

## 7. Perfective Habitual (Excerpt from Eggleston, 2013)

The perfective habitual form has different shades of meaning, depending on the context. One is to indicate a situation that happens frequently, and especially predictably in conjunction with another situation. An example is: *Tlákw xat wusteení, xat x'anawóos'ch*. 'He asks me every time he sees me.' The perfective habitual form in this sentence is *xat x'anawóos'ch* 's/he asks me (every time)'. The formula for this particular shade of meaning is every time A happens ('he sees me'), then B happens ('he asks me'). Often in conversation or oral narrative, the condition A is left out entirely, and all that is uttered is part B (he asks me (every time)). Because the presence of a particular condition A is optional, the perfective habitual form is translated into English with (every time) following in parentheses. This aims to capture that the verb given in this form is habitual, and sometimes dependent on another condition.

The perfective habitual form also appears frequently in oral narrative where it gives a slightly different connotation, indicating a habitual situation in the past. In this case, the translation 's/he'd do it (habitually, in the past)' is appropriate. The following example comes from a video recording of sisters Lena Farkas and Nellie Lord of Yakutat talking about their childhood: *Ax tláach ax éesh du éet udashéeych wé tsaa*. 'My mother would help my father with the seal' (Farkas & Lord 2010:06:47). The perfective habitual form illustrated in the sentence is *du éet udashéeych* 'she would help him', indicating a situation in the past which occurred habitually. In this particular narrative, the speaker is describing a typical summer in her childhood, and the activities that her family would regularly engage in. This is the second shade of meaning of this form.

Throughout the paradigms on the CD, this form is translated into English using the first shade of meaning described above 's/he does it (every time)'. This saves giving two different translations for every perfective habitual form in the resource, but it is important to remember that another very common connotation is the second shade of meaning described above, 's/he would do it (habitually, in the past)'.

There are five things to discuss with respect to the structure of the perfective habitual form: 1) the conjugation prefix, 2) the classifier, 3) the *-ch* suffix, 4) the irrealis prefix *u-*, and 5) the verb stem.

Remember that all verbs use one of the four conjugation prefixes (*na-*, *ga-*, *qa-*, or  $\emptyset$ - (unmarked)). The perfective habitual is one of the modes that requires the conjugation prefix. The conjugation prefix occurs after any thematic prefix (*x'a-*, *ka-*, *ya-*, *tu-*, *jí-*, etc.), and before the subject prefix. In addition to the conjugation prefix, the perfective habitual requires a suffix: *-ch*. A familiar phrase is given in Example (160).

(160) *Yéi nateech Yéil.*      'That's the way Raven is (every time).'

*Yéi nateech* is the perfective habitual form of the verb *yéi yatee* 'he/she/it is that way'. By looking at (160), we see that this verb uses the *na-* conjugation prefix. The perfective habitual suffix *-ch* is also illustrated here.

The perfective habitual form always contains the -I form of the classifier ( $\emptyset$ -, *da-*, *sa-*, *s-*, *sha-*, *sh-*, *la-*, or *l-*). Remember that the classifier always occurs directly before the stem. In (160) above, the classifier is  $\emptyset$ -, which is the -I form of the *ya-*/ $\emptyset$ - pair. In Example (161) below, note the conjugation prefix and the classifier:

(161) *gala.éil'ch*      'it gets salty (every time)'

The imperfective form of this verb is *li.éil'* 'it's salty'. From the perfective habitual form in (161), we can see that this verb uses the *ga-* conjugation prefix. The classifier, which is *li-* in the imperfective form, changes to the -I form *la-* in the perfective habitual, as expected. Again, the *-ch* suffix is required.

A variety of contractions take place when combining the conjugation prefix with other verbal prefixes. Example perfective habitual forms using each of the conjugation prefixes are given below in Table 26. Things to take note of are the position of the conjugation

prefix, the –I form of the classifier, and the –*ch* suffix. For each verb form, the underlying form is given below it in parentheses. This shows exactly what prefixes each verb form is made up of, and illustrates some of the contractions that take place. For complete charts of all prefix combinations, please see the appendices.

Another important feature of the perfective habitual form applies only to verbs using the  $\emptyset$ -conjugation prefix. All  $\emptyset$  conjugation verbs require the irrealis prefix *u-* in the perfective habitual form. The *u-* may change form depending on the neighboring prefixes. When following an open syllable ending in *a-*, the *a-* and *u-* combine to make *oo-*. This is illustrated in Table 26. You may also notice that open verb stems undergo changes in the perfective habitual (*aa* becomes *ei* for some and *y* is added to the stem for others). These changes will be discussed in Section 7.2.

Table 26. Contraction of Conjugation Prefixes and other Verbal Prefixes

**na conjugation verbs:**

1. *naḡatóowch* 'I read it (every time)'  
(*na-* + *ḡa-* + *Ø-* + *tóow-* + *-ch*)
2. *kanḡaníkch* 'I tell about it (every time)'  
(*ka-* + *na-* + *ḡa-* + *Ø-* + *ník-* + *-ch*)
3. *akanas.éich* 's/he grows it (every time)'  
(*a-* + *ka-* + *na-* + *sa-* + *.áa-* + *-ch*)

**ga conjugation verbs:**

4. *gaḡahées'ch* 'I borrow it (every time)'  
(*ga-* + *ḡa-* + *Ø-* + *hées'-* + *-ch*)
5. *du toowú ksagwéich* 's/he gets happy (every time)'  
(*du toowu ga-* + *sa-* + *góo-* + *-ch*)
6. *kut gagútch* 's/he gets lost (every time)'  
(*kut ga-* + *Ø-* + *gút-* + *-ch*)

**ga conjugation verbs:**

7. *kasgáaḡch* 'I ask for it (every time)'  
(*ga-* + *ḡa-* + *s-* + *gáaḡ-* + *-ch*)
8. *aḡlashátch* 's/he holds it (every time)'  
(*a-* + *ga-* + *la-* + *shát-* + *-ch*)
9. *áḡagateech* 's/he installs it there (every time)'  
(*áḡ a-* + *ga-* + *Ø-* + *tee-* + *-ch*)

**Ø conjugation verbs:**

10. *uḡlayéḡch* 'I make it (every time)'  
(*u-* + *ḡa-* + *la-* + *yéḡ-* + *-ch*)
11. *akooch'ák'wch* 's/he carves it (every time)'  
(*a-* + *ka-* + *u-* + *Ø-* + *ch'ák'w-* + *-ch*)
12. *oos.éeych* 's/he cooks it (every time)'  
(*a-* + *u-* + *sa-* + *.ée-* + *-ch*)

## 7.1 Negative Perfective Habitual

Now let's look at the negative perfective habitual. The negative perfective habitual translates as 's/he hasn't done it yet'. Like its affirmative counterpart, the negative perfective habitual requires the -I form of the classifier, the verb's conjugation prefix, and the *-ch* suffix. In addition, the negative perfective habitual requires the irrealis prefix *u-* regardless of the verb's conjugation prefix. In Table 7 below, compare the affirmative and negative perfective habitual forms, noting the addition of the irrealis prefix *u-* in the negative forms. Remember that *u-* can show up as *w-*, or *oo-*, depending on the neighboring prefixes that it contracts with. The examples in Table 27 are all either *na*, *ga*, or *ga* conjugation verbs.

Table 27. Affirmative and Negative Perfective Habitual Forms for *na*, *ga*, and *ga* Conjugation Verbs

<b>Perfect. Hab (+)</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>Perfect. Hab (-)</b>	<b>English</b>
<i>na<sub>x</sub>atóowch</i>	I read it (every time)	<i>tlél na<sub>x</sub>watóowch</i>	I haven't read it yet
<i>kan<sub>x</sub>aníkch</i>	I tell about it (every time)	<i>tlél koon<sub>x</sub>aníkch</i>	I haven't told about it yet
<i>akanas.éich</i>	s/he grows it (every time)	<i>tlél akoonas.éich</i>	s/he hasn't grown it yet
<i>ga<sub>x</sub>ahées'ch</i>	I borrow it (every time)	<i>tlél goox<sub>x</sub>ahées'ch</i>	I haven't borrowed it yet
<i>kut gagúтч</i>	s/he gets lost (every time)	<i>tlél kut googúтч</i>	s/he hasn't gotten lost yet
<i>kasgáaxch</i>	I ask for it (every time)	<i>tlél kwasgáaxch</i>	I haven't asked for it yet
<i>axlashátch</i>	s/he holds it (every time)	<i>tlél oogalshátch</i>	s/he hasn't held it yet
<i>áx agateech</i>	s/he installs it there (every time)	<i>tlél áx oogateech</i>	s/he hasn't installed it there yet

Now look at the examples in Table 28, which are all  $\emptyset$  conjugation verbs. Note that because the positive form already has the irrealis prefix *u-*, there is no difference between the positive and negative perfective habitual forms for these particular verbs, except for, of course, the addition of *tlél*.

Table 28. Affirmative and Negative Perfective Habitual Forms for  $\emptyset$  Conjugation Verbs

<b>Perf. Hab (+)</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>Perf. Hab (-)</b>	<b>English</b>
<i>u<sub>x</sub>layéxch</i>	I make it (every time)	<i>tlél u<sub>x</sub>layéxch</i>	I haven't made it yet
<i>oos.éeych</i>	s/he cooks it (every time)	<i>tlél oos.éeych</i>	s/he hasn't cooked it yet

## 7.2 Stem Variation in the Perfective Habitual

The stem form of a given verb in the perfective habitual mode is dependent on the conjugation category of the verb as well as the root type. Let's consider  $\emptyset$  conjugation verbs with open roots first. Both CVV and CVV<sup>h</sup> roots have long high stems in the perfective habitual. Additionally, the stem takes a *y* before the perfective habitual suffix *-ch*. In Table 8 above, the verb 'cook it' (root *-ee*) serves to illustrate. The perfective form of this verb is *awsi.ée* 's/he cooked it'. Note the long high vowel followed by *y* in the perfective habitual *oos.éeych* 's/he cooks it (every time)'. Additional examples follow, giving the perfective form first to compare with the perfective habitual forms. The affirmative and negative have the same stem for this subgroup. The repetitive imperfective is also included to distinguish the CVV root in (162a-d) from the CVV<sup>h</sup> root in (163a-d). As will be seen in Chapter 11, the repetitive form is the only mode in which these subtypes of open roots are distinguished for  $\emptyset$  conjugation verbs, where CVV roots have long high stems and CVV<sup>h</sup> roots have long low stems.

(162a)	<i>a káa akaawa<u>káa</u></i>	's/he embroidered it on it'
(162b)	<i>a káa akook<u>áa</u>y<sup>h</sup>ch</i>	's/he embroiders it on it (every time)'
(162c)	<i>tlél a káa akook<u>áa</u>y<sup>h</sup>ch</i>	's/he hasn't embroidered it on it yet'
(162d)	<i>a káa akak<u>éi</u>x</i>	's/he embroiders it on it (regularly)'
(163a)	<i>kei aawatée</i>	's/he brought it out'
(163b)	<i>kei ootéeych</i>	's/he brings it out (every time)'
(163c)	<i>tlél kei ootéeych</i>	's/he hasn't brought it out yet'
(163d)	<i>kei ateech</i>	's/he brings it out (regularly)'

$\emptyset$  conjugation verbs with closed roots on the other hand, are not predictable in the perfective habitual mode with respect to the verb stem. While some generalizations can be made, this group would benefit from more research. We will return to this topic after discussing those which do follow a predictable pattern.

Let's look at the *na*, *ga* and *ga* verbs, beginning with open roots. For verbs belonging to this group, the two types of open roots differ in the perfective habitual, with CVV roots having long high stems and CVV<sup>h</sup> roots having long low stems. For these *na*, *ga*, and *ga* conjugation verbs, the two types of open roots are distinguishable in forms that require a suffix (such as the perfective habitual and the repetitive imperfective), elsewhere they follow the same pattern. The affirmative and negative have the same stem in the perfective habitual for all *na*, *ga*, and *ga* verbs. Examples follow, where (164a-c) is a CVV root and (165a-c) a CVV<sup>h</sup> root. In each set, the theme is given in (a), the affirmative form in (b), and the negative in (c).

(164a) <i>S-Ø-kee~ (ga event)</i>	'for (plural) S to sit, sit down'
(164b) <i>has gakeech</i>	'they sit down (every time)'
(164c) <i>tlél has gwakeech</i>	'they haven't sat down yet'
(165a) <i>P-gáa ku-S-Ø-shee<sup>h</sup>~ (na act)</i>	'for S to search for, look for P'
(165b) <i>aagáa kunasheech</i>	's/he looks for it (every time)'
(165c) <i>tlél aagáa kunasheech</i>	's/he hasn't looked for it yet'

The habitual suffix *-ch* has an effect on *na*, *ga*, and *ga* verbs that have stems ending in *-aa* or *-oo*. The vowel becomes *-ei* in these verbs. Examples (166a-b) and (167a-b) below illustrate, where (a) gives the theme and (b) gives the perfective habitual form. Note that this change in vowel sound does not take place for *Ø* conjugation verbs. Other suffixes have the same effect on stems ending in *aa-* and *-oo*, regardless of conjugation prefix. These are the repetitive suffixes and the *-n* suffix associated with the progressive imperfective and conditional modes. This will be discussed in these respective chapters as well. Leer calls this phenomenon umlaut (1991:165-166), which is a linguistic term referring to the shift in pronunciation of a vowel from the back of the mouth toward the front of the mouth in any language. Crippen prefers the term apophony (2013:182), which refers to internal vowel alternations that convey grammatical information among related words in a language (sing, sang, sung, for example). I follow Crippen here in using the term "apophony" as it more accurately captures the phenomenon.



- (166a) *sha-S-d-s-yaa~ (na event)* 'for S to anchor, lower anchor'  
 (166b) *shanasyéich* 's/he anchors (every time)'

- (167a) *O-S-Ø.oo<sup>h</sup> (na event)* 'for S to buy O'  
 (167b) *ana.eich* 's/he buys it (every time)'

Leer (1991:165) notes two roots which do not undergo umlaut (*-naa* 'die' and *-yaa* 'carry in pack'). Research conducted for this project finds that for some speakers the root *-yaa* does undergo umlaut and for others it doesn't. (168a) gives the theme for the verb 'carry it on one's back' and (168b) gives the two different perfective habitual forms documented for this theme on the CD.

- (168a) *O-S-Ø-yaa~ (ga event)* 'for S to carry O on back'  
 (168b) *agayáach / agayéich* 's/he carries it on his/her back (every time)'

*Na*, *ga* and *ga* verbs with closed stems of any type (CVVC, C'VVC, or C'VVC') have short high stems in the perfective habitual. Examples follow for each type of closed root respectively. Note that the stem is the same in the affirmative and negative forms.

- (169a) *yéi sh tundanúkch* 's/he feels that way (every time)'  
 (169b) *tlél yéi sh toondanúkch* 's/he hasn't felt that way yet'

- (170a) *agashátch* 's/he catches it (every time)'  
 (170b) *tlél agooshátch* 's/he hasn't caught it yet'

- (171a) *akgas'él'ch* 's/he tears it (every time)'  
 (171b) *tlél akoogas'él'ch* 's/he hasn't torn it yet'

Let's now revisit *Ø* conjugation verbs with closed roots. As stated above, the stem is not predictable in the perfective habitual for this group. Leer (1991:393) states that these

verbs either take the *ȳ*-stem (translating as short high stems) or the *‘*-stem (translating as long low stems for CVVC roots and long high stems for C<sup>ʷ</sup>VVC and C<sup>ʷ</sup>VVC’ roots). The choice between these two options is not predictable, but for those included in the present research, about twice as many fall into the latter category than the former. Let’s look at examples to clarify. The following set of examples are closed roots that have short high stems (Leer’s *ȳ*-stem) in the perfective habitual, where (172a-b) is a CVVC root, (173a-b) a C<sup>ʷ</sup>VVC root, and (174a-b) a C<sup>ʷ</sup>VVC’ root. For these particular verbs, the affirmative and negative have the same stem form.

(172a) *shookúxch* ‘s/he gets thirsty (every time)’

(172b) *tlél shookúxch* ‘s/he hasn’t gotten thirsty yet’

(173a) *woodagílch* ‘it gets dull (every time)’

(173b) *tlél woodagílch* ‘it hasn’t gotten dull yet’

(174a) *ooxás’ch* ‘s/he scrapes it (every time)’

(174b) *tlél ooxás’ch* ‘s/he hasn’t scraped it yet’

The next set of examples are those that take Leer’s *‘*-stem in the perfective habitual, which for CVVC roots means a long low stem, and for both C<sup>ʷ</sup>VVC and C<sup>ʷ</sup>VVC’ roots means a long high stem. Examples follow for each closed root type respectively. Again, for these verbs, the affirmative and negative stems are the same.

(175a) *ooshook<sub>k</sub>ch* ‘s/he laughs at it (every time)’

(175b) *tlél ooshook<sub>k</sub>ch* ‘s/he hasn’t laughed at it yet’

(176a) *ootáawch* ‘s/he steals it (every time)’

(176b) *tlél ootáawch* ‘s/he hasn’t stolen it yet’

(177a) *ool<sub>x</sub>’éi<sub>x</sub>’ch* ‘s/he scalds it (every time)’

(177b) *tlél ool<sub>x</sub>’éi<sub>x</sub>’ch* ‘s/he hasn’t scalded it yet’

While the above two stem patterns account for the majority of  $\emptyset$  conjugation verbs with closed roots, the present research finds that for at least one consultant (from Douglas), there are about 20 verbs that have short stems in the affirmative and long stems in the negative. For a different consultant (from Kake) these same verbs have short stems in both the affirmative and negative. A third consultant (from Angoon), is split between the two, where about half of these verbs have short stems in the affirmative and long stems in the negative, and the other half have short stems in both. Here are two examples, indicating the village of origin of each consultant after the form given.

(178a) <i>oosxúkch</i>	's/he dries it (every time)'	(Douglas, Angoon, Kake)
(178b) <i>tlél oosxookch</i>	's/he hasn't dried it yet'	(Douglas)
(178c) <i>tlél oosxúkch</i>	's/he hasn't dried it yet'	(Angoon, Kake)
(179a) <i>shoohíkch</i>	'it gets full (every time)'	(Douglas, Angoon, Kake)
(179b) <i>tlél shoohéekch</i>	'it hasn't gotten full yet'	(Douglas, Angoon)
(179c) <i>tlél shoohíkch</i>	'it hasn't gotten full yet'	(Kake)

In exploring this issue, I met with each of the consultants individually. I provided the perfective form of the target verb in Tlingit (i.e. *akaawachák* 'he packed it'), then asked for a translation of the English phrase 'he hasn't packed it yet'. All three consultants were quick to provide these translations, seeming very comfortable with the Tlingit perfective habituals. After obtaining the perfective habitual form in Tlingit from the consultant, I would ask whether the alternate form might be considered acceptable by some speakers (the long form if given short, or the short form if given long). In some cases, the consultants conceded that the alternate form would be acceptable for some, but equally often consultants rejected the alternate forms altogether.

It is interesting to note the home villages of each consultant where the Douglas speaker (Northern dialect) has the long stem forms in the negative, the Kake speaker (Transitional Southern dialect) has short stem forms in the negative, and the Angoon speaker

(considered Northern, but shares some features with the Kake dialect) has about half short and half long. However, with such a small sample group, it is not possible to draw any conclusions regarding isoglosses at this time. This is an area that would benefit from further research in consultation with a number of speakers from each dialect area. In the paradigms included with this dissertation on a CD, I indicate alternate negative perfective habitual forms by putting them side by side on the same line, separated by “/”. I do not indicate the regional dialect represented by each form however, because at this point I am not confident that they correlate exactly as such.

Table 29 summarizes stem variation in the perfective habitual, providing examples for each root type and conjugation prefix combination. While all the forms in the table are in the affirmative, remember that the negative has the same stem form except in a handful of verbs for two consultants, as just described above.

Table 29. Stem Variation in the Perfective Habitual

Basic Stem Shape ↓	Ø	na, ga, ga
CVV	ĆV́Vych oox́áaych ‘he eats it (every time)’ O-S-Ø-xaa~ (Ø act) ‘for S to eat O’	ĆV́Vch akanahéich ‘she plants it (every time)’ O-ka-S- Ø-haa~ (na act) ‘for S to plant O’
CVV <sup>h</sup>	ĆV́Vych oostáaych ‘she steams it (every time)’ O-S-s-taa <sup>h</sup> ~ (Ø act) ‘for S to boil, steam O’	CVVch nateich ‘he sleeps (every time)’ S-Ø-taa <sup>h</sup> ~ (na act) ‘for (singular) S to sleep’
CVVC	CVVCch oosxookch ‘he dries it (every time)’ O-S-s-xook~ (Ø act) ‘for S to dry O’	ĆV́Cch anaxáshch ‘she cuts it (every time)’ O-S-Ø-xaash~ (na act) ‘for S to cut O with knife’
	ĆV́Cch ooltsíkch ‘she barbecues it (every time)’ O-S-l-tseek~ (Ø act; ĆV́C Hort/Pot) ‘for S to broil O slowly’	
ĆV́VC	ĆV́VCch ooswáatch ‘he raises it (every time)’ O-S-s-wáat~ (Ø act) ‘for S to raise O’	ĆV́Cch axlashátch ‘he holds it (every time)’ O-S-l-sháat~ (ga act) ‘for S to hold, retain O’
	ĆV́Cch akoochákch ‘she packs it (every time)’ O-ka-S-Ø-cháak~ (Ø act; ĆV́C Hort/Pot) ‘for S to pack O’	
ĆV́VC’	ĆV́VC’ch akooldáal’ch ‘he types it (every time)’ O-ka-S-l-dáal’~ (Ø act) ‘for S to type O’	ĆV́C’ch ana.ús’ch ‘she washes it (every time)’ O-S-Ø-.óos’~ (na act) ‘for S to wash O’
	ĆV́C’ch ooxás’ch ‘she scrapes it (every time)’ O-S-Ø-xáas’~ (Ø act; ĆV́C’ Hort/Pot) ‘for S to scrape O’	