

[a]-epenthesis and footed. **Conjunct** prefixes in **AspP** – the heads of the verbal spine as well as the subject D raised from **v** – are likewise a succession of consonants. The **conjunct** domain is maximally disyllabic, with the left edge preferably syllabified as the coda of a preceding syllable whether part of the word or not. **Classifier** prefixes – the D, S, and I-components – spell out **Voice**, **v**, and **ɛ**. They are prosodified either as [CV] or the coda of a preceding syllable [17]. In our analysis, epenthesis – not syncope [*contra* 21,22] – rescues stranded [C]s in the **disjunct**, **conjunct**, and **classifier** domains, as in Dene languages [23]. The **stem** spells out $\sqrt{\text{Root}}$ – maximally [CV] or [CVC] – and the verbal head V, and bears the primary word stress. The V sister of $\sqrt{\text{Root}}$ corresponds to autosegmental stem variation: it determines vowel length and tone, and aligns to the right of the $\sqrt{\text{Root}}$, sometimes surfacing as a suffix for phonological reasons [24].

4. Consequences. Our approach derives all Tlingit verbs and easily generalizes to other Na-Dene languages like Navajo. A key feature of our analysis is that we appeal to neither syntactic **head movement** [*contra* 6], nor to phonological **head reordering** [*contra* 5]. Rather, prefixes (*qua* proclitics) attach in situ while suffixes (*qua* enclitics) trigger **phrasal (XP) movement**, deriving (6). Only XP movement is in play: DPs are evacuated from AspP; TP and CP undergo leftward movement. This falls directly in line with arguments that Algonquian [14] and Iroquoian [25] verb forms are derived via XP-movement rather than head movement. More broadly, we contribute to the growing set of studies that show that head movement is conceptually unnecessary.

(6) [CP [TP [AspP **prefix***-**prefix***-**prefix***-**stem**] =T] =C]

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