

Describing future eventualities in Tlingit: The storyboards *Hawaii Trip* and *Imagining the Future**

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Abstract: This paper details two storyboards — “*Hawaii Trip*” and “*Imagining the Future*” — which are designed to help investigate the way a given language does (or does not) mark predicates describing eventualities that take place in the future. I describe two studies employing these storyboards with a speaker of the Tlingit language (Na-Dene; Alaska, British Columbia, Yukon). In prior literature, it has been claimed that a verb in Tlingit does not require special future tense marking in order to describe a future eventuality (Leer 1991). However, it has proven difficult to confirm such uses of non-future-marked verbs in regular elicitation sessions with native speakers. Through use of these two storyboards with a gifted Tlingit storyteller, it was found that some narrators do indeed use non-future-marked verbs to describe eventualities that are understood to take place in the future. However, various contextual clues — including metalinguistic comments made by the narrator himself — suggest that such usage may reflect a special narrative or rhetorical device, akin to ‘narrative present’ in English. Consequently, it appears that the regular grammar of the language does require future tense marking when describing future eventualities, but artful narrators can in the course of the narrative ‘shift’ the temporal perspective of the narration to the future time in question, presenting those future events as on-going. While much more work must be done to rigorously test this hypothesis, these case studies nicely illustrate the use and utility of these fieldwork instruments.

Keywords: tense, tenseless, future, Tlingit

1 The Tenselessness of the Tlingit Language: Broad or Restricted?

The storyboards described in this paper — *Hawaii Trip* and *Imagining the Future* — were designed to explore whether the Tlingit language requires use of special future morphology when describing eventualities (events or states) occurring the future. Given the methodology and background below, these instruments could be used in other, unrelated languages to explore these same questions.

In a great many of the world’s languages, a verb heading a main clause does not have to bear any identifiable tense morphology. Throughout this paper, I will refer to verbs lacking tense morphology as ‘tenseless verbs’. Although many languages permit tenseless verbs in main clauses, languages differ in the temporal location of the eventualities described by these verbs. In some languages, tenseless verbs can freely describe eventualities holding in the past, present, or future

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(Mucha 2013). As a purely descriptive label, we can refer to such languages as ‘broadly tenseless’, since tense morphology never seems to be required for the temporal location of an eventuality. However, in many other languages — including many in the Americas — tenseless verbs can only describe eventualities holding in the past or present. The description of future eventualities in these languages instead requires some kind of special morphology (Bohnenmeyer 2002; Matthewson 2006; Tonhauser 2011; Bittner 2014; Thomas 2014; Bochnak 2016). Again, as a purely descriptive label, we can refer to such languages as ‘restricted tenseless’, since there are restrictions on the temporal locations of eventualities described by tenseless verbs.¹

The Tlingit language, a Na-Dene language of Alaska, British Columbia, and the Yukon, seems in many regards to be a restricted tenseless language. In Tlingit, verbs bearing imperfective aspect alone (and no tense morphology) can describe events and states holding in either the past or the present (1).²

(1) At tooshi.

INDEF.O.IMPRV.1PLS.sing

We are singing / We were singing.

(C)³

Without any preceding context, such imperfective verbs are typically construed with present-orientation. However, when appearing within past-oriented contexts, such as the one in (2), these tenseless verbs are easily used to describe eventualities holding in the past.

¹In this paper, I will set aside the difficult question of whether all or some ‘restricted tenseless’ languages are actually underlyingly tensed languages (Bohnenmeyer 2002; Matthewson 2006; Tonhauser 2011; Bittner 2014). Briefly, Matthewson (2006) and others argue that at least certain restricted tenseless languages possess a phonologically covert ‘non-future tense’, and so superficially tenseless verbs are actually underlyingly tensed. However, Bohnemeyer (2002) and others argue that the observed restrictions on tenseless verbs in these languages could instead follow from a pragmatic condition governing the reference to future times, and so such verbs do not necessarily bear an unpronounced ‘non-future tense’.

The storyboard instrument presented in this paper would not be able to decide between these alternate theories of restricted tenseless languages. Rather, the results of this instrument can only help to determine whether the language in question fits the descriptive label of being a ‘restricted tenseless’ or ‘broadly tenseless’ language.

²I provide only the roughest of glosses for individual Tlingit words, which can be morphologically quite complex. This simplification is most radical for verbs, as I provide glosses only for their lexical content and the inflectional morphology that is important to my argumentation. In addition, throughout this paper, I employ the following glossing abbreviations, originally developed by Crippen (2013): 1, ‘first person’; 2, ‘second person’; 3, ‘third person’; ADMON, ‘admonitive mode’; CONS ‘consecutive mode’; COP, ‘copula’; DEC, ‘decessive’ (‘past-tense’); DEM, ‘demonstrative’; DIM, ‘diminutive suffix’; DUB, ‘dubitative’; ERG, ‘ergative case’; EXCL, ‘exclamative particle’; FOC, ‘focus particle’; FUT, ‘future mode’; HAB, ‘habitual mode’; HORT, ‘hortative mode’; IMPER, ‘imperative mode’; IMPRV, ‘imperfective mode’; INDEF, ‘indefinite’; INST, ‘instrumental’; LOC, ‘locative’; NEG, ‘negation’; NOM, ‘nominalizer’; O, ‘object’; PART, ‘partative’; PERT, ‘pertinent’; PL ‘plural’; POSS, ‘possessive prefix’; POT ‘potential mode’; PRO, ‘pronoun’; PROG, ‘progressive’; PROHIB, ‘prohibitive mode’; PRT, ‘particle’; PRV, ‘perfective mode’; Q, ‘question/indefinite particle’; RECIP, ‘reciprocal’; REFL, ‘reflexive’; REL, ‘relative clause suffix’; REP, ‘repetitive’; S, ‘subject’; SG, ‘singular’; SUB, ‘subordinate clause suffix’; TERM, ‘terminative’.

³Throughout this paper, I will indicate whether a Tlingit sentence was (i) constructed by myself and judged by the elders to be acceptable, or (ii) actually spontaneously spoken by the elders themselves. In the former case, the sentence will be followed by a ‘(C)’, for ‘constructed’. In the latter case, I will write the initials of the speaker who provided the sentence: (LA) for Lillian Austin, (GD) for George Davis, (MD) for Margaret Dutson, (SE) for Selena Everson, (CM) for Carolyn Martin, and (JM) for John Martin.

- (2) Mary **tatgé** haat ḵoowateen. Haat ḵuwuteení, du jeeyís
 Mary **yesterday** here.to PRV.3S.travel here.to PRV.3S.travel.SUB 3POSS hand.for
at tooshí
 INDEF.O.IMPRV.1PLS.sing
 Mary arrived here yesterday. When she arrived here, we **were singing** for her. (GD)

Importantly, though, such tenseless verbs cannot be so freely used to describe eventualities occurring in the future, as the minimally contrasting example in (3) illustrates.

- (3) **Seigán** haadé ḵukḵwatéen Sue. Sue haat ḵuwuteení, du jeeyís
tomorrow here.to FUT.3S.travel Sue Sue here.to PRV.3S.travel.SUB 3POSS hand.for
kei at gaḵtooshée / ***at tooshí**
 INDEF.O.FUT.1PLS.sing INDEF.O.IMPRV.1PLS.sing
 Sue will arrive here tomorrow. When Sue arrives here, we will be singing for her. (SE)

Similarly, speakers reject sentences where imperfective verbs are directly modified by future-oriented adverbs.

- (4)
- a. Seigánx' **akḵwal'éix** aḵ éeshch
 tomorrow.at FUT.3S.dance 1SGPOSS father.ERG
 My father will dance tomorrow. (GD)
- b. *Seigánx' **al'éix** aḵ éeshch
 tomorrow.at IMPRV.3S.dance 1SGPOSS father.ERG (C)
- c. Seigán Sheet'kaadé **ḵukḵwatéen**.
 tomorrow Sitka.to FUT.1SGS.travel
 I will travel to Sitka tomorrow. (SE)
- d. *Seigán Sheet'káade **yaa ḵunḵatín**.
 tomorrow Sitka.to PROG.IMPRV.1SGS.travel (C)

This inability for Tlingit tenseless verbs to describe future eventualities even extends to events that are currently scheduled. In English and many other languages, non-future-marked verbs can be used to describe future events if those events are in some sense scheduled or planned to occur at a specific future time. For example, the following sentences are all possible in English, just as long as the dancing (5a), the eating (5b), and the travel (5c) are 'scheduled' at the time of speech.

- (5)
- a. My father **is dancing** tomorrow. (Imagined context: a dance recital)
- b. We **are eating** in five minutes. (Imagined context: planned mealtime)
- c. I **am travelling** to Sitka tomorrow. (Imagined context: scheduled departure)

In Tlingit, however, such usage of non-future-marked verbs does not seem to be possible. For example, I asked speakers to imagine that the scenario for sentence (4b) is one where there is a dance recital with a set schedule; nevertheless, speakers still rejected the sentence (*cf.* 5a). Similarly, speakers rejected (4d) even when asked to imagine that the speaker has already purchased a ticket with a set time of departure (*cf.* 5c). Furthermore, speakers rejected the sentence in (6b) below, even when asked to imagine that we've scheduled dinner for 5PM and it is currently 4:55PM (*cf.* 5b).

(6)

- a. **At gaxtooxáa** keijín wínits
 INDEF0.FUT.1PLS.eat five minutes
 We will eat in five minutes. (LA)
- b. ***At tooxá** keijín wínits
 INDEF0.IMPRV.1PLS.eat five minutes

According to the judgment data above, then, Tlingit would seem to be a restricted tenseless language, rather than a broadly tenseless one. This conclusion, however, would run counter to certain generalizations and data reported by Leer (1991). In his detailed description of Tlingit verbal morpho-semantics, Leer (1991:351–353) claims that future-morphology need *not* be used if it is already understood from context that the eventuality in question is to occur in the future. That is, Leer (1991) claims that tenseless verbs in Tlingit *can* be used to describe future eventualities, as long as the surrounding narrative context is rich enough. Thus, according to Leer (1991) — and contrary to the judgments above — Tlingit should be categorized as a broadly tenseless language. Leer supports this claim with the following textual excerpt; I have boldfaced the main verbs as well as the gloss identifying their temporal/aspectual inflection. Note that although most of the main verbs below are future-marked, a few are not (7d), (7f).

(7) **An Excerpted Future Narrative in Tlingit (Leer 1991:351-353)**

- a. Kayaaní tl'áak' áwé aadéi **gaxyeyáa**, Ch'u tle kéet s'igeidí kéedi yáx
 leaves dry FOC 3O.to FUT.2SGS.pack even.then dam beaver dam like
gugwatée tle yóo.
 FUT.3S.be then thus
 You must pack dry brush there, and it must be like a dam, a beaver dam, like this.
- b. Yá áa **yéi kginook** yé k̄u.aa áwé diyinde **yóo kugaxduháa**. Sook
 DEM 3O.at FUT.2SGS.sit.REL place though FOC down.to FUT.INDEFS.dig moss
 a táa **yéi gaxyee.oo**.
 3POSS bottom FUT.2PLS.put
 They must dig down at the place where you sit. You must line it with moss.
- c. Shóogu aayí i kaa déi daak shayawadudzigix'i aa, “Ha, laxéitl
 first thing 2SGPOSS surface.to out PRV.INDEFS.throw.pile one EXCL good.luck
 Tl'anaxéedákw ax kát shakawliwáal'.”
 Tl'anaxéedákw 1SGPOSS surface.to PRV.3S.break
 With the first pile (of dry brush) they toss, (you say) “Tl'anaxéedákw has broken (the dam, so that) good fortune (spills) onto me.” (LA)

- d. Tle yéi áwé **alxéis'** tle **dáakde shayagaxdulgéech.**
 then thus FOC **IMPRV.3S.pray** then out.to **FUT.INDEFS.throw**
 He is (to be) praying thus and they are to toss the piles down.
- e. Tle ch'ás i shakée a naḡ **gugwashóo** wé kayaní tl'áak'.
 then just 2SGPoss head.top 3O through **FUT.3S.extend** DEM leaves dry
 Only the top of your head must protrude through the dry brush. (LA)
- f. Ch'a ldakát ch'u tle daa sá aax aydligix'. Ch'u tle
 just everything even then what Q 3O.for **PRV.2SGS.pray** even then
 ldakát áwé de i jeeyís **yan uwanée,** tle yéi
 everything FOC already 2SGPoss hand.for **PRV.3S.finish** then thus
 yoo s ikawdusyaayí.
 PL.2SGO.PR.V.INDEFS.make.happen.
 Everything, whatever you have prayed for, everything (will) have been prepared for you,
 when they do that for you.

The possibility of sentences like (7d) and (7f) in the discourse above raises a whole host of subsequent questions. First, are the judgment data in (1)-(6) in some way misleading, and is Tlingit instead truly a broadly tenseless language? Furthermore, even if those judgments were not misleading — and Tlingit is indeed a restricted tenseless language — what accounts for the (presumably restricted) use of non-future-marked verbs in contexts like those of (7d) and (7f)? What, then, are the conditions — either rhetorical or grammatical — under which a non-future verb can be interpreted as referring to a future eventuality? Relatedly, what is the rhetorical effect — if any — of leaving future marking off of a verb that is in context describes a future event?

To answer these questions, we would ideally like to examine a number of such future narratives, to see if any generalizations can be made about when tenseless verbs appear. Unfortunately, future narratives are exceedingly rare in natural discourse. While existing corpora contain many examples of future-marked verbs, such verbs typically appear isolated from one another. After all, the kinds of narratives typically elicited by linguists or anthropologists largely concern either the present or the past; indeed, the passage in (7) is taken from a narrative that is otherwise past-oriented. Consequently, within the currently published Tlingit narratives, it is exceedingly difficult to find any extended sequence of sentences describing connected future events.

To remedy this issue, I sought to use storyboard methodology to elicit pre-constructed future narratives in Tlingit. Before I present these storyboards, however, Section 2 will provide some important background into the Tlingit language and the methodology used in this study. Following this, Section 3 details the first storyboard I employed, *Hawaii Trip*, as well as a narrative that was composed for it by Tlingit elder John Martin. I discuss some analytic challenges that the Tlingit narrative presents to the linguist, ones that prompted the development of a second storyboard, *Imagining the Future*. This second storyboard is detailed in Section 4, as well as a Tlingit narrative for it composed by Mr. Martin. I then argue that on the basis of the narratives provided by Mr. Martin — as well as certain metalinguistic claims offered by him — that Tlingit is indeed a restricted tenseless language. More specifically, I will argue that the use of non-future-marked verbs in cases like (7d) and (7f) represents a kind of ‘narrative present’ that can be used when the narrator wishes to make the future eventualities appear especially ‘live’ and ‘vivid’ to their audience.

2 Linguistic and Methodological Background

The Tlingit language (Lingít; [hm.kít]) is the traditional language of the Tlingit people of Southeast Alaska, Northwest British Columbia, and Southwest Yukon Territory. It is the sole member of the Tlingit language family, a sub-branch of the larger Na-Dene language family (Campbell 1997; Mithun 1999; Kari & Potter 2011). It is thus distantly related to the Athabaskan languages (e.g., Navajo, Slave, Hupa), and shares their complex templatic verbal morphology (Leer 1991). As mentioned in footnote 2, I will largely be suppressing this complex structure in my glossing of Tlingit verbs.

Tlingit is a highly endangered language. While there has been no official count of fully fluent speakers, it is privately estimated by some that there may be less than 200 (James Crippen (Dzéiwsh), Lance Twitchell (X'unei), p.c.). Most of these speakers are above the age of 70, and there is likely no adult native speaker below the age of 50. There are extensive, community-based efforts to revitalize the language, driven by a multitude of Native organizations and language activists too numerous to list here. Thanks to these efforts, some younger adults have acquired significant fluency, and some of their children are acquiring Tlingit as one of their first languages (Twitchell 2018).

Unless otherwise noted, all data reported here were obtained through interviews with native speakers of Tlingit, which took place during the summers of 2015 and 2016. Seven fluent Tlingit elders participated: Lillian Austin (Yaḡdulákt), George Davis (Kaxwaan Éesh), Margaret Dutton (Shak'sháani), Selena Everson (Kaséix), William Fawcett (Kóoshdaak'w Éesh), Carolyn Martin (K'altseen), and John Martin (Keihéenák'w). All seven were residents of Juneau, AK at the time of our meetings, and are speakers of the Northern dialect of Tlingit (Leer 1991). Two or three elders were present at each of the interviews, which were held in classrooms at the University of Alaska Southeast in Juneau, AK.

Although seven elders participated in the broader study, of which the work reported here was but a part, the storyboard narration below came from a single elder, John Martin. The reason for this was chiefly that Mr. Martin's preeminence as a Tlingit storyteller and tradition bearer understandably lead to some reluctance for the other elders to offer their own narratives in his presence. Simply for reasons of time, then, I chose on both occasions to collect narratives from Mr. Martin alone, rather than schedule separate sessions with elders who were not present at the time of his narration (and so who would feel less reluctance to offer a different version of the same story). I mention this in the context of this report, since similar issues may arise with other linguists employing storyboard methodology on other languages, especially if those languages are endangered.

3 The Storyboard *Hawaii Trip*

3.1 The Storyboard

I present here the storyboard *Hawaii Trip* in thumbnail images with accompanying English text. Following the presentation of the storyboard, I discuss a few key features of its design. The artwork for this storyboard, and several key features of the narrative itself, were designed by Rose Underhill.

<1>



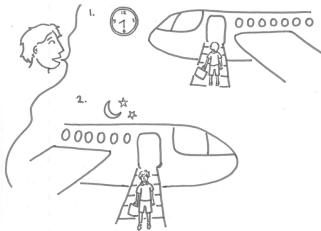
This is Mary. And, this is Bill.

<2>



“Hi Bill. Will you be travelling anywhere this summer?”
 “Yes, Mary. I’m going to go to Hawaii!”

<3>



I will get on the plane at eight in the morning, and I will arrive in Hawaii at night.

<4>



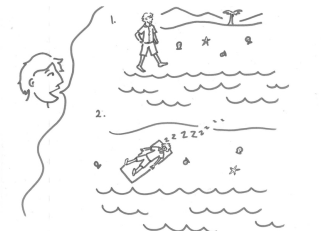
I will stay in a big hotel by the beach.

<5>

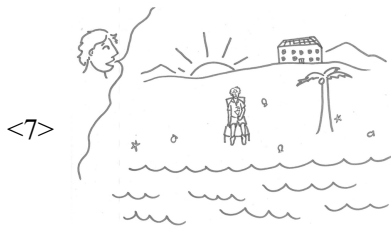


On the first day, I’ll be really happy to be away from home.

<6>



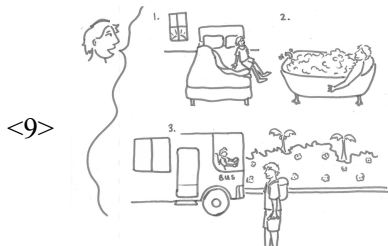
I’ll walk along the beach, and then I’ll sleep in the sun.



When the sun goes down, I'll be drinking a mai tai.



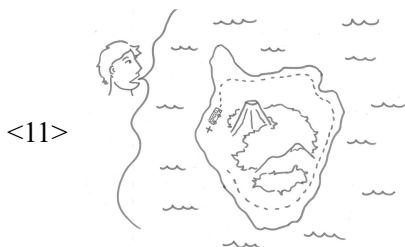
Then, I'll go back to the hotel, and I'll go to bed.



The next morning, I'll get up, get a bath, and get on a bus.



Since I'll be taking the bus, I'll bring money along.



I'll then go on a tour around the island.



I'll do many other fun things too.

The most important feature of this storyboard is that all the events of the story take place in the future of the time when Bill and Mary are talking. In addition, each of these future events is connected in a coherent, ordered narrative; this kind of a narrative is very difficult to find in naturalistic texts, where future-oriented statements are often isolated from the surrounding narrative or discourse. It's also worth noting that many of the images in the storyboard depict multiple eventualities, and so their accompanying English narration contains multiple clauses or verbs. This is by design. Tonhauser (2011) reports that Paraguayan Guaraní allows tenseless verbs to describe future eventualities when they appear conjoined with future-inflected verbs. Consequently the narration for panels <3>, <6>, <8>, and <9> could be used to test whether this generalization also holds for the language being examined (i.e., in this case, Tlingit). Similarly, the English narration for the panel in <10> contains a rationale clause, and the picture is designed to attempt to elicit such a rationale clause in the language of study. The reason for this is, again, that Tonhauser (2011) reports that tenseless verbs in Paraguayan Guaraní can describe future eventualities when they are modified by a future-oriented rationale clause. Finally, it should be noted that while panels <3>, <6>, <8>, <9>, <10>, and <11> depict events (plane landing, Bill walking, Bill bathing, etc.), panels <4>, <5>, <7> are designed to instead evoke states (staying in the hotel, being happy, holding a mai tai). Consequently, the narration for these panels could be used to explore whether the Aktionsart of the verb — i.e., whether the verb is eventive or stative — has an effect on the tenseless verb's ability to describe a future eventuality.

Although the storyboard above was designed to present Bill's trip to Hawaii as occurring in the future, it could be minimally altered so that Bill's trip occurred in the past. All that really needs to be changed is the calendar date in panel <2>, which is currently left blank for that purpose. It would be interesting to collect narratives for both the storyboard above as well as the minimally different 'past-tense' version of the storyboard. That way, the frequency of tenseless verbs in both the narratives could be compared. If tenseless verbs occur significantly more often in the 'past-tense' version than in the 'future-tense' version, that would be evidence indicating that the language in question is restricted tenseless, rather than broadly tenseless.

3.2 Sample Results for *Hawaii Trip* in Tlingit

I present here the Tlingit narrative provided for the storyboard *Hawaii Trip* by elder John Martin in August 2015. In the following subsection, I discuss some features of this narrative, and some analytic problems that it raises. To aid that subsequent discussion, I have boldfaced below the verbs heading main clauses, as well as the glosses indicating their tense/aspect inflection.

The initial transcription of Mr. Martin's narrative was done by James Crippen. I claim responsibility for any errors in the transcription provided below.

(8) John Martin's Tlingit Language Narration for *Hawaii Trip* Storyboard

a. Panel <1>:

Nóots tin áwé Mary yát **awdligén**, Bill. Aagáa áwé **yéi yaawaḱaa**,
smile with FOC Mary face.to 3O.PRV.3S.look Bill then FOC PRV.3S.say

“Wa.é ákwé, Mary?”

2SGPRO COP.Q Mary

Bill looked at Mary with a smile. Then he said “Hi, Mary!” (Lit., “Is that you Mary?”)

b. Panel <2>:

Wé shaax'w sáani chookán tin has al'eix x'áat' dei áwé **kukgwatéen**.
 DEM girls grass with PL.IMPRV.3S.dance island to FOC FUT.1SGS.travel
 I'm going to travel to the island where girls dance with grass (skirts).

c. Panel <3>:

Xáanaa déi kuwuhaayi áwé, wé yaa ndakín washéen wé x'áat'
 evening to PRV.become.time.SUB FOC DEM PROG.IMPRV.3S.fly machine DEM island
 káa haa een **yei kgwashkáak**. X'éigaa **xwasikóo** xáanaa
 surface.at 1PLPOSS with FUT.3S.land truly PRV.1SGS.know evening
 dé kuwuhaayi, kinde xwalgeini áwé kutx.ayanahá
 to PRV.become.time.SUB above.to PRV.1SGS.look.SUB FOC star
xwasiteen.
 PRV.1SGS.see

When evening comes, the plane will land with us on the island. I truly know that when evening has come, when I look up, I see stars.

d. Panel <4>:

Wé yaa ndakín washéen haa een áa wushkaagí wé
 DEM PROG.IMPRV.3S.fly machine 1PLO with 3O.at PRV.3S.land.SUB DEM
 x'áat' ká áwé, wé hit tlein aadé **haa wdudzixóot'**,
 island surface FOC DEM house big 3O.to 1PLO.PRIV.INDEFS.transport
 áa yéi haa kgwatee yé. Haa een tsú **has akaawaneek** áa
 3O.at 1PLO.FUT.be. place 1PLO with also PL.3O.PRIV.3S.tell 3O.at
at gaxtooxáa ka káaxwei tsú **gaxtudanáa**, ka kwéinapples
 INDEF0.FUT.1PLS.eat and coffee too FUT.1PLS.drink and pine.apples
 tsú haa x'éide **has akgwatee**, toowú sagú toonáx.
 too 1PLO mouth.to PL.3O.FUT.3S.give spirit gladness inside.through
 Mai tai tsú haa x'éidei **has akakgwanáa**.
 mai tai too 1PLO mouth.to PL.3O.FUT.3S.dampen

The plane having landed with us on the island, we are transported to the big house where we will be staying. They tell us that we will eat there, and drink coffee, and they will feed us pineapples to make us happy. Also, they will give us mai tais to drink.

e. Panel <5>:

Yá neil dáx xwadakeení áwé, ch'a xát áyá sh tóo
 DEM home from PRV.1SGS.fly.SUB FOC just 1SGPRO FOC REFL.inside
yan xwadzinei. Ldakát át áwé a kaadé **xat sakgwax'áakw**. Ch'a
 TERM.PRIV.1SGS.slacken everything FOC 3O.FUT.1SGS.forget just
 sh toowú sagú ku.aa a káa **yánde tukkwatáan**. Wé nóots
 REFL.spirit happiness though 3O.surface.at TERM.FUT.think DEM smile
ax tuwáa sigóo ax yáa kawunaagí.
 IMPRV.1SGS.want 1SGPOSS face.at PRV.3S.stand.SUB

Having flown from home, I completely relax. I will forget about everything. I will only contemplate happiness. I want a smile to stand out on my face.

f. Panel <6>:

Wé dleit yáx̣ yateeyi l'éiw áwé a káx̣ yaa kgwagóot.
 DEM white IMPRV.3S.be.REL sand FOC 3O.surface.on PROG.FUT.3S.walk
 X̣at wudixweidlí, **kuḵwasakóo** aagaa tsá wé l'éiw káx̣'
 1SGO.PRIV.tire.SUB FUT.1SGS.know then then DEM sand surface.at
yánde sh kuḵwastáa. Tléil wáa sá **gugwatee** táach
 TERM.REFL.FUT.1SGS.sleep NEG how Q FUT.3S.be sleep.ERG
 x̣at wujaagí. Wé pearls daat **kuḵwajóon**
 1SGO.PRIV.3S.kill.SUB DEM pearls about FUT.1SGS.dream

I will be walking along the white sands. When I get tired, I'll know that I'll lie down on the sand. It will be fine to fall asleep. I will dream about pearls.

g. Panel <7>:

Wé gagaan yinde yaa naxíxi, aagaa áwé haa jeeyís
 DEM sun down.to PROG.IMPRV.3S.fall.SUB then FOC 1PLO for
kei s at gugwashée. Ch'a yeisú has at sheeyí áwé, 'mai tai'
 PL.INDEFO.FUT.3S.sing just still PL.INDEFO.IMPRV.sing.SUB FOC mai tai
 yéi duwasáagu héen haa x̣'éide **has akakgwanáa.** Yéi
 3O.IMPRV.INDEFS.call.REL water our mouth.to PL.3O.FUT.3S.dampen thus
 áwé **kadunéek,** "Déix̣ yidanaayí tsú **kei at gageeshée**
 FOC IMPRV.3S.say two PRIV.2SG.drink.SUB also INDEFO.FUT.2SGS.sing
 ka ch'a yákwde gunei **akgeel'éix̣.**"
 and just involuntarily begin FUT.2SGS.dance

When the sun is going down, then they will sing for us. While they're still singing, they will give us those drinks that are called 'mai tais'. They say, "Once you've drunk two of those, you too will be singing, and you'll begin to dance."

h. Panel <8>:

A yáanáx̣ wé mai tai x̣wadanaayí áwé, yú áa yéi x̣at yateeyi
 3O beyond DEM mai tai PRIV.1SGS.drink.SUB FOC DEM 3O.at 1SGO.IMPRV.be.REL
 yé **a kát x̣at seiwax'áakw.** Ch'a yákwde áwé a yáa
 place 3O.PRIV.1SGS.forget just involuntarily FOC 3O fact.at
x̣waagút. Áa neil x̣wagoodí áwé, tléil **yawda.aa,**
 PRIV.1SGS.walk 3O.at inside PRIV.1SGS.walk.SUB FOC NEG PRIV.3S.delay
 tle yánde yaa sh naxastéini áwé, táach **x̣at uwaják**
 then TERM.REFL.PROG.1SGS.sleep.SUB FOC sleep.ERG 1SGO.PRIV.3S.kill
 Tle ch'a yóox' taach **x̣at uwaják** ka wé noots
 then just DEM.at sleep.ERG 1SGO.PRIV.3S.kill and DEM smile
 ch'a yeisú ax̣ yáa **kaawanák.**
 just still 1SGPOSS face.at PRIV.3S.stand

Having drunk too many mai tais, I forget where I'm staying. I accidentally walk into it. Having walked inside, there's no delay, then I lie down and fall asleep. I fall asleep right there, and a smile still stands on my face.

i. Panel <9>:

K'idéin **xwadlisáa**, **shaxwdinook** áwé ch'a yeisú mai tai yáx a_x
 well PRV.1SGS.rest PRV.1SGS.rise FOC just still mai tai like 1SGPoss
 x'ei **yax duwanook**. Aagáa **yéi xat tuwatee** sh daa
 mouth 3O.IMPRV.INDEFS.sense then 1SGO.IMPRV.feel.like REFL body
 náx kada.óos'i. Wé l'eiw tsú a_x gúk t'énáx a_x **kukwa.óos'**.
 along washing DEM sand too my ear inside 3O.from FUT.1SGS.wash
 Aagáa áwé wé at kawdudlijooxú washéen káanáx **kei kkwagóot**.
 then FOC DEM PRV.3S.spin.around machine for FUT.1SGS.walk
At haa gaxdusxóot'. Ldakát át áwé **has ashakgwajáa**.
 1PLO.FUT.3S.convey.around everything FOC PL.3O.FUT.3S.instruct

I rest well, I get up, and my mouth still tastes like mai tais. Then, I feel like washing. I will also wash the sand out from my ears. I go out for the bus. It will take us around. They will explain everything.

j. Panel <10>:

Wé áa yéi xat yateeyi yé, wé át kawdudlijooxú washéen, á
 DEM 3O.at 1SGO.IMPRV.be.REL place DEM PRV.3S.spin.around machine 3PRO
 tsu a_x jeeyis **yan has awsinei**. Ch'a aan ku dáanaa tlein
 again 1SGPoss for TERM.PL.3O.PRV.3S.do nevertheless though dollar big
 galtóo **yéi kkwaa.oo**.
 pocket.at FUT.1SGS.have

At the place where I'm staying, they again ready the bus for me. Nevertheless, I'll bring money in my pocket.

k. Panel <11>:

Wé at kawdudlijooxú washéen ka_x xwagoodí áwé, **yéi haa yawdudzikaa**
 DEM PRV.3S.spin.around machine for PRV.1SGS.walk.SUB FOC 1PLO.FUT.INDEFS.tell
 wé x'áat' tlein k'wát'dáx haa een **yéi gaxduskóox**. Haa waak
 DEM island big tour 1PLO with FUT.INDEFS.drive 1PLPoss eye
 tín **kei kaguxsayéi**, yéi áwé haa een **kaduneek**. K'wát'dáx
 with FUT.3S.strange thus FOC 1PLO with IMPRV.INDEFS.say tour
 a daa haa een yaa nakúxu áwé x'áax
 3POSS around 1PLO with PROG.IMPRV.3S.drive.SUB FOC mouth.PERT
yaa nashtook wé washéen.
 PROG.IMPRV.3S.explode DEM machine

Having walked to the bus, they tell us that we will be taken on a tour of the big island. Everything will be strange to our eyes, they tell us. While it's driving us around on the tour, the bus keeps backfiring.

1. Panel <12>:

K'wát'dax̣ haa een yaa naḱúxu, wé x'áat', at kawdudlijooxú
 tour 1PLO with PROG.IMPRV.3S.drive.SUB DEM island PRV.3S.spin.around
 washéen een, ḱulitées'shání át áwé haa ée **has ashukaawajáa**.
 machine with IMPRV.3S.fascinating.REL thing FOC 1PLO.at PL.3O.PRV.3S.advise
 Aḱ toowú **ḱuyanéekw** wé chookán een has al'éixi
 1SGPoss inside IMPRV.3S.pain DEM grass with PL.3O.IMPRV.3S.dance.REL
 shaax'sáani hél **wutusateen**.
 girls NEG PRV.1PLS.see

While they're driving us on the tour of the island in the bus, they advise us of all the fascinating things. I'm sad that we don't see any of those girls who dance with grass (skirts).

3.3 Discussion of John Martin's Tlingit Narration for *Hawaii Trip*

Examining Mr. Martin's narration in (8), we find that Leer's (1991) claims seem to be confirmed. That is, there are indeed main verbs describing future eventualities that do not bear future marking. In fact, of the 48 main verbs in (8) that describe a future eventuality, only 51% bear future morphology. The other 49% are tenseless verbs, bearing only either perfective or imperfective inflection.

Lest one suspect that some kind of translation error is responsible for this, the following should be born in mind. First, the narrative for each panel in (8) was produced continuously, without any disfluencies. Furthermore, for each panel, the narration provided was repeated back to Mr. Martin. Upon hearing the transcription of his narrative for that panel, Mr. Martin would make suggested corrections and improvements; never did any of these changes concern the tense/aspect inflection on the verb. Finally, once the entire storyboard was narrated, the entire narration was read back to Mr. Martin and two other Tlingit elders (CM, MD). Again, a few changes and corrections were suggested, but none of them concerned the tense/aspect inflection of the verb. It is also worth noting that in several cases, a future-marked main verb and a non-future-marked main verb both appear within the same 'intonational phrase' in the narrative ((8c), (8e), (8g), (8i), (8j), (8k)), rendering it highly improbable that Mr. Martin had somehow momentarily forgotten the 'future orientation' of the narrative.

Having accepted that Mr. Martin does use tenseless verbs in (8) to describe future eventualities, we should now consider whether there is any special rhetorical effect of such usage.⁴ To probe this question tentatively, at one point, Mr. Martin was directly asked about the choice of verbal inflection in his narration for panel <8> (8h).⁵ Mr. Martin's reply suggested that his use of tenseless verbs might be something akin to a 'narrative present' in English.⁶ That is, the non-future-marked verbs

⁴Throughout this paper, I use the terms 'rhetorical effect' and 'rhetorical device' in an entirely pre-theoretic and descriptive sense. What I principally intend these terms to convey is that the phenomena they circumscribe (i) are not part of the 'core grammar' of the language, and (ii) are only used in particular types of public language performances.

⁵That is, we briefly asked to confirm that the narration in (8h) was describing 'things that he's going to do' rather than 'things that he already did.'

⁶"The way I read the picture was... He was facing the evening activity, so that's what his remarks are. So, present tense, not future tense. But the very thing that was engulfing him for that evening... the things that

in (8) perhaps portray these future events to the listener more vividly and immediately than a future-marked verb would. For comparison, consider the English narration in (9) below, which illustrates how natural a device like narrative present is for this kind of discourse.

(9) **Narrative Present in a Future Narrative in English**

I'm going to have such a great time in Hawaii this summer. I can just imagine it now! On the first day, I **walk** around the beach, and then I **take** a nap in the sun. Because it **is** so sunny, I **get** a sunburn, but I **don't** care, because I **am** having such an amazing time. When the sun goes down, I **wander** back to the hotel, and **order** a mai tai. I **fall** asleep with the sounds of singing and the surf coming through my window.

Intuitively, the use of non-future forms in (9) has the rhetorical effect of 'transporting' the speaker and the addressee into the future, when those events are occurring. Consequently, within such a rhetorical device, those events are from the narrative perspective *not* future events, but *immediately occurring* events.

It would be beyond the scope of this paper to present a fully developed and predictive theory of *narrative present* in languages like English, and so our discussion here must necessarily be rather tentative and nascent. Nevertheless, we can observe that if a phenomenon like (9) were at play in the Tlingit narrative in (8), we might understand why such a large proportion of the verbs in (8) are not future-marked. After all, Mr. Martin is narrating a storyboard, a document where each of the future events is immediately, visually presented to the narrator (and possibly his imagined audience). Such a task naturally invites the use of narrative present in English, and it may similarly prompt the use of constructions with a parallel rhetorical effect in Tlingit (and other languages).^{7,8} For this reason, in my own English free translation of (8), I often translate tenseless main verbs using English narrative present. Furthermore, if the use of tenseless verbs in (8) to describe future eventualities is indeed tied to the use of a special rhetorical device like narrative present, we might understand why such usage is rejected in plain elicitation contexts, as reported in Section 1. If a defining feature of such 'rhetorical strategies' is that they are tied to particular types of public language performances (footnote 4) — like narration and story-telling — then they would not be permitted in elicitation contexts, in as much as such interactions would not be conceptualized as the kinds of 'performances' that allow the use of such structures.

Given the possibility that the tenseless verbs in (8) are a special rhetorical device akin to English narrative present, I sought to design a follow-up study that would control for this possibility. That second study and storyboard are detailed in the following section.

he was experiencing, what was being portrayed, was what was being said.”

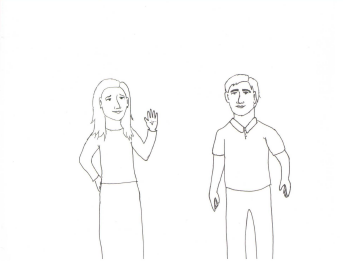
⁷I thank Jeremy Pasquereau (p.c.) for bringing this point to my attention. This claim is made on the basis of both my own native-speaker intuitions regarding English narrative present, as well as Mr. Pasquereau's intuitions regarding parallel phenomena in his native French.

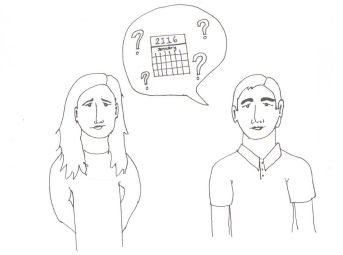
⁸It should be noted that prior descriptive studies of Tlingit narrative structure do not mention the existence of a rhetorical device of the kind hypothesized here, one that would be akin to English 'narrative present' (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987, 1990). However, as I mention later, if such a hypothesis is on the right track, we might actually find such a device exhibited in previously published texts, like the one excerpted in (7).

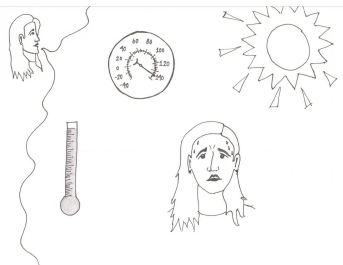
4 The Storyboard *Imagining the Future*


4.1 The Storyboard

I present here the storyboard *Imagining the Future* in thumbnail images with accompanying English text. Following this, I discuss a few key features of its design. The artwork for this storyboard, and several key features of the narrative itself, were designed by Nancy Clarke.

<1>  This is Tom. And, this is Sue.

<2>  “Hi Sue! What do you think the world will be like in 100 years?”

<3>  Well, it's going to be a lot hotter.

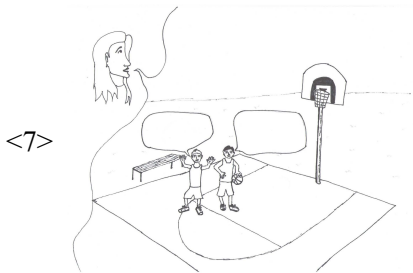
<4>  Cars will fly around in the sky.



People will live on the moon.



We will travel to the stars.



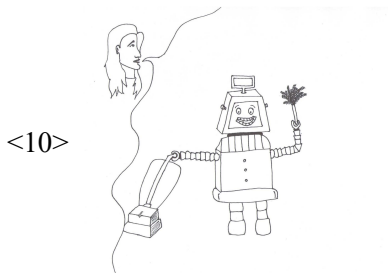
Many kids will be speaking Tlingit.



The buildings in town will be very tall.

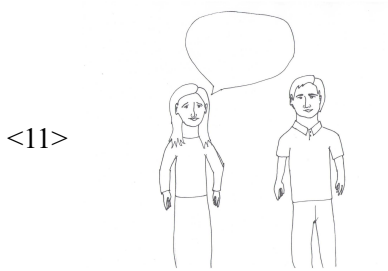


Aliens will live among us.



<10>

Robots will do all the work.



<11>

That's what I think, anyway!

The most important feature of this storyboard (and narrative) is that it consists entirely of generic facts (generic statements) about the future. Unlike the *Hawaii Trip* storyboard, *Imagining the Future* does not consist of specific, temporally contiguous, ordered events. The reason for this is that, at least in English, the use of narrative present is most natural when describing specific, temporally contiguous events, as in (9). Consequently, English narrative present is rather unnatural when making generic statements and predictions about the future.⁹ Therefore, if the use of tenseless verbs in Tlingit to describe future eventualities is analogous to English narrative present, then the Tlingit narration for *Imagining the Future* should consist entirely of future-marked verbs, and we should not find tenseless verbs used to express the key future generalities.

Finally, we should note in passing that panel <7> can be adapted to languages besides Tlingit, simply by filling in the speech balloons with examples from the language of study.

4.2 Sample Results for *Imagining the Future* in Tlingit

I present in this section the rather lengthy Tlingit narrative provided for the storyboard *Imagining the Future* by elder John Martin in June 2016. In Section 4.3, I discuss some features of this narrative, and some conclusions that can be drawn from it. Again, to aid that subsequent discussion, I have boldfaced below the verbs heading main clauses, as well as the glosses indicating their tense/aspect inflection.

Given the length of Mr. Martin's narrative for *Imagining the Future*, I have divided the presentation of the narrative into subsections, one for each panel of the storyboard.

4.2.1 Panel <1> of *Imagining the Future*

- (10) Tom **ka** Sue áwé woosh tin **yóo x'adudli.átk.**
 Tom and Sue FOC RECIP with **IMPRV.INDEFS.converse**
 Tom and Sue are talking with each other.

⁹Again, this claim is made on the basis of my own native-speaker intuitions regarding English narrative present.

- (11) Yá yées ku.oo has du tundatáani áwé woosh tin **has akadaneek**
 DEM young people PL 3POSS thoughts FOC RECIP with PL.**IMPRV**.3S.tell
 These young people are telling each other their thoughts.
- (12) X'oon táakw shanaxíxji sá wáa sáwé **yandé haa kaguxdayáa**.
 how.many years past Q how Q.FOC 1PLO.**FUT**.3S.be.fulfilled
 (About) what will happen to us in so many years
- (13) Áwé woosh tin tundatáan **woosh x'adawoos'**
 FOC RECIP with thought RECIP.**IMPRV**.3S.ask
 They are asking each other their thoughts.
- (14) Tlél shákdé wáa sá **haa kgwanée** yéi áwé woosh tin **has akadaneek**
 NEG DUB how Q 1PLO.**FUT**.happen thus FOC RECIP with PL.**IMPRV**.3S.tell
 They are telling each other, maybe it will be OK for us.
- (15) “Yá káax isiteeyi ku.aa, ch'a góot yéide **yatee** i tundatáani,”
 DEM man.at 2SGS.be.REL though just different **IMPRV**.3S.be 2SGPoss thought
 “You who are a man, though, you have different thoughts.”
- (16) Tom ku wé Sue yéi **awsikáa**, “Wa.é tsú!
 Tom though DEM Sue thus 3O.**PRV**.3S.tell 2SGPRO also
 Tom, though, said to Sue, “You too!”
- (17) Shaawát tundatáani **ax tuwáa sigóo** i x'édáx xwa.aaxí aadé
 woman thought **IMPRV**.1SGS.want 2SGPoss mouth.from **PRV**.1SGS.hear.SUB 3O.to
 yandé haa kaguxdayáa yé.
 TERM.1PLO.**FUT**.be.fulfilled.REL way
 “I’d like to hear from you a woman’s thoughts on how things will be for us.”
- (18) Gwál **ax tuwóo kei guxsagóo**.
 DUB **FUT**.1SGS.like
 “Maybe I will like it!”
- (19) Xát ku eeshandéin ax daat **unatee**,
 1SGPRO though miserably 1SGPoss about **ADMON**.3S.be
 “Let it not be bad for me...”

- (20) Tlél a yáanáx **xat x'akeeshéex'ik'**
 NEG 3POSS more.than 1SGO.**PROHIB**.2SGS.praise
 Don't praise me too much."

4.2.2 Panel <2> of *Imagining the Future*

- (21) Tom áwé Sue **ax'awoos'** "K'idéin a daa **yan teedataani**
 Tom FOC Sue 3O.**IMPRV**.3S.ask well 3POSS about TERM.**IMPER**.2SGS.think
 Tom asks Sue, "Think about it well..."
- (22) Áwé... i x'éidáx **ax tuwáa sigóo** xwa.aaxí
 FOC 2SGPOSS mouth.from **IMPRV**.1SGS.want PRV.1SGS.hear.SUB
 "I would like to hear from you..."
- (23) Tlél a yáanáx a shakéenáx yá x'eindatáani ch'a **yéi gugéink'**
 NEG 3POSS more.than 3POSS above DEM conversation just **IMPRV**.3S.small
 "A little bit, just a bit, some small conversation..."
- (24) Hél a yáanáx yéi kulyáat'i yá i tundatáani ch'a daa sá daa
 NEG 3POSS more.than **IMPRV**.3S.long DEM 2SGPOSS thoughts just what Q about
teedisháat x'wán **ax tuwáa sigóo** xwa.aaxí"
IMPRV.2SGS.make.up.mind PRT **IMPRV**.1SGS.want PRV.1SGS.hear.SUB
 "I'd like to hear just a bit of your thoughts, what you've made up your mind on."
- (25) Áwé... Sue **ku.aa**, "Wa.é tsú Tom, ax tundatáani áwé ax jeedáx
 FOC Sue though you too Tom 1SGPOSS thought FOC 1SGPOSS hand.from
keeyajéil yá aadé **ix'akkwawóos'** yé
PRV.2SGS.drag DEM 3O.to 2SGO.**FUT**.1SGS.ask.REL way
 Sue replies, "You too, Tom! You took the words right from me, how I'd like to ask you
- (26) Tlél a tliyáanáx a daa **tunaxtutánch** ch'áagu shákdé ch'a
 NEG 3POSS far.over 3POSS about **HORT**.1PLS.think for.a.time DUB just
yéi googéink' i ée i guk káa **kkwala.áax**.
IMPRV.3S.small 2SGPOSS.at 2POSS ear surface.at **FUT**.1SGS.hear
 "Let's think a bit about it for a while, and I'll hear a little bit (from you)

- (27) Woosh t́n áyá **tushigóok** wé haa yoo x́'atángi tlél shákdé
 RECIP with FOC **IMPRV.1PLS.know.how** DEM 1PLPOSS language NEG DUB
kei guɣladzee
 FUT.3S.difficult

“We know our language with each other. It will not be difficult.”

4.2.3 Panel <3> of *Imagining the Future*

- (28) “Xat x́'eeya.áx gé Sue? Yáadu at najée áyá. Yáax' aa **yéi haa yateeyi**
 1SGO.**IMPRV.2SGS.hear** Q Sue here thought FOC here PART 1PLO.**IMPRV.be.REL**
 yé
 way

“Did you hear me, Sue? Here is a thought. The way we are here...”

- (29) kúnáx ch'á yáx áwé **kuwak'ei** haa káx' yá 70 degrees.
 really just like FOC **IMPRV.weather.good** 1PLPOSS surface.at DEM 70 degrees
 “It’s really nice for us at 70 degrees.

- (30) Tlél **ax tuwáa ushgu** áyá a yáanáx akawdusáayi.
 NEG **IMPRV.1SGS.want** FOC 3POSS more.than PRV.steamy.hot.SUB
 “I don’t want it to get too hot and humid.

- (31) Yá ax tundatáani ku áwé aadé xwaajeeyi yé
 DEM 1SGPOSS thought though FOC 3O.to **IMPRV.1SGS.think.REL** way
 “My thoughts, the way I think,

- (32) A yáanáx áyá **haa kaguxdusáay** yá aadé akaayí yé,
 3POSS more.than FOC 1PLO.**FUT.steamy.hot** DEM 3O.to 3O.**IMPRV.measure.REL** way
 wé 100 years.... yá gagaan... a yáanáx gagaan haa káa
 DEM 100 years... DEM sun... 3POSS more.than sun 1PLPOSS surface.on
yeyi kgwanéi
 FUT.3S.do

“It will get too hot and humid, in 100 years, the sun is going to shine on us too much.”

- (33) Áyá... Tlél shákdé **kéi kgwashak'ei** ch'a yá Idakát yat'áayi
 FOC NEG DUB **FUT.3S.good** just DEM all **IMPRV.3S.hot.REL**
 “It will probably be bad, all that hot <weather>

- (34) Wáa sá s i tuwáa **yatee**, Sue?”
 how Q DUB 2SGPOSS spirit **IMPRV.3S.be** Sue
 “What do you think, Sue?”
- (35) “A_x tundatáani áwé a_x tlageiyí tóodá_x **kayeejéil**. Xát tsú
 1SGPOSS thought FOC 1SGPOSS brain inside.from **PRV.2SGS.drag** 1SGPRO also
 yéi a_x tuwóo **yatee**.
 thus 1SGPOSS mind **IMPRV.3S.be**
 “You took the thoughts right from my brains! I too think this way...”
- (36) Tléil shákdé **kei kgwashak’éi** a yáaná_x tla_x akawdusáayi.
 NEG DUB **FUT.3S.good** 3POSS more.than very **PRV.steamy.hot.SUB**
 “It would probably be bad for it to get too hot and steamy.
- (37) **Yéi duwasáakw** Dleit Káa x’éiná_x... Daa sáwé **yoo duwasáakw** ‘dehydrated’
IMPRV.INDEFS.name English language.in what Q.FOC **IMPRV.INDEFS.name** dehydrated
 “It’s called in English... How do you say ‘dehydrated’?”
- (38) A yáaná_x haa kawdusáayi áwé a yáaná_x **yei haa guxlaxoon**
 3POSS more.than 1PLO.PRIV.steamy.hot.SUB FOC 3POSS more.than 1PLO.FUT.thin
 “If it gets too hot and humid, we will get too skinny.
- (39) Ch’a tlé xat tuháni yé áwé a yáaná_x haa kawdusáayi...
 just then 1SGO.mind.stand.REL way FOC 3POSS more.than 1PLO.PRIV.steamy.hot.SUB
 “The way my thoughts are, if it gets too hot and humid...”
- (40) Héen... héen, ... kawdusáayi dá_x héen áwé a yáaná_x
 water water **PRV.steamy.hot.SUB** from water FOC 3POSS more.than
yei haa guxlaxoon. Ákwshé, Tom?
 1PLO.FUT.thin COP.Q.DUB Tom
 “<Because of> water from it being so steamy... We will get too thin. Isn’t that so, Tom?”
- (41) “Aaá.”
 yes
 “Yes”

4.2.4 Panel <4> of *Imagining the Future*

- (42) “Sue! Goosú wa.é, Sue? Tléł **ixatéen!** Tléł **ax tuwáa usgú**
 Sue where.LOC.Q 2SGPRO Sue NEG 2SGO.IMPRV.1SGS.see NEG IMPRV.1SGS.want
 yá... yá aadé ax tuwóo yaa nanéini yé.
 DEM DEM 3O.to 1SGPOSS spirit PROG.3S.do.REL way
 “Sue! Where are you? I can’t see you! I don’t like how my spirit is feeling.
- (43) Yá tl’átk ldakát **kawdik’éet’**. Ách áwé....
 DEM ground everyone PRV.3S.leave 3PRO.INST FOC
 “Everyone has left the ground. And so...”
- (44) tláakw áyá **has gugwatée** yá akawdliyééji aa wé washéen.
 fast FOC FUT.3PL.be DEM PRV.3S.fly.REL PART DEM machine
 “Those flying machines are going to be fast.
- (45) Yá haa naakahídi tsú a yáanáx **has koodiyáat’**
 DEM 1PLPOSS clan.house also 3POSS more.than PL.IMPRV.3S.long
 “They’re longer than our clan houses.
- (46) Ch’a hóoch’ áa yak’éiyi át áwé
 just finished 3O.at IMPRV.3S.good.REL thing FOC
 “The good things there are over...”
- (47) Tléł tl’átk daa... a daat kaa toowúx’ **kei kgwanéekw** yá
 NEG ground around 3POSS about INDEFPOSS spirit.at FUT.3S.suffer DEM
 yéi duwasáakw Dleit Káa x’éináx ‘parking space’.
 IMPRV.INDEFS.name English language.in parking space
 “On the ground, people won’t suffer over parking spaces.
- (48) Áyá shákdé **kei kgwak’éi** ch’a tlákw yaa kanalyíchi áwé at kawdliyééji
 FOC DUB FUT.3S.good just always PROG.IMPRV.3S.fly.SUB FOC PRV.3S.fly.REL
 aa wé washéen
 PART DEM machine
 “So, maybe it will be good for those flying cars to always be flying around...”

- (49) Sigóowu át áyá a tóonáx wé windows du yáanáx
 IMPRV.3S.happy.REL thing COP 3POSS inside.through DEM windows 3POSS more.than
 ku yéi kwsigéi.
 though IMPRV.3S.big
 “It’s a nice thing to be higher than the windows because of them (the cars)…”
- (50) Ch’a aan ku.aa tlél shákdé wáa sá **kgwatée** ldakát kawduwasáayi yé
 nevertheless though NEG DUB how Q FUT.3S.be everyone PRV.steamy.hot.REL way
 “Nevertheless, it will be OK, the way everyone is so hot and humid…”
- (51) Hél **agaxdukéi** yá… yá stúx… yá oil **agaxdukéi**…
 NEG 3O.FUT.INDEFS.pay DEM DEM stove DEM oil 3O.FUT.INDEFS.pay
 “People won’t <have to> pay the stove… the oil…”
- (52) Tlák w shákdé **kei guxdagáan**, aagaa hél s’éénaa, yá bill **gaxtookéi**… tlák w
 always DUB FUT.3S.sun.shine then NEG light DEM bill FUT.1PLS.pay always
kei guxdagáan
 FUT.3S.sun.shine
 “It will always be sunny, and so we won’t pay the light bill… it will always be sunny.”
- (53) Wáa sá s i toowú **yatee** Sue? Goosú wa.é Sue?”
 how Q DUB 2SGPOSS spirit IMPRV.be Sue where.LOC.Q 2SGPRO Sue
 “What do you think, Sue? Where are you Sue?!?”

4.2.5 Panel <5> of *Imagining the Future*

- (54) “**Ixaatéen**, gunalchéesh Sue! **Ka** yakgeegoodí **ixwajéech**
 2SGO.IMPRV.1SGS.see thank.you Sue and FUT.2SGS.return.SUB 2SGO.IMPRV.1SGS.think
 “I see you! Thank you, Sue! And, I was thinking that you were heading back!”
- (55) Ach wudits’éex’aa kát asíwé gé **ee.aa**.
 rocking.chair surface.to FOC.DUB Q IMPRV.2SGS.sit
 “Maybe you were just sitting on that rocking chair…”
- (56) Wa.é tsú **iyaklinóots** xá
 2SGPRO also 2SGO.IMPRV.smile PRT
 “You’re also smiling…”

- (57) Tlél honeymoon daat **shugax̣tudaxéelʔ**. Wáa sá **gax̣toosáa** yáatʔaa áyá
 NEG honeymoon about FUT.1PLS.be.troubled how Q FUT.1PLS.name this.thing FOC
 “We won’t be troubled about honeymoons... What will we call this thing?...”
- (58) Gaandé **kudutéesʔi** yé yá window **yóo duwasáakw**.
 outside.to IMPRV.INDEFS.stare place DEM window IMPRV.INDEFS.name
 “...the place where people stare outside... this thing called a window...”
- (59) Instead of moon... wáa sá **gax̣toosáakw...** **ká** yá **kuṭx̣.ayanahá** tsú, chʔas áwé
 instead of moon how Q FUT.1SGS.name and DEM star too just FOC
tootéen
 IMPRV.1PLS.see
 “Instead of moon... what we will name it... and the stars, too... we’re just seeing them.
- (60) Gwál haa tuwáa **kagux̣sayéi** yá Lingítʔaaní yaa nagwádli
 DUB 1PLPOSS mind.at FUT.3S.strang DEM Earth PROG.IMPRV.3S.roll.SUB
 “Maybe it will be strange to us, the Earth rolling by...”
- (61) **Haa tuwáa gux̣sagóowun** áwé wé dís tulatíni, chʔa góot yéide **ḳu.aa**
 POT.1PLS.like.DEC FOC DEM moon IMPRV.1PLS.see.SUB just different though
ax̣ tuwóo **yatee** yeedát chʔas yá Lingítʔaaní tulatíni
 my spirit IMPRV.3S.be now just DEM Earth IMPRV.1PLS.see.SUB
 “We would have liked watching the moon... But maybe I feel differently now that we can only look at the Earth.
- (62) Dé áwé **ax̣** too **yatee...** Wáa sá s Sue? **Ax̣ eex̣ x̣ʔatán,** Sue!”
 now FOC my thoughts IMPRV.3S.be how Q DUB Sue 1SGO.at IMPER.speak Sue
 Enough of my thoughts. How about you, Sue? Talk to me, Sue!

4.2.6 Panel <6> of *Imagining the Future*

- (63) “Shuxʔwáanáx̣ haa een **kandunéek,** Sue... Gwál i tundatáani tsú
 first 1PLO with CONS.INDEFS.tell Sue DUB 2SGPOSS thought also
ax̣ aayí yáx̣ **yatee**
 1SGPOSS one like IMPRV.3S.be
 “First, when they tell us, Sue... Maybe your thoughts are like mine?...”

- (64) Tlél wáa sá s **aḡwsidlán**
 not how Q DUB 3O.PRV.1SGS.make.deep
 “I didn’t make them too deep...”
- (65) Wé haa een kei guḡdaḡéeni aa... yá aandáḡ at kawdliyéeji yá airplane
 DEM 1PLO with FUT.3S.fly.REL one DEM land.from PRV.3S.fly.REL DEM airplane
 “This one that will fly with us, this airplane flying from the land...”
- (66) ‘Wé star-dé áwé **ḡugax̄tootéen,**’ wé airplane sháadi háni áwé loudspeaker tónáḡ
 DEM star.to FOC FUT.1PLS.travel DEM airplane pilot FOC loudspeaker through
yóo ḡ’ayatánk
 IMPRV.3S.speak
 “‘We are going to travel to the stars,’ the pilot speaks through the loudspeaker.
- (67) Aaḡ **ḡadaḡéen** ḡu.aá... a yíḡx’ wutuwa.aadi at kawdliyéeji yá airplane
 3O.from CONS.3S.fly though 3O inside PRV.1PLS.go.REL PRV.3S.fly.REL DEM airplane
 “When it flies off, though, this thing we’ve gone inside of, this airplane that’s flying around...”
- (68) Aaḡ haa een **ḡadaḡeen** áwé, aḡ tuwóo ch’a goot yéide **woonei.**
 3O.from 1PLO with CONS.3S.fly FOC 1SGPOSS spirit just different PRV.3S.do
 “When we fly off, I start to feel differently...”
- (69) Ch’a tléix’ star áwé **yéi ḡwaajee...**
 just one star FOC IMPRV.1SGS.think
 “I thought it was just one star...”
- (70) Aaḡ **ḡadaḡeen** áwé, daat yáanáḡ sá **yéi koogéi** yá ḡutḡ.ayanahá...
 3O.from CONS.3S.fly FOC what more.than Q IMPRV.3S.big DEM star
 “When we fly off, though, how many stars there are!...”
- (71) Áwé, aḡ tuwóo kawdlishook’u yáḡ áyá **woonee** aḡ tundatáani...
 FOC 1SGPOSS spirit PRV.3S.shocked.SUB like FOC PRV.3S.do 1SGPOSS thoughts
 “I think it’s like my spirit is shocked...”
- (72) What star are we gonna pick out?...

(73) Wa.é Sue, **x'anawóos'** wé at kawdliyíchi aax aa yaa ndakín át
 2SGPRO Sue **IMPER.ask** DEM PRV.3S.fly.REL one.at one PROG.3S.fly.REL thing
 “You, Sue, ask... that flying one that is flying around...”

(74) Wé a sháadi háni **x'anaywóos'** daakw aa star-dé sáwé áa
 DEM 3POSS pilot **IMPER.ask** which PART star.to Q.FOC 3O.at
haa yéi kaawahaa.
 1PLO.PRV.move.invisibly
 “Ask the pilot what star we’ve gone to!”

4.2.7 Panel <7> of *Imagining the Future*

(75) “Gunalchéesh áyá Sue, wé áa kooch'éit'aa sh kadulyát yé
 thank.you FOC Sue DEM 3O.at basketball IMPRV.INDEFS.play.REL place
 “Thank you, Sue, for the place to play basketball!”

(76) Aadé na_xtoo.aadí has gadulatín yé
 3O.to HORT.1PLS.go 3PLO.HORT.INDEFS.watch place
 “The place where folks can watch us go (play basketball),”

(77) Áyá, Idakát áyá yá aan... aadé haa yakaawahaayi yé áwé kooch'éit'aa.
 FOC all FOC DEM town 3O.to 1PLO.PRV.locate.REL place FOC basketball
 “Everyone, the town... where we’re located (for) basketball”

(78) **Yéi gaxdusnéi** yá xáanaa, ch'a hóoch' á aadé xat geeyaneegi
 thus **FUT.INDEFS.do** DEM evening just it.ends 3PRO 3O.to 1SGO.POT.2SGS.interpret.REL
 yé
 way
 “This is how it’s going to go this evening... No more of your interpreting for me,”

(79) Tlél a yáanáx xwashagóogu lingít yoo x'atángi
 NEG 3POSS more.than IMPRV.1SGS.know.how.REL Tlingit language
 “Just a little of the Tlingit that I know....”

(80) Áyá... yá Referee sir? Ch'a goot yéide **yóo s x'ali.atk...**
 FOC DEM Referee sir just differently PL.**IMPRV.3S.converse**
 “ ‘Uhm, Referee, sir?... They’re talking funny!...’ ”

- (81) Ch'á át najée áyá... a yáanáx **xat woonee** áyá
 just thought COP 3Poss more.than 1SGO.PRIV.3S.happen FOC
 “It’s just a thought... more than that has happened to me...”
- (82) Shuxw'áanáx, yá kooch'éit'aa, anáx wuduwatsáagi a yáanáx
 first DEM basketball 3O.through PRIV.INDEFS.stick.REL 3Poss more.than
 shakínde **yéi s awsinei**,
 above.to thus PRIV.3PLS.do
 “First, they shot the basketball up above net...”
- (83) Áyá, wooch een **has kadaneek**,
 FOC RECIP with PL.IMPRV.3S.tell
 “They say to each other,
- (84) “Tlél shákdé áyá **xat ultseen** yá kooch'éit'aa áyá dukéetli
 NEG DUB FOC 1SGO.IMPRV.strong DEM basketball FOC IMPRV.INDEFS.jam.in.SUB
 kaḡwagéex'i”
 PRIV.1SGS.throw.SUB
 “Maybe I’m not strong enough to shoot the basketball into the net...”
- (85) Gwál wé aa yeekeeyi át, gwál haa jéedáx kúxde
 DUB DEM PART PRIV.2SGS.pay.REL thing DUB 1PLPOSS hand.from back.to
yéi gaḡdusnéi haa dáanaa.”
 FUT.INDEFS.give 1PLPOSS dollar
 Maybe, what was paid, they’ll take it back, our money...”

4.2.8 Panel <8> of *Imagining the Future*

- (86) “Susan! Goosú wa.é, Susan? Wé hit a yáanáx **kudiyáat'**
 Susan! where.LOC.Q 2SGPRO Susan DEM house 3Poss more.than IMPRV.3S.tall
 “Susan! Where are you, Susan? The houses are too tall!”
- (87) Kínde kéi wdudliyéxi hitx' áyá...
 above.to up PRIV.INDEFS.build.REL house.PL FOC
 “They are houses built up to the sky...”

- (88) Wé góon adáx kéi s akaawahaayi át áwé **dulyéx** áyá,
 DEM gold 3O.from up PL.3O.PRIV.3S.place.REL thing FOC **IMPRV.INDEFS.make** FOC
 “Because of gold, they build these things up to the sky...”
- (89) Yá hit **kooyát'**
 DEM house **IMPRV.3S.tall**
 “These buildings are tall...”
- (90) Áwé... Gáande **xalgéin** áwé wé shaa
 FOC outside.to **IMPRV.1SGS.look** FOC DEM mountain
 “I’m looking outside at the mountains...”
- (91) Áyá... **xaatéen** **yagéi** yá shaa
 FOC **IMPRV.1SGS.see** **IMPRV.3S.big** DEM mountain
 “I see that the mountains are big.”
- (92) **Yagéi** yá góon shákdé áa yéi yateeyi shaa
IMPRV.3s.big DEM gold DUB 3O.at **IMPRV.3S.be.REL** mountain
 “There’s a lot of gold, probably in those mountains there...”
- (93) Áwé, a daa yéi **tu_xwatánk**, adáx kaawduhaayí,
 FOC 3Poss about thus **IMPRV.1SGS.think** 3O.from PRIV.INDEFS.place.SUB
 “That’s what I think, they (the buildings) were placed there because of it (the gold)...”
- (94) Tsú wé yéi yátx’i hit... yá naakahítx’i...
 also DEM thus small house DEM clan.house.PL
 “Also the little houses... the clan houses...”
- (95) Áyá ch’á **xát** **ax** tuwóo yéi **yatee** a yáanáx áwé
 FOC just 1SGPRO 1SGPOSS spirit thus **IMPRV.3S.be** 3Poss more.than FOC
has koodiyát'
IMPRV.3PLS.tall
 “It’s just me that thinks this, that they are too tall...”
- (96) Tlél shákdé góon áa yéi utích, aan **ku** **kei s agugwaháa**
 NEG DUB gold 3O.at **IMPRV.3S.be.SUB.because** city though PL.3O.FUT.3S.disappear
 “Maybe because there isn’t any gold (anymore), the city will disappear...”

(97) Yá a eetix' áwé shákdé ch'ú yan tulats'éni
 DEM 3POSS need FOC DUB just TERM.IMPRV.1PLS.leave.alone.SUB
 “Maybe it needs us to leave it alone.

(98) Ch'a yá aas a eetix' shákdé **kei kagwa.aa...**
 just DEM tree 3POSS need DUB FUT.3S.grow
 “Maybe trees will grow in their place...”

(99) Wáa sá s i tuwáa yatee, Sue?”
 how Q DUB 2SGPOSS spirit IMPRV.3S.be Sue
 “What do you think, Sue?”

4.2.9 Panel <9> of *Imagining the Future*

(100) “Oh, **ixaatéen**, Sue! Ch'a tlákw i kát
 Oh 2SGO.IMPRV.1SGS.see Sue just always 2SGPOSS surface.to
 axwalgeiní áwé!
 3O.PRIV.1SGS.look.SUB FOC
 “Oh, I see you, Sue! I was looking at you the whole time!”

(101) Ax tuwáa **gaa iyatee**.
 1SGPOSS spirit.at IMPRV.2SGS.be.fine
 “You seem perfectly fine to me.

(102) **Ka** yá keitlx'i sáani áyá **yaa eenasayék**.
 and DEM dog.DIM.PL FOC 2SGO.PROG.IMPRV.3S.pull.on.line
 “And these little dogs are pulling you along.

(103) Ch'a hóoch' a daat **sh kaɣwdixil'**
 just it.ends 3POSS about REFL.PRIV.1SGS.trouble
 “I've stopped troubling myself about it...”

(104) Nás'k áwé **yatee** wé haa xoo has kawdiyaayi lingít aliens
 three FOC IMPRV.3S.be DEM 1PLPOSS vicinity PL.PRIV.3S.move.REL people aliens
 “There are three <eyes>, the alien people who move among us.

- (105) Hél wáa sá **utí** yá shaawát nas'k aa teeyí du waak̄
 NEG how Q **IMPRV.3S.be** DEM woman three PART **IMPRV.3S.be.SUB** 3POSS eye
 “It’s okay for this woman to have three eyes.
- (106) Nás'k aa teeyí du waak̄ áwé **xat kaawaxil'ch**
 three PART **IMPRV.3S.be.SUB** 3POSS eye FOC 1SGO.**PRV.3S.trouble.REP**
 “Having three eyes troubled me...”
- (107) Tlél **ax̄ tuwáa ushgú...**
 NEG **IMPRV.1SGS.like**
 “I didn’t like it...”
- (108) Lingít áwé yéi **x'ayakáa nooch** aa tléix' du waak̄ **gaa yéi yatee.**
 people FOC thus **HAB.3S.say** PART one 3POSS eye **IMPRV.3S.be.fine**
 “People say that having one eye is OK...”
- (109) Nás'k tiyí ku a yáanáx̄ áwé!
 three **IMPRV.3S.be.SUB** though 3POSS more.than COP
 “Having three, though, is too much!”
- (110) Hél **uwoogik̄** shakawulgéiyi
 NEG **PROHIB.3S.prevent** **PRV.3S.be.cute.SUB**
 “Let her not be stopped from being cute.
- (111) Áwé a jeeyís **kei kkwagáax̄** nas'gináx̄ du wáak̄ **gáa uwateeyí**
 FOC 3POSS hand.for **FUT.1SGS.cry** three 3POSS eye **PRV.3S.be.fine.SUB**
 “I will cry for her, that having three eyes become okay...”
- (112) Tlél shákdé ushk'éyi át áyá.”
 NEG DUB **IMPRV.3S.good thing COP**
 “It’s probably not a good thing.”

4.2.10 Panel <10> of *Imagining the Future*

- (113) “Susan! **Iyatéen** gé yá yées káa?
 Susan! IMPRV.2SGS.see Q DEM young man
 “Susan! Do you see this young man?”
- (114) Yá yéi jiné... Idakát yéi jiné... a daax’... **yandé ashaguxlaxéetl**
 DEM work all work 3POSS about.at TERM.FUT.3S.be.out.of.control
 “This work, all this work, is getting out of control.”
- (115) Áyá... Ax tuwóo **sigóo**... yagéiyi át áwé **yandé yaguxsanéi**
 FOC 1SGPOSS spirit IMPRV.3S.happy IMPRV.3S.big.REL thing FOC TERM.FUT.3S.do
 “I’m happy; it’s going to finish a lot of stuff for us.”
- (116) Wé du shakíx’ tsú **yéi yatee** áyá wé GPS yóo duwasáakw
 DEM 3SGPOSS head.top.in also IMPRV.3S.be FOC DEM GPS IMPRV.INDEFS.name
 “In his head, too, there’s a GPS!...”
- (117) Wáa sá **duwasáakw** ‘Global Positioning System’?...
 how Q IMPRV.INDEFS.name Global Positioning System
 “How do you say ‘Global Positioning System’?...”
- (118) Ch’a hóoch’ áwé at eete yáanáx ax tuwóo **yak’éi**...
 just it.ends FOC INDEFPOSS place.of more.than 1SGPOSS spirit IMPRV.3S.good
 “I’m not feeling too good anymore...”
- (119) A yáanáx áwé **kei s nawát** yá táax’aa yéi duwasáagu
 3POSS more.than FOC PROG.IMPRV.3S.grow DEM mosquito IMPRV.INDEFS.name.REL
 át.
 thing
 “There’s getting to be too many mosquitos...”
- (120) Gwál du eedáx **yéi gaxtushagóok**... uháan tsú yá robot wé táax’aa
 DUB 3POSS from FUT.1PLS.learn.how 1PLPRO also DEM robot DEM mosquito
 has a naḵ jáḵ.aa
 3PLPOSS leaving.behind kill.INST
 “Perhaps we’ll learn from this robot how to use a mosquito killer (fly swatter)...”

- (121) Wé táax'aa ch'a áwé ch'a hóoch' gwál... a yáanáx **yaa s kudzigéi**
 DEM mosquito just FOC just it.ends DUB 3POSS more.than PL.IMPRV.3S.smart
 “Maybe the mosquitos will be all gone?... They’re smarter than that...”
- (122) Wé táax'aa wé robot áwé has táax'i hél daa sá **tuwakgwanook**
 DEM mosquito DEM robot FOC PL.IMPRV.3S.bite.SUB NEG what Q FUT.3S.feel
 “If the mosquitos bite the robot, he won’t feel anything...”
- (123) Ch'a hóoch' áwé a_x tuwóo **yak'éi...**
 just it.ends FOC 1SGPOSS spirit IMPRV.3S.good
 “I’m not feeling too good anymore...”
- (124) Ldakát yá hítx'i yee daax' a daat **yei guxsataak**
 all DEM house.at 2PLPOSS body.at 3POSS around FUT.3S.poke
 “All over the house, they will poke your body...”
- (125) Wé táax'aa tsú gwál haa eedéi **guxdashée...**
 DEM mosquitos too DUB 1PLO.to FUT.3S.help
 “Maybe the mosquitos help us too, though...”
- (126) Aadé xaateeni yé, ch'a tlákw áwé **at shook** wé robot...
 3O.to IMPRV.1SGS.see.REL way just always FOC IMPRV.3S.smile DEM robot
 “The way I’m seeing it, the robot is always smiling...”
- (127) Ách áwé **yak'éi...** Wáa sá s i tuwóo **yatee** Sue?
 3O.INST FOC IMPRV.3S.good how Q DUB 2SGPOSS spirit IMPRV.3S.be Sue
 “And so for this reason, it’s good... What do you think, Sue?”

4.2.11 Panel <11> of *Imagining the Future*

- (128) Wé a_x tundatáani... a daat a_x tuwóo yatee wé 100 years
 DEM 1SGPOSS thought 3POSS about 1SGPOSS spirit IMPRV.3S.be DEM 100 years
 “My thoughts... <that’s how> I think about it, those 100 years...”
- (129) Tlél a_x tundatáani... tlél woosh káa **xwajeil...**
 NEG 1SGPOSS thought NEG RECIP surface.at PRV.1SGS.carry
 “I didn’t really collect my thoughts together...”

- (130) Wé a daat **yóo x'eeyatánk** yé ku, Tom
 DEM 3POSS about IMPRV.2SGS.think way though Tom
 “The way that you think about it, though, Tom...”
- (131) **Xat yakuyaxil'** áyá... i at najéeyi gúk káa la.átgi.
 1SGO.IMPRV.3S.tangle FOC 2SGPOSS thought ear surface.at carry.NOM
 “I’m tangled up, from listening to your thoughts...”
- (132) Gwál tlél wáa sá **haa kgwatee**...
 DUB NEG how Q 1PLO.FUT.3S.be
 “Perhaps it will be okay for us...”
- (133) Yéi áwé ch’a hóoch’ aadé ku_wasa_káa yé Tom: One year at a time...
 thus FOC just it.ends 3O.to FUT.1SGS.say way Tom
 “And thus will I end what I will say: One year at a time.”

4.3 Discussion of John Martin’s Tlingit Narration for *Imagining the Future*

As stated earlier, the storyboard *Imagining the Future* was designed to limit the use of narrative present in the accompanying narration, by consisting primarily of generic statements and predictions regarding the future. Nevertheless, as can be seen from the verb forms in (10)-([ex: 134]), most of the main verbs in the Tlingit narration provided by John Martin are tenseless verbs, and so are not future-marked. That is, of the 82 main verbs in sentences (10)-([ex: 134]) describing future eventualities, only 48% bear future mode morphology. The other 52% are tenseless verbs, bearing only either perfective or imperfective inflection.

When we look in more detail at the narrative provided by Mr. Martin, we can begin to understand better why so many verbs are imperfective and perfective. Notice that beginning on panel <5>, the narration appears to imagine the characters Tom and Sue as being themselves transported into the storyboard’s images of the future. Tom becomes the primary speaker in the narrative, and he often asks Sue if she can see the same images that he’s seeing. Consequently, it appears that the states and events being described in the narration for those panels are actually occurring at the imagined narrative time. That is, from the perspective of the imagined speaker (Tom), these are not actually *future* events and states, but instead are ones that he is seeing take place (via some kind of implicit ‘time machine’ or something similar).

In other words, contrary to the assumptions underlying the design of the storyboard, the narrator was indeed able to use something akin to narrative present, by interpreting the images in the storyboard as images of particular future events, ones that the characters could travel into and out of. For this reason, the use of tenseless verbs on panels <5>-<10> is indeed consistent with the view that Tlingit is a restricted tenseless language, since the eventualities those tenseless verbs describe are not actually in the future from the perspective of the imagined speaker.

But what of panels <3> and <4>? The narration for panel <3> (Section 4.2.3) places the characters in our present, having a conversation about what they think will happen in the future. Consequently, all the verbs describing future eventualities do indeed bear future marking, a fact consistent with Tlingit's being a restricted tenseless language.

On panel <4>, however, the narration seems to begin by placing the character Tom within the image of the storyboard (an image of flying cars buzzing around a cityscape). Note that Tom says “*Sue! Where are you? I can't see you!*,” and that in the accompanying image there is no picture of Sue herself (unlike on panel <3>). This suggests that the narrator is imagining Tom as himself occupying the scene depicted in the storyboard image, and so as being transported into that future scene itself. In the lines immediately following, there are two descriptions of ‘future’ eventualities that employ non-future verbs; those lines are excerpted below.

- (43) Yá tl'átk ldakát **kawdik'éet'**. Ách áwé....
 DEM ground everyone **PRV.3S.leave** 3PRO.INST FOC
 “Everyone has left the ground. And so...”

- (45) Yá haa naakahídi tsú a yáanáx **has koodiyáat'**
 DEM 1PLPOSS clan.house also 3POSS more.than **PL.IMPRV.3S.long**
 “They're longer than our clan houses.

Both of these lines describe states/events that are visibly depicted in the image for panel <4>, and so it's plausible to suppose that from the perspective of the speaker (Tom) — who is imagined to occupy that scene — these eventualities are either ongoing (45) or in the past (43).

Following these lines, however, all the remaining eventualities for panel <4> are described using future-marked verbs. Since it is still relatively early in the narration for the storyboard, it is plausible to suppose that the narrator has shifted his perspective back to our present, and so the relevant eventualities are again within the future of the narrative perspective.

To summarize, contrary to what was predicted for the storyboard *Imagining the Future*, the Tlingit narration for this storyboard largely uses tenseless verbs to describe the events and states holding in (our) future. Nevertheless, closer examination of the Tlingit narrative reveals that the relative lack of future-marked verbs is likely due to the narrator imagining that the speakers in the narration have been transported somehow into the scenes depicted in the storyboard's illustrations. Therefore, although those eventualities are ‘future’ from our perspective, they are either ongoing or (immediate) past from the perspective of the characters. Furthermore, in those parts of the narrative where the characters are *not* imagined as occupying the storyboard's images, those ‘future’ eventualities are indeed described with future-marked verbs.

Taken together, then, the narration provided in Section 4.2 does support the following conclusions regarding temporal marking in Tlingit: (i) Tlingit is a restricted tenseless language, in that tenseless verbs are generally restricted to describing eventualities in the past or present (from the speaker's perspective); (ii) nevertheless, artful narrators can in Tlingit employ a rhetorical device akin to English ‘narrative present’, under which the speaker's perspective shifts into future. Within this kind of a device, future events are, from the perspective of the speaker, either past or ongoing, and so tenseless verbs in Tlingit can be used to describe them. Again, however, outside of this special rhetorical device, Tlingit requires future-marking in order to describe future eventualities.

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