replace  $\emptyset$ -*néi* /  $\emptyset$ -*née* with the synonymous theme *ka-u-di-yaa* ‘to happen’. That is, to my knowledge, the phrase *waa koodayaa sáwé* (or anything like it) is never used in a manner akin to *waa nanéi sáwé*.

being that the verb is placed within the ‘contingent mode’ (Leer 1991; p. 511), and so appears as *naganein* / *naganeen*.<sup>79</sup> Thus, this construction might be referred to as *waa nganein sáwé*. It is often translated as ‘sometimes’, as the following sentences illustrate.

(167) Sentences Where *Waa Nganein Sáwé* is Translated as ‘Sometimes’

- a. Tle *wáa nganeen sáwé* tle *uxéeych* tle.  
 then how it.would.happen SA.foc-part then he.would.spend.the.night then  
*Sometimes he would stay overnight.*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 122; line 464)
- b. *Wáa nganeen sáwé* *xát déis* du keekx’ *yakaxalxut’di* neech.  
 how it.would.happen SA.foc-part I now.dubit his side.at I.would.axe.it  
*Sometimes I would take a turn splitting wood alongside him.*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 174; line 122)
- c. *Wáa nganeen sáwé* *tsáax’ kaayí* has du jiyís *kínde xaxash* neech *yáat*.  
 how it.would.happen SA.foc-part mitten.patterns their hand.for I.would.cut.it here  
*Sometimes I would cut out mitten patterns for them at this point.*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 158; line 1275)
- d. *Wáa nganeen sáwé* *ch’a kalk’átl’gináx* aagáa *áwé* *anawóos’ch*...  
 how it.would.happen SA.foc-part just quietly then foc-part one.would.ask  
*Sometimes someone would ask quietly...[“who did this for me”]*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 294; line 174)
- e. *Wáa nganeen sáwé* *yéi yanduskéich*...  
 how it.would.happen SA.foc-part thus they.would.say  
*Sometimes they would say to him...[“it was your brother in law”]*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 294; line 176)

Although this construction is quite similar in form to *waa nanéi sáwé*, its function in discourse seems to be different. First, this construction seems to be restricted to so-called ‘habitual narratives’ (Leer 1991; p. 349), narratives which concern habitual acts. This is no doubt the result of the contingent morphology on the verb in the construction; verbs in the contingent mode are restricted to habitual narratives (Leer 1991; p. 451). Secondly, within such narratives, the use of *waa nganein sáwé* does not seem to be correlated with a shift in the narrative scene. Indeed, there is in sentence (167c) an explicit signal that the narrative scene has *not* changed (i.e., *yáat* ‘at this point’). Moreover, sentence (167e) describes an event that is intuitively within the same ‘narrative scene’ as that described in the preceding sentence, (167d). More specifically, sentence (167d) describes an event in which someone asks “Who made this food for me”, and sentence (167e) describes the subsequent event in which someone responds “Your

<sup>79</sup> Note that there might be some phonological reduction of the contingent verb form in this construction. According to Leer (1991; p. 511), when placed in the contingent mode, the verb theme  $\emptyset$ -néi /  $\emptyset$ -née should surface as *naganeinín* / *naganeenín*.

brother-in-law did it.” Thus, the events in (167d) and (167e) fall within the same narrative scene, and so use of the expression *waa nganein sáwé* does not correlate here with a change in narrative scene. It appears, then, that unlike the superficially similar *waa nanéi sáwé*, the idiom *waa nganein sáwé* does not serve to flag narrative scene shifts.

What, then, is the function of this expression? Given its translation as ‘sometimes’, one might hypothesize that *waa nganein sáwé* indicates that the habitual main clause describes an event that infrequently recurs. Thus, in sentence (167a), this construction contributes the information that, although his staying the night occurred on more than one occasion, such events were not necessarily frequent. Given such a meaning, the translation of *waa nganein sáwé* as ‘sometimes’ is quite apt, as this English adverb has precisely this function. Of course, there are other adverbs in English that can be used to indicate that an event infrequently recurs, and one sometimes finds these expressions being used to translate *waa nganein sáwé*. For example, in the following sentence, the English phrase ‘once in a while’ is used to translate *waa nganein sáwé*. As before, though, the core meaning of all these expressions is that the habitual event described in the main clause infrequently recurs.

(168) Sentence Where *Waa Nganein Sáwé* is Translated as ‘Once in a While’

*Wáa nganein sáwé yá Ch'al'geyita.aan áa yéi haa nateech.*  
 how it.would.happen SA.foc-part this Ch'al'geiyita.aan there thus we.were  
*Once in a while we lived there in Ch'al'geiyita.aan.*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 84; line 41)

As with the superficially similar construction *waa nanéi sáwé*, one occasionally finds texts where sentences containing *waa nganein sáwé* are translated as questions. The following sentence illustrates.

(169) Sentence Where *Waa Nganein Sáwé* is Translated as a Question

*Wáa yoo kganein sáwé yá ax tlagu kwáanx'i ... ayanaskéich...*<sup>80</sup>  
 how it.would.happen SA.foc-part this my ancient relative he.would.say.to.him  
*At what point would this ancestor of mine say...*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 182; line 19)

As before, the nature of the interrogative English translation is unclear. Perhaps there is some interrogative force to the original Tlingit sentence which is not apparent from the source text alone. Perhaps the translator intended the interrogative word in the English translation to mirror the appearance of the interrogative word *waa* in the original Tlingit. Future research should seek to clarify the matter.

<sup>80</sup> Note that the conjugational class of the verbal theme *ø-néi / ø-née* seems to differ in this example. In all other examples, the theme is of the *na*-conjugation. In sentence (169), however, the theme appears to be in the *ga*-conjugation. What has conditioned or allowed this change is not clear. Future research should determine the nature of this change, and whether it can also occur in the expression *waa nanéi sáwé*.

Let us now end our discussion of this construction with a few brief observations regarding its structure. Like the superficially similar *waa nanéi sáwé*, the construction *waa nganein sáwé* must contain a focus particle. In all the examples found in my selected corpus, the focus particle in this construction is *áwé*. Thus, it may be that – unlike *waa nanéi sáwé* – the focus particle in *waa nganein sáwé* is obligatorily fixed as *áwé*; there are at present too few examples in the corpus to make a confident conclusion. Moreover, in all the collected instances of this construction, the focus particle immediately follows the particle *sá*. It may be, then, that the focus particle in *waa nganein sáwé* must *immediately* follow *sá*; again, there are too few examples to make a firm conclusion.

Another salient property of this construction is that the verb it contains must appear in the contingent mode.<sup>81</sup> As described by Leer (1991; p. 451), the contingent mode is used when the verb (i) is part of a ‘habitual narrative’, and (ii) describes an event which occurs prior to the event described by the main clause. Thus, a direct, literal translation of *waa nganein sáwé* might be something akin to ‘how it would happen’ or perhaps ‘the way it would happen’. Given this literal meaning, it is rather unclear why this expression should be used to indicate the infrequency of the event denoted by the main clause. Moreover, as with *waa nanéi sáwé*, the root *néi / née* is fixed in this construction; it cannot be freely replaced with synonymous themes like *ka-u-di-yaa* ‘to happen’. Therefore, the expression *waa nganein sáwé* must be classified as a fixed, idiomatic expression, and so the appearance of *waa* here constitutes a special, distinct use of this interrogative word.

A final feature of this idiom to note is that the particle *sá* follows the contingent verb *nganein / nganeen* in all the collected examples. Again, there are presently too few examples of this construction to be confident that this is an absolute condition, but given that this *does* seem to be an absolute condition in the structurally similar idiom *waa nanéi sáwé*, one might be reasonably confident that this condition also obtains in *waa nganein sáwé*. Future research will have to determine the matter.

#### 10.4.1.4 Use of Waa as an Interjection

In the selected corpus, there is one sentence where the interrogative word *waa* appears to be used as an interjection.

- (170) **Wáa**      sáyá      yan      kawliháš.  
           how SA.foc-part to.shore it.floated  
           *Hey—it had floated to shore.*  
           (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 126; line 69)

In this sentence, *waa* appears to be translatable as the English interjection ‘hey’. Such interjective uses are not otherwise witnessed for *waa*, though they are remarkably common for *daat*, as discussed in Section 10.4.2.2. Future research should determine

<sup>81</sup> Note that this analysis assumes that the verbal theme *ø-néi* ‘to happen’ is of the *na*-conjugation class. I do not know whether this is so, but it would be consistent with the form of the theme in the construction *waa nanéi sáwé*.

how productive such uses of *waa* are, and how they might be related to the much more prevalent interjectionary uses of *daat*.

#### 10.4.1.5 The Construction *Wáa sá I Tóoch* ‘What do You Think (About This)?’

In the selected corpus, there are a couple sentences which illustrate an interesting elliptical construction containing the interrogative word *waa*.

##### (171) Sentences Illustrating *Wáa sá I Tóoch* ‘What do You Think (About This)?’

- a. *Wáa sá i tóoch gúx’aa – tlél katulal’úx’x aadé si.áat’i yé.*  
how SA your mind.erg/inst prtcl not we.drink.it there.to it.is.cold way  
**What do you think:** *we don’t drink even a cup of it, it is so cold.*  
(Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 4; line 56)

- b. *Wáa sá i tóoch keejín táakw áwé yaa yanaxíx wé mine.*  
how SA your mind.erg/inst five winter foc-part it.is.running that mine  
**What do you think about this:** *for five years the mine was running.*  
(Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 208; line 886)

As these sentences illustrate, the phrase *wáa sá i tóoch* is translatable into English as ‘what do you think (about this)’. This phrase appears to be a collocation of the interrogative word *waa* ‘how’, its accompanying particle *sá*, and the noun phrase *i tóo* ‘your mind’ marked by either the instrumental post-position *-ch* or the homophonous ergative post-position. Thus, this construction might be literally translated as ‘how by your mind’ or ‘how does your mind’. Since this construction lacks a verb, it appears to be an elliptical reduction of a longer phrase. Although the remaining material in the construction is sufficient to give this expression a fairly transparent meaning, the absence of the verb nevertheless indicates that it is a fixed idiom. Thus, the presence of *waa* in this construction may be considered another, special use of the interrogative word. Although there are only a few examples of this idiom in my selected corpus, it is interesting to note that in all examples, the expression *wáa sá i tóoch* precedes the material that the speaker is soliciting an opinion about. Future research should determine whether this is an obligatory rule. If it is, this idiom might be more aptly translated as ‘What do you think of the following?’.

#### 10.4.1.6 The Ceremonial Response *Haa Wáa Sá* ‘Indeed’

As this section of the report concerns special uses of the interrogative word *waa*, I will briefly mention the traditional ceremonial response *haa wáa sá*, which is often translated as ‘indeed’, or ‘yes, indeed.’ I will only briefly discuss this expression here, since it is already treated at length in other works, particularly Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer (1990). The following lines of dialog are representative of its use.

(172) Dialog Representing the Use of *Haa Wáa Sá* ‘Indeed’

Tóok’: Yá yéik tlél áyá aadéi kawayíkx woóxdzi.aaxi yé.  
Charlie.Jim this spirit not foc-part there.to air.at it.can.echo way  
*Charlie Jim: This spirit cannot echo in the air.*

Kaal.átk’: Haa wáa sá. Gunalchéesh xáawé.  
Charlie.Joseph exclm how SA thank.you indeed.foc-part  
*Charlie Joseph: Yes indeed. Thank you.*

(Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 284; line 33)

As these lines illustrate, the phrase *haa wáa sá* is used by an audience member to support the words of a speaker. The phrase appears to consist of a simple collocation of the interjection *haa* with the interrogative word *waa* ‘how’. It appears, then, as if it might be a reduced form of what was at one time a longer expression, perhaps something akin to ‘how true’. At present, however, it constitutes a special, idiomatic use of the interrogative word *waa*. I refer the reader to Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer (1990) for more information on the use of this expression – as well as many others – in the context of traditional ceremonies.

10.4.1.7 The Construction *Wáa Yateeyi* ‘Some’ / ‘A’

One final special use of *waa* ‘how’ that will be considered here is the expression *wáa yateeyi*. This expression must directly precede a noun phrase, which it serves to modify. It is often translated as ‘some’, as the following sentences illustrate.

(173) Sentences Where *Wáa Yateeyi* is Translated as ‘Some’

a. *Wáa yateeyi* aa kuhaankí yax woowagoodán, *wáa yateeyi* aa áwé tléik’.  
how it.is.REL of.them orphans they.make.it.through how it.is.REL of.them f-p no  
*Some orphans make it through, and some don’t.*  
(Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 134; line 735)

b. Yeedát óosh gí ch’a *wáa yateeyi* aa xáanaa tlél ax éex x’eitaan.  
now if Q just how it.is.REL of.them evning not with.me he.speaks  
*I wish some evening he would not speak to me.*  
(Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 144; line 932)

c. *Wáa yateeyi* aa gaaw sáwé wé Taagíshdax haat oo.aatch.  
how it.is.REL of.them time SA.foc-part those Tagish.from here.to they.go  
*Sometimes people from Tagish come here.*  
(Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 158; line 1240)

d. *Wáa yateeyi aa sáwé ch'a a káa yan wooxadáaych wé yeedadi káawu.*  
 how it.is.REL of.them SA.foc-part just them.on I.watch those now people  
*I keep an eye on **some** of the people of today.*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 158; line 1252)

e. *Wáa yateeyi yéix' sá a shaayí kadulkélx*  
 how it.is.REL way.at SA its head they.soak.it  
*Sometimes the heads, the would soak them.*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 30; line 423)

In the sentences above, the expression *wáa yateeyi* appears to function as a ‘partitive modifier.’ That is, the expression indicates that the sentence is true of *only a subgroup* of the noun it modifies. For example, in sentence (173a), it indicates first that only a subgroup of orphans make it through, and then indicates that the remaining subgroup of orphans do not. This partitive meaning is very explicitly indicated in the English translation of (173d), where the discontinuous phrase *wáa yateeyi aa sáwé ... wé yeedadi káawu* is translated as ‘some of the people of today.’ Thus, this expression serves to indicate that the speaker keeps an eye on only a subgroup of the phrase it is understood to modify, *wé yeedadi káawu* ‘the people of today’.

This paritive use of *wáa yateeyi* can also be detected in sentences where it is not translated as ‘some’. The following sentences illustrate.

#### (174) Sentences Where *Wáa Yateeyi* is not Translated as ‘Some’, but Remains Partitive

a. *Waa yateeyi yéix' áwé wé tléikw.*  
 how it.is.REL way.at foc-part that berry  
*At times it would be going after berries.*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 188; line 419)

b. *Gushé haa nák has kandak'ít'ch wáa yateeyi yéi.*  
 dubit. us.leaving they.left how it.is.REL way  
*[The men] left us **from time to time**.*  
 (Nyan & Leer 1993; p. 138; line 839)

In both these sentences, *wáa yateeyi* serves to indicate that it was only at a particular subgroup of times that the event described by the sentence occurred. Thus, in both sentences, the expression seems to also be felicitously translated as ‘some’.

Although *wáa yateeyi* primarily has this partitive use, there is one example in the corpus where it seems not to function as a partitive modifier. It is found in the following passage.

(175) Sentence Where *Wáa Yateeyi* is not a Partitive Modifier

*Wáa yateeyi káa tle yóo a neiléet a koowóot kawulgáas'i*  
how it.is.REL man then yonder its house.to its den.to they.are.shot

*ch'u tle gándeí ashakool'íxch.*  
even then outside.towards he.breaks.them

*When a man's thoughts are shot inside its [a bear's] den, he snaps them back toward the entrance.*

(Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 180; line 268)

In the first sentence of this passage, the expression *wáa yateeyi* modifies the noun *káa* 'man'. However, in context, the resulting sentence is understood to be talking about *all* men, not just a certain subgroup of men. Thus, in context, the expression *wáa yateeyi* would not be felicitously translated as 'some' or 'some of'. That is, the following sentence does *not* convey the meaning of the English gloss of (175): 'When some men's thoughts are shot inside a bear's den, he snaps them back towards the entrance.' In this example, then, *wáa yateeyi* is best translated as the plain indefinite article 'a'. Future research should investigate in more detail this non-partitive use of *wáa yateeyi*, and how it relates to the examples where the expression seems to have a partitive meaning.

Let us now observe the characteristic structure of this expression. This form of this expression is clearly that of an attributive clause containing an interrogative indefinite. That is, it seems most likely that *wáa yateeyi* is to be literally translated as 'that is somehow'. Thus, *wáa yateeyi káa* might be literally rendered as 'a man that is somehow', or 'a man that is in some particular way'. Given this literal meaning, it would be natural for this expression to take on a special use as a partitive modifier. One might justifiably doubt, then, whether this phrase really should be classified as a special construction of the language. That this phrase has become a fixed idiom in Tlingit is largely indicated by its second characteristic structural property: the optionality of *sá*. Note that in many of the sentences above, there is no *sá* accompanying the interrogative word *waa* (e.g. (173 a, b), (174 a, b) and (175)). This appears to violate the general rule that an interrogative word of Tlingit must be accompanied by the particle *sá* (see Section 4.1).<sup>82</sup> Therefore, it appears that speakers of Tlingit treat the phrase *wáa yateeyi* as a simple, fixed idiom, and so the appearance of *waa* here constitutes a special use of the interrogative word.

Finally, let me note in passing that all the instances of this construction in my selected corpus come from speakers of Interior Northern Tlingit (Tom Peters, from Teslin; Elizabeth Nyman, from Atlin). Moreover, in the speech of these individuals, the construction *wáa yateeyi* is comparatively frequent. This suggests that this construction might be a special hallmark of the Interior Northern dialect. Further research should explore this matter.

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<sup>82</sup> On the other hand, we will see in Section 11 that this optionality of *sá* might follow from another general rule concerning the grammar of this particle.



## 10.4.2 Constructions Requiring *Daat* ‘What’

### 10.4.2.1 The Construction *Daat Yáx Sá* ‘Really’ / ‘Very’

In the previous section, we explored a variety of idiomatic uses of the Tlingit interrogative word *waa* ‘what’. As with *waa*, the interrogative word *daat* ‘what’ in Tlingit has a number of special uses. In the following sections, we’ll explore some of them.

One frequently encountered use of the word *daat* is in the expression *daat yáx sá*, which is often translated as ‘very’ or ‘really’. The following sentences illustrate the use of this expression.

#### (176) Sentences Containing *Daat Yáx Sá* Translated as ‘Really’ / ‘Very’

- a. Ha tla<sub>x</sub> *daat yáx sáyú* haa tuwáa sakligée.  
exclm very what like SA.foc-part our spirit think.it.cute  
*We **really** thought it was cute.*  
(Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 76; line 748)
- b. Ha tla<sub>x</sub> *daat yáx sáyú* tlél a<sub>x</sub> tuwáa ushgú yóo xateení wé s at danaayí.  
exclm very what like SA.foc-part not my spirit it.is.happy thus I.see.it that they.drink  
*I **really** hated to see them drink like that.*  
(Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 192; line 549)
- c. K’e s kaawashoo *daat yáx sá*.  
well they.get.drunk what like SA  
*Well, they got **really** drunk.*  
(Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 194; line 591)
- d. Ha haa toowú tla<sub>x</sub> *daat yáx sá* a kaax yak’é.  
exclm our spirit very what like SA it because it.is.good  
*We feel **very** happy because of them.*  
(Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 172; line 12)

As these sentences make clear, the expression *daat yáx sá* functions as an intensifier, like the English adverbials ‘really’ and ‘very’. There are, of course, other intensifiers in the English language, and one often finds other intensifying expressions used to translate the Tlingit phrase *daat yáx sá*. The following sentences illustrate some other ways of translating the Tlingit intensifier *daat yáx sá*.

#### (177) Sentence Containing *Daat Yáx Sá* Translated as Other Intensifying Expressions

- a. Tle *daat yáx sá* kshix’íl’k  
then what like SA it.is.slippery  
*It was **extremely** slippery.*  
(Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 170; line 50)

- b. Ch'a aan áwé *daat yáx* sáwé ax'awlitseen du léelk'wx xat sateeyí.  
 just it.with foc-part what like SA.foc-part he.valued.it his grandfather.pred I.was  
*Even then he valued **like nothing else** that I was his grandfather.*  
 (= *Even then he **really** valued that I was his grandfather.*)  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 294; line 157)
- c. *Daat yáx* sá kei has awsiwát yú.á.  
 what like SA up they.raised.him they.say  
*They raised him **with much care**, they say.*  
 (= *The **really** raised him (well), they say.*)  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 228; line 209)
- d. At x'éeshi *daat yáx* sá yakoogéi.  
 dry.fish what like SA there.be.alot  
*They had **plenty** of dry fish at hand.*  
 (= *There were **really** a lot of dryfish.*)  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 204; line 200)

Despite the variety of translations above, the overall function of *daat yáx sá* is constant: it serves to 'intensify' some other expression within the sentence.

The grammatical structure of the phrase *daat yáx sá* appears to be quite straightforward. The interrogative word *daat* appears to function here as an interrogative indefinite marked by the post-position *yáx* 'something'. The whole phrase, then, might be literally translated as 'like something'. Assuming that the indefinite here receives an appreciative connotation (see Section 9.1), the whole phrase might be more aptly translated as 'like something remarkable'. That the phrase *daat yáx sá* can be literally interpreted in this way is suggested by the following sentence.

(178) Sentence Where *Daat Yáx Sá* is Translatable as 'Like Something Remarkable'

*Daat yáx* sá a daa has tuwatee ka wé ax' éek'.  
 what like SA her about they.think and that my brother  
*They thought she was **special**, and my brother, too.*  
 (= *They thought she was **like something remarkable**, and my brother, too.*)  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 130; line 619)

In sentence (178), the phrase *daat yáx sá* does not seem to function as an intensifier; if it did, the sentence would mean something akin to 'they really thought about her'. Rather, only a literal translation as 'like something remarkable' is sensible in this context.

Given that *daat yáx sá* can be productively interpreted as 'like something (remarkable)', its use as an intensifier should not be surprising. Nevertheless, its use as an intensifier does seem to be somewhat idiomatic. In many of the sentences above, a literal translation as 'like something (remarkable)' would be inconsistent with the animacy of the nouns in the sentence. For example, sentence (176b) would be rendered 'I hated like something remarkable to see them drink like that', which would oddly suggest that the speaker is a 'thing'. For this reason, I conclude that the use of *daat yáx*

*sá* as an intensifier constitutes an idiom in the Tlingit language, and so presents us with a special use of the interrogative word *daat*.

Before we turn to other uses of *daat*, let me note that there is in my selected corpus one sentence containing the phrase *daat yáx sá* which appears to be interpreted as a question-based exclamative.

(179) Sentence Where *Daat Yáx Sá* is Translated as a Question-Based Exclamative

Tla<sub>x</sub> *daat yáx sáyá* haa <sub>x</sub>'éi yak'éi.  
very what like SA.foc-part our mouth it.is.good  
*How good they tasted to us.*  
(Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987, p. 74, line 40)

I would suggest that this sentence, like sentence (178), contains a literal interpretation of the phrase *daat yáx sá*. In this sentence, however, the phrase is interpreted as the interrogative phrase 'like what'. The resulting sentence, then, might be literally translated as 'What they tasted like to us!'. This question-based exclamative is fairly synonymous to the English gloss given under (179).<sup>83</sup>

10.4.2.2 Four Special Uses of *Daa Sá*

The simple phrase *daa sá* has a variety of uses in Tlingit narrative. In this section, we will examine four special uses of this phrase.

One often-encountered use of the phrase is to indicate mild surprise, specifically at events within the narrative where some new entity appears in the narrative scene. Given this function, the phrase is often translated as '(and) what do you know', or 'lo and behold'.<sup>84</sup> The following sentences illustrate this use of the phrase.

(180) The Phrase *Daa Sá* Used to Mean '(And) What do You Know' / 'Lo and Behold'

- a. *Daa sáwé tsóo*, awsiteen wéi Naada.éiyaa.  
what SA.foc-part too he.saw.it that Naada.éiyaa  
*So what do you know, Naada.éiyaa saw it.*  
(Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 14; line 80)

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<sup>83</sup> Of course, given that the purpose of sentence (179) in context is to assert that the salmon tasted very good, sentence (179) could also be fairly translated as a plain declarative sentence in which *daat yáx sá* is interpreted as 'like something (remarkable)'. This frequent ambiguity between question-based exclamatives and interrogative indefinites (with appreciative connotations) was noted in Section 10.1.

<sup>84</sup> Nyman & Leer (1993) report that the translation as 'lo and behold' more accurately captures the flavor of the original Tlingit phrase. However, given that the phrase 'lo and behold' is obsolete, and thus archaic in modern English, the translators prefer to use the more modern phrase '(and) what do you know' (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 15).

- b. *Daa sáyá tsóo, yá náanax.á gwáawé ch'u tle áa yáx yatee.*  
 what SA.foc-part too that north.one prtcl.foc-part even then lake like it.is  
*Lo and behold, [the river] to the north was like a lake.*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 14; line 94)
- c. *Daa sáyá tsú lingít gwáawé.*  
 What SA.foc-part too Tlingit prtcl.foc-part  
*And what do you know, they were Tlingits!*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 14; line 119)
- d. *Daa sáwé xwaa.áx wé dikinde aas yax'aandé "Fvv, Fvv, fvv..."*  
 what SA.foc-part I.heard.it that above.toward tree  
*And what do you know, I heard up in a tree "Fvv, fvv, fvv..."*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 70; line 575)
- e. *Daa sáwé jánwu a yát wujixeex.*  
 What SA.foc-part goat it face.to it.ran  
*And what do you know, there was a goat running about on it.*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 76; line 722)

As the sentences above illustrate, in its use as 'lo and behold', the phrase *daa sá* is always immediately followed by one of the four focus particles. It is not presently known whether there are any conditions on which focus particles may follow *daa sá* in this use; in my selected corpus, only *áwé* and *áyá* are attested here. Moreover, in nearly all cases where *daa sá* is used in this manner, it is followed by the particle *tsú* 'also'. Indeed, Nyman & Leer (1993; p. 112) suggest that this use of *daa sá* requires the particle *tsú*. Sentences (180 d, e), however, indicate that *tsú* is not necessarily required in order for the phrase *daa sá* to be interpretable as 'lo and behold'. Although *tsú* is not obligatory in this construction, it does nevertheless appear to be interpreted idiomatically in sentences like (180 a, b, c). For this reason, we might refer to this construction as *daa sáwé (tsú)* 'lo and behold'.

Before we move on to other uses of *daa sá*, it should be noted that, of the texts in my selected corpus, only Nyman & Leer (1993) contains the construction *daa sáwé (tsú)* 'lo and behold'. Moreover, within this text, the phrase has a rather frequent occurrence; 15 instances of it are found in the first 50 pages of Tlingit narrative. Thus, its absence from the other texts in the corpus is curious, and may indicate that this construction is specific to the Interior Northern Dialect spoken by Mrs. Nyman.

A second, perhaps related use of *daa sá* is to generally indicate mild surprise. Under this use, the phrase *daa sá* may be translated as 'my goodness'. This use of the phrase is attested in a single sentence of the selected corpus, listed below.

(181) The Phrase *Daa Sá* Used to Mean ‘My Goodness!’

*Daa sá!* Has du jiyís haandé yaa kakdujélch wé dzixáawu át de.  
what SA their hand.for here.towards they.kept.carrying that fur now  
***My goodness!*** *They kept bringing furs for her.*  
(Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 250; line 654)

Given the similarity in meaning between this use of *daa sá* and the construction *daa sáwé (tsú)* ‘lo and behold’, one might justifiably doubt whether these sentences illustrate two distinct uses of the phrase *daa sá*. Note, however, that in context, sentence (181) introduces no new entities into the narrative scene. This is in contrast to the construction *daa sáwé (tsú)* ‘lo and behold’, which is always correlated with the introduction of some new entity of interest to the narrative. Moreover, it should be noted that Nyman & Leer (1993) consistently translate *daa sáwé (tsú)* as either ‘lo and behold’ or ‘(and) what do you know’. That they have translated *daa sá* in sentence (181) as ‘my goodness’ suggests that they perceive this to be a separate construction. Finally, observe that in sentence (181), no focus particles follow the phrase *daa sá*. This also appears to distinguish this use of the phrase from the construction *daa sáwé (tsú)* ‘lo and behold’. For all these reasons, I conclude that sentence (181) demonstrates a separate use of the phrase *daa sá*, one where the phrase can generally indicate mild surprise, and so may be translated as ‘my goodness!’

A third special use of the phrase *daa sá* is often encountered in lists. When used in the context of a list, the phrase *daa sá* functions to indicate that the list may be further extended with items similar to those already mentioned. Thus, under this use, the phrase could be translated as ‘et cetera’, though it is often translated as ‘and so on’ or ‘and similar things’. The following sentences illustrate this use of the phrase.

(182) The Phrase *Daa Sá* Used to Mean ‘And So On’

a. Tle gushé x’oon k’óox sáyú has aawaják, ka wé nóoskw, *daa sáwé*...  
then perhaps how.many marten SA.foc-part they.killed and that wolv. what SA.f-p  
*I don’t know how many marten they killed, as well as wolverine, **and so on.***  
(Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 56; line 296)

b. Aax haandé yaa s at kanajél, xáat xook, dleey xook, s’EEK, *daa sá*...  
there.from here.to they.carried fish dried meat dried bear what SA  
*They brought it from there: dried fish, dried meat, bear **and other things.***  
(Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 196; line 615)

c. Gwál k’óox x’óow *daa sá* gaak x’óow, tle wóoch kináade yaa akanajél.  
perhaps marten blanket what SA lynx blanket then each.other on.towards she.carried  
*Maybe marten blankets, **and other kinds**, lynx blankets, she kept putting them on, one on top of another.*  
(Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 224; line 150)

Finally, there is one sentence in the selected corpus where the function of *daa sá* remains unclear. This sentence may witness a fourth use of the phrase, or it may contain one of the uses of *daa sá* already mentioned. The sentence is listed below.

(183) The Phrase *Daa Sá* Translated as ‘What’s More’

*Daa sáwé tsú du dlaak’ anax yux woogoot.*  
 what SA.foc-part again his sister there.across yonder.from she.walked  
*What’s more, his sister came out of there.*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 186; line 376)

In sentence (183), the phrase *daa sá* appears to be translated as ‘what’s more’. In English, the function of the phrase ‘what’s more’ is, roughly, to indicate that the situation described by the following sentence ‘compounds’ or ‘adds to’ those described by the previous sentences. It would appear, then, that sentence (183) illustrates a fourth, distinct use of the phrase *daa sá*.

On the other hand, note that sentence (183) actually contains the sequence *daa sáwé tsú*, which suggests that this sentence might contain an instance of the construction *daa sáwé (tsú)* ‘lo and behold’. Furthermore, the translation of sentence (183) as ‘Lo and behold, his sister came out of there’ would make sense in the context from which the sentence is taken. The passage preceding sentence (183) describes the following situation: the brothers of the Woman Who Married the Bear have killed the Bear and are now approaching the home/den of the Bear, where the Woman is hiding. From inside the home, the Woman speaks to her brothers’ dog, and the brothers hear her voice. Sentence (183) describes the emergence of the Woman from the home/den, where she faces her brothers for the first time in years. Given that sentence (183) describes the (re)appearance of an entity central to the narrative, the translation of *daa sáwé tsú* as ‘lo and behold’ seems to be rather plausible. In contrast, the translation of this phrase as ‘what’s more’ is somewhat curious in this context, given that the appearance of the sister doesn’t intuitively ‘compound’ the situation described in the preceding passage.

For this reason, I conclude that there is strong evidence to suggest that sentence (183) contains an instance of the construction *daa sáwé (tsú)* ‘lo and behold’.<sup>85</sup> The translation of this construction as ‘what’s more’ in sentence (183) might be due to the translator seeking to mirror the syntax of the original Tlingit. Given that *daa sáwé* can be literally interpreted as ‘what is (it)’ and the particle ‘*tsú*’ literally means ‘also/too/in addition’, the whole phrase *daa sáwé tsú* might be literally translated as ‘what is in addition’ or ‘what is more’. However, the function of this phrase in context does not appear to be that of the English idiom ‘what’s more’, but rather that of the English idiom ‘lo and behold’. Future research should further investigate this matter with native speakers.

<sup>85</sup> Note also that sentence (183) is taken from a story by Tom Peters, from Teslin. Therefore, the claim that sentence (183) contains an instance of the construction *daa sáwé (tsú)* is consistent with the observation that this construction is specific to the Interior Northern Dialect.

## 11. The Grammar of the Particle *Sá*

In the previous sections, we have concentrated upon the grammar of the interrogative words of Tlingit, specifically, the rules governing the placement and interpretation of these words within the constructions that contain them. It was noted in Section 4, however, that any Tlingit sentence containing an interrogative word must also contain the particle *sá*. Therefore, one cannot hope to correctly form Tlingit sentences containing interrogative words unless one also knows the rules constituting the grammar of *sá*. These rules can be rather complex at times. Conveniently, though, they seem not to be affected by the type of construction involved; the same rules govern *sá* whether it is found in a simple question, a complex question, a free relative, an NPI, *et cetera*.

In the following sections, we will examine in close detail the grammar of the particle *sá*. We will begin in Section 11.1 with the rules of the greatest generality; these might be referred to as the ‘core grammar’ of *sá*. In subsequent sections, we will examine rules that come into play only when *sá* is found in certain specific environments.

### 11.1 The Core Grammar of *Sá*

Perhaps the most basic and central rule concerning *sá* is that a sentence contains *sá* if and only if that sentence contains an interrogative word. This rule is so central that it will be highlighted as the following generalization.

- (184) *The Interdependency of Interrogative Words and Sá*: A sentence contains the particle *sá* if and only if that sentence contains an interrogative word.

The generalization in (184) actually states two rules at once. The first rule stated in (184) is that if any sentence contains an interrogative word, then that sentence contains the particle *sá* – no matter whether the interrogative word is contained in a content question, a complex question, a free relative, an NPI, a specific indefinite, or any of the special constructions discussed in Section 10.<sup>86</sup> The data in the selected corpus are quite clear on this point: no sentence containing any interrogative word fails to also contain the particle *sá*.<sup>87</sup> This clear textual pattern is, of course, also reflected in the well-formedness judgments of speakers. Speakers reject as incorrect any sentences where an interrogative word is not paired with the particle *sá*.

- (185) a. Daa *sá* *xwaaxaa*.  
          what SA I.ate.it  
          *What did I eat?*

- b. \* Daa *xwaaxaa*.

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<sup>86</sup> The one notable exception to the generalization in (184) is the construction *wáa yateeyi* ‘some / a certain’, discussed in Section 10.4.1.7. Recall, though, that as this construction is an idiomatic expression, and so it can violate the more general, productive rules of the language. Another possible exception to this generalization will be discussed later in Section 11.2.2.2.

<sup>87</sup> Again, the one exception being that the interrogative word in the *wáa yateeyi* construction needn’t have an accompanying *sá*.

(186) a. Goodéi                      sá kkwagút.  
               where.towards SA I.will.go  
               *Where will I go?*

b. \* Goodéi kkwagút.

(187) a. Tlél goodéi                      sá xwagoot.  
               not where.towards SA I.went  
               *I didn't go anywhere.*

b. \* Tlél goodéi xwagoot.

In sentences (185) and (186), the interrogative word is contained within a content question, while in sentence (187), the interrogative word functions as an NPI. In all these sentences, though, the presence of an interrogative word necessitates the appearance of the particle *sá*.

The second rule stated in (184) is that if any sentence contains the particle *sá*, then that sentence must contain an interrogative word. That is, the particle *sá* can never simply appear on its own, without an accompanying interrogative word.<sup>88</sup> Again, the textual data are quite clearly in support of this generalization: no sentence in the selected corpus that contains the particle *sá* fails to contain an interrogative word.<sup>89</sup> Future research should further test this generalization by asking native speakers their well-formedness judgments regarding sentences containing the particle *sá* but no interrogative words.

A second core rule in the grammar of *sá* is that the particle *sá* must always come to the *right* of the interrogative word it is paired with. Again, this rule is so critical to the proper use of *sá* that it will be highlighted as follows.

(188) *The Rightward Position of Sá:* The particle *sá* must appear to the right of the interrogative word it is paired with.

The generalization in (188) will probably appear obvious even to beginning students of the language. It is amply supported by textual examination; I have never myself encountered a sentence of Tlingit which seems to violate the generalization in (188). This generalization is also reflected in the well-formedness judgments of native speakers; speakers reject sentences in which the particle *sá* precedes the interrogative word it is paired with.

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<sup>88</sup> In evaluating the truth of this claim, it is important to distinguish between the particle *sá* and the verbal form *sá* 'name!'. The latter is the imperative form of the verbal theme Ø-saa 'to name', and appears in such well-known phrases as *Lingít x'éináx sá* 'Say it (name it) in Tlingit.' Although they are perhaps historically related, the particle *sá* and the verbal form *sá* are different words, and the verbal form needn't appear with any interrogative word.

<sup>89</sup> Moreover, I am not aware of any exceptions to this rule.



- (189) a. Goodéi                      sá yeegoot?  
               where.towards SA you.went  
               *Where did you go?*

- b. \* Sá goodéi yeegoot?

Although the generalization in (188) states that *sá* must follow the interrogative word, it doesn't specify *exactly where* after the interrogative word the particle can go. In fact, we will see that there are some rather complicated rules determining where, exactly, one can place the *sá*. First, however, I will introduce the two simplest and most general of these rules.

Surely, the place where one most often finds the particle *sá* is directly following the interrogative word it is paired with. Generally speaking, any interrogative word that 'stands alone' may be directly followed by *sá*. By the term 'stands alone', I mean the following.

- (190) *Definition of the Term 'Stands Alone'*: an interrogative word 'stands alone' if

- (a) the interrogative word is *not* marked by a post-position<sup>90</sup>

STANDS ALONE	DOESN'T STAND ALONE
<i>goo</i> 'where'	<i>goodéi</i> 'to where'
<i>aadóo</i> 'who'	<i>aadóo tin</i> 'with who'

- (b) the interrogative word is *not* a possessor, modifying a possessed noun

STANDS ALONE	DOESN'T STAND ALONE
<i>aadóo</i> 'who'	<i>aadóo yaagu</i> 'whose boat'
<i>daat</i> 'what'	<i>daat yax</i> 'like what' (lit 'at what's face')

- (c) if the interrogative word is either *x'oon* 'how many' or *daakw* 'which', then it appears alone, and does *not* modify a following noun

STANDS ALONE	DOESN'T STAND ALONE
<i>x'oon</i> 'how many'	<i>x'oon táakw</i> 'how many years'
<i>daakw</i> 'which'	<i>daakw keitl</i> 'which dog'

- (d) the interrogative word is *not* contained inside an attributive clause

STANDS ALONE	DOESN'T STAND ALONE
<i>waa</i> 'how'	<i>waa kligeiyi xáat</i> 'how big a fish'
	(lit 'a fish that is how big')

<sup>90</sup> For a list of the post-positions of Tlingit, see Leer (1991; p. 33).

If all four of the above conditions are met, then the particle *sá* can immediately follow the interrogative word. This rule is stated in the generalization under (191), and it is illustrated by the sentences under (192).

(191) *Interrogative Words ‘Standing Alone’ Can be Directly Followed by Sá:* If an interrogative word ‘stands alone’ (see definition (190)), then it can be immediately followed by the particle *sá*.

(192) Sentences Where *Sá* Appears Directly to the Right of the Interrogative Word

- a. **Daa sá** aawaxaa i éesh?  
 what SA he.ate.it your father  
*What did your father eat?*
- b. **Daa sá** i tuwáa sigóo [ \_\_\_\_ yéi isaneyí ] ?  
 what SA your spirit be.glad you.do  
*What do you want to do?*
- c. **Aa sá daa sá** du tuwáa sigóo [ \_\_\_\_ wutoo.oowú ] ?  
 who SA what SA their spirit be.glad we.bought  
*Who wants us to buy what?*
- d. **Daa sá** gaxyixáa á áyá gaxyi.een.  
 what SA you.will.eat that foc-part you.will.kill  
*Whatever you’ll eat is what you will kill.*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 120; line 214)
- e. Aaa, hél tsu **aadóo sá** shí du too yéi wunei.  
 yes not too who SA song their mind it.did  
*Yes, no one else thought of songs.*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987, p. 284, line 447)
- f. **Daa sáwé** yóo dikéenax.á  
 what SA.foc-part yonder far.out.across.one  
*There was something up there.*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 14; line 103)

Although one most often finds *sá* positioned directly to the right of an interrogative word, it is not at all uncommon for *sá* to appear separated from the interrogative word by other words in the sentence. Sometimes the distance between *sá* and its associated interrogative word can be quite great indeed. The following sentences illustrate.

(193) Sentences Where *Sá* is Separated From the Interrogative Word

- a. **Goodéi** **sá** **kḱwagút?**  
 where.to SA I.will.go  
*Where will I go to?*
- b. [ **Goodéi** wugoot **sá** ] uwajée i shagóonich?  
 where.to he.went SA they.think your parents.erg  
*Where do your parents think that he went?*
- c. Tlax̣ yáa **daakw** aa at xá **sá** du tuwáa sagóo noojín á áwé as.ée ...  
 very this which of.them food SA his spirit it.used.to.be.glad that foc-part she.cook  
*Whichever foods he really used to like was what she cooked...*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987, p. 102, line 425)
- d. Tlél **daakw** lingit' aaní tukwáani **sá** haa yáx gugatée.  
 not which world people SA us like there.will.be  
*No other people in the world will be like us.*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990, p. 158, line 25)
- e. Ch'a **wáa** yeikuwáat'dei **sáyá** ax̣ yáa yéi kgwatée.  
 just how it.be.long.towards SA my face it.will.be  
*It will stain my face forever.*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987, p. 274, line 272)
- f. Tlax̣ **daat** yáx **sáyá** haa x'úi yak'úi  
 very what like SA our mouth it.be.good  
*How good they tasted to us.*  
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987, p. 74, line 40)
- g. **Daat** tlein **sáwé** tsú wéix̣ yaa nagút.  
 what big SA too there.at it.is.walking  
*There was something large walking along over there.*  
 (Leer 1993; p. 17)

Upon examination of just the sentences in (192) and (193), one might form the simple hypothesis that the particle *sá* can be freely placed *anywhere* to the right of the interrogative word. Although this would be the simplest conclusion, the ill-formedness of sentences (194a) and (195a) demonstrates that it cannot be correct.

- (194) a. \* **Aadóo** wé sakwnéin du jeet **sá** aawatee?  
 who that bread his hand.to SA he.brought.it  
*Who did he give the bread to?*

- b. **Aadóo sá** wé sakwnéin du jeet aawatee?  
 who SA that bread his hand.to he.brought.it  
*Who did he give the bread to?*

- (195) a. \* **Goodéi** uwajée wugoot **sá** i shagóonich?  
 where.to they.think he.went SA your parents.erg  
*Where do your parents think he went?*

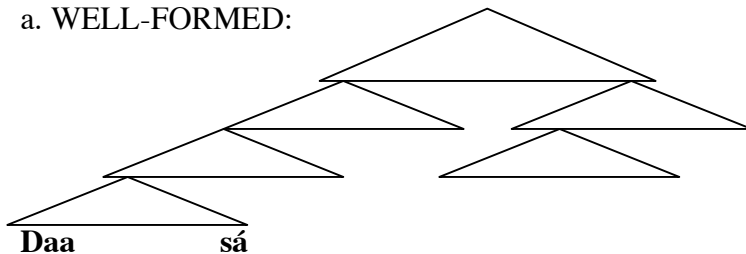
- b. **Goodéi sá** uwajée wugoot i shagóonich?  
 where.to SA they.think he.went your parents.erg  
*Where do your parents think he went*

We must therefore seek a set of rules concerning the position of *sá* which can correctly derive the ill-formedness of sentences (194a) and (195a), as well as the acceptability of the remaining sentences in (192) – (195).

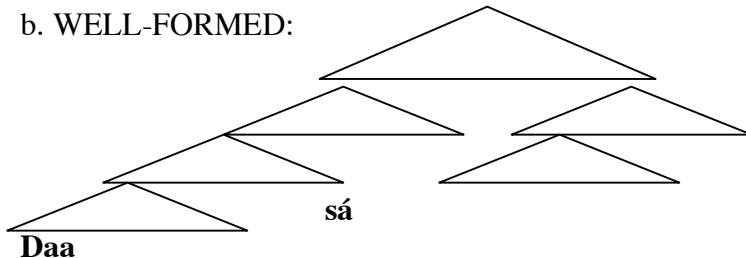
Consideration of a wide range of data strongly suggests the following picture. In addition to its appearing directly to the right of the interrogative word, the particle *sá* can also appear directly to the right of *phrases containing* the interrogative word. This generalization is schematically represented by the diagrams in (196) and (197). In all the ‘well-formed’ structures in (196), *sá* is positioned directly to the right of either the interrogative word or a phrase containing the interrogative word.<sup>91</sup> In all the ‘ill-formed’ structures in (197), *sá* is positioned to the immediate right of neither the interrogative word nor a phrase containing the interrogative word.

(196) Positions Available to *Sá*

- a. WELL-FORMED:

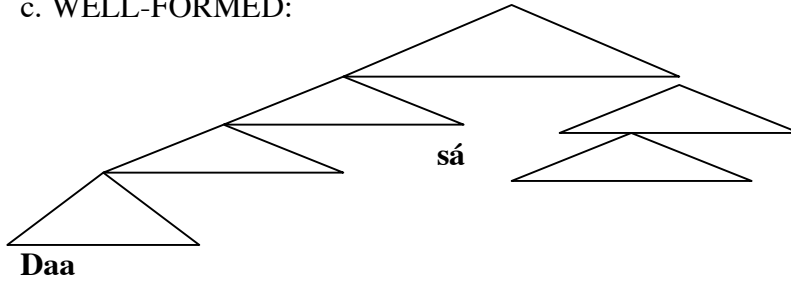


- b. WELL-FORMED:



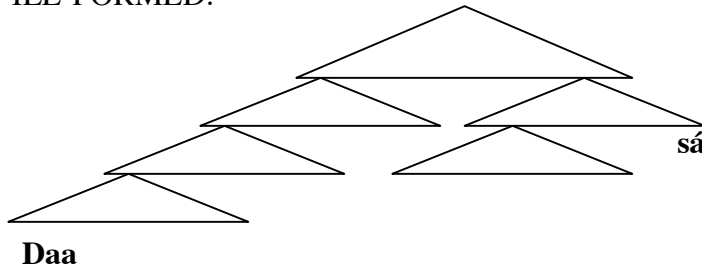
<sup>91</sup> Linguists standardly use triangles to abstractly represent phrases.

c. WELL-FORMED:

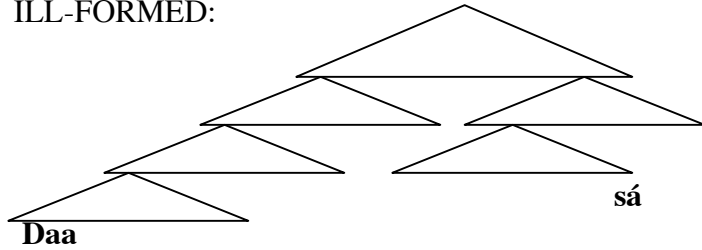


(197) Positions Unavailable to *Sá*

a. ILL-FORMED:



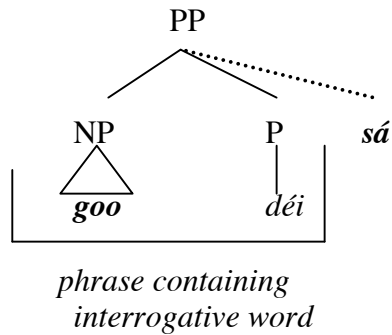
b. ILL-FORMED:



Let us now see how this proposal would derive the data in (192) – (195). Given that it permits *sá* to appear directly to the right of an interrogative word, this proposal trivially derives the well-formedness of the sentences in (192). To show that it derives the well-formedness of the sentences in (193), (194b) and (195b), one must demonstrate that the *sá* in these sentences appears directly to the right of a phrase that contains the interrogative word. For reasons of space, this will only be done for a few illustrative examples; the reader is encouraged to determine for themselves that this can be done for the remaining sentences.

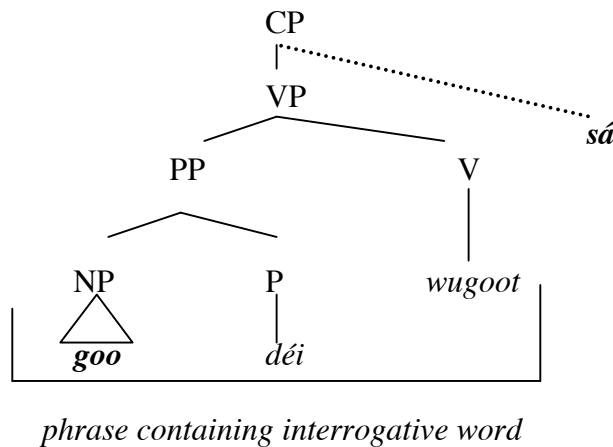
As a straightforward first example, let us consider the sentence in (193a). In this sentence, the particle *sá* is directly to the right of the postpositional phrase *goodéi* ‘to where’. As this is a phrase containing the interrogative word *goo*, our proposed analysis correctly predicts that (193a) is well-formed. This well-formed structure is schematically diagrammed as follows.

(198) Well-Formed Interrogative Phrase in Sentence (193a)



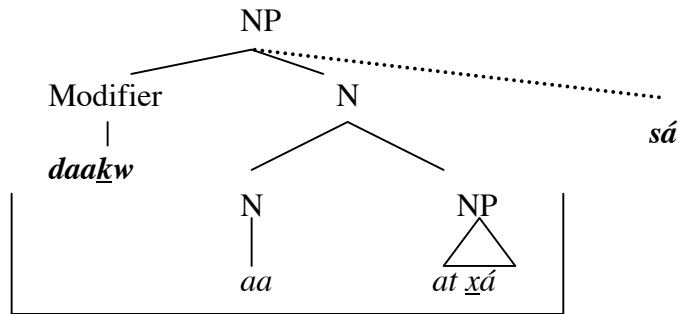
A more interesting case is presented by sentence (193b). In this sentence, the particle *sá* is directly to the right of the words *goodéi wugoot*. These words, though, form a phrase: the subordinate clause which is complement to the verb *uwajée* 'they think'. Thus *sá* is directly to the right of a phrase containing *goo* 'where', and so the sentence is correctly predicted to be acceptable. This well-formed structure is schematically diagrammed as follows.

(199) Well-Formed Interrogative Phrase in Sentence (193b)



As a final, more complicated example, let us consider the sentence in (193c). In this sentence, the particle *sá* is directly to the right of the series of words *tlax yáa daakw aa at xá*. Forming a part of this sequence, however, is the sub-sequence *daakw aa at xá*. Importantly, this sequence forms a phrase: the noun phrase translatable as 'which food'. Moreover, this noun phrase contains the interrogative word *daakw* 'which'. Therefore, in this sentence too, the particle *sá* is directly to the right of a phrase containing an interrogative word, and our analysis correctly predicts it to be acceptable. This well-formed structure can be schematically represented as follows.

(200) Well-Formed Interrogative Phrase in Sentence (193c)<sup>92, 93</sup>



I conclude, then, that the particle *sá* may only appear immediately to the right of phrases containing an interrogative word. I will state this proposal as the following generalization.

(201) *The Upward Float of Sá*: The particle *sá* may *only* appear directly to the right of an interrogative word, or directly to the right of a phrase containing an interrogative word.

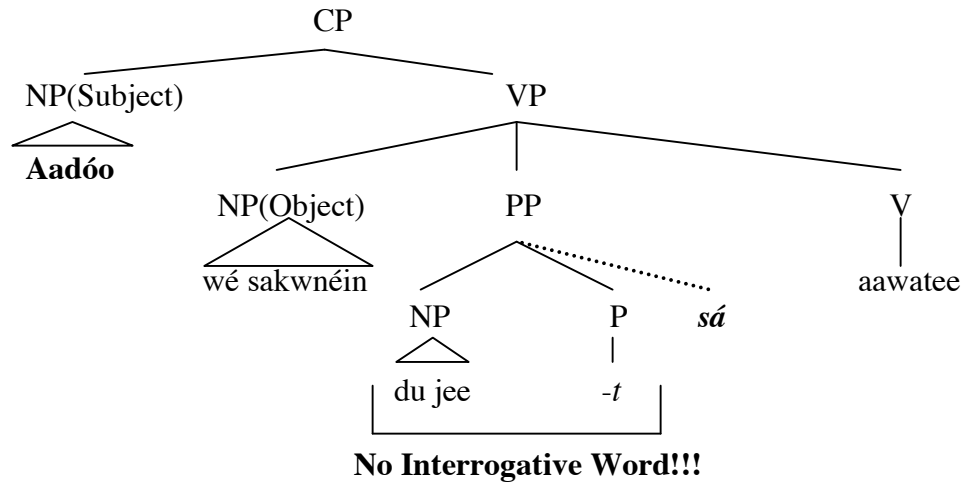
Before we accept the generalization in (201) as the ‘final word’ concerning the separation of *sá* from the interrogative, we must first confirm that it correctly predicts the *ill-formedness* of the sentences in (194a) and (195a). For now, let us consider sentence (194a); we shall return to sentence (195a) later on in Section 11.3.

In sentence (194a), the particle *sá* immediately follows the words *aadóo wé sakwnéin du jeet*. This sequence of words, however, does not come together to form a single phrase. Rather, it is merely the two separate noun phrases *aadóo* ‘who’ *wé sakwnéin* ‘the bread’, and the PP *du jeet* ‘to his hand’. Thus, the only phrase that *sá* immediately follows in this sentence is the PP *du jeet* ‘to his hand’. Since this phrase does not contain an interrogative word, the generalization in (201) correctly predicts sentence (194a) to be ill-formed. The following diagram illustrates the preceding argument.

<sup>92</sup> The structure in (200) departs somewhat from the theory of Tlingit noun phrases put forth in Leer (1991; p. 36). However, the exact internal structure of the noun phrase here isn’t crucial; all that is crucial is the (uncontroversial) fact that the words *daakw aa at xá* form a single noun phrase meaning ‘which food’.

<sup>93</sup> Readers with a background in syntax will notice that the diagram in (200) represents the noun *at xá* ‘food’ as being adjoined to the partitive pronoun *aa* ‘of.them’. For reasons I do not have space here to explain, I believe this to be the correct analysis of noun phrases of this form. Again, though, all that is of crucial relevance here is that the words *daakw aa at xá* form a single noun phrase.

(202) Ill-Formed Interrogative Phrase in Sentence (194a)



I conclude that Generalization (201) accurately describes the grammar of the particle *sá*; this particle *must* directly follow either an interrogative word or a phrase containing one. The ability for *sá* to appear after phrases containing an interrogative word, I refer to as ‘Upward *Sá*-Float’.

The following points summarize the material from this section.

(203) The Core Grammar of *Sá*

- (a) A sentence contains the particle *sá* if and only if that sentence contains an interrogative word.
- (b) The particle *sá* must appear to the *right* of the interrogative word it is paired with.
- (c) If an interrogative word ‘stands alone’ (see definition (190)), then it can be immediately followed by the particle *sá*.
- (d) The particle *sá* may also appear separated from the interrogative word by other words in the sentence. However, when this occurs, the particle *must* be directly adjacent to a phrase containing the interrogative word.
- (e) Thus, the particle *sá* may *only* appear directly to the right of an interrogative word, or directly to the right of a phrase containing an interrogative word.
- (f) When the particle *sá* does not immediately follow the interrogative word, and instead immediately follows a larger phrase containing the interrogative word, I refer to this as ‘Upward *Sá*-Float’.



## 11.2 Where Upward Sá-Float is Required

The generalization in (191) states that interrogative words which ‘stand alone’ can be directly followed by the particle *sá*. This, of course, implies that interrogative words that do *not* stand alone *cannot* be directly followed by the particle *sá*. In this section, we will see that this implication is largely (though not wholly) correct. That is, there are a number of environments where interrogative words cannot be directly followed by the particle *sá*. In these environments, Upward Sá-Float is forced, and the particle *sá* must instead follow some larger phrase containing the interrogative word.

I currently know of no general rule that derives all the cases where Upward Sá-Float is required.<sup>94</sup> Therefore, I will introduce in the sections below a separate rule for each case that I am aware of. I begin in the next section with the four simplest cases.

### 11.2.1 Simple Modifiers

In the following subsections, I discuss four simple cases where Upward Sá-Float is required: with post-positions, with possessors, with noun modifiers, and with adjectives.

#### 11.2.1.1 Upward Sá-Float and Post-Positions

When an interrogative word is marked by a post-position, that interrogative word *cannot* be directly followed by the particle *sá*. Instead, Upward Sá-Float is forced here, and the particle *sá* must appear to the right of the whole post-positional phrase (PP). This rule can be restated as the following generalization.

- (204) *Upward Sá-Float and Post-Positions*: The particle *sá* cannot intervene between a post-position and the phrase that the post-position marks. That is, the particle *sá* cannot occur immediately before a post-position.

The following sentences – which reflect reported speaker judgments – illustrate the content of generalization (204). In the well-formed (205a), for example, the particle *sá* follows the whole PP *goodéi* ‘to where’. In the ill-formed (205b), however, the particle directly follows the interrogative word *goo* ‘where’. Since this places the particle *sá* immediately before the post-position *dei* ‘to’, generalization (204) is violated, and the sentence is ill-formed. The other sentences in (205) – (210) similarly illustrate this pattern.

- (205) a. **Goodéi sá** yigoot?<sup>95</sup>  
          where.to SA you.went  
          *Where did you go?*

- b. \* **Goo sádéi** yigoot?

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<sup>94</sup> Readers with some background in linguistics, however, might note that many of the environments would follow from a general rule that *sá* cannot appear between a functional head and a phrase that it selects for.

<sup>95</sup> Sentences (205) – (208) reflect the well-formedness judgments provided to me by John Marks of Juneau.

- (206) a. **Aadóo** teen **sá** yigoot?  
           who with SA you.went  
           *Who did you go with?*
- b. \* **Aadóo** **sá** teen yigoot?
- (207) a. Tléil **goodéi** **sá** xwagoot.  
           not where.to SA I.went  
           *I didn't go anywhere*
- b. \* Tléil **goo** **sádéi** xwagoot.
- (208) a. Tléil **aadóo** teen **sá** xwagoot.  
           not who with SA I.went  
           *I didn't go with anyone.*
- b. \* Tléil **aadóo** **sá** teen xwagoot.
- (209) a. Hél **goodéi** **sá** wu.aat.<sup>96</sup>  
           not where.to SA they.went  
           *They didn't go anywhere.*
- b. \* Hél **goo** **sádéi** wu.aat.
- (210) a. Hél **aadóo** een **sá** axwal'eix  
           not who with SA I.danced  
           *I didn't dance with anyone.*
- b. \* Hél **aadóo** **sá** een axwal'eix

Note that sentences (207) – (210) demonstrate that generalization (204) holds even when the interrogative word functions as an NPI. Generally speaking, I know of no case where the function of the interrogative word affects the application of any of the generalizations in this section.

The native-speaker well-formedness judgments listed above strongly support the generalization in (204). This generalization is also supported by textual analysis. The following chart reports the grammatical patterns found in my selected corpus.

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<sup>96</sup> Sentences (209) – (210) reflect the well-formedness judgments provided by Mary Anderson of Atlin to Roby Littlefield.

(211) Textual Analysis of the Placement of *Sá* with Respect to Post-Positions

Text	Post-Position Marks a Phrase Containing an Interrogative Word	Of Those in First Column, Those in Which <i>Sá</i> Appears to the Right of the Post-Position	Of Those in First Column, Those in Which <i>Sá</i> Appears to the Immediate Left of the Post-Position
Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987	32	32	0
Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990	16	16	0
Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 2000	44	44	0
Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 2002	18	18	0
Nyman & Leer 1993	65	65	0
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>175</b>	<b>175</b>	<b>0</b>

In this chart, the left-most column counts, for each of the texts in the corpus, the number of times a post-position marks a phrase containing an interrogative word. The second column then tallies, from the number in the first column, how many times the particle *sá* paired with the interrogative word appears to the *right* of the PP containing the interrogative word. Alternately, the third column tallies, from the number in the first column, how many times the particle *sá* paired with the interrogative word appears *immediately before* the post-position, intervening between the post-position and the phrase it marks. As the numbers here clearly indicate, whenever an interrogative word in the selected corpus appears (in a phrase) marked by a post-position, the particle *sá* appears to the right of that post-position. Thus, generalization (204) is respected throughout my selected corpus.<sup>97</sup>

Given that both textual analysis and native-speaker judgments support generalization (204), I conclude that there is strong reason to view it as a productive rule of Tlingit grammar.

#### 11.2.1.2 Upward *Sá*-Float and Possessors

When an interrogative word is a possessor modifying a possessed noun phrase, that interrogative word *cannot* be directly followed by the particle *sá*. Instead, Upward *Sá*-

<sup>97</sup> It should also be noted that the interrogative words represented in chart (211) subserve a variety of grammatical functions. For example, a total of 65 function either as NPIs or plain existentials. This further illustrates that generalization (204) is not sensitive to the grammatical function of the interrogative word paired with *sá*.

Float is forced here, and the particle *sá* must appear to the right of the possessed noun phrase. This rule can be restated as the following generalization.

- (212) *Upward Sá-Float and Possessors*: The particle *sá* cannot intervene between a possessor and its possessed noun phrase. That is, the particle *sá* cannot occur immediately before a possessed noun phrase.

The following sentences – which reflect reported speaker judgments – illustrate the content of generalization (212). In the well-formed sentence (213a), for example, the particle *sá* follows the (inalienably) possessed noun *jee* ‘hand’. In the ill-formed (213b), however, the particle directly follows the interrogative word *aadóo* ‘who’. Since this places the particle *sá* immediately before the possessed noun, generalization (212) is violated, and the sentence is ill-formed. The other sentences in (213) – (221) similarly illustrate this pattern.

- (213) a. **Aadóo** jeet **sá** iyatee?<sup>98</sup>  
           who hand-to SA you.brought.it  
           *Who did you give it to? (= Whose hand did you bring it to?)*

b. \* **Aadóo sá** jeet iyatee?

- (214) a. **Aadóo** xanx' **sáyá** yéi iyatee?  
           who area.at SA.foc-part so you.be  
           *Who are you living with? (= Whose area are you staying at?)*

b. \* **Aadóo sá** xanx' yéi iyatee?

- (215) a. **Aadóo** yaagu **sá** ysiteen?  
           who boat SA you.saw.it  
           *Whose boat did you see?*

b. \* **Aadóo sá** yaagu ysiteen?

- (216) a. **Aadóo** x'ashéeyi **sá** iya.aax?  
           who song SA you.heard.it  
           *Whose song did you hear?*

b. \* **Aadóo sá** x'ashéeyi iya.aax?

- (217) a. Tléil **aadóo** jeet **sá** xwatee.  
           not who hand-to SA I.brought.it  
           *I didn't give it to anyone.*

b. \* Tléil **aadóo sá** jeet xwatee.

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<sup>98</sup> Sentences (213) – (220) reflect the well-formedness judgments provided to me by John Marks of Juneau.

(218) a. Tléil **aadóo** xanx' **sá** yéi xat utí.  
 not who area.at SA so I.am  
*I am not living with anyone.*

d. \* Tléil **aadóo** **sá** xanx' yéi xat utí.

(219) a. Tléil **aadóo** yaagu **sá** xwsateen.  
 not who boat SA I.saw.it  
*I didn't see anyone's boat.*

b. \* Tléil **aadóo** **sá** yaagu xwsateen.

(220) a. Tléil **aadóo** x'ashéeyi **sá** xwa.aax.  
 not who song SA I.heard.it  
*I didn't hear anyone's song.*

b. \* Tléil **aadóo** **sá** x'ashéeyi xwa.aax.

(221) a. Hél **aadóo** yaagu **sá** xwsateen.<sup>99</sup>  
 not who boat SA I.saw.it  
*I didn't see anyone's boat.*

b. \* Hél **aadóo** **sá** yaagu xwsateen.

Note that sentences (217) – (221) demonstrate that generalization (212) holds even when the interrogative word functions as an NPI. This conforms to the wider result that the function of the interrogative word does not affect any of the generalizations of this subsection.<sup>100</sup>

The native-speaker well-formedness judgments listed above strongly support the generalization in (212). This generalization is also supported by textual analysis. The chart in (222) reports the grammatical patterns found in my selected corpus.

<sup>99</sup> Sentence (221) reflects the well-formedness judgments provided by Mary Anderson of Atlin to Roby Littlefield.

<sup>100</sup> Also note that sentences (213) – (221) contain both *alienably* and *inalienably* possessed nouns (Leer 1991; p. 38). We find, then, that generalization (212) is also insensitive to which of these noun classes a given possessed noun is in.

(222) Textual Analysis of the Placement of *Sá* with Respect to Possessed Noun Phrases

Text	Interrogative Word is Possessor Modifying a Possessed Noun Phrase	Of Those in First Column, Those in Which <i>Sá</i> Appears to the Right of the Possessed Noun Phrase	Of Those in First Column, Those in Which <i>Sá</i> Appears to the Immediate Left of the Possessed Noun Phrase
Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987	2	2	0
Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990	5	5	0
Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 2000	3	3	0
Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 2002	3	3	0
Nyman & Leer 1993	11	11	0
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>0</b>

In this chart, the left-most column counts, for each of the texts in the corpus, the number of times an interrogative word is a possessor modifying a possessed noun phrase. The second column then tallies, from the number in the first column, how many times the particle *sá* paired with the interrogative word appears to the *right* of the possessed noun phrase. Alternately, the third column tallies, from the number in the first column, how many times the particle *sá* paired with the interrogative word appears *immediately before* the possessed noun phrase, intervening between the possessor and its possessed noun phrase. As the numbers here clearly indicate, whenever an interrogative word in the selected corpus functions as a possessor modifying a possessed noun phrase, the particle *sá* appears to the right of that possessed noun phrase. Thus, generalization (212) is respected throughout my selected corpus.<sup>101</sup>

Given that both textual analysis and native-speaker judgments support generalization (212), I conclude that it is a productive rule of Tlingit grammar.

### 11.2.1.3 Upward *Sá*-Float and Noun Modifiers

The interrogative words *x'oon* 'how many' and *daakw* 'which' often function as nominal modifiers. Such use is illustrated in the following sentences.

<sup>101</sup> It should again be noted that the interrogative words represented in chart (222) subserve a variety of grammatical functions. For example, a total of 14 function either as NPIs or plain existentials. This further illustrates that generalization (212) is not sensitive to the grammatical function of the interrogative word paired with *sá*.

(223) The Interrogative Words *X'oon* and *Daakw* Modifying a Following Noun Phrase

- a. **Daakw** keitl sá ashaa?  
which dog SA it.is.barking  
*Which dog is barking?*
- b. **X'oon** keitl sá ysiteen?  
how.many dog SA you.saw.them  
*How many dogs did you see?*

When *x'oon* and *daakw* modify a following noun phrase, they *cannot* be immediately followed by the particle *sá*. Instead, Upward *Sá-Float* is forced here, and the particle *sá* must appear to the right of the noun phrase modified by the interrogative word. This rule can be restated as the following generalization.

- (224) *Upward Sá-Float and Noun Modifiers:* If the interrogative words *x'oon* and *daakw* modify a following noun phrase, then the particle *sá* cannot intervene between them and the noun phrase they modify. That is, the particle *sá* cannot occur immediately before a noun phrase modified by either of these interrogative words.

The following sentences – which reflect reported speaker judgments – illustrate the content of generalization (224). In the well-formed sentence (225a), for example, the particle *sá* follows the noun *keitl* ‘dog’, which is modified by the interrogative word *daakw*. In the ill-formed (225b), however, the particle directly follows the modifying interrogative word. Since this places the particle *sá* immediately before the noun modified by *daakw*, generalization (224) is violated, and the sentence is ill-formed. The other sentences in (225) – (229) similarly illustrate this pattern.

- (225) a. **Daakw** keitl sá ashaa?  
which dog SA it.is.barking  
*Which dog is barking?*
- b. \* **Daakw** sá keitl ashaa?
- (226) a. **X'oon** keitl sá ysiteen?  
how.many dog SA you.saw.them  
*How many dogs did you see?*
- b. \* **X'oon** sá keitl ysiteen?
- (227) a. **X'oon** gaaw sáwé?  
how.many hour SA.foc-part  
*What time is it? (=How many hours is it?)*
- b. \* **X'oon** sáwé wé gaaw?

(228) a. Tléil **daakw** keitl **sá** usha.  
           not which dog SA it.is.barking  
           *None of the dogs are barking.*

b. \* Tléil **daakw** **sá** keitl usha.

(229) a. Yéi uwatee **x'oon** táakw **sá**.  
           thus he.was how.many winter SA  
           *He lived there for some number (=many) years.*

b. \* Yéi uwatee **x'oon** **sá** táakw.

Note that sentences (228) and (229) demonstrate that generalization (224) holds even when the interrogative word functions as an NPI. This conforms to the wider result that the function of the interrogative word does not affect any of the generalizations of this sub-section.

The native-speaker well-formedness judgments listed above strongly support the generalization in (224). This generalization is also supported by textual analysis. The chart below reports the grammatical patterns found in my selected corpus.

(230) Textual Analysis of the Placement of *Sá* with Respect to Modified Noun Phrases

Text	Interrogative Word <i>X'oon</i> or <i>Daakw</i> Modifies a Following Noun Phrase	Of Those in First Column, Those in Which <i>Sá</i> Appears to the Right of the Modified NP	Of Those in First Column, Those in Which <i>Sá</i> Appears to the Immediate Left of the Modified NP
Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987	8	8	0
Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990	4	4	0
Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 2000	16	16	0
Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 2002	3	3	0
Nyman & Leer 1993	17	17	0
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>0</b>

In this chart, the left-most column counts, for each of the texts in the corpus, the number of times that either the interrogative word *x'oon* or *daakw* modifies a following noun phrase. The second column then tallies, from the number in the first column, how many times the particle *sá* paired with the interrogative word appears to the *right* of the modified noun phrase. Alternately, the third column tallies, from the number in the first



column, how many times the particle *sá* paired with the interrogative word appears *immediately before* the modified noun phrase, intervening between the interrogative modifier and the noun phrase. As the numbers here clearly indicate, whenever an interrogative word in the selected corpus functions as a nominal modifier, the particle *sá* appears to the right of noun it modifies. Thus, generalization (224) is respected throughout my selected corpus.<sup>102</sup>

Given that both textual analysis and native-speaker judgments support generalization (224), I conclude that it is a productive rule of Tlingit grammar.

#### 11.2.1.4 Upward Sá-Float and Adjectives

A fourth condition requiring Upward Sá-Float concerns adjectives. Unfortunately, I have not yet had time to investigate this condition with native speakers, or to elicit from them any relevant well-formedness judgments. Nevertheless, examination of my selected corpus indicates the pattern described below.

When an interrogative word is followed by an adjective that modifies it, that interrogative word cannot be directly followed by *sá*. Instead, Upward Sá-Float is forced here, and the particle *sá* must appear to the right of the adjective modifying the interrogative word. This rule can be restated as the following generalization.

- (231) *Upward Sá-Float and Adjectives*: The particle *sá* cannot intervene between an adjective and the phrase that it modifies. That is, the particle *sá* cannot occur immediately before a (post-nominal) adjective.

The following sentences taken from my selected corpus illustrate the content of generalization (231). Since I have not yet elicited well-formedness judgments from native speakers concerning these structures, the asterisks marking the (b)-sentences below indicate only that they are unattested in my selected corpus, presumably because they are ill-formed. For example, in the well-formed sentence (232a), the particle *sá* follows the post-nominal adjective *tlein* ‘big’. In the unattested (232b), however, the particle directly follows the modified interrogative word *daat* ‘what’. Since this places the particle *sá* immediately before the post-nominal adjective, generalization (231) is violated, and the sentence is ill-formed. The sentences in (233) similarly illustrate this pattern.

- (232) a. **Daat** tlein    **sáwé**    tsú    **wéix**    yaa nagút.  
           what big SA.foc-part too there.at it.is.walking.along  
           *There was something large walking along over there.*  
           (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 232; line 316)

- b. \* **Daa** **sá** tlein tsú **wéix** yaa nagút.

<sup>102</sup> It should again be noted that the interrogative words represented in chart (230) subserve a variety of grammatical functions. For example, a total of 18 function either as NPIs or plain existentials. This further illustrates that generalization (224) is not sensitive to the grammatical function of the interrogative word paired with *sá*.

- (233) a. **Goodáx** k'anáaxán tlein **sáyá** du kát satéen? <sup>103</sup>  
 where.from fence big SA.foc-part its surface.to it.comes  
*Where did that big fence on his grave come from?*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 150; line 1065)

b. \* **Goodáx** k'anáaxán **sá** tlein du kát satéen?

Note that the sentences in (232) demonstrate that generalization in (231) holds even when the interrogative word functions as an existential. This, again, conforms to the wider result that none of the generalizations described here are affected by the logical function of the interrogative word.

At present, generalization (231) is supported only by textual analysis. Moreover, as the following chart indicates, there are but a few relevant forms in the selected corpus.

(234) Textual Analysis of the Placement of *Sá* with Respect to Post-Nominal Adjectives

Text	Post-Nominal Adjective Modifies a Phrase Containing Interrogative Word	Of Those in First Column, Those in Which <i>Sá</i> Appears to the Right of the Modifying Adjective	Of Those in First Column, Those in Which <i>Sá</i> Appears to the Immediate Left of the Modifying Adjective
Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987	1	1	0
Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990	0	0	0
Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 2000	0	0	0
Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 2002	0	0	0
Nyman & Leer 1993	2	2	0
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>

In this chart, the left-most column counts, for each of the texts in the corpus, the number of times that a post-nominal adjective modifies a phrase containing an interrogative word. The second column then tallies, from the number in the first column, how many times the particle *sá* paired with the interrogative word appears to the *right* of the modifying adjective. Alternately, the third column tallies, from the number in the first column, how many times the particle *sá* paired with the interrogative word appears *immediately before*

<sup>103</sup> In this sentence, the interrogative phrase *goodáx* ‘from where’ appears to modify the noun *k'anáaxán* ‘fence’. Thus, sentence (233a) seems to be more literally translatable as ‘A big fence from where came onto it?’

the modifying adjective, intervening between the adjective and the phrase that it modifies. As the numbers here indicate, whenever an interrogative word in the selected corpus appears inside a phrase modified by a post-nominal adjective, the particle *sá* appears to the right of that adjective. Thus, generalization (231) is respected throughout my selected corpus.

Of course, in the selected corpus there are only three sentences which are of relevance to generalization (231); therefore, we cannot yet be confident in the status of this generalization as a rule of Tlingit grammar. In future work, I hope to further test the truth of generalization (231), especially by eliciting relevant well-formedness judgments from native speakers.

The following points summarize the main results of Section 11.2.1.

### (235) *Upward Sá-Float and Simple Modifiers*

- (a) Both textual analysis and native-speaker judgments indicate that the particle *sá* cannot intervene between a post-position and the phrase that the post-position marks. That is, the particle *sá* cannot occur immediately before a post-position. Instead, Upward *Sá-Float* is forced here, and the particle *sá* must appear to the right of the whole post-positional phrase (PP).
- (b) Both textual analysis and native-speaker judgments indicate that the particle *sá* cannot intervene between a possessor and its possessed noun phrase. That is, the particle *sá* cannot occur immediately before a possessed noun phrase. Instead, Upward *Sá-Float* is forced here, and the particle *sá* must appear to the right of the possessed noun phrase.
- (c) Both textual analysis and native-speaker judgments indicate that when *x'oon* and *daakw* modify a following noun phrase, they cannot be immediately followed by the particle *sá*. Instead, Upward *Sá-Float* is forced here, and the particle *sá* must appear to the right of the noun phrase modified by the interrogative word.
- (d) Textual analysis suggests that the particle *sá* cannot intervene between an adjective and the phrase that it modifies. That is, the particle *sá* cannot occur immediately before a (post-nominal) adjective. Instead, Upward *Sá-Float* is forced here, and the particle *sá* must appear to the right of the adjective modifying the interrogative word. More data is required, however, before one can be confident that this is a productive rule of Tlingit grammar.

## 11.2.2 Attributive Clauses

### 11.2.2.1 *Upward Sá-Float and Attributive Clauses*

In this section, I will discuss a couple rules which come into play when interrogative words are contained within attributive clauses. Before I can state these rules, however, I must introduce one special concept: the ‘operator of a content question’.

Informally speaking, an interrogative word is the ‘operator’ of a content question when that interrogative word indicates the information requested by the content question. For example, consider the content question in (236) below.

(236) **Who** did Bill give **what** he made?

This sentence contains two interrogative words, ‘who’ and ‘what’. Only one of these interrogative words, however, indicates the information requested by the sentence. This can be seen by examining the imaginable answers to this question.

- (237) a. Bill gave **Dave** what he made.  
b. Bill gave **John** what he made.  
c. Bill gave **the doctor** what he made.

Each of the sentences in (237) is an imaginable answer to the question in (236). Intuitively, the information that each of these answers provides is the identity of the person to whom Bill gave what he made. Thus, sentence (236) is a request for this information, a request for the identity of the person to whom Bill gave what he made. It is the interrogative word ‘who’, then, that indicates the information requested by sentence (236), as this word ‘stands for’ the information that is ‘missing’ and needs to be provided by the person answering the question.

According to the definition above, then, the interrogative word ‘who’ is the *operator* of the content question in (236). By contrast, the interrogative word ‘what’ here simply forms part of a free relative.

Given this notion of ‘the operator of a content question’, we can state the first rule of this section. This rule concerns the placement of *sá* when an interrogative word is contained within an attributive clause.

- (238) *Upward Sá-Float and Attributive Clauses, Part 1:* If an interrogative word is inside an attributive clause, *and* is the operator of a content question, then the particle *sá* has to appear to the right of the attributive clause. Moreover, if the attributive clause modifies a following noun, the particle *sá* has to appear to the right of that noun.

According to the generalization in (238), if an attributive clause contains an interrogative word functioning as the operator of a content question, then the *sá* paired with that interrogative word must appear to the right of the attributive clause, and to the right of any nouns modified by the attributive clause.

The generalization in (238) is rather complicated, given that the structures it regulates are rather complex. However, the following sentences – which reflect reported speaker judgments – help to illustrate the content of this generalization. Consider, for example, the sentences in (239). In each of these sentences, the interrogative word *waa* ‘how’ is contained within the attributive clause *waa kligéiyi* ‘which is how big’. Moreover, in each of these sentences, the interrogative word functions as the operator of a content question; these sentences request ‘the degree of bigness’ of the fish, which is the information represented by *waa*. Now, in the well-formed sentence (239a), the

particle *sá* follows both the attributive clause and the noun modified by the attributive clause (*xáat* ‘fish’). In the ill-formed (239 b, c), however, the particle either does not occur to the right of the attributive clause (239b), or does not occur to the right of the noun modified by the attributive clause (239c). Since either placement of *sá* violates the generalization in (238), these sentences are ill-formed. The other sentences in (239) – (241) similarly illustrate this pattern.

- (239) a. [ [ **Waa** kligéiyi ] *xáat* ] **sá** i tuwáa sigóo?  
 how it.is.big.REL fish SA your spirit it.is.happy  
*How big a fish do you want?*  
*(A fish that is how big do you want?)*
- b. \* [ [ **Waa sá** kligéiyi ] *xáat* ] i tuwáa sigóo?
- c. \* [ [ **Waa** kligéiyi **sá** ] *xáat* ] i tuwáa sigóo?
- (240) a. [ [ **Waa** yateeyí ] sháx’sáani ] **sá** ash kudlénxaa?  
 how they.are.REL girls SA they.are.tempting.him  
*What kind of girls are tempting him?*  
*(Girls that are how are tempting him?)*
- b. \* [ [ **Waa sá** yateeyí ] sháx’sáani ] ash kudlénxa?
- c. \* [ [ **Waa** yateeyí ] **sá** sháx’sáani ] ash kudlénxa?
- (241) a. [ [ **Waa** yateeyí ] shax’sáani ] **sá** sh tuwáa gaa yatee?  
 how they.are.REL girls SA refl.spirit for they.are  
*What kind of girls are pleasing to his eye?*
- b. \* [ [ **Waa sá** yateeyí ] shax’sáani ] sh tuwáa gaa yatee?
- c. \* [ [ **Waa** yateeyí ] **sá** shax’sáani ] sh tuwáa gaa yatee?

These well-formedness judgments clearly accord with the generalization in (238). As with the generalizations we saw earlier, textual analysis also supports generalization (238). The chart below reports the grammatical patterns found in my selected corpus.

(242) The Position of *Sá* When Attributive Clause Contains Question Operator

Text	Interrogative Word Inside Attributive Clause Functions as the Operator of a Content Question	Of Those in First Column, Those in Which <i>Sá</i> Appears to the Right of Both the Attributive Clause and the Modified NP	Of Those in First Column, Those in Which <i>Sá</i> Appears Either to the Left of the Modified NP or Internal to the Attributive Clause
Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987	4	4	0
Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990	6	6	0
Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 2000	4	4	0
Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 2002	1	1	0
Nyman & Leer 1993	5	5	0
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>0</b>

In this chart, the left-most column counts, for each of the texts in the corpus, the number of times that an interrogative word contained inside an attributive clause functions as the operator of a content question. The second column then tallies, from the number in the first column, how many times the particle *sá* paired with the interrogative word appears to the right of both the attributive clause and the noun modified by the attributive clause (if such a noun exists). Alternately, the third column tallies, from the number in the first column, how many times the particle *sá* paired with the interrogative word appears either (i) to the left of the noun modified by the attributive clause, or (ii) inside the attributive clause itself. As the numbers here clearly indicate, whenever an interrogative word in the selected corpus is contained inside an attributive clause and functions as a question operator, the particle *sá* appears to the right of both the attributive clause and the noun it modifies. Thus, generalization (238) is respected throughout my selected corpus.

As a brief aside, let us note that generalization (238) is not just a unique, idiosyncratic property of the Tlingit language. Recall that in Section 6 we saw that other languages have particles similar in function to *sá*. In the Indo-Aryan language Sinhala, for example, the particle *də* performs many of the same functions as *sá*, and has a grammar incredibly similar to it. Interestingly, the Sinhala particle *də* also seems to be subject to generalization (238). As observed by Hagstrom (1998) and Kishimoto (2005), whenever an interrogative word of Sinhala is contained within a relative clause and functions as the operator of a content question, the particle *də* must appear to the right of both the relative clause and any noun modified by that relative clause. The following sentences illustrate.

(243) *The Validity of Generalization (238) to Sinhala ‘də’*

- a. Oyaa [ [ Chitra **kaa**-tə    dunnə ]    potə ] **də** kieuwe?  
       you    Chitra who-dat    give        book Q    read  
       *You read the book that Chitra gave to who?*  
       *(The book that Chitra gave to who did you read?)*

- b. \* Oyaa [ [ Chitra **kaa**-tə    **də** dunnə ]    potə ] kieuwe?

(Kishimoto 2005; p. 29)

It appears, then, that generalization (238) might be a principle with some cross-linguistic validity.

The generalization in (238) places limits on the position of *sá* when an interrogative word inside an attributive clause functions as the operator of a content question. But, then, what happens when such an interrogative word *doesn’t* function as a question operator? The answer to this is provided by the generalization in (244).

- (244) *Upward Sá-Float and Attributive Clauses, Part 2:* If an interrogative word is inside an attributive clause, and *isn’t* the operator of a content question, then there is merely a *preference* for the particle *sá* to appear to the right of the attributive clause and any noun modified by the clause. Although such Upward *Sá-Float* is preferred in these cases, it is not required.

Before we see the evidence supporting generalization (244), let us carefully consider what it says. Generalization (244) makes the following two claims. First, it states that if an attributive clause contains an interrogative word, and that interrogative word *doesn’t* function as a question operator, then the particle *sá* doesn’t have to follow the attributive clause or the noun it modifies. Rather, under these circumstances, the *sá* can be placed *inside* the attributive clause, to the left of any nouns modified by the clause. However, (244) also states that under these circumstances, it is still ‘preferred’ for the particle to be positioned as in generalization (238): to the right of the attributive clause and any nouns it modifies.<sup>104</sup> Thus, although the *sá* doesn’t *have* to follow the attributive clause or the modified noun, speakers nevertheless almost always put it there.

Let us now consider the evidence in support of both these claims. The following two sentences support the first of the claims above.

- (245) *Sentences Demonstrating that Sá Needn’t Follow the Attributive Clause When the Interrogative Word Isn’t a Question Operator*

- a. Wáa    sáyá                    yatee [ wé [ l        **goodéi**    **sá**    wugoodi ]    **káa** ].  
       how SA.foc-part    he.is    that    not where.towards SA    he.went.REL    man  
       *How is that man who didn’t go anywhere?*

<sup>104</sup> Recall that the term ‘preferred’ here means that this order is the predominant one in naturally occurring speech (see Section 4.2).

- b. [ **Daa** **sák**wshéiwé sadaat'aay wududliyéix ] du shadaat kawduwayík.  
 what SA.part.foc-part scarf they.made around.her.head they.pulled.it  
*A scarf made out of something or other was pulled over her head.*  
 (Nyman & Leer 1993; p. 248; line 628)

In sentence (245a), the interrogative word *goo* 'where' is contained within an attributive clause, *l goodéi sá wugoodi* 'that didn't go anywhere'. This interrogative word, however, is not the operator of a content question; rather it functions here as an NPI. Consequently, the particle *sá* in sentence (245a) can appear *inside* the attributive clause, to the left of the noun modified by the clause (*káa* 'man'). Similarly, in sentence (245b), the interrogative word *daat* 'what' appears to be contained within a (head-internal) attributive clause.<sup>105</sup> In this sentence, however, the interrogative word does not function as the operator of a content question; rather, it functions here as a plain existential indefinite. Consequently the particle *sá* here appears *inside* the attributive clause.

Given the well-formedness of the sentences in (245), I conclude that the first of the claims under (244) is accurate: if an attributive clause contains an interrogative word that *doesn't* function as question operator, then the particle *sá* doesn't have to follow the attributive clause. Let us now consider the second of the claims in (245), that it is nevertheless *preferred* in such cases for the *sá* to follow the attributive clause. As the chart below indicates, examination of my selected corpus clearly indicates such a preference.

(246) The Position of *Sá* When Attributive Clause *Doesn't* Contain Question Operator

Text	Interrogative Word Inside Attributive Clause <i>Doesn't</i> Function as the Operator of a Content Question	Of Those in First Column, Those in Which <i>Sá</i> Appears to the Right of Both the Attributive Clause and the Modified NP	Of Those in First Column, Those in Which <i>Sá</i> Appears Either to the Left of the Modified NP or Internal to the Attributive Clause
Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987	2	2	0
Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990	0	0	0
Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 2000	0	0	0
Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 2002	0	0	0
Nyman & Leer 1993	7	6	1
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>1</b>

<sup>105</sup> See the earlier discussion under footnote 55 (p.60). I consider this analysis of sentence (245b) to be controversial. Future work should examine whether such head-internal relative clauses do exist in Tlingit.



In this chart, the left-most column counts, for each of the texts in the corpus, the number of times that an interrogative word contained inside an attributive clause *doesn't* function as the operator of a content question. The second column then tallies, from the number in the first column, how many times the particle *sá* paired with the interrogative word appears to the right of both the attributive clause and the noun modified by the attributive clause (if such a noun exists). Alternately, the third column tallies, from the number in the first column, how many times the particle *sá* paired with the interrogative word appears either (i) to the left of the noun modified by the attributive clause, or (ii) inside the attributive clause itself.

As the numbers here clearly indicate, even if an interrogative word inside an attributive clause *doesn't* function as a question operator, the particle *sá* still almost always follows the attributive clause. I therefore conclude that the second of the claims under (244) is accurate. Thus, generalization (244) is well supported by the evidence at hand.

The following points summarize the main results of this sub-section.

(247) *Upward Sá-Float and Attributive Clauses*

- (a) If an interrogative word is inside an attributive clause, *and* is the operator of a content question, then the particle *sá* has to appear to the right of the attributive clause. Moreover, if the attributive clause modifies a following noun, the particle *sá* has to appear to the right of that noun.
- (b) If an interrogative word is inside an attributive clause, and *isn't* the operator of a content question, then there is merely a *preference* for the particle *sá* to appear to the right of the attributive clause and any noun modified by the clause. Although such Upward Sá-Float is preferred in these cases, it is not required.

11.2.2.2 *An Environment Where Sá is Optional*

In Section 11.1, the following generalization was introduced and defended.

- (184) *The Interdependency of Interrogative Words and Sá*: A sentence contains the particle *sá* if and only if that sentence contains an interrogative word.

As we noted earlier, this generalization entails that any sentence containing an interrogative word must also contain the particle *sá*. This generalization is an extremely robust one in the Tlingit language, and it holds true in virtually every circumstance. Indeed, if the particle *sá* is removed from just about any of the sentences above, the resulting structure will not be well-formed.

Although the generalization in (184) seems to be exceptionless, there may nevertheless be one special circumstance where it can be violated. This one exception to (184) was brought to my attention by native-speaker John Marks. While I was consulting Mr. Marks about the well-formedness of sentences (239) – (241), he indicated to me that the ill-formed (239 b, c), (240 b, c) and (241 b, c) would be improved if the improperly

positioned *sá* were ‘dropped’ from them. That is, alongside the well-formed sentences in (239a), (240a) and (241a), there also exist the following well-formed structures.

- (248) [ [ **Waa** kligéiyi ]      xáat ] i      tuwáa      sigóo?  
           how it.is.big.REL    fish    your    spirit    it.is.happy  
*How big a fish do you want?*  
*(A fish that is how big do you want?)*
- (249) [ [ **Waa** yateeyí ]      sháx’sáani ]      ash kudlénxaa?  
           how they.are.REL    girls            they.are.tempting.him  
*What kind of girls are tempting him?*  
*(Girls that are how are tempting him?)*
- (250) [ [ **Waa** yateeyí ]      shax’sáani ]      sh tuwáa gaa    yatee?  
           how they.are.REL    girls            refl.spirit for they.are  
*What kind of girls are pleasing to his eye?*

In each of these sentences, the interrogative word *waa* fails to be paired with the particle *sá*; nevertheless, all three of these sentences are well-formed.

To my knowledge, the environments above are the only ones where the particle *sá* may be productively dropped. Although the relevant data here are few in number, one generalization they suggest is the following.

- (251) *Optionality of Sá When the Interrogative Word is Inside an Attributive Clause:* If an interrogative word is contained inside an attributive clause, then that interrogative word needn’t co-occur with the particle *sá*.

Future research should test the validity of (251), particularly by examining whether it holds true of *all* the interrogative words of Tlingit; note that all three sentences above contain the interrogative word *waa*.

If the generalization in (251) is a fully productive rule of Tlingit grammar, it might shed some light on a curious irregularity that was noted earlier. In Section 10.4.1.7, we noted that, although the construction *wáa yateeyi* ‘some’ appears to contain the interrogative word *waa*, the particle *sá* needn’t appear in sentences containing this construction. I suggested that this apparent violation of the general rules of Tlingit syntax suggests that this construction is a fixed, idiomatic sequence, and is not composed according to the productive rules of Tlingit grammar. Of course, if generalization (251) were itself a productive rule of Tlingit grammar, then this property of the *wáa yateeyi* would not be idiosyncratic. Given that the interrogative *waa* in this construction occurs inside an attributive clause, the generalization in (251) entails that it needn’t co-occur with *sá*. In other words, the apparent optionality of *sá* in sentences like (248) suggests that its optionality in the *wáa yateeyi* construction results from a general rule of Tlingit grammar. Future research should explore whether this is, in fact, the case, and whether the general rule responsible for these facts is the one stated in (251).

### 11.3 No Upward *Sá*-Float to the Right of the Main Clause

In the preceding sections, we examined a number of cases where Upward *Sá*-Float *had* to take place. In this section, however, we will consider one circumstance where Upward *Sá*-Float *can't* take place.

Recall that in Section 5, I argued that sentences such as (252) demonstrate that entire subordinate clauses in Tlingit may be ‘pied-piped’ into the left periphery of the main clause.

- (252) [ **Goodéi** wugoot **sá** ] uwajée i shagóonich?  
where.to he.went SA they.think your parents.erg  
*Where do your parents think that he went?*

Observe that sentences such as this *also* demonstrate that Upward *Sá*-Float can position *sá* directly to the right of a subordinate clause containing an interrogative word. This naturally raises the question, “Can Upward *Sá*-Float position *sá* directly to the right of a *main* clause containing an interrogative word?”

The answer to this question appears to be ‘no’. All the following sentences were quickly and confidently judged by native speakers to be ill-formed.

- (253) a. \* **Daa** iyatéen **sá**?  
what you.can.see SA  
*What can you see?*
- b. \* **Waa** ituwatee **sá**?  
how you.feel SA  
*How do you feel?*
- c. \* **Aadoo** xáat aawaxaa **sá**?  
who fish they.ate.it SA  
*Who ate fish?*

Furthermore, recall the impossibility of sentence (195a).

- (195) a. \* **Goodéi** uwajée wugoot **sá** i shagóonich?  
where.to they.think he.went SA your parents.erg  
*Where do your parents think he went?*

In this sentence, the particle *sá* appears directly to the right of the sequence *goodéi uwajée wugoot*. Note that this sequence could be parsed as a single phrase, the main clause question translatable as ‘Where do they think he went’.<sup>106</sup> Thus, the mere requirement in generalization (201) that *sá* appear directly adjacent to a phrase containing

<sup>106</sup> Compare, for example, sentence (195b), which differs from (195a) only in the position of *sá*.

(195) b. **Goodéi** **sá** uwajée wugoot i shagóonich?  
where.to SA they.think he.went your parents.erg  
*Where do your parents think he went?*

an interrogative word would incorrectly predict sentence (195a) to be well-formed. Note, however, that the only phrase containing an interrogative word in (195a) that *sá* is adjacent to is the *main* clause. Therefore, if Upward *Sá*-Float were unable to position *sá* to the right of the main clause, the impossibility of (195) would immediately follow.

I conclude, then, that the ill-formedness of the sentences in (253) and (195a) indicates that the following is a productive rule of Tlingit grammar.

- (254) *No Upward Sá-Float to the Right of the Main Clause:* Upward *Sá*-Float can position *sá* directly to the right of a subordinate clause containing an interrogative word. However, it cannot position *sá* directly the right of a *main* clause containing an interrogative word.

Although the generalization in (254) accounts for the data above, there are in my selected corpus a few sentences which seem to be in conflict with it. These are listed below.

- (255) *Sentences Where Sá Appears to be Positioned to the Right of the Main Clause*

- a. **X'oon**    kuxéi    **sáwé**    yá éil    káx'.  
how.much they.boat SA.foc-part this salt surface.at  
*How many days they had been going on the ocean.*  
(Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 98; line 312 – 313)
- b. Á    áwé    ch'a **wáa**    yoo at koodayáa **sá**    kwshíwé?  
it foc-part just how it.is.happening SA dubit  
*But, just what was happening?*  
(Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 246, line 40)
- c. Ch'u **wáa**    yóo tukdatángi **sá**    kwshíwé    wé shaatk' kwá?  
just how she.thought SA dubit. that girl though  
*What was she thinking, anyway, that young girl?*  
(Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 244; line 22)
- d. **Wáa**    gunalchéesh    **sá**    wooch xáni    yei    haa wdateeyi.  
how there.is.thanks SA recip. side thus we.are  
*How much gratitude there is that we are together.*  
(Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990; p. 186; line 2-3)

In each of these sentences, the particle *sá* appears to occur to the right of the main verb of the clause, in violation of generalization (254). If we look closely at the sentence in (255c), though, we observe something interesting. The verbal form preceding *sá* in this sentence is *yóo tukdataángi*. Although this verbal form is translated into English as the main verb, it clearly bears the morphological markings of a *subordinate verb*. First, the verbal stem *tank* is followed by the optional subordinate suffix *-i*. Secondly, the verbal form appears to be in the 'yoo#g-Processive/Iterative Processive Imperfective', which requires the use of a [+I] classifier (Leer 1991; p. 206). However, the verbal form *yóo*

*tukdataángi* contains the [-I] classifier *da*, instead of the expected [+I] classifier *di*. Thus, the verbal form here contains a [-I] classifier even though it would otherwise be expected to contain a [+I] classifier, which we noted in Section 7 is a characteristic property of subordinative verbs.

We find, then, that the verbal form preceding *sá* in (255c) is actually a *subordinate verb*. Moreover, *each* of the verbal forms in (255 a, b, d) could also be analyzed as a subordinate verb; none of these verbs carry [+I] classifiers, and although they are not followed by the suffix *-i*, this suffix is not a required component of subordinate verbs. It's possible, then, that *all* the verbs in (255) are subordinate verbs heading subordinate clauses. If this is indeed the case, then these sentences are not actually in conflict with generalization (254), given that in each sentence the particle *sá* appears immediately to the right of a subordinate clause.

Of course, this analysis of the sentences in (255) immediately begs the following questions: (i) if the verbs preceding *sá* are subordinate verbs heading subordinate clauses, where are the main verbs in these sentences? ; (ii) if these verbs are subordinate verbs, how are they translatable into English as *main* verbs? Although I do not at present have any satisfactory answers to these questions, I am confident that the analysis proposed here is on the right track. It is, after all, rather clear that the verb in sentence (255c) is morphologically subordinative, and so this sentence alone is strong indication that subordinate clauses in Tlingit can – under some yet uncertain conditions – be translated into English as main clauses. Therefore, the sentences in (255) are not necessarily counterexamples to generalization (254).

#### 11.4 The Behavior of *Sá* in Multiple Questions

Thus far, our discussion of the grammar of *sá* has chiefly concentrated only sentences where there is exactly one interrogative word. As we saw in Section 6, however, it is possible for a content question in Tlingit to contain more than one interrogative word. We also saw in Section 6 that such sentences are subject to the following preference condition.

- (61) *Preference for Multiple Sá*: It is preferred for a multiple question in Tlingit to contain one *sá* for each of its interrogative words.

To review, sentences containing multiple *sá*'s are readily accepted by speakers, and every Tlingit multiple question I have ever been offered has contained more than a single *sá*. Nevertheless, sentences such as the following do appear in naturally occurring speech.

- (256) **X'oon      waa   sákwshei   aaḡ      aawa.aat.**  
          how.many how SA-dubit. there.from they.went  
          *How many left in what way, I wonder?*  
          (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987; p. 196, line 60)

In this sentence, there appears to be a single *sá* and *two* interrogative words. Such sentences might lead us to suspect that the condition in (61) simply represents a preference, and not an absolute rule of the language.

After briefly probing the matter with native speakers, I believe I have found some dialectical variation regarding the strictness of the condition in (61). For one speaker, it seems that this condition *is* an absolute rule of the grammar. This speaker rejects sentences of the form in (256). For this speaker, the only way to ask a multiple question in Tlingit is to provide each interrogative word with its own *sá*.

(257) Dialect 1

a. **Aadóo *sá* daa *sá* aawa<sub>x</sub>aa.**  
 who SA what SA they.ate.it  
*Who ate what?*

b. \* **Aadóo *sá* daa aawa<sub>x</sub>aa.**

c. \* **Aadóo daa *sá* aawa<sub>x</sub>aa.**

However, the condition in (61) is not so strict for the other speaker I consulted. This speaker accepts sentences of the form in (256). Moreover, in the dialect spoken by this individual, it appears equally acceptable for the one *sá* to follow either the first or the second of the sentence's interrogative phrases. The sentences below illustrate.

(258) Dialect 2

a. **Aadóo *sá* daa *sá* aawa<sub>x</sub>aa.**  
 who SA what SA they.ate.it  
*Who ate what?*

b. **Aadóo *sá* daa aawa<sub>x</sub>aa.**

c. **Aadóo daa *sá* aawa<sub>x</sub>aa.**

Of course, for neither speaker is it possible for a multiple question to contain no *sá*.

(259) Dialects 1 and 2

\* **Aadóo daa aawa<sub>x</sub>aa**

These observations may be summarized by the following statement.

(260) *Dialectical Variation Regarding Multiple Sá:* For some speakers, a multiple question in Tlingit *must* contain one *sá* for each of its interrogative words. For other speakers, however, a multiple question *may* contain only one *sá*.

An interesting project for future research might be to determine whether the grammatical variance between the speakers I consulted projects to the larger speech

community, and if so, whether this variance is connected with any other dialectical features.

## 12. Conclusion

In closing, I must again reiterate that the results detailed in this report are still very tentative. As the reader has no doubt noted, quite a few of the generalizations proposed here are based on a very minimal amount of data. Even when the data supporting a generalization are ‘ample’ by linguistic standards, they do not even begin to compare to the amount of language a typical native speaker is exposed to. For this reason, it is nowadays universally recognized by linguists that the persons best suited to conduct linguistic research on a language are the native speakers of that language themselves.<sup>107</sup> As I am by no means a native (or even vaguely fluent) speaker, future research into the Tlingit language will no doubt upset and challenge many of the grammatical claims I have made here.

I mention this, not only to warn of the potential error in my claims, but to further emphasize how dearly more research into the grammatical structures of Tlingit is needed. No work, no matter how richly detailed, can ever stand as the ‘last word’ or ‘authoritative description’ of a language. Rather, as in all sciences, generalizations in linguistics are forever tentative, though they become more certain as independent lines of study converge upon them. It is only when a language has been studied by a diverse range of individuals – especially by native speakers themselves – that knowledge regarding its structures is truly achieved. I urge anyone reading this informal guide to take all these observations with a grain of salt, and to verify them (whenever possible) with your own teachers. I also urge the reader to conduct their own studies of the grammatical structures of the Tlingit language, and always to share their discoveries with their fellow learners.

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<sup>107</sup> As a concrete example, the linguistic analysis of Navajo has benefited tremendously from the irreplaceable work of Navajo-speaking linguists, such as the renowned Paul Platero and Mary Ann Willie.

## Appendix: The Major Generalizations and Constructions

*In this appendix, I first list all the major generalizations stated in this report. Following these, I list all those constructions and idioms that are discussed in this report.*

### 1. Major Generalizations Concerning Interrogative Words

- (4) *Obligatory Pre-Predicate Position of Interrogative Words in Simple Questions:* Within a simple question in Tlingit, the interrogative word must precede the main predicate of the clause.
- (14) *Topic Status of Material Preceding the Interrogative Word in a Simple Question:* Within a simple question in Tlingit, it is preferred for the interrogative word to be the first element in the clause. If any material precedes the interrogative word in a Tlingit simple question, that material receives a special ‘topic’ interpretation.
- (18) *Obligatory Displacement in Tlingit Simple Questions:* Within a simple question in Tlingit, the interrogative word must appear in the left periphery of the clause. (Subsumes generalizations (4) and (14))
- (35) *Obligatory Displacement in Tlingit Complex Questions:* Within a complex question in Tlingit, the interrogative word must appear in the left periphery of the main clause.
- (36) *Obligatory Displacement in Tlingit Questions:* Within any content question in Tlingit, an interrogative word must appear in the left periphery of the main clause. (Subsumes generalizations (18) and (35))
- (52) *Obligatory Displacement in Tlingit Questions:* Within any content question in Tlingit, an interrogative word must appear in the left periphery of the main clause. When there are multiple interrogative words within the clause, the left periphery of the clause may contain more than one interrogative word, but this is not obligatory. (Subsumes generalization (36); thus, subsumes (4) – (36))
- (59) *The Activity of the Superiority Condition in Tlingit:* The relative order of the interrogative words in a Tlingit multiple question must match the relative order that words with their grammatical function would have in a regular, declarative sentence.
- (61) *Preference for Multiple Sá:* It is preferred for a multiple question in Tlingit to contain one *sá* for each of its interrogative words.
- (110) *The Position of Negation in a Tlingit Clause:* Within a Tlingit clause, a negative marker can only directly precede a verb phrase or a noun phrase. When it precedes a verb phrase, the negation negates the entire clause. When it precedes a noun phrase, the negation negates only the noun phrase it directly precedes.



- (184) *The Interdependency of Interrogative Words and Sá*: A sentence contains the particle *sá* if and only if that sentence contains an interrogative word. (Generalization (251) states one possible exception)
- (188) *The Rightward Position of Sá*: The particle *sá* must appear to the right of the interrogative word it is paired with.
- (191) *Interrogative Words ‘Standing Alone’ Can be Directly Followed by Sá*: If an interrogative word ‘stands alone’ (see definition (190)), then it can be immediately followed by the particle *sá*.
- (201) *The Upward Float of Sá*: The particle *sá* may *only* appear directly to the right of an interrogative word, or directly to the right of a phrase containing an interrogative word.
- (204) *Upward Sá-Float and Post-Positions*: The particle *sá* cannot intervene between a post-position and the phrase that the post-position marks. That is, the particle *sá* cannot occur immediately before a post-position.
- (212) *Upward Sá-Float and Possessors*: The particle *sá* cannot intervene between a possessor and its possessed noun phrase. That is, the particle *sá* cannot occur immediately before a possessed noun phrase.
- (224) *Upward Sá-Float and Noun Modifiers*: If the interrogative words *x’oon* and *daakw* modify a following noun phrase, then the particle *sá* cannot intervene between them and the noun phrase they modify. That is, the particle *sá* cannot occur immediately before a noun phrase modified by either of these interrogative words.
- (231) *Upward Sá-Float and Adjectives*: The particle *sá* cannot intervene between an adjective and the phrase that it modifies. That is, the particle *sá* cannot occur immediately before a (post-nominal) adjective.
- (238) *Upward Sá-Float and Attributive Clauses, Part 1*: If an interrogative word is inside an attributive clause, *and* is the operator of a content question, then the particle *sá* has to appear to the right of the attributive clause. Moreover, if the attributive clause modifies a following noun, the particle *sá* has to appear to the right of that noun.
- (244) *Upward Sá-Float and Attributive Clauses, Part 2*: If an interrogative word is inside an attributive clause, *and isn’t* the operator of a content question, then there is merely a *preference* for the particle *sá* to appear to the right of the attributive clause and any noun modified by the clause. Although such Upward Sá-Float is preferred in these cases, it is not required.

- (251) *Optionality of Sá When the Interrogative Word is Inside an Attributive Clause:* If an interrogative word is contained inside an attributive clause, then that interrogative word needn't co-occur with the particle *sá*.
- (254) *No Upward Sá-Float to the Right of the Main Clause:* Upward *Sá-Float* can position *sá* directly to the right of a subordinate clause containing an interrogative word. However, it cannot position *sá* directly the right of a *main* clause containing an interrogative word.
- (260) *Dialectical Variation Regarding Multiple Sá:* For some speakers, a multiple question in Tlingit *must* contain one *sá* for each of its interrogative words. For other speakers, however, a multiple question *may* contain only one *sá*.

## 2. Major Constructions Containing Interrogative Words

Simple Questions:	Section 4 (p. 6)
Complex Questions:	Section 5 (p. 16)
Multiple Questions:	Section 6 (p. 23)
Free Relatives:	Section 7 (p. 30)
Negative Polarity Indefinites:	Section 8 (p. 38)
Plain Existentials:	Section 9.1 (p. 58)
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Question-Based Exclamatives	Section 10.1 (p. 65)
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Light-Headed Relatives	Section 10.2 (p. 68)
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<i>Waa</i> Meaning 'So...That'	Section 10.4.1.1 (p. 76)
<i>Waa Nanéi Sáwé</i> 'At Some Point'	Section 10.4.1.2 (p. 77)
<i>Waa Nganein Sáwé</i> 'Sometimes'	Section 10.4.1.3 (p. 81)
Use of <i>Waa</i> As Interjection	Section 10.4.1.4 (p. 84)
<i>Waa Sá I Tóoch</i> 'What Do You Think?'	Section 10.4.1.5 (p. 85)

Ceremonial Response <i>Haa Wáa Sá</i> ‘Indeed’	Section 10.4.1.6 (p. 85)
<i>Wáa Yateeyi</i> ‘Some’	Section 10.4.1.7 (p. 86)
<i>Daat Yáx Sá</i> ‘Really’ / ‘Very’	Section 10.4.2.1 (p. 89)
<i>Daa Sáwé (Tsú)</i> ‘Lo and Behold’	Section 10.4.2.2 (p. 91)
<i>Daa Sá</i> ‘My Goodness’	Section 10.4.2.2 (p. 91)
<i>Daa Sá</i> ‘And So On’	Section 10.4.2.2 (p. 91)
<i>Daa Sáwé (Tsú)</i> ‘What’s More’	Section 10.4.2.2 (p. 91)

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