5. Perfective (Excerpt from Eggleston, 2013)

The Tlingit perfective is roughly equivalent in meaning to the English past tense. It indicates a situation that is complete, translating as 's/he did it'. Example perfective forms are <code>aawaxáa</code> 's/he ate it' and <code>woogaax</code> 's/he cried'. The perfective form for some stative verbs translates as 'became that way' or 'got to be that way' (see Section 2.10 for a description of stative verbs). For example, the perfective form of the stative verb <code>wusi.áax'w</code> means 'it got sour' and the perfective form of the stative verb <code>koowligóos'</code> means 'it got cloudy'.

The perfective can be either affirmative or negative. The affirmative perfective is characterized by the perfective prefix wu-, and the +I form of the classifier for all verb types. Remember that +I classifiers contain the vowel i- (except for ya-), and are limited to these: si-, dzi-, shi-, ji-, li-, dli-, ya-, and di-. The perfective prefix wu- occurs after any thematic prefixes (such as ka-, ya-, tu-, ji-, etc.) and before the subject prefix. The perfective prefix contracts with neighboring prefixes, making it difficult to recognize. Let's consider a few straightforward perfective forms first and then move on to a systematic discussion of common contractions with the prefix wu-. The examples below clearly show the perfective prefix wu- and the +I form of the classifiers (si- and di-). Hyphens have been inserted in the verbs below to show their component parts. The final two examples (94) and (95) have first person plural 'we' subjects and therefore have the subject prefix tu-.

- (92) asgeiwúx wu-si-tee 's/he became a seiner'
- (93) *ax éet wu-di-shée* 's/he helped me'
- (94) kóox wu-tu-si-.ée 'we cooked rice'
- (95) wu-tu-di-xaash 'we did some cutting'

The perfective prefix *wu*- systematically contracts with certain subject prefixes. I have completed charts of all prefix combinations which are included in the appendices. Please refer to the prefix combination chart for the perfective mode in Appendix C to find all prefix combinations associated with the perfective. The major details of the perfective prefix combinations will be discussed here to help clarify the information found in the chart. We

will begin with the combination of the perfective prefix wu- with each subject prefix, using the verb "drink it", which has the +I classifier di- in the affirmative perfective, shown in Table 17 below.

Table 17. Contraction of Perfective Prefix and Subject Prefixes

First person singluar: wu- + $\underline{x}a$ - = $\underline{x}wa$ -

Ex: xwadináa 'I drank it'

Second person singular: wu- + ee- = yi-

Ex: yidináa 'you drank it'

Third person (transitive): a- (3rd person object prefix) + wu- + \emptyset - = aw-

Ex: awdináa 's/he drank it'

has awdináa 'they drank it'

Third person (intransitive): wu- + \emptyset - = wu-

Ex: at wudináa 's/he drank (something)'

at has wudináa 'they drank (something)'

First person plural: wu- + tu- = wutu-

Ex: wutudináa 'we drank it'

Second person plural: wu- + yi- = yeey-

Ex: yeeydináa 'you all drank it'

Fourth person: wu- + du- = wudu-

Ex: wuduwanáa 'someone drank it'

Note that when both the subject and object are third person "he, she, it, they", the third person object pronoun a- is present. The third person object pronoun a- is present ONLY when the subject is also third person. For third person intransitive verbs (those with no object) there is no a- prefix. Note that the vowel in the first person plural subject prefix tu-becomes long (too-) when followed by a classifier that has no vowel. This is shown on the perfective prefix combination chart. The contractions in Table 16 hold true under the following conditions: 1) when the verb has no thematic prefixes (such as ka-, tu-, ji-, a-, etc.), and; 2) in the presence of all classifiers except ya-. For verbs with thematic prefixes,

the vowel on the subject prefix often drops out. Please refer to the perfective prefix combination chart to see the various combinations. The perfective prefix wu- and the subject prefixes further contract with the classifier ya- rendering the forms in Table 18 below, illustrated by the verbs "eat it" and "sing it". It will be necessary to know that "eat it" is a \emptyset conjugation verb and "sing it" is a ga conjugation verb.

Note that for second person singular and third person intransitive, the combination of perfective prefix, subject prefix, and classifier ya- renders two different possible contractions: iya-/yee- and uwa-/woo- respectively. The choice of contraction depends on the conjugation prefix of the verb. \emptyset conjugation verbs such as "eat it" use the iya-contraction (for second person) and uwa- (for third person) while all other conjugations (na, ga, ga) use the yee- contraction (for second person) and woo- (for third person). The conjugation prefix of any given verb in this resource is given in the theme in parentheses following the verb type (see Chapter 2 for more information).

Table 18. Contraction of Perfective Prefix, Subject Prefixes and Classifier ya-

First person singluar: wu- + $\underline{x}a$ - + ya- = $\underline{x}waa$ -

Ex: <u>x</u>waa<u>x</u>áa 'I ate it'

xwaashee 'I sang it'

Second person singular: wu + ee + ya = iya - /yee-

Ex: *iya<u>x</u>áa* 'you ate it'

yeeshee 'you sang it'

Third person (transitive): a- (3rd person object prefix) + wu- + \emptyset - + ya- = aawa-

Ex: aawaxáa 's/he ate it'

has aawaxáa 'they ate it'

aawashee 's/he sang it'

has aawashee 'they sang it'

Third person (intransitive): $wu - + \emptyset - + ya - = uwa - / woo-$

Ex: at uwaxáa 's/he ate'

at wooshee 's/he sang'

First person plural: wu-+tu-+ya-=wutuwa-

Ex: wutuwaxáa 'we ate it'

wutuwashee 'we sang it'

Second person plural: wu-+yi-+ya-=yeey-

Ex: *yeeyxáa* 'you all ate it'

yeeyshee 'you all sang it'

Fourth person: wu- + du- + ya- = wuduwa-

Ex: wuduwaxáa 'someone ate it' wuduwashee 'someone sang it'

Assuming that you know the perfective verb stem shape and the conjugation prefix of the verb, you can construct perfective verb forms on your own by using the perfective prefix combination chart and the information in this chapter. For example, given the verb xwaa.éex'I invited him/her', which is the first person singular form and a *ga* conjugation verb, we should be able to come up with the second person singular form. The contraction

 $\underline{x}waa$ - in the above verb tells us that the classifier in this verb is ya- (remember that wu- + $\underline{x}a$ - + ya- = $\underline{x}waa$ -). To construct the second person singular form, we must replace the $\underline{x}a$ - with ee-. We know that wu- + ee- + ya- = iya-/yee-. We also know that iya- is the contraction used for zero conjugation verbs. Since this is a $\underline{g}a$ conjugation verb, the contraction used is yee-. The second person singular form then is yee.éex' 'you invited him/her'.

5.1 Stem Variation in the Affirmative Perfective

Verb stem variation in the perfective mode is predictable, based on the verb root type and conjugation prefix. Note that this discussion applies to verbs with variable stems only, as invariable stems will be the same in every mode. Let's start by looking at open roots. As was discussed in Chapter 3, there are two types of open roots (CVV and CVV h), but since they behave the same in the perfective mode with respect to stem variation, they will be treated the same here. \emptyset conjugation verbs that have open roots will have a long, high stem in the affirmative perfective. In the following example sets, the imperative form is given first to show that these are \emptyset - conjugation verbs (the imperative mode requires the conjugation prefix), followed by the perfective. Note the long vowels with high tone in the stems in the perfective.

(96a) Kalachá! 'Strain it!'

(96b) *akawlicháa* 's/he strained it'

(97a) *Idaná!* 'Drink it!'

(97b) *awdináa* 's/he drank it'

(98a) *Xá!* 'Eat it!'

(98b) *aawa<u>x</u>áa* 's/he ate it'

Na, ga, and \underline{ga} conjugation verbs with open roots will have long, low stems in the affirmative perfective mode. Following are examples, again with the imperative mode first to show the verb's conjugation prefix.

(99a) Kanas.á! 'Grow it!'

(99b) akawsi.aa 's/he grew it'

(100a) Gashí! 'Sing it!'

(100b) aawashee 's/he sang it'

(101a) \acute{A} gati! 'Install it there!'

(101b) *áx aawatee* 's/he installed it there'

Now let's look at closed roots. Remember from Chapter 3 that there are three types of closed roots: CVVC, CÝVC, and CÝVC'. \emptyset - conjugation verbs for ALL closed roots will have short high stems in the affirmative perfective. Following is an example of each closed root type. The verb theme is given first in order to distinguish the root types, then the imperative, followed by the perfective.

(102a) x'áan-t~ S-Ø-nook~ 'for S to be angry, mad'

(102b) X'áant núk! 'Get angry!'

(102c) x'áant uwanúk 's/he's angry; s/he got angry'

(103a) <u>kux</u> tu-S-d-sháat~ 'for S to change one's mind'

(103b) Kux teedashát! 'Change your mind!'

(103c) <u>kux</u> tuwdishát 's/he changed his/her mind'

(104a) *O-ka-S-Ø-xéel'*~ 'for S to bother, trouble O'

(104b) *Kaxíl'!* 'Bother him/her!'

(104c) akaawaxíl' 's/he bothered him/her'

Na, ga, and ga conjugation verbs with CVVC roots have long low stems in the affirmative perfective, while the other closed root types (CÝVC and CÝVC') will have long high stems.

Remember that the latter two types never have long low stems, as they have only two stem variants: long high and short high. Following is an example of each closed root type in the perfective.

(105a) *O-S-l-k'oots~* 'for S to break O (rope-like object)

(105b) Nalk'oots! 'Break it!'

(105c) *awlik'oots* 's/he broke it'

(106a) *O-S-Ø-sháat~* 'for S to catch O'

(106b) *Gasháat!* 'Catch it!'

(106c) aawasháat 's/he caught it'

(107a) *O-S-l-l'éex'*~ 'for S to break O (long object)'

(107b) Nall'éex'! 'Break it!'

(107c) awlil'éex' 's/he broke it'

Table 19 below summarizes the stem variation patterns in the affirmative perfective for all five root types, with examples for each.

Table 19. Stem Variation in the Affirmative Perfective

Basic Stem	Ø	na, ga, ga
Shape ↓		
CVV	CÝV	CVV
	aawa <u>x</u> áa 's/he ate it'	akaawahaa 's/he planted it'
	0-S-Ø- <u>x</u> aa~ (Ø act)	O-ka-S- Ø-haa∼ (na act)
	'for S to eat O'	'for S to plant O'
CVVh	CÝV	CVV
	awsitáa 's/he steamed it'	wootaa 's/he slept'
	0-S-s-taa ^h ∼ (Ø act)	S-Ø-taa ^h ~ (na act)
	'for S to boil, steam O'	'for (singular) S to sleep'
CVVC	CÝC	CVVC
	awsixúk 's/he dried it'	aawaxaash 's/he cut it'
	O-S-s-xook∼ (∅ act)	0-S-∅-xaash~ (na act)
	'for S to dry O'	'for S to cut O with knife'
CÝVC	CÝC	CÝVC
	awsiwát 's/he raised it'	awlisháat 's/he held it'
	0-S-s-wáat∼ (Ø act)	O-S-l-sháat∼ (ga act)
	'for S to raise O'	'for S to hold, retain O'
CÝVC'	CÝC'	CÝVC'
	awsi.áť 's/he chilled iť	aawa.óos' 's/he washed it'
	O-S-sáat'∼ (∅ act)	O-S-∅óos'~ (na act)
	'for S to make O cold'	'for S to wash O'

5.2 Negative Perfective

Now let's move on to the negative perfective. Like the affirmative perfective, the negative perfective requires the perfective prefix wu-. It does NOT however, require the irrealis prefix u- found in the negative imperfective. The perfective prefix wu- and the irrealis prefix u- do not co-occur. While the affirmative perfective uses the +I form of the classifier, the negative perfective uses the -I form of the classifier. Table 20 below (reproduced from Section 2.3) represents the classifiers organized into four groups of four, the +I forms in the left column of each group and the -I forms on the right. In order to determine the classifier used in the negative perfective for a given verb, find the form used in the affirmative perfective first and then locate the classifier to its direct right in the table. For example, in this affirmative perfective form $\underline{x}wasik\acute{o}o$ 'I know it; I knew it', the (+I) classifier is si-. To locate the classifier for the negative perfective, look at the form to the right of si- in the table in the -I column and you will find sa-. The negative perfective form of this verb is $ti\acute{e}l$

<u>x</u>wasakú 'I don't know it; I didn't know it'. Another example is the affirmative perfective form át $a\underline{x}$ wdligén 'I looked at it', which has the dli- classifier. (Also note that the 'no 3 open syllables in a row' constraint causes the vowel to drop from the subject prefix $\underline{x}a$ -, resulting in $a\underline{x}w$ -). The breakdown of this verb is as follows: a- + wu- + $\underline{x}a$ - + dli- + -gein. This combination of thematic prefix plus the perfective prefix plus the subject prefix can be found in the prefix combination chart in Appendix C. Looking at Table 20 below, we know that the negative perfective form will have the corresponding –I classifier l-. The negative perfective form of this verb is $tl\acute{e}l$ át $a\underline{x}walgein$ 'I didn't look at it'.

Table 20. Classifiers

	+[-I	+[-I	+I	-I	+I	-I
-D	si-	sa-	shi-	sha-	li-	la-	уа-	Ø-
+D	dzi-	s-	ji-	sh-	dli-	I-	di-	da-

Using the verbs in Tables 17 and 18 from above in the affirmative description, Tables 21-23 below give the affirmative and negative forms side by side. The only changes we will see between the affirmative and negative forms will be the classifier (from +I in the affirmative to –I in the negative) and the verb stem for some verbs. The verb stem will be discussed in detail below.

Table 21. Drink it (\emptyset conjugation)

Subject	Affirmative	Negative	Translation of
	Perfective (+I clf =	Perfective (-I clf	Negative Perfective
	di-)	= da-)	
1.sg.	<u>x</u> wadináa	tlél <u>x</u> wadaná	'I didn't drink it'
2.sg.	yidináa	tlél yidaná	'you didn't drink it'
3-3. (trans.)	awdináa	tlél awdaná	's/he didn't drink it'
3. (intrans.)	at wudináa	tlél at wudaná	's/he didn't drink'
1.pl.	wutudináa	tlél wutudaná	'we didn't drink it'
2.pl.	yeeydináa	tlél yeeydaná	'you all didn't drink it'
4.	wuduwanáa	tlél wuduná	'nobody drank it'

Table 22. Eat it (\emptyset conjugation)

Subject	Affirmative	Negative	Translation of
	Perfective (+I clf =	Perfective (-I clf	Negative Perfective
	<i>ya-</i>)	= Ø-)	
1.sg.	<u>x</u> waa <u>x</u> áa	tlél <u>x</u> wa <u>x</u> á	'I didn't eat it'
2.sg.	iya <u>x</u> áa	tlél yi <u>x</u> á	'you didn't eat it'
3-3. (trans.)	aawa <u>x</u> áa	tlél awu <u>x</u> á	's/he didn't eat it'
3. (intrans.)	at uwa <u>x</u> áa	tlél at wu <u>x</u> á	's/he didn't eat'
1.pl.	wutuwa <u>x</u> áa	tlél wutoo <u>x</u> á	'we didn't eat it'
2.pl.	yeey <u>x</u> áa	tlél yeey <u>x</u> á	'you all didn't eat it'
4.	wuduwa <u>x</u> áa	tlél wudu <u>x</u> á	'nobody ate it'

Table 23. Sing it (*ga* conjugation)

Subject	Affirmative	Negative	Translation of
	Perfective (+I clf =	Perfective (-I clf	Negative Perfective
	ya-)	= Ø-)	
1.sg.	<u>x</u> waashee	tlél <u>x</u> washee	'I didn't sing it'
2.sg.	yeeshee	tlél yishee	'you didn't sing it'
3-3. (trans.)	aawashee	tlél awushee	's/he didn't sing it'
3. (intrans.)	at wooshee	tlél at wushee	's/he didn't sing'
1.pl.	wutuwashee	tlél wutooshee	'we didn't sing it'
2.pl.	yeeyshee	tlél yeeyshee	'you all didn't sing it'
4.	wuduwashee	tlél wudushee	'nobody sang it'

One phenomenon not fully revealed in the tables above requires explanation. The topic is transitive verbs (that is, verbs with both a subject and an object) in the negative perfective that have third person subject and third person object. Under these conditions, the object prefix a-, the perfective prefix wu-, and the (–I) classifier render different contractions, depending on the classifier. Remember that the –I classifier set consists of: sa-, s-, sha-, sh-, la-, l-, la-, and la-. If the classifier is la-, the combinaion is simply law-, as seen in the above

tables for "eat it" and "sing it" in the row marked "3-3. (trans.)". Another example is given in (108), using the verb "cut it".

(108)
$$tl\acute{e}l$$
 $awuxaash$ $(a-+wu-+\emptyset-+-xaash)$'s/he didn't cut it'

If the classifier is da-, the contraction is awda-, as can be seen in the table above for "drink it". Another example is the verb "put them on (pants, shoes)", given in (109).

(109)
$$tl\acute{e}l \, \underline{x}'oos\underline{x} \, awdayee\underline{k} \, (a-+wu-+da-+-yee\underline{k})$$
 's/he didn't put them on'

If the classifier is *sa-, s-, sha-, sh-, la-,* or *l-*, the contraction is *awu-* plus the consonant portion of the classifier only (*s-, sh-, or l-*), producing *awus-, awush-, and awul-* respectively. Note that the vowel *a-* drops out of the classifier in these contractions. Following are examples, giving both first person subject and third person subject for comparison. Note that for first person subject "I", the vowel does not drop out of the classifier.

(110a) tlél <u>x</u> wasa.í (<u>x</u> a- + wu- + sa- +í)	'I didn't cook it'
(110b) tlél awus.í (a- + wu- + sa- +í)	's/he didn't cook it'
(111a) tlél <u>x</u> washak'aan (<u>x</u> a- + wu- + sha- + -k'aan)	'I didn't hate him/her/it'
(111b) tlél awushk'aan (a- + wu- + sha- + -k'aan)	's/he didn't hate
	him/her/it'
(112a) tlél <u>x</u> walasháat (<u>x</u> a- + wu- + la- + -sháat)	'I didn't hold it'
(112b) tlél awulsháat (a- + wu- + la- + -sháat)	's/he didn't hold it'

5.2.1 Stem Variation in the Negative Perfective

Stem variation in the negative perfective is as follows. As is the case with the affirmative perfective, the two types of open roots behave the same and will be considered together here. \emptyset conjugation verbs with open roots have short high stems in the negative perfective. Na, ga, and ga conjugation verbs with open roots have long low stems in the negative

perfective. Compare the examples below, where (113) and (114) are \emptyset conjugation verbs and (115), (116), and (117) are na, ga, and $\underline{g}a$ conjugation respectively. Imperative forms are included for evidence of the conjugation prefix.

(113a) *Idaná!* 'Drink it!'

(113b) *tlél awdaná* 's/he didn't drink it'

(114a) *Xá!* 'Eat it!'

(114b) *tlél awu<u>x</u>á* 's/he didn't eat it'

(115a) Kanas.á! 'Grow it!'

(115b) *tlél akawus.aa* 's/he didn't grow it'

(116a) *Gashí!* 'Sing it!'

(116b) *tlél awushee* 's/he didn't sing it'

(117a) \acute{A} x gati! 'Install it there!'

(117b) *tlél áx awutee* 's/he didn't install it there'

Closed roots in the negative perfective are thus: regardless of conjugation prefix, CVVC roots have long low stems and both CÝVC and CÝVC' roots have long high stems. Examples (118a-b) below illustrate a \emptyset conjugation CVVC verb while (119a-b) illustrate a na conjugation CVVC verb. Both have long low stems in the negative perfective.

(118a) X'áant núk! 'Get angry!'

(118b) *tlél x'áant wunook* 's/he's not angry; s/he didn't get angry'

(119a) *Nalk'oots!* 'Break it!'

(119b) *tlél awulk'oots* 's/he didn't break it'

All CÝVC roots have long high stems in the negative perfective. (120a-b) below exemplify a \emptyset conjugation CÝVC verb and (121a-b) show a ga conjugation CÝVC verb. Both have long high stems in (b) of each set.

(120a) *Kux teedashát!* 'Change your mind!'

(120b) tlél kux tuwdasháat 's/he didn't change his/her mind'

(121a) *Gasháat!* 'Catch it!'

(121b) *tlél awusháat* 's/he didn't catch it'

Similarly, all CÝVC' roots have long high stems in the negative perfective. The following examples are CÝVC' verbs, (122a-b) being \emptyset conjugation and (123a-b) na conjugation.

(122a) *Kaxíl'!* 'Bother him/her!'

(122b) *tlél akawuxéel'* 's/he didn't bother him/her'

(123a) *Nall'éex'!* 'Break it!'

(123b) *tlél awull'eex'* 's/he didn't break it'

Table 24 below summarizes stem variation in the negative perfective for each of the five root types.

Table 24. Stem Variation in the Negative Perfective

Basic Stem	Ø	na, ga, ga
Shape ↓		
CVV	CÝ	CVV
	tlél awu <u>x</u> á 's/he didn't eat it'	tlél akawuhaa 's/he didn't plant it'
	0-S-Ø- <u>x</u> aa~ (Ø act)	0-ka-S- Ø-haa∼ (na act)
	'for S to eat O'	'for S to plant O'
CVVh	CÝ	CVV
	tlél awustá 's/he didn't steam it'	tlél wutaa 's/he didn't sleep'
	0-S-s-taa ^h ∼ (Ø act)	S-Ø-taa ^h ~ (na act)
	'for S to boil, steam O'	'for (singular) S to sleep'
CVVC	CVVC	CVVC
	tlél awusxook 's/he didn't dry it'	tlél awuxaash 's/he didn't cut it'
	0-S-s-xook~ (Ø act)	0-S-∅-xaash~ (na act)
	'for S to dry O'	'for S to cut O with knife'
CÝVC	CÝVC	CÝVC
	tlél awuswáat 's/he didn't raise	tlél awulsháat 's/he didn't hold it'
	him'	0-S-l-sháat~ (ga act)
	0-S-s-wáat~ (Ø act)	'for S to hold, retain O'
	'for S to raise O'	
CÝVC'	CÝVC'	CÝVC'
	tlél awus.áat' 's/he didn't chill it'	tlél awu.óos' 's/he didn't wash it'
	O-S-sáat'∼ (∅ act)	0-S-Øóos'~ (na act)
	'for S to make O cold'	'for S to wash O'

5.3 Verbs that Lack the Perfective

Some verbs, especially stative verbs, lack a perfective form. Three examples (given in the imperfective) are *tuli.aan* 's/he is kind', *yéi tuwatee* 's/he feels like doing that', and *yawóol* 'it has holes in it'. To give these verbs a past tense meaning, the decessive form is used. The decessive gives the specific meaning 'used to, but not anymore'. These are the decessive forms of the verbs just given: *tula.aanín* 's/he used to be kind (but isn't anymore)'; *yéi tootéeyin* 's/he felt like doing that (but changed his/her mind)'; and *wóolin* 'it had holes in it (but has been repaired)'.

There are additionally a few active verbs that lack perfective forms. Three common examples are *yéi adaanéi* 's/he is working on it, doing it; s/he works on it, does it', *yéi adaayaká* 's/he is telling him/her that; s/he tells him/her that', and *ayatéen* 's/he can see

it'. These active verbs, which primarily only occur in the imperfective, have 'partner' eventive verbs which lack imperfective forms but have perfective forms. The 'partner' eventive verbs have the same stem as the corresponding active verbs, but have different classifiers. To give a past tense meaning to the active verbs just given, these partner eventive verbs are used: *yéi awsinei* 's/he fixed it; s/he did it', *yóo ayawsikaa* 's/he told him/her', and *awsiteen* 's/he saw it'.