

10. Hortative (Excerpt from Eggleston, 2013)

The hortative is the semantic equivalent to the imperative 'do it', but only occurs with 1st and 3rd person subjects, translating as 'let me/us do it' or 'let him/her/them do it'. A common example is *na_xtoo.aat* 'let's go'.

There are five elements to discuss regarding the structure of the hortative: 1) the classifier; 2) the conjugation prefix; 3) the aspect prefix *ga-*; 4) the verb stem, and; 5) an optional suffix. Each of these topics will be covered below in turn.

10.1 Classifier

The hortative always requires the -I form of the classifier. Remember that -I classifiers are: *sa-*, *s-*, *sha-*, *sh-*, *la-*, *l-*, \emptyset -, and *da-*. In the forms given in Table 36 below, we see the classifiers (from top to bottom, given in bold): *da-*, *sa-*, \emptyset -, and *l-*.

Table 36. Classifiers in the Hortative.

Clf	Hortative	English
<i>da-</i>	<i>a_xdanaa</i>	'let him drink it'
<i>sa-</i>	<i>a_xsaxook</i>	'let him dry it'
\emptyset -	<i>a_gaxaa</i>	'let him eat it'
<i>l-</i>	<i>a_{ng}alkáa</i>	'let him gamble'

10.2 Conjugation Prefix and Aspect Prefix *ga-*

The hortative is one of the forms that reveal which of the conjugation prefixes (\emptyset -, *na-*, *ga-*, or *ga-*) a verb uses. The hortative requires the verb's conjugation prefix as well as the aspect prefix *ga-*. Verbs that use the *na-* conjugation prefix then, will have both *na-* and *ga-* in the hortative; verbs that use the *ga-* conjugation prefix will have both *ga-* and *ga-* in the hortative, and so on. Because the hortative form requires both the verb's regular conjugation prefix AND the aspect prefix *ga-*, there are a lot of prefix combinations to be aware of. Table 37 contains an example verb for each conjugation prefix, given first in the imperative (which will demonstrate the conjugation prefix belonging with the verb), and

then in the hortative, (which will show the combination of conjugation prefix (CP) and aspect prefix (AP) *ga-*).

Table 37. Conjugation Prefixes and Aspect Prefix in the Hortative

CP	Imperative	English	CP + AP	Hortative	English
\emptyset -	<i>Idashúch!</i>	'Bathe!'	\emptyset - <i>ga-</i>	<i>gadashooch</i>	'let him bathe'
<i>na-</i>	<i>Yéi inatí!</i>	'Be that way!'	<i>na-ga-</i>	<i>yéi ngatee</i>	'let him be that way'
<i>ga-</i>	<i>Gagaax!</i>	'Cry!'	<i>ga-ga-</i>	<i>gagagaax</i>	'let him cry'
<i>ga-</i>	<i>Galsháat!</i>	'Hold it!'	<i>ga-ga-</i>	<i>agaaxlasháat</i>	'let him hold it'

The combination of the aspect prefix *ga-* and each of the conjugation prefixes results in a number of different contractions, all influenced by the subject prefix and/or classifier which follow them. While some of these combinations will be highlighted here, please see the prefix combination charts in the appendices for a complete list of possible contractions in each given environment. The prefix combination charts relevant to the hortative form will be *ga-* plus the conjugation prefix of the verb, since these are the prefixes required by the hortative. Specifically, the prefix combination charts that will display information for the hortative are: *ga-* (for \emptyset conjugation verbs); *na-ga-* (for *na* conjugation verbs); *ga-ga-* (for *ga* conjugation verbs); and *ga-ga-* (for *ga* conjugation verbs).

10.2.1 First Person Singular Prefix Combinations

The common denominator for hortatives with a first person singular subject $\underline{x}a$ - 'I' is the presence of $\underline{k}a$ - which results from the combination of the aspect prefix *ga-* and the subject prefix $\underline{x}a$ -. Let's look at example verbs for each of the conjugation prefixes. In Table 38, CP stands for the verb's conjugation prefix; AP represents the aspect prefix *ga-* which is required in the hortative; Subj stands for the subject prefix (in this case $\underline{x}a$ - 'I'); the Combo column gives the result of combining the preceding prefixes; the Example column provides a concrete example of a Tlingit verb; and the English column gives the translation of the Tlingit verb form.

Table 38. First Person Singular Prefix Combinations in the Hortative

CP	AP	Subj	Combo	Example	English
\emptyset - +	<i>ga</i> - +	<i>x</i> <i>a</i> - + =	<i>k</i> <i>a</i> -	<i>Kaxaa</i> .	'Let me eat it.'
<i>na</i> - +	<i>ga</i> - +	<i>x</i> <i>a</i> - + =	<i>na</i> <i>k</i> <i>a</i> -	<i>Nakagoot</i> .	'Let me go.'
<i>ga</i> - +	<i>ga</i> - +	<i>x</i> <i>a</i> - + =	<i>ga</i> <i>k</i> <i>a</i> -	<i>Gakagwaal</i> .	'Let me beat it.'
<i>ga</i> - +	<i>ga</i> - +	<i>x</i> <i>a</i> - + =	<i>ka</i> <i>a</i> <i>k</i> <i>a</i> -	<i>Kaakaxoox</i> .	'Let me call him.'

The first person singular subject prefix combinations in the hortative are fairly straightforward in that they are not affected by the classifiers. In other words, the above given combinations are consistent despite the rest of the verb word. This is not the case, however, for the other subject prefixes.

10.2.2 First Person Plural Prefix Combinations

The first person plural prefix combinations in the hortative are additionally influenced by the classifier. If the classifier has no vowel, then the subject prefix is *too*-; if the classifier has a vowel, then the subject prefix is shortened to *tu*-. In Table 39 below, also note that the aspect prefix *ga*- becomes *x*- when adjacent to the subject prefix *too*-/*tu*-.

Table 39. First Person Plural Prefix Combinations in the Hortative

CP	AP	Subj	Clf	Combo	Example	English
∅-	<i>ga-</i>	<i>too-</i>	<i>no vowel</i>	<i>g_xtoo-</i>	<i>At g_xtoo_xaa.</i>	'Let's eat.'
			<i>vowel</i>	<i>g_xatu-</i>	<i>G_xatulatsík.</i>	'Let's barbecue it.'
<i>na-</i>	<i>ga-</i>	<i>too-</i>	<i>no vowel</i>	<i>na_xtoo-</i>	<i>Na_xtoo.aat.</i>	'Let's go.'
			<i>vowel</i>	<i>na_xtu-</i>	<i>Na_xtudatóow.</i>	'Let's read.'
<i>ga-</i>	<i>ga-</i>	<i>too-</i>	<i>no vowel</i>	<i>ga_xtoo-</i>	<i>Ga_xtoogwaal.</i>	'Let's beat it.'
			<i>vowel</i>	<i>ga_xtu-</i>	<i>Ga_xtulak'ei.</i>	'Let's improve it.'
<i>ga-</i>	<i>ga-</i>	<i>too-</i>	<i>no vowel</i>	<i>gaax_xtoo-</i>	<i>Gaax_xtoo.éex'.</i>	'Let's invite him.'
			<i>vowel</i>	<i>gaax_xtu-</i>	<i>Gaax_xtulagoo.</i>	'Let's wipe it.'

10.2.3 Third Person Prefix Combinations – Intransitive Verbs

A discussion of third person prefix combinations in the hortative must be divided into intransitive and transitive verbs. Let's look at intransitive verbs (verbs with no object) first. As we saw above with the first person plural prefix combinations, the third person prefix combinations in the hortative are also influenced by the verb's classifier. In Table 40 below, notice that when the aspect prefix *ga-* is the middle of three open syllables, the vowel drops out of *ga-* and the *g-* becomes *x-*.

Table 40. Third Person Prefix Combinations in the Hortative – Intransitive Verbs

CP	AP	Subj	Clf	Combo	Example	English
∅-	<i>ga-</i>	∅-	<i>no vowel</i>	<i>ga-</i>	<i>At ga_xaa.</i>	'Let him eat.'
			<i>vowel</i>	<i>ga-</i>	<i>At ga_xdanaa.</i>	'Let him drink.'
<i>na-</i>	<i>ga-</i>	∅-	<i>no vowel</i>	<i>naga-</i>	<i>Nagagoot.</i>	'Let him go.'
			<i>vowel</i>	<i>na_x-</i>	<i>Na_xdatóow.</i>	'Let him read.'
<i>ga-</i>	<i>ga-</i>	∅-	<i>no vowel</i>	<i>gaga-</i>	<i>Gagagaax.</i>	'Let him cry.'
			<i>vowel</i>	<i>ga_x-</i>	<i>Ga_xla.éil'.</i>	'Let it be salty.'
<i>ga-</i>	<i>ga-</i>	∅-	<i>no vowel</i>	<i>gaaga-</i>	<i>Gaagasháash.</i>	'Let it wear out.'
			<i>vowel</i>	<i>gaax_x-</i>	<i>Gaax_xdaxéet'.</i>	'Let him sweep.'

10.2.4 Third Person Prefix Combinations – Transitive Verbs with Third Person Object

Remember that when both the subject and object of a transitive verb are third person 'him/her/it/them', the third person object pronoun *a-* is present. This object pronoun influences the prefix combinations, changing them from the above. Table 41 below shows these prefix combinations. Note that again, the verb's classifier influences the outcome. As seen above, the *ga-* aspect prefix becomes *x̣-* when it's the middle of three open syllables (exclusive of the root). Similarly, the conjugation prefix *ga-*, when the middle of three open syllables, drops its vowel and becomes *k-*, as can be seen in the example *akgagwaal* in Table 41 below. Note however that in the event of four open syllables in a row, as in *agaxlak'ei* in Table 41, the *ga-* undergoes contraction becoming *x̣-*, and leaving *ga-* intact.

Table 41. Third Person Prefix Combinations in the Hortative – Transitive Verbs

Obj	CP	AP	Subj	Clf	Combo	Example	English
<i>a-</i>	∅-	<i>ga-</i>	∅-	no vowel	<i>aga-</i>	<i>Agaxaa.</i>	'Let him eat it.'
				vowel	<i>ax̣-</i>	<i>Axdanaa.</i>	'Let him drink it.'
<i>a-</i>	<i>na-</i>	<i>ga-</i>	∅-	no vowel	<i>anga-</i>	<i>Angaxaash.</i>	'Let him cut it.'
				vowel	<i>anax̣-</i>	<i>Anaxsanook.</i>	'Let him carry her.'
<i>a-</i>	<i>ga-</i>	<i>ga-</i>	∅-	no vowel	<i>akga-</i>	<i>Akgagwaal.</i>	'Let him beat it.'
				vowel	<i>agax̣-</i>	<i>Agaxlak'ei.</i>	'Let him improve it.'
<i>a-</i>	<i>ga-</i>	<i>ga-</i>	∅-	no vowel	<i>agaaga-</i>	<i>Agaaga.éex'.</i>	'Let him invite her.'
				vowel	<i>agaax̣-</i>	<i>Agaaxlagoo.</i>	'Let him wipe it.'

None of the above tables address the presence of a thematic prefix (*ka-*, *tu-*, *ji-*, etc.) in the hortative prefix combinations, although for some combinations, the thematic prefix does influence the outcome. However, these combinations follow the same logic as those

discussed above and will not be described in detail here. Please see the relevant prefix combination charts for the effect of thematic prefixes on these contractions.

10.3 Stem Variation in the Hortative

Like the negative future, verbs in the hortative have the basic stem form, barring a few exceptions. Before continuing the discussion of verb stem variation in the hortative, it is important to mention that everything that follows applies to the potential mode as well. The verb stem will be the same in the hortative and potential modes for all verbs. Verbs with open roots in the hortative mode, regardless of conjugation prefix, have long low stems. Examples (203) and (204) are CVV roots and are \emptyset and *na* conjugation respectively. Examples (205) and (206) are CVV^h roots and are \emptyset and *ga* conjugation respectively. All four examples have long low stems in the hortative.

- (203) *akaxlachaa* 'let him strain it'
 (204) *akana \underline{x} sa.aa* 'let her grow it'
 (205) *a \underline{x} sataa* 'let him steam it'
 (206) *aa \underline{x} akgatee* 'let her pick it up off of it'

As was mentioned in Chapter 6 on the imperative mode, there is a handful of verbs with open roots which unexpectedly have long high stems in the imperative, hortative, and potential modes. Note that this only occurs with \emptyset conjugation verbs, and never with *na*, *ga*, or *ga* conjugation verbs. These are notated in the verb theme in parentheses, following the verb's conjugation prefix and verb type as: *CVV Imp/Hort/Pot*. For example, the theme for the first example given below is: *O-ya-S-s-haa~ (\emptyset act; CVV Imp/Hort/Pot)*. This alerts the reader to the fact that this verb has the unexpected stem form in the imperative, hortative, and potential forms. The list of known examples is repeated here in the hortative mode.

- (207) *áx' kagaháa* 'let it be there'
 (208) *du toowú axlat'áa* 'let him comfort her'
 (209) *aya \underline{x} saháa* 'let him gather it'
 (210) *ashukagajáa* 'let her instruct him'

(211)	<i>axsakóo</i>	'let him know it'
(212)	<i>gadusháa</i>	'let her get married'
(213)	<i>agasháa</i>	'let him marry her'
(214)	<i>agaxáa</i>	'let her paddle'
(215)	<i>aagáa agawóo</i>	'let her send for it'
(216)	<i>aadé akunganáa</i>	'let her send him there'
(217)	<i>axsanáa</i>	'sun-dry it'
(218)	<i>axlal'áa</i>	'let him suck it'
(219)	<i>axdawóo</i>	'let him take lunch'
(220)	<i>agax'áa</i>	'twist it (flexible part of a tree) to limber it'
(221)	<i>axdax'óo</i>	'wear it (blanket)'
(222)	<i>gadaláa</i>	'yell'

Now let's look at closed roots, beginning with CVVC roots. Verbs with roots having the basic shape CVVC (regardless of conjugation prefix) have long low stems in the hortative.

Examples follow, where (223) is a \emptyset conjugation verb and (224) a *ga* conjugation verb.

(223)	<i>séew daak gasataan</i>	'let it rain'
(224)	<i>gagagaax</i>	'let him cry'

The other two subtypes of closed roots, C'VVC and C'VVC', have long high stems in the hortative. Remember that these verbs only have two stem variants (long high and short high), and therefore never have long low stems. Example (225) is a C'VVC \emptyset conjugation verb; (226) is a C'VVC *na* conjugation verb; (227) is a C'VVC' \emptyset conjugation verb, and; (228) is a C'VVC' *na* conjugation verb.

(225)	<i>át kagagwáatl</i>	'let it roll to it'
(226)	<i>angas'óow</i>	'let him chop it'
(227)	<i>ayakaxlakées'</i>	'let her put it out (fire, light)'
(228)	<i>nagatáax'w</i>	'let it sink'

Similar to the exceptions noted for the open roots above, there are a number of verbs with closed roots that unexpectedly have short high stems in the hortative and potential modes. I have not found anywhere in the literature where these exceptions have been discussed thus far. The exceptions are all \emptyset conjugation verbs. These are notated in the verb theme as *CVC Hort/Pot*. For example, the theme for the first example given below is: *O-ka-S- \emptyset -s'eet~* (\emptyset act; *CVC Hort/Pot*). Although there are many, it is worth listing them here for the sake of thoroughness. Note that the current corpus of data represents only about one quarter of the stems in Tlingit, so this list is not exhaustive, but gives the known exceptions to date. We will begin with CVVC roots.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| (229) <i>ash gasaxék</i> | 'let her keep him awake' |
| (230) <i>akagas'ít</i> | 'let her bandage it' |
| (231) <i>axlatsík</i> | 'let him barbecue it' |
| (232) <i>axlayéx</i> | 'let her build it' |
| (233) <i>ashaxlahík</i> | 'let him fill it' |
| (234) <i>akaxlas'úk</i> | 'let him fry it, toast it' |
| (235) <i>agalsín</i> | 'let him hide himself' |
| (236) <i>axlasín</i> | 'let her hide it' |
| (237) <i>akgachúx</i> | 'let her knead it' |
| (238) <i>a yáx kagaxát</i> | 'let it look like it' |
| (239) <i>akgagútl</i> | 'let him mash it' |
| (240) <i>aga.ín</i> | 'let her pick them' |
| (241) <i>k'idéin akaxsaxát</i> | 'let him pull it tight' |
| (242) <i>axlaxwách</i> | 'let her scrape it (a hide, in order to soften it)' |
| (243) <i>akaxla.ísh</i> | 'let him string them together' |
| (244) <i>koon agatlákw</i> | 'let her tell people a legend' |
| (245) <i>átx axlayéx</i> | 'let him use it for it' |
| (246) <i>axlatín</i> | 'let her watch it' |
| (247) <i>akgayéx</i> | 'let him whittle it' |
| (248) <i>akaxshaxít</i> | 'let her write it' |

The next set of exceptions are C'VVC roots.

- (249) *axla.úk* 'let him boil it'
 (250) *akgachák* 'let him pack it'
 (251) *ayagax'át* 'let her sharpen it'

The final set of examples are C'VVC' roots.

- (252) *akgaxíl'* 'let her bother him'
 (253) *akgach'ák'w* 'let her carve it'
 (254) *akaxshax'ál'* 'let her cook herring eggs'
 (255) *galkít'* 'let it get infected'
 (256) *angalk'wát'* 'let it lay an egg'
 (257) *kaxshakútl'* 'let him get muddy'
 (258) *kugak'ít'* 'let her pick berries'
 (259) *akgat'íx'* 'let him pound it'
 (260) *sh káa x'axdagáx'* 'let her pray'
 (261) *xaat axlas'él'* 'let him pull up spruce roots'
 (262) *agaxás'* 'let her scrape it'
 (263) *akgadúx'* 'let him tie it'

Table 42 below summarizes the discussion of verb stem variation in the hortative mode. Note that where two forms are given in a single cell, the second is the exception to the general rule, and applies to a limited number of verbs, all given in the examples above.

Table 42. Stem Variation in the Hortative

Basic Stem Shape ↓	∅	na, ga, ga
CVV	CVV agaxaa 'let him eat it' O-S-∅-xaa~ (∅ act) 'for S to eat O'	CVV akangahaa 'let her plant it' O-ka-S- ∅-haa~ (na act) 'for S to plant O'
	C'VV gadusháa 'let her get married' O-du-∅-shaa~ (∅ event; C'VV Imp/Hort/Pot) 'for O to get married'	
CVV ^h	CVV axsataa 'let her steam it' O-S-s-taa ^h ~ (∅ act) 'for S to boil, steam O'	CVV nagataa 'let him sleep' S-∅-taa ^h ~ (na act) 'for (singular) S to sleep'
	C'VV axsakóo 'let him know' O-S-s-koo ^h ~ (∅ event; C'VV Imp/Hort/Pot) 'for S to know O'	
CVVC	CVVC axsaxook 'let him dry it' O-S-s-xook~ (∅ act) 'for S to dry O'	CVVC angaxaash 'let her cut it' O-S-∅-xaash~ (na act) 'for S to cut O with knife'
	C'VC axlatsík 'let her bbq it' O-S-l-tseek~ (∅ act; C'VC Hort/Pot) 'for S to broil O slowly'	
C'VVC	C'VVC axsawáat 'let her raise him' O-S-s-wáat~ (∅ act) 'for S to raise O'	C'VVC agaaxlasháat 'let her hold it' O-S-l-sháat~ (ga act) 'for S to hold, retain O'
	C'VC akgachák 'let him pack it' O-ka-S-∅-cháak~ (∅ act; C'VC Hort/Pot) 'for S to pack O'	
C'VVC'	C'VVC' axsa.áat' 'let him chill it' O-S-s-.áat'~ (∅ act) 'for S to make O cold'	C'VVC' anga.óos' 'let him wash it' O-S-∅-.óos'~ (na act) 'for S to wash O'
	C'VC' agaxás' 'let her scrape it' O-S-∅-xáas'~ (∅ act; C'VC' Hort/Pot) 'for S to scrape O'	

10.4 Hortative Suffix

Hortative forms take an optional suffix $-(y)i$ or $-u$. The presence or absence of this suffix seems to be based on speaker preference and/or style. For example, either of these forms would be considered correct: *yangaxeex / yangaxeexí* ‘let it happen’, as would either of these: *yéi kunganook / yéi kunganoogú* ‘let him/her do it’. The suffix is $-i$ following most consonants. If the verb stem ends in an unrounded vowel (*a, e, i*), then *y* is inserted before the suffix $-i$, as in *aadé akanaxsaxaayí* ‘let him pour it out there.’ The $-u$ suffix is used for all verbs ending in $-w$ preceded by a vowel, words ending in any form of $-k$ or $-x$ preceded by $-oo$ or $-u$, and verbs ending in any form of $-k$ or $-x$ followed by $-w$. In this last case, drop the *w*- before adding the $-u$ suffix. For example, *axlach'éix'w / axlach'éix'u* ‘let him get it dirty’. Whether $-i$ or $-u$, the suffix will take the opposite tone as that of the verb stem. The rules for this suffix largely follow the same rules as the possessive suffix, as described in Unit 2 of Dauenhauer et al (2010). Please see this reference for an exhaustive description of the rules pertaining to this suffix.

It is important to note that for some verbs, speakers do not accept the suffix on the hortative form. A couple of examples follow. The asterisk (*) preceding the forms in (264b) and (265b) below indicate that those forms are not acceptable to native speakers of the language.

(264a) *kadashooch* ‘let me bathe’

(264b) **kadashoojí*

(265a) *aga.óon* ‘let him shoot it’

(265b) **aga.óoni*

Further research is necessary in order to determine any constraints governing acceptability of the hortative suffix on a given verb.

Finally, it should be noted that in natural speech, the hortative is often preceded by *ch'a* ‘just’ and followed by *de(i)* ‘now’, translating as ‘just let him (verb) now’. These additional

words often make the hortative form sound much more natural. Examples (266) and (267) follow.

(266) *Ch'a yéi yangakaa dei.* 'Just let him say it now.'

(267) *Ch'a ngagoot dei.* 'Just let him go now.'