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XXI

GLADYS A. REICHARD

NAVAHO GRAMMAR

J. J. AUGUSTIN PUBLISHER
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Preface

A brief statement of the genesis of this grammar and an evaluation of the extant works on the Navaho language are outlined in the Introduction. The work is a byproduct of a project to investigate some of the inner meanings of Navaho religion, a study I felt could not be accomplished without some interpretation of the language. I therefore identified myself with a Navaho family, only two of whose members spoke English. I lived with this family for a total of more than three years from 1930 to 1939. Later, in 1944, I spent a summer as a clerk in a trading post at Pinyon where hardly a word of English was heard because the Navaho who knew it were at war. By this time I knew the pattern of Navaho and had a large vocabulary; I used the opportunity to test the vernacular in practice.

In the summer of 1934 I taught adult Navaho interpreters to write their language at the Hogan School which consisted of students and instructor only, the students being also the informants. The results of this experience, conducted under the auspices of the Department of Indian Affairs, are reflected in several ways: The students were made aware of the necessity of keeping forms to the same paradigms (which, incidentally, they loved). Since they came from many parts of the Reservation, the foundations were laid for the materials on the diversity of the language, and consequently, the reasons for similarities as well as differences and relationship of forms. Not the least of the results of the Hogan School was the interest aroused in many interpreters who have since been most helpful. Of these AB was the most analytic and his explanations have almost invariably checked with materials subsequently gathered.

The following is a brief sketch of the interpreters who contributed most, and of their strength and weaknesses. Throughout the work I am writing initials for the source of forms and explanations. It should be remembered that many Navaho, whether educated in White schools or not, are tremendously interested in analyzing words and in constructing unusual and metaphorical utterances, which sometimes lead to punning. To this characteristic I attribute the explanation of their unusual ability to discern the composition and meaning of elements that have been thoroughly disguised by contraction.

AB (Adolph Bitanny), orphaned in early childhood, lived with his maternal grandmother who, setting a high value on her language and
tradition, drilled her grandson in "classical" Navaho. They played games with forms and meanings, and the grandmother inculcated the interest in the language which so many years later became the key to my analysis. AB has a keen ear and is very particular about subtle differentiations for which he assigns reasons. His interpretations almost always stand up according to old Navaho patterns, particularly the texts of old men; he almost never gives a false or folk etymology. He is an $x$-speaker, his texts and transcriptions being full of $x$'s and $h$'s, not always accepted by others. The one weakness in his writings is his acceptance of some rules prematurely determined by his white instructors, especially his negligence in writing, though not in pronouncing, nasalized sounds and tone related to nasalization. He has some tendency also to reconstruct forms rather than to write the sounds influenced by contact, for instance, $si'\hat{a}$ for $sa'\hat{a}$. The rules of assimilation and a great many other data serve as a check on this shortcoming.

DD (Della Degrote of Thoreau) gave me many expressions in the vernacular that later turned out to demonstrate diversity and to determine the differences between cessatives and repetitives.

FH (Frank Harper of Klagito) has a large vocabulary in Navaho and English. His translations are thoughtful and usually reliable. His analyses sometimes leave much to be desired. He has contributed some interesting and amusing folk etymologies which are very illuminating. He was especially good at differentiating homonyms or near-homonyms. He does not have much practice in keeping paradigmatic forms in line, but he came into the picture after they had been worked out, and was used primarily for other purposes. His knowledge of Navaho tradition and lore, his love for the language, and his extensive experience on many parts of the Reservation were of inestimable help. He is an $x$- and $n$-speaker; his forms match almost invariably those of AB and RP's family which form the foundation of my analysis.

JC (John Curley of Ganado) was primarily an interpreter of ethnology (except religion). He has a devious mind and I learned much from him because his reasoning was always indirect. Indirection is almost a Navaho (if not an Indian) tenet, and I consider it in many cases an infallible check on certain problems that defy formulation and direct questioning.

MC (Marie Curley of Ganado) was my dependable mentor and guide. She is the late Red Point's daughter who taught me to weave and served as a buffer when I most needed it. She led me through my baby steps in Navaho. Like DD, she told me "how to say so and so." Neither she nor TC, her husband, tried analysis; both simply told me was what was what, and most important, corrected mistakes.

RT (Ruby Tallman) lived at Red Point's for much of the time I was there. I have used her expressions primarily for comparison.
TC (Tom Curley of Ganado) is MC’s husband who took serious responsibility for my welfare and education in Navaho affairs. He directed my travels, gave advice, and checked on terms I asked about with no attempt at giving reasons. If he did not know what I asked for, he found out and reported back.

WM (William Morgan of Two Wells) has collaborated with Robert Young, whose work I have mentioned in 1. He is in the class of AB, but his experience with old Navaho is not extensive. He has an insatiable interest in extending his knowledge, understands analysis well, and learns very rapidly. He does not differentiate in his mind some intricate overlapping forms, as the cessatives and repetitives, but the forms he writes naively without attempting to analyze are checks on these omissions. He, too, often neglects to write nasalization and some related tones, having been influenced by the same rules as AB. Otherwise his records are almost perfect. WM has saved me hours of time because of his understanding of the grammatical problems. We could go directly to the needed form instead of having to fish for it through interminable explanations and digressions. I am sure he would agree with me in attributing his value to the fine training given him by Robert Young. WM is not an A speaker.

Roman Hubbell is the only white man whose Navaho I have relied upon. I have abbreviated his name as RH for convenience, because he has to some extent served as an informant. He has a keen respect for evidence, and to him I owe certain insights on subtle questions which could never have been understood by a Navaho, particularly because the Navaho could not have understood the cultural aspects of the problem. The references to RH are few, but have proved extremely valuable, particularly as clues.

To these persons and to many others with whom contacts may have been more brief, and also to the many medicine men whose instructions were often explained in Navaho, I acknowledge my indebtedness.

I deeply appreciate the help of Professor George Herzog, now of Indiana University, who with unfailing patience taught me to distinguish Navaho tones. His greatest achievement was to make me aware of the glides in my own vowels, which are intolerable in Navaho.

Despite the criticisms of 1.7–1.26., I feel deeply obligated to the late Edward Sapir who gave unsparingly of his time when I was first studying Navaho. The fact that I have come to different conclusions from his has no relation to his kindness and generosity. Harry Hoijer, and others of Sapir’s students at the University of Chicago, also helped greatly with their notes and discussions.

I am grateful to Professors Alfred L. Kroeber and André Marinet of Columbia University for advice about the format of certain parts.
of this work. The conclusions and final decisions are, however, my sole responsibility.

For comfortable and stimulating circumstances under which the work was finally brought to a conclusion I wish to thank the Museum of Northern Arizona, Flagstaff, and all its staff.

April, 1951  Gladys A. Reichard
Barnard College, Columbia University
Abbreviations

If any apology is needed for what may seem to be an undue use of abbreviations, it is because of the Navaho language itself. A reader will not get far in this description before he realizes that he must conceive of categories which may be new even to expert linguists. For convenience, certain symbols have been devised to save repetition. The following are abbreviations used in the phonology and grammar:

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<td>agent</td>
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<tr>
<td>att.</td>
<td>attitude</td>
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<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>consonant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ç</td>
<td>glottalized consonant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ç</td>
<td>glottalized consonant preceded by glottal stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caus.</td>
<td>causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cer.</td>
<td>ceremony, ceremonial</td>
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<tr>
<td>cess.</td>
<td>cessative</td>
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<tr>
<td>compl.</td>
<td>completive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cont.</td>
<td>continuative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cust.</td>
<td>customary</td>
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<tr>
<td>fut.</td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>general</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>some, someone, something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>independent pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inc.</td>
<td>inceptive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mom.</td>
<td>momentary, momentaneous</td>
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<tr>
<td>myth.</td>
<td>mythology, mythological</td>
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<td>O</td>
<td>object of verb or postposition</td>
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<td>obj.</td>
<td>object</td>
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<td>opt.</td>
<td>optative</td>
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<td>rec.</td>
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<td>rec. ef.</td>
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<td>rep.</td>
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<td>rep. ac.</td>
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<td>rep. asp.</td>
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<td>subj.</td>
<td>subject</td>
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<td>s</td>
<td>self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>things (supernatural things)</td>
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<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>type stem</td>
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<tr>
<td>uni.</td>
<td>uniform</td>
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<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V*</td>
<td>long vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>˘V</td>
<td>vowel with high tone</td>
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ABBREVIATIONS

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<td>V</td>
<td>long vowel with high tone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>nasalized vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>high nasalized vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>long high nasalized vowel</td>
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</table>

Numbers have been used to indicate the persons — 1, 2, 3, (3), 4 — all are explained in 10.64–10.73. Combinations of numbers, indicate a combination of subject-object pronominal prefix, for example, 3-3 "he moves it," "she hears him," etc.; 3-i "he moves something;" i-3 "someone moves it;" (3) by i "it is moved by someone" (8.23 ff.).

A number without a letter refers to the singular; preceded by D a number means the person in the dual; preceded by P a number means the person in the plural.

Abbreviations have also been used for textual material; they refer to the initials of informants as described in the Preface, or to items of the Bibliography:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Reference</th>
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<tr>
<td>AB</td>
<td>Adolph Bitanny (word of mouth), or Bitanny 1941.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ad</td>
<td>Adahónilii (the first number refers to the year, the second to the month of publication, the last number to the page).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BS</td>
<td>Reichard, Big Star Chant (unpublished manuscript).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DD</td>
<td>Della Degrote.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EW</td>
<td>Haile 1938 (Enemy Way).*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FH</td>
<td>Frank Harper.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FS</td>
<td>Young-Morgan 1948 (Function and Signification).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FW</td>
<td>Haile 1943 (Flintway).*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HC</td>
<td>Reichard 1944 (Hail Chant).*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>Sapir-Hoijer (Navaho Texts).*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ph</td>
<td>Hoijer 1946c (Phonology).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pr</td>
<td>Reichard 1943 (Prayer).*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RH</td>
<td>Roman Hubbell.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCE</td>
<td>Reichard Shooting Chant Evil (unpublished manuscript).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WE</td>
<td>Reichard, Chant of Waning Endurance (unpublished manuscript).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WM</td>
<td>William Morgan (personal communication).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YM</td>
<td>Young-Morgan, 1943, Navaho-English Dictionary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YMG</td>
<td>Young-Morgan, 1943, Grammar.</td>
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In references marked with an asterisk (*) the first number refers to the page, the second to the line.

ALPHABETICAL ARRANGEMENT

For lexical purposes the following arrangement is used: the short neutral vowel is placed first, next the long neutral vowel, next the high vowel, the high long vowel, the vowel with rising tone, the long vowel with rising tone, the vowel with falling tone, the long vowel with falling tone; the nasalized vowel, the nasalized long vowel, the high nasalized vowel, the long, high nasalized vowel, the nasalized vowel with rising tone, the long nasalized vowel with rising tone, the nasalized vowel with falling tone, the long nasalized vowel with falling tone.

The vowels would thus appear in the following order, which is worked out for their occurrence in any position: a, a', ã, â, ã, â, â', e, e', ë, è, e', ë, è, ë, ë', ë, ë, ë, ë', ë, ë, ë', ë, ë, ë', ë, ë, ë, ë, ë, ë,

The consonant arrangement is: th, b, w, wi, m, n, d, t, l, n, y, y, g, k, kw, y, x, yw, xv, z, s, dz, ts, tê, j, c, dj, tc, tê, l, l, dl, tl, tl.
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1. This *Navaho Grammar* was begun in 1930 as a means to the end of investigating *Navaho Religion*.\(^1\) In a sense the task was an involuntary undertaking because at the time, and for several years after, it seemed that the language could be learned by a practical application of available sources, or of papers proposed for immediate publication. At that time the late Professor Edward Sapir had studied Navaho for some years and had a bevy of students working on it, so that Navaho was classed as “a recorded language.” For some weeks I attended Sapir’s class in Navaho at the University of Chicago, and there got an outline of his analysis, which was later supplemented by conferences at Yale University.

At the same time I was seeking a basic pattern for the language, I was trying to speak it. As time went on, I realized, too slowly, that the structural pattern I was struggling with did not have a practical application, that is, the forms were too theoretical to be understood by the Navaho. This unsatisfactory result was not due to mispronunciation, for I passed most tests designed to differentiate tone, quantity, and the like. The forms simply did not fit the formulas given.

I was primarily concerned with ethnological research, so that it was not until 1937 that I finally decided to start the language work as near the beginning as seemed necessary, especially since by this time the publication of the grammar was more remote than in 1930. Another circumstance contributed to my decision. Adolph Bitanny (AB) was one of my interpreters in 1934 and later, under the influence of Professor Hubert Alexander of the Department of Philosophy, University of New Mexico, had become interested in the analysis of Navaho and its relation to philosophy. AB was particularly intrigued by the concept of “aspects” and attempted to apply it to Navaho. Interestingly enough, he came up with an outline of principal parts and prefixes that resembled more closely than anything P. E. Goddard’s analysis of Hupa and Kato,\(^2\) but AB’s was of necessity much extended. In 1937 he came to New York where he spent the winter working with me on transcriptions, vocabulary, and morphology. To AB then, I owe the foundation of this work. We spent hours isolating principal parts and their signifi-

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\(^1\) Reichard 1950.
\(^2\) Goddard 1910, pp. 112ff.; 1912, pp. 42ff.
cance, classifying stems, and working on prefixes. AB's contribution was so basic that, had events permitted, he would have been a collaborator in this work. As it happened, however, he went into the Army and slowly the Grammar moved so far beyond his scope that he would not understand much of the analysis as it now stands.

Another effect upon written Navaho goes back indirectly to Sapir. Robert Young, a student at the University of New Mexico, was also influenced by Alexander (one of Sapir's students) and by AB. Later Young was put in charge of Navaho language work for the Department of Indian Affairs; he trained William Morgan (WM), and the two collaborated in producing a Navaho grammar and dictionary for Navaho and laymen who might want to learn Navaho. The prefixes of the Young-Morgan book are treated in the Sapir manner, but are of great value because full (or nearly full) paradigms are given. The principal parts of the verbs are also interpreted according to Sapir's principles, but underneath each verb many prefix paradigms not included in the grammar are written out in full. Furthermore, some of the most commonly used expressions are listed, and the transcription is almost faultless. Usually, therefore, the material could be adjusted to my analysis, and when that was impossible, I was able to work with WM, who has by this time a remarkable training and facility in Navaho analysis.

The foregoing explains the reason for this grammar. Actually there is no Sapir grammar—it is in the form of various papers on the Apachean languages, largely theoretical, published by Hoijer since Sapir's death. Since my view of certain basic principles differs greatly from Sapir's a section will be devoted to the differences in the analysis of the Sapir school and mine (1.7–1.26.).

1.1. A word is in order to explain why earlier efforts at written Navaho are not adequate for learning the language. An Ethnological Dictionary of the Navaho Language (1910) and A Vocabulary of the Navaho Language (1912) by the Franciscan Fathers, and Dineh Bizād by Rev. F. G. Mitchell (1932) are unsatisfactory because tone, quantity, and other important phonetic details are not distinguished. Trying to read Navaho is therefore a guessing game for those who already know it, rather than a means of communication. Father Berard Haile who was a motivating force in the Franciscans' work, has since published excellent texts in an accepted orthography which have been extensively used in my work, both linguistic and ethnological. In 1926 Father Berard published A Manual of Navaho Grammar, and since 1941 a series of four phrasebooks Learning Navaho. I cannot agree with his analyses.³⁴

³ Young-Morgan 1943.
⁴ Hoijer 1945a, b; 1946a, b; 1948a; 1949.
1.2. A major lack in all the works mentioned is the fact that the verbal prefixes have been treated only cursorily and have hardly been translated. The result is the same as if Latin were explained on the basis of stems with formal suffixes, none of which were differentiated by translation.

Since Navaho is a living language spoken by some 60,000 persons two-thirds of whom do not and perhaps never will speak English, and since there are cultural reasons why it should be written, various attempts have been made to reduce the language to a medium that would allow written communication. Anthropologists have been able to record many dying Indian languages in phonetic writing despite the protests of those untutored in linguistics, and the limitations of the English printing press. Navaho, however, has been subject to pressure groups of all kinds, most of whom consider that “if it cannot be written in English symbols, it may as well not be written.” A few, however, have realized that linguistic principles not found in English prevail in Navaho and must be indicated. Among them is Father Berard Haile who has changed his orthography at least three times to my knowledge. He now publishes in the last revised system employed by Sapir and Hoijer.

1.3. The Department of Indian Affairs has devised a special format for its publications. In the process of simplification several symbols were eliminated as unnecessary which, in my opinion, vitiate the recording for historical purposes. Most people who can read it can read the other systems as well. A great advantage is that several groups interested in Navaho have agreed to use it.

1.4. The system favored by linguists is that devised by Sapir and used by Father Berard. It is complicated, including several Greek symbols, and symbols for the sibilants which seem arbitrary to the layman—as indeed they all do! Actually they follow the International system of phonetic transcription. In his Navaho Phonology, Hoijer has made a few capitulations to the Press, which must be confusing to one trying to learn Navaho. In short, there is so little agreement about writing Navaho that the novice experiences extreme frustration at the outset, and it is small wonder that he gives up trying to learn Navaho almost at the first lesson.

1.5. Since it is impossible to choose a system which everyone may use and read, since it was necessary to be uniform about the grammar and contemplated dictionary, and more particularly, since I started with the system that was mechanically well worked out on the printing press, I have adhered to the system used by American linguists before Sapir’s last revision. Besides saving time, it has the advantage that the symbols of the well-developed sibilant system
are more suggestive than the later system, for instance, \( ts \) instead of \( c, j \) instead of \( z \), etc. I have transcribed all references in this system no matter how they were originally written.

1.6. I have cited many examples from published texts — Sapir, Hoijer, Father Berard Haile, Young-Morgan, and I have even revised some of Matthews’ writing (not used in this work), but I have not always adopted the author’s interpretation, in fact, I have often used his example to illustrate my own point.

In presenting this grammar, which may seem unduly complicated, I have tried to elucidate the principles of the language, principles which I myself do not find simple. I have tried to make the grammar as complete as possible, though there is scarcely a subject with whose analysis I am completely satisfied. Consequently, it cannot be expected to be elementary; it contains too many ideas that are not common linguistic knowledge. Nevertheless, I hope it may furnish a source from which Navaho forms and idioms may be drawn.

I have tried to keep historical questions and references to a minimum, the major purpose being to present the Navaho language. However, I have had in mind the need for genetic reconstruction of Athabaskan and have tried to include all data that may contribute to knowledge of family relationships — my insistence on differentiating \( h \) and \( x \), for example, and my reluctance to reduce \( y \) and \( \gamma \) to \( y \) (3.8.).

1.7–1.26. THE SAPIR SCHOOL OF ATHABASKAN

1.7. Because of Sapir’s influence on Athabaskan studies it is necessary to discuss these materials, particularly the points of disagreement between them and this work. The works are by Sapir himself, by Hoijer for Southern Athabaskan, Apache and Navaho, and by Li for California (western Athabaskan) and northern Athabaskan (Sarsi and Chipewyan). Some of the major conflicts are due to approach. The reports of the Sapir school indicate as a primary purpose the reconstruction of primitive Athabaskan; as another, the demonstration of the method of what has come to be called “structural analysis,” purposes which are largely theoretical. The interpretation of a particular language as a living, cultural phenomenon seems to be almost incidental.6

Most of the criticism of Navaho will of necessity be cited from Hoijer’s works since it fell to him to publish much of Sapir’s work. It is impossible to dissociate their contributions. Hoijer seems to

6 Hoijer 1946a, b, c; 1947, 1948a, b, 1949; Li 1930a, b, 1933; Sapir, see bibliography.
have hewed conscientiously to Sapir's mark, even though Hoijer collected a great deal of the material and presumably made some of the analyses. I shall first discuss general points of view as they affect Navaho, then more particular details of the language.

1.8. In my brief papers on Navaho\(^7\) I have indicated that a major failing of the modern linguist is the overemphasis on phonetic-phonemic questions, an emphasis in many cases so exaggerated that one sometimes gets the idea that language is merely phonemics. Affected as he is by this school of procedure, it is not surprising that Hoijer's fullest treatment of Navaho is the *Phonology*. It contains some assumptions that have not been fully discussed, or that have not been substantiated. Usually these assumptions are of broad scope, including all Athabaskan.

1.9. One is the character of Navaho categories. I have discussed this question elsewhere insofar as it applies to ethnology,\(^8\) but my conclusions apply to some aspects of the language as well (8.82–8.84.). They indicate that for one purpose or another Navaho culture is divided into categories most elements of which have some features in common, but in order to make a category "complete" in the Navaho sense, it should contain at least one feature of an opposed or related category. In other words, categories are inclusive rather than exclusive. If there are only two subdivisions each may be represented in the "opposite" class. This circumstance is illustrated by the bipolarity of many Navaho elements. For instance, if a postposition means "to, toward . . .," it may also mean "away from . . .," if a stem means "buy," it may also mean "sell"—it may, of course, be more accurately translated as "exchange." Similarly, a stem means either "win" or "lose at gambling," one for which there is no single English equivalent. To be sure, the form of the verb may indicate which of two opposed meanings is to be chosen; often only the context makes it clear.

The character of classification may be a reason for the marked diversity of the Navaho language. The willingness to include details which to us are irrelevant may be a major cause for the Navaho's extreme tolerance of several patterns and ultimately for the outstanding adaptive nature of the culture.

1.10. Since the type of classification is distinctive, it is advisable to omit the words "always," "never," "all," and "only" in discussions of Navaho, because thought may usually be adapted to the tolerated exigencies of a situation. Perhaps then it would be more accurate to suggest solutions for Navaho problems, rather than to

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\(^7\) Reichard 1948, p. 15; 1950a, p. 194.

\(^8\) Reichard 1950b, pp. 3–12.
make dogmatic generalizations which may not stand up under practical tests.°

Similarly, generalized references like "inorganic," "non-functional," and the like, should be avoided in view of the present inexactness of Athabaskan knowledge. A basic genetic problem is the relation of the stem finals $g$, $\gamma$, $x$, and $h$. Since there is tremendous variation in the recording of these sounds in all Athabaskan publications, the question is far from settled and we cannot possibly know whether $h$, which is most common in Navaho, is "organic" or "inorganic." The question should be left open so that the student does not accept a neat, but possibly incorrect conclusion which prevents him from further research on the subject.°° This criticism may be leveled at many reconstructions which, on the basis of Navaho, seem to me to be founded on deceptive cognates or false etymologies.

1.11. I cannot agree with the Sapir school in accepting as readily as they do the theory of alternants, the principle that several forms are interchangeable in meaning.°°° Often it has proved an evasion. Usage does not allow doubt; one can no more compose a form with one or another element than a compositor can strike a letter half $a$ half $i$ on a linotype machine. Navaho texts prove this contention. It is true there are some alternants but, like all overlapping, there are limitations which must be discovered.

1.12. The principle of alternants, together with the lack of distinction between prefix and stem meanings, has led to confusion in the determination of aspect and mode — some so-called alternant forms were generalized, but the result is uncertain, whereas the actual principal parts are much simpler, and patterns can be discerned through the recognition of all the aspects. The shortcut of alternants was accepted not only for verbs, but for other elements as well. For example, Hoijer ascribes to alternants, without indicating change of function, the forms $tcq$' "excrement" and $bitca\cdot n$ "his excrement," neglecting to mention $bitcq$' "his excrement."°°°° One explanation of these two forms lies in meaning and usage: $tcq$' "excrement" (possessive $bitcq$') is an inelegant "household" word, but $bitca\cdot n$ "its manure, ordure" may be used as a polite form. And not only is there a difference in usage, but there is also a rule that an unpossessed noun with form CV has a possessive of form -CV'n to signify that it is not a mere possession, but a possessed part in relation to a whole (5.13–5.16.). There is therefore a phonetic, morphological and semantic differentiation.

° Hoijer 1945c, pp. 7, 8, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 24, 27, 28, 30, 34, 40, 41, 42, 47.
°° Ibid., p. 39.
°°° Ibid., pp. 32ff; Hoijer 1943, pp. 39–40; 1946c, p. 72; Li 1930a, pp. 53ff; 1930b, pp. 15ff; 1933, pp. 126ff.
°°°° Hoijer 1945c, p. 36.
1.13. As the discussion of prefix and verb stem and the interpretation of their combination as aspects implies, much more can be done than has so far been accomplished by insisting on a more rigid analysis of morphology through the investigation of meaning. The formulas of the Sapir outline often attempt to explain several prefixes as if they were one. This result may seem to be due to insufficient data. Since Sapir and Hoijer had a large mass of materials, such a conclusion is false. The effect is due rather to the extreme difficulty we all encounter in holding Navaho informants to paradigmatic forms of the same series. The language is rich in forms and many have meanings so similar as to seem the same in English, so that informants mix paradigms and give a single meaning for the distinctive forms. The Young-Morgan grammar sometimes suffers from the same affliction.

There is, to be sure, a great deal of overlapping, but there is also some distinction, usually phonetic, which shows the independence of many elements, especially of prefixes. If these distinctions are isolated, there remain relatively few morphological irregularities. This result is contrary to former analyses in which forms have so often been described as "irregular" that the student gets the idea they are more common than regular forms. It is hoped that this grammar will show that, though the patterns are somewhat unusual, the language is quite regular once the linguistic scheme is realized.

1.14. Sapir's interest in "pattern phenomena" is well known, and I have always wondered why he and his students failed to apply this useful theory very extensively. They worked out some of the elementary assimilations and contractions, but failed to push them to the obvious conclusions dictated by the pattern. It seems to me that one of the lessons pattern has to teach is that once it becomes established, in language as in other cultural phenomena, it is often carried far beyond what may seem to be "reasonable" limits. If therefore this happens in a language, we may properly extend the analysis as far as the language allows. I may be accused of having expected too much of the rules I have found, on contraction, for example. I feel justified by the results for which I think there is proof.

1.15. The limitations so far discussed apply to the study of Athabaskan. Let us now examine some more specific details of Hoijer's analysis with which I am forced to disagree. One reason another Navaho grammar seems appropriate is the peculiarity of the examples cited, although, to be sure, neither Sapir nor Hoijer

13 Ibid., p. 50; 1938a, p. 89, n. 1:22.
14 Li utilized the concepts more than anyone, but even he stopped long before realizing the suggested possibilities (cp. Sapir, 1925, p. 194).
has attempted to aid a speaker of commonplace Navahó. For instance, they give many examples derived from the stems for "go." These stems are distinctive for singular, dual, and plural—this is in itself a curious adaptation for the English speaker to make. And in addition, the singular stem is one of the very few Navaho stems that change consonant initials in an "irregular" manner. Formally therefore the treatment of "go" is atypical. Morphologically too the stems for "go" may seem strange. Although to the English speaker "go" is an intransitive verb, in Navaho it may be treated as a transitive with forms in the active and passive voices. This possibility, though by no means uncommon in Navaho, makes the verbs for "go" additionally difficult to the novice.

1.16. From the semantic viewpoint the stems for "go" are extremely important because with various prefixes and in combination with other elements they determine many fundamental idioms. The criticism here is, not that "go" should not be treated, but rather that it is a single exception which has been used to illustrate a type.

1.17. Another example constantly cited by Hoijer is regular, but it has become so generalized in meaning and so extended in form that it is far from typical of the class of verbs it is used to illustrate. This is the stem -'á·l "round, convenient object moves."\(^{15}\) It is the most generalized of all the stems in the class called the "type stem" (abbreviated T), and therefore only rarely demonstrates what purports to be its primary or essential meaning. It is a great temptation to use this stem as a type form, one to which I myself sometimes yield, yet it should be understood that this stem is fundamental in contributing many idioms, and that consequently modifications of the rules may be encountered. The stem -'á·l also illustrates a point previously mentioned, namely, it is a stem which has alternant forms in all principal parts save the progressive. This fact makes it confusing to the novice, and "atypical" of the verb class which must be understood from the very first. Therefore other stems from the list of type stems often illustrate the prefix combinations and the usage more simply and clearly.

1.18. The assumption of "inherent tone" seems to me not to be validated by the behavior of Navaho elements, particularly the prefixes. This assumption implies that some "syllables" are essentially low, others high, and some neutral.\(^{16}\) I do not know of evidence to support the assumption. We ought to know, for instance, why

\(^{15}\) Unless otherwise noted the progressive stem is cited as basic in the discussion of the verb.

\(^{16}\) Hoijer 1938a, p. 74; 1943, p. 39; 1945c, pp. 50, 55, 58; Sapir 1925.
there are radical differences in tone structure of Navaho and Sarsi, and why tone in Chipewyan is often just the opposite of that in Navaho. Since Sarsi and Chipewyan are the only two major northern Athabaskan languages for which pitch has been worked out—and I for one look to the north or northwest as the place of origin of grammatical pitch—it seems premature to rely on a principle so insubstantial. These remarks do not mean that relationships should not be examined and proposed; they merely warn against final acceptance with the resulting cessation of inquiry.

1.19. The problem of inherent tone is one with the definition of the syllable. I operate with the concept that the Navaho prefix syllable is of the form Ca-, Ci-, or Co-, and the basic stem syllable -CVC. The tone of these basic syllables is assumed to be neutral (not differentiated in writing from low). Any variation of these simple vowel forms—e, some o's, lengthened vowels, any tone except neutral, nasalization—are due to contractions, many of which have been ascertained, more of which may be discovered by comparative analysis. The reduction of the syllable to such simple forms has led to the isolation of many prefixes. It may even explain such stem forms as -CVC progressive or present, in contradistinction to -CV·C, or -CVC perfective. It is possible too that the final consonant of the stem syllable of form -CVC may prove to be a stem contracted with a tense or aspective suffix.

1.20. The acceptance of CV as a syllabic form establishes the ideal that if a form differs in any respect from CV it needs explanation, and that the elements composing it may be susceptible of meaning. Questions arising are: Why is a, i, or o long? Why is there no vowel at all? Why is the vowel high? Nasalized? High and long? High, nasalized and long? Why is the vowel e or e, or any of their lengthened or high-toned variants? Why is n syllabic? Is it equivalent to na- or ni-? Why do we find -Vn instead of -V-? Many of these questions and others are answered in the chapter on Prefixes (10–10.124.); it is essentially a chapter on phonetic processes.

1.21. In relation to "inherent tone" some vowels combine with others in a way entirely different from others with the same forms. Compare, for example, 'a-beyond and 'a-indefinite pronoun (10.76b, 10.103). What is inherent in 'a-beyond that makes it combine with yi-continuative to become 'i-?, whereas 'a-indefinite pronoun absorbs yi-continuative with hardly a trace? Or is the inherent tone of yi-continuative the reason for the difference? Is di-start from completely equivalent to dí-emit? Are they distinct by origin, or have they become so by development? Is di-start from related to dí-start from against, or is the tone inherent? If the latter, when
and where was it inherent? In Navaho? In primitive Athabaskan? In a language transitional between the two?

1.22. In connection with these and other related questions Hoijer posits a theory that the vowel of certain high-toned syllables assimilates to a preceding high-toned prefix (syllable).\(^\text{17}\) This rule is not thoroughly substantiated because the effect occurs in only a few restricted circumstances—in the continuative and perfective aspects and, more important to note perhaps, only in the singular and dual forms, not in the plural. Hoijer does not tell us which prefixes require this form of assimilation nor does he mention the fact that the effect is variable. An attempt to test the rule gave rise to the determination of the "inflective prefix," an element affecting tone, and explaining the compounding of several prefixes in the perfective as well as in the continuative forms. The rules for the use of the inflective prefix have few exceptions, although some meanings still remain doubtful, and the ultimate reason for the inflective prefix is undetermined (cp. 10.25–10.26).

1.23. The isolation of the inflective prefix, which immediately precedes the pronominal prefix of the verb complex invalidates Hoijer's place numbering of prefixes.\(^\text{18}\) Moreover, he disregards the difference in position of the subjective and agentive pronouns, an omission that changes the place number of the pronouns and leads him to a different pronominal system for the continuative and perfective. These omissions are major shortcomings, for place has no meaning if only one element is in error. Still another point of disagreement is that, if place numbers are to be used satisfactorily, they should be from right to left, instead of the reverse, counting backward from the stem. The stem is always ascertainable and the three prefixes immediately preceding are essential, whereas any or all the prefixes Hoijer has in places 1–9 may be lacking.

1.24. A matter of determining phonemes seems to me of great importance. When a language has as many similar forms with distinctive functions as Navaho, how can the phonemicist do it justice, and at what point in the course of his study may he trust his judgment that two (or more) sounds may be safely reduced to a single phoneme? The answer to the question is difficult, but a warning may be sounded to the effect that a premature determination of the character of sounds and particularly of their functions, may obscure or eliminate a morphological process.

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17 Hoijer 1943, pp. 39–41; 1945c, pp. 30–1. In the work last cited in note 13 Sapir asks similar questions, but I know of no place where he answered them except by assumption.
18 Hoijer 1946a, p. 1.
An example from Navaho illustrates this point. The definition of the voiceless stops $t$ and $k$ includes a discussion of aspiration, which in my opinion is of historical significance. I agree with Hoijer in omitting from writing the secondary phases of the pronunciation of $t$ and $k$ and related sounds—aspiration, palatalization, labialization. In considering $t$ and $tx$ as alternants, however, the morphological function of $x$ has been overlooked. $x$ in some cases and its voiced counterpart $\gamma$ constitute a phoneme that forms a consonant cluster with a whole series of sounds, unrelated in certain respects: $tx, sx, zy, dzy, tsx, cx, tcx, lx$ (cp. 8.92.). The clustering of $x$ or $\gamma$ with a consonant initial is a true infixing process, and denotes an augmentative or pejorative. Hoijer gives an inkling of this process in the statements: "$ts$ is not as strongly aspirated as the phonemes $t$ and $k$, and is never followed by an $x$-glide." But to this a note is affixed: "There is one exception to this rule: if a word containing $ts$ is pronounced very emphatically, as in a command or exhortation, the $ts$ phoneme may be followed by an $x$-glide." 19 Since the augmentative function of $x$ was disposed of for phonemic expediency, the texts, for the most part, lack words that indicate the augmentative or pejorative.

1.25. Hoijer mentions a rule to the effect that a stem of the form $-C\hat{V}$. may take the form $-C\hat{V}n\hat{V}$ when a suffix of the form $-\hat{V}$ is added. 20 He fails to show, however, that there are bisyllabic stems of the form $-C\hat{V}n\hat{V}$ or $-CVC\hat{V}$ which are diminutives (8.93.). Almost certainly such stems became crystallized by an historical process different from that now recognizable as suffixation, or at least by a process that had a distinctive result.

1.26. If the student be irked by the extreme stress on small details in the analysis of Navaho, he must realize that such emphasis is functional, and more particularly, that the details define processes and significance that now often seem unique, but may doubtless be found in other languages once attention is directed to them. 21 The major question is not only what forms exist, but also where the lines are drawn within a single category of form—what is mechanical, what is morphological, and what is historical or genetic. Meaning seems to be the key that can open these doors. Not etymology, semantics, phonetics, phonemics, or morphology alone, but all in their fascinatingly intricate association.

19 Hoijer 1945a, p. 12.
20 Ibid., p. 34.
2. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

2. The grammatical processes by means of which Navaho words are modified are: affixing, including prefixing, suffixing, and in one case, infixing; of these prefixing is most common. The affix frame, that is, prefix with suffix is also a common syntactic device. Phonetic changes, particularly those caused by contraction (sandhi) are of great importance in morphology. They include change of consonant by assimilation and juxtaposition, change of vowel with various combinations of vowel quality, quantity, and tone, and even change from consonant to vowel, indicated by change of tone. Still another phonetic change with morphological significance is voicing.

Although position is relatively free in some respects, it is nevertheless an important device, particularly in indicating the relation of pronouns, verbs, and postpositions.
3. For various reasons some of Hoijer's work must be repeated here: His recording differs from that in this work. It is essential to present the system here used. Some qualifications will be stipulated, some modifications and additions will be made to the discussion of phonology. Hoijer's analysis has been adopted to a large extent although some differences are noted because of interpretation.¹

3.1–3.7. VOWELS

3.1. The Navaho vowels are the following:

- **Low-central unrounded**  
  \( a \) as in English *odd*

- **Mid-front unrounded**  
  \( e \) as in English *met*

- **High-front unrounded**  
  \( i \) as in English *bit*

- **Mid-back rounded**  
  \( o \) as in French *mot*

All vowels have continental rather than English values, that is, they are pure vowels, and when primary, they are very short. The vowel \( a \) is so short that it is often heard as the obscure vowel of English “about, above;” the variation is non-phonemic. Although \( a, e, \) and \( i \) are near the English equivalents if not diphthongized, \( o \) varies considerably. It is between \( o \) and \( u \) as in English “look” and is often heard as \( u \); this variation is not phonemic.

3.2. The vowels may be lengthened, but lengthening does not cause diphthongization. Quantity is very important in Navaho because it has morphological significance. The symbol \( \hat{} \) indicates length, so that one type of vowel modification is: \( a^*, e^*, i^*, o^* \).

Vowels may have any of three quantitative values, short, half-long, and long. Of these short and long are phonemic. The long vowels or vowel clusters are only half-long before some voiceless consonants, particularly \( h, x, s, c, l \). Length is important because it indicates contraction, but it is often difficult to differentiate half long from short vowels in this position.

3.3. Lengthening a vowel may be a means of securing emphasis: 'ádin 'á·din 'á·i·n “there was none, none, none;” ’aní·di’ (< ’aní·dī-i’) “very fresh (tracks)” (NT 132:1). Such lengthening occurs

¹ Hoijer 1945c.
particularly before the final glottal stop of a word. The glottal stop varies in strength; it may be very weak, but when used for emphasis after a lengthened vowel, it is articulated with a deliberate release which sounds much like the exaggeration unconsciously achieved by speakers first learning to pronounce the glottal stops. The word for "Let it alone!" is no'we'; it may be used to a child the first time it is admonished. If, however, the child persists in investigating a forbidden object, the adult may say, no'we' with an exaggerated lengthening of the second vowel and a release of the glottal stop which is truly a "catch."

A conventional ending of a prayer is the phrase, xójó náxásdlį' "it has become beautiful again." Prayers are generally repeated perfunctorily with considerable elision and speed, although all words must be articulated. The first three times the phrase sounds as it has been written, but the last time, it is xójó náxásdlį' with the exaggerated release of the glottal stop.

3.4. All four vowels may be nasalized; they resemble French nasalized vowels. Nasalization is indicated by a cedilla under the letter: q, ɛ, i, ɔ. The nasalized vowels may be long: q', ɛ', i', ɔ'.

Navaho has pitch instead of stress accent; consequently every vowel must be thought of in terms of tone. When no accent is used, the vowel has a neutral tone, that is, the tone is selected arbitrarily. If two unmarked vowels occur in succession both should be pronounced without change of pitch. The significance of pitch is the relationship of one tone to another. Consequently a high tone, indicated by an acute accent over the vowel—á, é, i, ó—signifies that the tone is high in relation to the speaker's chosen neutral (low) level. Vowels may be long and high; á', é', i', ó', and they may be long, nasalized and high, á', é', i', ó'.

3.5. When tone is grammatically important, as it is in this language, change of tone cannot indicate emphasis. Women, however, scold or indicate surprise by raising the level of the neutral tone, and consequently the relative level of all the others. This device is quite as effective on children, husbands, and dogs as the elaborate glides in English.

3.6. When two vowels with differing tone come into contact, they may merge into a single vowel which retains the tone of both, as dí·d- (< dí-i·d-), -d'- (< -a-i'). The circumflex ^ indicates falling tone, the inverted circumflex ˅ rising tone. These compound, and therefore secondary, tones are important morphologically—they indicate meaning.

When two vowels come into contact they may contract to one, or they may form a "vowel cluster"—Hoijer rightly prefers this term
to "diphthong." If the tones of the vowels forming the cluster differ, they are usually retained in a rising or falling accent, written on the first vowel: na-yai "one who goes about," cinäi "my older brother."

Vowels that combine to form vowel clusters are: ai, ao, ei, eo, io, oi, qi, qo, qi. Two tendencies compete for vowel combination—the tendency for two vowels to combine into one, and the tendency to form vowel clusters; the function of both is therefore in the same class as length, changed tone, nasalization. In other words, vowel clusters are a result of combination, most commonly of contraction.²

My researches have not confirmed the statement that all vowel clusters are long.³ I therefore conclude that the same rules of quantity apply to vowel clusters as to single vowels. For instance, citcai or citcei means "my grandfather," so called out of respect, not necessarily a relative, but citcai', or citcei': "my mother's father," and by extension, "my mother's parent, parent's sibling, my daughter's child." In prefixes, dai- or dei- "they pl....it," but dai'd- "we pl....it." The long vowel cluster may indicate that either component is long, or the cluster may be long because two short vowels or a short and a long vowel have combined.

3.7. Syllabic n

3.7. A vowel, derived from CV, often na- or ni-, which must be added to the vowel series, is syllabic n, a sound that has at one time consonantal and vocalic values. It should be treated as a vowel in the following respects: it takes the place of a vowel; it may be low or high. Hoijer considers syllabic n a phoneme and insists that it be written with an accent—he uses the grave accent (n̂) for this purpose.⁴ Since n is derived from na- as well as ni-, since n̂ is equivalent to ná- or ni-, and since na- becomes ni- or n- in certain settings and, correspondingly, ná- becomes ní-, syllabic n must be treated in relation to its setting. Since syllabic n does not always stand for the same thing, it seems reasonable to treat it as we do other modified vowels which are not always phonetically equivalent. I do not therefore mark the low tone. If n stands in syllabic position and has no accent, it is low.

Two ways in which a vowel may be affected are lacking in the treatment of syllabic n. Obviously n is not nasalized, and when it is long, it usually retains the vowel, for instance, not -n̂- or -ń̂- but na--, ne--, ni--, no--, ná--, nę--, ní--, or nó-. The contraction of two interconsonantal vowels may give rise to -ń̂-. If so, the resulting syllable may involve merely the glottalized ň which may be syllabic and stands for -ńa- or -ńi- (ep. 3.41–3.42.).

²Hoijer 1943, p. 39.
³Ibid., p. 30.
⁴Ibid., p. 11.
3.8. The consonantal system is summarized in the following table:

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According to position of articulation the stops are: bilabial b, alveolars d, t, ʃ, palatales g, k, ɬ, labialized palatal kw, and the glottal stop ɬ. The classes of articulation are: the voiceless, lenis, unaspirated stops b, d, g; the voiceless, fortis, aspirated stops t, k, kw, and the voiceless, fortis, glottalized stops ʃ, ɬ, and the glottal stop ɬ. The two nasal spirants m and n are essentially like those of English; m is a rare sound in Navaho, and ʃ is a result of contraction. n′, also a secondary sound due to contraction, is frequently found. Because the contractions are a developing phase of Navaho, not yet thoroughly crystallized, the glottalized nasals, like y, and, in prefix position, ʃ, n′, tʃ, tč, are preceded, rather than followed, by the glottal closure, or the two may be combined, for example, b’ʃːtː.

z and s are alveolar sibilants quite similar to the same sounds in English. The corresponding affricates are: dz voiced, lenis and unaspirated; ts voiceless, fortis and aspirated; and tʃ voiceless, fortis, and glottalized.

ʃ is a voiced blade alveolar sibilant similar to medial s in English "measure;" ʃ may occur in all positions, initial, medial and final.

c is the voiceless blade alveolar similar to sh in English "ship."
The blade alveolar affricates are: dj voiced, lenis and unaspirated; tc voiceless, fortis, aspirated; and tč voiceless, fortis, glottalized.

l is a voiced, spirantal alveolar lateral; l is its voiceless counterpart.
The three lateral affricates are: $dl$, voiced or semi-voiced lateral, actually $d$ pronounced with $l$ release. Since $d$ is unaspirated in Navaho, its manner of articulation affects $l$. The corresponding voiceless lateral affricate is $tl$, pronounced $t$ with $l$ release; $tl$ is the glottalized form of $dl$.

$y$ is an unrounded prepalatal semi-vowel pronounced with enough friction to produce in some settings confusion with $\gamma$; both are nevertheless phonemes. $y\acute{u}$, an unusual sound due to contraction, is pronounced with the stop slightly preceding $y$.

Hoijer has $y$ as a stem-initial before $a$ and $o$ only. My vocabulary yields -ye as well as -$\gamma$e “marry”; -$\gamma\acute{e}\acute{t}$ and -$\gamma\acute{e}\acute{l}$ “move ropelike obj.;” -$y\acute{\i}\acute{l}$ and -$\gamma\acute{\i}\acute{l}$ “push.” Hoijer also states, “Neither sound ($y$ or $y\acute{u}$) has any noticeable variants.” My prefix analysis and the texts indicate that $y$ and $\gamma$ are sometimes as difficult to distinguish as $x$ and $\h$. Morgan often reduces $\gamma$ to $y$. He evidently considers them equivalent in certain forms where I find them distinguished phonetically and morphologically. This is an example of the $\gamma$-problem pointed out in 1.6. Morgan would hardly distinguish the stems I mention above.

$\gamma$ is a voiced back palatal spirant with a labial tinge, sometimes quite strong before $o$; it is fronted before $e$ and $i$, before $e$ sometimes so exaggerated as to sound $yy$. Labialized $\gamma w$ may lose its $\gamma$ character almost entirely to become $w$ preceded by a slight spirantal attack: ’awé’ or ’aywé’ “baby;” $\gamma walya\acute{\i}$, or $wa\acute{\i}ya\acute{\i}$ “jail;” $bi\acute{y}o$’ or $bi\acute{w}o$’ “his tooth.”

Hoijer and I have discussed $x$ and $\h$, arriving at different conclusions. I think $x$ is best regarded as an initial phoneme, $\h$ as a final: $xa$-out, $xasti\acute{n}$ “man;” $dah$-forth; -oh-second person dual pronoun. Navaho interpreters do not consider these two sounds interchangeable and morphology seems to confirm their protests against a single phoneme. However, this is a problem of overlapping, and we shall doubtless never have the material to come to an agreement about its significance.

$x$ is the voiceless spirant of $\gamma$. When $\gamma$ or $x$ precedes $o$, it is pronounced $\gamma o$- or $x o$—$w$ is written only if $\gamma$ is not pronounced. $\gamma w$ and $x w$ before $a$, $e$, and $i$, however, are written because the resulting form is due to contraction, $o$ survives in $w$.


3.9. Certain phases of the sound system have been rearranged to bring out values deriving from different viewpoints, and to explain why the system cannot be strictly phonemic. Overlapping is very

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5 Ibid., p. 57.
6 Ibid., p. 15.
7 Ibid., pp. 15ff.; Reichard 1948.
impressive in Navaho — there is scarcely a sound which is exclusively this or that, in certain settings it may be both this and that. Is such a sound then a single phoneme or several?

3.10. The glottal stop is a case in point: It is a sound in its own right: 'e'e'a'h "west;" 'i'i':d "sun has set."

3.11. When the sounds t, k, t$\hat{s}$, t$\hat{c}$, t$\hat{t}$ are defined, glottalization refers to the manner of articulation; it is simultaneous or near-simultaneous with the closure of the sound of which it is a part. Incidentally, these sounds vary greatly from speaker to speaker. Some have a very strong glottal enunciation, others glottalize the sounds so weakly that the glottalized sound can only with difficulty be differentiated from the unaspirated sonant. These glottalized consonants belong in a group of sounds unaffected by preceding -$d$- (cp. 3.55ff.).

3.12. The sounds m, n, and y are preceded, rather than followed by the glottal release. This effect may be due to the character of m, n, and y, or it may be a reflection of the setting in which they occur, in other words of their function: -$d$-$m$ > -$m'$, -$d$-$n$ > -$n'$, and -$d$-$y$ > -$y'$, the first and last being rare, -$d$-$n$ > -$n'$ being quite common.

3.13. The sounds n' and y as initials are not confined to stem syllables, as is m, but belong to a larger class of glottalized sounds occurring as the result of contraction differing from that of 3.12. If the prefixes of type Ca- and 'a-', or Ci- and 'a-', or Ci- and 'i-' occur in juxtaposition, as they often do, and there is some prefix, such as di-, ni-, or yi- between them and the stem, they may contract with the following consonant to form either 'C- or 'C-. There is much discussion among Navaho thinkers as to which is correct. As in other cases of overlapping, both forms are so frequent that both deserve consideration. Prefix initial consonants affected by preceding -a-'a- or -i-'i- are d (> 'd or t), n (> 'n or n'), s (> 's), dz- (> t$s$ or 't$s$), d$y$ (> t$\hat{c}$ or 't$\hat{c}$), y (> 'y or y), x (> 'x). In prefix combination with -a'a- y becomes -$j'$C (cp. 3.41.).

Certain inconsistencies have been tolerated to avoid undue complications. For instance, it would be convenient to have -$n'$ stand for -$d$-$n$- as a stem complex initial, and 'n for -a'a-n, but both are written -$n'$. t, 't$s$, and 't$\hat{c}$ have been retained to indicate -a'a- plus d, dz, and d$y$, respectively. On the other hand, t, t$s$, and t$\hat{c}$ have not been altered to indicate -$d'$ > t, d-$t$s$ > t$s$, or d-$t\hat{c}$ > t$\hat{c}$. The position of the sound indicates its type.

3.14. When stems are paired in "light" and "heavy" syllables, the glottal stop ends the heavy syllable compared with -h of the light one: -tah "among," -ta' "between;" -tah (prog.), -ta' (pf.) "be in series."
3.15. The matter of aspiration is as complex as that of glottalization; the pronunciation of the aspirates is not as definite as that of the glottal stop. The consonant $h$ varies from a long and emphatically articulated spirant to an almost imperceptible breath. I have noted elsewhere that $x$ after a consonant $t$ or $k$ may be so emphasized that the features defining them as stops are lost in favor of the spirant $x$ which remains—$t\ddid'n > tx\ddid'n > x\ddid'n$.\footnote{Reichard 1945, p. 162.} The strength or weakness of $h$ or $x$ depends upon the speaker’s habits, as the Navaho recognizes when he talks about “$x$-speakers;” AB and FH belong with these; WM does not.

The character of $h$ as related to $x$ is important in many respects, but particularly in determining historical relationships:

- $x$ is preferable to $h$ as an initial
- $-h$ is preferable to $x$ as a final

Consonants are aspirated, by some speakers very weakly, by others so strongly as to form consonant clusters—$tx$, $kx$, $tsx$, $tcx$—the second consonant of which seems to have no function.

3.16. The voiceless stops $t$ and $k$ differ according to the vowels that follow them. Before $a$, the aspiration tends to be notable, but not exaggerated; before $e$ and $i$, the aspiration is detectable, but the stop sounds as if palatalized along with the aspiration, the full forms might be indicated as $thye$, $thi$, or $khye$, $khi$. The vowels have the same effects on the spirants $y$ and $x$.

3.17. The sounds $t$, $k$, $y$, and $x$, as well as $k$ before $o$ take on a cluster character of the type $txwo$, $kxwo$, $ywo$, $kwo$. The sounds $t$, $k$, $y$, and $x$ are written without aspirate or labial symbols, it being understood that the rules of aspiration and labialization function regularly.

3.18. A cluster is formed by combining several sounds—$tx$, $sx$, $tsx$, $tcx$, $tx$, $zy$, and $dzy$—most frequently surds, followed by $x$. In cases of this kind the strong aspiration is a morphological element expressing an augmentative or pejorative (8.92.). In this work when $x$ is written after a consonant it indicates the consonant cluster, that is, the augmentative form.

3.19. It is interesting and perhaps significant that the voiced stops are not aspirated, in contrast with their paired surds, which are often somewhat, frequently strongly, aspirated. The sonants
have the usual distinction of unaspirated consonants; their brevity and lack of aspiration sometimes cause English speakers to hear $b$ as $p$, $d$ as $t$, $g$ as $k$, $dz$ as $ts$, and $dj$ as $tc$. It may be helpful to note that $b$ is not common in the language and that neither aspirated $p$ nor any other form of $p$ occurs; aspirated $d$ and $g$ are lacking.

3.20-3.21. Labialization

3.20. The infrequency of the bilabials $b$, $m$ and $ni$ has been noted, as has the occurrence of $w$ for $yw$. Hoijer lists $w$ as a phoneme, unrelated to $yw$, and $yw$ a variant of $y$ before $o$. $w$ is also found in borrowed words—$wá\text{ Ciudad}$ “Washington, the U.S. Government”—but, like the other labials, $w$ is not often found.

We have already seen that labialization is related to aspiration; aspirated sounds retain their character while anticipating by lip rounding a following $o$. Since this is true for $t$ and all palatals preceding $o$, they need not be written with $w$.

On the other hand $kw$, and $xw$ are retained because they appear before $e$ and $i$. They may often be contractions of the type $Cwe < Co-a-i$ or $Cwi < Co-i$. Probably they are all contracted forms, but so far the elements of such stems as $kwi$ and $kwe'í$ have not yet been convincingly established. $yw$ is probably a contracted form which in Navaho is sometimes further contracted to $w$. Neither sound occurs often enough to corroborate a theory.

3.21. The processes, nasalization, glottalization, aspiration, and labialization are related to various parts of the phonetic system. To understand them it is necessary to cut across the system from bilabial stops to glottalized lateral affricatives, and to consider the relationship between consonants and vowels.

3.22-3.25. Assimilation

3.22. Assimilation is one of the fundamental processes in the study of Navaho. It is closely related to contraction; both are carried so far that I omit the term “sandhi.” Hoijer has based his phonetic-phonemic analysis upon a subdivision of stems, prefixes (“prefinals,” he calls them), and suffixes. For this reason he has in some cases failed to arrive at some generalizations that apply at least to prefixes and stems, others that apply to all three parts of the verbal complex. For example, the interrelationship between vowels, consonants, and vowels and consonants is fundamentally similar. Differences encountered have to do with the absence of some sounds.

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9 Hoijer 1945c, p. 18.
in certain positions, or with their frequency. In other words, differences are a matter of probability rather than of essential phonetic makeup.10

3.23. To illustrate, the d-agentive classifier affects the stem initial in the same way as -d- of -i'd- first person dual pronoun. Both of these d's affect the stem initial y in different ways: If the first person dual form is yi'dzol (prog.) "we are blowing," we may conclude that the zero stem is -yol related to -sol (< -l-zol) and -l-zol, rather than to -yol which might be related to -yol (non-existent), or to -yol with affiliations with -dol (not found). Again, yi'dzil "we 2 are pushing prog." would suggest seeking other forms of the verb complex in -gil (zero), -dzil (-d-form), -sil (-l-form), and -l-zil (-l-form), rather than as -yil (zero-form), -bil (-d-form), -l-xil (-l-form), or -l-yil (-l-form). As a matter of fact, the first series appears, the second has -gil as the -d-form.

3.24. Several processes of contraction are closely related to assimilation. Since the dichotomy between vowels and consonants is not always preserved. These processes have been called "absorption" and "saturation." Absorption refers to the combination of two or more prefixes of similar pattern with resulting form like one or the other, or both, if they happen to be exactly alike to begin with. For example, yi-3-3 continuative < yi-3 object-yi-continuative; or ni-2 continuative < yi-continuative-ni-2 subject.

3.25. A prefix is said to be "saturated" when it can absorb no other prefix without change—of length, tone, vowel, consonant, or position. For example, do'-3 future < di-future-yi-progressive; but yido'-3-3 future < yi-3 object-di-future-yi-progressive. Do'-, though very stable, cannot absorb any more prefixes and, when others are involved, some change must be evident in the result. Other examples are: diyo'-3 repetitive aspect future < di-future-yi-progressive-yi-repetitive aspect; diyo'-3-i future repetitive aspect < di-future-'a-indefinite object-yi-progressive-yi-repetitive aspect. The last example shows a change of position of 'a-indefinite object, which in the simple future precedes do' as 'ado'-3-i future. The change in position indicates a closer relationship between 'a-indefinite pronoun and -yi-repetitive aspect than between 'a- and di-.

10 It would be satisfactory to ascertain the reasons for the numerical dominance of n-, y-, and d-prefixes, for example, as compared with other sounds which might have been used. And we cannot help wondering why so few vowels—a, i, and o—are basic in the prefixes, causing such extensive overlapping. A plausible reason, of course is that the processes of nasalization, lengthening, tone change, vowel change due to combination, glottalization with its attendant effects on vowels and consonants, all substitute for such variation in vowel development as occurs in Indo-European and other languages.
The principles of absorption and saturation will be used in this analysis of assimilation as they apply to single sounds; they will be more fully demonstrated in the section on Prefixes which is essentially phonetic (10-10.124.).

3.26-3.33. Assimilation Due to Mechanical Change

3.26. Changes are called "mechanical" when they have no morphological or semantic significance.

If an unasalized vowel precedes a nasalized vowel, the former may become nasalized (-V-CV > VCV):

sq'á (< si'á) round object is, lies
xójó (< xo-n-í) it is agreeable, satisfactory, beautiful
xőló (< xo-n-ló) there is, there are, it is available

Some speakers carry this process back to two or three syllables preceding the stem; others do not use it extensively. I have never heard the Navaho mention "n-speakers" as they do "x-speakers. They should, for differences in the use of nasalization are marks of speech diversity. Other recorders have unfortunately omitted the distinctions, probably because of a premature reduction of V and V to a single phoneme. Some indication of the differences comes out in texts, for instance, -dji' or -dji' "to a point;" -ni', -nį' "mind;" -ni'ł, -ni'ł "say to, tell;" lá: 'altso, tá: 'altso "all" (cp. 12.57.).

3.27. AB had a notion that a vowel following a nasal consonant must be nasalized and high in tone; he therefore refused to indicate the nasalization of vowels such as á in cimá, camá "my mother." Hoijer, Young and Morgan follow AB's practice, though they give no reason. The rule is not borne out by -más (prog.), -má's (pres.), -má's (inc.), -má'z (pf.), principal parts of the stem "spherical object moves;" ma'í:, ma'į: "coyote," and other stems.

3.28. The example sq'á "there is a round object" illustrates another common assimilation—of i to a—from si'á, which although written by Young and Morgan, I have never heard spoken.

3.29. The effect of one vowel upon another in adjacent syllables is progressive or retrogressive; any vowel may be so affected:

bayan (< bi-yan) his home
boxo-yan, bo'o'yan (< bi-xo-yan) where his house, home is
cika'á: (< cika'á:) my arrow that very one (NT 238:21)11
ni da'áč (< da'íc) is it a fact? is it truly?

11 See p. x for abbreviations of text references.
3.29.-3.32. PHONOLOGY

be'eldg· (< be·'aldg-) gun
ce· 'edin (< ce· 'adin) I have none; with-me there-is-none
cijè' (< cijèt) my father
'ti·ni·l (< 'a'ni·l) we 2 are moving some objects beyond
'o·hni·l (< 'a'o·hni-) you 2 are moving some objects beyond
t'à· do· 'đimí (< t'à· do· 'ădint-) don't say that (NT 136:23)
noxoká', naxaká' (< naxoká") earth, on the earth (NT 238:13)

3.30. A phase of the same rule, which may be important in genetic reconstruction, is the tendency of -i to be affected by following 'a- and reciprocally to affect it, changing both vowels to a third, intermediate vowel, e (cp. 5.1.):

be'ela' (< bi·'ala') his feather, the feather he uses (cp. bi·la' "its feather")
se'esdzá' (< ot·'adsdz-) my wife (cp. t'à· 'ako 'osdzánt "all the women") (NT 268:14)
ná·'adja'·, né·'edja'· (< nl·'ådja'·) owl (NT 36:25; 46:10)

3.31. A vowel in the vicinity of a labialized sound may be labialized:

dikwi, dökwi· how much, how many, a few
doyoj, diyoj it is botryoidal
dokó·j, dikó·j it is sour, salty, acidulous
boyo (< bi·yos) his shoulder joint
boyo (< bi·yoc) its thorn
xoc dótself (< dítself-) cholla; the-particular-cactus-that-is-needlelike
dosé, disé it is pink, shiny red, copper color

3.31a. Initial ts may be substituted for s:

sodzil, tsodzil, Mt. Taylor
sodizin tsodizin prayer
sq'a na·ydi, tsq'a na·ydi universal harmony (cer.)
tsed Sadie
sindao, tsindao penny

3.32. The example se'esdzá' · "my wife" illustrates a common reciprocal effect that the two sibilant groups, alveolar and blade alveolar, have upon one another. c may assimilate to s, or s may assimilate to c. Other examples are:

si·tsó (< ci·tsó) my daughter's child
si·tslí (< ci·tslí) my younger brother
dzo·síh (< djo·síh) he (4) is moving a sharp obj. prog.
ths·tsoh (< th·c·tsoh) large snake
cécó' (< secó") I have combed it
cidżo· (< si·djo·) bunchy substance is, lies
yidżo· (< yi·djo·) he has, keeps bunchy substance
cidžá' (< si·dža") there is a granular mass
yidža' (< yi·dža") he has, keeps granular mass
cidżé' (< si·džé") plural obj. are
tcóchil, tsóchil hard oak; rock-plant
de·sjah (< de·sjah) it is jagged, curved
3.33. The influence of one type of sibilant upon another varies in extent:

cido-sq-l, sido-sq-l he will have my affection; he will love me
bé-cisloqí, bé-cisloqí· ceremonial arrow
dzi'ditsxis (< djiditsxis) he(4) is shaking in a paroxysm
teté-zké-z (< teté-zké-z) she(4) began to consider it, she thought it over
dajo-ltsa-l (< dajo-ltsa-l) he(4) is going to die (FH)
tél tsin biya· xadúnsá vegetation that grows under trees
'aze· tél bé-xózini· herbalist; one-who-knows-plant-medicine (not 'aze·
tél bé-xózini· which would mean "medicine fragments, medicine broken like pottery")

'atáq·h sodizin protective prayer (cp. tá· do· sitáq· sintzini [FH] and tá· do·
citàq·h sintzini [YMG 55] "don't stand in my way")
se·' yi'ì'ni· mole; the-wart-that-is-black
'asíndst-hic (DD), 'asíndst-yic (FH) are you making a mistake?
nini·tsa·nic can you do better than that?
té 4e-ci'jahí Jagged Rocks (place name)
scdzoi-l Old Age; old-age-lies-in-a-heap (NT 128:13)
tá· 'iì' 'atích·zini·zl· (< 'atích·zini·zl·) "that must be the one," she (4)
thought (EW 90:17)

Apparently the reciprocal influence of alveolar on blade alveolar sibilants is limited by the attempt to avoid ambiguity, for example, 'atáq· xovdzoh "boundary line, danger line, line beyond which one is not safe;" but 'altáq· asdzoh "two lines spread, branch from one point."

3.34–3.38. Mechanical Change of Tone

3.34. Several rules of tonal effect may be called mechanical. A short vowel with high tone may be lengthened and its tone changed to falling when the syllable is followed by certain other syllables with low tone: 'á—demonstrative, "there remote, there near third person", xá—interrogative, "what in remote space or time, who, which, of all possibilities," are examples of bound forms that so behave (7.1–7.2.). Many verb stems are in the same category. A partial list of elements before which the change occurs is: -i "the particular one that;" -i" after ... ing;" da'ti "perhaps, maybe;" -di "in place, at; times;" do· future (abbreviation of do·le·l); -dah of the negative frame do... -dah; ni "for a fact;" ndi "although;" -gi "in, in place;" -go subordinating suffix; la' exclamation of surprise, finality, conviction; la'na· "desire, wish;" leh "customary," -díí "to a point." Note that the list includes independent words as well as bound forms:

'á·di (< 'á·di) in place there remote
xá·díí (< xá·díí) where to remote
yah'ì·yáì· (< yah'ì·yáì·) ne·zdá after coming in he sat down (FS 14)
tá·'éqí·'áte·go (< 'áte·go) that way, just as that is
nánszdá·díí (< nánszdá·díí) until I return
bi·' sizi·ni· (< sizi·iti·) his soul; the-particular-one-that-stands within-him
3.35. The tone of a high long vowel may be changed to falling before the same elements:

dj·di (< dj·-di) four times
dokwi-ca', dikwi-ca' (< dikwi-ca') how many? how much?
'alni·gi (< 'alni·-gi) at the center

Compare yah'alni·'gi "at the center inside;" and 'alta' nzi·ngo (< nzf-go) "alternating they stood in line" (note that \( \tau > -n \), in addition to the tone and quantity changes). Examples may be found with alternant forms—either \(-V\cdot CV > -V\cdot CV\), \(-V\cdot CV > -V\cdot CV\), or \(-V\cdot CV\), or they may retain the original form.

3.36. Before certain syllables, however, the same kind of vowels \(-V\)- and \(-V\)- retain their accent. Among them are -e: "concerning, custom, way;" -e\' future subordination; -i· "after having ...;" -dah "for example, among others that might be mentioned;" -nî "deceased, past, gone" (cp. ni "for a fact"):

'atlô·h-e' concerning weaving
-nilô-e Hail Chant
xa·citê·lih·dah Talking God among others (BS)
li·ci·' de·z'ai·ni' the late Red Point

Compare xaya· xayi·ka'n-i' (< xayi·ká·i') after taking contained substance off (fire).

3.37. When a syllable with a short high vowel is followed by certain syllables with a high vowel, the first may be lengthened.12 Elements that may so influence a preceding vowel are: -dê· "from a point toward the speaker; along the way;" -dô· "from a point away from the actor;" 'nî·', 'nî' "past, used to be;" -cf· "doubt, probability;" -dji "side;" là "evidently" (pres.); lê· "surely, indeed, as expected; a certain":

'á·dê·' (< 'á·dê·') along from a remote point, from there
'á·dô· (< 'á·dô·) from a remote point off
'á·dji (< 'á·dji) from that (remote) side
bitsili·kê (< bitsili·kê) his younger brothers
xa'âti·cî· (< xa'âti·cî·) whatever it may be

3.38. Some long syllables become short when they become prefixes, or if part of a stem, when another element is added:13

tô· bada'a'dji·nih (< tô· ba· da'a'dji·nih) they (4) just give him things expecting no return) (NT 300:7)
diyâhî (< diyâ·h-i) he who starts walking
yidjyo·sî·l (YM 182) (< yi· dijyo·sî·l (FH)) she will feed it, force food into it
'ajdji·t (< 'ajdji·t) those which someone (4) laid (on it)
'ëi 'asa· bei·lajî (< be· yi·lajî) potdrum tapper

13 Cp. ibid., p. 40.
bits'í naxaido-íté-l (< nixa- yido-íté-l) he will give us his daughter (in marriage) (NT 308:17)
cao-bí (< ca-yo-bí) I lost at gambling

The changes discussed in 3.34–3.38. probably depend upon two factors, the character of the vowel that takes the change, and that of the following vowel. These rules may well be clues to genetic relationships, especially in determining tones. So far, however, speech and texts are too inconsistent to make any deductions about the tonal effects final.

3.39. Glide Consonants

3.39. Glide sounds sometimes join stems and suffixes (glide syllables affecting conjugations are discussed in 10.47.). The two most common glide sounds are -d- and -g-; their use and the choice between -d-, -g-, or occasionally -y- is a phase of lingual diversity:

-dí· “the one who, that which” has the form -ādi· on the western part of the Navaho Reservation (5.30.).
'tā‘ákó-dí-igi that very one
'asínistí-γ-ic are you making a mistake? (FH)
'asínistí-ß-ic are you making a mistake? (DD)
na‘lú-gí· (< na‘lú-i·) birds; the-particular-ones-that-fly-about (NT 106:26)

3.40–3.44. Vowel or Consonant Loss

3.40. A vowel or consonant may be lost:

tá‘l be: na‘ ntsáxíke’sn (< tá‘ lá be: na‘ ntsáxíke’s ní) indeed you are considered to be in first place for a fact (NT 220:1)
'á‘l deiλni (< 'á‘ lá) thus truly they spoke (NT 220:23)
‘áko lá: dí-ná-λn (< ‘áko lá tá: dí-ná-l ní) even so you (must) go (NT 388:12)
'álnínó: (< 'ální- góna’) around the middle (NT 412:8)
ba- neise-le (< ba- neise-l le) I keep dreaming about them (NT 234:11)
dí-‘sdzá-ní:í (< dí-’asdzání:í) these who are women (NT 104:19)
dókwí–göncq (< dókwí-go–ánt) I am not sure how many (NT 276:16)
xo‘ádé-le–go‘oncé (< xo‘ádé-le–go‘óné)’ I’m not sure that . . . (NT 316:15)
nt‘ (< ní-i‘) yisool after saying . . . he blew (NT 42:24)

3.41. Reference has been made to the effect deriving from a combination of prefixes of type Ca‘-a-CV > Ca’CV or Ca’CV (3.13.). Here the process will be treated as a vowel loss with a possible glottalizing effect on the following consonant, and illustrations will be given.

A number of prefixes—’a-beyond, da-plural, na-down, na-about, xa-up—may occur before ’a-indefinite pronoun, “some, someone,
something.” If there is no other prefix between the combination Ca’a- and the stem complex, the forms remain stable; that is ‘a-some is a paradigmatic prefix. However, if a prefix of type Ci-, such as di-, ni-, yi-, or dji- intervenes, the result is that Ca’a-CV > Ca’CV or Ca’CV: da’alylallocation they pl. are eating some meat,” but da’djilyal or da’tchilyal (< da’adjilyal) “they (4) are eating some meat.”

3.42. Consonants occurring in such a position that may be glottalized are the alveolars d and n; y; and the sibilant voiced affricates dz and dj: a’te’cnit (< ‘a’ade’cnit) “I shall move some pl. obj. beyond;” danini’t (< da’anini’t) “they are moving some pl. obj. beyond;” da’tco’lyal (< da’adjo’lyal) “something meatlike has been eaten by them (4);” da’tsiztlo (< da’adziztlo) “they (4) have woven something.”

In the following example Ca’a- precedes dji- which is contracted to -j-, but ‘ attaches itself to n: bajni’t (< ba’adjini’t) “he (4) has lent round obj. to him” (YM 6). In the next examples d > t after -j-: a’ji’tolizin (< a’-adjidolizin) “he (4) maintains himself, his position;” i’jito’tzoc (< ‘ayi’adjido’tzoc) “he (4) will go to sleep.”

I have not encountered ‘j, though Hoijer has ‘aná’jdi’so’l (< ‘aná’adjidi’so’l) “he (4) whistled again;” ‘ada’jni’γγ’h (< ‘ada’adjini’γγ’h) “they (4) are beginning to eat.”14 Actually two principles are in conflict here—the tendency to glottalize dentals, and the necessity of preserving the prefix positions. Doubtless the conflict has not been settled and there is a choice of forms (op. NT 264:7, 266:21, 268:15, 282:17).

When the combination Ca’a- occurs before x, following the rule of position, the glottal stop precedes x; in this case no more readily glottalized consonant follows: da’xe’snit (< da’axe’snilt) “some pl. obj. have been moved by them repeatedly.”

The glottalizing process may also apply to Ci’a-: ‘anázi’bi’tiyoji (< ‘bi’ ‘adiyojii) “trachoma; that which-is-indefinitely-botryoidal-in-someone’s-eyes;” bi’te’laládi (< bi’ ‘ade’llá-di) “the particular one into whom the sun has shone;” xabi’te’li’ (< xabi’ade’lli’) “he has been caught in the act by someone” (YM 102); xabi’tso’ka’d (< xabi’adzo’ka’d) “he has been slapped with some fabriclike obj.;” ‘idiye’cnit (< ‘axidi’aye’cnit) “I shall repeatedly move some pl. obj. beyond repeatedly.”

3.43. As we shall see when considering prefixes, y is very unstable. It is often lost after preceding sounds, its loss causing two words to become one because neither the noun, postposition, or adverb preceding, nor the word beginning with yi- exists in the resulting form. Note in the following examples that yi- has different values, sometimes being a possessive or objective pronoun, sometimes an aspective prefix:

14 Ibid., p. 25.
nthiz bá bitšánil (<bitśá yiníil) jewels were taken out (of pouch) for them (sheep) (NT 244:21)
dinéi-kí-áj (<diné yikí-áj) two men found them (NT 60:3)
kodóiti' sii^go (<kodó- yitói') standing facing there (in that direction) (NT 298:17)
kodóikidjí' ní-yi'ago (<kodó' yikidjí') the two having come to a stand over it (scalp) here; here-from at-a-point-over-it (NT 298:18)
dinéil (<diné yil) with the men (NT 304:12)
xá'qi'-t'í-yá' lá (<xa'qí- yil) over it (ridge) she went with it (baby) (NT 36:18)
yá-diláiltahágo (<yá-dilá yiltahágo) whatever (surprising) he may be talking about (NT 54:11)
tléito'go (<réi yital'go) he is only nursed (not fed) (NT 280:25)
tá- dinéívi'gó (<diné yí-i'gó') when in future I have called the man by name (NT 296:20)
dibélí'í (<dibélí'í) they are rich in sheep (NT 310:8)
dinéici'-j (<diné yic'i-j) he led men (NT 380:18)
yi't-yi'jic (<yi'ti yi'ti'jic) he breathed in from it (NT 216:21)

3.44. The fourth person pronoun dji- is often shortened to -j- when preceded by prefixes. In the following it is similarly shortened after an independent word:

dó: 'éidajdi-ni'd (< do: 'éida djidí-ni'd) “not that one (of them),” he (4) said (NT 216:21)

3.45-3.133. Sound Changes Due to Morphology

3.45-3.48. Stem and Stem Complex

3.45. By far the largest number of sound changes have morphological significance and therefore affect meaning. In this section changes will be considered that affect single sounds resulting from assimilation or contraction, but most contractions of the syllable type CV, especially as they affect verbs, will be discussed in the section on Prefixes (10-10.124.). The interrelation between vowels and consonants, and between prefixes and stems makes any fixed subdivision impossible; rules applying to suffixes present similar, but perhaps fewer difficulties.

3.46. In the analysis of all Navaho verbs the stem should be the starting point. Many stems have initials that may be changed by prefixes that immediately precede them. Some indispensable prefixes such as the stem classifiers -d-, -l-, and -l-, and the pronominal prefixes -c- "I," -n- "you," -i'd- "we 2," -oh- "you 2," so influence the stem initial as to change it completely.

3.47. "Stem" and "stem complex," in contradistinction to "prefixes," will be differentiated. The classifiers, zero, -d-, -l-, and -l- belong to the stem, and by "stem complex" is meant "classifier plus
stem." Thus -djol (prog.) "bunchy substance moves" is a "stem" in the narrowest sense. In a more theoretical sense it is a "stem complex," if it be thought of as zero-djol, the classifier being absent and therefore called "zero." However, in referring to the stem complex I shall mean rather -d-djol (> -djol), -l-djol, or -l-djol. It is apparent that one change is -d-djol > -djol, an illustration of the fact that hardly a stem can be chosen which is not affected in some form or other by rules of assimilation.

If, for instance, the apparent stem is found in the form yo'djol "bunchy substance is moving progressively," or yo'ldjol "he is moving bunchy material progressively," it is easy to determine that -djol is the stem, and -l-djol the stem complex. If, however, the form encountered is yi'ldjol "we 2 are moving bunchy material progressively," it is impossible to know from this form alone whether the stem complex is -l-djol "cause bunchy material to move progressively," or -l-djol "bunchy material is caused to move progressively." The reason is that -d- of yi'd-, the first person dual progressive prefix, combines with -l- of -l-djol to become -l-, hence in this form yi'ldjol, but -l-, the passive causative can absorb -d- and results also in the form yi'ldjol. We shall see that the process is not an isolated, but rather a common phenomenon.

3.48. A more complicated type of assimilation occurs with -c- the first person pronoun, because it may absorb the stem initial or the classifier, and it may change the stem initial (3.54–3.133.).

3.49–3.53. Relationship between Vowel and Consonant

3.49. The relationship between vowel and consonant is another important problem. One aspect of this question is the nasality of the vowel in relation to -n, and to a vowel with a high tone. For instance, in compounding, a stem normally ending in -n may lose n and the vowel may be nasalized, or the n may disappear entirely. This may be an effect in the same class with the shortening of noun stems as they appear in prefixed forms (op. 5.39.), but it may also be a principle of contraction which parallels others, as we shall see (5.38.).

\[ ts'i-dil, ts'i-dil (\text{<} ts'in-dil) \text{ bunting sticks (used in game)} \\
\text{ts'i-tša', ts'i-tša' (\text{<} ts'in-tša')} \text{ box; wood-bowl} \\
\text{ts'i-kiz, ts'i-kiz (\text{<} ts'in-kiz)} \text{ crack in log, wood} \\
\text{ti-tse'd (\text{<} tin-tse'd) ice cream; ice-pounded} \\
\text{'q'á'nia' (\text{<} 'a'a'n-nia') he crawled into a hole} \\
\text{do' ditcin ci-yi'sx-dah (\text{<} ditcin ci-yi'sx-dah) I have not died of hunger;} \\
\text{hunger-has-not-killed-me (NT 50:7)}

3.50. Nasality or n may apparently be lost in compounds, but actually survives as the high tone of a vowel. A class of nouns
requires a high tone of the possessive: *bitci'h* "his nose," instead of *bitci'h*. All such nouns may be found in other Athabaskan languages as of the pattern -Y-stem, or -n-stem. The important point here is not so much the derivation of the stems, but the fact that a process which operated in differentiating languages is at work in Navaho. We must, therefore, use the concept that nasality, n, and high tone are related. In practice, when I encounter a vowel with high tone, I conclude that nasality or n lurks within the vowel, and I try to discover its relation to the complex. This has proved to be a useful concept, but I do not feel justified in concluding that a is a vowel, that n in -an is a consonant, or that -i of *i* (< 'a-n-') is a vowel and nothing else.

3.51. Many Navaho speakers use -e-, others use -i-, a habit which may be considered mechanical. In compounds, however, some insist upon -e-, and rightly, I believe, since -i- may be considered "primary" whereas -e- is "secondary or derived" (5.1.). In rapid speech the differentiation is exceedingly difficult to make. In analysis it is impossible to sustain the differentiation conclusively, but there is good evidence that -e- is a combined form — -e'- is certainly secondary. Since -e- or -e'- results from a combination of -i- plus n, and since we have varying stems such as -ni', -ni', and -ne' (pres.) "say, tell," I should consider -ne' as possibly equivalent to -ni plus -n-, as is -ni'. Once more then, I question whether -e is a vowel, or a vowel plus a consonant.

3.52. The same problem comes up in connection with s which, may be "lost" in a high or lengthened vowel (3.98, 10.55, 10.107.), and again when xi-repetitive action appears in one paradigmatic form not only as xi-, but also as xe-, or xa- (10.114e, d, g.) or when xo-place becomes xa- (10.116b.), the two last forms overlapping with those of xa-out of (10.85.). Is the vowel i, e, a, or o? I conclude that we must have a variable scale by which to judge, a scale that forces us to keep in mind the possibility that one is not "the same" as another, and that the operating definition of the vowel must include the possibility that it may stand for something more, perhaps even a consonant.

3.53. A comparable reconsideration must be conceived for the interrelationship of consonants. They are related in series exemplified by the following:

\[ y, y, x, s, z, dz, I, l \]
\[ y, z, x \]
\[ j, c, dj \]
\[ l, I, dl \]
The last two series—γ, c, δj; and l, t, dl—seem phonetically and phonemically plausible, since they concern sounds, which by definition are related. Even y, g, γ, and x have a class name—they are palatals—but the first relationship—y, γ, x, s, z, δz, l, l—seems to cut quite radically across the phonetic definition. If y is related to g, γ, and x, how can it be related to the alveolar sibilants and the laterals? If y is related, on the one hand, to the alveolar sibilants and laterals, is it the “same” as the y related only to the palatals? Apparently it is not, but is it then a phoneme? We shall have to consider that it may be vowel, or merely the quantitative aspect of a vowel, and this is not included in a strict definition of a “sound.”

3.54-3.133. Consonant Combination

3.54. This long, but necessary discussion will now be illustrated, first in connection with the effect of consonant combination. Of first importance in understanding (and therefore of “looking up”) stems is the effect of classifiers upon stem initials. The final -d- of the dual first person pronoun has the same effects on the stem initial as d-classifier. They may be tabulated as follows:

Table I

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</table>

3.55. All stem initials have been included in the table so that the effects of assimilation may be compared in various settings. It will be noted that d—either agentive classifier, or final consonant of
first person dual pronoun—is absorbed by b, d, t, l, g, k, dz, ts, d, dj, tc, te, dl, tl, and tl. dz, dj, and dl may be stem initials without d-influence, but when d meets any of them, there is no change in the affricate, nor does d persist. Since all affricates have either a d or t attack, they behave like d and t, that is, they are unaffected by preceding d.

3.56. Examples of consonants changed by contact with d follow; they include some of affricate initials to illustrate overlapping between two sounds which become an affricate, and the absorption of d by an affricate:

3.57. d: > l: yi'-lac (< yi-d'ac) “we are going prog.;” yi'-lic (< yi-d'-ic) “we are stringing beads;” yilic (< yi-d'-ic) “they are being led (on a string);” ni'-t'c (< ni-d'-t'c) “we 2 are starting to lead them; we-2-attached-by-a-string-are-starting-for;” yi'-tot (< yi-d'-dl) “we 2 are floating prog.”

3.58. d-m > ni: yi-mqas (< yi-d-mqas) “we 2 are rolling a sphere;” 'i'-di'-mal (< 'i-di-d-mal) “we 2 will gulp it down”

3.59. d-n > n: di'-nah (< di-d-nah) “we 2 shall crawl;” di'-né:h (< di-d-né:h) “we 2 are starting to crawl;” ni'-nil (< ni-d-nil) “pl. obj. have been laid down;” yi-nil (< yi-d-nil) “we 2 are carrying pl. obj.;” yi'-nih (< yi-d-nih) “we 2 are milking;” ni'ninih (< ni'néi-d-nih) “he cust. distributes them;” bi'-tonij (< bi'-ad-yo-d-nij) “it has been plucked by someone”

3.60. d-y > y (exceptional): ló' áxoni-yói (< 'áxoni-d-yói) “we are increasing in number” (YM 234); xoni-yói (< xoni-d-yói) “we 2 are brave, good at . . . , we 2 excel;” dini'-yog (< dini-d-yog) “we 2 are fluffy”

3.61. d-y > d (exceptional): yi'-dá (< yi-d-yá) “we 2 are eating it;” yidá’ (< yi-d-yá’) “it has been eaten”

3.62. d-y > dz: yi'-dzol (< yi-d-yol) “we 2 are blowing;” yidzol (< yi-d-yol) “it is being blown;” nidzó'd (< ni-d-yó'd) “several are being driven”

3.63. d-g > d (exceptional): di'-d'í (d'< di-d'-d'í) “we 2 will eat it”

3.64. d-y > g: di'-gé'l (< di-d'-gé'l) “we 2 shall move a load;” yo'-gé'l (< yo-d'-gé'l) load is being moved prog., load is being carried;” yigáj (< yi-d-yaj) “it is being nibbled;” 'ágé'h (< 'a-d-γé:h) “marriage is being arranged;” yigiz (< yi-d-γiz) “it is being moved as a pivot”
3.65. d-\text{z} > d: no'dó'z (\textless{} no'd-zó'z) "it has been torn in strips, it is cut, sliced;" yi'w'ís (\textless{} yi'd-zó'ís) "we 2 are tearing it in strips;" 'ide'z (\textless{} i-d-zé'z) "something is singed"

3.66. d-\text{z} > dz: yidza'z (\textless{} yi-d-zá'z) "it has been snowing;" ni'dzas (\textless{} ni-d-zas) "we 2 are sprinkling it in a continuous line;" 'anádzi' (\textless{} 'aná-d-zí') "he cust. rakes;" yi'dzoh (\textless{} yi'd-zoh) "we 2 are marking it;" yi'dz'il (\textless{} yi-d-zí'l) "we 2 are coming to a standstill;" 'adzès (\textless{} a-d-zé's) "something is being singed;" do'dzoh (\textless{} do-d-zoh) "it is being carried in the mouth"

3.67. d-\text{s} (\textless{} d-l-\text{z}) > ls: di'lsah (\textless{} di'd-l-zah) "we will find it gone;" di'lzas (\textless{} di'd-l-zas) "we 2 are strewing it in a line;" ni'l-sé'l (\textless{} ni'd-l-zé'l) "we 2 are growing up prog.;" si'l'si'h (\textless{} si'd-l-zí'h) "we have missed the mark, made a mistake"

3.68. d-\text{dz} > dz: yi'dzf's (\textless{} yi'd-dzé's) "we 2 are dragging it prog.;" xadi'dzih (\textless{} xad-i'd-dzih) "we 2 will speak out;" di'dzih (\textless{} di'd-dzih) "we 2 will be left, will survive"

3.69. d-\text{d} > dj: yido'dj'îl (\textless{} yido-d-jí'l) "he will be blackened;" 'adidi'djah (\textless{} 'adid-i'd-jah) "we 2 will spit;" bi'tódjih (\textless{} bi-tad-yó-d-jí'h) "he is being named, called by name;" yi'djoh (\textless{} yi'd-joh) "we 2 are combing it"

3.70. d-\text{c} (\textless{} d-l-\text{j}) > lc: di'l'cîh (\textless{} di'd-l-jí'h) "we will mow it, cut it (as hair);" yi'l'cic (\textless{} yi'd-l-jíc) "we are poking it with slender obj. (as stick);" yi'l'cî' (\textless{} yi'd-l-jí') "we have blackened it"

3.71. d-\text{dj} > dj: yidi'djîl (\textless{} yidi'd-djí'l) "we 2 shall be blackened;" si'djé' (\textless{} si'd-djé') "we pl. exist;" ba· di'djá'h "we 2 are giving him wood"

3.72. d-\text{l} > l: yi'ldjâq (\textless{} yi'd-l-djâq) "we 2 are stamping along;" yi'ldlal (\textless{} yi'd-l-dlal) "we 2 are ripping it prog.;" yi'l'cic (\textless{} yi'd-l-jíc) "blade cutting is being caused by us"

3.73. d-\text{l} > dl: yi'dlôh (\textless{} yi'd-loh) "we 2 are looping, lassoing it;" yi'dlôs (\textless{} yi'id-ló's) "we 2 are leading one along on a rope;" si'dlíj (\textless{} si'd-l-jí') "we 2 have become;" naxadlá (\textless{} naxa-d-lá) "ceremony; things are being done-in-order"

3.74. d-\text{l} > l: yi'ldl (\textless{} yi'd-ló'l) "we 2 are whistling, singing in a high key;" yi'la'l (\textless{} yi'd-la'l) "we hate him;" yi'la'l (\textless{} yi'd-l-a'l) "we are sending him on an errand;" yi'ltas (\textless{} yi'd-l-tas) "we are twirling a small obj.;" yi'ltos (\textless{} yi'd-l-tos) "we 2 are moving fabriclike obj.;" yi'dz'il (\textless{} yi'd-l-zí'l) "we 2 are blessing it;" se'l'yin (\textless{} si'd-l-xí ni) "we killed him for a fact" (EW 112:2)
3.75. \(d\cdot dl > dl\): yi'd\(\ddot{d}\)\(\acute{\lambda}\) (< yi'd-d\(\ddot{d}\)l\(\acute{\lambda}\)) "we 2 believe; we 2 are drinking it;" 'i'd\(\ddot{l}\)\(\acute{c}\) (< 'i'd-d\(\ddot{l}\)\(\acute{c}\)) "we 2 are painting something;" daxon\(\ddot{l}\)\(\acute{\lambda}\)h (< daxon\(\ddot{l}\)\(\acute{\lambda}\)h) "we pl. are starting a ceremony;" yi'd\(\ddot{d}\)loh (< yi'd-d\(\ddot{d}\)loh) "we 2 are laughing"

Of the changes effected by \(d\), there are only a few examples of \(d\cdot m > m\), \(d\cdot y > y\), \(d\cdot \gamma > d\), and \(d\cdot z > d\); all others are quite common.

3.76. A study of the chart with prefixed \(l\) shows assimilations or changes with \(y\), \(\gamma\), and \(s\), and with the laterals. The general rule is that \(d\cdot y > dz\), \(d\cdot \gamma > y\); \(l\cdot y > s\), and \(l\cdot y > ly\), or \(lz\). Probably no verb stem has a primary initial \(s\); stems with \(s\)-initial are equivalent to \(l\cdot y\), or \(lz\). Examples of changes with \(l\)-classifier follow:

3.77. \(l\cdot y > s\): xasa' ( < xa-l-y'\(\acute{a}\)' ) "deserted, abandoned place;" naxas\(\acute{a}\) (< naxa-l-y\(\acute{a}\)) "he has caused ceremony to start;" yisq\(\acute{d}\) (< yi-l-y\(\acute{a}\)\(\acute{d}\)) "he has her affection; she loves him;" yis\(\acute{i}\) (< yi-l-\(\acute{i}\)) "he has grabbed it"

3.78. \(l\cdot z > s\): bil 'i-sa'l (< 'i-l-za'l) "he sailed off in it (car);" yido'sa'l (< yi-do-l-zA'l) "she will love him;" nini\(\acute{s}\) (< nini-l-z\(\acute{a}\)) "it grows;" yis\(\acute{e}\)h (< yi-l-z\(\acute{e}\)h) "he is making it pliable;" yo'sas (< yo-l-zas) "he is strewing it in a line;" yo'sih (< yo-l-zih) "he is causing sharp obj. to move swiftly"

3.79. The causative \(l\) unvoiced the blade alveolar as it does the alveolar sibilant:

\(l\cdot j > c\): yi'yi-ce\(\acute{e}\) (< yi'yi-l-j\(\acute{e}\)\(\acute{e}\)) "he has sheared it, he has caused cutting of woolly, grassy material;" neico\(\acute{d}\) (< nei-l-jo\(\acute{d}\)) "he is dragging it about;" y\(\acute{a}\)d\(\acute{c}\) (< y\(\acute{a}\)d\(\acute{a}\)-l-j\(\acute{\dot{\gamma}}\)) "there is goodness, satisfaction;" yicah (< yi-l-jah) "he is hooking it;" nic\(\acute{\circ}\)h (< ni-l-j\(\acute{\circ}\)h) "she is combing your (hair)"

3.80. The causative \(l\) before \(\gamma\)-stem initial unvoices \(\gamma\), but both sounds remain:

\(l\cdot y > lx\): adi't\(\acute{a}\)c (< adi-l-y\(\acute{a}\)c) "they are biting something;" dzo\(\ddot{t}\)\(\acute{x}\)\(\ddot{a}\)l (< dzo-l-ya\(\ddot{a}\)l) "he is twirling a clublike obj.;" 'an'i'lx\(\ddot{a}\) (< 'an'i-l-\(\ddot{\gamma}\)\(\ddot{\alpha}\)) "I have killed someone, something;" dilx\(\ddot{\alpha}\) (< di-l-\(\ddot{\gamma}\)\(\ddot{\alpha}\)) "it is thawing;" yil-xod (< yi-l-yod) "he caused oscillation;" yilxoj (< yi-l-yoj) "he caused tickling;" yi'i't\(\acute{a}\)c (< yi'i-l-\(\ddot{\gamma}\)c) "she is putting it to sleep"

3.81. The same principle operates for the laterals preceding laterals as for \(d\), that is, when one sound precedes a stem with the same initial, it assimilates to it; the articulation is not doubled:

\(l-l > l\): xoni\(\ddot{t}\) (< xoni-l-t\(\ddot{\alpha}\)) "I have had a ceremony started;" di't\(\ddot{\alpha}\) (< di-l-\(\ddot{\alpha}\)) "he burned it;" yi'yi-lq\(\ddot{\alpha}\) (< yi'yi-l-q\(\ddot{\alpha}\)) "he has increased it, caused it to increase"
Of the three classifiers I is the most stable. It sometimes changes \(ln \mapsto l\), but apparently the stem complex with \(ln\)-initial is closely related to that with \(l\)-initial. \(y\) and \(\gamma\) as stem initials seem to be related to the laterals. Since these relationships are doubtless of historical derivation, and since the number of stems showing these changes is small, they will be discussed elsewhere (8.102, 8.103).

A single example of different construction is an exception to the rule that laterals in juxtaposition are not doubled: ‘\(\dot{\ddot{a}}\dot{a}i \, \text{ciye}'l-\dot{le'\dot{l}}\)’ (< ciye'-l do'le'-l) “that will be my offering” (NT 116:13).

### 3.82–3.97. -c-first personal pronoun

3.82. A common assimilation concerns the alveolar and blade alveolar sibilants, which may have reciprocal effects. The first personal pronoun -c- causes various changes of stem initial. It assimilates the classifiers \(l\) and \(l\) except in the perfective where its position may make it a test form. The changes with -c-first person are listed in Table II. Since -c- sometimes absorbs the classifier, or causes a change in the consonant cluster, such changes are also included.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>y-prefix</th>
<th>y-stem</th>
<th>(y)</th>
<th>(z)</th>
<th>(s)</th>
<th>(j)</th>
<th>c</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-c-1 subj., ag. (s)</td>
<td>(s)</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s*</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-s-3-3 pf.</td>
<td>(s), (y)</td>
<td>(y)</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>(s)</td>
<td>(s)**</td>
<td>(cj)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(-h) final</td>
<td>(h)</td>
<td>(h), (h)</td>
<td>x, (h)</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>(h)</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(l)-caus.</td>
<td>(l)-stem</td>
<td>(l)</td>
<td>(l)</td>
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<td>(l)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-c-1 subj., ag. (c)</td>
<td>(c)</td>
<td>(c)</td>
<td>(c)</td>
<td>(c)</td>
<td>(c)</td>
<td>(c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-s-3-3 pf.</td>
<td>(s)</td>
<td>(s)</td>
<td>(s)</td>
<td>(s)</td>
<td>(s)</td>
<td>(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(-h) final</td>
<td>(l)</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*s may result from a combination of \(-l\)-y or \(-l\)-z. -c- has the same effect on both. The combination \(-l\)-y. > \(-s\) is exceptional, being found only with \(-y\)-l “eat,” whose stem initial is irregular and may perhaps be \(y\).

**s may result from \(-l\)-y. or \(-l\)-z.; the effects of \(s\)-pf. with the \(s\) or either of these derivatives is the same.

3.83. \(c\)-y \(> s\) : *xonisá* (< xoni-c-ygé) “I am aware of, wise about things, careful of it;” *bixodesah* (< bixode-c-yah) “I miss it, I find it gone;” *díné-sol* (< diné-c-yol) “I shall drive several”

3.84. \(c\)-y \(> c\) (exceptional, stem initial not clear): \(ba\) : *yicáh* (< yic-yáh) “I caught up with him;” *na-cáh* (< na-c-yah) “I am going;” *bi-cáh* (< bi-c-yáh) “I am going up (down) along it” (cp. bínicyah “I am capable of;” bi-yah “he is capable of, it suffices” (YMG 25-6)
3.85. c-γ > cx (regular): didećxać (< dideć-γać) "I shall nibble it;" yicxəh (< yic-γəh) "I am killing them;" 'ādidećxəs (< 'ādideć-γəs) "I will scratch myself;" 'i-ćaxə (< 'i-ć-αxə) "I am shaking flexible obj.;" xaćxəжить (< xać-γəحة) "I am taking ropelike obj. out"

3.86. c-z > s: ye’sis (< ye’c-zis) "I am singeing it;" yisoh (< yic-zoh) "I am marking it;" yisō’s (< yic-zō’s) "I am tearing it (as fabric)"

3.87. c-s (< l-y) > s: yi’sol (< yic-l-yol) "I am rep. blowing on it;" bi’ aso’l (< ac-l-yol) "I am pumping air into it;" yisas (< yic-sas) "I am sprinkling it in continuous line prog."

3.88. c-s (< l-y) > s (exceptional): bi’ diye’si’t (< diye’c-l-γi’t) "I shall feed him, force food into him"

3.89. c-s (< l-z) > s: yisin (< yic-l-zin) "I am blessing it;" ye’sél (< ye’c-l-zé’l) "I am dressing hide;" 'azdiye’siyih (< 'azdiye’c-l-zih) "I shall throw sharp obj. beyond rep.;" ne’soh (< ne’c-l-zoh) "I am marking it"

3.90. c-f > c: de’cah (< de’c-jah) "I shall spit;" yidé-ci’l (< yide’c-jí’l) "I shall call him by name;" yicol (< yic-jó’l) "I am combing its hair;" yicic (< yic-jíc) "I am breathing it in"

3.91. c-c (< l-j) > c: yicé’h (< yic-l-jé’h) "I am cutting strands, I am shearing, mowing it;" yicóc (< yic-l-jó’c) "I am throwing hoop-like obj.;" yicóc’ (< yic-l-jó’c’) "I am taming it, breaking colt"

3.92. c-l-caus. > c: nacnic (< nac-l-nic) "I am working;" 'ażácyá (< 'ąxáč-l-yá) "I have sense;" na’c’a’ (< na’c-l-a’) "I am being sent on errand;” xe’cyal (< xe’c-l-yal) "I am v. jiggling on belly;" décyal (< de’c-l-yal) "I am eating meat;” 'ādicjé’h (< 'ādic-l-jé’h) "I am shaving;" dinicjó’ (< dinic-l-jó’) "I run slowly;” ‘acjic (< ‘ac-l-jic) "I am dancing;” ‘ādicjó’h (< ‘ādic-l-jó’h) "I am brushing myself, combing my hair"

3.93. c-l-stem initial > cl: nclí (< nc-lí) "I am;" yicle’h (< yic-le’h) "I am becoming;” ‘aćli’t (< ‘āc-li’t) "I am creating, making it;” yiclı’t (< yic-lí’t) "I am carrying a ropelike obj., a pair of obj.;” naxoniclin (< naxonc-lín) "I look like him, I resemble him"

3.94. c-lz > sz: ‘ąxodicjé’si’h (< ‘ąxodic-jé’c-l-zih) "I shall become motionless“ (YM 239); ‘ąkássis (< ‘ąkáč-l-zis) "I am putting on belt“ (YM 243)

3.95. c-l-caus. > c: yisbas (< yic-l-bas) "I am driving it (car, wagon); I am causing it to roll prog.;” xode’bija (< xode’c-l-bi’l) "I shall build a hogan;” xadicbin (< xadic-l-bin) "I am filling it;"
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I am causing filling;" xanictca'd (< xanic-l-teca'd) "I am carding wool; I-am-causing-it-to-swell-out"

3.96. c-l (< l-l) > cl: dide'clil (< dide'c-l-lil) "I shall cause it to smoke, burn;" náxide'clah (< náxide'c-l-lah) "I am choosing, selecting them;" yicle'l (< yic-l-le'l) "I am becoming"

3.97. c-lx (< l-γ) > cx: 'acxoc (< 'ac-l-γoc) "I am sleeping;" yicxoj (< yic-l-γoj) "I am tickling him;" 'adixá-c (< 'adic-l-γá-c) "I am biting something;" dicxal (< dic-l-γal) "I am opening my eyes"

3.98–3.111. si-perfective

3.98. The formulas for combination of d, l, and l, and c are essentially the same as Hoijer's, stated in somewhat different terms. However, my analysis of si-perfective differs greatly from his.15 si- seems to be a persistent prefix of the perfective combined with the completive inflectional -ni- which may be separated by the personal pronouns in the intransitive and active transitive (10.55, 10.107.). The position of these two prefixes in the third person active transitive, where si- is pushed toward the stem by yi-third object, gives rise to the phonetic effect of voicing—si- in this position becomes -z-. This process enters into the matter only when the zero stem is used; whenever the stem is affected by a classifier (d, l, or l), the prefix of the third person perfective is si- or -s-. It seems clear, therefore, that basically si- or -s- is the stable form, and that -z- is to be explained on the basis of position.16 si-perfective may therefore be analyzed like other prefixes, noting first the effects of -s- on the stem and stem complex, and explaining -z- as a prefix complex, somewhat unusual, but paralleled by other prefix combinations (10.59.).

3.99. -s- before a stem consonant has an effect comparable to that of -c-first personal pronoun, but the alveolar and blade-alveolar positions are reversed, that, is, the alveolar sibilant -s- assimilates the blade-alveolar to it, or the blade-alveolar sibilants become alveolar sibilants. If -s- precedes a stem -z- or -s- initial, they may merge and only one s results. If -s- or -z- precedes a stem with a blade alveolar, -s- changes to -c- and -z- changes to -j-. Such a -c-

16 Hoijer considers -z- as "augmented by d, l, or l" (Ph 43). I consider the stem "augmented" by the classifier, to use his terminology, as usual, and -z- the exception because of the position of si-. In my terminology -z- occurs before the zero classifier, -s- before all the others, or before all stem complexes.
assimilates to -c-initial, again leaving only one -c. Just as -c-first person pronoun assimilates to t and l, so does s-perfective, but either can assimilate only one lateral, and if a stem complex is composed of a causative and a lateral stem initial, the second stands, but is unvoiced by s, that is, s-l > s, but s-l-l > sl. s-c(< l-j) > c, but s-l-j > cj; s < t-z or < l-y > s, but s-l-z > sz. The unstable initials y and y present a few exceptions as they do for -c-first person.

Table II indicates changes brought about by si-perfective third person subject with a third person object.

Examples are as follows:

3.100. s-y > y (exceptional): de-yá (< de-syá) “he started from;”
    xo-de-yá (< xo-de-s-yá) “short singing” (cer.); ’ane-yá (< ’ane-s-yá)
    “maturation; something has matured” (YME 54)

3.101. s-z > z: de-zá’ (< de-s-zá’) “he belched;” nde-zíd (< nde-s-zíd)
    “time passed;” ne-zá (< ne-s-zá) “he is wellbred”

3.102. s-s (< l-y) > s: xo-sa’ (< xo’s-l-ya’) “he missed it, found it gone;”
    ninis’é (< ninis-l-yá) “he grew up”

3.103. s-s (< l-z) > s: yíxo-sa’ (< yíxo’s-l-za’) “he missed it;”
    yíde-sas (< yíde-s-l-za) “he shifted it;” yísi’h (< yis-l-zi’h) “he
    missed target, he made a mistake;” yísišt (< yis-l-zišt) “he grabbed it”

3.104. s-c (< l-j) > c: naxacó’h (< naxas-l-jó’h) “he has swept a place;”
    yíde-có’d (< yíde-s-l-jó’d) “he has dragged a fabriclike obj.;”
    nécoh (< néis-l-joh) “he moistened it”

The same change takes place in an entirely different setting:
    dí’gič’ (< dí’gis-č’) “it must have been twisting”

3.105. s-l-caus. > s: xa’asde’ (< xa’as-l-de’) “some group moved up out;”
    kina’sda (< kina’s-l-da) “she has menstruated for the first
    time;” ca’ áxo-syá (< ’áxo-s-l-ya) “she took care of me;” ádísyaz
    (< ’ádis-l-yaz) “he scratched himself;” yíci’j (< yic-l-yí’j) “he is in
    a crouching position;” ne’yal (< ne’s-l-yal) “he threw himself down;”
    de-syíš (< de’s-l-yíš) “he dodged (a blow);” tsá’ászi’ (< tsá’as-l-zi’)
    “yuca; main part is fibrous;” tan’e-szání (< ta’ane-s-l-zání) clan name;
    na’cjah (< na’s-l-jah) “he went hunting”

3.106. s-l-stem initial > zl: bidáne-zlah “they are tied here and
    there;” na-zlž “it flows about;” na’zlo’ “he moved loop, lasso
    about;” bidáne-zláh (stat.) “they are touching (as branches of a
    shade or corral);” ba’ ’ayaxo-zlíž “he suspected him” (YM 133);
    yízlž “he tasted it” (YM 135); xazlž’ “things have become;”
    dá’ake xa-zlá “oblong field”
3.107. *s-l-l* -stem initial > *sl*: *yislah* (< *yis-l-lá*) "he has it (light-
ing arrow);" *cik'ešlá* (< *cik'i-as-l-lá*) "he has a claim on me;" *nidjo-slá* (< *nidjo-s-l-lá* ) "he hated you"

3.108. *s-l-x* > *sx*: *yisxţi* (< *yis-l-γţi*) "he killed one;" *yisxat* (< *yis-l-xat*) "he clubbed it"

3.109. Voicing a consonant as in *yiz*-3 *si*-perfective is not an isolated phenomenon. A comparable form is *dijlgai* "he (4) is white," in which *l* is not passive causative but *li*-natural (10.124.), voiced because of its position in the complex: *li-dji-, or dji-li-* > *djl-*. The process may be related to that in which certain nouns with voiceless initials take possessive prefixes and voice the stem initial (5.9.). When *yi*-3 object comes in contact with a *xi*-prefix the result is *γi*- (10.114d, e.) or, with a more complex combination of prefixes, *γo*- or *γo*- (10.109.). The voicing of *si-, like other processes, is a function of the selection and position of the several prefixes rather than of the particular perfective or person.

3.110. The combination of *si*-perfective with the first person subject *-c* is another point of difference between Hoijer's analysis and mine. I analyze the form *sé*- of *sétţi* "I exist as an animate obj." as *sé-* < *si-pf.-c-l* subj.-ni-completive. This form illustrates the importance of é as a combined form, the effect of the combination of sibilants *si-* and *-c-, and of position, which differentiates the pronominal prefixes of the active (first subject) and the passive (first agent). In comparison with the formula just given the passive has the form *sis-* < *si-pf.-ni-compl.-c-l* subj.; *c* > *s* by the general rule of sibilant assimilation. The final *s* or *c* of *si-s-, which may become *cic-* if there is a blade alveolar in the stem, follows the same rules given for *c-first* personal pronoun (3.82–3.97.).

3.111. *si*-perfective has yet another effect, which really belongs with contraction rather than assimilation, but since one phonetic process interacts with others, all perfectives are exceedingly com-
plex in structure. The effect is of the fourth person pronominal prefix *dji-* whose position is as near initial as possible in the con-
jugation (6.19.). The formula of the fourth person *si*-perfective is *dji*-4 subj. (or ag.-) *s-pf.-ni-compl., and it contracts to *dzi-* in the intransitive. Here we have an assimilative change from *dji-* to *dzi-* because of *dj* plus *s*. The transitive active form of the zero stem is *dzis-, that of the *d-, l-, and l-* forms is *dzis-*.

The conclusion to be drawn seems to be that *-z*, the *sonnat*, is the "aberrant" form in need of explanation, not *s-* which retains its identity in some form and dominates other prefixes with which it comes into contact. The analysis is compatible with that of other
even more complicated forms, for instance, dzi-away and dzi-attitude, in the paradigms of which dzi- and dzi-shift about according to the position each occupies in relation to other prefixes (10.121–10.121 d.).

3.112–3.133. Final h

3.112. Final h of prefixes affects certain consonants that follow in several ways: A voiced consonant may be unvoiced by h. A sound may be changed entirely, as y to s, by the prefix final, either with or without the persistence of h. The changes are summarized in Table II (p. 35).

3.113. Final h of prefixes assimilates to following y and the sibilants in a manner consistent with the rules already given. Prefixes most commonly entering into combination ending in h are: O'oh “fall short of, be less than, just miss being . . .;” dah- “forth, forward; suspended;” and -oh-second person dual pronoun. dah- is a pre-paradigmatic prefix and does not occur in a position of conjugation, that is, it must be followed by other prefixes which have a position nearer the stem or stem complex. Examples of changes brought about by h are:

3.114. h-y-prefix initial < h: dahitsos (< dahi-yitso) “you are holding fabriclike obj.;” dahoytsoos (< dah-yo'tsoos) “you 2 are holding a fabriclike obj.;” dahite' (< dah-yi-te') “he started to run forward;” dakez' (< dah-yiz') “he has suspended a round obj.”

3.115. My material, from both x-speakers and others, has final h of a prefix persisting before s:17 dahsilá “ropelike obj., pair of obj. lay upon (a shelf)” (EW 106:9); dahsitá “narrow rigid obj. is suspended, lies on top of . . .; there is a crescent moon;” do'ahsozodo-bé'jih ̃ “things are hopeless, there is no hope;” tsih bá dahsa'á ̃ “apple (fruit) is hanging on tree” (FH).

3.116. Final h of a prefix unvoices a following voiced consonant, usually a sibilant: dacde-yá (< dah-dji-de'-yá < dah-j-de'-yá) “he (4) has started to go forward;” datsiytá (< dah-dziiz-ti) “he(4) is lying on top;” bo'ocne'tá (< bi'oh-dji-ne'tá) “he(4) cannot afford it, he falls short of it” (YM 10); 'áláco'dó-le't (< 'áláh-j-dó-le't) “they(4) will assemble” (EW 106:9);18 báq-ce'de-yá (< bá'hdji-de'-yá) “he(4) passed them” (NT 54:23); bi'cno'tá (< bi'h dzino'tá) “he(4) put his hand into it” (NT 78:17).

18 Cp. Haile 1938, p. 248, n. 43.
3.117. Final \( h \) of -oh-second dual pronominal prefix has effects comparable to those of final \( h \) of dah-forward, suspended, but since it occurs in juxtaposition with the stem or stem complex, its manifestations are more extended. Generally it unvoices a consonant, but like \( c \) and \( s \), it has other assimilative effects:

3.118. -oh-y-stem initial > -ohy-(exceptional): tó 'axonáhyóí (< tó 'axoná-oh-yóí) “many of you,” 'ohyóí “you 2 are inhaling, taking a breath” (YM 234)

3.119. -oh-y-stem initial > -ohs- or -os- (exceptional): 'oháá (< 'a-yi-oh-yáá) “you 2 are eating something;” xonosé (< xoni-oh-yáá) “you 2 are wise;” dinóhsó’d (< dinóh-yó’d) “you 2 are driving a few” (YM 233)

3.120. -oh-y-stem initial > -ohs- or -os- (exceptional): 'ohsy (< 'a-yi-oh-yq) “you 2 are eating something;” xonosq (< xoni-oh-yq) “you 2 are wise;” xonoq (< xoni-oh-yq) “you 2 are being married”

3.121. -oh-y-stem initial > -ox-: yoxd-d (< yoh-yd’d) “you 2 are shaking fabric-like obj.;” do-xas (< do-h-yas) “you 2 will claw it, scratch it with nails;” o-xeh (< o-h-yeh) “you 2 are being married”

3.122. -o^-y-stem initial > -ohs- (exceptional): do%hsfl (< do’h-y(l) “you 2 will eat it”

3.123. -oh-s- (< l-z) > -ohs-: yohsé’s (< yoh-l-zé’s) “you 2 are singing it;” bixodo’hsah (< bixodo’l-zah) “you 2 will find it gone;” dohas (< doh-l-zas) “you 2 are sifting it;” nohse’l (< noh-l-zé’t) “you two 2 are growing up”

3.124. -oh-j-stem initial > -oc-: xodido’cah (< xodido’l-jah) “you 2 will spit;” yidóci’l (< yidó-h-jí’l) “you 2 will call him by name;” yocoh (< yoh-joh) “you 2 are combing it”

3.125. -oh-c (< l-j) > -ohc-: do’hcih (< doh-l-jih) “you 2 are mowing it, cutting strands;” yo’heic (< yoh-l-jic) “you 2 are poking it (with a stick);” yo’hec’h (< yoh-l-jí’l) “you 2 are blackening it;” naxohco’h (< naxoh-l-jo’h) “you 2 are sweeping a place;” yohc’q (< yoh-l-jo’h) “you 2 are breaking a horse, taming it”

3.126. -oh-l-pass. caus. > -ol-: doldé’h (< doh-l-de’h) “you 2 are starting with a group;” yah’oldjó’l (< yah’a-oh-l-djó’l) “bunchy substance is being carried in by you 2;” ba ’áxólyá (< ba ’áxóh-l-yáá) “you 2 are taking care of it;” do’tzih (< doh-l-zih) “sharp obj. will be hurled by you 2;” na’tje’h (< na’h-l-je’h) “you 2 are hunting”
3.127. -oh-l-stem initial > -ol-: ’ole'h (< ’óh-le'h) “it is being done by you 2;” yołq’i (< yoh-lq’l) “you are increasing, becoming many;” xonolí (< xonoh-lí) “you exist,” naxonolin (naxonoh-lin) “you look like, you resemble;” yołoh (< yoh-loh) “you 2 are roping, lassoing it;” yolo’d (< yoh-lo’d) “you 2 are lapping, sipping it”

3.128. -oh-l-y- > -oly-: yoł’yal (< yoh-h-l-yal) “you 2 are eating meat, tearing meat from bone;” yinolýé (< yinoh-l-yé) “you 2 are called, have the name. . . ;” ’adinó’tyil (< ’adinoh-l-yil) “you 2 will doze;” xadido’lyoc (< xadido’h-l-yoc) “you will shout” (YM 86)

3.129. -oh-l-z- > -olz-: ’ákásolza’z (< ’ákásol’h-l-za’z) “you have your belts on” (YM 243): sodolz’in (< sidoh-l-z-in) “you have prayed” (YM 242): ’áxodido’lzih (< ’áxodido’h-l-zih) “you will calm down, become motionless” (YM 239)

3.130. -oh-l-caus. > -ol-: yah’oldjó’t (< yah’a-oh-l-djó’t) “you 2 are carrying bunchy substance in;” ’áldj’h (< ’áh-l-dj’h) “you are destroying it;” yálti’ (< yáh-t-ti’) “you 2 are talking”

3.131. -oh-l-y- > -olx-: do’lxal (< doh-l-yal) “you 2 will club it;” do’lxe’ (< do’h-l-ye’l) “you are calming down;” nátxé’s (< náh-l-yé’s) “you 2 are turning it around;” nañolxod (< nanoh-l-yod) “you 2 are lame”

3.132. -oh-l-caus.-l-stem initial > -ol-: didohli (< didoh-l-li) “you will make it burn, smoke;” yołq’h (< yoh-lq’h) “you are increasing in number;” yole’h (< yoh-le’h) “you are creating, making it”

3.133. The influence of h as a stem final is helpful in reconstructing stems whose endings are doubtful. h is one of the few consonants that may end a stem (-CVC), but it is sometimes so feebly articulated that doubt is left as to whether the stem is -CV-zero or -CVh. A clue to this problem may be found in the suffixes which are freer than prefixes or stems. Such suffixes as the nominalizers, -i’, -t, and -igi’; -e: “custom, way;” -e’ “future subordination;” ē: “past, aforementioned;” -i’: “after having. . . ;” -ic “interrogative” tend to be attached in a manner that indicates the stem final. If it is zero, the suffix vowel may cluster with the preceding vowel, or the suffix may have the initial y, really a glide consonant. If the stem final is h, the suffix seems to be hV, and if the stem is an open syllable with a nasalized vowel, whether or not it is pronounced, the suffix has the form -nV. If the stem has any other consonant final the suffixes have the forms mentioned. A few examples follow: ’áhi “fog, mist;” tséhé’c: “surely he must have referred to a rock;” ntsas’higi: “the one that is wide, large;” cádiyé: “my deceased older sister;” ’akone’ (< ’akö-e’) “you’ll see, it will happen so;” tā: do’ tódiníñi “don’t say
that, don't let him speak thus" (NT 136:23) (cp. 'ádini "you speak thus").

The process here referred to is not always consistent, but I believe it may prove a helpful device to differentiate some stem finals and suffix initials which may be of aid in historical reconstruction. For example, I sometimes hear xa'áñi for xa'áti "whatever." AB, despite the fact that he is an n-speaker, protested that xa'áñi was "wrong," yet we find xa'áti-ne' "whatever it may be in future." At the very least, the forms pose a problem which, when properly worked out, may yield useful results about stem structure.

3.134–3.135. Tone Change and Assimilation

3.134. The relation of nasality and n to tone has been indicated (3.49–3.51.). Tone change is not limited to the nasals, but, as we have seen, may be concerned with si-perfective (3.98.). It is a question whether the survival of consonants in a high tone belongs under assimilation or contraction, but it is mentioned here to account for some forms already discussed and others to be encountered later (10.117–10.118 g.).

3.135. Although I do not agree with Hoijer that "inherent tone" has been determined, it is obvious that certain elements have a more dominating effect than others. It seems, however, that such dominance can be accurately expressed only in the relationship of one prefix to another; it is difficult to see how it can be absolute. For instance, yi-3 object has a low tone which dominates many other prefixes in its vicinity, and yi-3 passive subject dominates in a different way. Each derives its strength from its origin and, possibly, from its position at the front of the verb paradigm. Another example is dji-4 subject, whose tone is less dominating than dji-4 agent. Neither is "more or less" dominating, but each has great power to affect other prefixes in its vicinity (cp. 10.55, 10.90a.).

3.136–3.140. Interrelation of Phonetic Processes

3.136. If I seem to reiterate the importance of interrelationships, it is because they obscure, as well as clarify Navaho grammar. One vowel is related to others and influences them retroactively ('a-’a- > ’i'i, 'o'o-, etc.) (3.30, 10.76 b.); vowels and consonants are related ('a-n > 'i-, 'q- > -an, or -a:n; n > ɔ or r; -a’si-di- > -a’si-); some consonants change in contact with others (-l-ɔ > -s-; -l-j > -c-, -h-j- > -c-); alveolar sibilants become blade alveolars and the reverse. Tone, which is thought to belong to vowels, nevertheless is
affected by consonants \((n, s, c)\). As the prefix paradigms show (10–10.124.), length may stand for a vowel or a consonant, or both since several syllables of the primary form \(CV\) may persist only in a lengthened vowel. And further, many processes of assimilation and contraction operate at the same time \((dji- > j-\) and may be affected by preceding Ca’a- so that the result is \(CVj'C\); yi-si-ni- > yiz-; and \(yi-si-ni-l- > yis-\); or yiz-with a blade alveolar > yij-).

**3.137.** Contraction, involving shortening of the theoretical form \(CV\) to \(C\), lengthening, change of tone, lengthening and change of tone; voicing, unvoicing, and glottalization of consonants, distorts any attempt at a realistic theory of the syllable. Probably Navaho in particular, and Athabaskan in general, may require the revision of many so far accepted definitions. (ep. 10.35–10.46.)

**3.138.** The greatest difficulty, in the light of what seem to be conflicting results, is in arrangement. If a stem with initial \(z\) is found in the form \(s\), or a prefix combination 'a'a- appears as 'e'e-, 'i'i-, or 'o'o-, how is either to be found by the reader of Navaho? If a prefix si-harm is present as -o'- or yo'-, how is it to be indicated so as to be understood? The compilation of any lexicon and the presentation of any grammar present many problems, but those posed by Navaho phonetic interrelationships have not been squarely faced. In this work they have been indicated by different arrangements. I have tried to remember that the reader has before him only one form; that he should be able to find the form in the grammar and lexicon as it appears in the context he is reading. By constant repetition—of form, of variation, of interrelationship—and by numerous cross references I have tried to indicate the relationship between form and vocabulary.

**3.139.** As we shall see when analyzing, there may be various reasons for any one form—overlapping is a hazard which may be handled only if relationships are constantly kept in mind. Overlapping of form is due to the fact that a few consonants and vowels have been overworked, distinguished by the to us unfamiliar processes of variation of quantity, tone, nasality, glottalization, and the like. Furthermore, there are what almost seem to be infinite subdivisions of an idea. For instance, one “starts a motion from a point,” but he also “starts forward.” The first idea is understandable as an inceptive, the second as a double inceptive, but Navaho does not stop with these. It also adjusts a start so that it may be progressive, continuative, or completive, and such a start may be interrupted by pausing or by “getting stuck.” All these ideas concern a prefix \(di-\) which is relatively simple compared with prefixes of form \(ni-\) or \(yi-\).
3.140. And not only do we have splitting of ideas differentiated by intricate processes, but we must also deal with phonetic diversity in the population. Diversity involves not only the history of Athabaskan, but also the extreme tolerance of adaptation characteristic of the Navaho, a cultural, perhaps a psychological development. Besides the task of unraveling the numerous relationships of forms as they stand, we are obliged to discover the limitations to which any one form is restricted. They may be ascertained by continual comparison, but the comparison must be held down to similars, especially in the same series, that is, in the paradigms. Although the conditions posed by the language as it now exists may seem difficult, they have not by any means resulted in chaos, nor is their disentanglement hopeless. It is likely that the rules and formulas here presented will be greatly revised and simplified. If so, such simplification must take note of the elements that go into the shortened forms, instead of combining unrelated elements and meanings in classes too simplistic for significance.
4. In their discussions of other Athabaskan languages Sapir and Hoijer assume that the noun is the primary form, and that verbs derive from it. They are careful, however, to note that the question is a large and intricate one which cannot be settled by any one language alone.\textsuperscript{1} Athabaskan languages, such as Mattole, Hupa, Kato, and others, seem to be much simpler in form than Navaho and would, therefore, point to Sapir's conclusion which is accepted by Hoijer for Navaho without question.

Navaho seems to be a great melange of various Athabaskan elements—nominal, verbal, adverbial, or independent. It is still too early to determine the original form of the word because of the freedom with which these elements combine. Nevertheless there are suggestive clues, and it should be remembered that Navaho is far removed from primitive or original Athabaskan.

When he reconstructed the history of Athabaskan Sapir derived the basic verbs of motion and state from a few nominal stems.\textsuperscript{2} Certainly he was justified in this procedure since the basic verbs of motion with their corresponding static forms are found in all languages for which we have examples. Related nouns, however, are even with our presentday extensive vocabulary, relatively few, and the process of derivation, from verb to noun, or the reverse, is not by any means clear. On the other hand, an interrelation between the so-called parts of speech is quite obvious. Since it is by no means limited to noun and verb, but includes elements such as postpositions, which are as basic and "primitive" as nouns and verbs in all the languages, and since postpositions become prefixes, tense-aspect elements, as well as nominal and adverbial prefixes, all these relationships will be discussed here. Many of them pose far-reaching questions as to what a noun, verb, or adverb is, not to speak of the reasons for the particular forms in Navaho.

4.2. The data seem to me to point to a verbal origin as more basic than the nominal. My conclusion is derived from the close phonetic and morphological relationship between the different parts of speech.

\textsuperscript{1} Sapir 1923; Li 1930a, p. 52; Goddard 1910, pp. 107ff.; 1912, pp. 19ff.
\textsuperscript{2} Sapir 1923.
4.3. Grammatically noun, pronoun, verb, adjective, and postposition may be differentiated. Each is treated in a distinctive way, but there is much overlapping.

4.4. The theory that the noun is the original base probably originates in the large number of monosyllabic stems, many of which are phonetically similar to verb stems. Such monosyllabic stems may be used independently, whereas the simplest verb is a compound of a stem with at least one prefix. I know of only a few Navaho verb forms without a prefix.

However, the primary meaning of nouns, pronouns and postpositions, and other elements seems to be verbal; so common is the verbal meaning of the nouns, pronouns, and locatives that a great deal of idiomatic communication may be carried on without any verbs whatsoever. The translations “it is a garment” (‘é’), “it is a flint” (bé’c), “it is my mother” (cimq) seem much better than “garment,” “flint,” “my mother.” Similarly, “it is I, I am the one” (ci), “it is mine” (ci’) “it is for my benefit” (cé), “it is with, by means of it” (be’), “it is over him” (bikü), are better renditions of Navaho than “I,” “mine,” “for me,” “with it,” “over him,” respectively.

4.5. Possessed nouns, that is, noun stems which seldom occur without a possessive prefix, are an outstanding feature of Athabaskan, although the absoluteness of the possessive requirement has perhaps been overstressed for Navaho. Some nouns, particularly those referring to body parts and kinship terms, usually have the possessive prefix, but such nouns occasionally occur without it. Perhaps to be explained by poetic license is the independence of body part nouns mentioned in songs; they occur, however, after a series of similar nouns with the possessive prefix.³

Poetic license is not the sole explanation, however, as the following examples indicate: ké didilyé “Moccasins-are-laid-in-the-fire” (place name) (NT 32:14); kéhi nīdzo-le-zí’ “after putting on his moccasins” (NT 34:10); kéhé góne’ ado-lni’ “he reached into the place where the moccasins had been” (NT 32:22); ké bi-h džinil “he(4) shook it (dust) into his moccasins” (EW 196:24). ké “moccasins” in these examples is to be compared with -ke’ “foot, footgear, moccasin, shoe,” interpreted as a possessed noun, with ké-“foot,” listed as a “nominal prefix” (5.48.), -ké’ “track, footprint,” a possessed noun, and -ké’ “following, behind, next to, back of,” a postposition (7.79).

4.6. Another characteristic of the possessed noun suggests its verbal quality. All the possessive prefixes have the same form as the

³ Haile 1943, pp. 71, 73ff.
objective prefixes of the transitive verb in the active voice, and of
the subjective prefixes in the passive voice, with the exception of
xa-fourth personal possessive. The objective-subjective prefix of the
verbal series is xo- which combines with the aspective prefix yi-
continuative to become xa-. The so-called possessive xa-fourth
person may, therefore, be viewed as the subject of the passive verb
form—xa-má “his(4) mother” would then be analyzed as xo-yi-má
> xa-má “he(4) is being mothered.”

4.7. The prefixes used with the postpositions and sometimes
called “objective prefixes” are formally the same as the possessive
prefixes; they are so uniform that it seems unnecessary to differ-
entiate them in two series. The only reason for doing so seems to be the
fact that in Indo-European languages the preposition, to which the
Navaho postposition corresponds, takes an object. We shall see that
the phonetic and semantic relationship between some postpositions
and verb stems is so close as to suggest that postpositions also are
primarily verbal.

4.8. xwe' < xo-e* “with, by means of him(4)” and xol “with,
accompanying him(4)” suggest that xo- is the primary pronominal
prefix, whatever it may be called. Since -e* “with instrumental,”
-i'h “into,” and -l “with accompaniment” are postpositions phoneti-
cally different from most, the theory that the postposition generally
derives from the verbal form of the type yi-ta’ “it is between . . . , it
is placed between,” seems justified. If so, the compound of “noun”
and “postposition” would actually be a verb form, differing from
the usual verb form merely in its simplicity rather than in its
quality or function. It would thus be interpreted as a passive, “they
are betweened,” and with a noun, “I am mothered.” Such an inter-
pretation seems to account for much more than the classifications
hitherto made, although of course the divisions, noun, postposition,
and verb are justified as a matter of convenience.

4.9. A small class of verbs seems further to corroborate the con-
clusion. Such verbs consist of a stem with a “possessive” prefix, the
only change in the paradigm being the “possessive,” better con-
sidered as a passive subject (cp. 9.2.):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>si-dzi'l</td>
<td>I am strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni-dzi'l</td>
<td>you are strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi-dzi'l</td>
<td>he is strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xa-dzi'l</td>
<td>he (4) is strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nxi-dzi'l</td>
<td>we, you 2 are strong</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.10. The stem -ti'n “road, trail, path,” apparently nominal, is
treated as a verb in that it takes verbal prefixes:
'a-ti-n road, trail
'tcidi bi-ti-n highway, auto road
'bikâ' 'a-ti-n highway; on-it road
'tsêta' dibê 'abi-ti-n mountain sheep trail; rocks-between sheep their-trail-leads-beyond (FW 57:6)
'anâbi-ti-n his trail back (YM 207)
'tá' 'e'e-ti-n trail leads just (so far) (NT 168:3)
'têlê-ti-n exit, doorway, the way out
'yaâ bi-nâ'a-ti-n path in snow; snow in-it here-and-there-something-leads
'yâ'abi-ti-n his trail is lost (YM 207)

The examples show that what appears to be a conjugation (the stem -ti'n is distinctive) has many of the ordinary verbal prefixes, but a possessive seems also to be thematic. They may be extended variations of the possessed verbs of 4.9., but since -ti'n may be a stem of motion, perhaps it has more forms that those of possessed verbs which may be static. The point here is that the complexes have nominal (possessive) and verbal (conjugated) forms.

4.11. Apparently -kê' "track" is comparable in the following:

nâbi-kê' his tracks were (visible) here and there (NT 130:23)
'abi-kê' his tracks led off
'nâpi-kê' track him
'nasîl-kê' I tracked him
'xode-kê' there was a footprint (EW 90:11)

The last three examples are verbal with no nominal traits, yet I have not found any other verbal form of the stem -kê'.

4.12. Another example seems to be a possessive noun used as a verb—bi'l nâbi-vel' "with them another offering"—the possessive of -vel' "offering" is bi-vel, nâ'- "again" takes the inflective prefix (-nâ-) which raises the tone of bi-possessive (10.94 aff.). The same process operates in the forms 'anâbi-ti'n "his trail back," and 'anâ'â-ti'n "another trail."

4.13. Despite these unusual forms some nouns are differentiated from verbs by their form: They may be monosyllabic stems, they may have possessive prefixes, they are often independent. Normally they precede the verb, if there is one. Verbs also may be determined by their form, since they require prefixes. However, if the noun immediately precedes a verb with a simple prefix, particularly yi-progressive or yi-continuative of the third person, the noun may become the subject of the verbal complex and behave like a prefix. Actually the last sound of the noun, usually a vowel, contracts with yi-prefix. The former may absorb the latter so as to leave no trace of the verbal prefix, or like a verbal prefix, the vowel of the noun may be modified by lengthening, change of tone, or both. In such cases the noun functions as a prefix rather than as an independent word:
'aze-béj (< 'aze'-yi-béj) alkaseltzer; medicine-boils
bi-stsoh (< bi'-ystsoh) large deer (NT 320:15)
ti-tse-d (< tin-tsed) ice cream; ice-pounded
tsi'cdloj (< tsin yiclo-j) bench; wood-it-stands-on-all-fours (NT 276:10)
'q'à-nà ( < 'a'-á-n-yi-nì-nà) he crawled into a hole (NT 22:23)
bitsà-jntqij (< bitsa-dji-ni-ni-gij) they (4) cut its paunch (EW 116:3)
sa'dio-l (< sa-c-djol) Old Age lay (NT 128:13)
xo'é-le-lo 'âlè (< xo'óni-yl-ile) may it be beneficial, satisfactory
xa'o-lyástó' (< xa'o-lyá-ystó') Things-pulled-out (name) was heard
(NT 144:16)

In the last two examples a verb is the nominal subject.

4.14. Obviously then there are at least three ways of interpreting the noun—as an independent word, with primarily nominal significance, as an independent word having verbal significance, and as a verbal prefix. The distinction may be indicated by writing the noun separately when its function is independent, or as a part of the verb complex when it combines intimately with the verbal prefixes. We shall see that postpositions and adverbial elements may be treated the same way (10.30–10.31.).

4.15. The analysis of the noun will show that verbal forms without any modification whatsoever are often nouns (4.17, 5.98.). They may have possessive prefixes exactly as have the monosyllabic independent or possessed nouns:

bibe'-altq'idíloj his buckle: his with-it toward-each-other-something-is-looped
bibe'-'etsxis, bibe'-'etskins his with-it something-is-jerked
cibe'-eldq' my gun: my with-it something-is-caused-to-explode

4.16. The nominalizing suffixes -i “the particular one which” and -i “the one that” are free and may be suffixed to any form—verb or particle—to form a noun. Since many nouns, some even monosyllabic, end in -i, -i', or -i, such forms must have a verbal derivation (5.23–5.30.). A further development of the same idea is the tendency of the stem with a low vowel to change to a rising tone; the resulting form lacks the nominalizing suffix which is preserved in the tone as in:

tlá-h (<tláh-t) Lefty, the-one-who-is-left-handed
'abán, 'aban, 'abani buckskin, soft worked hide

4.17. In these cases there is little modification of the verb to form a noun. On the other hand, certain nouns are verbal forms in every respect. They do not take the possessive prefix, but differences in person are indicated by conjugation, as in do: yic'i-ní: “my mother-in-law; the-particular-one-whom-I-do-not-see” (man-speaking); but do: yo'i-ní: “his mother-in-law; the-particular-one-he-does-not-see”; 'actlíhi “my weaving; something-I-am-weaving,” but 'atlóhi
4.17.-4.23. THE WORD

“her weaving; something-she-is-weaving.” Consequently nouns cannot be understood and properly modified without conjugation.

4.18. Although many ideas which in English are adjectives are expressed in Navaho by static verbs, nevertheless a class of verbs may properly be called adjectives (9.). They are absolute in form; they stand immediately before the verb complex, and are therefore written as independent. Although not conjugated some of these adjectives have a verbal characteristic which also distinguishes postpositions—they have static and progressive forms:

'acte' (stat.) calm, soothing, tranquil, composed
'acte' (prog.) changing to calm, tranquil, composed; quieting down
xacte' (stat.) normal, regular, usual, orderly, neat, ready
xacte' (prog.) changing (from out of order) to normal, usual, orderly
'adi' (stat.) wellbred, having breeding
'adi' (prog.) becoming worthy, deserving, honorable

4.19. Comparable with this class of words is -γέ': a static verb in the form xo-γέ'“weakening, futile, feeble,” but γέ'is absolute or an adjective in bil γέ': 'dxo'la’“he was intimidated; with-him futility was-made-thus.”

4.20. Numerals seem to belong to this class of word. They, like nouns and postpositions, may contract with stem prefixes: d’ská, d’ská (< d’-yiská) “four nights.” In the following noun the numeral is compounded with the noun and the possessive-nominalizing frame bi- . . . -i: bi’la’ti’ -i’ (< bi’la’-tá’-i’) “fork; the-particular-one-which-is-three-fingered.”

4.21. Interestingly enough, the nominal stem may be conjugated. A prefix conjugation of a passive static verb is used with a stem identical with the noun (10.108.):

. . . yiltah he has a hat like . . ., he is hatted like . .
cac yinistè'i’ I have a head like a bear
né’édja’ - yilke’-i’ owl claw; the-one-that-has-feet-like-an-owl (plant name)

4.22. The postposition, an important element, has been frequently mentioned as related to noun and verb. Some postpositions resemble verbs in having static and progressive forms:

bi’ (< bi’-i’) (stat.) completely within it
bi’h (< bi’-i’h) (prog.) into it; moving into it
bi’ta’ (stat.) between them
bi’-tah (prog.) among them

4.23. Some elements (stems) with forms identical with the postpositions are conjugated:

'anictah I am among, in the midst of
‘atah he is in the midst of
‘anás’tad da’ani’tah we are now in the midst of war; these enemies now we-are-amongst
Compare bí-nícyah “I am able to do it, I measure up to it” and bi-γah “he is able to do it, he measures up to it, it is proportionate to it” with the more frequently used ci-γah “alongside me” and bi-γah “alongside him, it fits, it is enough.” However, these two postpositions are the only ones I have found to be conjugated as stems.

4.24. Although it is convenient to speak of postpositions, actually they are not sharply differentiated from adjectives with independent forms or particles. Comparable with γé’ is tah, an element referring to time. That this is an independent form is exemplified by the negative, tah do' ináxáká-h-dah “still they are not returning;” and tah dar-tsi “later perhaps;” tah nil'é “time had passed,” and other examples.

Suffixes may be used with tah, in which respect it behaves like an adverb: tah-a’ (< tah-e’) “wait; later-future” tah-cq’ “how about waiting, staying?” (WE).

In the form ’átah tá’ kwe’é “wait right here” the analysis seems to be ’á-there remote (demonstrative adverb here used of time) and tah “time passes, there is an interval.” ’á-tah-i-go “in a little while” shows tah with prefixed ’á-remote time and suffixed -i “that which” and -go the subordinating element, literally “future-time-that-which-is-being.”

Other examples of varied forms are:

4.25. tó- xa’q' ‘el'yodígi “he merely ran to the edge; the-one-who-merely-ran-off-to-a-place-on-the-edge-of-a-place
danítša-’gó’ in several directions (they went off) (-tsq’ “radiating from”)

-ká’ “on” in words like naxoká’ diné “earth people” is verbal because the compound prefix naxo- is conjugated (10.116.). Compare also xo-tah “village, town; place-where-they-are-amongst;” xo-place is a verbal prefix.

-dá’ is an enclitic which usually has temporal significance. kásdá’ and ka sidá’ (NT 44:27) are said to have the same meaning; the second form seems to be verbal (si-pf.). Both should be compared with ’i-dá’ (< ’a-beyond-yi-pf.) “at that time” and with tché’é-dá’ (< tći-out-’a-beyond-[ná-]) “doorway, entrance, yard.” The spacial significance of -dá’ is not clear in the last example.

4.26. A postposition may be suffixed to a noun:

tó-ta’ between the waters
xo-yan-di at home
kì-h (< kin-i-h) into town

4.27. A postposition may be suffixed to a possessive pronoun which serves as the object of the postposition:
4.27.-4.30. THE WORD

4.28. A postposition may be suffixed to a locative (adverbial) element:

'a'-di at a nearby place
'd'-di at a remote place
ko-di here, at a place near speaker
kwi- (<ko-i-) here, in this general vicinity

A postposition may be suffixed to an interrogative or an interrogative demonstrative element (11.87.):

xa-di where, at what place (general)
xa'-di where, wherever (near second person)
xā'-di where, wherever (remote)

4.28a. Compounds of the type described in 4.27. are written in this work as "words," that is, they are separated from the verbal complex.

4.29. Just as a noun may become so closely related to the verb as to merge with the verbal prefixes, so postpositions or elements identical in form may, as prefixes, become a part of the verb complex. The postposition itself may become a prefix. The element ta' "series, alternation of forms" is related to -ta' "between;" both these elements are doublet related to -tah "do in series," a stem from which many verbal forms are derived, for instance, "count, read, practice" (12.59.). ta' seems to be a prefix in ta'de'ljah "necklace of different sized beads strung alternately," and in ta'de'ljahí "necklace with curved (bear claw) pendant." It may also be interpreted as an adjective (op. 4.18.).

4.30. The postposition with its prefixed object may become a part of the verb complex:

bita-cáh (< bita-yi-cáh) I am moving amongst them
'ayád'é'i filtered liquid; through-something-there-was-floating
bidít'h xáni' bezní-yaz his (4) face was striped with its blood; its-blood-aforementioned his (4)-face with-it-was-thrown-on (from container)
(EW 116:3)
'aya-ta-h (<'aya-yi-ta-h) round obj. is being taken away by force
bi'ki-díliá he(4) was numb on account of it

In compounds of this kind the postposition or postpositional complex is written as a part of the verb complex. If the phonetic setting allows, the postpositional complex may remain independent, since it does not contract with aspective prefixes. Therefore it does not matter if it is written separately or connected with the verb: bi'ki xátá-li or bi'ki xátá-li "the one sung over, the one for whom a chant is performed;" biká' 'adání or biká' ádání "table; that-(from)-on-
which-something-is-eaten;" but the parts of the following do not exist independently in these forms: bike'ecte'j "picture, writing, design; over-it-something-has-been-caused-to-press;" and biki-te'sdziz "warpbeam; that-over-which-there-has-been-twisting-by-someone."

4.31. When a nominalizing suffix forms a descriptive noun that includes a postposition, the possessive and the suffix become a frame for the portion of the word that intervenes; the meaning is of the whole, even if the compound is made up of different "words;" be'i'lici'i' "dye, red dye; that-by-means-of-which-something-is-red-dened;" diné bibe'i'lici'i' "vegetable dye; Navaho its-dye."

4.32. Since postpositions may be suffixed to verbs as well as to nouns and pronouns, and since they may be freely combined with adverbial (locative) elements, they are actually enclitics. cj: "possibly, perhaps, it may be, it is a question whether..." may be a word, but it often seems to have no independent existence and may also be classed as an enclitic. In tá 'éi 'áli-cj: i'znízi' "that must have been the one she(4) thought" (EW 90:17) the subject is really 'éi'áli-cj: "that which must have happened" because -z- (< dji-4 subj.) cannot be an initial. -cj: in this setting is comparable with be in the example be'zníyaz "it was striped with it (blood)" (4.30.).

4.33. Postpositions sometimes have the function of nouns:

bi-ne' his back, behind him
bi-ká' on it, its top side, it is on the record, it is in the book, in the newspaper, in print; on the earth, on the body
bi-ká' do- credit it; on-the-record may-it-be
tá- bika': he is an easy mark, a sucker; it-is-absolutely on-it

4.34. Although the relation between noun, pronoun, postposition, verbal prefix, and verb is close, and in cases overlaps so that the character of the word cannot be undeviatingly determined, and although the separation between words can be but arbitrary, the language furnishes an approximate test of the word. One way of asking a question is to suffix -c (< -cq') or -ic to the first word of a sentence. It is suffixed to tá: "just, really, absolutely" and to lo: "just, merely, no more than." Even though these short words often seem to be prefixes with no or little independence, the test of -c interrogative shows that they are words.

4.35. Just as the nominalizing suffixes -i, -i:, and -i include the complete meaning of the verb with prefixes or postpositional construction, so frames consisting of prefix and suffix such as the negative do: ...-dah "not ...," tá: do: ...-i "don't be the one to...," and others, qualify the words between them and indicate their close relationship. The combination of do: and -dah has several
values: when it is a word, do’dah means “no, never;” when it occurs first in an interrogative sentence do’ may appear as dò’c, showing that it is a word; when it is the first element of a frame, therefore, it is written independently. There may be a single word or several between the elements of a frame, and they are written according to the system already described. The last element of the frame, however, -dah or -i, for instance, is not a free, but a bound form and it is suffixed to the last element of the complex it joins; do’ yá’áté-dah “it is not good, it is bad, evil,” do’ la’ xo’dzá-dah “it is by no means finished; one-thing-has-not-happened.”

4.36. To summarize, there is a base or radical, hereafter called the stem, which may be nominal, verbal or postpositional in character—its primary function seems to be verbal.

A radical which is ostensibly nominal may be conjugated like a verb.

Verbal complexes may be used as nouns with no modification whatsoever.

Nominalizing suffixes may be used with any stem, adverbial element, or interrogative, that is, with any “part of speech,” to form a noun.

Postpositional or enclitic elements are closely related to verbs: They may be static or progressive. Verb stems and postpositions sometimes have the same forms which may be conjugated. Generally in such cases progressive-continuative stems have the progressive form of the postposition, perfective stems have the static form. Postpositions affixed to nouns, pronouns, or adverbial elements often have verbal meaning.

A class of independent words may be designated as adjectives if defined according to meaning, but since they qualify the verb, they should probably be called adverbs. They differ from verbs mainly in not being conjugated; some have progressive and static forms.

Formally noun, pronoun, interrogative and adverbial elements are in the same class insofar as they are related to the postposition—the postposition may be suffixed to any of them and the result is the same kind of complex. The noun, pronoun, adverbial element, with or without a postposition or enclitic, may become a verbal prefix.

The utterance may be anything from a monosyllable, consisting of two sounds (usually consonant-vowel) to a complicated “sentence,” composed of all parts of speech combined in complex ways.

After this long discussion the question still remains as to what the parts of speech are. It is convenient to classify nouns, verbs, postpositions, and enclitics or particles, but I conclude that theoretically all are in a single class. The evidence that the elements are essentially verbal has much weight.
5-5.2. Possession

5. Possession is a significant part of the Navaho noun, since many monosyllabic, that is, basic nouns change their phonetic form with the possessive prefixes. Such monosyllabic nouns, seldom used without a possessive, form one large class. Two types of possession are distinguished. Inalienable possession is indicated by prefixing a possessive pronoun (6.16.). Such nouns are primarily body parts and kinship terms.

5.1. Alienable possession is indicated by prefixing the possessive pronoun to the indefinite form of the noun: 'āta' “someone's wing, wing belonging to something,” ce'ēta' (< ci'ata') “my wing, the wing that I use.” There is reason to conclude that the forms of indefinite possession are nominal forms of the verb, that is, participles. This means that a stem like -tā' is interpreted as “it is winged,” and 'a-ta' “something is winged.” If this interpretation is correct the relation between 'a-indefinite pronominal prefix, subject, object, or agent, and 'a-possessive is very close, if indeed they are not identical. The phonetic change from ci'ata' to ce'ēta' is a common one; i-a > e'e in many settings, and the rule holds for all possessive pronouns except xo-his, her(4), because their vowel is i—ci-my, ni-your, bi-, yi-his, her, its; nixi-, nxi-our, your (dual). There is, however, no way of explaining xo-'a > xwe'e- for fourth person alienable possession on this basis.

If, however, the stem with indefinite possessive 'a- be regarded as a participle, the interpretation xo-e-'a > xwe'e- is comparable. -e is a postposition meaning “with instrumental;” xo-e > xwe: “with him(4), and -e' is often shortened to -e- in this position. The verbal interpretation is substantiated by analogy with xwe: 'ēdin, often xwe'ēdin “he (4) has none; with-him(4) there-is-none,” and xwe: xólo “he(4) has some; with-him(4) there-are.” Thus the alienable possessive would mean literally “with . . . something is . . . ed,” or more specifically xwe'ēta' “with him(4) something is winged,” and all phonetic changes would be accounted for. Other examples of alienable and inalienable possession with indefinite pronouns or fourth person possessives are: 'a-zis “pouch, sack, flexible container;” xwe'ezis “his(4) sack, pouch;” 'alti: “bow;” xwe'elti: “his(4) bow;” 'awē', 'aywē: “baby;” xwe'ewé: “his(4) baby.”
5.2. The phonetic stem changes discussed below are based upon these principles of possession; they are the same for alienable and inalienable possession. For convenience both types will be referred to as nominal prefixing, the verbal significance suggested above being theoretical, probably historical.

5.3-5.19. Monosyllabic Nouns

5.3. The simplest form of the noun is monosyllabic; many such nouns are related to verb stems. It is impossible to predict which of the stems may be closest in form, but the static or perfective corresponds most frequently. Among the examples of 5.4. only two have a form other than static or perfective, six have a form common to the perfective and some other aspect (see 5.6-5.7. for the method of listing nouns with phonetic stem changes).

5.4. Noun

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Verb stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'il</td>
<td>di'il</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tay</td>
<td>-tay (pf.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tó</td>
<td>di-tó (stat., pf.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yas, zas</td>
<td>-zas (prog., mom., pf.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-yol</td>
<td>-yol (pf.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kid</td>
<td>-kid (pf.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xél (-yél)</td>
<td>-yél, -lé (-xél) (prog.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xoc (-yoc)</td>
<td>-yoc (prog., mom., pf.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sáí (-záí)</td>
<td>-sáí (pres., pf.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sá'</td>
<td>-sá' (pf.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sá̚</td>
<td>-sá̚ (pf.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sin (-yin)</td>
<td>-sin (pres., inc., pf.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tó̚</td>
<td>-tó̚ (stat.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dé'</td>
<td>-dé' (pf.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di-já-d</td>
<td>di-di̋ (stat.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di-jáòt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tó̤</td>
<td>-tó̤ (pf.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lid</td>
<td>-lid (pres., pf.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dle'c</td>
<td>-dle'c (pres.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tle'</td>
<td>-tle' (inc., pf.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tloh</td>
<td>di-di̋ (stat., pf.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.5. Many monosyllabic nouns are independent: 'è' "clothes, shirt, garment;" b̄q'h "border, edge, rim;" kò́ "fire;" ká̚l "notch,
inner angle;" *kos* "cloud;" *kʰo̞-j* "body odor;" *nil* "ax, stone head;" *nq* "storage pit, cache;" *gic* "cane."

5.6. These nouns and others, some of which do not often appear as unpossessed forms, have the same phonetic structure in independent and possessed forms: -*da*’ "man’s sister’s son;" -*da*’ "lip, bill, beak;" -*de*’ "horn, antler, spoon;" -*doh* "muscle;" -*ta*’ "father;" -*tah* "pocket, crevice, fold;" -*ni’, *nji*’ "face;" -*god* "knee, stump;" -*kq*’ "male, husband;" -*ke*’ "foot, moccasin, shoe."

5.7. Nouns which occur seldom, if ever, as unpossessed forms are written with a hyphen preceding the stem, as -*de*’ "horn, antler"—’*ade*’ "someone’s horn, spoon," is either a possessed or participial form.

5.8. Prefixing causes a phonetic change in some nominal stems; generally the possessed form is more like the verbal stem than the independent form. As we shall see, some changes affect consonants, some affect vowels, some affect both.

5.9. The initial surd of an independent noun becomes voiced when the noun has a position other than initial:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent noun</th>
<th>Prefixed form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>xé-l</em> pack, load</td>
<td>’a-γé-l’ someone’s pack, load</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>xoc</em> thorn, cactus</td>
<td>bi-yoc its thorn, his cactus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sa-d</em> speech, language</td>
<td>’a-zo-d’ someone’s speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sái</em> sand</td>
<td>bi-zái its sand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sé-s</em> wart</td>
<td>bi-zé-s his wart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>si-l</em> steam</td>
<td>bi-zí-l its steam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sp’</em> star</td>
<td>bi-zp’ his star, its star</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>cé’</em> saliva, foam</td>
<td>’a-jé’ someone’s saliva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>le-j</em> dust, soil, dirt</td>
<td>bi-le-j its soil, his soil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>li-j</em> urine</td>
<td>bi-li-j his urine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>li’</em> horse, pet</td>
<td>bi-li’ his horse, pet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.10. The final surd of an independent form may be voiced in a compound form. This change may occur in connection with the voiced initial or the lengthened vowel; all three changes may be simultaneous (cp. 5.9, 5.13–5.16.):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent form</th>
<th>Prefixed form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>bé-c</em> flint, metal, knife</td>
<td>bi-bé-j his flint, knife, metal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>te-c</em> soot</td>
<td>bi-te-j its soot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>xé-l</em> load, pack</td>
<td>bi-γé-l his load</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>si</em> belt</td>
<td>bi-zí-l his belt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>djó-c</em> vagina</td>
<td>’a-djó-j’ someone’s vagina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>té-l</em> fire-making apparatus</td>
<td>bi-té-l his firedrill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>táb-l</em> rope, cord, string</td>
<td>bi-táb-l its cord, string, rope</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.11. The long vowel of some nouns of the type CV' becomes short in possessed forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent form</th>
<th>Possessed form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ya' louse</td>
<td>'a-ya' someone's louse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yo' bead, necklace</td>
<td>bi-yo' his necklace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka' arrow</td>
<td>bi-ka' his arrow, weapon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.12. Some nouns of the same type have two compounding forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent form</th>
<th>Possesed form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'áso' jar, pot, dish</td>
<td>be'ésa- her jar; tó'ásá water jar (cer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tśa' basket, bowl</td>
<td>bi-tśa', bi-tśa' his bowl, basket</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.13. The vowel of a nominal stem is sometimes lengthened with the possessive prefix. Some nouns of this sort have two possessed or compound forms, one with the short vowel, one with the lengthened vowel. One informant (AB) differentiates the two forms in meaning; the unmodified stem with prefixed possessive denotes simple possession. If the vowel is long and the final consonant voiced, the form means possessed as a part of a whole, functioning in a particular way.” It is doubtful whether most speakers today, especially the younger ones, make this differentiation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent noun</th>
<th>Possessed noun in relation to the whole</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'il twig, branch, that which is</td>
<td>bi'i-č its branch, foliage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>detatchable</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sís belt</td>
<td>bi-čí-z his belt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.14. The following illustrate merely the contrast between voiceless and voiced final consonants, and vowel quantity:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent noun</th>
<th>Compound form non-functional</th>
<th>Compound form functional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tlö-l rope, string, lariat</td>
<td>'aya-sís-tlö-l rope of Angora wool</td>
<td>'aza-tlö-l rein, mouth- rope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsi-tlö-l hairstring</td>
<td>bike-tlö-l root; its-base- string</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dja-tlö-l earstring</td>
<td>biké-tlö-l hobble, shoestring; its-foot-string</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cá bi-tlö-l sunray; sun its rope</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bi-tsi-tlö-l his hairstring</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>teoc-tlö-l cinch, surcingle; belly-rope</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bi-tcei- his maternal grandfather, grandchild</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tcei maternal grandfather, grandchild</th>
<th>bi-tcei his maternal grandfather, grandchild</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
5.15. Some stems for which these differentiations are made have \( n \) as a final consonant:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent noun</th>
<th>Compound form non-functional</th>
<th>Compound form functional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \text{sin} ) song</td>
<td>( \text{bi-sin} ) his song(^1)</td>
<td>( \text{bi-yi-n} ) his, its song related to a song-group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{tsin} ) stick</td>
<td>( \text{bi-ts}i) its stick</td>
<td>( \text{bi-ts}i) its handle, framework</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{t\text{'}in} ) bone</td>
<td>( \text{bi-t\text{'}i} ) his bone</td>
<td>( \text{bid\text{'}a-t\text{'}i} ) bone in mastoid region, its earbone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{tcin} ) dirt, filth</td>
<td></td>
<td>( \text{bi-tci} ) body filth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{tcxin} ) expended body substance subject to sorcery</td>
<td></td>
<td>( \text{bi-tcx}i ) his body substance subject to sorcery</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.16. If the stem vowel is nasalized and the final consonant is a glottal stop, the simple possessed form is unchanged, in the compounded form related to the whole the nasalization becomes \( n \) and the glottal stop is lost; this is a process related to one occurring with perfective stems:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent noun</th>
<th>Compound form non-functional</th>
<th>Compound form functional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \text{d\text{'}a-t}q^* ) cornhusk, cigarette paper</td>
<td>( \text{at\text{'}i} ) base</td>
<td>( \text{d\text{'}a-t}a\text{-n} ) cornhusk, fodder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{t\text{'}i-y\text{'}i} ) food (gen.)</td>
<td>( \text{b\text{'}i-t}q^* ) his excrement</td>
<td>( \text{a-t\text{'}a\text{-n}} ) manure (polite term)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{a-t\text{'}a\text{-n}} ) manure (polite term)</td>
<td></td>
<td>( \text{t\text{'}i-y\text{'}a\text{-n}} ) food ready to eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{x\text{'}a-t\text{'}i} ) man, husband</td>
<td>( \text{b\text{'}ax\text{'}a-t\text{'}i} ) her husband</td>
<td>( \text{k\text{'}e-t\text{'}a\text{-n}} ) prayerstick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{b\text{'}e\text{-e\text{'}ed\text{'}a-t\text{'}i} ) woman, wife</td>
<td></td>
<td>( \text{b\text{'}e\text{-e\text{'}ed\text{'}a-t\text{'}a\text{-n}} ) his wife in relation to him</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following verbal forms should be compared with the stem changes just given: \( \text{\'ad\text{\'}a si\text{-t}\text{\'}a} \) “webbeam; in-front-of-something-long-obj.-lies;” \( \text{\'ad\text{\'}a si\text{-t}\text{\'a-n} \) “upper loompole;” \( \text{\'\text{\@h} si\text{-t}\text{\'a-n} \) “lower loompole.”

\(^1\) West of Keam’s Canyon \( \text{b\text{\'}i-sin} \) is commonly used for either meaning of “his song;” at Ganado it is considered ungrammatical, “wrong.”
5.17. A few nouns of type CV change to type CV’ in possessed forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent noun</th>
<th>Possessed form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to water</td>
<td>bi-to’ its water, spring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé stone, rock</td>
<td>bi-tse’ its stone, rock</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.18. Some nouns require the possessive with a high tone, a remnant of an older n-element, either a nasalized vowel or n:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'tā’</th>
<th>forehead</th>
<th>‘tดา’</th>
<th>rib</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘tōg’</td>
<td>collarbone</td>
<td>‘jit’</td>
<td>name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘nāi’</td>
<td>older brother</td>
<td>‘jit’</td>
<td>uttered breath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘nā’, ‘nì’ mind</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘leq’</td>
<td>nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘nà’, ‘në’ inside of nostril</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘tex’</td>
<td>muzzle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘kai’</td>
<td>mother’s older sister</td>
<td>‘la’</td>
<td>finger, hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘kid’</td>
<td>protuberance, eminence</td>
<td>‘lalah’</td>
<td>angle, corner, side of face</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.19. The nouns are so arranged in the dictionary and word lists that the exceptions may be easily noted. If no possessive form is given in parentheses after the word, the possessive is regular, that is, there is no change. Wherever an exception occurs, the possessive form is in parentheses immediately following the noun, for example, yo’ (-yo’) “bead,” sis (-zi-z) “belt;” to (-to’) “water.” If the noun demands a high tone of the prefix it is written ‘stem, for example, ‘la’ “finger, hand,” ’āla’ “someone’s finger, hand,” cila’ “my finger, hand,” etc.

5.20–5.113. COMPOUNDING

5.20. The discussion of monosyllabic nouns includes changes in form and meaning due to prefixing. Nouns may be the result of composition of two or more apparently nominal stems. Since one stem follows another, there may be phonetic changes of the stem final. The final glottal stop of a stem is often lost in a compound:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Compound noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘ayo’ someone’s tooth</td>
<td>‘a-ayo-cṭlah inside of someone’s cheek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘atsi’ someone’s head, hair</td>
<td>‘a-atsi-ya’ mane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘atso’ someone’s tongue</td>
<td>‘a-atsi-lṭah tip of someone’s tongue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eq. arrow</td>
<td>‘a-ka-tsi-n arrowshaft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ka-bé-c iron weapon point</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ka-yél quiver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘adja’ someone’s outer ear</td>
<td>‘adja-ti-j earwax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dja-ti-b earstring of beads</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.21. Nouns of more than one syllable are the result of compounding which is not limited to nominal stems, but may include other elements. A noun may be composed of a base with a suffix, a process which gives rise to many bisyllabic nouns. A noun may be a verb form, in which case it is analyzed as a verb complex—stem with prefixes; it may or may not have a nominalizing suffix. A large series of nominal prefixes, related to, but not identical with the monosyllabic stems, combine with nominal or verbal stems to form compound nouns. Whether the nouns are considered as nominal or verbal forms, affixes must be determined, and since it is good practice to start the analysis of the Navaho word from the end—the stem is final or near-final—the suffixes are presented first. Some of these suffixes sometimes seem to be bases, but they are included here because the examples are too few to make the category convincing.

5.22-5.37. Nominal Suffixes

5.22. -e: concerning, customs, manner, way:

'nib-e: Hail Chant; concerning-hail
t6-e: Water Chant; concerning-water
na-kai-e: Mexican ways, customs; Mexican-concerning
belagá-na-e: American (white) ways

5.23. -i: the particular one. This suffix is free; it may be added to any Navaho word to indicate “the particular one that ....” It is sometimes suffixed to a stem, becoming an inseparable part of the bisyllabic noun:

'á-di: group of females
mq'i: ma'i: coyote
taj-i: turkey; the-particular-one-that-pecks
gá-q-i: crow
kq'-i: group of males
γe'-i: god, gods
tsa'-i: group of mature females, female sex
td'i-i: flea
tsil-i: small animal, Mexican hairless dog (referring to breed)
tcah-i: crybaby, the-particular-one-that-cries
-teei: maternal grandfather and daughter’s child in relation to each other (cp. 5.14.):
tcah-i: Man-with-a-hat (personal name of first man who wore a hat)
dótlįį-i: turquoise; the-particular-one-that-is-blue

5.24. If the stem ends in a vowel, the suffix -i: may be shortened, combining with the vowel to form a short vowel cluster that makes it seem to be a part of the stem:
5.24.-5.30. THE NOUN

'kēi spouses, wives, husbands
-kei clan relatives, clan relationship
xastoī old man, men, the wise old men, those in authority
-tcei maternal grandfather, daughter's child (used in contrast with -tcei when relationship to each other is not indicated)

5.25. -i the one that is..., the one who..., the place where .... This is also a free suffix, used exactly as is -i'; it is less particular in its meaning:

'āh-ī fog, mist
'ād-ī older sister
-dā-ī man's mother's brother, man's sister's son older than speaker
-dej-ī younger sister
dine'-ē (< dine'-ī) tribe, group, people
ko-l-ī sheep with coarse curly hair
-tsil-ī younger brother
-jē'ē father
-tčē'ē woman's daughter
na'azis-ī pocket gopher
di'tcil-ī abalone; the-one-that-is-iridescent

5.26. If the stem ends in a low vowel, -i may combine with it to form a short vowel cluster with rising tone. The suffix thus becomes a part of the stem:

'nāī older brother
'i-nāś livelihood
tcāī (< tcāh-ī), tcayī crybaby (FH)

5.27. The suffix -i may be incorporated into the stem, retaining its identity in the length and tone of the resulting vowel:

thā-h (< thāh-ī) Lefty, the-one-who-is-left-handed (note that in tcāī "crybaby" h was lost)
'aban, 'abān, 'abāni dressed hide, skin
gīn, gīn, gīnī prairie hawk
xasti'n gā-n, ga-ni, ga-ń Mr. Arm (personal name)

5.28. Two nominalizing suffixes may be used in the same compound, that is, two nominalized forms may be compounded. Examples of this kind illustrate how intimate the suffixes become as a part of the complex they create:

na'azis-ī-to'-ī Gopher Spring
na'acō'-ī-to'-ī Reptile Spring
tsid-ī-to'-ī Bird Spring

5.29. -igi the very one who, the very one that, the place where:

belasd-na bite'= xólón-igi pear, the-apple-that-has-a-tail
bijē'= xólón-igi beer, the-one-that-has-foam

5.30. -igi, -idi the more remote one, the separated one which, who. This suffix is probably not carefully differentiated from -igi
by the ordinary Navaho speaker. Both are used to form a substantive clause, as well as to denote nominal specification. Like other nominal suffixes, -igi- is free and may be affixed to any word:

\[
\begin{align*}
tsi-tló-l-igi & \quad \text{old-fashioned navy blue hairstring; the-one-that-is-a-hairstring} \\
tsá'ázi'nisa-h-igi & \quad \text{Yucca glauca; the-yucca-that-is-large} \\
xata-l-igi & \quad \text{that which he sings} \\
yižin-igi & \quad \text{that which he wants}
\end{align*}
\]

5.31. -ó', -yó' dear, beloved:

\[
\begin{align*}
bíjis-ó' & \quad \text{his beloved brothers} \\
ciyé-yó' & \quad \text{my dear husband} \\
bá'úcxé-yó' & \quad \text{my dear brothers-in-law}
\end{align*}
\]

5.32. -ni' deceased, past, the late . . . , the one who used to be (ep. 11.36.):

\[
\begin{align*}
bíjé'é-ní' & \quad \text{his late father} \\
gíci'-ní' & \quad \text{the late Cane (User); the-particular-one-who-(had)-cane-deceased} \\
tsq-tsóhó-ní' & \quad \text{the late Big Belly (NT 368:27)} \\
xasti'n na'la-ní'-ní' & \quad \text{Old Man Chief deceased; mister the-particular-one-who-was-chief-deceased (NT 370:17)} \\
bí'óní' & \quad \text{the late Red Coat; the-one-whose-coat-was-red-deceased (NT 370:27)} \\
nígo'la-s-ní' & \quad \text{the late Nicholas (NT 372:1)} \\
na'káį săná-ní' & \quad \text{the late Old Mexican (personal name)}
\end{align*}
\]

5.33. -ni' belonging to a place, people of the place. This suffix is used in clan names:

\[
\begin{align*}
bitah-ní' & \quad \text{Folded-arms-people (clan name); place-where-it-is-in-its-fold (NT 92:13,14)} \\
maq'i: de-ogij-ní' & \quad \text{Coyote Gap people (clan name)} \\
tó'oxe-dlí-ní' & \quad \text{People-of-the-place-where-waters-flow-together (clan name)} \\
tó ótétí'-ní' & \quad \text{Bitter-water-people (NT 92:13)} \\
tóxá-ní' & \quad \text{People-of-water's-edge-place (clan name)} \\
tó-tsoh-ní' & \quad \text{People-of-big-water-place (clan name)} \\
kiya'á'-ní' & \quad \text{People-of-the-masonry-houses (clan name)} \\
xactíc-ní' & \quad \text{People-of-the-mud-place (clan name)} \\
xona'ýa-h-ní' & \quad \text{People-of-the-place-where-he-walked-about (clan name)} \\
náxódló'-ní' & \quad \text{people exist at a place}
\end{align*}
\]

5.34. -ké, -kéí plural of persons:

\[
\begin{align*}
'á-ké (< 'á-d-ké) & \quad \text{wives} \\
cínái-ké & \quad \text{my older brothers} \\
tél-ké & \quad \text{young men, youths (EW 144:24 "young relatives")} \\
bitsílí-ké (< bitsílí-ké) & \quad \text{his younger brothers} \\
tcí-kéí & \quad \text{girls, daughters (general, not necessarily related)} \\
tso-ó' (< tosí-ké) & \quad \text{daughter's children} \\
bíla-kéi & \quad \text{his sisters, her brothers, siblings of the opposite sex}
\end{align*}
\]
5.35. -ké: youth:

tsel-ké: youth, young man
tósí-ké: young girl, maiden

5.35a. -ke‘, -ke seems to be the nominal suffix for place, compared with xo-, the prefix denoting place in verbal forms. It should be compared with the verb -ke’d (pf.) in xo-ke’d “there is empty space.” It is debatable whether this is a nominal prefix or suffix, a verb, or a postposition:

'áná-ke‘ someone’s eye socket; someone’s-eye-place
’al-ke‘ in the same dwelling with; reciprocal (pronoun)-place
’o’al-ke‘ it’s there so let it remain; it has no special place but it will do there
tó-ke‘ stream bed, channel; water-place
ni-ke’-hé yucca mask of Night Chant; that-which-is-face-place
yisídá’a-ke‘ lair, den; safety-some-place
kp’ ni-ke‘, xoni-ke‘ fireplace; fire space-in-line
tsás-ke‘ bed: main-part-peculiar-to-place
tcác-ke‘ arroyo, broad-bottomed wash; above-rim-peculiar-to-place

Compare ke’-tōh “wristguard, bow guard,” and ke’-tá’n “prayer-stick, place-feathered,” in which ke‘ seems to be a verbal prefix; ’alki dáda’a’ke‘ “terraced gardens; one-above-the-other in-front there-are-spaces,” in which -ke‘ seems to be verbal, or a postposition. In xaltci‘-ke‘ (< xo-yí-l-tci‘) “ground is red, place-reddened-place,” and xo-ke‘-yan “ghost hogan, place-empty-house” ke‘ is used with xo-. It is not unusual to find the same idea expressed more than once in Navaho words, and these seem to be verbal forms nominalized by -ke. Compare also xo’ke’d “ruin, empty space, space.” From these verbal examples I have concluded that -ke‘ is the static continuative, -ke’d the static perfective verb stem.

5.36. -c-, the only element of its kind, connects two nouns and means that one “belongs to, is peculiar to the other.” For example, née’-c-ti’l “nasal mucus,” but née’dil “nosebleed.” “néé’dil would sound far-fetched because blood may be found anywhere but nasal mucus belongs especially to the nostrils” (AB). The element is relatively free as is illustrated by the elaborate compound, be’-ke’-eltčíhi-c-to‘ “fountain pen ink, liquid for water or oil color” (op. 4.31.).

It is interesting to compare this element with the possessive. The form 'áná-’ bito‘ “someone’s eye its water” is absurd, for “someone’s eye” is not something which may freely “own or have” anything. Contrast this with the forms:

’aná-c-to‘ boric acid, any water of any eye, water-used-for-eye
’aná-ke’-c-to‘ natural eye water; someone’s eye-place-peculiar-to-water
’ani-’c-to‘ facial perspiration; someone’s-face-peculiar-to-water
’díč’ -c-to‘ nasal mucus; someone’s-nose-peculiar-to-water
’álá-c-tój bark of tree
tá-c-to‘, ká-c-to‘ perspiration
The freedom of -c- is shown twice in the example bi-gq-s-tsi'-s-gê'j "cartilage of his shoulderblade; his-shoulder-peculiar-to-framework-peculiar-to-cartilage".

5.37. Attention may be called to Hoijer's interpretation of -c- (although so far as I know he does not translate it). He says, "There is one example of a tri-consonantal cluster of type 3 [having a point of syllabic division between the second and third consonant of the cluster] differing from the above [final clusters beginning with glottal stop and having a second element s, j, l, or h] in form." Hoijer goes on to cite the example xas-tiln-s-têl-ı' "Wide Man" (personal name), and concludes, "Here the cluster ns ends the syllable." On the basis of his own theory of syllabification, I think he should divide the word as xas-ti'n-s-têl-ı and consider -s- (< -c-) syllabic, for it is what he calls a "prefinal" prefix in its own right, as explained above. To me it is phonetically in the same class as syllabic s or z of the third person transitive (3-3) si-perfective. The examples given above show, however, that it is distinct from s-perfective (cp. 3.98.).

5.38. The nominal prefixes used in compounding nouns or as verbal prefixes are closely related to independent nouns. Some are shortened nominal stems, lacking the final consonant, as tsi'- (-tsi') "head, head hair;" tso'- (-tsó') "tongue;" djá'- (-dja'-) "outer ear;" za'- (-za'd) "word, speech, language;" djá'- (-dja'd) "leg;" le'- (le'j) "soil, dust, dirt."

Others are rarely used independently, although several examples show that they may be: dé-hê'ni' (-dé') "antlers of the one mentioned." Compare dé nnêini'tqo' "when the antlers have been put back" (NT 322: 14,17). In the first example dé is independent; in the second, it is doubtful whether dé is a word or a prefix. Forms of the prefix type may be used with postpositions in which respect they are like stems: náya: sê'si "One-that-has-a-wart under-the-eye" (place name).

5.39. The nominal prefix often has the form CV. The verbal character of the noun is demonstrated by the fact that if the nominal prefix with a high tone is followed by another prefix, the latter is high because of the inflective prefix (ná-) (10.25, 10.93.). In the list of nominal prefixes the independent or final stem is written in parentheses:

2 Hoijer 1945c, p. 25.
5.40. **dá-** (-dá’) rim, edge:
- **dá-qi** rim of orifice (g is a glide consonant); the-one-that-is-the-rim
- **dá-yi’** person’s beard and mustache; mouth-hair
- **dá-zi’** throat; edge-inside
- **dá-dzi’** uvula; edge-flap
- **dá-djó-j** opening between mouth and nose
- **dá-yádójó** tapering mustache (of animal or person)
- **dá-yánábqi’** One-who-has-a-handlebar-mustache (personal name)

5.41. **dá’a-** corn, plant:
- **dá’a-lq’** cornhusk, corn leaf, cigarette paper
- **dá’a-la’-n** cornhusks, fodder
- **dá’a-kaz** cornstalk
- **dá’a-ké** cornpatch, cornfield; corn-place
- **dá’a-yáli’** rattlepod (plant)
- **dá’a tea-n** cornsmut; corn-excrement
- **dá’a-tájó** pith of corncob
- **dá’a-lgai’ aká-n** white cornmeal

5.42. **dá-, dá-** (cp **dá’h** “moving in front of” 7.40.) in front, fitted in opening:
- **dá’diitt’** herbs for sealing prayersticks (cer.): some-bushy-substance-that-is-placed-in-opening
- **dá’dinázt’-n’i’** door guard; the-particular-one-who-stands-in-front
- **dá’dinázt’** door guards (as snake, lightning) (cer.); house furnishings kept near doorway
- **dá’didjah** bars across corral opening
- **dá’ditj, dá’nditj’i’** wooden door, gate in one piece
- **dá’-tev’tin** dam; something-has-been-piled-in-front
- **bi-dá-nes’lá** slightly overlapping, just touching (as branches of a shade) (FH)

5.43. **tá-** pertaining to water
- **tá’-lqis** washing, cleansing, dipping, bath
- **tá-bq’-há** People-of-water’s-edge (clan name)
- **tá-bq’-hgi** shore, beach; place-at-water’s-edge
- **tá-zil** sac on internal organ: water-collects
- **tá-tc’é** sweathouse

5.44. **té-** (< **tá-water-i’h** into) deep water, in deep water:
- **té’-lq’** water horse (myth.)
- **té’-xo’ltsó-dí’** water monster (myth.); the-particular-one-that-grabs-in-deep-water

5.45. **ná-, -ná-** (-ná’) eye, small seed, grain, essential part:
- **’a-ná-diz** someone’s eyelash; eye-twists (on-itself)
- **’a-ná-té’j** someone’s eyebrow; eye-blackened
- **’a-ná-gai** someone’s cornea; eye-whitened
- **’a-ná-ke’** someone’s eye socket; eye-place
- **’a-ná-ke’ctó’** someone’s tears; eye-place-peculiar-to-water
- **’a-ná-ziz’** someone’s eyelid; eye-flaps
- **’a-ná-tsi’-n’** someone’s brow ridge; eye-bone
'a-ná-ji'-ni  someone’s pupil; eye-black
'á-ná-ti:kíh corner of someone’s eye; eye-corner
né-yá: se:-zi One-that-has-wart-under-the-eye (name of Joseph City, Arizona)

5.46. nél'- (‘ni', ‘ni’') pertaining to inside of nostril:

né-é-díl nosebleed
né-é-tíi: nasal mucus; nose-slimy
né-é-cdíja: 'screewowl; nose-peculiar-to-outer-ear
-né-é-ya' hair of nostrils

5.47. -gq'- (-ga'n) pertaining to arm:

-gq'-doh arm muscle
-gq'-yos shoulder joint
-gq'-zíi: sleeve; arm-flaps
-gq'-stíi-n shoulderblade; arm-peculiar-to-foundation
-gq'-stó:tá' middle part of shoulderblade; arm-peculiar-to-main-part-between
-gq'-tó' lower arm; arm-appendage

5.48. ké'- (-ke'') foot, footgear, pertaining to foot:

ké bi'h dít'nil (dust) he shook into his shoe; shoe into-it he(4)-moved pl.-obj. Here ké must be interpreted as an independent noun.
ké-tal heel of shoe, moccasin; foot-move-swiftly
ké-ní' instep; foot-middle
ké-kal sole of foot
ké-látah toe; foot-tip
ké-tó:tíi moccasin uppers; foot-red
ké-'abani buckskin footwear
-ké-tó:i shoestring
-ké-ké footprints; foot-place
-ké-cga'n toenail; foot-peculiar-to-shield
xa-ké-lé:j his(4) foot dust (cer.) (EW 196:244)
ké nine-zi boots; the-footwear-that-is-long

5.49. Re'- see 5.35a.

5.50. -yá'- (-ya', -ya'') pertaining to body hair, fuzz, fur, wool:

'aze' dá-yá:i (< dá-yá:i:jin) Sloan’s liniment; medicine-blackened-mustache (named for picture on box)
dá-yá-tó:sti tapering mustache; mustache-narrow
dá-yá-názóst handlebar mustache; the-mustache-that-curves
dá-yá sika:d mere tuft of beard, small goatee
tso:-yá mane; head-hair

5.51. -yó'- (-yo'') pertaining to teeth:

'a-yó:ta:h fold between teeth and lips; tooth-fold
bi-yó-ci:ji He-lacks-a-tooth (personal name): his-tooth-peculiar-to-gap
'a-yó-ci:tal place where tooth is missing; tooth-notch
'a-yó-ci:ta:h inside of cheek; tooth-peculiar-to-angle
5.52. γό-·, γωϊ-· smooth, shiny body covering; insect, worm:
  γό-·-neetjidi· cicada (gen.)
  γό-·-lajini· black ant
  γό-·-láci-· ant (gen.); red ant (spec.)
  γό-· sikiiri· bedbug
  γό· sikiidi· worm, caterpillar that humps in moving, measuring worm; the-particular-worm-that-humps

5.53. za- (ep. -za' "belched gas") in mouth, passing through mouth:
  za-a'zis packet of garment; mouth-pouch
  za-xodi-yoh suction of gas
  Oza-dzo'i-tšin ... was punched in the mouth

5.54. za- (sa'd, -za'd) mouth, voice, word, speech, language:
  za-ndil herbal medicine; pl-obj.-are-placed-in-mouth
  -za-'bq'h lip; mouth-edge
  za-lānī western mockingbird; words-many
  bi-za-đil sacred blood, blood of animal ritualistically killed; its-mouth-blood
  'u-za-látah final meaning of words; speech-tip

5.55. zá-, zá- pertaining to inside of mouth:
  zádi, záyi oesophagus; that-which-is-inside-of-mouth
  zá-bq'h 'dži'h lipstick; mouth-inside-border is-made-thus
  'u-zá-ťi' bridle, bit, rein; that-which-is-strung-inside-mouth
  -zá-·yo'j hard palate; inside-of-mouth-botryoidal

5.56. -zé- pertaining to neck, throat (outside):
  zé nāya'd surface of chest and neck to lower jaw and ear
  zé ndzi'ai separate shirt collar; neck-stiff-obj.-projects-in-arc

5.57. -zé' (-zé') breath; part around outside of neck:
  zé· dé-ťii necktie;
  zé· dé-lye'h collar worn in ceremony
  zé· dé-yini cape
  zé· dé-lodi scarf
  zé· nožži'ti necktie; it-lies-strung-around-neck
  zé· ndžži'ti necktie; it-lies-strung-against-neck
  zé· sidoi, zé· de-sdoi shirt collar; that-part-of-neck-which-is-warm (Cp. bizé'· xazi'· "he died; his-breath space-became" NT 388:23)

5.58. -tsá- main part of:
  -tsá-gah part of body between lower ribs and hips
  -tsá-tid tendon of Achilles; main-tendon
  tsá'ászi' yucca; something-main-fibrous
  tsá-ske bed; main-part-peculiar-to-place

5.59. tséél- ?:
  tséél-k'į' youth, period from early adolescence to middleage
  tséél-tca'· buzzing beetle
5.60. tsi'-. -tsi'}- (tsi'') pertaining to head, hair, or both:

'ta-tsi'-yastá-n someone's neck tendon; long-object-lies-under-peculiar-to-the-head
'ta-tsi'-yq' someone's brain; head-nerve-tissue
'ta-tsi'-ziz scalp, part of foreigner used in War Ceremony; head-flap
'ta-tsi'-tón skull; head-bone
'ta-tsi'-yóti- top vertebra, atlas; the particular-one-where-head-pivots

tsi'-tłó-ł hairstring, hair-cord

5.61. -tso'- (-tso') tongue:

'a-tso'-yaz tongue papillae; tongue-papilliated
'a-tso'-làdana tip of tongue

5.62. tsi'- foundation, essential part:

tsi'-tson skeleton; essential-bone
tsi'-zís quiver; essential-pouch
da'tsi'- pith of corncob; corn-essential-part

5.63. cá, cá- (cá') pertaining to sun:

cá ndi-n sunstreamer
cá dádé-n sunbeam
cá-làdana end of sunbeam; sun-tip
cá-dá'a-h south; sun-round-obj.-is-starting-to-move
cá bító-ł sunray

5.64. dja'-- (-dja') outer ear, ear lobe:

dja'-tini- dock (plant)
dja'-náz mule; ear-long
dja'-çjini Black Ears (dancers)
Odja'-kal ... is deaf; ... -is-ear-covered

5.65. djá-, dzá- (djá'd) leg:

-djá-nil fringe of robe; separate-obj.-lie-against-leg
dzá-ziz fringe of robe; limber-obj.-lie-against-leg
djá-kój odor of genitals: leg-acrid
-dzá-stis shin
-dzá-tis leg sinew

5.66. tca- shade, darkness:

tca-xa'oh shade
be- tca-xac'ohi umbrella; that-with-which-place-is-shaded
tca-xalxe-l, tca'axalxe-l, tca-xa-txe-l darkness; shade-dims-place

5.67. tca'- above rim (?):

tca'ol pinyon tree
tca-c'ke arroyo, deep sharp wash; place-where-arroyo-begins-to-merge-with-plain
tca-edjic diaphragm
tca-ttoc syphilis (AB)
5.68. lá-, 'lá ('la') digit, finger, hand:
- lá-yájí small finger
- lá-tsíní wrist; hand-attachment (YM 123)
- lá-tsíni bracelet (YM 123)
- lá-tsoh thumb; finger-large
- lá tsostéídi index finger; the-seventh-finger

5.69. le-, le'- (le')i soil, dust, dirt:
- le'-i-iníl cemetery; soil-in-which-pl.-are-laid
- le'-yí' in ground
- le'-s'é'n pit-baked bread
- le'-ya neyání One-nurtured-under-ground (myth.)
- le-tsoh yellow ocher; soil-yellow
- le-tsá'í bowl, earth-bowlshaped
- le-djin coal; earth-blackened
- le'-i-ci j he poked it into the ground (NT 22:24)
- le'-aznilg-go to where pieces of meat were buried (NT 22:28)

5.70. tla'(-tla'') bottom, buttocks:
- tla-kal skirt; buttocks-covered
- tla'-díjí 'é' pants; bottom-toward garment
- bi-tla'-díja' bias binding, rickrack braid

5.71-5.113. Composition of Nouns

5.71. The difficulty of interpreting the Navaho elements, demonstrated by the word and nominal affixes, is further shown by noun composition. Nouns, verbs, and postpositions overlap and interchange in so many ways that it is impossible to draw a line between any two categories. One rule seems to stand out, namely, that a nominal stem stands first in a compound, whereas a verbal stem usually has at least one prefix; it may be a noun. There is, however, an exception—the verb stem has an initial position with a nominalizing suffix: yót-i "ability, capacity, might;" bal-i "shawl, the-one-that-is-curtainlike;" tsóz-i "Angora goat;" t'log-i "Sia Indian;" tcahi, tcayi, or tcá-h "crybaby." Such forms are doubtless shortened forms of the participle with nominalizing suffix, but the class is large enough to indicate that a verb stem, like a nominal stem, has some capacity for independence.

5.72. The participial form is very free; it is formed by prefixing 'a- "some, someone, something" to any of the principal parts of the verb. It is nominal as well as verbal: 'atbóh "weaving, something being woven (pres.);" 'astló "weaving, something is woven (pf.);" 'o'gis (<'a- yi-prog.) "something is roasting (prog.);" 'atè 'something is frying (inc.);" 'aztè "something is roasted, fried (pf.);" 'atcah "there is crying" (cp. tcah "crying").
5.73. The participle may be given a nominal form with a suffix: 'atlóh-i "weaver, the-one-who-weaves-something;" 'akah-i "miller, the-one-who-grinds-something."

5.74. Although the assignment of a word to a verbal or nominal category is sometimes arbitrary, it is clear that once a form has been nominalized—as a participle, or by a nominalizing suffix—it retains the nominal character and thenceforth behaves like a noun in a compound or utterance. Moreover, the suffix binds all that precedes it into a unit.

5.75. In the following examples the analysis is the one that seems preponderant; others might be possible.

5.76. A noun may be composed of two nominal stems, the second of which cannot be independent; the resulting form is noun-noun:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tó-zia</th>
<th>waterbag, glass jar, bottle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tse-dá’-</td>
<td>Rock Rim (place name)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsoc-tló-l</td>
<td>cinch; belly-rope (cp. 'aban tló-l buckskin or goatskin lariat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lá-djic</td>
<td>glove; hand-case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dá-ya’</td>
<td>person’s beard and mustache; edge-body-hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dé-l-da’</td>
<td>cranebill (cer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cá-látah</td>
<td>end of sunbeam; sun-tip</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.77. A noun may be composed of more than one stem, either of which may be independent:

| Dibé dág' | sheep food (plant name); sheep corn |
| Gah tcidí | rabbitskin robe; cottontail robe |
| Ka- bé-c (< Ka’ bé-c) | arrowhead; arrow flint |
| Tse bq’-h | Rock Border (place name) |
| Tse ko’ | yellow ocher; rock fire |
| Tsí- tló-l (< Tsí’ tló-l) | haircord |

5.78. A noun and a possessed noun may form a compound noun:

| Taqí- bi-béjó’ | turkey comb; turkey its-comb |
| Tsení bi-tsi’-n | ax handle; ax its-handle |
| Tsiín bi-ka | marrow; bone its-fat |
| Li’ bi-yél | saddle; horse its-pack |

5.79. Two or more nouns may combine with a possessed noun to form a compound noun; the position of the possessed noun may change. Position probably indicates emphasis:

| Tse li’ biyél | Saddle Rock; rock horse its-load |
| Tse bini’-tó | Cliff-face-water (place name); rock its-face water |

5.80. A noun may result from combining a noun or nominal prefix and postposition:
-dá-\(\gamma\)`i throat; edge-within
yá-`q-c heaven; sky-opposite
-go-dai (< -god-dai) thigh; knee-up-from
kin-tah town; masonry-houses-among
tsé-ya’ cave; rock-underneath
tsé-\(\gamma\)`i canyon; rocks-within
le-\(\gamma\)`i subsoil, underground; soil-within

5.81. This process may be carried further, so that another noun may be added, the result being a new noun:

tsé-tah kin (San Ildefonso); House-among-rocks; rocks-among masonry-houses
tsé-na: to Senatoo Spring; Water-around-rock
tsé-kiz-tôh-i Rock-crevice-water; that-which-is-rock-crevice-water (NT 342:27)

5.82. The noun may be composed of a nominal stem and two post-positions:

tsé-\(\gamma\)`i-\(\gamma\)`i Place-in-box-canyon; rocks-within-place. Here the noun and postposition is the “noun;” the postposition -\(\gamma\)`i “in place” is added, the entire compound being the place name.

5.83. The compound noun may be composed of noun-postposition and verb:

tséya- ni-tci’ Red Cave; rock-under red-paused
wáy/í xayáyi Small Canyon; rocks-within place-is-small
zacké-djít na-\(\lambda\)`a-h war captain, army officer; warrior-side he-exerts authority
tséta-ká Rock-ridge-in-water; rock-into-water-ridged
tséna-djít-n Bennett Peak; Blackened-around-rock

5.84. A second verb may be added to the same structure:

tséna-djít-n-yáji Little Bennett Peak; Blackened-around-rock-small

5.85. In the following, noun-postposition and verb are so intimately related by the phonetic change of the verb initial that the verb cannot be independent: tsé-\(\gamma\)`á ’tindín-i’ rock crystal, crystal; some-particular-rock-through-which-light-shines-beyond (AB). Compare with this an alternant form, tsé-\(\gamma\)`á dividi’n-i’ the-particular-rock-through-which-light-beams-beyond (YME 22). In both forms the compound is framed by tsé and -\(\gamma\)`i, the nominalizer.

5.86. A postposition may be nominalized, or serve as a noun:

\(\gamma\)`e-di utensil, implement; that-which-is-“withed”; that-which-is-an-instrument
bi-ká’ its top; credit; what-is-on-it
bi-\(\gamma\)`i bottom side; its-in-it
5.87. A postposition with a noun may form a noun:

*biká* 'atí-n highway; on-it road
*bí*í *záá-tl* patient in ceremony; over-him there-was-singing
*a'ya-*tsí-n someone’s lower jaw; something-under-attached-bone

5.88. Some nouns result from a compound of noun and verb stem, as if the noun were the subject of the verbal complex; they are schematized as noun-verb stem:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun-verb stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>maí'-tsoh</em></td>
<td>wolf; coyote-large</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tsé-gí-j</em></td>
<td>mountain pass; rock-gap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>-djá-díl</em></td>
<td>(&lt; <em>djá'-díl</em>) thigh; leg-big</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tso-gí-n</em></td>
<td>Chiracahua; soundrel-tall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tso'-yín</em></td>
<td>menstruation; genitals-dangerous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>le-jín</em></td>
<td>coal; soil-black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tlo'-tsoín</em></td>
<td>onion; grass-odorous</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.89. Nouns or nominal prefixes may be compounded with a verb stem, which may have a form unlike any of the principal parts: *a'á-n* “hole” (from *'-á* [stat.] “be open”); *tá-n* instead of *tá* “long slender obj. lies;” *-yá-n* instead of *-yé* “eat;” *-díj-n* instead of *-díjín* “be blackened;” *-gí-j* instead of *-gijn* “be forked, have a gap.” Such forms seem to be analogous to the possessed noun with lengthened vowel to show a more intimate relation than does the stem with short vowel—for example, *tsín* “bone” and *bi-tsoín* “its bone as part of skeleton” (cp. 5.13–5.16.):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>'á-lá-gí-j</em></td>
<td>crotch between fingers; someone’s-finger-gapped</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tsé-gí-j</em></td>
<td>Rock Gap (place name)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dzil-jí-n</em></td>
<td>Black Mountain (cp. <em>dziljín</em> and <em>dzil líjin</em> “the mountain is black”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>'aná-jí-n</em></td>
<td>pupil and iris; eye-black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tso'-yá-n</em></td>
<td>prepared food, food ready to eat (cp. <em>tso'-yé</em> “food” [gen.])</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.90. The following noun is composed of noun verb-noun:

*tó *ldé-'ko-h* Red-water-canyon (place name); water the-red-one-canyon (NT 348:7)

5.91. Many nouns are formed by combining a noun and an independent verb:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>'abq-h <em>ní</em>í</em></td>
<td>border string of blanket on loom; some-border it-is-strung-up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ana</em> <em>xo-dzoh</em></td>
<td>boundary line; stranger place-is-marked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>aze</em> <em>díích</em></td>
<td>chili, pepper; medicine it-is-bitter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bidá</em> <em>xa'ažtí</em></td>
<td>Rim-strung-out, Grand Canyon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>maq'-tsóh</em></td>
<td>yellow fox; coyote is-yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>de</em> nástá' (&lt; <em>de</em> nástá')</td>
<td>ram; horn curved-bowllike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>na-dá</em> <em>'ásé-h</em></td>
<td>crackerjack; corn it-is-roasted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kin</em> ya'-á</td>
<td>tower; masonry from-underneath-projects (the postposition -ya- has become a verbal prefix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>'i-ná</em> yá'-áčq</td>
<td>good health; life it-is-good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tsín díí'í</em></td>
<td>bullroarer; stick it-moans</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.92. A noun may consist of a noun and several verb stems:

*tsé-tci'-la* Red-rock-shelter (place name); rock-red-shelters

5.93. A noun and verb with nominalizer may form a noun:

'tani' béldjol-í powderpuff; face-that-which-is-moved-fluffy-against-it

'ása' nimaz-í round utensil, receptacle; pot the-one-which-is-spherical

'6' na-tsoq-d-i sweater; garment the-particular-one-that-stretches-around-a-restricted-area

yo' ayáli sleighbell; bead the-one-that-rattles

gá' askidí camel; the-one-whose-back-is-humped

tés'ésté paper bread; something-that-is-baked-against-stone

téil na'áthi' grape, raisin; the-particular-plant-that-intertwines-here-and-there

5.94. Two nouns may be combined with a verb and a nominalizing suffix to form another noun:

*belasá-na bitse' xblónigi* pear; apple the-one-that-has-a-tail

5.95. A noun, possessive with postposition and verb—practically a sentence—may be a noun either with or without a nominalizing suffix:

*tsé bí' de-sgá White-in-rock-enclosure (place name); rock within-it it-is-white*

'atsí ba' naxaníhí butcher; meat on-account-of-it the-one-who-exchanges

tlóh na-lldjo'ú hayfork; that-with-which-hay-is-moved-about

5.96. A noun, a verb, a verb with nominalizer and a postposition may form a noun:

*tsé yiká-n dáde-stlin-i-gí concrete dam; rock it-is-ground place-where it-is-piled-in-front*

5.97. The following seem to be si-static verbs (third person), which I have found in no other forms. They are treated as possessed nouns, as if the stems were as indicated here, the possessive pronoun being the only modification:

*yí-stlé, yi-stléi lunch (si-stlé "my lunch")
yí-sqa', yi-sqa' covering, skin, foliage

*yí-stlé, yi-stlé legging, stocking (cp. kaíhi-ltíle "he had buckskin leggins" NT 160:3)*

5.98. A verb may be used as a noun, often without a nominalizer:

*'ini' thunder; something-that-moans-rep.*

'tí'í'-q sunset; round-obj.-has-moved-beyond

*óla'i pupil, student; one-who-reads*

*dahi-stlí loom; tied-so-as-to-hang-down*

*dahdini-lya'ú fried bread, sopaiilla; prolonged-bubbling-on*

*nane-lje' warp; it-has-been-stretched-evenly-and-tightly*
5.99. A verb with a preceding locative may form a noun:

'ada xi:li' waterfall
'aya- sité lower loompole; underneath-rigid--obj.-lies
áláh xa-zlé celebration; crowd-is-in-place
'dálah 'ale-h council meeting, conference, assembly; crowd becomes
'q- xa-té'l residue after filtering; extraneous it-has-been-caused-to-float-out
'q- xá-té'l skimmed liquid; extraneous it-has-floated-up-out
té-h diiyá'n, té-téb-yá'n watermelon; in-vain one-eats

5.100. The locative preceding the verb may consist of a possessive and postposition:

bá xaz'q rule, code; for-its-benefit things-are
be- xaz'q legal requirement; with-things-are
bít no-a-c man's male cross cousin; with-him they-two-go-about
bi- xo-dáh hollowness (as of a pipe); inside-it place-is-hollow
be-'etaxis whip, switch; with-it-something-jerks
bike'esci' writing, picture; over-it-something-has-been-caused-to-bear-down

5.101. The complex formed of possessive-postposition and verb may be bound together by a suffixed nominalizer:

'áki dahiniít saddleblanket; those-which-hang-down-over-something
'alkkésisi candy; those-which-are-twisted-one-against-the-other
be- 'adikól yeast; that-by-means-of-which-something-ferments
be- 'ádilo-dí towel, handkerchief; that-by-means-of-which-self-is-wiped

5.102. A noun may be formed from a verb and a noun:

'altsé xasti-n First Man (deity)
diyin dine'él Holy People; holy group
naxokó' dine'él earth people; here-and-there-in-place people (NT 16:16)

5.103. A noun may be composed of an adjective, noun and verb:

'acdla' 'atlé' xatá'l five-night chant (this may be interpreted also as verb verb verb)

5.104. A noun may be composed of an adjective, a noun, and a possessed noun:

tá- taji- bikin Three-turkey-house (place name) three turkeys their-house

5.105. Two verbs may form a noun; either or both may be nominalized:

nání'ó xatsoh Large Span, Big Bridge (place name): something-projects-across place-is-large
bíkí 'addání bikéstí'l tablecloth; that-which-is-eaten-off-of the-one-that-covers-it

5.106. A verb, either nominalized or not, to which a postposition has been suffixed, may form a noun:

'addání-gi dining-room; place-in-which-something-is-eaten
'i'íke-d-gi motion picture theater; place-in-which-something-is-moved-smoothly-beyond
5.107. The examples and many other words that have nominal force, especially the long descriptive complexes that contain all the fundamental grammatical elements, free as well as bound, show that each is an utterance. The nouns are, therefore, syntactic as well as morphological.

The tendency to create descriptive terms, marked in all Athabaskan languages, is especially well developed in Navaho. It is the device that gives the language its large and subtle vocabulary. Any speaker may devise a name for a new object or a circumlocution for a well known one, and is likely to be understood. Consequently, there are often three or four names for an ordinary object, all of which are correct; it may be that no two are compounded on exactly the same scheme.

5.108. Place names are often built on the elements to, to', tá- "water;" kin "masonry house;" tsé "rock."

5.109. The prefixes 'a-indefinite pronoun, and 'a-beyond, into indefinite space, so often form verbal nouns that only those which cannot be analyzed will be listed in the dictionary; if they can be analyzed they are to be put under the verb stem. Many verbal nouns have a prefix na-about, here and there; they will be listed under na- and under the stem as well.

5.110. Another prefix xo-place, things, especially "supernatural things, things not explained or understood," is used as extensively, particularly to describe abstractions or ritualistic ideas. It is often combined with na-about, becoming naxo- or naxa- to describe things referring to the earth or universe.

5.111. As is to be expected, the postposition -e- "with instrumental" is a part of many nouns of the type "that-by-means-of-which-it..." Often the forms are passive: be'eldq "gun; that-by-means-of-which-explosion-is-caused." Frequently too be- is used with a nominalizing suffix in which case be-...-i serves as a frame to denote an instrument: be'atšosi 'small pump; that-by-means-of-which-there-is-sucking-through;" be'eldq be' 'ándáxáltahí "trigger; that-by-means-of-which-gun-is-caused-to-spring-back-in-place."

5.112. The fourth person serves, among its other functions, to generalize statements, often in nominalized forms, and in this sense is equivalent to the impersonal "one":

té'h džiyán, té'ti-yá'n watermelon; in-vain-one-eats-some
té: zoltšó-di' Water Monster; the-particular-one-that-grabs-in-deep-water
tó xadji-ika-di Place-where-one-splashes-water-out-with-hand
5.113. Forms of the verbs 'á-...-i'l "do, make;" and 'á-... -lé'l "make, construct, create" have become stereotypes for descriptive nouns:

'i-yl'ini, 'i-yil'ini, 'i-l'ini one-who-makes-rep.
bá-h 'i-yil'ini baker; bread one-who-makes
tó ditxil 'i-yil'ini brewer; water dark one-who-makes
'ayo' 'i-yil'ini dentist; teeth one-who-rep.-does-thus-to
'aze' 'ál'í (< 'ál'í') hospital; place-where-medicine-is-made-rep.
té-yá'n bi-h 'ál'ini kitchen; food in-it where-it-is-prepared
bil 'él'ini baking powder; with-it something-which-is-made-thus

5.114. Borrowed Nouns

5.114. The preceding array of possibilities for word coining may be a reason that Navaho draws comparatively few words from languages outside the Athabaskan family. Particularly interesting are the reinterpretation of the palatals and the modification of accent of words borrowed from Spanish and English. Generally the accented vowel has a high or falling tone in Navaho. The following list is suggestive, but not exhaustive:

'aléz (< arroz Sp.) rice
'óla (< oro Sp.) gold, money, watch, clock, time
bá-h (< pan Sp.) bread
behé (< pet Eng.) pet, mascot
belagá-na (< americano Sp.) white person
belosá-na (< manzana Sp.) apple
bé-so (< peso Sp.) money, dollar
bisd'í (< posole Sp.) pork, bacon, pig (posole is a dish made of hominy and bacon rind eaten by the Spanish-Americans of New Mexico)
mamali- (Eng.) mormon
mandagi-ya (< mantequilla Sp.) butter
masdé-l, basdé-l (< pastel Sp.) pie
malyá-na (Sp.) Mariano (NT 370:9)
mé-l (Eng.) mail
mi-l, mi-l (< mil Sp.) 1000
mósí (Eng.) cat, pussy
mó-la- (< mula Sp.) mule, donkey
dam'go, damó (< domingo Sp.) Sunday
dé'h (Sp. and Eng.) tea
nó-ńba (Eng.) number
gabidá-n (Sp.) capitán (NT 372:24)
gá-d (Eng.) God
gá-námó-ntse (Sp.) Ganado Mucho (personal name) (NT 374:4)
gé-so (< queso Sp.) cheese
gomá-ntci Comanche (NT 360:27)
goxwé-h, xoxwé-h (< café Sp.) coffee (ep. tél-xwé-hé'h "Navaho herbal tea" in which -xwé-h has become a stem and -é (-i) is the nominalizing suffix)
kémic, kiemas (Eng.) Christmas
kraisi (Eng.) Christ
xasó's (Sp.) Jesus (NT 364:12)
xolyán (Sp.) Juliano (NT 372:7)

xwéldi (< fuerte Sp.) Ft. Sumner, Bosque Redondo, and the trip there and back (1863–68)

sindao, tsindao (< centavo Sp.) cent

se·s (< seis Sp.) sixspot in cards

siyá·la (< cigarro Sp.) cigar

sbada (< spada Sp.) spade in cards

djéli (Eng.) jelly, jam, preserves

dji·zis (Eng.) Jesus

tcalé·go (< chaleco Sp.) vest (cp. Hoijer 1947, p. 179)
6. Navaho has a highly developed pronominal system. The formal relationship between the various types of pronouns—inddependent, subjective, agentive, objective and possessive—is very close. Significant changes differentiate them functionally in prefixed or paradigmatic forms which may be greatly affected by contraction.

6.1. Navaho has three numbers—singular, dual, and plural. At least five persons must be distinguished for the singular, and the third person is subdivided, so that six singular forms designate person. Of these four, that is, all the "third persons," have the same forms in singular and dual. First and second persons are distinctive for the dual.

6.2. Speakers often fail to distinguish dual and plural, using the same forms for both, unless a distinction is needed, when da- is prefixed to dual forms. The position of da- is important in relation to other prefixes, and it may contract with some of them. Its position and other effects are therefore included in the paradigms (10–10.124.).

6.3. I do not agree with Sapir, Hoijer, Young and Morgan that da- is essentially a distributive; it is rather a plural.1 Forms with da- often seem to be distributive in meaning, but most often distribution is indicated by the stem and prefixes that enter into combination with da-. For instance, if a form of -á:tl "move a round object" is used with a plural prefix da-, it is likely to be distributive because more than one person does not usually take hold of such an object. However, if the stem refers to a long, stiff, slender object (-tfdl) or to a load (-yétl), it may reasonably take a plural subject and may mean that they act together and not separately. If the plural subjects act as individuals, as in loading, the repetitive may be used. Sapir and Hoijer interpret the repetitives as "disjunctive" forms, and therefore miss the distributive meanings, attributing them to da-. To be sure, there is much overlapping of these forms in the third person plural and the distinctions are not determinable from the forms alone.

1 Young-Morgan 1943, Grammar pp. 2, 69, 70–1.
6.4. First and second person singular correspond to the same persons in English.

6.5. Four third persons are distinguished. One of these, 'a- "some, someone, something,"' is easily differentiated in meaning. The other three are not. If an utterance involves two or more third persons it implies one of them as absolute, that is, the identity is established as a third person, the subject being denoted by the verb form. If the nominal subject is a possessed noun, the possessive is bi-; in the paradigms bi- in relation to yi- is indicated as (3). If, however, the subject and a possession are mentioned, the possessive is yi- rather than bi-, and refers to the first third person, and there may be corresponding adjustments of the objective pronoun of the verbal complex. This is a matter of relationship between subject, agent, object, and verb, as well as between possessor and thing possessed. The relationship can be best explained by examples.

6.6. If there is more than one third personal subject, one may be the third person, the other, the fourth (called "3a" by Hoijer and Young). Third person is characterized by the absence of a subject prefix in the intransitive and transitive active voice. There seems, however, to be a third person subject, and perhaps an agent, of the transitive passive verb, and because these prefixes have a form (yi-, -yi-) apparently identical with many aspective prefixes with which they contract, their isolation is a matter of confusion and doubt.

The fourth person is formally easy to identify because its form (dji-) is outstanding, and because its position is far forward, that is, as nearly initial as possible in the stem complex. Moreover, it dominates a great many other prefixes, either absorbing them or contracting in such a way as usually to retain its identity. The difficulties of the fourth person are in usage, for the assignment of the fourth, instead of the third, personal role to a person spoken to or about is as subtle as the usage of the familiar and polite forms of the second person in the European languages.

Nevertheless the fourth person may be explained just as are the first and second, in terms of itself:

6.7. Out of respect the fourth may be used consistently of or to an individual even if there is only one third person.

6.8. If there is only one "third" person it will usually be of the form mentioned without qualification, or as "3." If however a second third person is introduced, the one mentioned first may be referred to as "3," but the second one will be designated as "4," and these distinctions will be preserved throughout by a person who speaks consistently grammatical Navaho.
6.9. The fourth person may be used instead of the second person by siblings of the opposite sex, or by those who want to indicate extreme respect in their relationships. In some cases a change from second to fourth person may indicate a warning that trickery of some sort is planned or detected, that sorcery is to be performed, or that a person is speaking sarcastically.

6.10. First and second person dual possessives and objects have the same form; first and second person duals differ in all other pronominal forms.

6.11. To summarize, six persons, first, second, and four third persons must be differentiated in the singular; of these the four "third persons" are the same in the dual. First and second duals are distinctive as subjects. Plurals are formed by using plural stems with dual prefixes, or by prefixing da-plural to the duals.

6.12. Hoijer and Young-Morgan include xo- the prefix of "place" with pronouns in their paradigms. xo- is not by any means restricted to the third person as would be expected if it were the subject, for although xo- may be the subject, it may also mean "in place" and may be used with any person meaning "... moves in place." Moreover it sometimes seems to be a subject or object meaning "things, supernatural things ..." and may occur in any person. In fact, it is often thematic. Therefore, instead of including xo- in the regular paradigms, I treat it as a prefix with its own conjugations; often, of course, they may be defective. Incidentally, xo- is one of the very few prefixes with o vowel and therefore a pattern of unusual contractual changes when combined with other prefixes.

6.13. Independent Pronouns

| 1  | cih I         | D1 | nxih we two | P1 | danxih we pl. |
| 2  | nih you      | D2 | nxih you two| P2 | danxih you pl.|
| 3  | yih he, she, it | D3 | yih they two| P3 | da-yih they pl.|
| (3) | bih he, she, it | D(3) | bih they two| P(3) | da-bih they pl.|
| 4  | xôh he, she  | D4 | xôh they two| P4 | da-xôh they pl.|
| i  | 'th someone, something | Di | 'th some two | Pi | da'ih some pl. |

Although the final h of this series is often dropped, its occurrence in compounds seems to justify the interpretation of h as the stem final. Compare, for instance, nixih-igi: "we who are; the-ones-who-are-we" (NT 66:21); cih 'é-di "I am the very one who ...;" xôh-é: "he(4) aforementioned" (NT 36:17); with cic "is it I, am I the one

2 Ibid., pp. 2, 77ff.
who . . .” (NT 138:9); ci kó “I here” (NT 34:4); kad tá' ni bé·tánti' “now you guess it” (NT 58:10) (cp. YMG 4).

The meaning seems to be rather of the type “it is . . .,” than simply, “I, you, he.” The independent pronoun is often used without a verb. If an utterance includes a verb the independent pronoun is not often used, unless it be for emphasis. Person is indicated by the pronominal prefix of the verb.

6.14. The independent pronouns may be nominalized by suffixing -i to the above stems. By preposing tá: “just, really, absolutely” such a complex would be emphatic: tá' cihi “I myself;” tá' xóhi “he(4) himself, they(4) two themselves” (NT 142:19); tá' nxíhi “we ourselves, you yourselves.”

6.15. Possessive Pronouns

6.15. There are three series of possessive pronouns—the absolute possessives, the possessive prefixes, and the emphatic possessives.

Absolute Possessives

1 ci'- it is mine
2 ni' it is yours
3 yi'- it is his, hers, its
(3) bi'- it is his, hers, its
4 xó'- it is his(4) hers(4)
i 'i'- it is someone's

Examples of the absolute possessives are: kad ntsóí nído·le'l “now your grandson will become your own again; now your-daughter's-child your-own will-become-back” (NT 26:22); tá' bi' nłt’go “what is possessed; just his-own-being.”

6.16. Possessive Pronominal Prefixes

1 ci- my
2 ni- your
3 yi- his, her, its
(3) bi- his, her, its
4 xa- his, hers(4)
i 'u- someone's, something's

These prefixes are used with nouns to indicate possession: ci-mi' “my mother;” ni-ká' “your husband;” bi-ná' “his eye;” danxi-kéyah “our country,” etc. They are also used with postpositions—
the "possessive pronoun" serves as the "object" of the postposition: ci-li "with (accompanying)-me;" ni-yi "forcefully away from you;" bi-ká' "on it;" xa-k'í "over him(4)."

The use of the two forms bi- and yi- will be explained in connection with the same forms as subject (of passive voice) and object pronouns. They differentiate subject from object, possessed subject from possessed object, and are closely related to the position of nouns or other nouns in the sentence (6.21-6.26.).

6.17. EMPHATIC POSSESSIVES

6.17. The emphatic possessives are compounds of táb: "really, absolutely," the independent pronoun, and the corresponding possessive prefixed to the noun; táb: is sometimes omitted.

1 tá- cih ci- my own...
2 tá- nih ni- your own...
3 tá- yih yi- his, her, its own...
(3) tá- bih bi- his, her, its own...
4 tá- xoh xa- his, her(4) own...
i tá- 'ih 'a- someone's own...
D1,2 tá- nxi nxi- our own, your own
P1,2 tá- danxi nxi- our, your own
P3 tá- dayth yi- their own
P(3) tá- dabih bi- their own
P4 tá- daxo xa- their(4) own
Pi tá- da'h 'a- their (some or others) own

Examples of emphatic possessives are: tá- bih bi-iso'skid biká'gi "in place on his own thigh;" ci se'eywé' (< ci-'aywé') "it is my baby" (NT 36:27); ce'eywé' ne ci cá ni'ilí "I got it (baby) back; my-baby truly I for-me it-was-put-down" (NT 38:2).

6.18-6.18a. SUBJECTIVE AND AGENTIVE PRONOMINAL PREFIXES

6.18. The subjective prefixes are the same for the intransitive and transitive active voice. Those of the agent of the passive voice differ in only a few forms, but since these small differences have important effects on adjoining prefixes, both series are given below. The differences are due to position and contraction depending upon the place of the prefix in the complex, even if, as in the third person, the pronoun is zero.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjective prefixes</th>
<th>Agentive prefixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 -c-</td>
<td>-c- by me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 -n- ni- you</td>
<td>-n- by you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 he, she, it</td>
<td>-yi- by him, her, it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 yi- he, she, it (passive only)</td>
<td>dji- by him, her, the one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 dji- he, she, the one</td>
<td>'a-, adi- by someone, by something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i 'a- someone, something</td>
<td>-i'd- by us two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D1 i'd- we two</td>
<td>D2 -oh- you two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D2 -oh- you two</td>
<td>-oh- by you two</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Since the aspective prefix or prefixes intervene between da-plural and the objective-subjective, or subjective-agentive prefixes, changes may occur in various combinations, and the plural is omitted here. The combined prefix forms will be found in the prefix paradigms (10–10.124.).

6.18a. All these pronominal prefixes, except dji- and 'a- stand immediately before the verb complex, some of them may contract with the classifier or the stem initial. dji- and 'a- have a position as near initial as possible, depending upon other prefixes in the complex.

6.19–6.28. OBJECTIVE PRONOMINAL PREFIXES

6.19. The pronominal object or objects of a verb are prefixed to other elements of the verb complex. The object of a verb in the active voice precedes the subject and other aspective prefixes. The objective pronouns are the same in form as the possessive prefixes, except the fourth, which as an object is xo-, as a possessive xa-(4.6–4.8., 5.1.).

6.20. The pronominal prefixes that denote objects of verbs in the active voice are subjects of verbs in the passive voice. It is important to note that the third person passive has a subject yi-, which although lacking in the active voice, is the object, and therefore comes within the rule. For convenience these prefixes are repeated here:

Object of Verb in Active Voice and Subject of Passive

1  ci- me (passive, “I”)
2  ni-, n- you
3  yi- him, her, it (passive, “he, she, it”)
4  xo- him, her (passive, “he, she”)
5  i 'a- some, someone, something

D1,2 nxi-, nixi- us two, you two (passive, “we two, you two”)
P1,2 danxi-, danixi- us plural, you plural (passive, “we plural, you plural”)

The objective pronouns are properly a part of the verb complex. Examples are given here to show their position and function: 'a-ci-yi-txan-i-’ “after throwing me away she . . .; beyond-me-she-threw-after” (NT 52:18); ná-ci-di-ltś “he picked me up; up-me-he-paused-starting-to-move-live-obj.” (NT 52:25); ná-si-iltś (si < ci-) “he carried me back; back-me-he-moved-live-obj.-to-end” (NT 52:25); xá'icq' da-ná-ci-jo-dlít 'let’s see what they(4) will do to me again; whatever by-them(4)-pl.-again-I-will-be-done-do” (NT 64:20); kóne' ni-do-ká'l (ni- < ni-yi-) “in here you will spend the night; in-here night-will-pass-(over)-you” (NT 42:20); xá’dicq' ni-ctcś “where were you born?” (NT 52:16).
6.21. Let us now take up the differentiation of the third persons, bi- and yi-, the rules for which apply to possessive and pronominal verb prefixes. Since bi- is a third person object with any subject except the third, it is not modified when referred to. When, however, it appears related to another third person, it is referred to as (3). yi- is the third personal possessive or object as distinguished from the third subject.

6.22. If a simple possessive relationship between two nouns is expressed, the possessive prefix is bi-: 'awé 'bamá (< bi-má) “the baby’s mother, it is the baby’s mother;” xasti'n be'esdzá’ “the man’s wife, she is the man’s wife;” tcidi bídjà’d “the car wheel, it is an automobile wheel;” tsé biká’ “it is on the rock; rock on-it.”

6.23. If, however, a noun is possessed and followed by a verb in the third person, or any other relationship between two third persons is established, care must be taken to distinguish the subject and object. These depend upon the position of the nouns and other related words in the sentence as well as upon the verb form. Contrasting forms will bring out some of the differences. It will be noted that some of the sentences become ridiculous when the rules are not observed. The informants say that many Navaho make such mistakes; possibly the pronominal system is as difficult for them as for us.

6.24. Subject-Object

‘awé’ yijtec’ (intr.) the baby was born
‘awé’ yijtec’ (< yis-l-tej) she gave birth to a baby
‘awé’ bamá yizyas the baby scratched its mother; baby its-mother it-scratched-her
bamá ‘awé’ yizyas its mother scratched the baby; its-mother baby she-scratched-it
‘awé’ bamá ndidi-lxa-l the baby hit its mother with a stick; baby its-mother it-caused-it-stick-to-move-(against-her)
maq’i: dibé yiyi-sxî (< yiyi-s-lxî) the coyote killed the sheep; coyote sheep it-killed-it
diné ‘awé’ yiyi-sî-h the man is standing the baby up; man baby he-is-causing-it-to-stand
diné djádi yiyi-itsé-h the man sees the antelope; man antelope he-sees-it
djádi diné yiyi-itsé-h the antelope sees the man
djan tam yi’ťezlo’ John cheated Tom
djan tam yidi’lo’lo’ John will cheat Tom
tsa’& yi’ yiyi’giz he cleaned out the basket (EW 104:25)
6.25. **Object-Subject or Subject-Agent**

'awé: 'asdzé: bictéf (< bis-l-tef) the woman bore the baby; baby woman she-bore-it

'awé: bamé nábíd-lxa-l the baby’s mother beat it; baby its-mother she-caused-stick-to-move-(against)-it
dibé maq:i: bi-sx{l} (< bis-l-xl} the coyote killed the sheep; sheep coyote it-killed-it
diné 'awé: bi-s{j}-h the baby is standing the man up

'awé: diné bi-s{j}-h the man is standing the baby up
djádi diné bi-ltsé-h the man sees the antelope
diné djádi bi-ltsé-h the antelope sees the man

'acki: tó bi-lxé-h the boy is drowning; boy water it-is-killing-him

From these examples it seems that in the active voice the yi-form of the object is used if the nominal subject precedes the object, but that the bi-form is used if the nominal object precedes the subject. Following the rule that the object of a verb in the active voice becomes the subject of the verb in the passive, and the subject of the active becomes the agent of the passive (8.22.), the bi-form is used if the order of the nouns is subject-agent-passive verb.

6.26. The following examples are more complicated; they involve the bi- and yi-forms with postpositions and their relation to other parts of the sentence.

**Forms with yi**

'awé: bamé yil nl{l} the baby loves its mother; baby its-mother with-her it-is

l{l}: yiká: dahne-zdá he is sitting on the horse; horse on-it he-is-sitting-on (cp. NT 26:25)
yiba:to-sta' he has counted past the limit; its-capacity he-has-counted-beyond

bidjá: dya-h néiná:q he put it back on the wheel; its-wheel on-it he-put-it-back
tcid: bidjá: dya-h néiná:q he put the wheel back on the car; car its-wheel on-it he-put-it-back

ya-h yl'a-h he is pawning round obj.; into-it he-is-moving-round-obj.-to-goal
ye-xwe'eztlój (< yi-e: xo'aztlój) he tied him(4) with it; with-it he-tied-him(4)

blláqo:n ye: danidiyo-lxé-l they will kill you with their claws; their-claws by-means-of-them they-will-kill-you (NT 42:11)
gólqi: 'ása' yil yilyot skunk was running carrying a bucket; skunk bucket with-it it-was-running

bítsi: tó: yil xa: le: nzin he (father-in-law) was jealous of him (son-in-law); his-daughter just with-him on-account-of-her(4) jealousy he-had-attitude
Forms with bi-

'awé' bamág bil niź the baby’s mother loves it; baby its-mother with-it
she-is

lį' biká' dahne-zdá the horse is sitting on him; horse on-him it-is-
sitting-on

bibá'lo-stá' the list is exhausted; beyond-its-capacity it-has-been
counted

xaya' xayi-lká-ni' biya' niyiniká after he had set it down in front of
him(4) he set it down in front of him(self) (WE)

6.27. Compared with the usage of yi- and bi- the fourth person is
simple. Like the first, second, and indefinite, it takes bi- as the third
person object because the subject and object are different personal
forms:

bamág 'awé' dzizyas the mother scratched the baby; its-mother baby
she(4)-scratched-it)

'awé' xamág dzizyas the baby scratched its mother; baby its(4)-mother
it(4)-scratched-her

'amág 'awé' dzizyas a mother scratched a baby; some-mother baby
she(4)-scratched-it)

'amág xue'ewé' dzizyas this mother scratched her baby; some-mother
her(4)-baby she(4)-scratched-it)

be'edzá'n níb': xwe'esdá'n 'adjí-la' she who had been his wife was made
his(4)-wife; his-wife used-to-be his(4)-wife was-made-by-him(4)
(NT 30:18)

ba-jniyá (< ba' djintyá) he(4) came up to him

xak' 'adjí-la' (the woman) made him her(4) husband; her(4)-husband
he-was-made-by-her(4)

tsá'azí' be' be'téthlé (< bi'adzíthlé) with yucca fiber he(4) tied it; yucca
with-it he(4)-tied-it

The examples cited with a translation as good as I can make
illustrate the extreme complexity of the third and fourth personal
pronouns. It is likely that I have not stated all reasons for each
usage. Another problem is the use of bi- or yi-(in the third person) as
a verbal theme. The simplest verb forms and those occurring most
often take yi- as a definite third person object if the form is of the
type “he ... it” (3-3); in the other persons the object is implied
rather than expressed.

6.28. Other verbs seem to require an expressed object, in which
case the object is thematic. The formula for such verbs will be
written O-...-stem. The following are examples of such stems
(progressive only):

O-...-'ah tempt, lure ... on, deceive, fool ...
O-...-'itil catch up with ... moving
O-...-'tįl take ... a long stiff obj. away
O-...-'títil release..., let ... out of one’s grasp
O-‘a-theme...-'tółl tie ... to

‘a-beyond-O-...-'l-‘ac cause two persons to move, despatch two persons
(WE 94:13,15)
6.28.-6.31. THE PRONOUN

'a-O-...d-íl keep hidden from ... (EW 94:6)
'á-thus-O-...d-íl harm ...; cause doing thus to ...
'O-á-dí-...loh cheat ...
O-dí-...si-l make ... stand up; cause ... to be righted
O-dí-...ló-s lead ... away on a rope
O-dí-...-dial break ... off with force
na-O-l-(<O-ná-against) ...d-íl wear ... away
tsí-O-dí-...l-kah make them pl. ... wild; cause pl. persons to go in confusion
O-dí-\(<\text{a-theme})mí-...bic boil
O-dí-\(<\text{a-theme})mí-...l- bic boil ...; cause boiling ...
O-dí-\(<\text{a-theme})mí-...bic braid ...
O-ní-uniform ...l-zél grow up
O-ní-uniform ...-é-l raise ..., cause ... to grow
Oi-(<O-ná-against)na-O-díni-prol ...l-íil instruct..., teach ...
O-ná-...l-ıh cover ...

Of the stems that require an object, many are causatives and, in some cases at least, bi- seems to be the object of the causative (cp. 8.25.). I suggest that if the primary meaning of the stem were ascertainable, it would indicate whether or not an object is described in the verb, and therefore the extension of meaning made by the thematic object (cp. 8.25.).

6.29-6.32. OTHER PRONOMINAL PREFIXES

6.29. The following may be prefixed to postpositions or verb complexes as are any other pronominal prefixes; except for the reflexive, they do not require paradigms, since they are phonetically reasonably stable:

'á-, 'ádi- reflexive (see 10.81-10.81c.)

6.30. 'axi- together. This prefix differs from the reciprocal (6.31.) in that the individuals concerned do not necessarily affect one another:

'axiö together, accompanying one another
'axe- one with the other, by means of each other
'axe- exactly similar, with no difference (probably the same as the preceding)
'axi- (<'axi-together-ná-against) proportionate to (10.95g-10.95m.)
'axi-donii-d they spoke to each other (NT 26:17)

6.31. 'al- reciprocal, one affecting the other, affecting one another:

'al-ta' nizigö alternating they stood; each-other-between standing
'al-tiic facing each other
'al-tíi' sizi facing each other they stand
'alke' sizi one after another they stand
'al-yá one through the other
la' 'al-ýidì' many people from different places (NT 36:19)
6.32. 'alxi- in position together one affecting the other:

'al-xq: two in position side by side
'alxe: position of one affected by position of the other
'alxi: accompaniment of two, one affecting the other
'alxi: one within the other, one affecting the other because both are within the same confines
'aboniwig: bit 'ilxidi-lka' (< 'alxi-) the skins are sewed together (NT 420:9)

6.33–6.34. Demonstrative Pronouns

6.33. Navaho has no article, but has several series of demonstratives, which are frequently used instead of nouns. Demonstratives are stems treated like nominal stems—they may be free, or bound; if bound, they occupy an initial position; postpositions or other enclitics may be suffixed to them. We shall see that demonstrative adverbs or locatives, have the forms 'a-, 'a-, and 'á-, which occur seldom as free forms (7.1.). It is possible that the demonstrative pronouns of the second and third persons are derived from these bound forms, for example, 'ai', 'ei: < 'a-i'-nominalizing suffix; 'ái', 'éi: < 'á-i'-nominalizer. If this is so, the forms expressing mild emphasis have two nominalizing suffixes: 'ai'di, 'ei'di < 'a-i'-i (d is a glide consonant). One series of demonstrative pronoun is emphatic, the other milder, and often used with pointing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emphatic demonstrative</th>
<th>Milder demonstrative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dí: this one (near speaker and person addressed)</td>
<td>dí'dí this is the one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ai: 'ei: 'é: that one near you</td>
<td>'ai'di, 'ei'di that one near you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ái: 'éi: that one remote</td>
<td>'ái'di, 'éi'di that one remote</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.34. Any of these demonstratives may refer to a whole set of circumstances, or series of events as an antecedent, and since antecedents are largely taken for granted, it is often very difficult to determine the meaning of the speaker or the narrator.

6.35–6.38. Indefinite Pronouns

6.35. Although there is no article, la' "one, some one of" may be used to indicate a specific person or thing, or to emphasize "one out of many, one out of a group." Since it has no plural form, it may also indicate "some of a group or whole":

la' ca- ná'á-h give me one of them
la' ca- ndjá-h give me some of them (YM 140)
la' 'ayóigo dabitéi-ní some (sheep) are very thin
la' ná-ná another one, some more
la' biná-xáí yearling; one-that-is-a-year-old (YM 100)
la' dahto-gó some of the dew
6.35.-6.38. THE PRONOUN

6.35. Some (customs) seem worthwhile to the Navaho; some Navaho with-them they-are.

6.36. Whereas {la} refers to something known or restricted, {léi}' may mean "a certain one, an unexpected, strange one" (cp. 11.118. for other uses of {léi}):

- "ati-ngi tcidi léi’ yi-ltsa lá’ it occurs to me that I did see some car or other (a strange car) on the road (FS 15)
- xasti-n léi’ ca’ niyá some strange man came (to me) (FS 19)
- to’h niłi’ léi’gi niyá he came to a certain (unidentified) river (FS 19)
- xasti-nsto’  ’asdzání léi’ yö’áyehh Mr. Big married a certain young woman (unknown to the speaker) (FS 19)

6.37. The following illustrate the use of some of these pronouns:

- ’ei’ li’ bih that horse is his (YMG 14)
- ’ei’ li’ bi’ sil‘i’ that horse became his own (YMG 4)
- cih ’é’di I am the very one who . . .
- niłá-hdjí ’a’ ’ài’ that one over there; the-one-there-on-his-side there-remote that-particular-one-remote
- la’ ’é’ kólé-go ba’ ntsidei-ke’i’s some of us are in favor of it; some that-remote so-it-being we-pl.-think-about-it

6.38. Besides these demonstratives there are adverbial demonstratives, often used with any of these or by themselves functioning in the same capacity:

- niyái the one near at hand
- niyáidi the one being pointed out
- niłá, niłá-h there not very far. This is doubtless related to ’lá’ which is used for comparison (9.4-9.5.).
- niłé far but still visible
- niłé (＜ nilé-i’) the one over there
- nižah at a short distance
- niža-d very far
- nižá-d as far as (unknown distance)
7-7.116. **BOUND FORMS**

7-7.10. **BOUND FORMS INITIAL POSITION**

7. A series of bound forms compares with the nominal prefixes and demonstrative pronouns in occupying initial position. Such elements are demonstrative, adverbial, and interrogative. They are combined with suffixes—postpositions and enclitics—and have verbal force; the verb may be expressed but need not be. The phonetic-semantic pattern of demonstrative-adverbial elements is the same as that of the interrogatives. Possibly the fine distinctions in vowel length and meaning are not felt by all speakers.

### 7.1. **Demonstratives**

'á- there near second person, remote

'a- there near speaker, general

'a-dé' thither from there near speaker

'a-di' at (the place) there

'a-dó' on from there near speaker

'a-dji' to a point near speaker

### 7.2. **Interrogatives**

xa- (gen.) who, near you, in general

xa- what near you, what in immediate time (past, future)

xa- what near you, what in immediate time (past, future)

xa- what near you, what in immediate time (past, future)

xa- what in remote future; who, which of possibilities

xai (xa-i) who, what, where

xai what, which one near you

xai what, which one near you

xai what, which one near you

xai what, which of all

xa-dé' what thither from definite point

xa-dé' thither from where near you

xa-dé' thither from where near you

xa-dé' thither from where remote

xa-di where is it (at, in place)

xa-di where is it in place near you

xa-di where is it in place near you

xa-di whereat of all places

xa-dó' on from where

xa-dó' on from where near you

xa-dó' on from where near you

xa-dó' on from where remote

xa-gó' on to where

xa-gó' on to where near you

xa-gó' on to where remote

xa-dji' up to what point

xa-dji' up to where near you

xa-dji' up to where near you

xa-dji' up to where remote

xa-dji' up to where remote
The following examples, though few, seem to indicate that some of the demonstratives may be free forms:

'ta-nizniz' 'd he(4) scraped it (hot earth) aside; there he(4) moved-scattered-substance-to-end (NT 80:12)
'ta- over there (NT 188:21; 190:15)
'etof- 'a- yilyod he ran to them over there (NT 64:6)

7.3-7.10. Adverbial Elements

7.3. Some adverbial elements may have the same initial position as the adverbial demonstratives, and some may also have a position corresponding with that of a postposition or enclitic. Such elements may refer to time as well as space:

7.3a. nah- aside, toward the side (cp. -nah 7.54.):

nah-gó- tā-di da-tši nijde-tā-lgo after taking about three steps aside; aside-toward three-times perhaps after-he(4)-had-stepped (NT 34:10)
nah-dji' diná-h move off to one side (YMG 52)
'aké-'dè' nah-dè' 'á-dè' 'a-dè' dahi-zè' stand over there; next from-the-side from-over-there from-here stand
yas nah-gó- 'ayi-zge'd he shoveled the snow aside (YMG 32)
tó-nah-dji' 'ayi-lbél he merely threw them (moccasins) aside (NT 34:7)

7.4. na-, nq- sidewise, leaning, across. This element may have initial or final position, and is to be compared with na-ni: “across, in horizontal position;” and with na-ni'go “breadth, width, crossing, to the side, being crosswise, sidewise.” Compare also tsen'i'q; and xani'- both of which are said to have the same meaning “across”:

na- 'i'go' he fell sidewise (NT 336:3)
nal'i'ke'z long rigid obj. toppled over, fell sidewise (YMG 32)
xejjyljic na- dahizdél forked lightning flashed across (NT 208:3)
'í-s na-ní'í Row-of-cottonwoods-across (place name)
tóts naq- niná'āh turn the bottle on its side (WM)
tse naq- sa'ání Leaning Rock, Tilting Rock (WM)
nani'á it projects across (YM 11)
kos dilxiił nami'á díjiní yólaho a dark cloud was lying across up above they say (NT 224:19)
na- dasila'go (gun) lying across (his knees) (NT 384:22)
xá-gó-ga- lá tsená- ndi-kah lá? where truly can we cross? where-toward- across truly across we-pl.-shall-go-to-end truly (NT 200:4)
'ë bi-díq-h gó- na- do- na'áddá-da in front of this (woodpile) one is not supposed to go; this in-front-of-it toward-across one-does-not-go-across (NT 324:9)
yónádíq- 'kó-na- lá the crossing from the other-side is here: from-the-other-side here-across truly (NT 200:18)
'alna- 'go crisscross, being-across-one-another (NT 80:16)

7.5. yó- (yó-) off from actor, off into unlimited space, probably out of sight (cp. yó'ó- [yó'ó-a-] “out of sight;” and biyó “somewhat farther, ...er than”). WM thinks yó- and yó- are exactly the same.
They are listed separately here because the pronunciation may be a phase of linguistic diversity (13.19.):

\[
yo-ne'\text{, } yo-ne' \text{ inside of house away from the speaker (NT 276:11)}
yo-yohdįį' \text{ toward a point farther on from subject (NT 94:25; 206:22)}
\]

7.6. \text{gó-} at a definite point within a limited area; moving within a limited area:

\[
gó-ne' \text{ room, corral, enclosed space}
gó-ne' do' xaz'q'-da \text{ there is no room inside (YMG 29)}
kin gó-ne' yah'i-yá \text{ I went into the house (YMG 29)}
kin b'i' gó-ne' sikį' \text{ (if speaker is outside the house) water (contained substance) is inside the house; house within-it room contained-substance-is (WM)}
lá' degó bq-h gó-dei la' ya-go bq-h gó-yah \text{ some (gods) (moving) up its (knoll) side others moving down on it; some being-up on-it in-place-up some being-down on-it in-place-down (NT 188:15)}
tá' bidá': gó-yá' \text{ down along the upper edge (WE)}
bidah gó-yá'-yiğá-t \text{ he is walking downslope (YMG 29)}
boko-h gó-yá'-e-lyod \text{ it ran down into the arroyo (NT 50:4)}
so-dzil bidah gó-yah \text{ down the side of Mt. Taylor (they started) (NT 188:11)}
gó'q' \text{ disappearing behind a small hill (curve)}
dí- koníke gó-yá': kq' ílé- gó-ya' this fireplace under there under the fire
íléi gó-na'-nanístę-h \text{ lay a stick across (YMG 29)}
'almi: gó-na', 'almó'ona' \text{ around the middle, center (NT 412:18)}
xani' gó-na' \text{ around his(4) waist (NT 78:13)}
\]

7.7. \text{ko-} right here, close at hand:

\[
ko-dí here (speaker points); help! help! (equivalent to kwe'ę "over here")
\text{(NT 34:3)}
ko-c-dé': it's in here toward me, practically in my hand (FH)
ko-iče': at this point it must have been (NT 26:17)
ko-ye' \text{ (her tumpline) so as mentioned (EW 120:3)}
\]

7.8. \text{kó-} here, a little farther away than \text{ko-}; thus, so:

\[
kó-'q': \text{ here hidden by a curve, small hill (NT 300:14)}
kó-dei \text{ up here, up this way}
kó-ne' \text{ here inside (YME) 42}
kó-l'é-go 'áłlť' \text{ this is the way it is done (YME 91)}
kó-na' \text{ across here, the crossing is here (YMG 31; NT 200:8)}
kó-yá' down here (YMG 31)
kó-ne' \text{ right in here, right then (NT 28:16) (same as kone'[FH, WM])}
tís tędá kóntdı'-i \text{ a very large cottonwood; cottonwood very so comparatively-large (NT 24:19)}
tá' do- ndó kó ńzahî \text{ a very short time; it was not at all long (far)}
kó náxó-dза-go next year at this time; so when-it-happens-again (YMG 31)
kó xo-lé-dá': last year at this time; so-time-was-past
bil kó xodo-ńi-l they became suspicious (NT 294:2)
\]

7.9. \text{yó- (yó-)} away from speaker, further; in future. \text{yó-} becomes \text{yówį'-} with some speakers (op. 5.52, 13.19.):
7.9.—7.13.

**BOUND FORMS**

7.10. Bound forms that are usually initial may be compounded with independent forms:

'atah 'a-kódzi-dza: she (Changing Woman) joined them in this, had the same feelings; amongst-them so-she(4)-became

'a-kó-ya: 'e-tlé' down there he was laid (WE)

'a-kó: it’s here, off away from here (FH) (EW 100:14)

tá'a-kó: tó-gó nanná right here outside you go (stay) (NT 28:19)

'akó-ní in this neighborhood (NT 30:6)

'a-kwi-h it’s there, off from you (FH)

'a-kóms: then, there inside (EW 102:1; YME 42, 90)

'a-kó just about there (FH), right there (YME 42) (NT 20:19; 230:6)

'á-kó-dah xa-hó ni‘ about here, here or so that one (NT 34:16)

'á-kwe' for right there (YM 90)

'á-kwi-h just about there, less definite than 'ákwe'é (YMG 8)

7.11.—7.103. **POSTPOSITIONS AND ENCLITICS**

7.11. Formally postpositions and enclitics are similar. Postpositions are so called more because some correspond to English prepositions than for any morphological reason. It is doubtless better to classify postpositions and enclitics together, pointing out that some correspond to prepositions, which may be locative and temporal, that others are syntactic, and that a few are almost impossible to classify.

7.12. The largest number are postpositional: the occurrence of some static and progressive forms should be noted: -i‘ (stat.) “within,” -i’h (prog.) “into;” -ta‘ (stat.) “between,” -tah (prog.) “among;” -tó‘ (stat.) “in the way, obstructing, protective;” -tčá‘ (prog.) “moving in front of, protectively, interceding for.”

7.13. Examples of temporal enclitics are: -é: “gone, past, deceased;” -ba’ “waiting for;” -dé‘ “past time;” -tah “pause, lapse of time;” -ni‘ “past, deceased.” Examples of syntactic enclitics, some of which have temporal significance, are: -e‘ “future subordina-
tion;" -i" "completive subordination;" -go "general subordination;" and -cq" "interrogative;" -cf: "probability." Causatives are treated exactly as postpositions: 'ébq: "because of that;" ci-ni-na "because of me;" ni-ni-yé "because of you;" bi-ke: "because of, according to him." The enclitic -di "times" is probably not related to -di (stat.) "in place, at;" -dè (prog.) "from a definite point" is to be compared with -dè' used with numerals to denote the number of sides. We have already seen (4.33.) that some of the enclitics (postpositions) have nominal as well as locative force: bi-ne' "his back, behind him;" bi-ká' "on it, skin (of person), its top, the earth."

7.14. Postpositions with a vowel initial have a form slightly different from the rule given for mere prefixing of the possessive of the type Ci-. The vowel of the possessive (objective) is lost, only the initial consonant being used: ca: "to me," na: "to you," ba: ya: "to him, it," instead of cia', nia', etc.; cá "for my benefit," instead of ci-á, etc.; cq:h "on my body," instead of ci-q', etc.; ce: "with me," be: "by its means," instead of bi-e', etc.; bi-h "into it," bi: "within it," etc.

7.15. The noun cádi "my older sister," from -ádi, rather than 'ádi, is of the same phonetic pattern. From it we may conclude that 'ádi "someone's older sister" is composed of 'a-indefinite pronoun and -di; wherefore the initial glottal stop belongs to the indefinite pronoun and not to the stem (cp. 5,5.1, 5.18.).

7.16. Contrasted with such stems is -oh "grazing, barely missing," which has the regular form ci-oh or co-oh "barely missing me," bo'oh "barely missing him," etc. The number of words with a vowel initial is small; but such elements are significant. They are bound, rather than free forms, and probably point to some historical influence different from that of the more frequent pattern.

7.17. All types of enclitics have been arranged in alphabetical order:

'as scorn, disbelief:

gah'-as a ra-a-a-bbit! (when one thought it was big game (FS 1)
de-sk'a-z'-as co-o-l'd ? How do you mean "cold"? (FS 1)

7.18. -a' to, for, from, about, on account of, concerned with. When -a' is used with verbs of giving, it signifies that the possession is temporary rather than permanent. -a' when meaning "to, toward," denotes "all the way to . . .," as differentiated from -dji', -dji' "toward a point;" and -tč" "in the direction of, not necessarily all the way":

'axa yinilé'h he is folding the paper; toward-each-other it-is-being-
made (arranged) (WM)

'áda xalni' he is confessing; things-are-being-told about-self
7.18.-7.22. BOUND FORMS

ba' cini' my grief; on-account-of-it I-worry (my-mind)
ba' ba' na'alde' h for his benefit it was being done, for his benefit the
group busied itself; for-his-benefit on-account-of-it group-went-
about-indefinitely
tá' áda' áxólyq take care of yourself; just for-self you-be-careful
(NT 32:13)
cá' ná'a-h, or ca' ná'a-h (< ci-a') give, lend me a round obj.; to-me
start-to-move-round-obj.-to-end

7.19. -á'ti'h (prog.) at, toward with force, attacking:
exá'ti'h nádjahgo they attacking him(4); attacking-him(4) they-moving
cá'ti'h nádjahgo they are attacking me (WM)

7.20. -á for benefit of, for ...'s sake, advantage; against:
bá (< bi-á) for his benefit
cá ná'a-h, cá ná'a-h give it to me to keep; for-my-benefit move-round-obj.-to-goal
tó bá teictcini' Child-of-the-water (name of culture hero); water for-its-
benefit the-one-who-was-born
bá xaz'á law, code, rule; for-their-benefit there-is-decree
bá 'ótta'i teacher; the-one-for-whose-benefit-it-is-done-in-series
xá 'áyé-h still' she became related by marriage; for-his(4)-benefit-mar-
rying became (NT 80:20)
asdzání bá 'i-ghéi' the bride; the-woman-for-whom-marriage-is-ar-
ranged (NT 312:8, 15) (cp. diné 'i-ghéi' groom; the-man-who-is-
to-be-married NT 312:15)

7.21. -'q' hidden, out of sight behind a slight knoll or depression. This element has certain characteristics of a verb, some of a post-
position or enclitic:
yilkid léi' gó-'q unexpectediy vanishing behind a little hump
xamá-'q' e-lyod he disappeared over the hill
náxá-'q' 'ándzo-dá he moved back out of sight behind a slight depres-
sion; disappearing-again he(4)-is-going-back
yó-'q' off out of sight in a depression (WM)

7.22. -'q'h (stat.) in addition to, extraneous to, effective, but not a part of, of different character, not appropriate to, improper,
irregular:
yq'h yi'á-h he is pawning round obj.; extraneous-to-him round-obj.-
he-is-moving-to-goal
tsin bá'h xasinsia' I climbed the tree; tree extraneous-to-it I-crawled-
out
yq'h nináni'q he put wheel back on it; attached-to-it he moved-round-
obj.-back-to-end
'q'h daxaz'q sickness, illness
'ax-q'h attached side by side; together-attached
'at-xq'h moving side by side; affecting-each-other-side-by-side
bí'i'l tá' bq'h it (shade) still had branches on it; its branches just on-it
nahá' dëidildjah it (child) will make fire for us (NT 38:12)
be' 'edq'h tsizde:zké:z he(4) thought about himself; with-it self-additional-
ly he(4)-considered (NT 28:27)

7.23.

ba-‘aq-ci násdlį’ opposite it (sorcery) it has gone (become) (Pr 60:40)
yá-‘q-c in the sky; up-opposite

7.24. -c with instrumental, by means of. This postposition contracts in the pattern bi-e: > be-

be-di (< bi-e-d-i; d is a glide consonant) utensil, implement, tool, instrument, wherewithal; the-means-of
be ‘adáni cutlery, eating utensil; that-by-means-of-which-something-is-eaten
be ‘akali bat; that-by-means-of-which-something-is-struck
be ‘ëkëeëltehį pencil, crayon, steel stamp; that-by-means-of-which-something-is-caused-to-bear-down-on-something
be ‘aszkazi refrigerator; that-by-means-of-which-something-freezes
be na’addo’i steering wheel; the-particular-one-by-means-of-which-something-is-guiding(_looping)_here-and-there
bé so ne ‘ásdiį’dį’ if you need money; money with-you if-it-disappears (FS 4)

7.25. -e’ way, custom, manner, kind, concerning; probably the same as -e’ instrumental (7.24.):

na’kai-e’ Mexican customs; concerning-Mexicans
‘atlo-h-e’ concerning weaving
nító-e’ Hail Chant; concerning-hail
nátó-e’ Shooting Chant; concerning-arrow-shooting

7.26. -e’ (prog.) -ward. This enclitic may be more closely related to -e’ “future subordination” (7.27.) than to -e’ “instrumental” (7.24.). It may be the progressive future as compared with the completive future -e’. This and -e’ “concerning” seem to rather specialized; there are only a few examples of each:
7.26.-7.31. BOUND FORMS

7.27. -e’ future; one person gives in after an argument, “well! let us see; let’s suspend judgment!” This particle is future compared with -i’ compleitive (7.28.):

kad-e’ now will be the time, now will be a good time (FS 30)
ntle’e’ it will have been (NT 30:21)
yá’déh-e’ it will be good (a common greeting, “hello! goodbye”)
npoq’ón-e’ it will be useless in future (NT 190:5)
biján-e’ (< bijÁ-é’) he is lucky, he will have luck, good fortune (FS 22)
bil yah’o’ac-e’ it may be best if some one comes in with him (EW 249, n. 69)

7.28. -i’ subordinating suffix, “after having . . . , when . . . had . . . , and . . . ”:

yayánínil-i’ after having poured, when he had poured
yah’iýá-i’ ne-zdá he came in and sat down (FS 14)
le’tsin la’ néidi-tq-i’ načidi-lxá-l after picking up a stick he hit me (FS 14)
yónás-i’ after continuing . . . , continue and . . .
xayiká-n-i’ (< xayikÁ-i’) after having set it out

7.29. -i’ (stat.) within, inside, all wrapped up in. Young-Morgan consider this postposition the same as -yi’ (YMG 22):

bé c bi’ko’i stove; metal that-which-has-fuel-inside-it
bi’ sizí-ní (< sizí-i’) his soul; the-particular-one-which-stands-within-him
‘alnì-go bi’ di-kÁ’ it was burned in the center (NT 24:23)
le’étsO yi’ ná-bayan another rat had a home in it; rat in-it again-his-dwelling (NT 44:10)

7.30. -i’h (prog.) into:

xwi’h into him(4)
tó bi’h yi’g I put round obj. into the water
tó nte’ bi-hí’el he floated into the ocean; water wide into-it he-floated (NT 28:1)
ki’h yi’g (< kin-i’h) I took round obj. into town
le’h (< le-i’h) into the soil, ground
le’h yiýilíhe he buried him; in-ground he-laid-body (YM 5)
bí’h ádídá-hgo he(4) getting into it (log); into-it he(4)-started-for (NT 24:25)
bike’ yi’hi’czi’ after she had put on her moccasins; her-moccasins into-them she-started-to-move-her-feet-after (NT 34:18)
ci’é’ bi-hidá-h (< bi’h xícá-h) I am putting on my shirt, coat; my-shirt I-am-going-into-it

7.31. -ine’ “you’ll see!” This future particle is used when one of the speakers knows (or thinks he knows) what will happen, the other does not. It may indicate “you’ll be sorry if you don’t . . . ”:
dikwi-ne’ how much, how many there will be?
xa’i’i-ne’ whatever it will be
xa’i-ne’ xa’áté-go sometime, somehow he will be sorry (NW 34:22, trans. WM)
xa-ne’, xai-ne’ who, what may it be? (FS 22)
dabijá-ne’ they will be lucky (FS 22)
‘ěi ‘ánáhél-h-i-ne’ this you two will have to repair (NT 106:8)
diná-h-i-ne’ you better go there (and see) (NT 110:10; 12:24)
tah-i-ne’, tah-i-ne’ wait and you’ll see
nde-cá-l-i-ne’ I’ll give in, I’ll do it (after an argument) (WM)
xagó-ne’ (< xago-i-ne’) goodbye (it’s too bad you have to go)

Compare the two sentences: ’ajá xado bike ti’xwi-séní’ ndí xo’zdogó ná désdzá “even though I suffered from the heat I have started (am going) back to Phoenix;,” and ’ajá-ne’ xadoh bike ti’xwi-séní’ ndí xo’zdogó ná decá-l “even though I may suffer with the heat nevertheless I shall go back to Phoenix.”

7.32. -iye’ future, neither speaker nor person addressed knows what will happen:
xa’ci-ye’ who knows, let’s see what happens, let’s try it
xa’i-ye’ let’s see what it will be
kóte-ye’ (< kóte-iye’) it will probably be this way (instead of the way you say)

7.33. -ic, -c interrogative enclitic usually appended to first word of a sentence. -ic may be used with da’, interrogative particle introducing sentence, or without it (cp. 11.90.):
dinétso-ic yinilyé, or da’ dinétsoh-ic yinilyé is your name dinétsoh?
dó-c nit yá átél-dah (< do-ic) don’t you like it?
da’ ná-c ta’oríil (< ná-ic) have they (sheep) been dipped? have for-you they-been-moved-in-amongst?
ní do’a’c is it a fact? for-a-fact is-it?

7.34. -i-yah alongside, beside, all …, in proportion to, enough, fitting …. The third person of the verb form is often used like a postposition, but the stem is conjugated as in 10.95i. Examples of the postpositional force of the third person follow:
ci-yah alongside, beside me
bi-yah it is enough, it fits; it is used up
do’ bi-yahdah it is not enough, it doesn’t fit
díj bi-yah all day long
bé-so bi-yah it is worth a dollar; a dollar is enough
dí’ étsoh do’ bi-yah-dah this overcoat does not fit him
kin’ bi-yah-g’i sitá the stick is lying beside the house; house beside-it-in-place long-obj.-lies

7.35. -oh grazing, missing by a hair; not reaching:
bo’oh ne’l’a he cannot afford it; missing-it he-measures-up
bi’oh ‘ánisi’é-ż he is taller than I; missing-him I-am-so-tall
xaké-dé’-oh missing his(4) tracks; next-to-him(4)-missing (SCE)
tá’ yi’-oh-i-di dide-sni’ excluding those he motioned with his hand
   (EW 106:9)
7.36. -ba' awaiting, ahead of time; beyond limit, past limit:

bi-ba' sédá I sit waiting for him (YMG 21)
'al-ba' s'i-ké we two sit waiting for each other (YMG 21)
bi-ba'-tô-sta' the list is exhausted, it has gone beyond limit
yi-ba'-tô-sta' he has counted beyond the limit
ci-ba' yitô-tô run ahead of me; my-waiting you-will-trot (NT 22:20)
n-ba' yicyol do let me run ahead of you; you-waiting I-am-running it-will-be

7.37. -bq' because (see 11.112):

'êi-bq' because of that; for that reason
ôâ-bq' because of this; for this reason

7.38. -dah for example, among other things, such as, and so on, etc. This suffix is often used after a general noun to specify or exemplify other nouns:

xa-cê-pihi-dah Talking God, for instance (BS)
xahgo-dah some time or other (FS 3)
xâ-di-da-cj' somewhere or other (FS 3)
xâ-di-da-caq' wherever is it (FS 3)
tô-dah tân-dah ye' edadj-îxa-îl stones, for example, or sticks they(4) throw at it (scalp) (NT 300:2)

7.39. -dah down, downward, moving through a shorter distance than na- (10.92.). This element seems like a postposition; its opposite is sometimes dai, dei, deig, deigo “up, upward”:

bi-dah 'i-go' I fell down off it
a-dah bîli-n the trail drops down
'ôda-nîniyî he(4) brought the load down
'ôda-nil I dropped several
'ôdâya-lîl he jumped, ran down (FH)
xazê-kê bi-dâ-yâ he came down off the ladder (FH)
so-dâl bi-dah göyah down the side of Mt. Taylor (NT 188:11)
tôko-h göya xa'-ôdah tê-lôyd he ran down into the canyon away from her(4) (NT 18:19)
bi-dah göya- yîgê-l he is walking downhill (YMG 29; EW 120:19)
xa-dah downslope

7.40. -dâ'h (prog.) toward a moving object, facing, moving toward, meeting, moving in front of . . . (op. dá-in front of 5.42.):

bi-dâ'h niyê I met, encountered him (YMG 23)
yâ-dâ'h yâ-lii' he talked back to him (YMG 23, Ad 12/48:15)
niyol bi-dâ'h-djî' facing the wind; wind moving-to-a-point-in-front-of-him (NT 24:22)
bî-dâ'h-djî' dâdzitsa-hâq-gi in front of him was the place he longed (died) for (NT 28:11)
tô xa-dâ-h-djî' da'ayî right in front of him(4) they ate; merely in-front-of-him(4)-to-a-point they-are-eating (NT 24:13)
câ-dâ-h-djî' counter-clockwise (NT 232:6)

7.41. -dâ' past, ago, last . . . ; from the time that . . . , since . . . -dâ', like -go: “forward, toward, future” (7.75.), seems not to be
suffixed to demonstrative and interrogative bound forms unless some other enclitic or postposition precedes it (cp. 7.105.):

\[
\begin{align*}
n\text{-ki ná-xáí-dá'} & \quad \text{two years ago (FS 4)} \\
cf\text{-dá'} & \quad \text{last summer} \\
\text{’a-bíí-dá'} & \quad \text{earlier this morning} \\
díí-dá' & \quad \text{yesterday} \\
xí-náhó-dá' & \quad \text{when he was alive (YMG 18)} \\
dítéin sínítí\text{-dá'} dibé di\text{-lyá} & \quad \text{if you get hungry eat a sheep (FS 4)} \\
il tikán-dá' ba\text{- xólme} & \quad \text{if you like (the taste of) it, say so (FS 4)} \\
bé so ne\text{-’ásdíj-dá'} ta’ na'lo-nil & \quad \text{in case you run out of money he will lend you some (FS 4)} \\
xá-dá' \text{-’á-dá’-cf’ il názítí} & \quad \text{some sort of windbreak as they had in the past; whatever-past there-past-possibly branches laid-in-a-circle (NT 48:9)} \\
dah’adíldé\text{-dá’} & \quad \text{after they had started off, from the time they started forth (NT 206:16)} \\
tá’ nílétít núa-dá’ & \quad \text{some distance back; just there at-a-distance-past (NT 50:27)} \\
tó’ ni-lílc-dá’ & \quad \text{as soon as it (deer) has fallen; right after-it-has-fallen (NT 322:6)}
\end{align*}
\]

7.42. -de’ná in exchange for:

bi-de’ná in exchange for it
\'
\'éi bi-de’ná ’adá’-h cidí-gé-l in exchange for this (feather) carry me back down (EW 120:10)

dókwó’c bi-de’ná nanilnic how much do you get for your work? how much in exchange-for-it do-you-work

7.43. -dé’ from a point toward speaker and person addressed, along the way from, from the time that; with numerals “sides”:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{’a-’á-dé’} & \quad \text{from over there (remote)} \\
\text{’a-dé’ ná’ka} & \quad \text{they pl. were due back; from-here they-come-back} \\
ké-xátí-dé’ & \quad \text{from where he lived} \\
xoc-dé’, xac-dé’ & \quad \text{from where (he came)} \\
búá’-h-dé’ & \quad \text{from the very beginning (of time) (NT 62:3)} \\
bíkí-dé’ & \quad \text{on the upper side; from-over-it (NT 48:21)} \\
bídiína-dé’ & \quad \text{from the other side (NT 124:19; cp. NT 84:24)} \\
dí’-dí-dé’ & \quad \text{four sides} \\
do’ tá’ ’ání-di-dé’ xani’dah & \quad \text{the lore is not from recent times (NT 76:12)}
\end{align*}
\]

7.44. -di at, in a closely defined area:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{’ólta’-di} & \quad \text{at school} \\
níléh-di & \quad \text{in place over there} \\
ko-di & \quad \text{in place here} \\
xo-yán-di & \quad \text{at home} \\
náxó-ko’s-di & \quad \text{at the north (BS)}
\end{align*}
\]

7.45. -di times:

\[
\begin{align*}
dᶠ\text{-di} & \quad \text{four times} \\
nakí-di & \quad \text{twice} \\
lah-dí-dah & \quad \text{at least once} \\
dókwó’-di-cf’ & \quad \text{however many times}
\end{align*}
\]
7.46. -dó' also, and, too, including:

dí'-dó' these also
djóge'-dó' tì' in detail also let us examine it
cijé'é'-dó' my father too (NT 42:1)
xa'áté-dé'-cq'-dó' from where will there be another; wherever-from-interrogative-also

7.47. -dó' and then, then on to . . . , also. The meaning of this suffix is the same as that of -dó', but it usually is suffixed to a second statement, -dó' being used first and pointing to an idea beyond the one made, whereas -dó' points to a second or later utterance:

込んだ-lóh-dó' tá'-áko n'di-lde' they(4) smoked and they rose at once (NT 188:27)
yitó'-sóto-lzin-dó' yitó'-xó-tá-lgo when he had prayed and sung against them (NT 274:11)
dzilsí'-dó'-biyó'-gô'-dó' bázáti' from the base of the mountain and on to the top and over it (NT 336:12)

7.48. -dó' from a point away from the actor and speaker; in any direction away from speaker and person addressed:

'á'-dó' from there, from then on
yah'áni'-dó' from the center inside (house)
ntsí-tá'-dó' from the top of your head
'â'-dó'-ya' from there under
tsédá'-dó' daházi-dá'h on the edge of the rock he(4) sat (NT 42:6)

7.49. -ta' (stat.) between:

tsé bi-ta'-qi sézì I am standing between the rocks; rocks in-place-between I-am-standing
tó-ta' Between-the-waters (place name)
'at-ta' nzi'ngo alternating they stood; each-other-between standing
'doq'a-ta' septum; nose-peculiar-to-between
tá do bi-ta'-í-gó' there was no space between them; not between-them-forward (NT 32:4)
tó' tá' bi-ta'-gó' náji'yá he merely wandered from place to place; merely just moving-between-them he(4)-moves-about (NT 24:2)

7.50. -tah (prog.) among, in any direction from a fixed point:

kin-tah town; masonry-houses-among
xo'-tah town; place-among
ciyé' bi-tah it is among my belongings
lec-tah hogan floor; ground-peculiar-to-among
bi-ta'-cáh (< tah-yi-) I am going amongst them
ta'-nô-l mush; separate-obj.-are-put-in-amongst
ta'-'oril they (sheep) have been dipped; in-amongst-they-have-been placed
bi-ya'-tah-dé' out of his feathers; his-body-hair-amongst-from (NT 477, n. 20)
7.51. -tá out of place, slightly irregular:
bi-tá di-tá round object is out of place; it is untrue, it has been misinterpreted (AB); it (round obj.) just missed target, point aimed for (WM)
ci-tá xosidi-ítsá' I heard a bare rumor (WM)
bi-tá dazodiži-xgis he(4) just misses being crazy (WM)
tá-jdiní-tcó'ígó about how he(4) had been chased; out-of-place he(4)-was-chased (NT 64:17); to-places-where-he(4)-sought-refuge (WM)

7.52. -tis (prog.) over to the other side, moving over, omitting, skipping:

dzil bi-tis do-gá-l he will go over to the other side of the mountain; mountain over-it he-will-go
tsidi- si-tis yiíń the bird is flying past (over) me
lej bi-tis yo'áli earthen spillway; earth over-it it-flows-onward
naxoṣdži-n 'alni-qi xodzōgi-bó-tis dani'-l'el we sailed over the equator; the-place-that.is-marked-at-the-earth-center over-against-it-we-sailed
'adzá-tis shin
da' bi-tis-go-ca' whatever may be omitted

7.53. -tah pause, interval, intermission, meanwhile, meantime, wait (cp. 4.2:\):
'
á-tah lá' kwe'ę wait right here
á-tah-i-go in a little while
ci-tá xójó I still have some; my-pause there-is (NT 60:23) (Cp. tsé tótsító tah widaįį at a place a short distance above Rock-ledge-extension).

7.54. nah, -nah arranged over it, draped over, leaning against:

yiná-h dahna-neztít lá again he lay over it (knoll) (NT 94:24)
yi-nah-dji' tsél'ya-go dahne-ztít over it he lay prone (NT 94:20)
kìn bi-nah-dji' sédá I sit leaning against the house
bi-nah-dji' ninį'a-h put a round obj. against it

7.55. -na (stat.) around a fixed point:

bi-na- xodižin things around it (him) are holy
kìn bi-na-gó- xójóni beauty extends around the house; house around-it-onward it.is-beautiful
tó bi-na- namituc work on dam; water around-it there-is-working
dzil bi-na- around the mountain (NT 22:21)
xaya-na- náyol it (turkey) cust. ran around his(4) feet; around-under-him(4) it-cust.-ran (NT 26:2)
'altso na-ni-nilgá-go when it was fully light; all night-having-passed-around (NT 44:3)

7.56. -náká, -níká through, penetrating:

tó bi-náká útil water flows through it (YMG 23)
yi-náká-.tomíl he will bore through it (YMG 23)
7.56. -7.63.

7.56.-7.63. you are looking through the glass (tumbler) bi-náká-dé': ēdēti-hgo sīṭī peeping through the layers he lay; from-through-them peeping he-lay (NT 22:24) cīnbal do- tō bi-nákáo-ge-h le'ātē-gó: 'ī-clo. I made my tent proof against leaking (FS 19)

7.57. -ne', -ne' (stat.,) behind, back of; back (noun): bi-ne' his back, behind him dzil bi-ne'-di at a place behind the mountain tsin bi-ne'-dē': sēzī I am standing behind the tree; tree from-the-direction-behind-it I-am-standing tsin xo'yan bi-ne'-dji* 'īdāh the stick projects at a point behind the house

7.58. -ni'na' because, for the reason that, on account of ...'s opposition (cp. 11.113.): xā'ālīc bi-ni-na- yintīyā why have you come? what because-of-it you-have-arrived xo-ni-na' because of things (NT 142:26)

7.59. 'ni'ká against ..., in opposition to: bi-ni'ká yāntī' you are talking him into it (WM), you are talking against him (YMG 24) bi-ni'ká 'āctī I am getting him into it (bet), I am getting him interested in it, I am getting him to compromise

7.60. -ni'yē because of ..., the reason for ..., the purpose of ... (with no idea of opposition, cp. 11.114.): 'a-ni'yē indictment; reason-for-something ni-ni'yē because of you xā'ālīc bi-ni'yē why? because-of-what (YMG 24) bé'c bi-ni'yē namnic you are working to get money; money the-purpose-of-it you-are-working

7.61. -ni into it, out of ..., but not all the way, wedged in, sticking out of ...: tōē bi-ni da'a'aj the rock is eroded, worn into, worn partly away (YMG 24) bī'gahgo binē-lyol (< bi-ni-yi-pf.) it (as bullet) ran so far in it (as hand, body) (WM)

7.62. -yah under, below (cp. yah'a-into enclosure): nālī yō-yah-gō there down below he rolled toward (NT 132:14) tse-ko'h gō-yah down in the canyon (NT 150:28) te'yī' bida'-gō-yah down under the canyon rim (NT 150:27) te'yī' biko-h gō-yah on down into the bottom of the canyon (NT 132:20)

7.63. 'yah underneath supporting, propping: bī-yah ni'-a'h put brace underneath; under-supporting-it move-round-obj.-to-end (YMG 25) kih tō bi-yah dani'-āh timbers support the house; house timbers under-supporting they-stand-upright (YM 31)
7.64. -ya: (< -yah under-i·h into) in under, below, beneath:

bi·ya·di 'e' underclothes; under-him-in-place clothes
bi·ya·gi at a place underneath (a hill) (NT 188:17)
xa·ya·néilko' it (turkey) spread (its wing) under him(4) (NT 26:22)
xa·ya·na·ñályot it (turkey) would run around under him(4) around under-him(4) it-cust.-ran (NT 26:2)
tsé·ya·gi at a place underneath the rock (NT 192:7)
tsé bi·ya·dji·go yicá'á I am walking along under the rock; rock underneath I-am-walking-prog. (YMG 25)
ko·ycb'·yic bi·ya·ti·ndzini for it (turkey) ran around under him(4) around him(4) it-cust.-ran (NT 26:2)
bi·ya·lóndzini my house is at the edge of the cornpatch; cornpatch its-border-at my-house-is

7.65. -yayah behind, hidden by . . . :

'asdzž·lééí tsé·ya·yah-dé' tóólyot a strange woman ran out from behind a rock; woman strange rock-behind-from she-ran-out (EW 118:23)
bi·ya·tém·i lower jaw, mandible; under-bone-attached
ko·yic dö·lé t can it be down there? (WE)
bi·ya·vikasina I crawled out from under the blanket

7.66. -gi (stat.) at, in a space less closely circumscribed than -di, at an indefinite place:

tsíntah·gi in the woods; trees-among-in
bidá'-gi at a place on top of the canyon; its-rim-at
bilátah·gi at its tip, top, summit
dá'dókeh bibq·h·gi cayan my house is at the edge of the cornpatch; cornpatch its-border-at my-house-is
biya·gi under the hill (NT 188:17)
tséya·gi under the rock (NT 192:7)
tsé xa·láá·l·gi at Rock-chipped-out (NT 204:9)

7.67. -gi suffixed to the verb means "how to, the art of . . ." (FS 9):

'atló·gi yina·ciniltin she is teaching me how to weave; at-weaving-she-is-instructing-me
na·be·hó biza·d bé yáltí'·gi yina·cine·zté' he taught me to speak Navaho; Navaho its-word at-speaking with-it he-instructed-me

7.68. -gi'áté-go 'áté-go like, resembling in character and behavior, behaving as . . .:
ni·gi 'áté-go cií xo'vé' like you I am lazy; you-like with-me there-is-indifference
tá·'éi·gi 'áté-go that way; just that-like-being
tá·láhá·gi 'áté-go in the same way; just one-like being (NT 44:22)
néléçoisja' 'átéhégi·gi 'áté-iláo (< 'áté·go) he was becoming just like the owl (NT 40:18)
bq·há·gi 'áté·go (< 'áté·go) being in a bad mood, evil being-like (NT 66:28)
7.68. 'óxayóí 'o-láhi-qi 'ilé:go (< 'áté:go) as if many (people) were walking (NT 44:1)

7.69. -go relatively free syntactic particle expresses various kinds of subordination—"...ing, as ... was ...ing, while ...ing" (see 11.107ff.).

na-ki-go ca· nini’l give me two; two-being move-plural-obj.-to-me
tsi’il-go hurry, do it quickly; hurry-being

7.70. -go may be suffixed to verbs:

'yání-go saying so, speaking thus
yicá’l-go as I go along

7.71. -goh may be suffixed to bound forms:

'íbí be’-go ná-s di’kah with that we shall go forward, progress; that with-it-being forward we-shall-start-to-go
'átshih-go in a little while; there-remote-that-which-is-a-pause-being
na· cíni’-goh bini-na· because I was worried about you; for-you my-mind-being because-of-it
tó sivinigi’ bideidji-go téninyá I went above a body of water; water that-which-lay-confined on-the-upper-side-being I-went-out (YM 26)
dei-go dini’í:’ look upward (YM 26)

7.72. -go ’átlé, or -go xaz’q with future verb form, "can, be able to; it is that":

dí tsé dahdidi’-á-l-go ’átlé (xaz’q) I can lift this rock
nikhe dido-dle-l-go ’átlé (xaz’q) he can beat you (fighting); in-your-way he-will-do-being it-is
naxodo-ltí’-l-go ’átlé (xaz’q) it will surely rain; that-it-rain it-is

7.73. -go-da ’átlé (equivalent to ca’cin nisin) possibly, it may; approximately-it-is (FS 11; cp. 11.109.):
nanijo’-gó: do-gál-goda ’átlé he may go to Gallup; Gallup-to he-will-go-possibly
naxodo-ltí’-l-goda ’átlé it may rain

7.74. -go-dah about, approximately (FS 11):
tá- goda ca· nini’l give me about three (you decide the exact number)
’sí’-q·-godah ca· di-ná-l come to see me about sunset; sunset-about to-me you-will-come
'e’e’a’h-goda about when the sun was setting (NT 312:4)

7.75. -gó· (prog.) in the general direction of, in the future. -gó· seems to be an enclitic: it may be suffixed to a noun, but I have never found it with a demonstrative pronoun, or with a possessive prefix unless another element intervenes:

tó-gó’, tóhó· to the water
nanijo’-ji-gó· to Gallup
't-bq. bini’di nixitah-gó: therefore let us have them; for this reason let-it-be among-us-future
tá. bénácmí’hi-gó: (whatever) I shall (may) remember
dé-yahá-gó: do: cił bé-xozíndah I don’t know where he is going; where- he-started-for I-don’t-know
tá. ‘altoni biyi’-gó: having to do everything for himself (NT 66:1)

7.76. -gó: (stat.) on, in position:
  ni’-gó: séti I am lying on the ground, floor
  yiká’-gó: na’ta’ it (bird) is flying about above him
  díl-gó: na’cág I am walking about in the mountains
  na’dá’ bitah-gó: na’nah you are walking about in the corn; corn in-amongst-it you-are-walking-about

7.77. ‘ká’; ‘xá after, reaching for (YMG 23):
  bi-ká ‘áni he is calling to him (to get attention); after-him there-is-speaking-thus
  ci-ká ‘adó-lyol he will help me; after-me he-will-run
  bi-ká dítcí-d reach for it (YM 34)
  xa’ih lá do. tée ’yi-ká ’álí’-dah (wondering) how to overcome him; something-question after-him she-might-not-do-in-vain (WE)
  tó-é h yí-ká na’aqijí he probed; in-vain after-it he-stuck-forked-obj.-here-and-there
  ni-ká ‘ándeceyił I will help you; after-you I-will-run-thus-cust.
  ci-ká naxaddá’ lá I found out that the ceremony was for me; after-me ceremony-was-being-sung to-be-sure (FS 15)

7.78. -ká’ (stat.) on touching, on having contact with; on top, the top side of surface; on record, “on the books,” in the paper, in print:
  yas-ká’ snow crust
  naxo-ká’ diné earth people
  tsidi’ ci-ká’ na’nátah the bird is flying about above me
  xo-yam bi-ká’-gi in place on the dwelling
  bi-ká’ top side, on it, on the record, in the book, newspaper, in print; its skin (NT 38:26)
  bi-ká’ do: credit it; on-the-record let-it-be
  bi-ká’-dé’ at the top (of tree); its-top-from (NT 50:18)
  tó bi-ká’-díji’ to the top of the water; water its-surface-to-a-point (NT 26:23)
  tá. tséél-ká’-go there being a complete rock surface (NT 234:29)

7.79. -ké’ (prog.) behind, in . . .’s footsteps; track, footprint. We have already noted the impossibility of classifying -ké’ (4.11.). It behaves like a postposition in some cases—this is the reason it is included here. Again it seems clearly to be a noun, and yet again the “noun” or the “possessed noun” has verbal prefixes:
  bi-ké’ yícá’l I am walking along behind him
  bi-ké’-dé’ next, next to (behind) him; from . . .’s-track
  na-bí-ké’ there were tracks here and there (NT 130:24)
  xode’-ké’ a footprint was there
  tá. ‘alke’ yo’lká’-íyo one night after the other; just one-after-the-other nights-passing (NT 40:29)
7.79.-7.84. BOUND FORMS

'al-ké' na'-a-ci' One-follows-the-other (deities); one-after-the-other the particular-two who walk about

7.80. -ká-h (prog.) motion against colliding with (cp. 7.40, 7.87, 7.99.):

bitcidi kin yi-ká-h bit yilyod his car ran into the house; his car house colliding-with-it it ran to end
tcidí 'al-ká-h yilyod-gí head-on collision; place-where-cars-collided-with-each-other
'awé' bé-c yi-ká-h do-lescidx the baby ran against the knife; baby knife in-collision-with-it it was touched
tsé bi-ká-h de-ctá-lgo ciké-cgan xa-lqó' when I stumbled against the rock I broke my toenail
tsín bi-ká-h yicyod I ran into a tree (WM)

7.81. -keh according to ... in ... manner, way:

bi-keh-go, bi-keho according to it, him, his way; guiding ... , being ... 's guide (NT 44:8; 48:4)
bíni' bi-keh according to his ideas; his mind according to it (YMG 22)
belagá-na-keh-go in a white man's way
na-kai-keh-djí yáltí' he is speaking Spanish; according to Spanish-side he speaks

'cuckéhe-keh-go nicitcíyáltí' he 'told us off, bawled us out,' reprimanded us; according to scolder's way to us he spoke
biké-keh-gó', biké-kehó' follow him; (move) in the direction of his tracks

tá. nimáxá'h bikéh 'ákó náxo-ló'h every year it happens that way; just winter-passes-to-end-cust. according to it so it happens cust. (YM 162)
bi'é' lé ci ka-keh only her dress had been arrow-pricked; her garment only arrow according to (NT 66:7)
cidji ci-ke xóltí'do' my side will speak my way; my side according to me it is will be (NT 68:9)

7.82. -ke' on account of, because (YMG 28):

bi-ke' bi'xóyé' he dreads it; because of it he is weakened
bi-ke' dinicini-h I am irritated because of it, at him
bi-ke' nisitdzídzá he was panic-stricken because of it; because of it it was awful
bike-jditlah on account of it he(4) was numb (stunned)
yi-ke' b'q. daxaz'q on account of it he is ill;

7.83. -ké', -kèh for value, reward, cost, guarantee, exchange, pay, compensation (cp. -de'na):

bé-so bi-ké nanilnic you are working for wages (YMG 23)
bi-kéh value, cost, measure, size, exchange
bi-kéh-l royalty; that which is exchanged
nezna-dí-kéh sitá one million; ten times value it lies ropelike
'ayakhini biké in exchange for the Hopi (NT 276:21)

7.84. -ki, -kih (stat.) over, above (WM "pressing on") (cp. -ká'-):

tsé bi-ki dahsédá I am sitting on a rock; rock on-it I am sitting on
dzil bi-kih over the mountain
"al-ki-dji" toward each other (drive them) (NT 152:11)
bi-ki-dë' de'askid there was a knoll on the upper side of it (deer); over-it-side (NT 48:21)
xa-ki néiltih he covered him(4); over-him(4) he-cust.-caused-covering-it (NT 28:21)
ci-kì naxaddá I am being sung over; over-me ceremony-is-being-sung (FS 15)
xa-ki-gì at a place above him(4)
tá bi-ki xoté'l it(rock) was just level with ground; just over-it place-was-wide (NT 40:14)

7.85. -ya away from by force:
'a-ya-'ilyé theft, larceny
'al-ya didi'tac let's race; from-each-other-forcefully we-two-shall-start-to-go (NT 22:18)
bi-ya niictlé I took round obj. from him by force; from-him-forcefully round-obj.-was-moved-by-me
dibétl é'í bi-al-ya níltì I gave a sheep in exchange for a goat; sheep goat with-it forcefully-away-from-each-other-I-moved-animate-obj.

7.86. -yá through, piercing, penetrating hole (cp. 7.56.):
tsé-yá through the rock (natural sandstone arch): rock-through
bi-yá xo'dzíq it is perforated, it hollowed it (out); through-it place-is-hollowed (NT 24:22)
yì-yá dor'íc he will poke a hole through it; through-it he-will-poke 'aniítì bi-yá nícìla' I crawled through a hole in the fence: fence through-it I-crawled-back
tsé-yá-'tíndíní, tsé-yá-'díndíní rock crystal;the-particular-one-through-which-light-beams
tó ba-yá 'osdé' group just passed by (place) (NT 208:13)

7.87. -yì'í (stat.) attached in front of (cp. 7.40, 7.80, 7.99.):
lì' tsina-bq-s yi-yì'í dido-ltél he will hitch the horse to the wagon; horse wagon in-front-attached-to-it he-will-start-a-live-obj.-moving (YM 27)
lì' tsina-bq-s bi-yì'í hôdžì the horse is harnessed to the wagon; horse wagon in-front-attached-to-it it-is-standing (YM 27)
bi-yì'í 'adìzó-h continue that line

7.87a. -yi' (stat.) inside, at a point within, within but not a part of; out from inside of . . . ; interior (YM 27). -yi' seems to mean "inside a place with an opening or exit" in distinction to -i' "completely within":

'a-ya'-'i só pluck, throat; something-that-is-inside
'a-ya'-'dë' dit hemorrhage; from-someone's-throat blood
'addá-ya', 'ayá-ya' someone's throat; in-front-inside
'aniítì bi-ya' bé-gacì na-kä'ì the cattle are inside the fence; inside-it cattle move-about

'tá-yì' subterranean waters (YME 14)
tse-yì' canyon, Canyon de Chelley (and other canyons); rocks-inside
sq bi-yì'í na-nižílí stars scattered about in the sky; those-which-are-stars-lying-about-separately-in-it (NT 62:4)
'déa' bi-yì'í-'dë' tó xá-kä' I dipped water out of the jar; jar in-it-from water I-moved-contained-substance-out (YM 109; NT 16:16)
7.87a.-7.92. BOUND FORMS

tó bi-'yi'-dji' šnā-da-sdl' they gave up (evil thoughts); merely to-a-point-within they became back again (NT 66:28)
tá 'alteon bi-'yi'-gō' having (to do) everything for himself; just everything inside-him-future (NT 66:1)
tá binī-'yi'-i-gi (women) who within themselves; just their-minds-within-the-ones-in-place (NT 254:20)

7.88. -tsé first, earlier in time:

tá bi-tšé na-cá I am older than he; just before-him I go-about
'tá-tšé first, before
'al-tšé first, one ahead of the other; reciprocally-first
bi-'i-tšé (< bi'ás-tšé) ci'lidic I am older than he; ahead-of-him I was-born

7.89. -tsi one step in front, in front of, immediately in front of:

ni-tsi-dji' na-cá I am older than you; toward-a-point-in-front-of-you I go-about
tá bi-tsi-dji' niyá I arrived just before him; just at-a-point-before-him I arrived (cp. bi-kī-dji' afterward)
xa-tsi-dji' he stood in front of him(4); in-front-of-him(4) he stood (NT 186:12)

7.90. -tšá (prog.) from, away from:

'al-tšá 'asdzoh two-forked; from-each-other something-is-marked
'al-tšá da-edzoh mass divided into more than two parts; from-one-another they-are-marked
'al-tšá ni-tšá-j we two separated; from-each-other we two went
bi-tšá niyá I left him; from-him I went

7.91. -tsq', -tša: avoid, keep away from because of antagonism (cp. tšá- "irritable, peevish, angry, ill-tempered, wishing evil"):

'al-tsā na-'a-c they two are antagonistic; avoiding-each-other they-two-go-about
bi-tšā xasti'i 'tšé he is the one to be avoided; avoiding-him that-which-is-respectful it-is-thus
tá xasti-tšq' xo'idoh the distance between them was increasing; just from-them(4) space-increased (NT 62:17)

7.92. -tšá'" radiating from, outward, diverging from; against...'s wishes, opposing (YMG 25, WM). This postposition often expresses personal feeling:

tá 'al-tšá' danl'go they pl. having different opinions; just from-one-another they-being
si-tšā' (< ci-tšā') yó-nádža he might leave me against my wishes; from-me he might go back (NT 40:23)
bitsi' 'al-tšā'-dji on both sides of his head against his wishes (NT 40:18)
béc bi-tšā-dó' 'alya it is made of iron; metal deriving-from-it it is made (same as béc bi-tšā'-d ţ' 'alya)
'al-tšā-dji nnini-l lay them in radiating fashion; radiating-from-one-another-sides lay-them
7.92. -7.96.

'al-té-dji dahdadji-xéca' on both sides he tied it here and there (NT 78:18)

citcidí si-té-dji' yitóq' my car broke down against my wishes; my-car opposing-me got ruined (FH)

bi-té-dji' kijigijí he(4) cut it away; angrily he(4)-cut-it-off (NT 18:3)

bi-té-dji' yah'adzion-dzá leaving it (turkey) against his wishes, he(4) went in (cautiously) (NT 28:24)

7.93. -c, -cq' interrogative, prefixed to the first word of the sentence; it is not used with da' the introductory interrogative word (11.89, 11.91.), or in place of it, as -ic (11.90.):

xá-i-c, or xá-i-cq' 'átjì who is he?

dí-c or dí-cq' xa'átsí 'átì what is this?

xá-gó-cq' or xá-gó-c dínìyá where are you going?

xa'ádtì-cq' or xa'ádtì-c nínzin what do you want?

cí-cq' how about me?

xa-cq' or xa-c yínìdza what happened to you? how did it (injury) happen to you?

nimq-cq' where is your mother?

dján-cq' where is John?

tíl-dí-cq' xa' yínìti-d what did you do last night? what happened to you last night (that you did not turn up)? night-past-interrogative what-was-done-by-you

7.94. -cf' probably, it must have been (FS 25). This enclitic is suffixed to interrogative pronominal complexes to denote "whatever, however, wherever" and the like:

tá-cf: it is doubtful

xa'ádtì-cf: whatever it may be

yiská-go naxodò-tíl-cf: it will probably rain tomorrow, it may rain tomorrow

xa-cf nèl'tq: ná-xá-i-dì: a number of years ago; however total-number years-ago

7.95. -dji', -díjį (prog.) up to a point, as far as, toward definite point, at definite time (FS 14):

'alkit-dji' toward each other (NT 152:11)

'e'e'a-h-dji' to a point at the west

tá be'elbó-dji' even to the ones (babies) just laced in their cradleboards

námìsdzó-djį' until I return

tá-djį’ xa’ de-syod he ran from her(4) in the opposite direction; reverse-direction from-her(4) he-ran (NT 18:8)

nná-ńkéz-djį’ toward where it (poker) fell (NT 48:11)

7.96. -dji on the side of, in the direction of:

cíla' nicná-djį-yíjį, or nicná-djį-qi my right hand; my-hand the-one-which-is-on-the-right-side (YMG 20)

e'e'a-h-dji-yí: the one aforementioned at the west side

na’atóst: bikq-dji xatá-l Male Shooting Chant; shooting-concerning male-its-side chant

áltii-djį bikq-djį 'ái xatá-l Male Wind Chant; wind-side male-its-side that chant (WE)
7.97. bi-tcā ʼa-lijó-d horses moved off (NT 390:12)
bi-tcā-iljōt mass of horses (over ridge) (NT 39:10)

7.98. *$•’ bi-tcd >a-ljod horses moved off (NT 390:12)
#•’ bi-tcd-iljol mass of horses (over ridge) (NT 39:10)

7.99. -tdah (prog.) at, off to restricted space (AB, YMG 21). (WM thinks -tcāh is equivalent to -tdäh):

7.100. -tcic on opposite sides, on both sides, converging:

7.101. (prog.) moving toward but not necessarily all the way, moving in the direction of . . . :
7.101. "al-té' 'ilé-h he is closing the envelope, French window (cp. 'axa-
yinlê-h "he is folding the paper" [WM])

tá 'atso 'al-té' kó dadjilé'go after folding all (the masks); just all
closed so when-he(4)-arranged-them (NT 256:16)

'asdzání yił 'il-té' ('< 'al-té') sizhê-ni' the woman who faces him
(NT 278:3)

7.102. -lá-h beyond, more than; however ... likes, go ahead
good according to ...’s wish (cp. 9.4):

ni-lá-h just as you like, do it your way
bi-lá-h 'áníshêz I am taller than he; more-than-he I-am-so-tall

7.103. -t accompaniment, with, along with. The postposition -t is
to be differentiated from -e "with instrumental." Generally -e
refers to concrete objects, though it may refer back to a whole
ceremony or procedure, whereas -t refers to persons, behavior, and
emotions. Either or both together may be a part of idioms in which
the literal meaning is entirely lost:

si-n-t with song
tca-t-t with tears, weeping (tcah "crying")
dlo-t-l with laughter (dloh "laughter")
nxí-t-l títide-c'á-t I shall tell you two; with-you-two I-shall-speak-out (BS)
xo'átt-dah ye xo-l xalni whatever things one is told; whatever by-
means-of-it accompanying-one(4) things-are-communicated
xo-l xa-j'á-j he(4) led him to them(4); with-him(4) they-two-went-to-
them(4)

ni-l bé-xodo-zi-l you will understand; with-you there-will-be-knowledge-
of-things

'ádi-l dahic'tí I am pinning my clothes; with-self I-am-moving-long-
obj.-on-it

ci-l yá'átl I am pleased, I like it; with-me it-is-good
ci-l xžjó things are going well with me; with-me things-are-satisfactory
do bi-l yá'áda-c'o-dah they were angry; not with-them they-were-
satisfactory
diné bi-l ninidjé' the people surrounded him, closed in on him; people
with-him crowd-moved-to-end

le-tcq'í bi-l nanicka-d I am out herding with my dog; dog with-it I-am-
spreading-about-beyond (YM 29)
le-j xo-l dayiskadó they ground his flesh up with the sand; sand with-
him(4) they-ground-also (WE)
yi-l 'axidi-dá he has great assurance; with-it he-starts-to-go-together
(AB)

bi-l disdzi-h I am coughing it out of my windpipe; with-it I-am-
emitting-breath

bi-l dicthö-h I am lacing it; with-it I-am-starting-to-tie

bi-l xodigiz it seems twisted, crooked to him; with-him things-are-
twisted

ci-l níilíhze' pound me; with-me cause-round-obj.-to-move-away-to-
end (WE)

'ádi-l xo-lbé-j he brought serious trouble on himself; with-self things-
are-caused-to-be-serious
gólji 'isú yi-l yilyot skunk ran carrying bucket; skunk container
with-it he-was-running (NT 20:12)

bi-l dzidiltah oil your hair; with-it cause-greasing-away
7.104.-7.108. BOUND FORMS

7.104. In spite of the fact that syntactic and locative suffixes or enclitics are not completely distinctive, the position of such elements seems to indicate some differentiation of categories. Syntactic elements follow postpositional elements in compounds, although more than one of either kind may be compounded (7.114.). Postpositions are usually suffixed to a free or bound form—noun, possessive (objective) pronoun, locative. They may be followed by syntactic elements in the same compound, as bi-tis-go-ca' (bi-3 poss.-tis-moving over-go- general subordination-ca'-interrogative) "(whatever things) may have been omitted."

7.105. It may mean something in the determination of categories that the following have not been found directly suffixed to a possessive pronoun: -dah "for example, etc.;" -dé' "from a definite point toward speaker;" -di "in place, at;" -dó' "from an indefinite point toward speaker, away from actor;" -gi "in place, at;" -gó' (prog.) "toward an indefinite destination, future;" -gó' (stat.) "on, in position;" -dji "side" (one of two opposed sides).

7.106. The only examples where such a suffix immediately follows a pronoun are of the type: cidji ciie xóló do: "(those on) my side will speak my way; I-side according-to-me are it-will-be" (NT 68:9); xól-dó' biná'ci'-dji ké xodjiti ñís"opposite-them(4) their spouses they(4) lived; they(4)-from their-partners-side they lived" (NT 102:9). Note that -dji is here suffixed to the independent rather than to the possessive pronoun. Perhaps there is a categorical difference between the two types of elements. It is difficult to test this problem since the meanings of the elements in the class that is not suffixed to the possessives are incompatible with the personal pronouns—they describe things and places rather than persons.

7.107. By definition postpositions may be suffixed to free or bound forms:

tó-ta'  Between-the-waters (place name) (YMG 25)
tse-ta'  canyon mouth; rocks-between
tsé-tah kin  house-among-the-rocks (name of San Ildefonso pueblo)
tse-na. tó  Senatoa; around-rock water
tse-yi'  canyon; rocks-in
tsin-ya  underground the tree
'a-di  in place there near you
'e'ea'h-dji-gó'  westward; west-to-a-point-toward (cp. 'e'ea'h biya'-dji-go in the far west; west underneath it-to-a-point-being)

7.108. Postpositions are often suffixed to possessive-objective bound pronouns to modify words similar to those above; this form
of syntax is used to establish the relationship when the utterance refers to several nouns or persons:

'á-sa' tó yi' xайдé-bi'd he filled the pot with water; pot water in-it
  he-caused-filling-it-up
tó bi'h yigo' I fell into the water; water into-it I-fell
tse biki dahsédá I am sitting on a rock; rock on-it on-I-am sitting
djo'-l isita' sáq' the ball is in the box; ball box in-it there-is-a
  round-obj.

7.109. Some postpositions are contracted with the nouns to which they are suffixed:

kí'h (< kin-i'h) into town; houses-into
le'h (< le-i'h) into the ground, soil, dust
le' (< le-i') within the ground
tá'h (< tá-i'h) into the water

7.110. Postpositions may contract in combination:

'alta' (< 'al-reciprocal pronoun-tah-amongst-i'h-into) mixed
tá' 'alta' násdzi-dgo all being mixed together (NT 240:24)

7.111. Many enclitics are compounded:

ni-tsi-dji' na-cáh I am older than you; you-one-step-ahead-to-a-point
  I-move-about
tá' bi-tsi-dji' niyá I arrived before him; just him-one-step-ahead-to-a-point
  I-have-arrived
xa-yá-dji' sa'd diśta' toward-a point below him(4) talking was heard
  'o-dla'-t'sé-dji' infidel; belief-contrary-to-wishes-on-the-side
bi-mó-ta'gi at a place between his eyes; his-eyes-between-in-place
  (NT 156:18)
téfndi-la-gó' to ghost land (a curse); ghosts-among-toward
xa-ké-dé'-oh missing his(4) tracks; his(4)-tracks-from-missing
bi-yá' di' in the foliage; at-a-place-within
bi-ká'-dó' from on it; from the surface; on-it-from
'a-dó' bi-táq'-dji' from there to a point away from her; there-from
  diverging-from-her-to-a-point (WE)
ci-ká'-dji' ndidí-tah fly above me; on-me-toward you-will-fly-up
  (NT 26:5)
dó-yójí' bi-yá'-dó' xání-sání-gi' greasewood fibers; greasewood those-
  which-grow-from-inside-it (NT 78:6)
bi-yá'-dé' dít xaxa-cejó-d blood came in clots from within him (bear);
  from-inside-him blood moved-in-bulk-out-of-place (NT 94:21)

7.112. Postpositions may be compounded to form words with meanings of the combinations only, in which case each element loses its identity:

'á'-dó' bi-ki-dji' afterward, after that (YMG 28)
'ámní'-á'-dó' bi-ki-dji' afternoon; noon-from afterward
'i-yá'-dó' bi-ki-dji' after I ate ... (YMG 28)
bí-ké-á'-dó' next to him, the next one
bi-ló-dji' na-cáh I am walking ahead of him; the-first-(ahead-of-him)
  I-am-walking-about (YMG 23)
ci-tó-dji' ni' hô he is on my side; toward-me-side he-is
  ci-tó-dji'-go níni'a'h put round obj. on my side, over here near me
7.113. The position of enclitics in compounds has syntactic importance. In constructions like the following the first postposition refers to the preceding noun or demonstrative pronoun, or to the objective (possessive) pronoun to which the postposition is suffixed, the second postposition refers to a noun or pronoun that follows. The following examples illustrate this principle as well as the fact that progressive and static postpositions may be combined:

ko' na'albq-si· bi-dá-h-gi bé·gaci· siz the cow is standing in front of the moving train; train in-front-of-it-moving-in-place cow stands. -dá-h "in front of moving object" refers to "train" (as does bi-it), but -gi refers to "cow."

cikin bi-na·-gô' xójóni it is beautiful around my house; my-house around-it (house) and-forward it-is-beautiful. -na· refers to bi-it, which refers back to "my house," -gô' refers forward to "it is beautiful," that is, "beauty-extends-forward."

dzîl bi-ta·-gi cayan my house is between the mountains; mountains between-them-at-a-place my-house. -ta· "between" refers back to bi-it, whose antecedent is "mountain," and -gi "in place" refers forward to "my house."

kin bi-nah·di̱ sédâ I am sitting against the house; house at-the-side of-it-at-a-point I-am-sitting

dzîl bi-ne·-di maxaltîn it is raining behind the mountain; mountain behind-it-at-a-place it-is-raining. Here -di "in place" refers to the following verb "it is raining."

bikâ' adâni bi-kâ·-gi bá·hdô goxwê-h na-zká bread and coffee are on the table; table on-it-in-place bread-also coffee contained-substances-are-here-and-there. -kâ' "on" refers to bi-it, whose antecedent is "table," and -gi "in place" refers to "bread" and "coffee" which follow.

bê·ekid bi-yah·gi cayan my home is beside the lake; lake beside-it-in-place my-home

i'â·âch bi-yah·gô' ati·n the cornfield extends along the road; cornfield along-it-onward road

'ãsu· bi-yi·-dé' tó xá-ká I dipped a water out of the jar; jar in-it-from water I-moved-out-of-container (YM 109)

yi·kâ·-gô' na·ta' it flew about above him; toward-above-him it-flew-about

xa-tsi·-tah·gô·dah in his(4) hair among other places (she rubbed cornmeal); his(4)-hair-amongst-onward-for-example (NT 250:11)

7.114. The following demonstrate compounding of different kinds of enclitics:

se·syin·-f·-di the place where he had been killed; he-had-been-killed-the-one-mentioned-place-at

'a·-dé'·-cî' from there it must have been; there-from-probably

xodo·le·-t-go·cî' (chant) will probably come into existence; things-will-become-being-probably

dabi·tis·-go·cî' whatever may be omitted; omitting-them-being-interrogative

xa·âlb·-dé'·-cî'·dô' from where will another (man) be found; where-is-it-from-interrogative-also

xa·díjî·-go·cî' wherever to; interrogative-to-a-point-being-probably
7.115. When a name is mentioned, it is given first, it is followed by a verb meaning "it-is-called," and the enclitic is suffixed to the verb:

\[ tséyi' xatsozi xo-lyê-di \]

at a place called Narrow Canyon; canyon narrow place-is-called-at (WE)

\[ 'akinástá xo-lyê-dé' \]

from Upper-mountain-ridge; Upper-mountain-ridge place-is-called-from

7.116. Postpositions may be suffixed to verbs, as well as to other free and bound forms:

\[ tcidi 'atká-h yîlyod-gi \]

car crash; cars-colliding-with-each-other ran-to-end-place

\[ tsé yiká-n dáde-stlînî-gi \]

concrete dam; rock it-is-ground (cement) place-where-it-is-piled-in-front

\[ 'adâni-gi \]

dining room; place-in-which-something-is-eaten
8. The Navaho verb-stem is composed of consonant-vowel (CV) or consonant-vowel-consonant (CVC) and is a bound form, requiring at least one prefix. The initials of some stems are modified by contact with preceding prefixes; in this respect stems correspond with other grammatical elements, since many sounds are unstable. However, the stem never completely loses its identity by absorption as do so many of the prefixes. Consequently, the stem can always be identified, even though its form may be slightly disguised: In the form nclj “I am,” the stem is -lj “be,” the initial -l- being unvoiced by preceding -c- “I.” In yi’dá “we two are eating it,” the stem is -yá, the initial -y- being absorbed by -d- of -i’d- “we two.” In yohsdá “you two are eating it,” the stem again is -yá but -y > -s because of preceding h (3.119.).

8.1. Except for the possible change of its initial due to contact with prefixes, the stem remains stable in all persons and numbers. Prefixes, rather than stems, are the conjugated parts of the verb. Since they may be unstable in their relationship to one another, primarily because of position, the prefix paradigms must be carefully analyzed; they are usually regular, once their composition is understood.

Navaho, like other Athabaskan languages, has a series of “classifiers” which indicate cause or agent. Some verbs have no classifier and are referred to as “zero-forms.” The other classifiers are: -d-agentive, that is, the passive of the zero-form, -l-causative, and -l-passive causative.

8.2. Many verbs may have any of the four forms, depending upon the meaning. Other stems with modified or specific meanings require one of the classifiers, which are then said to be “thematic.” If no classifier is involved, the reference is to the “stem.” If there is a classifier, the combination of classifier and stem is called the “stem complex.” For example, -á of sa’a “round object lies, is in position,” is the stem. In the example, sini-tá “round object exists placed by you,” -tá is the stem complex, composed of -d-’á (d- > t 3.57.). In sé-l’á “I have, keep a round object, I-cause-lying-of-round-object,” -l-’á is the stem complex, and in sini-l’á “round object is kept by you,” the stem complex is -l’á. Since some stem initials are changed
by the preceding classifier, certain phonetic effects of the classifiers must be learned. For instance, -yol "wind blows" is a stem, -dzol (< -d-yol) "be forced by blowing" is a stem complex, as are -sol (< -l-yol) "blow lightly" and -l-zol "blow hard."

8.3. Verb forms are of two kinds, static and active. Static verbs, conjugated in one of the three primary perfective forms, or in a specific continuative form, occur only in that form. Such verbs are descriptive of state, condition, existence, number, quality, position, shape, and the like. In certain respects static verbs take the place of adjectives in English. At least one of these ideas, often more than one, is expressed by a monosyllabic stem. In answer to the question "Is there a blanket?" one does not properly say, "there is a blanket" but rather si-l-tsó'z "fabriclike object is" or si-ka'd "object lies spread." There is no subject or pronoun in these verbal utterances; the English subject or pronoun is a part of the Navaho stem -ka'd, or the stem-complex -l-tsó'z. Note, for instance, the difference in the two sentences: be'ldléi 'axá'h ni'lá "I folded the blanket" (active verb), and be'ldléi 'axá'h ni'lágó siiltsó'z "there is a folded blanket" (YM 128). A mastery of fifteen to twenty of these stems and stem complexes is indispensable to the most elementary understanding of Navaho (8.31, 12.29-12.43.).

8.4. Forms for all persons exist, for in Navaho the concept "I a round object exist" though it may sound "funny," is quite possible, but the third personal form—often non-personal in meaning—is most usual.

8.5. The static stem, the last principal part in the dictionary arrangement, is sometimes identical with the perfective stem. A few stems have only one conjugation which may be continuative or perfective. Such forms are called "absolute" in contradistinction to the static perfective, which may have closely related active forms.

8.6. Active verbs contrast with static verbs in expressing activity or motion. They have many variations, their forms depending upon the stems (principal parts) and prefixes. The organization of the systems, as aspects, and tenses of active forms is the major problem of the Navaho verb.

8.7-8.30. INTRANSITIVE AND TRANSITIVE

8.7. Certain phases of intransitive and transitive forms must be explained for Navaho; these involve the significance of voice. The third person of most conjugations is the most difficult, one reason being that there is apparently no third personal subjective pronoun
to correspond with the other persons. The reason for its absence seems to be the fact that the stem expresses being, if static, or motion, if active. Consequently, the thought is "existence of round object is, condition-of-being-round exists," rather than "it is a round object." If the form is active, "round object moves, there-is-motion-of-a-round-object" is a better translation than "it-a-round-object-moves." In other words, the kind of being or quality, or of motion dominates the idea of the person.

8.8. In persons other than the third such stems as -'á'l "round object moves," -nil "plural objects move," are not modified by a classifier in the active voice of the transitive, apparently because they express an inherent quality to move. On the other hand, stems like -tél "one animate lying object moves," and -djol "fluffy, brushy, bunchy mass moves" usually have the causative classifier l prefixed to the stem, since such objects seem not to be inherently capable of motion. The realization that with some stems the motion or activity, rather than the expressed subject or pronoun is the subject will help greatly in understanding the changes of form due to intransitivity and voice. Just as the motion may be the subject of the intransitive, so the cause may be the subject of the passive. For example, yidjol "moving of fluffy mass is taking place progressively," yildjol "fluffy mass is being caused to move progressively, there is cause for progressive motion of fluffy mass."

8.9. The objective, subjective and agentive pronominal prefixes have already been listed (6–6.38.); they must be considered as a part of the prefix conjugations since so many changes occur because of phonetic interrelationships (10–10.124.). A comparison of the objective, subjective and agentive prefixes determines the following rules:

8.10. The object of the stem complex stands first in the conjugated prefix complex of the active voice.

8.11. The subject of the stem complex stands first in the conjugation of the passive voice.

8.12. Since the several object prefixes of the active voice, and the subject prefixes of the passive voice have the same position, and with few exceptions, related forms, the object of the verb in the active voice becomes the subject of the verb in the passive.

8.13. The subject pronominal prefix, without which a verb form cannot exist, has a position immediately before the stem complex.

8.14. The agent of the verb in the passive voice has the same position as the subject of the verb in the active voice,
8.15. Since formally the subject of the intransitive verb and the verb in the active voice is similar to the agentive, and since it has the same position, the subject of the verb in the active voice becomes the agent of the passive.

8.16. The formal similarity of the intransitive and of the active and passive conjugations in the first and second persons singular and dual of many aspects has obscured the significance of the difference which sometimes comes out in the third, fourth and indefinite persons of some aspects, and always in the second person dual of the perfective. Furthermore, the fact that object, subject, and agent of the third person have the form yi-, which corresponds with many yi-aspective prefixes (10.102–10.109a.) further complicates the question. The rules here stated have been adduced in part from the analysis of the mistakenly so-called “irregular” or “aberrant” forms. Many yi-aspective forms can absorb yi-third object, yi-theoretical subject, and yi-agent, but others cannot. Those which cannot furnish the key to the whole pronominal system.

8.17. Although the rules for the position of the object, subject, and agent hold most commonly, there are exceptions due to the phonetic character (and doubtless the historical relationship) of the fourth and indefinite personal prefixes, dji- and 'a-, which, no matter what their function may be, must have a position as near initial as possible in the conjugated complex. In most cases dji-dominates the aspective prefixes, absorbs some, but as the subject does not always behave the same way in relation to them as the agent (the fourth person object is xo- and does not enter into the discussion at this point). For instance, in the conjugation of ni-ni-“start for perfective” (10.99a.) the form “he(4) has arrived at goal” is djiní-, but “it has been moved to goal by him(4)” is dji-. Correspondingly, in the same conjugation “someone or something has arrived at goal” has the form ‘ani-, but “motion to goal has been completed by someone” has the form ‘i-, and “something has been moved to goal by him(4)” has the form 'adjí-.

8.18. 'a-indefinite subject and 'a-indefinite object have the same form, and often 'a-indefinite agent is similar. 'a- as subject or object has the initial position in the conjugation, preceding even dji-, as the preceding example demonstrates. It differs from 'a-agent, however, in that 'a-subject or object does not have the form 'ad- or 'adi-, whereas such forms may occur when the agent is designated. In the conjugation of ni-ni-perfective just cited, this differentiation does not come out because 'a-indefinite agent may attach itself to a following -ni-, as in 'ani-, or it may contract with ni-, as in 'i-. If
however, we examine the form “it has been moved to goal by some-
one,” a form in which both subject and agent are expressed, we find bi-te- (< bi-[3] subj.-‘adi-indefinite agent-ni-ni-pf.) because ‘a- as agent in this setting cannot be contracted with ni-ni-per-
fective (see 8.23. for scheme of analysis). ’a- as agent therefore
requires the glide syllable -di-, which in its turn contracts with
ni-ni-perfective in a different way and demonstrates that the agent
is not the same as the subject or object. This example also illustrates
the influence of position, for although ’a-indefinite pronoun must
have a forward position in the complex, the position of the passive
pronouns, subject-agent, is preserved, whereas the position of the
pronouns of the active voice is object-subject.

8.19. The second person dual, -oh-, shows that position differenti-
ates the subject and agent. In the progressive and continuative
forms the order of prefixes is aspect-subject, object-aspect-subject,
or aspect-agent, subject-aspect-agent, and since only one aspective
prefix is involved, -oh- “you two” retains its position immediately
before the verb complex. This may be observed from the h which
either persists in second dual forms, or affects the initial of the stem
complex: yobyal “you two are eating meat,” not yol-yal in which the
stem complex is l-yal; or yolxal in which l-active causative changes
the stem initial γ to x: y'ojic “you two are dancing,” not y'ojic in which
the stem complex is l-jic; yosq “you two are eating it,” not yoh-yq
in which the stem is -yq (3.119.).

8.20. The pattern is different, however, in the perfectives which
have compound aspective prefixes—ni-(ni-), yi-(ni-), si-(ni-). In the
intransitive the order is aspect-subject-completive (-ni-). The inter-
vention of (-ni-) completive between the subject and the stem
complex changes several of the forms, especially the first singular
and second dual, as the conjugations (10.99a, 10.104, 10.117.) show.
In the second dual there are no-, γo-, and so- instead of no'h-, yoh-, and
so'h-. I therefore conclude that the order of prefixes in the
passive is aspect-completive-agent, or subject-aspect-completive-
agent, a conclusion corroborated by other forms without resorting
to two sets of pronouns, one for the progressive-continuative, one
for the perfectives.¹

8.21. The forms resulting from differences in the character of the
prefixes and their instability are in contrast to the first dual forms,
which because of the stability of -i’d-, probably a compound, are the
same in many aspects—progressive, present, inceptive cessative,

¹ Hoijer 1945a, pp. 198–9. Morgan does not differentiate the second dual
perfective without -h- and the passive with it, but I have checked this matter
with other interpreters and find the forms uniformly distinctive.
past (yi-pf.), and inceptive perfective. The reason is that -i'd- can absorb many prefixes, such as (-ni-), yi- of various types, and that it apparently retains its position just before the stem complex whether it is subjective or agentive. Consequently, the first person dual forms are rarely determining, that is, if one encounters merely a first dual form, one can tell from the stem, but not from the prefix, whether it is progressive, present, cessative, or perfective. If the verb happens to have similar principal parts in the aspects mentioned, there is no way of differentiating aspect except by getting other forms; sometimes one is characterizing, sometimes another.

8.22. The points of this discussion may be summarized as follows:

The object of the transitive verb in the active voice is the subject of the passive.
The subject of the verb in the active voice is the agent of the passive.
The order of verb elements is as follows:
Progressive-continuative transitive active: object-subject-stem complex.
Perfective intransitive: aspect-subject-completive-stem complex.
Perfective transitive active: object-aspect-subject-completive-stem complex.

Since dji- subject or agent, and 'a-indefinite subject or object, and 'a-, 'adi- indefinite agent precede aspective prefixes the order in these persons is:

'a-subject does not occur with 'a-object.

8.23. The prefix paradigms have been arranged to indicate objective, subjective and agentive pronominal prefixes in relation to other prefixes with which they combine. Numbers—1, 2, 3, (3), 4—indicate the persons, (3) is the second third person (6.23ff); i stands for the indefinite pronoun. The third person form may stand for "... motion, action is taking place; he, she, it is ...ing; ... motion, action is being caused." These simple forms seldom change in the passive. The first and second singular passives, except perfectives,
are usually the same as the active voice forms, and are therefore not repeated. If the third passive, often the only form that changes, is not listed, it is the same as the third person intransitive. If the numbers are used alone they indicate singular; D preceding a number means "dual," P preceding a number indicates "plural." Since third and fourth person duals are the same as the singular forms, they are not listed. Plurals are often indicated, since da-plural indicates the position, and therefore often the function, of other prefixes.

8.24. Number combinations indicate the English order of pronouns of the transitive: for example, 3-3 means "he is ...ing it;" by 3 "...ing is being caused, there is ...ing by him, her, it;" 3 by 3 "it is being ...ed by him, her, it, ...ing is being caused by him, her, it;" 3 by i "he, she, it is being ...ed by something."

8.25. In some aspects two objects, one of the stem, one of the cause, occur—these are indicated by 3-3-3 "she is causing him to ... it." The English order is given for understanding, but the prefix order explained above is the Navaho form.

8.26. The greatest difficulty of analysis is due to the large number of overlapping forms and to the many functions performed by a single prefix of the type CV. yi- for instance, is a third person object and agent (possibly also a subject), a prefix of the progressive, momentary, present, and perfective aspects, and of the cessative and repetitive systems. Each is distinctive in at least one person, often in more than one, but many of the forms are the same and therefore subject to misunderstanding. The case of the yi-prefixes is further complicated by the fact that other prefixes, such as xi-repetitive action and si-harm, phonetically unstable as they are, may combine with other prefixes, particularly of the yi-type, to form yi- or yi-. The paradigms demonstrate that 'á-thus and 'á-, 'ádi-self have overlapping forms, as do 'a-indefinite pronoun and 'a-beyond; ná-(ná-) "back," and ná-(ná-) "against;" ni-absolute, ni-uniform, ni-start for, ni-end. Forms of xi-repetitive action overlap those of xa-out and xo-place.

8.27. However, a study of all these and other groups of prefixes with full paradigms shows each prefix to be distinctive because of its position and effect on surrounding prefixes. Once this distinction is ascertained, the paradigm is regular and the one or more forms that indicate the uniqueness of the prefix are test forms. It is characteristic of Navaho that different forms, rather than any one form, are tests of different prefixes, depending largely upon phonetic composition. Forms in 'a-, ná-, ni-, yi-, xi-, xo-, and si- are ex-
ceedingly unstable, and it so happens that these prefixes combine and recombine frequently in the prefix conjugations. On the other hand, *di*-start from, *na*-about, *xa*-out have a certain stability, yet all break down in some kinds of combination: *di*-si-pf. > *de*- or dé-(10.88c, 10.90b.); *na*-about > *n*- or *ni*- before *di*- and some other prefixes (10.36.). Test forms must therefore be determined from the forms that contrast contractions of the unstable sounds with fuller forms.

8.28. The third person is often the most variable form and should always be given. However, some prefixes can absorb others in the third, but not in other persons, and if only the third is given, compound prefixes may mistakenly be considered simpler than they actually are. For instance, *dini-* is a static continuative (10.89–10.89i.), -*ni-* does not appear in any of the third persons (3, 4, or i); it does appear in *dini-* the second person. Since -*ni-* is the second person subject *dini-* might or might not contain a prefix -*ni*-. In this case the high tone of -*ni-* (< *ni*-ni-) is conclusive. If it were not, *dinic-* the first person, would be. More often than not the differentiation between the *ni*-prefixes is shown by the third, fourth, or indefinite forms (10.97ff.).

8.29. The published accounts of Navaho give the first person singular as the type form. Although the first person is sometimes a test form—in the perfective, for example—it is usually quite unsatisfactory because -c- the first person pronoun affects many following stem initials in such a way as to disguise them: for example, c-s > s-, and -c-voiced fricative > c-voiceless fricative. The classifiers *l* and *l* are included in these rules. With only the first person form the exact stem cannot be determined, nor can its classifier whether zero, *l* ,or *l*, since the two last are absorbed by -c-.

8.30. Since the fourth person prefix, *dji-* , and the indefinite pronoun, 'a-,' have a distinctive position in the complex they sometimes furnish test forms. The first person dual may test the position or stability of the prefix preceding the pronoun—néi'd- < *ná*-back-(ná-)-i'd-DI subj.—or the effect -d- may have on the stem—yi'dé (< *yi*-cont.-i'd-Dl subj.-yá-eat pres.) “we two are eating it,” but *yi'-dzol (< *yi*-cont.-i'd-Dl subj.-yol blow pres.) “we two are blowing it.” The second person dual may be a test of the effect of final -h on the following consonant—yohsá (< *yi*-cont.-oh-D2 subj.-yá eat pres.) “you two are eating it;” yolyá (< *yi*-cont.-oh-D2 subj.-l-yá eat meat pres.) “you two are eating meat.” (Note that h-l-yá > -lxal, but in the last example this does not occur, thus proving that the classifier is l, thematic with -yal, rather then l.).

The reasons just given are sufficient to justify the bulky character of the prefix paradigms. In addition to the paradigmatic forms
some stems, with which they may be used, are given for convenience, as well as to illustrate the kinds of stems characteristically used with the given prefix. Since the adjective is so closely related to the verb, and since prefixes are involved in treating the adjective, the paradigms have been placed after the section on the adjective, rather than after this section on the verb (10–10.124).

8.31–8.35. Static Verbs

8.31. It has already been explained that static verbs are one of the main types of Navaho verbs (8.3.). The following are some of the basic static verbs with si-perfective prefix. Because of their meanings, the third person form is most often encountered and is therefore the form given. Many may be found in any person; the conjugation is that of si-perfective (10.117.):

- **sa-'q** (< *si-'q*) round or convenient obj. exists; there-is-condition-of-roundness
- **si-taz** it is bent; there-is-condition-of-long-obj.-having-been-bent (as wire)
- **si-tä** long rigid obj. exists; there-is-condition-of-narrow-elongated-rigidity
- **si-tiil** hair is matted; there-is-condition-of-hair-tangling
- **si-të** it is roasted, parched
- **si-nil** it is kneaded
- **si-nil** there are several separate obj.; there-is-condition-of-separate-plurality
- **si-gan** it is dried, desiccated; there-is-condition-of-desiccation
- **si-ka'd** broad, fabriclike obj. is spread; there-is-condition-of.spreading, there-is-condition-of-surface-formed (cp. *si-l-tso'z* “there is fabriclike obj.”)
- **si-kä** there is contained substance; there-is-condition-of-containedness
- **si-yic** bow-shaped; there-is-condition-of-bowing
- **si-yi** there is a load, parcel, consolidated amount of goods; there-is-condition-of-having-been-packed
- **si-zid** there is a mass of flowing substance; there-is-condition-of-flowing-substance
- **si-l-tso'z, si-l-tso'z** there is fabriclike obj.; there-is-condition-of-broad-flexibility (cp. *si-ka'd* “there is spread surface”)
- **si-tëih** it exists pinched with fingernails (as corrugated pottery)
- **si-täil** it exists in shattered condition
- **ci-jah** it is curved, curved obj. projects; there-is-condition-of-hooklike-curve
- **ci-jo-j** objects lie parallel; there-is-condition-of-parallelism
- **ci-jö-d** it is bulky; there-is-condition-of-bulkiness
- **ci-dja'** there is granular mass; there-are-plural-obj.-in-mass
- **ci-djö'** there are plural objects; there-is-condition-of-plurality
- **ci-djö'** it is crushed; there-is-condition-of-being-crushed
- **ci-djö'** there is fluffy, bunchy, brushy, uneven mass; there-is-condition-of-fluffiness, bunchiness
- **si-lä** there is long, narrow flexible object, there is a pair
- **si-të** it is viscid, mushy, slimy; there-is-condition-of-viscosity
- **si-të'j** it is a mere pinch, a speck, it is merely detectable; there-is-condition-of-meagerness
8.32. A class of stems indicates position; sometimes description of the object is included with the position of the object:

- **si-dá** one sits, stays, dwells; there-is-condition-of-one-animate-obj.-in-position
- **si-ta'** there is shelter; there-is-condition-of-being-between (ep. -ta' postposition "between")
- **si-té:j** two lie
- **si-tf** one animate obj. lies; there-is-condition-of-one-animate-obj.-lying
- **si-zf', si-zfd** it stands; there-is-standing-position

8.33. Some stems refer to a condition or state perceived:

- **si-bin** it is full; there-is-condition-of-fullness
- **si-doh** it is hot; there-is-condition-of-hotness
- **si-Kaz** it is cold; there-is-coldness
- **si-kázi** it is cool
- **si-zili** it is lukewarm
- **si-si'** it is numb; there-is-condition-of-numbness
- **si-sxi'** it is paralyzed; it is bitter, resinous, extremely pungent
- **si-zé:'** it is tiresome, mild, tepid, boring, monotonous
- **si-sid** he is malicious

One form is general: **si-lf'** "it has become; there-is-condition-of-change; change-has-been-established"

8.34. Static verbs may have d, I, or l forms; changes in the prefixes are formally the same as in the si-perfective. If a static verb is causativized with l it means "cause state to be," hence, "have at hand, have in readiness, keep." If the agentive d or passive causative l is a part of the stem complex, the verb means that "a state or condition exists having been brought about by an agent or caused by an unknown force."

8.35. Static verbs may have prefixes other than si-; some are continuative, others perfective. A few examples are here given:

- **di-tq:d** animate beings are scattered
- **di-ti** it is emulsified, plasmic
- **di-tin** it is dense
- **di-tó'** it is very soft
- **di-tódi** it is fragile, frail, weak, soft, flexible
- **di-tó-di** it is very soft
- **di-giz** it is twisted
- **di-kádi** spread object is very thin, fabric is thin
- **di-ká** it is square
- **di-yoj** botryoidal
- **di-yol** rough surfaced, rutted
- **di-tsid** it is fibrous, tough, sinewy; it is gummy, viscid (cp. tšid "sinew")
- **di-joc** they are easily split
- **ná'-q** objects lie one by one in line
- **ni-bal** fabrics hang in a row
- **ni-dá** one by one they sit in a row
- **ni-tq'** long, rigid objects lie in line
- **ni-té:j** two by two they (animals) lie in a row
ni-t\i \textit{one by one animate objects lie in a row}

ni-jo\textit{-j} parallel objects lie

ni-za\textit{-d} it is far

ni-ca\textit{-j} it is wearing out

ni-m\textit{az} it is globular, round, spherical

ni-don it is taut, tight

ni-yiz it is round and long, cylindrical

ni-te\textit{lli} fabriclike object is soft (as buckskin)

8.36–8.38. \textbf{Active Verbs}

8.36. Several explanations of the active verb have been proposed, all attempting a determination of principal parts and the prefixes that go with them.\textsuperscript{2} Here yet another is presented, one which seems to account for more that has been unsatisfactory in the others, and to establish greater predictability with fewer exceptions.

8.37. In contrast with the static verb, which has only one paradigm, and expresses state or condition, or the result of action, is the active verb, which has many principal parts and prefixes. The numerous forms of the active verb indicate different aspects of time, motion, action, and distance covered by a moving object. Motion takes place in space; variations of the active verb indicate spatial considerations, and this is the real difference between static and active verbs. Besides, there are verbal ideas concerned with activity that does not necessarily involve a notion of covering space; these are active verbs, but are treated as if space were rationalized.

8.37a. In Navaho tense may be defined as future, present, and past. However, I prefer to use the term “aspect” for these and other time-space relations because progression, continuity, and similar ideas are more dominant than time, or at least included in the notion of time. Since these and other meanings are also included in the term “mode,” the last will be used only to differentiate indicative and optative. The term “system” will define temporal, aspective and modal distinctions, all of which are made by similar processes. Aspects are differentiated by stems, prefix conjugations, or both; systems are a grouping of the aspects. Just as paradigmatic forms overlap, so do tense-aspects in form and meaning; such overlapping prevents an absolute assignment to systems, but the following scheme allows generalization and, at the same time, indicates the function of the details within the system.

8.38–8.42. \textbf{Progressive-Continuative System}

8.38. The progressive, the first stem in the listing of verb stems, and the one quoted as an example and referred to in parentheses for facility in finding the verb, is the most generalized in meaning

\textsuperscript{2} Hoijer 1946a, pp. 1–13
(12.29ff.). The progressive indicates unlimited unrestricted motion, or an activity carried on simultaneously with motion, "there is unrestricted motion, he is moving along, he is acting simultaneously with moving" (10.102.). Usually the future stem is the same as the progressive; in the few cases in which the stems differ, the future stem is written under the progressive. The future is formed by compounding the prefix di- and yi-progressive (10.87.). Probably di- is the prefix "start from," or "emit," both of which are conjugated similarly in the continuative and perfective forms—one of the many cases of overlapping. The progressive and future are the freest and most stable of the prefixes, which may be used with almost any of the progressive stems.

8.39. The next three principal parts listed are referred to as "continuative": The momentary stem often has the same form as the progressive. It indicates a moment of unrestricted time, a cross-section of the progressive, "he is making a momentaneous motion, he is acting momentarily." It is conjugated with the continuative prefixes (10.103.).

The present stem sometimes has the form of the momentary, sometimes that of the inceptive, and it is sometimes distinctive. It is a continuative with a temporal meaning, "he is ...ing." It, too, is conjugated with continuative prefixes (10.103.).

8.40. The inceptive, though it defines a system not continuative, as its name implies, may be conjugated with continuative prefixes (10.103.). The distinction is drawn at the point between unrestricted and restricted motion. It is made between stems with a meaning that indicates the subject as covering space, and those indicating motion or activity without the subject moving in space or out of place.

For instance, if the significance of a stem like "eat" is general, that is, unrestricted, the form is yi-ya "he is eating it"—the subject acts without changing position. Therefore the present stem is used. If the meaning is "he is starting to eat it (a specified quantity)," the form is yĩ-yĩ'h (10.99.). The inceptive stem indicates the start of eating, and has reference to the "amount of eating done" rather than to the subject. All three forms have been included in the term "imperfective" used by other students of Navaho. Here a sub-division is made because the stems may differ.

8.41. In the use of the word "system" three aspects, or tenses, are grouped—the future, present, and past. Past time is completed continuation, expressed by the yi-perfective (10.104.). It means "... has been ...ing," as compared with the ni-perfective and
si-perfective, which refer to more absolute completion. The pro-
gressive, continuative, and “past” (yi-perfective) prefixes all have
the same form yi-, but it occurs without compounding with other
aspective prefixes in the continuative only. However, yi-perfective
undergoes some of the same changes as yi-progressive in comparable
settings, test forms being -o- of the third persons (’o-, yo-, dijo-
10.102-10.114.).

8.42. All perfectives are the result of compounded prefixes. The
ni-, yi-, and si-perfectives are really compounds of these prefixes
with -ni-completive. Each prefix of the compound has its own
phonetic effects, which cannot be ignored in understanding the
conjugations. Consequently, if -ni- is distinguished as the comple-
tive, yi- may properly be considered as the progressive. The
occurrence of yi- as the perfective is to be analyzed as yi-ni-, and
the vowel of the third person passives confirms the relation of yi-
progressive and yi- of yi-ni-perfective (3 by 3 yo- < yi-3 pass.
subj.- yi-prog.-ni-compl.-yi-3 ag., ep. 10.104.). We shall see that the
same processes are at work in ni-ni-, the so-called ni-perfective, and
probably also in si-ni-, the si-perfective (10.99a, 10.117.).
The definition of progressive, continuative, and progressive com-
pletive aspects illustrates what is meant by a system; it is the
grouping of related aspects.

8.43-8.47. Inceptive System

8.43. In contrast with the expression of unrestricted motion of
the progressive-continuative system is the restricted character of
the inceptive. Two commonly used prefixes illustrate the restrictive
character of the inceptive aspect: di- which means “start moving
from, motion starts from” and implies that the motion, having a
start also has an end or goal; ni- means “start for, motion or moving
makes for a goal,” and it implies that the motion started from a
particular point (10.88aff, 10.99.).

8.44. The inceptive system has no true future, since it is con cep-
tually antithetical to the progressive. Inceptive prefixes may be
used with the momentary, however, since the momentary is a
random restriction of the progressive. The inceptive makes the
restriction definite. Inceptive prefixes are used with momentary or
inceptive stems, but not with the present stem.

8.45. The inceptive completive is the so-called ni-perfective,
really ni-ni-< ni-start for, goal-ni-completive, and means “arrive,
complete starting for, finish ...ing” (10.99a).

8.46. Just as the continuative and inceptive overlap in form and
function, so do the perfectives: di-start from, though an inceptive

10 Relchard
prefix, takes *si-ni* - rather than *ni-ni*-perfective. The reason is that Navaho distinguishes the time-aspect of the prefix as well as of the stem. Since *di-* emphasizes the start of the motion, it cannot represent the end of that motion, but the completion of the start may be indicated rather than the completion of the motion or activity, hence *di-si-ni* - is one perfective form (10.88c.).

8.47. Distinguishing the continuatives as momentary, customary, present, and inceptive, accounts for many forms previously called "alternant" (1.12.). Presumably such forms are interchangeable, actually they are not. The interpreters say "they are the same," they think so only because they do not know how to explain the subdivisions of "present" in English. The situation corresponds with that of the English speaker trying to explain the simple present, the present progressive, and the present emphatic to a European whose language has only one present. All this is not to say that every stem form found in Navaho has been completely accounted for, but it is to affirm that most of the forms fall into the systems here explained quite satisfactorily, and to allow new constructions which are borne out by the practical use of Navaho.

8.48-8.50. *Cessative System*

8.48. The aspects so far defined explain the primary distinctive stems with the exception of the optative. The discussion has also included the essentials of the simplest conjugations, if by simple is meant a single aspective prefix. Such a meaning is, however, hardly tenable, for even so far we have had to deal with compounding of prefixes—*di*-future with *yi*-progressive, and all the perfectives. The systems yet to be explained all depend upon prefix compounding, though there may be some slight differentiation of principal parts. One of these, the cessative, is a system because it includes future, inceptive and perfective cessative.

8.49. The inceptive cessative stem is usually the same as the inceptive, but it is distinctive for some verbs; when it is, the stem is written under the inceptive stem. In addition to the possible stem difference, the inceptive cessative has a conjugation compounded of *yi*-continuative-*yi*-cessative (10.105.). The prefix, -*yi*-cessative, though obscured by contraction in the inceptive and perfective, becomes obvious in the future (10.105a.), where due to phonetic saturation, it appears before *di*-future. Throughout, *yi*-cessative has effects on other prefixes. The perfective cessative has many forms similar to those of the inceptive cessative, but as the paradigm analyses show, several are test forms. There is no evidence that the perfective cessative stem differs from other perfective stems. Some verbs have more than one perfective stem, but they apparently
have some other significance, such as continuative compared with momentary perfective, differences which will be noted in the list of principal parts.

8.50. The inceptive cessative means "start to pause," as when a horse changes gait to a walk, or a driver starts to brake a car; the perfective cessative means "pause has been completed," but the motion need not necessarily have ceased.

The cessatives as treated in this analysis, particularly as determining the inceptive and perfective cessative conjugations and as accounting for some distinctive principal parts, enable us to eliminate the "conjunct" and "disjunct" categories of Hoijer and Young-Morgan. Though it is not always brought out in translations, the application of the cessative (and repetitive) principles has been corroborated frequently by the context of Sapir's and Father Berard Hailis texts as well as by my own.

8.51-8.53. Customary

8.51. The absence of sharp distinctions has already been well demonstrated; the customary is another example, somewhat different in its affiliations. The customary has a stem, usually identical with the momentary, but sometimes different; when distinct, it is written under the momentary. The customary prefix is a compound, ná-(ná-), and so far as can be determined, the conjugation differs in no way from that of ná-(ná-) "back, in cycle, circle, arc of circle," which occurs with all the continuative stems—momentary, present and inceptive. The customary may, therefore, be considered an aspect with ná-(ná-) "back" conjugation and its own stem (10.94c.).

8.52. The customary means that an action or motion is carried out several times. ná'-again with any kind of stem denotes an action repeated at least once or several times with an intervening interval of time. ná-(ná-) "customary" denotes that the act or motion is repeated indefinitely at regular intervals. An additional particle teh may repeat the customary idea. If, however, an act or some aspect of an act or motion is carried out frequently, rather than habitually, the repetitive is used (10.106aff., 10.11aff.). In this work customary and repetitive indicate regular types of iteration based on the above definitions which have been determined by form.

8.53. Often, but not always, the d-classifier (d-form of stem) is used with the customary prefixes; if so, the prefixes have the

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4 Hoijer 1946a, pp. 1–2; Young-Morgan 1943, Grammar, pp. 77ff.
5 Sapir-Hoijer 1942; Haile 1938, 1943
6 In the Young-Morgan grammar and dictionary the terms "iterative, usitative, semeliterative, and semelfactive" are used without correspondence of forms, so that the terminology is confused and confusing.
passive forms. Perhaps the passive (agentive) form is to be explained by the following: once a motion or action has been started, the agent of the repeated action is known, hence it, rather than the subject, is expressed. Usage must be important also. Perhaps it is dominant, for AB’s grandmother used to tell him, “Don’t -la-h yourself, just those people you respect. ná’icta-h (‘I customarily start moving a round object’) sounds affected, overdone. nádíc’a-h sounds much better.” The remark probably refers to the fact that an action performed by oneself obviously has a definite and known agent expressed as the subject of the active voice, whereas an act or motion performed by someone else is subject to qualification and may therefore have a passive form.

8.54–8.61. Perfective

8.54. The perfective has already been referred to in the discussion of the static verb, and in the definition of systems. There are three perfectives, ni-perfective, yi-perfective, and si-perfective. Theoretically an active verb may have any one of three perfectives, depending upon the meaning. If the action has been completed, or if the aspect of the action has been completed and continues to exist as a condition, the si-perfective is used. Some prefixes, of course, require one perfective, rather than another, as a matter of form:

sa’į round object is, there is condition of roundness (10.117.)
dezkai (< di-si-kai) many persons have started to go; condition-of plural-persons-starting-to-go-has-been-completed (10.88c.)
naznil (< na-si-nil) sprinkling (of sand, pollen) has taken place (10.92.)
ne’jgic (< ni-si-gic) there has been cutting evenly with a blade (10.98c.)

8.55. If the motion or action has been completed, but has not necessarily ceased, the yi-perfective is used (10.104.). This has been translated as “... has been ...ing” to indicate progression and to distinguish it from the si- or ni-perfective “... has ...ed.”

8.56. As the prefix di-start from illustrates the function of si-perfective, so di-emit, move from within, illustrates the di-progressive form of what is probably the same prefix. di-emit takes yi-perfective and means “...ing from within has been taking place” (10.88b.). With these two prefixes, which may be used together, Navaho allows di- as a prefix for all aspects and systems.

8.57. The prefixes ni-uniform and -yi-repetitive aspect have yi- and si-perfective forms (10.98b, c, 10.106c, d.).

8.58. The inceptive has the distinctive ni-perfective (10.99a.).
Some prefixes—ná-(ná-) “back,” ná-(ná-) “against,” yíní-reciprocal effect, xo-place-si-harm, and dji-si-attitude—have all three perfective forms.

The prefixes di-start against, yíní-doubtful destination (10.90b,c, 10.110b,c.) have ni- and si-perfectives.

The perfective cessative has already been explained as belonging to a different system from the others, and therefore it has a special paradigm (10.105c.).

Repetitive System

Action or motion repeated many times or by many subjects is expressed by the repetitives, prefixes which may be used with any stem. Many repetitives have the same forms as the cessatives, but differ in that cessatives have distinctive stems, repetitives do not. Moreover, the perfective cessative has its own conjugation, whereas the repetitives have all three regular perfective forms. So far “repetitives” have been referred to rather than “repetitive,” the reason being that there are two, xi-repetitive of the action, and yi-repetitive of the aspect. Either may be used separately, or both may be used together (10.106a ff, 10.114a ff, 10.114k.).

The discussion of prefixes (10–10.71.) will show that prefixes differ because of their position in the verb complex. Some are a part of the conjugation, others stand before it. Some have a position (aspective) just before the subject-agent pronoun; -yi-repetitive aspect is of this kind. Others occupy a place nearer the initial part of the prefix complex; xi-repetitive action is of this sort. A comparison of the paradigms (10.72–10.124.) indicates that many of the forms are overlapping, that many correspond with some of the cessative forms, but the analyses bring out the differences, particularly the variation of position as demonstrated by the future.

Repetitive forms, especially those resulting in yi-, like the cessatives, were included in the attempted explanation of “conjuncts” and “disjuncts.” The paradigms of repetitive prefixes show that cessatives and repetitives were confused, and that they are distinctive.

Besides the two repetitive prefixes, xi- and -yi-, a third device, the prefix da-plural, may denote a repetitive idea. da-plural may be required to express repetition with certain stems. If the customary or repetitives are used, the same subject is thought of as repeating the action or motion. There are some acts, however, which because of their character, cannot have the same psychological
subject—and again the act or motion functions as subject. Since it is impossible for the same snowflake or raindrop to go back to the sky and fall more than once, the repetitive of verbs like "snow, rain," and the like is expressed by da-plural, instead of by a repetitive prefix. In da-diyo'tci'lı "it will snow repeatedly," da-plural takes the place of xi-repetitive action, but -yi-repetitive aspect is allowable because, of course, a start may be made repeatedly. Compare da-yi'tci'lı "snow is starting to fall, snowflakes are starting for;" da-nitci'lı "it snowed repeatedly, snowflakes repeatedly fell to end;" da-niyol "wind blew repeatedly;" ni-da-xaltin "there are repeated rains;" da-yidildon "he is shooting gun repeatedly, he-is-causing-it-to-explode-repeatedly."

8.66. Often, but not always, the repetitive requires the d-form of the stem, in this respect corresponding with the customary (8.53.).

8.67. The following are specific meanings of the repetitive:
If each segment of motion is thought of as separate, the verb is momentary. Repetition of such motion may be indicated by the stem alone—"jerk, drip, whip, club, slap, scratch, dig"—or the repetitive prefixes may be used.

8.68. When repetitive forms are used, the verb may indicate groups moving, or one group moving simultaneously with another, or several other groups.

8.69. A repetitive form used with a stem that indicates continuous motion designates motion repeated in spans.

8.70. The repetitive is used when several objects act simultaneously within the same area, but not necessarily at exactly the same time.

8.71. The repetitive form in the singular indicates that the same subject repeated the activity more than three times. The repetitive form in the dual may indicate that two subjects carried on the same activity simultaneously or that the same subjects repeated the activity more than three times. The repetitive form in the plural indicates that numerous subjects carry on the same activity repeatedly or that they carry on numerous activities simultaneously.

8.72. Many speakers, especially those who use English (including Morgan), do not realize the distinctions of the repetitive, nor do they differentiate xi- and -yi-. They do, however, give correct forms for the cessative, but they would consider inceptive, inceptive cessative, and inceptive repetitives the "same," that is, in English, not in Navaho. If they recognize perfective cessative and perfective repetitives at all, they consider them also the "same."
8.73. Usually in speech, as well as in texts, the second person singular, dual, or plural is used without modification for the imperative.

The progressive, present, or inceptive is a command for immediate action:

\[ ná-s \ yiná-l \ (\text{prog.}) \quad \text{go on, keep on going!} \]
\[ tčinínílka-d \ (\text{inc.}) \quad \text{herd them out (you singular) (YM 112)} \]
\[ tčinínoká-d \ (\text{inc.}) \quad \text{herd them out (you dual)} \]
\[ 'adi-číl-lá-d \ (\text{inc. cess.}) \quad \text{turn on the light (you singular)} \]
\[ 'anítšé-s \ (\text{inc.}) \quad \text{turn off the light (you singular)} \]

8.74. The future may be an emphatic command for immediate action:

\[ ca-\ dí-ná-l \quad \text{come to me!} \]
\[ dí-lác \quad \text{let's go; we-two-will-go} \]
\[ dí-kah \quad \text{let's go; we-pl*-will-go} \]
\[ bini' ca-\ do-gá-l \quad \text{let him come to me voluntarily; his-own-mind to-me he-will-come} \]

8.75. The fourth person inceptive addressed to a second person is a polite informal command for immediate action.

8.76. The fourth person future is an emphatic command of a very formal type. Fourth person was formerly used by adult brothers and sisters in address—a form of avoidance. Very few Navaho use it today. All other relatives may properly use second person forms for address and command.

8.77-8.81. Optative

8.77. The optative, -ó- (10.82-10.82d.) has two full conjugations, with some additional variations due to contraction. With few exceptions, the optative stem is not distinctive in having a form that differs from the other stems, but rather one of the stems already discussed is the optative stem and will be so marked as a principal part. Aspective and tense differences are absent from the optative conjugations but any stem from progressive to perfective may be the one to serve as the optative stem.

8.78. The two main patterns for the optative prefixes are given in 10.82,c,d. The prefix with vowel -ó- is to be considered in the position of aspective prefix: dó- “may ... start ...ing from,” nó- “may ... start ...ing to goal,” etc. The second pattern, with predominantly long low -o-, results from the contraction of -ó-optative and compound prefixes, mainly -yi-cessative, -yi-repetitive, (ná-) “in-flective,” and (ná-) “against.” The optative meaning is the same as that of the -ó- form “may ... take place, may ... move...”
may ...ing take place." Apparently all tense-aspect prefixes are leveled in the optative, which seems to retain its own form regardless of time or space covered. In this respect it compares with the progressive, and indeed, the progressive stem is often the optative stem. Cessative and repetitive prefixes of form -yi- are dominant in that they absorb many prefixes and lower the tone of others with accompanying lengthening. Although -ó-optative seems to be similarly dominant; it loses its tone to -yi-cessative and to yi-repetitive (10.82a.).

8.79. When the optative is preceded by a prefix with high tone demanding an inflectional prefix the combined vowel or vowel cluster is long with falling tone; a variation of the forms just discussed (10.82a.).

8.80. Although there are full forms for the optative and they may be encountered occasionally, the indicative with nsin "I wish" is often heard.

8.81. The following independent words may be used with the optative. They may also give an optative meaning to indicative forms:

*yi-la', xi-l'a' ... may ..., but I hope not; ... may not ..., but I hope ... will ... (11.40, 11.43.)

la-na* wish it would ... (and it may ...), desire to ... (cp. la-na* "desire") (11.47.)

lágo ... may ... but try to prevent it, would it were not necessary to ... (11.50.)

lē' may ... be, would that it ... but who knows (11.52.) (FS 18)

lē-ni* wish it could have ..., there is every reason to wish that ..., but it probably will not

8.82–8.84. INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TENSE, ASPECT, SYSTEM, AND MODE

8.82. An outstanding feature of the verb is the lack of a sharp line between stem, prefix, and meaning: The momentary stem resembles in many cases the progressive; the two prefix conjugations are distinct. The customary stem is often the same as the momentary; the prefixes and conjugation are quite different. The momentary stem in other cases is the same as the present; the prefix conjugations are the same. The present stem is sometimes the same as the inceptive; the conjugation (yi-) may be the same, but often the prefixes are distinct for the inceptive. The inceptive cessative stem is usually the same as the inceptive; its conjugation is quite different. The perfective cessative often has the same form as other perfective stems; its conjugation is distinctive.
8.83. Unrestricted motion is set off from bilimited motion—start and finish—by principal parts, as well as by prefixes. Generally speaking, *yi-* is a prefix of progression and continuation; even secondary or inflective prefixes, like -*yi*-cessative and -*yi*-repetitive, are combined with *yi*-continuative. The prefixes *di*-start from and *ni*-start for, are inceptive and contrast with such a prefix as *na*-here and there, which is conjugated only in the present and *si*-perfective. Categories are often complementary with representative characteristics of other categories. This trait is marked in the prefixes: Although *di-* designates the point of departure or the moment of starting an action and as such has inceptive forms, a corresponding prefix *di-* is treated as a progressive or continuative. This *di-* means something like "emit, emanate from, originate in;" if conjugated in the progressive, the forms are like those of the future. In the future *di-* may be prefixed to the regular future forms with the pattern *dido*- (3 person). If *di*-emit is a continuative the present and inceptive forms are the same, that is, *di*-emit and *di*-start from have the same forms—the stem alone indicates whether it is present or inceptive. *di*-inceptive takes the *si*-perfective, whereas *di*-emit takes the *yi*-perfective. Since *di*-inceptive has inceptive cessative forms, it is to be noted that *di-* which properly has two meanings, nevertheless is conjugated in all aspects of the verbal scheme except *ni*-perfective with whose meaning *di-* is antithetical.

8.84. The prefix *ni*-start for is as basic an aspective prefix as *di*-start from; its corresponding perfective is *ni*-perfective. It has a free counterpart in the prefix *ni*-end, which may be used with continuative aspects other than inceptive. It regularly takes a *ni*-perfective, but it may be prefixed to some other prefix conjugated in *si*-perfective. To even up matters and distribute them fairly among the categories is *ni*-uniform, which is conjugated in progressive, present, and *si*-perfective. We might continue this discussion to include many other prefixes and prefix combinations, but enough has been said to indicate that, although stems and prefixes may be classified so as to explain their forms satisfactorily with few exceptions and irregularities, there are devices to prevent categories from being defined as exclusive. Some of these devices elude interpretation, but many have been determined.

8.85–8.91. PHONETIC CHARACTER OF THE VERB STEM

8.85. From the time of the earliest Athabaskan studies the question of stems, their similarities and differences, and of stem alternants has been puzzling. The foregoing determination of principal parts and aspects has cleared up some of the questions and has shown that the number of alternants is much reduced by the differentiation of momentary, present, inceptive, and cessative. Nevertheless, some
apparently alternant forms remain. Several progressive stems have more than one form not explained by the difference between progressive and future. The stems -lel, -lel, -ll* “create, make into, construct;” -nél, -nít, -nitz “do, happen, accomplish, change, construct, evolve, develop,” are examples (10.47.). It is almost impossible to determine differences in meaning and usage for these stems. The pair -l-net and -lel with vowel similarities sustained. throughout the principal parts seem to be variants of two contractual schemes. In one -l- either was the initial, or the initial became absorbed in the -l- classifier; in the other, -l-causative and -n-initial remained intact. Since other stems show similar relationships between l-stem initial and -l-n-, it seems almost certain that these alternants may be ascribed to historical causes; they are true doublets in Navaho.

8.86. The diversity of Navaho speech is marked in form and vocabulary (13-13.54.). From this fact and the number of aspects it seems reasonable to suppose that in Navaho many influences met, influences which were not equally effective in all directions. The stem -á’l “round obj. moves” has more forms than almost any other Navaho verb (12.29.). The momentary has the alternants -aa’h, -á’h, and -á’h; in the present -á’h and -á:h are interchangeable. The stem seems to be a very old one, no known Athabaskan language lacks it, therefore it is reasonable to suppose that it was subject to many changes not all similarly interpreted by all speakers.

8.87. It is likely that proto-Athabaskan did not have pitch accent as a grammatical device—Mattole and Hupa do not have it now. There is reason to conclude that Navaho combines a great many features found separately in other Athabaskan languages—such a conclusion would account for numerous doublets. Besides differences in quantity and tone, the occurrence of final -l and -d seems to be a phase of the doublet. What seem to be momentary stems have forms -CV’ and -CVd. Sometimes, however, the -CVd form seems to be momentary, whereas the -CV’ form is repetitive. Similarly, the perfective stem of type -CV’ or -CV’ may have another form of type -CV’, and again the one with short vowel and glottal stop is repetitive.

8.88. It is possible that there was a stem of the -CV or -CV’ type, one or both of which were differentiated into momentary and repetitive, a process which may still be at work. In the light of the regularity of perfective cessatives as compared with ni-, yi- and si-perfectives, it seems possible that there may be other kinds of completion, of a momentary act or motion, for example. AB distinguishes a resultative which has the short vowel and glottal stop (type -CV’), which I prefer to call a “completed momentary.”

8.89. It has already been said that the primary purpose of this work is the analysis of Navaho without comparison with other
Athabaskan languages and with a minimum of theory about genetic relationships. Nevertheless comparisons have been very helpful, particularly in corroborating some of the analyses made with Navaho materials alone. It is possible that the phonetic structure of Navaho stems and their alternants will determine the separate influences which were exerted on older bases for the differentiation of the aspects as they now exist in Navaho. Some processes not completely crystallized may show what is happening, as well as what has happened.

8.90. At the same time that certain changes are making for development and differentiation, others, such as the leveling of cessative and repetitive forms, are destined to reduce the number of forms as they become more stabilized. The forces at work must be sifted and weighted—no opportunity was ever more favorable than that afforded by Navaho. On the other hand, the lack of differentiation of the “continuatives” and the premature acceptance of “alternants” has made comparison with other languages most difficult, in some cases, impossible. Questions which cannot be satisfactorily answered are: Did the western Athabaskan languages lack the differentiation so outstanding in Navaho? Was such differentiation made by the speakers without being detected by the linguists recording the languages? Where did the northern languages stand in regard to these questions?

8.91. Even though the failure to realize the important problems of aspect and contraction is a great handicap, there are nevertheless indirect clues to what happened when such differentiations developed. Two types of contraction seem to be obvious, a western type in which stems were more markedly affected than prefixes, and a northern type in which stems remained relatively stable, but in which the contraction affected the prefixes more outstandingly. Here is a tool that should help greatly in interpretation and reconstruction.

8.92. **Augmentative**

8.92. Navaho has a relatively free augmentative process. The strong aspiration of a consonant may indicate large size or the pejorative. The process may also be looked upon as x infixed in the stem:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regular form</th>
<th>Augmented form</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-tih  cover, wrap</td>
<td>-tzih  protect, conceal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sal move like a feather</td>
<td>-sxal heavy obj. (as person) moves like a feather, gracefully</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-zi  become still, motionless, silent</td>
<td>-zpi  be dazed, paralyzed, deadened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-si  make numb</td>
<td>-sxi  paralyze, deaden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-s0'  star</td>
<td>-sxp' a fearful star</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sop  glitter like copper</td>
<td>-sxs  glitter like a red star</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Regular form

dzq'di  here
dzil  mountain
-tsaz  grow big
-tse'  animate obj. is strong
-tsoh  be yellow
-co  be satisfactory
-tcah  cry
-tcah  hop; animal is in heat
tcq'  manure, excrement, faeces
tcih  be red
-tcin  have, exude odor
tcin  dirt, soil
-tcf'  nose
-tcp'  bad
-tcorp  bad, evil; spoil, ruin
'antcq'  one's personal effects, belongings
-tol  hate

Augmented form

dzyq'di  here in this devilish place
dzyil  a terrible mountain
-texa-z  grow very large
-tsez  animate obj. is very strong
-tsezoh  be very yellow
-cxó'  be awful, dangerous (WE)
texah  scream
-texah  have erection, sex desire
-texcq'  excrement (vulgar)
texih  be very red, blush
-texin  have strong odor
texin  personal parts subject to sorcery
-texq'  muzzle
-texq'  wicked, essentially bad
-texqpl  soil, pollute, discredit
'antexq'  personal effects subject to sorcery
-lxap  (not -lxap) be exasperated

8.93–8.94. DIMINUTIVE

8.93. Navaho has several ways of indicating smallness or immaturity. There are stems with such meanings. Though the diminutive is not sufficiently developed to constitute a process, it should be recognized so as to avoid confusing stem types. The most common stem is of the type CVC, but there are a few bisyllabic stems ending in -i which is not the same as the nominalizing suffix -i “the one which.” Most of such stems are static (8.31–8.35.). It will be noted that there are different modifications of the first vowel. The following are examples of bisyllabic diminutive stems with comparisons of corresponding “regular” stems when they are known.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem -CVC, -CV, -CV-C</th>
<th>Stem -CV-CV</th>
<th>Stem -CV-CV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'á'd  female</td>
<td>-ádi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di-il  it has long</td>
<td>di-ili</td>
<td>di-tódi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scattered hairs</td>
<td>fuzzy with long hairs; “fuzzy” blanket</td>
<td>very soft (as ripe fruit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di-tódi  fragile, weak, soft, flexible</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ás-zóli  light, easily transportable</td>
<td>'ás-zóli-li</td>
<td>light and bulky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di-kádi  thin fabriclike, spread thinly</td>
<td>(ep. -ka'd “it is spread” 12.33.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di-idí  fragile, brittle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xone-z-kaz  weather is cold</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-jón  pretty, nice</td>
<td>si-zíli</td>
<td>'áltísí  small (as watch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tsóz  narrow</td>
<td>n-jóni</td>
<td>'áltísíhi  small (gen.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'áltózí  narrow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'ált-tózí  smaller than, 'ált-tózí  small volume, less than 'ált-tózí  very little</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Of slightly different patterns are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'áni-d</td>
<td>new, recent</td>
<td>'ání-dí</td>
<td>very new</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'alkí-dá'</td>
<td>long ago</td>
<td>'álki-díá'</td>
<td>remote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'áyó</td>
<td>superior, fine</td>
<td>'áyóí</td>
<td>finer important,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'áyóí</td>
<td>very fine, super-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tcil</td>
<td>small</td>
<td>tcil</td>
<td>dwarfed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.94. Several grammatical processes already described may be used for augmentative or diminutive; they are specialized rather than free:

- zal move featherlike  - zal (< -l-zal) float,  - sxal animate (heavy)  move featherlike  obj. moves lightly,  gracefully

- yol blow breath,  - yol blow hard on  - yol blow on lightly  breathe on

8.95. Once the numerous rules are applied, only a few verbs are irregular. As is to be expected, the most irregular features are phonetic; history would doubtless explain them. It is obvious that y and y initials have a different history in the various stems in which they appear. It has been noted that d-y > d, d-y > dz, d-y > g, and l-y > s. The first person dual should always be indicated for any stem whose initial is y, y, z, or s to show what sound results from d plus any of them, for the d-passive stem complex will be the same. Moreover, the forms are certainly important for genetic reconstruction.

8.96. Two general types of phonetic influence are marked: the influence of prefix upon prefix with various contractions, but with little effect on the stem, and the influence of prefix upon stem with resulting changes, not all of which can be explained by Navaho rules. From what I have done with comparative Athabaskan I conclude that the first is characteristic of the northern tribes (Sarsi, Chipewyan); the second influence is western (Hupa, Mattole, Kato). Some of these influences are probably reflected in Navaho, especially in irregular verbs. The two most irregular Navaho verbs are -gá'l "one person goes" and -ýý'l "eat" (gen.). Their irregularities differ somewhat but point to similar influences, manifested in different directions. The principal parts indicate some of the irregularities:

<table>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-gá'l</td>
<td>-ýá-h</td>
<td>-ýáh</td>
<td>-ýá-h</td>
<td>-yá</td>
<td>-ya'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
-ga'lı so far as I can discover is an alternant of -gål; it is listed by Young-Morgan as future with n- < na-about, "one goes about, takes a trip, makes a round trip, travels" and with Ota: "go amongst ...". Possibly more significant than the tone of the future are the perfective -yá and the optative -ya'. The following changes take place in the stem initial:

### Future
- 1 de-cål I shall go
- 2 di-nål you will go
- 3 do-gål he will go
- 4 dji-do-gål he(4) will go

### Present
- yicåh I am going
- nnåh you are going
- yiyåh he is going
- djiyåh he(4) is going

In other words, the stem initial, whatever it may be (probably γ) is changed, not only by -c-I, but also by n-you. In the optative, however, the first person alone is so affected: 'o'ca' "may I go," but 'ò:ya' "may you go," and -ya' for all other persons (10.82a.).

#### 8.96a. The d-form has the principal parts:

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-dål</td>
<td>-dål</td>
<td>-dål</td>
<td>-dål</td>
<td>-dål</td>
<td>one person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dål</td>
<td>-dål</td>
<td>-dål</td>
<td>-dål</td>
<td>-dål</td>
<td>goes, walks</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From these we may conclude a relationship between d, γ, g, y, and dz. There are precedents for these relations, but usually they are exclusive: If d-γ > g, then d-γ does not become d. If d-γ > d, then d-y does not become dz.

#### 8.97. The stem -γáčl "eat" has the following principal parts:

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-γáčl</td>
<td>-γáčl</td>
<td>-γáčl</td>
<td>-γáčl</td>
<td>-γáčl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This verb has the same stem throughout the singular, dual, and plural, so that the initial changes for dual and plural may be ascertained. The pattern is as follows:

### Future
- 1 de-cål I shall eat it
- 2 di-γål you will eat it
- 3-3 yido-γål he will eat it
- 4 dji-do-γål he(4) will eat it
- D1 di-dål we shall eat it
- D2 do-hślål you 2 will eat it

### Present
- yicål I am eating it
- nnåh you are eating it
- yiyåh he is eating it
- djiyåh he(4) is eating it
- D1 di-dål we are eating it
- D2 do-hślål you 2 are eating it

#### 8.98. All the stem-initial changes except -c- of the first person present (-c-y > -c-) may be explained by the rules of 3.63, 3.119, 3.121. It will be noted that n-2 subject does not influence this stem initial, but it remains γ in future, momentary, and inceptive, y in the present, perfective, and optative, changing to c in the first person only, as do many other stems. What is not explained is the change from γ to y.

---

8 Young-Morgan 1943, Navaho-English, pp. 68, 69
8.99. The d-form is regular, like -γγ'l but with d-initial throughout, even in the perfective which is -dá'; this corresponds with -dγ' of the first person dual.

8.100. A related form is -sl (<_l-caus.-γγ' l) "cause to eat, feed," all forms of which are like -γγ' l with s instead of γ initial.

8.101. An interesting form of -γγ' l is γογγ'á' "you two have eaten it," which confirms my theory of the order of pronouns of the perfective active and passive voices (10.104.). Morgan, as I have said, does not differentiate the second person dual active γγ'-perfective γο- and the passive γο'h-. Here his form is γογγ'á rather than γογγ'hsá' which it would be if the analysis were γγ'-prog.-ni-compl.-oh-D2 subj. It is rather γγ'-prog.-oh-D2 subj.-ni-compl.

8.102. Verbs which become puzzling are those with initials n, n', l, l, and dl which, besides having apparently related forms, also have related meanings. The principal parts of these verbs, which mean "doing, making, constructing, creating," and the like will be found in 12.47.

These stems are obviously related. They are probably explained as doublets—a series of stems with n initial in the -l-causative passive forms may have become l instead of l-n. Although the interpreters say the forms have "the same" meaning, some forms have become fossilized and cannot be interchanged. The perfective -ya· of -nél is unexplained, as is the perfective -dza· of -nél. It is interesting to note that all classifiers except l are used with -nél, that is, zero, d, and l; and that -lé'l occurs with all except zero, that is, with d, l, and l, if the stem be considered, as I think it should be, as an l rather than as a zero form.

8.103. The three progressive forms -né'l, -ni'l, and -ni'l, and their l-counterparts seem to strengthen the possibility that -né'l and -lé'l are doublets.

These verbs are constantly confused with -le'l and -dle'l "become, change, evolve" (12.53.) whose forms and meanings are so close as to make the confusion obvious. The principal parts however show that they are distinct.

A study of other n, n', l, and dl stems indicates that the possibility of doublets may be extended to other verbs, but those just discussed have the most satisfactory series for comparison. Compare for instance the following:

<table>
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<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-l-ní'l</td>
<td>-ní</td>
<td>-ni'h</td>
<td>-ni'h</td>
<td>-ní'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-l-ní'h</td>
<td>-ni'h</td>
<td>-ni'h</td>
<td>-ní'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lí'l</td>
<td>-lí</td>
<td>-lí'h</td>
<td>-lí'h</td>
<td>-lí'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lí'h</td>
<td>-lí'h</td>
<td>-lí'h</td>
<td>-lí'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Since the forms for "be suspicious" are few and complicated in pattern (cp. 10.121–10.121d.), they merely point to the possibility of doublets; they do not confirm it.

8.104. Many Navaho verbs, often those most commonly chosen to illustrate English, are irregular in structure, particularly in the basic meaning of the verb stem. This is a fact fundamentally related to meaning, as well as morphology, and is therefore syntactic. A few examples are given here to show why apparently simple English words cannot be easily understood without psychological change. Words expressing percepts are in this category. "See" is a word that comes readily to mind. Two basic stems, phonetically and morphologically unrelated, must be mastered:

<table>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cust.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Inc.</td>
<td>cess.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-'i'</td>
<td>-'i'</td>
<td>-'i'</td>
<td>-'i'</td>
<td>-'i'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sight moves, get sight into motion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ti'</td>
<td>-ti'</td>
<td>-ti'</td>
<td>-ti'</td>
<td>(opt.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pause in sighting, keep eye on, view (cess.) (YM 219)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé'</td>
<td>-tsé'</td>
<td>-tsé'</td>
<td>-tsé'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(opt.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of these -'i' is essentially inceptive, and some of its forms do not fall readily into any prefix category (10.107.). Phonetically the stems -'i' and -ti' behave normally.

-tsé' is not irregular, but is a cessative—future, customary, inceptive and perfective. Whereas -'i' and -ti' denote "moving the sight, look at," -tsé' means "see" in the sense of "sight pauses." The proper usage of words formed with these stems must be learned by practice.
9. The discussion of The Word indicated the existence of an adjective in Navaho, even though many descriptive functions inhere in the verb stem. Such forms are not modified by conjugation or comparison, but some resemble verbs in having static and progressive forms, for instance:

'adi' (stat.) well bred
'adi (prog.) becoming worthy, deserving, desirable, outstanding, rare (pretty), superlative
'acle (stat.) calm, tranquil, soothing, composed
'acle (prog.) changing to calm, tranquil, quieting down
xacle' (stat.) normal, orderly, regular, usual
xacle (prog.) changing (from out of order) to normal, usual, orderly

Of other adjectives but one form has been found:

'atá· pretending
'ayáhi harmful, unlucky
'ayó unusually good
'ayói important, baffling
ba'í· bad, unpleasant
ta· alternating
lá·gé·d bare, naked, stripped
ti·d curbed
ntcó·'i· ugly, inappropriate, unsuitable
yá· out of place, shameful, embarrassing (perhaps "shame, embarrassment")
ká· careless, impulsive
st· cheerful, hopeful, reassuring; disastrous, harmful
tsíke worthy, deserving, desirable, outstanding, rare (pretty), superlative
tsí-d· tolerable, worthwhile, fair; worthy of notice; tolerant, normal (in character), level-headed; nice, agreeable, pleasing
nálte· irritable, cantankerous, cranky, irascible
vó· becoming feeble, wearing out, discouraging, weakening, frustrating, debilitating

9.1. Some of these adjectives, which are placed just before the verb, may be related to the stem -lé·'i "be" but since 'álé· "it is" follows many of them, it hardly seems likely; or if they are, the significance of -lé·'i must be lost.

9.2. Another small class of adjectives is treated like a possessed noun, there being only one stem which is modified by prefixing "possessive (objective)" pronouns: si-tse· "I am strong," ni-tse· "you are strong," xa-tse· "he(4) is strong," nixi-tse· "we, you two are
strong.” Such stems with possessive forms define attributes so closely related to the object or subject that they are treated as inalienable possessions. The following have been noted:

- 'il'i be valuable, have value
- 'nó-l, 'nó-l witness, be present at
- 'nì' sad, worried (cp. 'nì' “mind”)
- 'k'i-n serve as subsistence
- 'dzì-l inanimate object is firm, resistant; person has power, there is power
- 'tsé-ni be very thin, skinny, bony (cp. 'tséin “bone”)
- 'djá-d fleet, swift (cp. 'djá-d “leg”)

The small number of stems treated in this way suggests that the form is a survival of an old nominal tendency, or less likely, that it is the beginning of a new process not fully developed.

9.3. Generally, those words which in English describe physical condition, quality, and state are treated as verbs, perhaps with static forms. Uninflected words that precede a verb apply to general conditions, mental states, summary of circumstances, or results. Usually they do not contain the prefix xo- which refers to “place” or “circumstances, things” and is frequently used in other compounds.

9.4-9.12. Comparison

9.4. Comparison may be expressed in several ways, none very closely related to comparison in English. We have seen that many expressions, which in English are adjectival, are verbal in Navaho; di-'é' nne'z “this garment is long;” lítsoh “big horse.” It is reasonable then that comparative and superlative degrees may be expressed by modifying words that precede the verb, behaving as “adverbs.” In addition, the verb may have a “comparative” prefix conjugation, a construction used if the comparison refers to what in English would be an “adjectival” expression (cp. 'án- 10.79, YMG 39):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{di-'é' ci-lá-h 'ánñé-z} & \text{ this garment is too long for me; this garment} \\
\text{me-beyond is-relatively-long} & \\
\text{bi-lá-h 'ánñé-z} & \text{ I am taller than he; him-beyond I-am-relatively-tall} \\
\text{yi-lá-h 'ánñé-z} & \text{ it (pole) is longer than he; he is taller than he(FH)} \\
\text{bítsoh} & \text{ his horse is larger than this horse; his-horse} \\
\text{this horse it-beyond is-relatively-large} & \\
\text{di-'é' ci'oh 'ánñé-z} & \text{ this garment is too short for me; this garment} \\
\text{me-missing is-relatively-long} & \\
\text{bítsoh} & \text{ his horse is smaller than this horse; his-horse} \\
\text{this horse it-missing is-relatively-large} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

9.5. If, however, the comparison refers to a verb of motion or activity, the usual verb form is used with a modifier, which would be in the class of “adverb” in English. In Navaho such words may
THE ADJECTIVE

be postpositional, the one compared being the possessive-objective prefix:

ni-lá·hgo diniycyo' I can run faster than you; being-beyond-you I-got-stuck-running
cidygo diniycyo' ni tá· 'o'oh I can run faster than you; being-on-my-side I-run you just-miss-something

9.6. The superlative is expressed by more emphatic modifiers than the comparative, using the same verbal conjugation "relative-to...":

bili' alá·hdi 'ánítsoh his horse is the largest, his-horse beyond-some (other) is-relatively-large
bili' ayá·di 'ánítsoh his horse is the largest, his-horse the-chief(favorite)-one is-relatively-large
xalo' alq·dji ní·ni· her(4) oldest brother; her(4)-sibling-of-opposite-sex ahead the-particular-one who-is (WE)

9.7. Some comparisons require long circumlocutions:

niyando-ciyan bitcfgi kodo-nariijo·jidji·diniz·d 'it is as far from your home to mine as it is from here to Gallup; your-home-from here between-them-place from-here Gallup-to-a-point it is-relatively-far

9.8. The element ýó is common to the following constructions:

'ayó 'ánímez·z I am the tallest (FH)
'ayó 'ánímez·z it (rope, stick) is longer (FH)
'ayó 'ánzá·á it is farther (FH)

9.9. biyó somewhat, quite, a bit, something short of:

tó· la· biyó des·ká·z it seems a bit cold (FS 29)
tá· biyóilkidj· gö·q· (a ridge) that was almost a hill (NT 390:10)
tá· biyó doinzingó· (< do 'yinzingó·) he was somewhat unwilling (NT 210:4)
tá· biyó názbq·s sili'· (his eyes) became rounder (NT 40:20)
tá· biyó de·l'í· he (old man) suspected it (that old woman was young man's lover) (NT 40:25)
tá· biyó nacinélí·h he (Ute) looked at me (Navaho girl) suspiciously (NT 334:18)
'asdzáni 'éi tá· biyó tédéldlo' the woman smiled tantalizingly; the-woman that-one somewhat she-broke-out-into-a-smile

9.10. The following seems to indicate a conjunctive, rather than an adverbial use of ýó; the repeated use of the locative nílé: "farther over there" indicates the comparative idea:

nidzí·me'dó· nílé· xáhgó·cj· tsé be· nílé· le·j tá· yó bił 'illa·nidjizi·dgo bil dji·lát'ni· yah·anidjo·dzá she(4) pounded him into pieces further (then) with a stone having mixed him (his pieces) with sand after grinding the pieces and sand together she(4) came back in; she(4) pounded him-completely there completely (awfully) stone by-means-of-it over-there earth absolutely quite accompanying-them (pieces and earth) after-she-ground-them she(4) came-back-in

9.11. The complex tô· tsé'édin expresses steady diminution. Young and Morgan suggest with a query the analysis "merely no rocks" for this. I suggest that tsé'édin may be related to the group of words:
\( tsé-de \) supine, lying face upward (cp. \(-de\), or \( dei \) “upward”)
\( tsé'-ya' \) prone, lying face downward (cp. \(-ya'\) “under, underneath”)
\( 7.64. \)
\( tsé'-na' \) across

9.12. On the other hand, \( tsé'édin \) may derive from \( tsi'-uncertain, confused \) (10.120a.). The translation would then be “uncertainty is lacking, it is (now) certain that (things are becoming worse);”

\[ 'a\text{nini}'-\text{go} tó- \text{tsé'édin nikixo'ítj } \] at noon it began to rain harder than ever; it-being-noon rainy-conditions-worsened (FS 29)
\[ be- nixitőį' 'ándaxazli'i- tó- \text{tsé'édin dané-šél naażalin } \] our problems seem to get progressively worse; the-particular-things-with-which-we-are-bothered just worse are-prog-growing it-is-like (FS 29)
\[ 'ólta' nixitah xolóni'į- tó- \text{tsé'édin danixitőį' } 'altći' 'ánda-ine'go 'dél } our school situation is becoming steadily worse, our schools continue to be closed; (such)-schools-as-we-have just worse away-from-us toward-one-another being-(in-a-state-of)-relative-change it-is-thus (FS 29)
\[ dįįdįįţ- 'téiyah tó- \text{tsé'édinda xaclic xazli' } \] today the mud has become worse (if anything) (though yesterday it was bad enough); today-past only worse-if-anything mud has-become to-be-sure (FS 29)

9.13–9.22. **Numerals**

9.13. Numerals are treated like ajectives (9.). As independent forms they may precede a noun or verb, thus behaving as “adjectives,” or they may have \(-\text{go} \) the subordinating suffix, and seem to be “verbs”:

\( tά' \) yiskį three days passed
\( na\-ki\-goh \) two cigarettes

9.14. The cardinal numbers are:

\( lá'ı, \) lá-lá'ı one
\( na\-ki \) two
\( tá'- \) three
\( dį'- \) four
\( 'acdla'- \) five
\( xastq'-h \) six
\( tsosdįid \) seven
\( tse\-bį'- \) eight
\( náxalbį' \) nine
\( ne\-xńę-h \) ten
\( lą'-tstå-dah, lá-tstå-dah \) eleven
\( na\-ki-tstå-dah, na\-ki-tstå-dah \) twelve
\( tą'-tstå-dah \) thirteen
\( dį\-tstå-dah \) fourteen
\( 'acdla'-á-dah, 'acdla'-á-dah \) fifteen
\( xastq'-lå-dah \) sixteen
\( tsosdįid-tså-dah \) seventeen
\( tse\-bį\-tstå-dah \) eighteen
\( náxalbį\-tstå-dah \) nineteen
\( na\-dį\-m \) twenty; two-tens
\( na\-dį\-tå \) twenty-one; two-tens one
\( na\-dį\-na\-ki \) twenty-two; two-tens two

9.15.  

9.16.  

9.17.
Other stems used with the same element tā' and the same conjugation are: -tē "... all are, just all of ...;" and -t-sgo "... are all; just ... are all" (YMG). Compare with these tā'-átagigo na'anē "just three families moved an" (NT 352:3).

9.18. In the following examples the prefix combination n-dini- is treated like dini-static (10.89.), and the meaning is "... two are":

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D1</th>
<th>ndini-lte</th>
<th>we two are</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D2</td>
<td>ndinolte</td>
<td>you two are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D3</td>
<td>ndiltè</td>
<td>they two are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D4</td>
<td>nijdiltè</td>
<td>they(4) two are</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compare: nazdiltè two of them(4) (are sent) (NT 84:11; 260:1; 324:1)

xa'oh ne-l'q-go bu- ndajdiltè-go if the number (of animals) is less (than the number of men) two are set (to work on) one animal (NT 328:18)

9.19. Other related numerical conjugations have the numeral, sometimes in shortened form, prefixed to regular conjugations. If the numeral has a high tone, the conjugation is of (-nd-) form (cp. however, xastq- yilte “there were six” FH):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D1</th>
<th>táni-lte</th>
<th>we three</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D2</td>
<td>tánolte</td>
<td>you three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D3</td>
<td>tátè</td>
<td>they three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D4</td>
<td>tadjiltè</td>
<td>three of them(4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

D1 dñi-lte  we four
D2 dñolte  you four
D3 ñiltè  they four
D4 ñijdiltè four of them(4)

tadjiltè ndži-ztă-dji’ three (runners) sitting at intervals (NT 86:4)
dadjiltè na-tá-ni’ four chiefs were there (NT 96:21)
ne-znaltè there were ten (NT 56:13; 316:7)
dókwiltè however many, there were few (NT 270:14)

9.20. The form for “there are five” is 'acdlallè, presumably because the final a of 'acdlâ' is low and combines with yi- of yillè, that is, it does not require the (-ná-) prefix. On the other hand, there may be two conjugations—(-ná-) and yi- with different meanings:

'áltčici' xastá- yillè there were six on each side (FH)
na-kitša-da yillè-go there were twelve (FW 297, n. 134)

9.21. Numerals with a high-toned vowel may be prefixed also to the si-(ná-) perfective conjugation (10.117a.):

bil táši-lte’ with (including) him there were three of us (NT 374:17)
tádjislo’ three of them(4) (were heard) (NT 264:10)
djázlste’ four of them(4) (were heard) (NT 264:11)

The si-perfective of n-dini-static continuative used for “two,” is nazdés:le’ “two of them(4) (were heard) (NT 264:9).
9.22. When a total is to be expressed the postposition -t is used;

\[
\text{tsá'ászi’ bił tá’ bi’ xo yan} \quad \text{“the yucca is the third in which there was a house; yucca with-it three in-it there-is-a-dwelling (NT 42:2)}
\]

\[
\text{tá’ bił tá’ yiskä} \quad \text{with it just three days had passed}
\]

9.23. Money

9.23. Money is of interest as a part of the numerical system. The units are based on a currency system in vogue after the Civil War. The dollar is bé’so, or bé’so (from Spanish peso). Parts of the dollar are expressed as “bits,” each being equivalent to twelve and a half cents, that is, two to a quarter. There is no unit of one bit, but a quarter is na’ki-ya’l, or na’ki-ya’l “two bits;” a half dollar is dį’ya’l, or dį’ya’l “four bits;” xastáz-ya’l or xastáz-ya’l “seventy-five cents, six bits.”

The nickel, litsoh “it is yellow,” and the dime, do’tlij “it is blue,” are named from paper money of the several colors. gi’nsi (YM 86) or ki’nsi (Pinyon) “fifteen cents,” is from Spanish quince “fifteen.” A penny is sindao or tsindao from Spanish centavo.

With these units, especially nickel, dime, bit, and dollar, reckoning is done:

\[
\text{dí’ya’l dó’ litsoh (for dį’ya’l dó’ ba’a’n litsoh) fifty-five cents; two-bits}
\]

and a nickel

\[
\text{na’ki do’tlij twenty cents; two-blue-(ones)}
\]

\[
\text{dí’ya’l dó’ ba’a’n tá’ tá’i do’tlij dó’ tá’ sindao sixty-three cents; four-bits}
\]

and in-addition one blue-(one) and three cents

\[
\text{tá’ do’tlij dó’ ba’a’n litsoh thirty-five cents, three blue-(ones) and a yellow}
\]
10. Prefixes of all kinds, classifiers, and stems are so closely knit that all processes by means of which they are combined should be clarified at the same time. The stem complex has been defined as classifier and stem; this must first be ascertained in order to determine the pronouns to be used. If the pronouns are active voice subjects or passive agents they generally stand immediately before the stem complex, but if objects or passive subjects, they stand before the conjugated prefixes, since prefixes are conjugated. However, more than one prefix may enter into the conjugation and certain elements may separate them. The position of such elements and the fact that some may seem to disappear entirely in contraction are principles that must be understood. The prefix components, generally of the form CV, VC, but sometimes merely C, will be first discussed, then the principles of combination (10.35–10.74.). The scheme is to work backward from the stem complex insofar as it is feasible. However, since subjective-agentive pronouns occupy a position different from that of objective and passive subjects, and since the position of these pronominal prefixes may be determined by their phonetic character, pronouns are discussed together despite their position; in some other cases, too, the compounds must be treated together for the same reasons.


10.1. With few exceptions pronouns of the intransitive and of the transitive active voice, and passive agents immediately precede the stem. The exceptions are the fourth person, the indefinite singular forms, and the perfective subjects. The position and function of the subjective and agentive pronouns in the complex are discussed in the following order: 1, 2, 3, D3, 4, D4, D1, D2.

10.2. First person singular subject or agent, -c-, stands just before the stem complex on which it may have phonetic effects (3.82–3.97.).

10.3. In the perfective passive -c-agent has the same position and absorbs the classifier -l-:

\[
\begin{align*}
i\text{-pf.} & \quad \text{by } 1 \ nic- \quad (< n\text{-pf.-ni-compl.-c-1 ag.}) \\
y\text{-pf.} & \quad \text{by } 1 \ yic- \quad (< y\text{-prog.-ni-compl.-c-1 ag.}) \\
s\text{-pf.} & \quad \text{by } 1 \ sis- \quad (< s\text{-pf.-ni-compl.-c-1 ag.}) \\
pf.\text{cess.} & \quad \text{by } 1 \ yi\text{-c-} \quad (< y\text{-prog.-yi-cess.-ni-compl.-c-1 ag.})
\end{align*}
\]
10.4. Intransitive and transitive active voice perfectives have the pattern si-pf.-c-l subj.-ni-compl. > éé-; the resulting contracted prefix differs with the character of the perfective:

\[
\begin{align*}
ni-pf. & \quad 1 \ ni- & \quad (< ni-pf.-c-l subj.-ni-compl.) \\
yi-pf. & \quad 1 \ yi- & \quad (< yi-prog.-c-l subj.-ni-compl.) \\
st-pf. & \quad 1 \ sé- & \quad (< st-pf.-c-l subj.-ni-compl.) \\
pf. cess. & \quad 1 \ yi- & \quad (< yi-prog.-yi-cess.-c-l subj.-ni-compl.)
\end{align*}
\]

10.5. Second person singular subject or agent, -n- or ni- in all aspects, except perfective, intransitive and transitive active voice, stands before the stem complex. -n- often combines with a preceding aspective or inflectional prefix. If it does, -n- persists in the high tone of the resulting prefix, if the preceding prefix has a low tone. If however the preceding prefix is high -n- subject may not be discernible:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{cont.} & \quad 2 \ ni- & \quad (< yi-cont.-n-2 subj.) \\
\text{inc.} & \quad 2 \ ni-, \ n- & \quad (< ni-start for-n-2 subj.) \\
\text{inc.} & \quad 2 \ di- & \quad (< di-start from-n-2 subj.)
\end{align*}
\]

10.6. In the perfective intransitive and transitive active voice the second person singular subject stands between the perfective components—si-pf.-n-2 subj.-ni-compl.—and results in a form sini-indistinguishable from that of the agentive:

\[
\begin{align*}
ni-pf. & \quad 2 \ yini- & \quad (< ni-pf.-n-2 subj.-ni-compl.) \\
yi-pf. & \quad 2 \ yini- & \quad (< yi-prog.-n-2 subj.-ni-compl.) \\
st-pf. & \quad 2 \ sini- & \quad (< st-pf.-n-2 subj.-ni-compl.)
\end{align*}
\]

10.7. Third person singular and dual subject of intransitive and transitive active voice is wanting (zero) in all aspects. However, its absence affects the aspective-inflectional prefixes in various ways depending upon their phonetic structure and powers of combination. So important is the absence of the third person subject that the third person form is often of prime significance in assigning a form to a paradigm. The third person should always be checked with other forms to determine the potentialities of the compound aspective prefixes, for instance, dinic-emit static has the first person dinic-, but the third di-; dinic-be stuck while moving uniformly continuable has the first person dinic-, and the third, dinic-; dinic-be stuck starting for inceptive has the first person dinic-, but the third, de- (10.89-10.89i.).

10.8. Third person singular and dual agent seems to be -yi- and has the usual position immediately preceding the stem complex. It is often absorbed by preceding prefixes but shows particularly in the progressive and progressive (yi-) perfective:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{prog.} & \quad 3 \ yi- \\
\text{prog.} & \quad \text{by 3} \ yo' & \quad (< yi-prog.-yi-3 ag.) \\
\text{prog.} & \quad \text{by 3} \ yiyo' & \quad (< yi-3 pass. subj.-yi-prog.-yi-3 ag.)
\end{align*}
\]
The examples from yi-perfective are extremely important in showing the dominance of the low tone of yi-3 agent; it is so strong that it may absorb yi- and results in low yi-. Combined with yi-3 passive subject and yi-ni-perfective in the 3 by 3 form, it results in -o- forms which occur in no other perfectives, but show the relation of yi-progressive and yi- the progressive component of yi-ni-perfective.

10.9. Fourth person singular and dual subject, dji- intransitive and transitive active voice: The subject dji- has a position as near initial as possible to the conjugated part of the verb complex. It may absorb or contract with many prefixes having y, x, or s initial; often their normal position changes so that they are absorbed by it. dji-does not, however, contract with many prefixes whose initials are ʔ or n.

10.10. Indefinite singular and dual subject 'a- of intransitive and transitive active voice: 'a- because of its phonetic composition stands at the beginning of a conjugation. It combines with certain aspective prefixes, particularly those with n initial to form a different vowel, for instance, 'a-ni-start for > 'it (10.75, 10.103, 10.104.).

10.11. Indefinite singular and dual agent of passive voice: There are two forms, 'a- and 'adi- of the indefinite agent. If it stands before a prefix to which it can attach itself, as for example, ni-uniform, 'a- is used; if not, particularly if the distinction of the following prefix is to be preserved, the form is 'adi-, -di- being a glide syllable which is the conjugated element. The indefinite agent is illustrated by the forms:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{di-start from inc.} & \ (3) \text{ by } \text{bi'ti-} \ (< \text{bi-} [3] \text{ pass. subj. 'a-i ag.-di-start from}) \\
\text{ni-uniform cont.} & \ (3) \text{ by } \text{bi'tini-} (< \text{bi-} [3] \text{ pass.subj. 'adi-i ag.-ni-uniform}) \\
\text{ni-start for inc.} & \ (3) \text{ by } \text{bi'te-} \ (< \text{bi-} [3] \text{ pass.subj. 'adi-i ag.-ni-start for})
\end{align*}
\]

10.12. First person dual subject and agent, -i'd-: To judge by the long vowel and its relative stability, the pronoun -i'd- is a compound form, for it has such absorptive power that many dual first person forms are the same. Outstanding is the result of final -d- in its effect on following consonants, either classifiers or stem initials, or both. -i'd- shows no change of position in the perfectives in active or passive voice, though for the sake of consistency I perhaps should have written it in the same position as the other pronouns.

10.13. Second person dual subject or agent, -oḥ-: These pronouns behave like the subjective-agentive pronouns of the first and second persons singular. In the same cases, as subject of intransitive and
transitive active voice of all but the perfectives, it immediately precedes the stem complex. Its final consonant, however, affects the classifier or stem initial or both (3.112–3.133.).

10.14. As subject in the perfective -oh- stands between the two components of the perfective and -h- disappears in forms like D2 of the si-perfective: so- (< si-pf.-oh-D2 subj.-ni-compl.) compared with by D2 of the si-perfective, so'h- (< si-ni-compl.-oh-D2 ag.) (cp. 10.55.).

10.15–10.20. Objective Prefixes

10.15. The objective pronoun is prefixed to the conjugated part of the verb complex. The objects are:

1 ci- me
2 ni- you
3 yi- him, her, it
(3) bi- him, her, it
4 xo- him, her
i 'a- some, some one, something
D1, D2 nixi-, nxi- us

10.16. All except xo- of the fourth person and 'a-indefinite have a vowel of the same value in combination so that, instead of the form given in the regular paradigm of the type 3-3, the initial is changed to indicate an object other than the third. For instance, yi'iq “he is eating it;” ci'yq “it is eating me.” As usual, however, the phonetic character of object and aspective prefixes may cause a change of length or tone of the resulting vowel.

10.17. xo-object of the fourth person is often prefixed to the paradigmatic forms, but enters into combination with some, its vowel -o- creating contractions somewhat different from the prefixes with -i-vowel, but nevertheless following rules similar to those for other prefixes with o- (cp., for instance, xo-place, things 10.116a–10.116f.).

10.18. The order of prefixes in a verb complex including an object is object-aspective-subject-stem complex.

10.19. The subject of the verb in the passive voice is the same as the subject of the verb in the active voice. It occupies the same position, combines in the same way with the aspective prefixes, but if the form demands an agent in addition to a subject, certain phonetic modifications occur which are obvious from the paradigms.

10.20. The order of prefixes in the passive verb is subject-aspective-agent-stem complex.
10.21. Before the pronominal subject-agent prefix stands the aspective prefix which may include or give place to the inflectional prefix discussed in 10.25-10.26. The arrangement of the paradigms in alphabetical order has necessitated listing some of the more complicated prefix compounds first. There are, however, certain simpler and more fundamental prefixes which must be understood to get the pattern of conjugation. They are yi-progressive, yi-continuative (momentary, present, inceptive), the inceptives 'a-beyond, di-start from, ni-start for. The essential prefix compounds are di-future (with yi-progressive), the perfectives ni-(ni-), yi-(ni-), and si-(ni-), and the cessatives yi-(yi-) inceptive cessative, and yi-(yi-ni-) perfective cessative. It is suggested that the contractions of these aspects be first mastered, then the other contractions may be readily understood, even though they sometimes become quite complicated.

10.22. Certain other prefixes of frequent occurrence like di-emit, ni-uniform belong to the progressive-continuative system and are conjugated in that pattern. Others like dini-prolongative and dini-get stuck at, 'á-(ná-) "thus", ná-(ná-) "back," and ná-(ná-) "against" are also frequent; they are compounds into which the essential prefixes just mentioned may enter. Those with high tone must be understood as including the inflectional prefixes discussed in 10.25-10.26.

10.23. It has been deemed best to list the conjugation of each prefix in the order given in the tense-aspect system, that is, insofar as possible in the order of the principal parts. By so doing the relationship of the progressive-continuative, inceptive, and cessative systems is shown. By following each continuative with the related perfective, the morphological-semantic functions become clearer. Often it will be found that the same stems are used in conjugations belonging to the same system. Thus progressive, continuative and progressive perfect (yi-pf.) distinguish themselves from incepts which often take ni-perfective. Similarly, the cessatives of future, inceptive, and perfective show their affiliation, as do the xi- and yi-repetitives. Future and inceptive cessatives, for example, have perfective cessatives, whereas repetitives may take any of the three basic perfectives.

10.24. Following the simpler conjugations of each prefix are those with which the prefix may be compounded, listed as closely as possible in alphabetical order. Though doubtless incomplete, they furnish samples of many contraction patterns.
10.25-10.26. Inflectional Prefixes

10.25. A small category of prefixes has been called "inflectional" because the prefixes, though secondary, greatly influence the conjugation, especially in the determination of the vowel and its tone. They are always used in connection with another prefix which may immediately precede or may be separated by intervening prefixes. Inflectional prefixes are written in parentheses ( ) or brackets [ ]. In some cases the meaning of the inflectional prefix is clear, in others, no meaning can be assigned. For instance, (-ná-) of ná-(ná-) "back" cannot be translated, but (ná-) of ná-(ná-) "against" has the meaning of the entire complex. The paradigms, 10.93a-10.95m. show how these inflectionals affect the other prefixes in their vicinity. -ni-completive, which enters into combination with ni-, yi-, and si-perfectives is represented without the parentheses because its meaning differentiates it; it behaves in the same way as (-ná-) of ná-(ná-) but is found only in perfectives.

10.26. Intermediate between aspective and inflectional prefixes are the cessatives, and the repetitive (-yi-). Since yi-cessative appears in the future, it has characteristics of a regular aspective prefix, but since it does not occur without an aspective, it is treated as inflectional and indicated with two hyphens (-yi-). The repetitive of aspect (-yi-) is comparable. Sometimes xi-repetitive action is its pre-inflectional counterpart, but since xi- and -yi- each have conjugations, and since one may appear without the other, they seem to be distinct, probably because of their position in the verb complex. (-yi-) "repetitive aspect" however does not occur without an aspective prefix, which it follows, and in this respect is an inflectional prefix. The two repetitive conjugations, xi-repetitive action and -yi-repetitive aspect, illustrate the effect of position; xi- is followed by the aspective prefix, -yi- is preceded by it.

10.27-10.34. Pre-Paradigmatic Prefixes

10.27. The group of prefixes called "pre-paradigmatic" is a class with meanings so varied that they cannot be semantically classified. The largest number are, however, adverbial or locative. These prefixes do not always enter into the conjugation, although they may if the verb complex is short, in which case these prefixes come into contact with the conjugated prefixes. na-about stands far forward in the verb complex, yet it may be conjugated as may da-down, xa-up out, and ni-end. The list of these prefixes includes some which are described as nominal prefixes, as enclitics, or as paradigmatic forms—they belong in the category here under discussion when they are separated from the conjugated aspective-inflectional prefixes. The following are some of these prefixes:
'a-beyond, into indefinite space (to be distinguished from 'a-indefinite pronoun 10.75-10.76w.)
da-plural 10.84.
da- with verbs of dying (conjugated like da-down 10.84.)
da-down, downward from 10.84.
dah-forth, forward; suspended, without obvious support, lying on
dá-in front of, in orifice
de-, dei-upward from
di-emit, emanate from (conjugated like di-start from, but occurs in aspects other than inceptive) 10.88–10.88g.
di-relating to fire, smoke (probably from dzi-away cp. 10.119.)
tá-amongst, about amongst members of a group or crowd
tá-on water, relating to water
té-in deep water
na-about, here and there, at random 10.92.
na-start down for (conjugated like da-down) 10.85.
nani-across definite object or space
nani-across indefinite space
na-at an angle, tipping; around a fixed point (cp. 7.55.)
ná-back; temporarily around a point, in an arc 10.93–10.94h.
ná-again 10.96–10.96a.
ni-end
ni-horizontal and parallel to the ground (YMG 68)
yt-tilt
yah'a-into an enclosure (conjugated like 'a-beyond)
yá-up toward sky; good
yá-with verbs of speaking
yó-'a-out of sight, off, lost (conjugated like 'a-beyond)
ka-ailing, sickly
kd-closely fitted
kd-, xá-going after, reaching for (cp. 'ká 7.77.)
ké-dwelling, having home at
ki-touching
ki-(< ki-touching-ná-against) leaning against
ké-courtesy, proper treatment of relatives (probably from ki-security)
ki-over
ki-sever, apart
ki-security
xu-up out (conjugated like da-down) 10.85.
xá-, xá-after, reaching for, going for (cp. 7.77)
xa-place, space; things (are) 10.116a–10.116t.
xi-harm, undo, un… 10.118a–10.118h.
soh-, si-hope, entreaty, despair, danger (YMG 69, NT 178:1)
dzi- (may become di-) away (conjugated like di-start from) 10.88.
dziدة-into fire, into danger
tsá-main
tsi-one step away, one step in front
tsi-uncertain, confused
tsá-irritable, cantankerous, cranky, peevish; frightening
tsi-noise, sound of . . .
có-acquire
dji-attitude, emotion
tco-shadow, shade
tcá-above rim (?)
tco-, tci-useful
tca-off into restricted zone (less indefinite than 'a-beyond)
tči-out
10.28. The preceding prefixes are monosyllabic, or if they have two syllables, each can usually be literally translated. The following are compound prefixes which have a meaning only when used together; other prefixes may come between the two components. Some of the meanings are very doubtful:

'taxé-(< 'axi-together-ná-back-[ná-]) back in a circle, back completing circle
'álná-(ná-) back and forth
'á-(ná-) thus 10.79–10.80i.
Oi-(< O-ná-against-[ná-]) against ... 10.95f–10.95m.
dini-be stuck ... ing 10.89–10.89i.
di-start against 10.90a–10.90c.
dini-prolongative 10.91–10.91e.
ná-(ná-) back; in cycle, circle; customary 10.93a–10.94h.
ná-(ná-) against 10.95–10.95m.
ní-ní-get stuck moving uniformly to end
ní-ní-start for end
yini-doubtful destination
yini-subject and object have reciprocal effect on each other

10.29. Many prefix combinations have literal meanings and are therefore not listed. Others, however, modify the meaning of the complex in a way that is not at all obvious. Some of these compounds are:

'a-ni- with verbs of dying and disintegration probably has si-harm conjugations; it becomes Oní- with an expressed object or passive subject
'alšá-ní-(ná-) "divide into, divide amongst" (YM 6)
'á-xo-di- "pretend to ..."
dah-di-yi-progressive-continuative "hold up"
dah-forth-di-start from cess. with stems of going, running, and the like, "start forward;", with type (T) stems, "start to move holding ...., carrying ...., start to move forward with ..."

dah-yi-cessative refers to sky phenomena as "flash of lightning, cloud appearance"
daxi-di-, or dah-di- "hang head downward, be suspended in unusual or unnatural position"
di-di- or dahi-di- "move ... toward fire, relate to fire"
nah-down-yi-momentary "drop, fall"
nah-down-'a-beyond-di-cessative "take down from, off ...."

na-xo- "pertaining to earth, earthly, generally supernatural"
ná-di-, n-di-cessative with type stems, "pick up ... from ground, detach ...., separate surfaces of ...." with stem of bodily motion, "get up, rise, move from supine position, show life"
ná-di-xi- (fut. náxidi-di-) "move out of place, move up out of position; turn over"
ní-ki-, or ni-xi- (perhaps from ni "earth"-ki-touch) "edge, referring to earth"
ní-ki-di-, or ni-xi-di- "start for home;" with verbs of bodily motion (especially "go"), "start (learning) to walk, crawl." Words with these prefixes seem to refer to motion or action close to the ground.
ni-xi-ní-(?) with verbs of motion "change position;" with verbs of sitting and lying, "ambush, waylay, lie in ambush"
Locative and temporal adverbs which precede the verb may be closely affiliated with it as to enter into its conjugation as a subject. kó- so far (10.112-10.112a.) is an example; its phonetic character changes markedly in the various persons and aspects. Other examples are: ’ákó-lé “thus it is;” yíná-jcíid “he embraced her” (YM 35); xatsidží “he stood behind him(4)” (NT 186:12).

Locatives in the form of postpositions may be a part of the verb complex. If the verb has an identity independent of the postpositional complex, they are written separately. If the postposition with or without its object is so thoroughly a part of the verb complex that the meaning of the verb includes the meaning of the postposition and would make no sense without it, the postpositional complex and verb are written as a single word:

10.33. A noun may be the subject of a verb as a part of the verb complex:

10.34. A contraction of noun and postposition may serve as a verbal prefix:

10.35. Conjugation is primarily a phonetic matter, the sounds and processes being concerned with only a few of the sounds described for the language as a whole, sounds modified by lengthening, tone...
nasalization, and the relative position of the prefixes. Although for lexical purposes eighty-eight vowels and vowel clusters are listed in the alphabet, only three—\( a \), \( i \), and \( o \)—are primary in the prefix conjugations. All variations of these sounds, as well as \( e \) and its variations, and all vowel clusters are due to contraction, often of vowel and consonant. A study of the prefixes isolated shows that they are primarily of the forms \( Ca \), \( Ci \), or \( Co \), any other forms being compounds. Even a form \( Ci- \) or \( Ci' \)—may be a compound, as for example, \( yi- \) \(<\) \( yi-3 \) obj.-\( yi \)-continuative, or \( 'i- \) \(<\) \( 'a \)-beyond-\( yi \)-continuative.

10.36. Another phonetic-morphological problem is the change of forms like \( Ca \) to \( Ci \): \( na \)-about changes to \( ni- \) in certain surroundings, for example, \( ni\jdo\'ga\l \) "he(4) will make a trip," or \( ni\hisey\d \) "I have made a trip." \( na \)-about changes to \( n- \) before \( di- \) as in \( ndo\'ga\l \) "he will go about." Such changes are perhaps mechanical, but there is also a prefix \( ni- \) end, which changes to \( n- \) in similar circumstances, as \( ndo\'ga\l \) "he will go to the end," \( ni\jdo\'ga\l \) "he(4) will go to the end" (YM 66, 68). The differences may be determined from the stems and meaning, but often cannot be ascertained from a single form without context. Compare also: \( na\hine\'st\d \) "it galloped about," \( n\i\hina\hnil\d \) "it cust. gallops about" (YM 209), and \( n\i\hina\hnald\d \) "he is cust. halted, hindered, stopped" (YM 215) (cp. 8.27.).

10.37. Prefixes of the form \( n\a- \) have several meanings, and some of the persons indicate they are distinct. One means "back, in circle, cycle, or arc; customary;" another means "against"—both require (\( n\a- \)), an inflectional prefix. They may be compounded with each other: \( n\a\hina\hnana\d \) (cont.) "he is doing better than expected" (YM 151); \( n\i\hina\hnana \) "he cust. does better than expected;" \( n\a\hnina\hs\i\g\s \) (cont.) "I am washing it," \( n\a\hina\hs\i\g\s \) "I cust. wash it" (YM 87).

10.38. Such forms oblige one to determine whether the vowel is \( a \) or \( i \), \( \acute{a} \) or \( i\acute{a} \). Usually it may be determined by meaning or other phases of the complex, but it is obviously so unstable that any decision is arbitrary. That the Navaho interpreters usually know which vowel the full form has without any hesitation is an indication that the meaning is determining.

10.39. Of the thirty-seven consonantal forms listed for the alphabet only half are concerned in the primary conjugations, and this number (18) includes some like \( i \), \( kw \), and \( \gamma \), which may result from contraction. Just as \( n \) with an accompanying vowel may disappear, become vocalic, or show its effect by a high tone, so other consonants may be lost by contraction, by change into a different consonantal form or even into a vowel. Examples are \( si- \), which may
become \(-z\)- when preceded by certain prefixes. \(si\)-harm, un-\ldots, undergoes many changes; it becomes \('i\)- in the progressive; behaves like \(-yi\)-repetitive aspect in the future, seems lost in the 3-3 form of the continuative, \(yi'yi\)-, and becomes \(se's\)- in the 1 by 3 form of \(si\)-perfective. The same \(si\)- becomes \(-j\)- in \(djij\)- the 4 form of \(si\)-perfective, is discernible only as a lengthened vowel of \(yi\)-perfective (\(yi'\)- instead of \(yi\)-), changes to \(o'^*\) when followed by (\(nd\)-) \(y\) and is one of the elements of the combination with \(si\)-(\(nd\)-)perfective, 3-3 \(yo'z\). These are only a few of the changes undergone by \(si\)-harm, many of which so overlap the forms of other prefixes in combination that \(si\)-harm has not been previously isolated in Navaho.\(^1\)

10.40. \(dzi\)-away and \(dji\)-emotion, attitude have hitherto been so confused as to seem the same, or irregular, yet the changes brought about by their combination with other prefixes indicate their distinctions, even if their meanings did not. As the paradigms show, the sibilants of these two prefixes undergo various changes, particularly because of other sibilants in the conjugations, not to speak of the influence of other sibilants in the stems with which the prefixes are used. Such changes are marked in the fourth person forms when \(dzi\)-away conflicts with \(dji\)-4 subject or agent. \(dzi\)-away seems to be lost in 4 cust., \('aneidjigoh "he(4) cust. plunges, takes a plunge;" actually \(dzi\)-away survives in \(-i\)-, \(dz\)- and \(dj\)- having apparently coalesced. In the \(yi\)-perfective intransitive the fourth person is \(dzidji'\)-, as is to be expected, but \(yi\)-perfective 3-3 is \(yidji'\)-, showing a process analogous to that of \('aneidji\)-customary, and \(yi\)-perfective 3 by 3 is \(dz\)\(-(\(nd\)-)\)perfective, 3-3 \(yo'z\). This is a very complicated example but corresponds with the pattern of other forms.

10.41. \(dji\)-emotion combines with \(si\)-harm and thus brings about a conflict between \(dj\)-, \(s\)-, \(-c\)- (1 subj. or ag.), and \(dj\)- of the fourth person pronoun, a conflict interestingly illustrated by the paradigms of \(dji\)- (10.121-10.121d.).

10.42. Paradigms of \(xa\)-up out, \(xi\)-repetitive action, and \(xo\)-place show kindred problems. The following examples illustrate characteristic combinations:

\textit{xi}-repetitive action cont.:
- 1 \(xec\).
- 1-3 \(xec\).
- \(xi\)-repetitive action \(si\)-pf.:
  - 3 \(xe'\).
  - 3-3 \(xe'z\).
  - i by 3 \(aye'z\).
- \(xi\)-repetitive action-(\(nd\)-)\(si\)-pf.:
  - 1 \(xá\).
  - 3 \(xa'z\).

\(^1\) Li 1930a, p. 66
10.42. repetitive action-śni-(ná-) “harm” cont.:  
2 -3 yō-

10.43. The examples do not indicate whether a form CV is a syllable composed of consonant-vowel, whether a vowel is distinct from a consonant or the reverse, and the peculiarities and multiplicity of forms may seem chaotic (cp. 3.136–3.140.). The rules of absorption, assimilation, contraction, and saturation worked out from the paradigms show, however, that Navaho is exceedingly regular, very few forms being non-conforming. It has therefore been deemed best to present paradigms as fully as possible, even though there may seem to be undue repetition.

10.44. Another reason for the apparent irregularity is that the phonetic processes are often general, not restricted to morphological categories (3.55–3.75.). For instance, -d- plus a glottal stop and vowel (-d-’V) becomes -fV as a first person dual:

yi-tac we two go prog.  
yi-tic we two touch it with foot  
yi-tol we two float it

10.45. The same result is evident when -d-agent precedes ’V in the -d-agentive form of the stem, as the ’V and -l entries in the dictionary demonstrate.

In reverse, ’V-’V-CV becomes -’CV:

3-i fut. ’a’to- (< ’a-beyond-’a-i-di-fut.-yi-prog.) he will . . . something beyond  
(3) by i fut. bi’to- (< bi-[3]subj.-’a-i ag.-di-fut.-yi-prog.) it will be . . . ed by someone

10.46. There seem to be three ki- prefixes, one meaning “over, above;” another, “security;” and a third, “sever.” One might think that these can be differentiated by the way they enter into combination with other prefixes in their vicinity. This is true only to a limited degree, for they often combine in the same way; for instance, ké- < ki-over-(ná-) against; ké- < ki-security-(ná-) against; ké- < ki-sever-(ná-) against. From these and other examples it must be concluded that contractions with change of tone and vowel are general and mechanical rather than distinctive for particular prefixes.

10.47. Glide Prefixes

10.47. We have noted that suffixes have glide consonants (3.39.); they are probably a result of historical processes. Similarly, a few glide elements or prefixes seem to have merely a combining function.
'a'-indefinite agent may occur if it precedes a prefix, such as di- or ni- with which it may combine. Usually, however, the form is 'adi-', and even though 'a-' is separated from -di-, its glide prefix, the latter enters into the conjugation, behaving like di-start from. The two elements of 'a-di-reflexive are treated similarly in similar circumstances. Since 'adi-self is usually a passive, the resemblance to 'a-di-indefinite agent is reasonable, although the two do not enter into comparable combinations.

10.48. Retroactive Influence

10.48. Contractions may have a retroactive effect on the preceding vowel or vowels. If the continuative paradigm of 'a-' "someone is ... beyond, ... is ...ing some object beyond" (10.76b.) is compared with that of the continuative 'a-indefinite pronoun (10.103.), it may be seen that 'a- of the former paradigm appears only in the fourth person:

1-i 'e'ec- ('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; yi-cont.; -c-1 subj.)
2-i 'i'i- ('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; yi-cont.; -n-2 subj.)
3-i 'i'i- ('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; yi-cont.)
4-i 'a'di- ('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; dij-4 subj.; yi-cont.)
D1-i 'i'i'd- ('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; yi-cont.; -i-d-D1 subj.)
D2-i 'o'oh- ('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; yi-cont.; -oh D2 subj.)

The first vowel of each form has changed under the influence of the following vowel which has contracted with the conjugated prefix.

10.49–10.54. Contraction

10.49. Absorption and saturation have been explained and illustrated; the paradigms will further validate the concepts. All prefixes should doubtless be classified according to their dominance in relation to all others. Such a classification may indicate which prefixes are already compounds, for instance, di-start from and ni-start for, though they have the simplest prefix form Ci-, are almost certainly compounds, probably di-start from-yi-continuative and ni-start for-yi-continuative. The conclusion reached from this work so far indicates that compound prefixes, now seemingly simple, are generally dominant—compare, for instance, the first person dual pronoun -i'd- with other persons in each paradigm.

10.50. When this work was started an attempt was made to present "simple" as compared with "combined" or "compounded" prefixes, but it proved a futile task, as the paradigms show. Pronouns of the same rank do not all have the same position; most prefixes change by contraction, the result depending upon the other prefixes in their vicinity; and some prefixes consist of two element
(syllables) which do not always remain in juxtaposition. For example, the simplest forms of ná-back cannot be accounted for by ná-alone, but the necessary forms include (-ná-), which has been called an “inflectional” prefix (10.25.). (-ná-) of the combination ná-(ná-) “back” sometimes has the same forms as ná-(ná-) “against” (possibly[ní-ní-]), yet its appearance in different settings shows different treatment, sometimes accounted for by the meaning. Still other combinations are those with -ní-completive. I have concluded that ní-perfective is really equivalent to ni-ní-, yi-perfective to yi-ní-, and si-perfective to si-ní-. These double prefixes are the most difficult, probably because they contain so many n’s, which notably influence the tone and the length of the resulting vowel. The analysis of -yi-cessative and -yi-repetitive aspect is more satisfactory, since these prefixes have forms that indicate a more independent existence, for example, future cessative and future repetitive. I am not sure, however, that yi-cessative perfective contains -ní-completive—I think it does.

10.51. We have seen that, though di- of ’a-di-indefinite agent and ’á-di-self is merely a glide prefix (10.47.), nevertheless it must be reckoned with independently because when it gets separated from ’a-indefinite agent, or ’á-self, -di- is the conjugated prefix. Similarly too the components of ná-(ná-) “back” and ná-(ná-) “against” may be separated, but no part is lost, and if a prefix comes between the components, (-ná-) is conjugated, each component having its particular effect on the prefixes near it; the same is true of the perfective elements.

10.52. Morphology shows that the inflective (-ná-) “back” is different from the inflective (-ná-) “against” in several ways. (-ná-) “back” affects only the singular and dual forms of the continuatives and perfectives, whereas (-ná-) “against” may enter into the future and almost any of the tenses or aspects, and is significant in the plural system, as well as in the singular-dual. Furthermore, (-ná-) “back” shows its dominance most frequently in the third person singular, whereas in this and in other forms (-ná-) “against” often results in -ní- from combination with other prefixes.

10.53. The principle of double prefixes, each component of which must be dealt with separately, is further corroborated by the saturated forms of the future such as diyo- < di-fut.-yi-rep. asp.-yi-prog. “he will . . . repeatedly,” and diyo- < di-fut.-si-harm-yi-prog. “he will undo . . . ;” by diní-prolongative which become diní-with the indefinite pronoun, whereas the future has the form ’ado-; by the curious conjugations of yini-reciprocal effect, (-ní-) of which enters into the future to result in a form yidó- < yi-rec. ef.-di-fut.-yi-prog.-ní-.
10.54. In presenting the prefix paradigms an attempt has been made to include as many of the conjugational changes as seem significant, isolating as frequently as possible the simple prefixes. In some cases, however, two prefixes enter so intimately into the conjugations that both must be represented.

10.55–10.58. Position of Prefixes

10.55. It has been demonstrated that the position of a prefix is as important as its phonetic composition, for it determines the result of contraction. The reason -ni-completive is assigned to final place in the intransitive and active transitive is that the type of second person dual of all perfectives is -o-, not -o*h-, whereas in the passive it is -o*h-. From these forms I conclude that the dual pronoun -oh- must have a position in the transitive active voice different from that in the passive. Followed through as consistently as possible this procedure led to the derivation of the first person singular form as perfective-subject-completive, which differentiates it from the passive with perfective-completive-agent. In other words, -c- subject can be absorbed between the perfective and -ni-completive, but although si-ni- may become si-, si-ni-c- becomes sic- > sis-, that is, the pronominal agent -c-by me survives in the passive. Nearly all perfective forms are accounted for by this analysis, which seems to me, therefore, far more satisfactory and consistent with other principles of the language than the assumption that there is a set of pronouns for the perfective different from that of the other aspects.²

10.56. The same prefixes do not always contract with each other throughout the paradigms, but depend upon those surrounding them. In their more complicated combinations the prefixes may be compared with an algebraic expression of quantities within a quantity.

10.57. The following formulas illustrate various combinations of prefixes and the way they contract:

| cont. | 3-3 yi-3 obj.-yi-cont. > yi- (absorption) |
| cont. | 2 yi-cont.-n-2 subj. > n- or ni- (absorption with ni-dominant) |
| cont. | P3 da-pl.-yi-cont. > dai- or dei- (da- dominant with vowel clustering) |
| inc. | 3 yi-cont-ni-start for > yi- (yi- dominant, ni- > high tone) |
| inc. | 3-3 yi-3 obj.-yi-cont.-ni-start for > yi- (yi- absorbed, yi-dominant, ni- > high tone) |
| inc. | P3 da-pl.-yi-cont.-ni-start for > dayi- or dai- (da-prefixed to singular, or contracted to vowel cluster with rising tone) |
| yi-pf. | 3 yi-prog.-ni-compl. > yi- (yi- dominant) |
| yi-pf. | 3-3 yi-3 obj.-yi-prog.-ni-compl. > yi*yi-- saturation; yi-3 obj. retains its identity, yi-prog. dominates) |

² Hoijer 1945a, pp. 198-9
yi-pf. 3 by 3 yi-3 pass.subj.-yi-prog.-ni-compl.-yi-3 ag. > yo- (so many yi-prefixes that vowel is changed)

inc.cess. 2 (yi-cont.-yi-cess.-n-2 subj. > yi-n. > yi- (yi-cess. dominates yi-cont. and absorbs n-2 subj.)
pf. cess. 2 yi-prog.(yi-cess.-n-2 subj.) > yini-

10.58. If the combination of the last example were (yi-yi-)-(n- we should have yini-. That this reasoning is correct is attested by 'i-ni-beyond in the second person perfective cessative which may be represented [(a-beyond-yi-prog.-yi-cess.)-n-2 subj.], or [(a-yi-)-ni-] > 'i-ni-. So regular is this contraction that -ni- of the second person perfective cessative is the test form for the cessative, distinguishing it from the repetitive aspective forms, particularly of the continuative in which all other forms may be the same. If, however, a form equivalent to yini- (the low tone of -ni- is indicative) is found in the second person perfective, the corresponding continuative is cessative and not repetitive.

cont. 3 ni-end-yi-cont. > ni-- 10.100.
cont. 2 (ni-end-yi-cont.)-n-2 subj. > ni-ni > ni- 10.100.
cont. 3-3 ni-end-(yi-3 subj.-yi-cont.) > ni-yi > ni- 10.100.
inc. 3 ni-end-ni-start for > ni- 10.99.
inc. 3-3 ni-end-(yi-3 subj.-ni-start for) > ni-yi-, or ni- 10.99.
i-pf. 1 ni-end-(ni-start for c-1 subj.-ni-compl.) > ni-ni, ni- 10.99a.
i-pf. 2 ni-end-(ni-start for n-2 subj.-ni-compl.) > ni-yini- > ninini- or
   nini- (here ni-end dominates yi- as initial, but yi- raises the
   tone of ni-end when contracted. The reason for yini- in the
   second person of ni-pf. is not clear) (10.99a.)
i-pf. 3-3 yi-3 subj.-ni-end-(ni-start for-ni-compl.) > yinini-. or yi-3 subj.-
   (ni-end-ni-start for-ni-compl.) > yini- (cp. 10.100b. which
   shows uncertainty about the position of ni-end; usually it
   precedes the object, but here may occupy the position after yi-3 subj.
   as well) (10.99a.)

si-pf. 1 si-pf.-c-1 subj.-ni-compl. > sé-
si-pf. 2 (si-pf.-n-2 subj.)-ni-compl. > sini-
si-pf. 3 si-pf.-ni-compl. > si-
si-pf. 4 dji-4 subj.-si-pf.-ni-compl.) > dji-si- > dzi-
si-pf. 3-3 yi-3 subj.-si-pf.-ni-compl.) > yi-si- > yiz-
si-harm-si-pf. 1 (si-harm-si-pf.-c-1 subj.)-ni-compl. > si-ni- > si-
si-harm-si-pf. 2 (si-harm-si-pf.-n-2 subj.)-ni-compl. > sini-
si-harm-si-pf. 3 si-harm-(si-pf.-ni-compl.) > si-si- > siz-
si-harm-si-pf. 3 by 3 (yi-3 pass. subj.-si-harm)-(si-pf.-ni-compl.)-yi-ag.
   > yi-si-yi- > yo- (yi-3 subj. and yi-ag. change
   i- to o-, and o changes y to y) s- > y- is exemplified by the following:

'a-beyond-yi-rep.asp.-si-pf. 1-i 'a-beyond-'a-i obj.-si-pf.-yi-rep.asp.-c-1
   subj.-ni-compl. > 'a-'a-yé- > 'i'iyé-
'ádi-self-si-harm-si-pf. s by 1 'ádi-self-si-harm-(si-pf.-ni-compl.-c-1 ag.)
   > 'ádi-(si-sic) > 'ádiyéc-
-yi-rep.asp.-si-pf. 1 (si-pf.-yi-rep.asp.-c-1 subj.-ni- > yi-ni- > -yé-

s- > y- is exemplified by the following:

'a-beyond-yi-rep.asp.-si-pf. 1-i 'a-beyond-'a-i obj.-si-pf.-yi-rep.asp.-c-1
   subj.-ni-compl. > 'a-'a-yé- > 'i'iyé-
'ádi-self-si-harm-si-pf. s by 1 'ádi-self-si-harm-(si-pf.-ni-compl.-c-1 ag.)
   > 'ádi-(si-sic) > 'ádiyéc-
-yi-rep.asp.-si-pf. 1 (si-pf.-yi-rep.asp.-c-1 subj.-ni- > yi-ni- > -yé-
10.59. The analysis of si-perfective third person transitive active voice, yiz-, exemplifies a further effect of contraction, voicing. In a sense it is analogous to the vowel change represented by yi-perfective 3 by 3 in which yi-3 pass. subj.-yi-prog.-ni-compl.-yi-3 ag. > yi-yi-yi- > yo-. Voicing usually occurs when several prefixes of apparently similar or near-similar values are juxtaposed. It cannot be proved to be due to any particular prefix or type of prefix, as the examples show, but seems to be an effect of phonetic composition and relative position: si-pf. 3-3 yi-3 obj.-si-pf.-ni-compl. > yi-si- > yiz-; this form occurs only with the zero form of the stem. Probably yis-3-3 prefix of a stem complex with -l-classifier is to be explained as yiz-l- > yis-, that is, -l- unvoices -z-. However, yis- of the passive forms, that is, with classifiers -d- and -l-, is explained on other bases—si-perfective does not become voiced with the prefix yi-3 passive subject (ep. 10.117.).

10.60. The following examples have -z- with prefixes other than yi-3 object:

si-pf. 3 ('a-beyond-dzi-away)-(si-pf.-yi-rep.asp.-ni-compl.) > 'a-dzi-si- > adzi-z- "he has ... ed beyond rep."
'á-(ná-)si-pf. P3 'á-thus-da-pl.-si-pf.-ni-compl.) > 'á-da-si- > 'áda-z- "they have ... thus"
da-down-si-pf. 3 da-down-(si-pf.-ni-compl.) > da-z- "they have ... ed down"
da-down-si-pf. 3-3 da-down-yi-3 obj.-si-pf.-ni-compl.) > da-yi-si- > da-yiz- > daiz- "he has ... ed it down"
di-start from-si-pf. 3-3 di-start from-yi-3 obj.-si-pf.-ni-compl.) > di-yi-si- > di-yiz- > dez- "he started to ... it"
di-start from-si-pf.-yi-rep.asp. 3-3 yi-3 obj.-di-start from-(si-pf.-yi-rep.asp.-ni-compl.) > yi-di-si- > yidi-z- "he started rep. to ... it"

10.61. The initial of xi-change position and xi-repetitive action is voiced under certain conditions:

ni-end-xi-rep.ac.-ni-start for inc. 3-3 ni-end-(yi-3 obj.-xi-rep.ac.-ni-start for ni-yi- (with verbs of severing)
i-end-xi-rep.ac.-si-pf. 3-3 ni-end-xi-rep.ac.-yi-3 obj.-si-pf.-ni-compl. > ni-xi-yiz- (with verbs of loading; carrying-rep.-to-end)
'd-thus-xi-rep.ac.-yi-pf. 3-3 'á-thus-xi-rep.ac.-yi-3 obj.-yi-prog.-ni-compl. > 'á-xi-yi-yi- > 'á-yi-yi- "he has ... into ...
Oi-h xi-change pos.-ni-pf. 3-3 Oi-h into O (xi-change pos.-yi-3 obj.-ni-pf.-ni-compl.) > Oi-h xi-yi-yi- "it was put into ...
Oi-h xi-change pos.-ni-pf. 3 pass. Oi-h into O xi-change pos.-yi-3 pass. subj.-ni-pf. > Oi-h yi- "it was put into ...
Oi-h xi-change pos.-si-pf. 3-3 Oi-h into O xi-change pos.-yi-3 obj.-si-pf.-ni-compl.) > Oi-xi-yi-yi-
10.62. Other prefixes may combine so as to voice a prefix initial:

'ə-beyond-si-harm-ə-opt. 2 'a-beyond-(si-harm-ə-opt.-n-2 subj.) >

'yayó- (with -zó- "beat wife")

kel-courtesy-xi-yini-rec.ef. 3 by 1 kel-courtesy-(xi-yi-3 pass. subj. -yini-

rec. ef.-c-1 ag. > Réyóc- (YM 153)

10.63. It will be noted that the prefixes whose initials become voiced in some forms are usually combinations of yi-3 object, yi-3 passive subject, xi-repetitive action, xi-change position, si-perfective, and si-harm, and that n is often involved in the contraction. The Navaho do not by any means agree about these forms. This all seems to be evidence that such combinations are extremely unstable; they are of great importance in speech diversity (13–13.54.).

10.64. The tendency to voice noun initials in the possessive forms (5.9.) may be related to the rule of voicing s as it is pushed toward the stem complex by surrounding prefixes. Compare xai "winter" and dí·yai: (< dí· xai) "this winter." Presumably dí· "this" is a word, but with the form -yai· no explanation would fit except that dí· is considered a prefix, then voicing of the initial and lengthening of the vowel is comparable to the forms of 10.60–10.61.

10.65–10.73. Arrangement of Paradigms

10.65. The prefix paradigms are arranged alphabetically with as much consistency as possible. Since the position of the prefixes is variable, consistency in the sense of the Indo-European grammar is impossible. Explanations are included to show where such inconsistency, usually due to prefix compounding, occurs. The prefix or prefix combination is placed at the head of the paradigm with meanings generalized as much as possible. At the left the personal pronominal relationships (3 "he . . .," 3-3 "he . . . it") are indicated. Each prefix form is followed by the analysis of the combination.

10.66. Some prefixes are "free," that is, they may be used with almost any verb. When they are, no stems, or at best very few, are given by way of illustration. For example, the progressive and future of verbs of motion (active verbs) are generalized forms; their prefixes may be attached to the progressive-future stem as listed in the principal parts, and are usually not listed under the paradigm. Compounded prefixes may, however, be illustrated to show the relative position of the separate prefixes, especially when they produce idiomatic expressions. In the simplest forms, any one of the personal prefixes is prefixed to the stem. If, for example, 'a-beyond

is the prefix and there are no others, . . . -bq·s (inc.) (-bqs) is listed for the "continuative," three dots mean that any one of the personal prefixes is to be inserted, -bq·s (inc.) means that the "continuative" stem is "inceptive," and (-bqs) following it, is the progressive form
to be listed in the lexicon—the means of finding the verb. Classifiers are given with the stem, for example, (-l-bq's) (inc.) (-l-bqs). Theoretically any classifier may be used with any stem; actually a classifier may modify the meaning. No forms have been listed which have not been found in grammatical tests or in context, therefore the classifier is indicated. -l- causative, for instance, explains why a double object, 3-3-3 "he causes him to ... it" may occur; -l-passive causative explains why only the passive forms can be used for the particular stem.

10.67. O indicates a "possessive" or an "objective" prefix when the idiom requires a postpositional form or a thematic object. It should be noted that the object of the stem complex may be preceded by other prefixes.

10.68. Unfortunately the prefixes with vowel initial start the prefix list, "unfortunately" because they have an initial or nearly initial position in the complex, and they are among the most difficult in the language, including as they do, the most complicated of the phonetic changes. The suggestion is once more emphasized that the beginner should master the prefixes yi-progressive, di-future, di-start from, ni-start for, yi-continuative (present), and ni-perfective, yi-perfective, and si-perfective before examining the more complicated combinations. He will thus get a feeling for the position and behavior of the elementary prefixes—the personal pronominal subjects and the aspects. Later, he may learn to compound prefixes by working backward from the stem or stem complex.

10.69. The primary aim of the arrangement here given is to enable the student to find the word he encounters in speech and in reading. If, for example, he hears ya· di'to'á'i or ya· di'di'o'á'i he should be able to start with the stem -á'i which he will find under that form since it is progressive; do- together with the stem will suggest the future prefix di- (10.87.). In the paradigm for di- he will find that the indefinite subject is 'ado-', and if he remembers the rule of contraction he will know that di-'ad- > di'di- or di'ti- (3.41–3.42.). He is also expected to know that -á' is a postposition meaning "to, toward, or for" (7.18.) and that y- stands for yi-his indicated in the lists as Oa-. The form he is seeking will be indicated under the paradigm of 'a-i (for indefinite obj.) future as Oa· di- (‘a-theme) ... -á'i "permit." This means that the compound of the regular future has an additional pre-paradigmatic prefix di-, and one would expect to find the continuative as Oa· di'a-...-'á'h. This example, though difficult, is chosen for explanation because it illustrates several typical points.
10.70. In Navaho, as in all languages, the speaker does not limit his speech to the forms known by the novice, and forms of this type will constantly be encountered. Consequently compounded prefix forms are sometimes listed under the paradigms. They are generalized, rather than specific forms—the beginner should, of course, master many full forms in the form of exercises that cannot be given here.

10.71. Each prefix paradigm is given in the aspects in which its forms have been found, thus permitting the relationship of the verbs to be indicated. For example, if particular stems make an idiom, they will be found in the future, continuative, and perfective. If the continuative is the present, the perfective may be either yi- or si-. If the continuative is the inceptive, it will probably have a ni-perfective. This arrangement indicates the "system"—progressive-continuative, inceptive, cessative, or repetitive.

10.72. -T with the stem to be selected in parentheses, for example, -T (fut.) means that any one of the "type" stems may be used, if its meaning permits. The "type" stems are those without which no one can master Navaho; the most elementary of these are listed in 12.29–12.43.

10.73. I stands for "independent pronoun" of the type found in 6.13.; sometimes an independent pronoun is thematic, for example, I 'a-theme- yi-pf. . . . -tcq' (tcél) "... is left out of distribution, ... is inadequate." Here the third person form is stable, the independent pronoun indicates whether it is the first, second or another person: ci 'i-tcq' "I have been left out when a distribution was made; I am inadequate," or better, "it was inadequate for me" (10.80b.).

10.74. List of Prefix Paradigms

10.74. In the following list of prefix paradigms the third person and other significant forms are given in parentheses as a matter of convenience, since they are most likely to be divergent or test forms:

'a'-indefinite pronoun, theme 10.75.
'a'-beyond prog. ('o--') 10.76.
  fut. ('ado--) 10.76a.
  cont. ('i--) 10.76b.
  yi-pf. ('i--', 3-3 'ayi--') 10.76c.
  opt. ('ayó--') 10.76d.
  fut. cess. ('i-do--) 10.76e.
  inc. cess. ('i--') 10.76f.
  pf. cess. ('i--') 10.76g.
'a-yi'-beyond rep.asp. cont. ('i--', 3-3 'iyi--') 10.76h.
  si-pf. ('ayi-z--', 3-i 'i'īs--) 10.76i.
'a-xi'-beyond rep.ac. cont. ('axi--', 3-3 'iyi--') 10.76j.
  yi-pf. ('ayi--', 3-3 'i-iyi--) 10.76k.
  si-pf. ('axe--', 3-3 'axe-z--') 10.76l.
'a-xi-yi-beyond rep.ac. rep.asp. fut. ('i'diyo-, 3-3 'i'diyo-) 10.76m. cont. (iyi-, 3-3 'iyi-yi-) 10.76n.
'a-si-beyond un... fut. ('i'do-) 10.76o.
cont. (o-) 10.76p.
si-pf. (o's-) 10.76q
'a-si-ni-beyond un... cont. (o-) 10.76r.
'a-si-yi-beyond un... rep.asp. cont. (i-', 2 'ayi-) 10.76s.
'a-dzi-beyond away cont. (adzi-) 10.76u.
yi-pf. ('adziyi-) 10.76v.
'a-dzi-yi-beyond away rep.asp. cont. (adzi-) 10.76w.
si-pf. ('adzi-z-) 10.76x.
'at-ni-(ná-)suffer cont. ('até-) 10.77.
ni-pf. (by 3 'até-) 10.77a.
'á-(ná-)static ('á-, 1 'ánč-) 10.78.
'á-(ná-)thus relatively stat. cont. ('án-, 1 'ánč-) 10.79.
'á-thus prog. ('á-, 3-3 'áyo-) 10.80.
fut. ('ádo-) 10.80a.
'á-(ná-)thus cont. ('á-, 1 'ác-) 10.80b.
yi-pf. ('á-, 3-3 'áyi-', 'i-) 10.80c.
si-pf. ('ánáč-) 10.80d.
inc. cess. ('áyi-) 10.80e.
opt. ('ó-) 10.80f.
'á-'a-thus beyond inc.cess. ('i'-) 10.80g.
 pf. cess. ('i'k-) 10.80h.
'á-yini-thus rec.ef. cont. ('áyó-) 10.80i.
'á-, 'ádi-reflexive 10.81.
'ádi-yini-self rec.ef. cont. ('ádó-) 10.81a.
'ádi-si-self harm cont. ('ádi-) 10.81b.
 si-pf. ('ádiz-) 10.81c.
 -ó-optative 10.82-10.82b.
 -ó-type form ('o-) 10.82c.
 -ó-type form (-ó-) 10.82d.
bi-(ná-)against it, see Oná- 10.83.
da-plural prog. (dei-, 3-3 dayo-) 10.84.
cont. (da-, 3-3 dai-, dei-) 10.84a.
da-down cont. (da-, 3-3 dei-, dayi-) 10.85.
yi-pf. (dá-, 3-3 dayi-) 10.85a.
si-pf. (da-z-, 3-3 daiz-) 10.85b.
da-misfortune 10.86.
di-future (do-, 3-3 yido-) 10.87.
di-emit, start from 10.88.
cont. (di-, 3-3 yidi-) 10.88a.
yi-pf. (di-, 3-3 yidi-) 10.88b.
si-pf. (de-, dez-) 10.88c.
inc.cess. (di-, 3-3 yidi-) 10.88d.
 pf. cess. (di-, 3-3 yidi-) 10.88e.
di-yi-start from rep.asp. cont. (di-, 3-3 yidi-) 10.88f.
si-pf. (di-z-, 3-3 yidi-z-) 10.88g.
dini-get stuck static (di-, 1 dinic-) 10.89.
di-ni-get stuck moving uniformly cont. (dini-, 3-3 yidini-) 10.89a.
yi-pf. (dini-, 3-3 yidini-) 10.89b.
di-ni-get stuck starting for inc. (de-, 3-3 yide-) 10.89c.
ni-pf. (dini-, 3-3 yidini-) 10.89d.
di-ni-get stuck si-pf. (by 3 yidine-s-) 10.89e.
di-ni-get stuck cont. cess. 10.89f.
inc.cess. (dini-, 3-3 yidini-) 10.89g.
 pf.cess. (dini-, 2 dinini-, 3-3 yidini-) 10.89h.
di-ni-ni- be stuck at end ni-pf. (by 3 dine-, 3 by 3 yidine-) 10.89i.
di-si-start un... prog. (diyo-) 10.89j.
  cont. (dī-, 3-3 yidī-) 10.89k.
  si-pf. (dīye-) 10.89l.
-dī-si-emit un... cont. (diye-) 10.89m.
  si-pf. (diye-) 10.89n.
dī-start against fut. (-dō-) 10.90.
  cont. (dī-, 3-3 yidī-) 10.90a.
  ni-pf. (dē-, 3-3 yidē-) 10.90b.
  si-pf. (dēz-) 10.90c.
dī-ni-prolongative prog. and fut. (dīnō-, 3-3 yidīnō-) 10.91.
  cont. (dīnī-, 3-3 yīdīnī-) 10.91a.
  si-pf. (dīnē-, 3-3 dīnēz-) 10.91b.
  inc.cess. (dīnī-) 10.91c.
  pf.cess. (dīnī-, 2 dīnī-) 10.91d.
dī-si-ni-prol. un... cont. (dīz-, 3-3 yidēz-) 10.91e.

na-about, down 10.92.

ná-back 10.93.

ná-back prog. (nā-, 3-3 nāyo-) 10.93a.
  fut. (nádo-, 3-3 nāido-) 10.93b.
ná-(ná-)back cont. (ná-, 3-3 nēi-) 10.94c.
  ni-pf. (nā-, 3-3 nēnī-) 10.94d.
  yi-pf. (nāyī-, 3-3 nāyī-, 3 by 3 nāyo-) 10.94e.
  si-pf. (nāz-, 3-3 nāyīz-, nāz-) 10.94f.
  inc.cess. (nā-, 3-3 nāyī-) 10.94g.
  pf.cess. (nēi-) 10.94h.

ná-against 10.95.

ná-(ná-)against cont. (nī-, 3-3 yinī-) 10.95a.
  ni-pf. (nē-, 3-3 yinē-) 10.95b.
  yi-pf. (nī-, 3-3 yinī-, by 3 no-) 10.95c.
  si-pf. (nez-, 3-3 yinez-) 10.95d.

nā-si-against un... cont. (3-3 yinō-) 10.95e.
On-, Oná-, Oni-against ... 10.95f.
  prog. (yē-, 3-3 yīyo-) 10.95g.
Oná-(ná-)against ... cont. (yē-, 3-3 yē-, yīyi-, yi-) 10.95h.
  ni-pf. (yē-, 3-3 yīnī-) 10.95i.
  yi-pf. (yē-, 3-3 yīyī-, yi-) 10.95j.
  si-pf. (yēz-, 3-3 yīyīz-, yīz-) 10.95k.

Oná-(ná-)against ... inc.cess. (yi-) 10.95l.
  pf.cess. (yi-) 10.95m.

nā-(nā-)again 10.96.
  yi-pf. 10.96a.

ni-absolute 10.97.

ni-uniform prog. (no-, 3-3 yino-) 10.98.
  cont. (ni-, 3-3 yini-) 10.98a.
  yi-pf. (ni-, 3-3 yini-) 10.98b.
  si-pf. (nez-, 3-3 yinez-) 10.98c.
  inc.cess. (ni-, 3-3 yini-) 10.98d.
  pf.cess. (ni-, 3-3 yini-, 2 nini-) 10.98e.

ni-start for inc. (yi-, 3-3 yi-, 3-i 'i-) 10.99.
  ni-pf. (ni-, 3-3 yini-) 10.99a.

ni-(nā-)start for cont. (nā-, ni, 3-3 yini-, by 3 ne-) 10.99b.
ni-end cont. (ni-, 2 nī-) 10.100.
  ni-pf. (nini-, 3-3 yini-, yini-, nini-) 10.100b.

ni-ni-get stuck cont. (ne-, 3-3 yine-) 10.100c.

yā- with verbs of speaking 10.101.
yi-progressive (yi-, yo-, 3-3 yiyo-) 10.102.
yi-continuative (yi-, 3-3-3 yi yi-) 10.103.
yi-perfective (yi-, 3-3 yi yi-) 10.104.
yi-cessative 10.105.
fut. (yido-, 3-3 yido-) 10.105a.
inc. (yi-, 3-3 yi yi-) 10.105b.
pf. (yi-, 3-3 yi yi-) 10.105c.

Repetitive 10.106.
-(yi-) rep. asp.
fut. (diyo-, 3-3 yidiyo-) 10.106a.
cont. (yi-, 2-2 yi-) 10.106b.
yi-pf. (yé-, 3-3 yi yi-) 10.106c.
si-pf. (ye-, 3-3 yi ye z-, yi z-) 10.106d.
yi-with "see" cont. (yi-, 3-3 yo-) 10.107.
yi-ni- have ... like stat. (yi-, 4 djo-) 10.108.
si-pf. (yo z-) 10.109a.
yi-ni-doubtful destination cont. (yi-) 10.110.
cust. (-yi-) 10.110a.
ni-pf. (yini-) 10.110b.
si-pf. (yiyi s-) 10.110c.
inc.cess. (yini-) 10.110d.
pf.cess. (yiyiini-, yin i-) 10.110e.

yi-ni-reciprocal effect 10.111.
yi-(ni-) reciprocal effect fut. (yido-, 3-3 yi dô-) 10.111a.
cont. (yo, 3-3 yi yô-) 10.111b.
yi-pf. (yô-, 3-3 yi yi-) 10.111c.
si-pf. (yô-, 3-3 yês-, 3-3 'ayia-) 10.111d.
opt. (yô-) 10.111e.

Kó-so far prog. (kwâ-) 10.112.
yi-pf. (by 3 kó-) 10.112a.
xá- < xa-(nâ-) up back pf.cess. (xá-) 10.113.

xi-repetitive action 10.114.
xi-repetitive action prog. (xo-, 3-3 yiyo-) 10.114a.
fut. (xido-, 3-3 yido-) 10.114b.
cont. (xi-3-3 xi yi-, yi yi-) 10.114c.
yi-pf. (yí-, 3-3 xi yi-) 10.114d.
si-pf. (xe-, 3-3 xe z-) 10.114e.

xi-(nâ-) repetitive action cont. (xe-, 3-3 yi yi-) 10.114f.
si-pf. (xaz-) 10.114g.

xi-yi-repetitive action fut.cess. (xido-) 10.114h.
icc.cess. (xi-, yi-, 3-3 yi yi-) 10.114i.
pf.cess. (xi-, yi-, 3-3 yi yi-) 10.114j.

xi-(yi-) repetitive action repetitive aspect fut. (xidiyo-) 10.114k.

xi-change position cont. (xâ-, 3-3 xi yi-, yi-, yi-) 10.115.
ni-pf. (xini-, by 3 xe-) 10.115a.

xi-ni-change position prolongative cont. (xin i-, 3-3 yi yi-) 10.115b.
si-pf. (by 3 xê-s-) 10.115c.

xo-place 10.116.

abs. (xo-) 10.116b.
cont. (xa-, 1 xa c-) 10.116c.
ni-pf. (xon i-, 2 xwi n i-) 10.116d.
yi-pf. (xo-) 10.116e.
si-pf. (xaz-, xaz-) 10.116f.

xo-place with "see" cont. (xo-) 10.116g.
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xo-(nd-)place cont. (xá-, 1 xác-, by 1 xac-) 10.116h.
   si-pf. (xá-z) 10.116i.
xo-ni-place start for (xo-) 10.116j.
xo-yi-place repetitive aspect cont. (xo-) 10.116k.
   si-pf. (xo-s) 10.116l.
xo-yi- place reciprocal effect cont. (xo-, 1 xwi-ni-) 10.116m.
xo-xi-(yi-)place repetitive action repetitive aspect cont. (xwi-) 10.116n.
   si-pf. (xwi-z) 10.116o.
   fut. (xwi-do-) 10.116q.
   cont. (xwi-, 1 xo-c) 10.116r.
   yi-pf. (xoc-, 1 xoc-) 10.116s.
   si-pf. (xwi-z) 10.116t.
si-perfective (si-, 3-3 yiz-) 10.117.
-si-(nd-)perfective (-ná-, 3-3 ndi-z-) 10.117a.
si-harm, un... 10.118.
si-harm prog. (so-, 3-3 yiyo-) 10.118a.
   fut. (diyo-, 3-3 yidiyo-) 10.118b.
   cont. (si-, 3-3 yiwi-, 1 sii-) 10.118c.
   si-pf. (sii-, 3-3 yiwi-z-) 10.118d.
   opt. (sii-) 10.118e.
-si-(ná-)harm cont. (se-) 10.118f.
   ni-pf. (se-) 10.118g.
si-yi-ni-harm change cont. (yo-) 10.118h.
dzi-away prog. (dzó-) 10.119.
   cont. (dzi-) 10.119a.
   ni-pf. (dzi-) 10.119b.
   yi-pf. (dzi-) 10.119c.
tsi-uncertain prog. (tsé-) 10.120.
tsi-(ná-)uncertain cont. (tsé-) 10.120a.
   si-pf. (tsé-z) 10.120b.
dji-attitude 10.121.
dji-attitude fut. (dji-do-, 3-3 yidzido-) 10.121a.
   cont. (dji-, 4 yidzid-) 10.121b.
   yi-pf. (dji-, 3-3 yidzid-) 10.121c.
   si-pf. (dzó-z, 4 dzidzó-3, 3-3 yidzó-z-) 10.121d.
to-out fut. (tódó-, 3-3 tó-do-) 10.123.
tó-(ná-) out cont. (tó-, 3-3 tóy-) 10.123a.
   ni-pf. (tóy-, by 3 tó-, by 4 tóydé-) 10.123b.
tó-xi-(ná-) out repetitive action cont. (tóy-, 3-3 tóy-) 10.123c.
tóy-ineherent abs. (tó, 4 dji-) 10.124.

10.75—10.124. PARADIGMS

10.75. 'a-indefinite pronoun, theme

The indefinite pronoun (abbreviated i) 'a- must be distinguished from 'a-beyond, even though some forms are the same. Generally 'a-indefinite pronoun is noted in the separate paradigms where forms of the type i or 3-i are given. Position is a distinguishing feature of 'a-beyond and 'a-indefinite pronoun. In the verbs that have both prefixes, of the type "something is moving off, beyond, into indefinite space" their differences can best be determined.
'a-indefinite pronoun is relatively free and may be used with a great many verbs, or in combination with many prefixes. There are of course cases in which the difference between the two prefixes cannot be indubitably determined.

'a-indefinite pronoun is the subject of the verbal noun or participle which may be formed with any of the stems: 'ado'zq'í (prog.) "love, affection, care;" 'aditci (pres.) "birth;" 'ake'eltci (pres.) "writing;" 'actqí (pf.) "fit, hysteria, being-fire-crazed" (5, 5.72.). In some verbs 'a- seems to be thematic; it is conjugated exactly as 'a-indefinite pronoun.

10.76. 'a-beyond, progressive

...ing beyond is taking place progressively
... is ...ing along beyond
... is ...ing ... along beyond
... is causing ...ing along beyond
... is causing ... to ... along beyond

'a-beyond in the progressive has the same forms in the singular and dual as 'a-indefinite pronoun (10.102.). The prolongative of the type Pl da'íni:d- is used for the plural (10.111b.). Since 'a-beyond is relatively free no stems are listed for the progressive, almost any progressive stem may be used.

10.76a. 'a-beyond future

...ing beyond will take place
... will ... beyond
... will cause ...ing beyond
... will cause ... to ... beyond

Prefix 'a-beyond to the regular future forms (10.87.) and note:

3-3 'i'do-- ('a-beyond; yi-3 obj.; di-fut.; yi-prog.)
4 'a'ido-- ('a-beyond; dji-4 subj.; di-fut.; yi-prog.)
P3-3 'adayido--
   'adeido-- } ('a-beyond; da-pl.; yi-3 obj.; di-fut.; yi-prog.)
P4 'adayido-- ('a-beyond; da-pl.; dji-4 subj.; di-fut.; yi-prog.)
i 'a'to- ('a-beyond; 'a-i subj.; di-fut.; yi-prog.)
   'a'do- } ('a-beyond; 'a-i subj.; di-fut.; yi-prog.)
1-i 'a'dec- ('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; di-fut.; yi-prog.)
   'a'ec- } ('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; di-fut.; yi-prog.)
2-i 'a'di- ('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; di-fut.; yi-prog.; -n-2 subj.)
   'a'ti- } ('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; di-fut.; yi-prog.; -n-2 subj.)
3-i 'a'do- ('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; di-fut.; yi-prog.)
   'a'to- } ('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; di-fut.; yi-prog.)
4-i 'a'jo- ('a-beyond; dji-4 subj.; 'a-i obj.; di-fut.; yi-prog.)
   'aj'to- } ('a-beyond; dji-4 subj.; 'a-i obj.; di-fut.; yi-prog.)
P3-i 'ada'do--
   'ada'to- } ('a-beyond; da-pl.; 'a-i obj.; di-fut.; yi-prog.)
P4-i 'adajido--
   'adajto- } ('a-beyond; da-pl.; dji-4 subj.; di-fut.; yi-prog.)

'axi-...-T (fut.) repeated ...ing off takes place, with verbs of carrying, loading
'a-de or 'ádi ... -díl overeat; enjoy-beyond-capacity (YM 48) 'áya: ... -tál subjugate, subdue one (YM 190) 'i- (< 'a-beyond-yi-cess...) -tsoh dye, color yellow 'i- (< 'a-beyond-si-harm) ... -tlu'l kindle fire with drill; cause dis-integration (YM 115) Oda di-'a-beyond ... -'ál put lid on, cover with round obj.; patch tire tube (YM 2) na- ... -T (fut.) knock ... over (YM 78) yah- ... -T (fut.) move ... into enclosure yó- ... -T (fut.) move off, out of sight; lose ... obj. yó-'a-beyond-di- ... -'ál give up in fight, quit, desist from ... (YM 3)

10.76b. 'a-beyond continuous

... ing starts beyond
... starts ... ing beyond
... starts ... ing ... beyond
... causes ... ing beyond
... causes ... ing ... beyond

'a-beyond precedes all personal pronouns—subject, object, and agent—as shown by its position in the plural and in prefix compounds. Position as well as combination with other prefixes differentiate it from 'a-indefinite pronoun.

1 'i-ci- ('a-beyond; yi-cont.; -c-1 subj.)
2 'ani- ('a-beyond; yi-cont.; -n-2 subj.)
3 'i- ('a-beyond; yi-cont.)
4 'adjí- ('a-beyond; dji-4 subj.; yi-cont.)
i 'e'e- ('a-beyond; 'a-i subj.; yi-cont.)
D1 'i'd- ('a-beyond; yi-cont.; -i'd-D1 subj.)
D2 'oh-' ('a-beyond; yi-cont.; -oh-D2 subj.)
P1 'ada'i-d- ('a-beyond; da-pl.; yi-cont.; -i'd-D1 subj.)
P2 'adah- ('a-beyond; da-pl.; yi-cont.; -oh-D2 subj.)
P3 'ada- ('a-beyond; da-pl.; yi-cont.)
P4 'adadijí- ('a-beyond; da-pl.; dji-4 subj.; yi-cont.)
3-3 ayí- ('a-beyond; yi-3 obj.; yi-cont.)
1-i 'e'e-c ('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; yi-cont.; -c-1 subj.)
2-i 'i'- ('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; yi-cont.; -n-2 subj.)
3-i 'i'-, 'e'e- ('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; yi-cont.)
4-i 'a'djí- 'a'tcí- ('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; dji-4 subj.; yi-cont.)

D1-i 'i'd-d- ('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; yi-cont.; -i'd-D1 subj.)
D2-i 'o'oh-' ('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; yi-cont.; -oh-D2 subj.)
P1-'i'ada'i-d- ('a-beyond; da-pl.; 'a-i obj.; yi-cont.; -i'd-D1 subj.)
P2-i 'ada'oh- ('a-beyond; da-pl.; 'a-i obj.; yi-cont.; -oh-D2 subj.)
P3-i 'ada'- ('a-beyond; da-pl.; 'a-i obj.; yi-cont.)
P4-i 'ada'tcí- ('a-beyond; da-pl.; 'a-i obj.; dji-4 subj.; yi-cont.)

-T (inc.) move ... beyond, off indefinitely
'a-h (inc.) ('-á-l) be tempted beyond resistance, "fall for"
-má-l (inc.) (-mal) bolt food, gulp noisily, (YM 143)
-l-ta'l (mom.) (-tal) round obj. moves forcefully, kick
-nih (mom.) (-nih) milk, do with the hand
-ní-l (inc.) (-nil) burrow (YM 169)
-yó'l (pres.) (-yol) take a breath, inhale (YM 234)
-yeh (pres.) (-yeh) mate (WE)
'a-beyond-'a-i...-'a-h (inc.) ('á-t) sun moves; some-round-obj.-starts off
'a-beyond-'a-i...-l-t (pres.) (-l-tyt) imitate act; cause-some-doing beyond
'a-beyond-'a-i...-l-né (pres.) (-l-né-t) imitate accomplishment, happening; some-change-beyond-is-caused
'áde...-dá (pres.) (-dá-t) overeat; eat-beyond-self-capacity (YM 48)
'áya...-á-h (pres.) (-tá-t) subjugate, subdue one; self-under-round-obj.-is-moved-beyond (YM 190)
ná...-T (inc.) knock...over; aside...moves...obj. (YM 78)
yah...-T (inc.) move...into enclosure
yó...-T (inc.) move...off, out of sight, lose, be lost
yó...-'á-d (inc.) (-á) lose ropelike obj., move fabric out of sight
yó...-'á-dei (inc.) (-l-dil) throw ropelike obj. off, lose ropelike obj.
Okidji' xadah...-l-ne' (inc.) (-l-nil) bomb once; cause-round-obj.-to-move-forcefully-down-over-toward... (YM 165)
Okidji' xadah...-l-nil (inc.) (-l-nil) bomb; cause-several-obj.-to-move-forcefully-down-over-toward... (YM 165)
O-lág'...-yá-h (inc.) (-gá-t) one acts as intermediary for...; one-keeps-off-protecting...
téi-out-'a-beyond-nil-(< ni-start for-[ná-])...-l-dá-h (inc.) (-l-dá-t) fight for survival (YM 48)

10.76c.

'a-beyond yi-perfective

...ing beyond has been taking place
...has been...ing beyond
...has been causing...ing beyond
...has been...ing...beyond
...has been causing...to...beyond

Many forms of 'a-beyond yi-perfective are the same as those of 'a-indefinite pronoun yi-perfective (10.104.); the following are different:

P1 'adai-d. ('a-beyond; da-pl.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.; -id-D1 subj.)
3-3 'ayi- ('a-beyond; yi-3 obj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)
by 3 'e-e- ('a-beyond; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.; -yi-3 ag.)
3 by 3 'ayi- ('a-beyond; yi-3 subj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.; -yi-3 ag.)
(3) by i 'abi'to- ('a-beyond; bi-[3] pass. subj.; 'ad-i ag.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)
i 'e-e- ('a-beyond; 'a-i subj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)
1-i 'i-t-' ('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; yi-prog.; -c-1 subj.; -ni-compl.)
2-i 'i-t-nil- ('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; yi-prog.; -n-2 subj.; -ni-compl.)
3-i 'i-t- ('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)
4-i 'i-tëi- ('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; dži-4 subj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)
D1-i 'i-t-d. ('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.; -id-D1 subj.)
D2-i 'o-o- ('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; yi-prog.; -oh-D2 subj.; -ni-compl.)
The plurals of this conjugation, being repetitive, take si-perfective (10.117).

-\textit{l-\textit{a}} (-\textit{l-\textit{a}}-\textit{l}) substitute, send on errand
-\textit{mas} (-\textit{mas}) weave diamond pattern
-\textit{mal} (-\textit{mal}) gulp noisily, bolt food (YM 143)
-\textit{tá-l} (-\textit{tal}-\textit{l}) move small obj. forcefully, kick
-\textit{nil} (-\textit{nil}) burrow, dig hole (YM 168)
-\textit{yá} (-\textit{gá-l}) one person moves off
-\textit{kai} (-\textit{kah}) pl. persons move off
-\textit{ká} (mom. pf.) (-\textit{kal}) hit, rap, knock with solid obj. (as hammer)
-\textit{yod} (-\textit{yol}) one person runs
-\textit{zó} (-\textit{zô-l}) beat wife (YM 234)
-\textit{sé} (-\textit{sô-l}) tear fabric
-\textit{st} (-\textit{sôh}) cause hafted obj. to move, practice archery (YM 181)
-\textit{ti} (-\textit{tô-l}) snowstorm passes
-\textit{lo} (-\textit{loh}) pull string tight, taut
-\textit{dá-\textit{d}} (-\textit{dal}) rip, tear (YM 52)
-\textit{lo} (-\textit{loh}) laugh (YM 54)
-\textit{dálo} (-\textit{dôh}) be pulled tight; cheat
-\textit{li} (-\textit{tic}) animate obj. falls, moves swiftly

\textit{\textit{a}}-beyond. 'a-i ... \textit{l-\textit{ya}} (-\textit{l-né\textit{l}}) imitate by doing, do as ... does
\textit{\textit{á}}-\textit{d} ... \textit{\textit{dá}} (-\textit{dô-l}) overeat; eat beyond self-capacity (YM 48)
\textit{\textit{á}}-\textit{gá} ... \textit{\textit{gá}} (-\textit{gá-l}) subjugate, subdue one (YM 190)
\textit{\textit{á}}-\textit{gá} ... \textit{\textit{nil}} (-\textit{nil}) subjugate, subdue several (YM 167)

\textit{nahdji\textit{i}} \textit{Oi}. ... \textit{l-\textit{e}} (-\textit{l-\textit{is}}) push aside with foot; move-several-obj.-down-over-it

\textit{yah} ... \textit{T} (pf.) bring in, carry into inclosure
\textit{yah} ... \textit{\textit{ná}} (-\textit{nah}) crawl into enclosure
\textit{yó} ... \textit{T} (pf.) move ... out of sight, lose ...
\textit{yó} ... \textit{\textit{ah}} (-\textit{al}) fabriclike obj. moves off, lose fabriclike obj.
\textit{yó} ... \textit{\textit{ná}} (-\textit{nah}) crawl out of sight

\textit{Okidji\textit{i}} \textit{xodah} ... \textit{l-ne} (-\textit{l-nî-l}) drop bomb on it; round-obj.-move-down-over-it (YM 165)

\textit{Okidji\textit{i}} \textit{xodah} ... \textit{\textit{nil}} (-\textit{nil}) drop bombs on it; move-several-obj.-down-over-it (YM 165)

\textit{Otôq} ... \textit{\textit{yá}} (-\textit{gá-l}) act as intermediary

\textbf{10.76d.}

\textit{\textit{a}}-beyond optative

\textit{may} ... \textit{move} ... beyond

The two following paradigms show the diversity of forms, particularly of contraction, for \textit{\textit{a}}-beyond-\textit{ó}-optative:

1 \ '\textit{ayó-c-} \ 'o-
2 \ '\textit{ayó-} \ 'ô-
3 \ '\textit{ayó-} \ 'ô-
4 \ '\textit{adjó-} \ 'adjó-
4-i \ '\textit{a'téô-} \ 'a'téô-
D1-i \ '\textit{o'ô-d} \ 'o'ô-
D2-i \ '\textit{o'ô-h} \ 'o'ô-
(3) by i \ 'abî'tô- \ 'abî'tô-
The stems are obviously optative, but the abbreviations in parentheses ( ) indicate the stem of the regular conjugations to which they correspond:

- \( T \) (prog.) move ...
- \( -ba-t \) (pres.) \( (-ba-t) \) hang curtain
- \( -bd' \) (pf.) \( (-bd') \) win at gambling (YM 28)
- \( -ya' \) (opt.) \( (-ya') \) one person goes
- \( -yo-l \) (inc.) \( (-yo') \) blow off (YM 233)
- \( -ká-h \) (pres.) \( (-kah) \) make sandpainting
- \( -yeh \) (pres.) \( (-yeh) \) marry, mate (YM 79)
- \( -l-dji'd \) (inc.) \( (-l-dji') \) move carrying on back (YMG 106)
- \( -dlfr' \) (pf.) \( (-dlq') \) believe (YM 52)
- \( -tci*l \) (prog., inc.) \( (-tci') \) stop snowing (YM 36)

\[ 10.76e. \] 'a-beyond future cessative

\[ ... \] ing beyond will pause
\[ ... \] will pause ... ing beyond
\[ ... \] will pause ... ing ... beyond

The future cessative of 'a-beyond is formed by prefixing 'i-'.

\[ 10.76f. \] 'a-\( \)yi-beyond inceptive cessative

\[ ... \] starts to pause ... ing beyond
\[ ... \] starts to pause ... ing ... beyond

The forms which differ from 'a-beyond continuative (10.76b.) are:

2 'i- \( ('a\)-beyond; \( yi\)-cont.; \( -yi\)-cess.; \( n\)-2 subj.)
4 'adj- \( ('a\)-beyond; \( dji-4\) subj.; \( yi\)-cont.; \( -yi\)-cess.)
D2 'o-h- \( ('a\)-beyond; \( yi\)-cont.; \( yi\)-cess.; \( -oh\)-D2 subj.)

\[ -zoh \) (inc. cess.) \( (-zoh) \) make a mark
0- \( ... \) l-xá'c \( \) (inc. cess.) \( (-l-xoc) \) put ... to sleep
lá' \( ... \) l-xoc \( \) (cust.) \( (-l-xoc) \) sleep, go to sleep cust.
láke 'adah \( ... \) l-ne' \( (-l-nil) \) round obj. falls from hand
10.76g. 'a-yi-beyond perfective cessative

... has paused ...ing beyond
... has paused ...ing ... beyond

The only forms of the perfective cessative that differ from the inceptive cessative (10.76f.) are:

2 'i-ni- ('a-beyond; yi-prog.; -yi-cess.; -n-2 subj.; -ni-compl.)
D2 'o- ('a-beyond; yi-prog.; -yi-cess.; -oh-D2 subj.; -ni-compl.)

-\text{l-xa}j (-\text{l-xoc}) sleep, go to sleep (YM 99 has si-pf.)
-l-tci' (-l-tcih) dye red, redden
O...-la-h (-l-tl) imitate, do as ... does
(3) by 4 bi'tci-la-h he is imitated by 4
-\text{l-dæk} 'adah ...-\text{l-ne}' (-l-ni-tl) round obj. falls from hand

10.76h. 'a-yi-beyond repetitive aspect continuative

... ing is taking place beyond repeatedly
... is ...ing beyond repeatedly
... is ...ing ... beyond repeatedly

The forms of 'a-yi-beyond yi-repetitive aspect that differentiate it from 'a-indefinite pronoun yi-repetitive aspect continuative (10.106b.) are:

2 'i-ni- ('a-beyond, yi-cont.; -yi-rep.asp.; -n-2 subj.)
3-3 'igy- ('a-beyond; yi-3 obj.; yi-cont.; -yi-rep.asp.)

-\text{t-lal} (inc.) (-\text{l-tal}) kick; move small obj. forcefully
-nih (pres.) (-nih) do with the hand, milk, knead
-si-h (pres., inc.) (-sih) cause sharp obj. to move forcefully

10.76i. 'a-yi-beyond repetitive aspect si-perfective

...ing has taken place beyond repeatedly
... is ...ing beyond repeatedly
... is ...ing ... beyond repeatedly

In the conjugation of 'a-yi-beyond repetitive aspect si-perfective 'a-beyond is prefixed to the forms of yi-repetitive aspect si-perfective (> the type 'aye-, 10.106d.). With the indefinite object phonetic changes, usually retroactive, occur:

1-i 'i'iyé- ('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; si-pf.; -yi-rep. asp.; -c-1 subj.; -ni-compl.)
2-i 'i'i'yini- ('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; si-pf.; -yi-rep. asp.; -n-2 subj.; -ni-compl.)
3-i 'i'is- ('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; si-pf.; -yi-rep. asp.; -ni-compl.; -l- caus.)
4-i 'a'tci'is- ('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; dji-4 subj.; si-pf.; -yi-rep. asp.; -ni-compl.; -l-caus.)
D1-i 'i'i'yid- ('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; si-pf.; -yi-rep. asp.; -ni-compl.; -i-d-D1 subj.)
D2-i 'i'iyo- ('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; si-pf.; -yi-rep. asp.; -oh-D2 subj.; -ni-compl.)
P1-i 'ada'iyi'd- ('a-beyond; da-pl.; 'a-i obj.; si-pf.; -yi-rep. asp.; -ni-compl.; -i-d-D1 subj.)
P2-i ‘ida’yo- ('a-beyond; da-pl.; ’a-i obj.; si-pf.; -yi-rep. asp.; oh-D2 subj.; -ni-compl.)
P3-i ‘ada’i-s- ('a-beyond; da-pl.; ’a-i obj.; si-pf.; -yi-rep. asp.; ni-compl.; -l-caus.)
P4-i ‘ada’töi-s- ('a-beyond; da-pl.; ’a-i obj.; dji-4 subj.; si-pf.; -yi-rep. asp.; -ni-compl.; -l-caus.)

-T (pf.) move ... beyond rep., load
-de’ (-dah) group goes off one by one (NT 378:15)
-l-gaj (-l-gqc) shoot witch obj.

10.76j. ’a-xi-repeated action beyond continuative

...ing is repeatedly taking place beyond
... is repeatedly ...ing beyond
... is repeatedly ...ing ... beyond

Prefix ’a-beyond to the regular forms of xi-repetitive action
continuative (10.114c.) and note:

4 ’adji- ('a-beyond; xi-rep.ac.; dji-4 subj.; yi-cont.)
3-3 ’i‘iyi- ('a-beyond; yi-3 obj.; xi-rep.ac.; yi-cont.)

-T (pres., inc.)

10.76k. ’a-xi-beyond repeated action yi-perfective

...ing has been repeatedly taking place beyond
... has been repeatedly ...ing beyond
... has been repeatedly ...ing ... beyond

Prefix ’a-xi-beyond repetitive action to regular forms of yi-
perfective (10.104.) with the following results:

1 ’axi- ('a-beyond; xi-rep.ac.; yi-prog.; -c-1 subj.; -ni-compl.)
2 ’axi-ni- ('a-beyond; xi-rep. ac.; yi-prog.; -n-2 subj.; -ni-compl.)
3 ’ayi- ('a-beyond; xi-rep. ac.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)
4 ’adjiyi- ('a-beyond, xi-rep. ac.; dji-4 subj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)
3-3 ’i‘iyi- ('a-beyond; xi-rep. ac.; yi-3 obj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)

For the indefinite pronominal forms prefix ’i- < ’a-beyond to the
regular indefinite pronominal forms of yi-perfective (10.104.) and
note:

4-i ’i‘idöi- ('a-beyond; ’a-i obj.; xi-rep.ac.; dji-4 subj.; yi-prog.;
-ni-compl.)
-l-xan (-l-xaq-l) move, jerk, throw ... obj. (YM 92)
’a-theme ...nil (-nil) dig, burrow, bore hole (YM 92)
xa-...l-t (l-tal) round obj. is rep. moved out
xa-...l-t (l-tal) round obj. is rep. caused to move out
O-töi- ...lah (mom. pf.) (-tal) spring toward ..., dart at ... (YM 187)

10.76l. ’a-xi-beyond repeated action si-perfective

...ing has taken place repeatedly beyond
... has repeatedly ...ed beyond
... has repeatedly ...ed ... beyond
Prefix 'a-beyond to regular forms of xi-repeated action-si-perfective (10.114e.); the resulting forms are of type 'axé-, that is, the si-forms have x instead of s initial. Note:

10.76m. 'a-xi-yi-beyond repeated action repeated aspect future

repeated ...ing will take place beyond repeatedly
... will repeated ... beyond repeatedly
... will repeated ... it beyond repeatedly

Prefix 'i- < 'a-beyond-xi-repeated action to the forms of the repetitive aspect future (10.106a.) and note:

1  'idiye'c-  ('a-beyond; xi-rep.ac.; di-fut.; yi-prog.; -yi-rep.asp.; -c-1 subj.)
3-3  'idiyo-'  ('a-beyond; xi-rep.ac.; yi-3 obj.; di-fut.; yi-prog.; -yi-rep.asp.)
1-i  'idiye'c-  ('a-beyond; xi-rep.ac.; di-fut.; 'a-i obj.; yi-prog.; -yi-rep.asp.)
3-i  'idiyo-'  ('a-beyond; xi-rep.ac.; di-fut.; 'a-i obj.; yi-prog.; -yi-rep.asp.)
-T (fut.) move ...

10.76n. 'a-xi-yi-beyond repeated action repeated aspect continuative

repeated ...ing is taking place beyond repeatedly
repeatedly ... is ...ing beyond repeatedly
... is repeatedly ...ing ... beyond repeatedly

The double repetitive requires xi-repetitive action and -yi-repetitive aspect. 'a-beyond is prefixed to the xi-yi-forms in the form of 'iyi- < 'a-xi-yi-. Consequently the result is 'i- prefixed to the regular forms of yi-repetitive aspect continuative (10.106b.) and note:

1  'iyi'c-  ('a-beyond; xi-rep.ac.; yi-cont.; -yi-rep.asp.; -c-1 subj.)
3-3  'iyiyi-'  ('a-beyond; xi-rep.ac.; yi-3 obj.; yi-cont.; -yi-rep.asp.)
4-i  'itci'-  ('a-beyond; xi-rep.ac.; 'a-i obj.; dji-4 subj.; yi-cont.; -yi-rep.asp.)

Plural: prefix 'ida- (< 'a-beyond-xi-rep.ac.-da-pl.) to the regular yi-repetitive aspect continuative forms (10.106b.)

-T (pres., inc.) move ...
10.76o. 'a-si-beyond un-... future

un-...ing will take place indefinitely
... will un-... indefinitely
... will un-... it indefinitely

Prefix 'i'- (< 'a-beyond-si-un-') to regular future forms (10.87.).

10.76p. 'a-si-beyond un-... continuative

un-...ing is taking place indefinitely
... is un-...ing indefinitely
... is un-...ing indefinitely

1 'o-c.' ('a-beyond; si-un-; yi-cont.; c-1 subj.)
2 'i-.' ('a-beyond; si-un-; yi-cont.; -n-2 subj.)
3 'o-.' ('a-beyond; si-un-; yi-cont.)
4 'adjo-' ('a-beyond; dji-4 subj.; si-un-; yi-cont.)
D1 'i-d.' ('a-beyond; si-un-; yi-cont.; i-d-D1 subj.)
D2 'o-h.' ('a-beyond; si-un-; yi-cont.; oh-D2 subj.)

10.76q. 'a-si-beyond un-... si-perfective

un-...ing has taken place indefinitely
... is un-...ing indefinitely
... is un-...ing indefinitely

1 'i-sé- ('a-beyond; si-un-; si-pf.; c-1 subj.; -ni-compl.)
2 'i-sini- ('a-beyond; si-un-; si-pf.; -n-2 subj.; -ni-compl.)
3 'o-s- ('a-beyond; si-un-; si-pf.; -ni-compl.)
4 'adzo-z- ('a-beyond; dji-4 subj.; si-un-; si-pf.; -ni-compl.)
D1 'i-si-d- ('a-beyond; si-un-; si-pf.; -ni-compl.; i-d-D1 subj.)
D2 'i-so- ('a-beyond; si-un-; si-pf.; oh-D2 subj.; -ni-compl.)

10.76r. 'a-si-ni-beyond un-... continuative

This combination of prefixes seems to be alternant with 'a-si-; little differentiation in meaning can be determined. The forms are the same as those of 10.76p., with the following exceptions; the difference is the presence of ni-:
10.76r–10.76u.  PREFIXES

2 'i-ni-  ('a-beyond; si-un.; ni-; -n-2 subj.)
D1 'i-ni-d-  ('a-beyond; si-un.; ni-; -i-d-D1 subj.)
D2 'i-noh-  ('a-beyond; si-un.; ni-; -oh-D2 subj.)

-l- bí-h (inc.) (-l-bí-t) win at gambling (YM 28)

Oa- (> Oa-)... bí-h (-bí-t) lose at gambling (YM 28)

tí- (< ta-among-ná-back) ... l-dé-h (inc.) (-l-dah) crowd breaks up, meeting adjourns

10.76s. 'a-si-yi-beyond un-... repetitive aspect continuative

un-... ing is taking place repeatedly beyond
... is un-... ing beyond repeatedly
... is un-... ing beyond repeatedly

1 'i-c-  ('a-beyond; si-un.; -yi-rep. asp.; -c-1 subj.)
2 'a-yi-  ('a-beyond; si-un.; -yi-rep. asp.; -n-2 subj.)
3 'i-  ('a-beyond; si-un.; -yi-rep. asp.)
4 'adji-  ('a-beyond; dji-4 subj.; si-un.; -yi-rep. asp.)
D1 'i-d-  ('a-beyond; si-un.; -yi-rep. asp.; -i-d-D1 subj.)
D2 'a-yoh-  ('a-beyond; si-un.; -yi-rep. asp.; -oh-D2 subj.)

-zá (pres.) (-zá-l) beat wife (YM 234)

ná-..., zá-h (cust.) (-zá-l) beat wife cust. (YM 234)

10.76t.  'a-dzi-beyond away continuative

... ing away beyond is taking place
... is ...ing away beyond

Prefix 'a-beyond to the continuative forms of dzi-away (10.119a.) and note:

4 'i-dji-  ('a-beyond; dzi-away; dji-4 subj.; yi-cont.)
P1 'adadzi-d-  ('a-beyond; da-pl.; dzi-away; yi-cont.; -i-d-D1 subj.)
P4 'adadziz-  ('a-beyond; da-pl.; dzi-away; dji-4 subj.; yi-cont.;)

-T (inc.) move ...

-ge-h (inc.) (-goh) ram, tackle (YM 89)

-ka-d (inc.) (-kal) slap; move surface

-l-xa-l (inc.) (-l-xal) club, hit with club

10.76u.  'a-dzi-beyond away yi-perfective

... ing away beyond has been taking place
... has been ...ing away beyond

Prefix 'a-beyond to the regular yi-perfective forms of dzi-away (like di-yi-pf. with dz instead of d initial 10.88b.) and note:

4 'iyidji-  ('a-beyond; dzi-away; dji-4 subj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)
P3 'adadzi-  ('a-beyond; da-pl.; dzi-away; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)
P4 'adadzyidji-  ('a-beyond; da-pl.; dzi-away; dji-4 subj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)

-T (pf.) throw, cast away, hurl

-ba-l (-bal) throw curtain away

tá-l (-tal) kick off (YM 186)

-l-ne' (-l-ne') throw one round obj.

-go' (-goh) ram, tackle (YM 89)
-ka:l (-kal) slap; move surface away
-l-xaj (-lxac) bite; move away biting
-l-xa:l (-lxal) club; move club away; move away clubbing
-si: (-sih) hurl sharp obj.; throw hafted obj.
-djih (-djih) claw
-tl:i:h (-tl:t) sling, throw (YM 213)

10.76v. 'a-dzi-yi-beyond away repetitive aspect continuative

...ing away beyond is taking place repeatedly
... is ...ing ... away beyond repeatedly

'a-dzi-' is prefixed to -yi- repetitive aspect continuative (10.106b.) with the following phonetic changes:

1 'adjij-c- ('a-beyond; dzi-away; yi-cont.; -yi-rep. asp.; -c-1 subj.)
2 'adjii- ('a-beyond; dzi-away; yi-cont.; -yi-rep. asp.; -n-2 subj.)
3 'adzi- ('a-beyond; dzi-away; yi-cont.; -yi-rep. asp.)
4 'azdzi- ('a-beyond; dzi-away; dji-4 subj.; yi-cont.; -yi-rep. asp.)

-T (inc.) move ....
-to (mom.) (-toh) shoot arrow into space

10.76w. 'a-dzi-yi-beyond away repetitive aspect si-perfective

...ing away beyond has taken place repeatedly
... has ...ed ... beyond repeatedly

'a-dzi-beyond away is prefixed to yi-repetitive aspect si-perfective (10.106d.) and numerous phonetic changes take place, particularly because of the combination of sibilants:

1 'adziyé- ('a-beyond; dzi-away; si-pf.; -yi-rep. asp.; -c-1 subj.; -ni-compl.)
2 'adzini- ('a-beyond; dzi-away; si-pf.; -yi-rep. asp.; -n-2 subj.; -ni-compl.)
3 'adzi:z- ('a-beyond; dzi-away; si-pf.; -yi-rep. asp.; -ni-compl.)
4 'azdzi:z- ('a-beyond; dzi-away; dji-4 subj.; si-pf.; -yi-rep. asp.; -ni-compl.)

P3-3 'adadzi:s- ('a-beyond; da-pl.; dzi-away; yi-3 obj.; si-pf.; -yi-rep. asp.; -ni-compl.; -l-caus.)

-T (pf.) move ....
-to (-toh) shoot arrow
-l-gqj (-l-gqc) shoot witch obj.

10.77. 'ati-ni-(ná-) suffer continuative

... suffers for ...
... puts forth great effort for ...

'ati-suffering, when prefixed to the inceptive ni-start for (ná-) has the following forms:

1 'atii- ('ati-suffer; ni-start for; [ná-]; -c-1 ag.)
2 'atini- ('ati-suffer; ni-start for; [ná-]; -n-2 ag.)
3 'até- ('ati-suffer; ni-start for; [ná-])
4 'atidji- ('ati-suffer; dji-4 ag.; ni-start for; [ná-])
D1 'atid- ('ati-suffer; ni-start for; [ná-]; i-d-D1 ag.)
D2 'ati:ho- ('ati-suffer; ni-start for; [ná-]; o-D2 ag.)
10.77.-10.79.

- \( l \cdot \hat{\imath} \) (pres.) \((-l \cdot \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath})\) desecrate, cause injury to (NT 432:10)
- \( l \cdot \hat{\imath} \cdot h \) \((-l \cdot \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath})\) mistreat (Ad 1/49:9)

\( Oa \ldots \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath} \) (pres.) \((-l \cdot \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath})\) put forth great effort for, suffer for ... 's benefit (YM 162)

10.77a. \( 'at\text{-}i\text{-}suffer, ni\text{-}(n\text{\-	ext{-}})\) perfective

... has put forth effort for ...
... has suffered for ...

'at\text{-}i\text{-}suffer with ni\text{-}(n\text{\-	ext{-}}) perfective (10.99c.) has the prefixes in order 'at\text{-}i\text{-}ni\text{-}(n\text{\-	ext{-}}) with (n\text{\-	ext{-}}) taking the place of -ni\text{-}completive, the general effect of 'at\text{-}i\text{-} being to lengthen the familiar prefixes.

by 1 'at\text{-}i\text{-}c\text{-} (\(\text{at\text{-}i\text{-}suffering; ni-pf.}; [n\text{\-	ext{-}}]; c\text{-}1 ag.)
by 2 'at\text{-}i\text{-}ni\text{-} (\(\text{at\text{-}i\text{-}suffering; ni-pf.}; [n\text{\-	ext{-}}]; n\text{-}2 ag.)
by 3 'at\text{-}e\text{-} (\(\text{at\text{-}i\text{-}suffering; ni-pf.}; [n\text{\-	ext{-}}])
by 4 'at\text{id}\text{\-	ext{-}} (\(\text{at\text{-}i\text{-}suffering; dji\text{-}4 ag.}; ni-pf.; [n\text{\-	ext{-}}])
by D1 'at\text{-}i\text{\-	ext{-}} (\(\text{at\text{-}i\text{-}suffering; ni-pf.}; [n\text{\-	ext{-}}]; -i\text{\-	ext{-}D1 ag.})
by D2 'at\text{\-	ext{-}}io\text{-}h\text{-} (\(\text{at\text{-}i\text{-}suffering; ni-pf.}; [n\text{\-	ext{-}}]; -oh\text{-D2 ag.})

\( -l \cdot \hat{\imath} \cdot h \) \((-l \cdot \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath})\) mistreat

\( Oa \ldots \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath} \) exert great effort, suffer for ... (YM 162)

10.78. \( '\text{\~}-(n\text{\-	ext{-}})\) static

The following paradigm is used with absolute stems. Some have a continuative form, others are perfectives.

1 '\( '\text{\~}n\text{-}\) ('\(\text{\~} \?; [n\text{\-	ext{-}}]; c\text{-}1 subj.)
2 '\( '\text{\~}n\text{-}\) ('\(\text{\~} \?; [n\text{\-	ext{-}}]; n\text{-}2 subj.)
3 '\( \text{\~} \) ('\(\text{\~} \?; [n\text{\-	ext{-}}])
4 '\( \text{\~}d\text{id}\text{-}\) ('\(\text{\~} \?; dji\text{-}4 subj.; [n\text{\-	ext{-}}])
   i 'i\text{-}i\text{-} ('\(\text{\~} \?; 'a\text{-}i subj.; [n\text{\-	ext{-}}]) (rare)
D1 '\( '\text{\~}ni\text{-}d\text{-}\) ('\(\text{\~} \?; [n\text{\-	ext{-}}]; -i\text{\-	ext{-}D1 subj.)
D2 '\( '\text{\~}n\text{o}h\text{-}\) ('\(\text{\~} \?; [n\text{\-	ext{-}}]; -oh\text{-D2 subj.)
3-3 '\( i\text{-}, 'i\text{-}\) ('\(\text{\~} \?; yi\text{-}3 obj.; [n\text{\-	ext{-}}])
P3 '\( \text{\~}d\text{\-	ext{-}}a\text{-}\) ('\(\text{\~} \?; da-pl.; [n\text{\-	ext{-}}])
P4 '\( \text{\~}d\text{\-	ext{-}}\text{id}\text{id}\text{-}\) ('\(\text{\~} \?; da-pl.; dji\text{-}4 subj.; [n\text{\-	ext{-}}])

-\( d\text{-}\text{\~}in\) be lacking, wanting
-\( l \cdot \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath} \) be thin, shallow
-\( \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath} \) be an object
-\( \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath} \) be a person
-\( \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath} \) be an object

\( do\ldots ts\text{-}d \ldots \text{\~}\text{\~} \) be firstrate, hard to beat, rival (YM 221)
\( do\ldots y\text{-}\ldots \text{\~}\text{\~} \) be no good, worthless, wicked
\( t\text{-}\ldots \text{\~}\text{\~} \) (P only) all are
\( t\text{-}\ldots \text{\~}\text{\~}ts\text{\-	ext{-}}h\text{\-	ext{-}} (P only) ... are all ...
\( t\text{-}\ldots \text{\~}\text{\~}t\) a (P only) both do, all do
D1 '\( '\text{\~}ni\text{-}d\text{\-	ext{-}}la\) we both
D2 '\( '\text{\~}n\text{o}h\text{\-	ext{-}}h\text{\-	ext{-}}la\) you both

10.79. \( '\text{\~}-(n\text{\-	ext{-}})\) thus relatively static continuative

... is ...er than ...

Prefix '\( \text{\~}\)-thus to the regular n\text{\-	ext{-}}against continuative (10.95a) with the following results:
1 'ánc- ('á-thus; [ná-]; -c-1 subj.)
2 'áníñ- ('á-thus; [ná-]; -n-2 subj.)
3 'án- ('á-thus; [ná-])
4 'ájni- ('á-thus; dji-4 subj.; [ná-])
i 'ání- ('á-thus; 'a-i subj.; [ná-])
D1 'ání-d- ('á-thus; [ná-]; -i-d-D1 subj.)
D2 'án-d- ('á-thus; [ná-]; -oh-D2 subj.)
P1 'ádan-i-d- ('á-thus; da-pl.; [ná-]; -i-d-D1 subj.)
P2 'ádan-o-h- ('á-thus; da-pl.; [ná-]; -oh-D2 subj.)
P3 'ádan- ('á-thus; da-pl.; [ná-]) (?)
P4 'ájdani- ('á-thus; dji-4 subj.; da-pl.; [ná-]) (?)

-l-dá-s weigh more than, be heavier
-l-dí'l be larger than (YM 47)
-l-tél be wider, broader than
-áxonilté-l (stat.) place is relatively wide
-l-né-z be taller, deeper than
-zá-4 be farther than
-l-tsá-z be larger than (of anything not fully grown)
-l-tsoh be larger than (of anything of established size) (NT 226: 20)
-l-lbózi be slender, narrow

10.80. 'á-thus progressive

...ing thus progressively is taking place
... is ...ing thus progressively
... is ...ing ... thus progressively
... is causing ... ing progressively
... is causing ... to ... progressively

'á-thus is thematic with verbs of being, doing, creating, constructing, accomplishing, happening, disappearing, and saying.

1 'á-c- ('á-thus; yi-prog.; -c-1 subj.)
2 'á-:, i- ('á-thus; yi-prog.; -n-2 subj.)
3 'á- ('á-thus; yi-prog.)
4 'ádjo- ('á-thus; dji-4 subj.; yi-prog.)
i 'ó'o- ('á-thus; 'a-i subj.; yi-prog.)
D1 'i-d- ('á-thus; yi-prog.; -i-d-D1 subj.)
D2 'á-h-, 'ó-h- ('á-thus; yi-prog.; -oh-D2 subj.)

Plural: Prefix 'á-thus to regular da-plural progressive forms (10.84.) and note:

P2 'áda-h- ('á-thus; da-pl.; yi-prog.; -oh-D2 subj.)
P3 'áda- ('á-thus; da-pl.; yi-prog.)
3-3 'áyo- ('á-thus; yi-3 obj.; yi-prog.)
(3) by i 'ábi'lo- ('á-thus; bi-[3] subj.; 'adi-i ag.; yi-prog.)
2-i 'ó'o-h- ('á-thus; 'a-i obj.; yi-prog.; -oh-D2 subj.)

'í'-l do
-l-í'-l cause doing
-l-dí'l get rid of, cause to dwindle, destroy, become worse (YM 48)
do- 'ó-dí'-l he hasn't a chance to live FH
-fí'l be done
-nél happen, change
-l-nél create, construct; change-is-caused
-ní say, tell; report thus (in exact words)
-lél, -lí'l make, construct
10.80a.  

'a-thus future

... will ... thus
... will ... it thus
... will cause ...ing thus
... will cause ...ing ... thus

Prefix 'a-thus to the regular forms of the future (10.87.) and note:

4 'áádo- ('á-thus; dji-4 subj.; di-fut.; yi-prog.)
Plural: Prefix 'áda- to the future dual forms,

3-3 'i:do- ('á-thus; yi-3 obj.; di-fut.; yi-prog.)
3 by 3 'áyido- ('á-thus; yi-3 subj.; di-fut.; yi-prog.; -yi-3 ag.)

-í l do
-í l' cause doing
-l-di'l get rid of, cause to dwindle, destroy, become worse (YM 48)
-dí l be done
-né l, -ní l change, happen
-l-né l, -ní l create, change; change-is-caused
-ní tell, say; report thus (in exact words)
-lé l, -lí l make, construct

'a-thus-na-again...-aít, -aít make, construct again, make another
'a-thus-ná-again-dí...-dí l, -dí l create, compose again, another

10.80b.  

'a-(ná-)thus continuous

...ing thus is taking place
... is ...ing thus
... is ...ing ... thus

1 'ác-, 'éc- ('á-thus; [ná-]; -c-1 subj.)
2 'ání', 'ini- ('á-thus; [ná-]; -n-2 subj.)
3 'á- ('á-thus; [ná-])
4 'ádíi- ('á-thus; dji-4 subj.; [ná-])
i 'éé. ('á-thus; 'a-i subj.; [ná-])
D1 'i:á- ('á-thus; [ná-]; -i'-D1 subj.)
D2 'ááh-, 'oh- ('á-thus; [ná-]; -oh-D2 subj.)

Plural: prefix 'á- to regular da-pl. continuous dual forms; note that (ná-) does not appear in the plural (10.84a.):

3-3 'i-,..., 'iyi- ('á-thus; yi-3 obj.; [ná-])
P3-3 'áda-. ('á-thus; da-pl.; yi-3 obj.; yi-cont.)
by 3 'iyi-, 'i- ('á-thus; [ná-]; -yi-3 ag.)
(3) by i 'ábi'-h- ('á-thus; bi- [3] subj.; 'adi-i ag.; [ná-])
P3 by 1 'áda-c- ('á-thus; da-pl.; yi-3 subj.; yi-cont.; -c-1 ag.)
P3 by 2 'ádani- ('á-thus; da-pl. yi-3 subj.; yi-cont.; -ni-2 ag.)
P3 by 3 'ádayi- ('á-thus; da-pl.; yi-3 subj.; yi-cont.; -yi-3 ag.)
P3 by 4 'ádadji- ('á-thus; da-pl.; dji-4 ag.; yi-3 subj.; yi-cont.)

-í l (pres.) (-l'í l) do, act
-lí (pres.) (-l'í l) cause doing, acting
-l-di'l (pres.) (-l-di'l) destroy, disappear; cause to be wanting, lacking
-le (mom.) (-lé l) be, a thing is
-lí (abs.) person is
-í (pres.) (-í l) be done
-né l (pres.) (-nél, -ní l) happen, change
-l-né l (pres.) (-l-nél, -l-ní l) make, do; change is caused
10.80b.-10.80d.

-léh (pres.) (-lé-l, -lē-1) make, construct, compose

-lē (mom.) (-lé-l, -lē-1) make, construct

-dléh (pres.) (-dlé-l, -dlē-1) be made, be done to

I 'a-theme...tcēh (pres.) (-tcē-l) (3 only) be left out, be insufficient for...

1 cē'éceh I was omitted (in distribution) (YM 34)

4 xó'éceh he(4) was omitted (in distribution)

10.80c.

'á-thus yi-perfective

... ing thus has been taking place

... has been ... ing thus

... has been ... ing ... thus

'á-thus prefixed to the yi-perfective forms (10.104.) causes various phonetic changes:

1 'á-, i- ('á-thus; yi-prog.; -c-1 subj.; -ni-compl.)

2 'i-ni- ('á-thus; yi-prog.; -n-2 subj.; -ni-compl.)

3 'á- ('á-thus; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)

4 'ádji- ('á-thus; dji-4 subj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)

i 'i'- ('á-thus; 'a-i subj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)

D1 'í-d- ('á-thus; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.; -i-d-D1 subj.)

D2 'ó- ('á-thus; yi-prog.; -oh-D2 subj.; -ni-compl.)

Plural: Prefix 'á-thus to regular dual yi-perfective forms (10.104.) and note:

P3 'ádá- ('á-thus; da-pl.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)

3-3 'áyí-, i- ('á-thus; yi-3 obj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)

by 1 'ác- ('á-thus; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.; -c-1 ag.)

by 3 'é-' 'áyí-' ('á-thus; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.; -yi-3 ag.)

by 4 'ádji- ('á-thus; dji-4 ag.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)

by 1 'ác- 'íc- ('á-thus; yi-3 subj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.; -c-1 ag.)

by D1 'í-t-d- ('á-thus; 'a-i subj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.; -i-d-D1 ag.)

by D2 'ó-o-h- ('á-thus; 'a-i subj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.; -oh-D2 ag.)

-ý (l-ýl) make, do

-l-dj-d (l-dj-l) disappear, become scarce

-lí-d (l-í-l) do, be done

-l-ya (l-nya, l-ny-l) be made, constructed

-dza (dza-l, -nì-l) be made, done, constructed

-là (l-à-l, -lì-1) be made, done, constructed, created

-lá (l-là-l) cohabit

I 'a-theme...tcēh (-tcē-l) (3 only) be left out in distribution
tcēh...ni- (nì-l) be constipated (YM 31)
tcéh...l-ý-l (l-ý-l) look in vain, try to find
tcéh...l-ý-d (l-ý-d) try in vain; fail at doing
tcéh...l-ý-d (l-ý-d) be made, done in vain

10.80d.

'á-thus si-(ná-) perfective

...ing thus has taken place

... has ... ed thus

... has ... ed ... thus
Prefix 'á-thus to the regular forms of si-(ná-) perfective (10.117a.) and note:

(3) by i 'ábi'lis- ('á-thus; bi-[3] subj.; 'adi-i ag.; si-pf.; [ná-])

-đi-d (-đi-l) disappear

(3) by i 'ábi'liđi-d riddance

-l-đi-d (-l-đi-d) destroy; cause to disappear

10.80c. 'á-(ná-) thus inceptive cessative

do... thus completely
make... thus completely

The following conjugation seems to be 'á-(ná-)-yi-cessative although there is some doubt about the analysis:

1 'i-c- ('á-thus; yi-cess.; [ná-]; -c-1 subj.)
2 'i-ni- ('á-thus; yi-cess.; [ná-]; -n-2 subj.)
3 'yi'- ('á-thus; yi-cess.; [ná-])
4 'di-j'- ('á-thus; diji-4 subj.; yi-cess.; [ná-])

(by i 'ábi'-li-)

-l'-i-h (inc.cess.) (-l'-i-t) do, make completely
-l'-i-h (inc.cess.) (-l'-i-t) be caused to do, to be made completely

10.80f. 'á-ó-(ná-) thus optative

may (let) ... do ... thus
may (let) ... do it thus

The prefix 'á-thus-(ná-) illustrates the rule of the optative (10.82a.) that -V-ó-inflective prefix > -ó-; the conjugation has initial.

1 'ó-c- ('á-thus; -ó-opt.; [ná-]; -c-1 subj.)
2 'ó- ('á-thus; -ó-opt.; [ná-]; -n-2 subj.)
3 'ó- ('á-thus; -ó-opt.; [ná-])
4 'di-jó- ('á-thus; diji-4 subj.; -ó-opt.; [ná-])
D1 'ó-d ('á-thus; -ó-opt.; [ná-]; -d-D1 subj.)
D2 'ó-h- ('á-thus; -ó-opt.; [ná-]; -oh-D2 subj.)

-dj-h (-dž-l) disappear (YM 47)
-l-ne' (-l-ñe-l, -l-ni-l) do
-l-ne' (-l-ñe-l, -l-ni-l) do, make

Oि-(< O-ná-against)...-l'-a-c (-l'-ac) two persons overtake ... (NT 62:19)

10.80g. 'á-'a-thus beyond inceptive cessative

...ing thus is pausing ...ing beyond
... is pausing ...ing thus beyond
... is pausing ...ing ... thus beyond

When 'á-thus is prefixed to the regular cessative forms of 'a-beyond (10.76f.) a retroactive phonetic change takes place so that 'á-thus-'i'-beyond cessative > 'i'i-:

1 'i'i-c- ('á-thus; 'a-beyond; yi-cont.; -yi-cess.; -c-1 subj.)
2 'i'i-ni- ('á-thus; 'a-beyond; yi-cont.; -yi-cess.; -n-2 subj.)
3 'i'i- ('á-thus; 'a-beyond; yi-cont.; -yi-cess.)
'á'- thus beyond perfective cesserative
... has paused ... ing thus beyond
... has paused ... ing ... thus beyond

When 'á'-thus is prefixed to the 'a'-beyond perfective cesserative forms (10.76g), the following changes take place:

1 'i'í- ('á'-thus; 'a'-beyond; yi-prog.; -c-1 subj.; -yi-cess.)
2 'i'í-ni- ('á'-thus; 'a'-beyond; yi-prog.; -n-2 subj.; -yi-cess.)
3 'i'í- ('á'-thus; 'a'-beyond; yi-prog.; -yi-cess.)
4 'i'í-dí-' ('á'-thus; 'a'-beyond; yi-prog.; -yi-cess.)
D1 'i'í-d ('á'-thus; 'a'-beyond; yi-prog.; -yi-cess.; -i-d-D1 subj.)
D2 'o'ó-' ('á'-thus; 'a'-beyond; yi-prog.; oh-D2 subj.; -yi-cess.)
by 1 'i'í-c ('á'-thus; 'a'-beyond; yi-prog.; -yi-cess.; -c-1 ag.)

-li-ya- (-li-né, -li-ni-) make
-la- (-lél, -li-) construct, make

'á'-yíní-thus reciprocal effect cesserative
... ing with reciprocal effect is taking place
... is ... ing having reciprocal effect
... is ... ing ... having reciprocal effect

Prefix 'á'-thus to regular cesserative forms of yíní-reciprocal
effect (10.111b) and note:

by 1 'ó-c, 'i'-nc ('á'-thus; yi-rec.ef.; -ni-rec.ef.; -c-1 ag.)
by 2 'i'-ni- ('á'-thus; yi-rec.ef.; -ni-rec.ef.; -n-2 ag.)
by D1 'á'-ni-d ('á'-thus; yi-rec.ef.; -ni-rec.ef.; -i-d-D1 ag.)
by D2 'i'-nóh ('á'-thus; yi-rec.ef.; -ni-rec.ef.; -oh-D2 ag.)
1 by 2 'ác'-ni- ('á'-thus; ci-1 subj.; yi-rec.ef.; -ni-rec.ef.; -n-2 ag.)
2 by 1 'ánóc- ('á'-thus; ni-2 subj.; yi-rec.ef.; -ni-rec.ef.; -c-1 ag.)
2 by P1 'ádani-ní-d- ('á'-thus; da-pl.; ni-2 subj.; yi-rec.ef.; -ni-rec.ef.; -i-d-D1 ag.)
3 by P1 'ádúini-d- ('á'-thus; da-pl.; yi-3 subj.; yi-rec.ef.; -ni-rec.ef.; -i-d-D ag.)

-sin (pres.) (-sí-d) maintain, retain position; keep from ... (YM 182)
'ayói ... ní (pres.) (-nìl) love, have always in mind (YM 153)
'apá-di ... ní (pres.) (-nìl) love, regard as favorite (EW 108:12)

10.81.
'á-, 'ádi-reflexive

The reflexive prefix 'á- or 'ádi- may be used like other objective (possessive) prefixes with a postposition, in which case it is written as an independent word.

As verbal prefix the phonetic character and position of 'á- does not allow it to combine with all prefixes and it may therefore have the glide prefix -dí- in combined forms. The glide syllable persists over
if other prefixes intervene between the two parts of 'á-di-', and when
it is present, it is conjugated. Note that all examples are passive;
they suggest that 'á' is the subject.

10.81a. 'ádi-yi-ni-self reciprocal effect continuative

self is being ...ed with reciprocal effect
self is being ...ed with reciprocal effect by ...

Prefix 'ádi-self to the regular forms of yi-ni-reciprocal effect
continuative (10.111b.) and note:

by 1 'ádi-nic- ('ádi-self; yi-rec.ef.; -ni-rec.ef.; -c-1 ag.)
by 2 'ádi-ni. ('ádi-self; yi-rec.ef.; -ni-rec.ef.; -n-2 ag.)
by 3 'ádi-o. ('ádi-self; yi-rec.ef.; -ni-rec.ef.; -yi-3 ag.)
by 4 'ádi-di- ('á-self; dji-4 ag.; di-glide; yi-rec.ef.; -ni-rec.ef.)
by D1 'ádini-d- ('ádi-self; yi-rec.ef.; -ni-rec.ef.; i-d-D1 ag.)
by D2 'ádinóh- ('ádi-self; yi-rec.ef.; -ni-rec.ef.; oh-D2 ag.)

'ádi-self.'á-theme...-l-zin (pres.) (-l-zi-l) maintain, protect, keep one-
self from ...

(YM 242)

10.81b. 'ádi-si-self harm continuative

self is being harmed ...ing
self is being harmed ...ing by ...

by 1 'ádi-c- ('ádi-self; si-harm; yi-cont.; -c-1 ag.)
by 2 'ádi-yi- ('ádi-self; si-harm; yi-cont.; -n-2 ag.)
by 3 'ádi- ('ádi-self; si-harm; yi-cont.; -yi-3 ag.)
by 4 'ádi-di- ('á-self; dji-4 ag.; si-harm; yi-cont.)

-l-yé (pres.) (-l-yé-l) one person commits suicide; self-killing is caused

(YM 78)

10.81c. 'ádi-si-self harm si-perfective

self has been harmed ...ing
self has been harmed ...ing by ...

Prefix 'á-di-self to regular forms of si-harm si-perfective (10.118d.)
and note:

by 1 'ádiyé- ('ádi-self; si-harm; si-pf.; -ni-compl.; -c-1 ag.)
by 2 'ádiyini- ('ádi-self; si-harm; si-pf.; -ni-compl.; -n-2 ag.)
by 3 'ádi-s- ('ádi-self; si-harm; si-pf.; -ni-compl.; -yi-3 ag.)
by 4 'ádi-si- ('á-self; dji-4 ag.; si-harm; si-pf.; -ni-compl.)

-l-yé (-l-yé-l) one commits suicide; self killing is caused (YM 78)

10.82. -ó-optative

may (let) ...ing take place
may (let) ... move ...

Since there is only one stem for the optative, apparently derived
from one of the other stems, whose form cannot be predicted, the
stem is given in the formulas and in parentheses the form used else-
where, as prog., inc., etc., is indicated. It is to be understood as an
optative stem, its relation to one of the other principal parts being
merely suggestive. For example, if the optative formula is indicated as di-...l-baqs (prog.), l-baqs is to be interpreted as an optative stem complex with form like the progressive.

The simplest optative is of the type Cö- (10.82b.). Many prefixes that precede -ó- lose their vowels, the initial only remaining, for example, di-ó- > dó-. These prefixes would seem to indicate that aspective prefixes are not included in the optative conjugations. That this is apparent rather than real is shown by the continuative-progressive prefixes yi-, which with the optative become γ-, for example, γó-. I take this phenomenon to mean that aspective prefixes function, at least formally in the optative.

In these forms it is conceivable that a word, which cannot have zero as an initial (instead of a consonant) requires a formal element yi- which becomes γ under the influence of -ó-. Consistency would therefore seem to indicate that the aspective prefixes function in the optative as well as in the other conjugations. I would explain forms like γó- "may he... let him..." as yi-prog.-ó-opt. > γó-, or yi-cont.-ó-opt. > γó-. This seems reasonable in view of the fact that all optative stems have progressive or continuative forms, with the exception of a few which are perfective stems. We should remember, however, that yi- is also a progressive prefix of the perfective, and therefore represents a "system" (8.38–8.42.).

The optative forms of 'a-beyond, of the type 'ayo-, in contradistinction with 'a-indefinite pronoun of the type -ó- seem to corroborate the conclusion. We have seen (10.76b.) that 'a-beyond combines with yi-continuative in a way that distinguishes it markedly from 'a-indefinite pronoun. This distinction is carried consistently through the optative, and is further exemplified in the optative forms of 10.76d. of type -o- when prefixes indicating a system—cessative, repetitive, and customary—combine with -ó-optative. On the other hand, si-harm does not represent a system and it has some optatives of the type só-, others of type so- (yo-). It is reasonable to conclude, therefore, that the optative form depends upon the position of the prefixes with which it enters into combination. If the prefix precedes -ó-optative and no inflective prefix follows it, the preceding prefix loses its vowel (usually i) and retains its consonant—'a-i-ó- > 'ó-; di-ó- > dó-; dini-prol.-ó- > dinó-; ni-uniform-ó- > nó-; ni-start-for-ó > nó-; yi-prog.-ó- > γó-; yi-cont.-ó- > γó-; xi-rep.ac.-ó- > xo-; xo-place-ó- > xo-; si-harm-ó- > só- (γó-); dzi-away-ó- > dzó-; dji-attitude-ó- > djó-.

If -ó-optative is followed by an inflective prefix, that prefix affects -ó-, lowering its tone and lengthening it—di-ó-(ná- > do-; di-ó-yi-cess. > do-; di-ó-yi-rep.asp. > do-; ni-uniform-ó-yi-cess. > no-; ni-uniform-ó-yi-rep.asp. > no-; yi-cont.-ó-yi-cess. > yo-; yi-cont.-ó-yi-rep.asp. > yo-; si-harm-ó-yi-rep.asp. > so- (yo-); ti-inherent-ó-yi-rep.asp. > lo-.
Some prefixes with vowel -i- with optative and an inflectional prefix result in a long o with falling tone, -ó-—Otí-against...-ó-(ná-) > Oô’-; yí-ní-rec.ef.-ó- > yó’-; tći-out-ó-(ná-) > tóó’-; tći-ó-ya-rep.asp. > tóó’-.

If an optative of the type Có- is preceded by a prefix with a high tone, the two combine into a long vowel cluster with falling tone; a process that combines the rules of 10.82 and 10.82a. —'atí-suffer-ó-(ná-) > 'atío’-; 'alttá-away from one another-ó-(ná-) > 'alttáó’-; 'á-thus-ó-(ná-) > 'ó’-; 'á-thus-ná-back-ó-(ná-) > 'ánáo’-; ná-back-ó-(ná-) > náo’-.

If the vowel of the prefix preceding -ó-optative is o and an inflective prefix follows the optative, the result is a long o with falling tone, -ó’-—'á-thus-xo-things-ó-(ná-) > 'áxó’-.

If the vowel of the prefix preceding -ó-optative is -ó- and an inflective prefix follows the optative, the result is -ó’-—kó-thus-ó-yí-cess. > kó’-.

In other words, -ó-optative dominates o or ó as it does preceding i or í.

The forms of the -ó-optative paradigm result from a combination of -ó-optative and an inflective prefix (infl.)—for example, -yi-cessative, -yi-repetitive aspect, (ná-), etc.; the pattern is:

1 -ó-c- (ó-opt.; infl.; -c-1 subj.)
2 -ó- (ó-opt.; infl.; -n-2 subj.)
3 -ó’- (ó-opt.)
4 -dji-...-ó- (dji-4 subj.; -ó-opt.; infl.)
i 'a-...-ó- ('a-i subj.; -ó-opt.; infl.)
D1 -ó-d- (ó-opt.; infl.; -d-D1 subj.)
D2 -ó-h- (ó-opt.; infl.; -oh-D2 subj.)
3-3 yí-...-ó- (yi-3 obj.; -ó-opt.; infl.)

(3) by i bitó- (bi-[3] subj.; 'adi-i ag.; -ó-opt.; infl.)

-ó-optative type form

1 -ó-c- (ó-opt.; -c-1 subj.)
2 -ó- (ó-opt.; -n-2 subj.)
3 -ó’- (ó-opt.)
4 -dji-...ó- (dji-4 subj.; -ó-opt.)
i 'a-...-ó- ('a-i subj.; -ó-opt.)
D1 -ó-d- (ó-opt.; -id-D1 subj.)
D2 -ó-h- (ó-opt.; -oh-D2 subj.)
3-3 yí-...-ó- (yi-3 obj.; -ó-opt.)

Plural: prefix da-pl. to regular dual forms and note:
P3-3 dayó- (da-pl.; yi-3 obj.; -ó-opt.)

eyi-...-ó- (yi-3 obj.; -ó-opt.)

dei-...-ó- (da-pl.; yi-3 obj.; -ó-opt.)

by 3 yiyó- (da-pl.; yi-3 obj.; -ó-opt.)
10.83. bi-(ná-) against it, see O-ná-(ná-) against ... (10.95-10.95m.)

10.84. da-plural

da-plural is a relatively free pre-paradigmatic prefix, but since it enters into phonetic combination with prefixes following it, the progressive and continuative conjugations are given for convenience.

da-plural progressive

plural subjects are ...ing progressively
... are ...ing plural objects progressively

P1 dai'd- (da-pl.; yi-prog.; i-d-D1 subj.)
P2 daoh- (da-pl.; yi-prog.; -oh-D2 subj.)
P3 dei- (da-pl.; yi-prog.)
P4 dadji- (da-pl.; dji-4 subj.; yi-prog.)
Pi da'o' (da-pl.; 'a-i subj.; yi-prog.)
P3-3 dayi- (da-pl.; yi-3 obj.; yi-prog.)

10.84a. da-plural continuative

plural subjects are ...ing
plural subjects are ...ing ...
... is ...ing plural objects

P1 dai'd- (da-pl.; yi-cont.; i-d-D1 subj.)
P2 da'h- (da-pl.; yi-cont.; -oh-D2 subj.)
P3 da- (da-pl.; yi-cont.)
P4 dadji- (da-pl.; dji-4 subj.; yi-cont.)
Pi da'a- (da-pl.; 'a-i subj.; yi-cont.)
P3-3 dai-

   dei-

   dayi-

P4-i da'tei- (da-pl.; 'a-i obj.; dji-4 subj.; yi-cont.)

10.85. da-down

da-down is the prototype of prefixes of type Ca-: na-about, na-down, and xa-up out, are conjugated as da-down with change of initial.

da-down is prefixed to regular conjugations, the future, for example, but combines with some prefixes: dei- < da-down-yi-3 obj.- di-fut., and others.

da-down continuative

...ing down is taking place
... is ...ing down
... is ...ing ... down

In the continuative the forms of da-down are the same as those of da-plural; the singulars and exceptions follow:

1 da-c- (da-down; yi-cont.; -c-1 subj.)
2 dani- (da-down; yi-cont.; -n-2 subj.)
3 da- (da-down; yi-cont.)
D2 da'h- (da-down; yi-cont.; -oh-D2 subj.)
10.85a.  

**da-down yi-perfective**

... ing down has been taking place
... has been ... ing down
... has been ... ing ... down

1 da-  
(da-down; yi-prog.; -c-1 subj.; -ni-compl.)
2 dëni-  
(da-down; yi-prog.; -n-2 subj.; -ni-compl.)
3 dâ-  
(da-down; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)
4 dadji-  
(da-down; dji-4 subj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)
D1 dei-d-  
(da-down; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.; -i-d-D1 subj.)
D2 dao-  
(da-down; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.; -ni-compl.)
3-3 dayi-  
(da-down; yi-3 obj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)
by 1 dâ-c-  
(da-down; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.; -c-1 ag.)
by 3 da-  
(da-down; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.; -yi-3 ag.)
by 4 dadji-  
(da-down; dji-4 ag.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)

(3) by i dabi'to-  
(da-down; bi-[3] subj.; 'adi-i ag.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)

-yâ (~-gâ-l) one person goes down
'a-beyond ...lëj (-thic) one person falls
O----yâ (~-gâ-l) one person goes down off ...; dismounts
xa----l-te' (--l-te') drop sticklike obj. (YM 197)

10.85b.  

**da-down si-perfective**

... ing down has taken place
... has ... ed down
... has ... ed ... down

Prefix **da-down** to regular **si-perfective** forms (10.117.) and note:

3 da-z-  
(da-down; si-pf.; -ni-compl.)
3-3 daï-z-  
(dei-z-) (da-down; yi-3 obj.; si-pf.; -ni-compl.)
4-i da'téiz-  
(da-down; 'a-i obj.; dji-4 subj.; si-pf.; -ni-compl.)
P4-i dada'téiz-  
((da-pl.; da-down; 'a-i obj.; dji-4 subj.; si-pf.; 
dada'téiz-) [-ni-compl.)

10.86.  

**da-misfortune**

**da-misfortune** is a prefix differing in meaning from **da-down** (though possibly related to it), which is used with stems of sickness, dying, disintegration, deterioration, misfortune, and the like. Although its forms seem to be exactly like those of **da-down** in the continuative and **si-perfective**, the combinations may result from **da-si-harm**—there are no test forms. **da-misfortune** is used with singular stems only, **dini**-prolongative (10.91-10.91d.) being used with plural verbs of illness and dying:

-tsa-h (pres.) (-tsa-l) one person is ill, is dying, disintegrating
-gan (pf.) (-gah) it is dried, dessicated
-tsâ (pf.) (-tsâ-l) one person is very ill, one died
Ota----l-ni'- (pf.) (-l-nih) there is an epidemic; misfortune is amongst
... (YM 158)

n----l-kai- (pf.) (-l-kac) be cramped from sitting (YM 116, FH)
10.87.  

**di-future**

... will ...

... will ... it

The future may be interpreted as an inceptive progressive if that is not a contradiction. It is very stable and free; nearly all active stems have a future form. Future and progressive stems are nearly always identical (cp. 12.29–12.60.).

1. *dec-* (di-fut.; yi-prog.; -c-1 subj.)
2. *di-* (di-fut.; yi-prog.; -n-2 subj.)
3. *do-* (di-fut.; yi-prog.)
4. *dijdop-* (dji-4 subj.; di-fut.; yi-prog.)
   i *'ado-* ('a-i subj.; di-fut.; yi-prog.)
D1 *di-d-* (di-fut.; yi-prog.; -id-D1 subj.)
D2 *do-h-* (di-fut.; yi-prog.; -oh-D2 subj.)

Plural: Prefix *da-*plural to the regular dual forms and note:

P4 *dajdo-* (da-pl.; dji-4 subj.; di-fut.; yi-prog.)
3-3 *yido-* (yi-3 subj.; di-fut.; yi-prog.)
P3-3 *dayido-* (da-pl.; yi-3 subj.; di-fut.; yi-prog.)
3 by 3 *yido-* (yi-3 subj.; di-fut.; yi-prog.; -yi-3 ag.)
(3) by 3 *bido-* (bi-[3] subj.; di-fut.; yi-prog.; -yi-3 ag.)
(3) by i *bito-* (bi-[3] subj.; 'a-i ag.; di-fut.; yi-prog.)

10.88.  

**di-emit, emanate from, originate from**

**di-start from**

In addition to *di-future* there are two *di-*prefixes, one of the progressive-continuative system meaning "emit, emanate from, originating from;" the other, *di-start from* of the inceptive system. *di-emit* may be used with any stem, but becomes distinctive: in the future where it is prefixed to *di-future* (of the pattern *didop-*); in taking the present rather than the inceptive stem of the continuative, and in requiring *yi-*perfective (progressive). *di-emit* may be prefixed to *di-start from* inceptive, in which case the latter is conjugated, and takes *si-* rather than *yi-*perfective. The main difference between the two prefixes is in usage which determines the meaning and therefore the stem chosen. The two *di-*prefixes constitute therefore a complete conjugation including all essential stems given as principal parts. The only conjugation lacking is *ni-*perfective. If there is overlapping of function, for example, between present and inceptive, the two prefixes seem to be the same.

Another *di-*prefix (pre-paradigmatic) means more specifically "pertaining to fire;" it is treated like the others, the stems, its position, and the context differentiating the meaning. *di-pertaining to fire* probably derives from *dzi-* (cp. 10.119.).

**di-continuative**

10.88a.  

**di-emit, emanate from, originate from present**

**di-start from inceptive**

... is starting to ...

... is starting to ... it from
1 dic- (di-start from; -c-1 subj.)
2 di- (di-start from; -n-2 subj.)
3 di- (di-start from)
4 djidi- (dji-4 subj.; di-start from)
i ‘adi- (‘a-i subj.; di-start from)
D1 di-d- (di-start from; -i-d-D1 subj.)
D2 doh- (di-start from; -oh-D2 subj.)

Plural: Prefix da-pl. to regular duals and note:

P4 da’jüdi- (da-çül; dji-4 subj.; di-start from)
3-3 yidi- (yi-3 obj.; di-start from)
P3-3 dsidi- (da-pl.; yi-3 obj.; di-start from)
4-i ‘ajdi- (‘a-i obj.; dji-4 subj.; di-start from)
P1-i da’ti-d- (da-pl.; ‘a-i obj.; di-start from; -i-d-D1 subj.)
P2-i da’toh- (da-pl.; ‘a-i obj.; di-start from; -oh-D2 subj.)
P3-i da’ti- (da-pl.; ‘a-i obj.; di-start from)
P4-i da’tći- (da-pl.; ‘a-i obj.; dji-4 subj.; di-start from)
(3) by i bi’li- (bi-[3] subj.; ‘a-i ag.; di- start from)

di-start from may theoretically be used with any inceptive stem; a few compounds are listed.

I...-te’t-d (-teil) release from hand, let... go (YM 35)
‘axi-together...-l-ka’t (-l-kal) chop, split wood; cause chopping apart to start (YM 113)
biv-ë-h...-l-teâh (-l-te’t) harness one horse to wagon; cause-live-obj.-to-
move-in-front-attached-to-it (YM 35)
biv-ë-h...-ni-l (-nîl) harness horses to wagon; cause-several-obj.-to-
move-in-front-attached-to-it
niki-edge-da-pl.-‘u-theme...-l-tës’ (-l-tësi-l) sprinkle of rain, rain in large
sploitches (YM 228)
3 niki’dë-tës’i it is raining in splotches
dzi-away...-l-don (-l-dp-l) shoot with gun
dzi-away...-l-fë-h (-l-foh) shoot arrow
dzi-away...dji-h (-djih) claw
Ol dzi-away...-‘a-d (-’al) hit with fabric-like obj.

10.88b. *di-emit yi-perfective*

emitting has been taking place
... has been emitting ...
... has been emitting ...ing it

1 di- (di-emit; yi-prog.; -c-1 subj.; -ni-compl.)
2 di-ni- (di-emit; yi-prog.; -n-2 subj.; -ni-compl.)
3 di- (di-emit; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)
4 djidi- (dji-4 subj.; di-emit; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)
i ‘adi- (‘a-i subj.; di-emit; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)
D1 di-d- (di-emit; yi-prog.; -i-d-D1 subj.)
D2 do- (di-emit; yi-prog.; -oh-D2 subj.; -ni-compl.)

Plural: Prefix da-pl. to regular dual forms.

by 1 deç- (di-emit; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.; -c-1 ag.)
by 3 do- (di-emit; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.; -yi-3 ag.)
by 4 djido- (dji-4 ag.; di-emit; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)
1 by i cito- (ci-1 obj.; 'a-i ag.; di-emit; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)
(3) by i bi'to- (bi-[3] subj.; 'a-i ag.; di-emit; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)

-ni' (-nih) hurt, suffer
-γi-d (-γi-l) become holy
-λ-dxi'd (abs.) be putrid, rotten
-jé' spit
-tic (mom. pf.) (-tic) be rough (YM 42)
-ti'd (-tile) smoke, cause smoking (di- with this verb means "fire")

'á-self...l-de' (-λ-dah) clean self
'á-self...l-jó' (-l-joh) brush, comb self, comb hair
'á-self...-tőj' (-tic) be bored; self-is-rasped
'i<- 'a-self-ná-against)...-t'é'-(-tél) eat close to the bone
'i<- 'a-i-ná-against)'a-i...sol (-sol) whistle; cause-blowing-something-against-something (YM 184)

O...-ti'd (-ticil) release, let... go (YM 35)
Oi<- O-ná-against)...l-tq' (-l-tql) break brittle obj. (as dish)
Oi<- O-ná-against)...l-tí' (-l-tih) lay rope against...
Oi<- O-ná-against)...li'd (-tile) scorch, brown in pan (as food, fat)
dah...-kq'á' (-kq'il) be cramped in body (FH)
dé- (< di-fire-ná-again)...l-djé' (-l-djah) build fire again (YM 75)
... di...-ná'd (-mad) have feeling of...
ñ...-tó-d (-sol) become ragged, tattered (YM 205)
niki-edge-da-pl...l-tsí' (-l-tsíl) rain splotches, there is a sprinkle of big raindrops (YM 228)
yó'-a-beyond...'-d' (-'d') quit, give up... (YM 3)
xa-out...l-tee'd (-l-tecil) do hand-trembling (FH)

10.88b. di-start from si-perfective

...ing has started
starting has taken place...ing
... has started to...
... has started to... it

Many forms of di-start from si-perfective are the same as those of si-perfective with d instead of s initial. However, the full paradigm is given to show the contractions and to indicate the influence of position:

1 dé- (di-start from; si-pf.; -c-1 subj.; ni-compl.)
2 dini- (di-start from; si-pf.; -n-2 subj.; ni-compl.)
3 de-
dez- } (di-start from; si-pf.; ni-compl.)
4 dji-de-
dzidez- } (dji-4 subj.; di-start from; si-pf.; ni-compl.)
i 'ade-
'adez- } ('a-i subj.; di-start from; si-pf.; ni-compl.)
D1 di-d. (di-start from; si-pf.; ni-compl.; -i-D-D1 subj.)
D2 do- (di-start from; si-pf.; -oh-D2 subj.; ni-compl.)
P4 dazde- (da-pl; dji-4 subj.; di-start from; si-pf.; ni-compl.)
Pi da'te- (da-pl; 'a-i subj.; di-start from; si-pf.; ni-compl.)
3-i 'adez- ('a-i obj.; di-start from; si-pf.; ni-compl.)
4-i 'azde-
'azdez- } ('a-i obj.; dji-4 subj.; di-start from; si-pf.; ni-compl.)
P1-i da'ti-d- (da-pl; 'a-i obj.; di-start from; si-pf.; ni-compl.)
10.88d.  di-start from inceptive cessative

there is pausing starting . . . ing
. . . starts to pause . . . ing
. . . starts to pause . . . ing . .

di-start from with yi-cessative becomes di- and is treated like yi-yi-inceptive cessative with d instead of y initial (10.105b.). The prefixes are used with the customary or inceptive cessative stem. Note:

3-3 yidi- (yi-3 obj.; di-start from-yi-cess.)

-tdah (-tdih) stun, render powerless (BS)

'i- (< 'a-self-ná-against)-n- (< ná-cust.)-< (< 'a-theme) . . . -l'-ñ-ñ (cust.)
(l'-ñ-ñ) make something of oneself (YM 160)

Ot- (< O-ná-against) . . . -l-ka'-ñ (l-kañ) support with determination; stand behind . . .

Ot- (< O-ná-against) . . . -tsé-ñ (-tsih) point sticklike obj. at definite point (as on a chart) (FH cp. YM 227)

Ot- (< O-ná-against) . . . -l-dje'-ñ (-l-djah) solder, weld, glue to . . .; cause to adhere to . . . (YM 105)
Oti-(< O-ná-against) -ni-(< ná-)cust. ... -tsih (-tsih) point sticklike obj. at definite point cust. (FH)
dah-forth... T (inc.cess.) start forward
dah-forth-ñ-(< ná-)cust. ... T (cust.) start forward cust.
na-about... l-ka-l (-l-kal) play shiny; hit hard obj. about
ná-up... T (inc.cess.) pick ... up
ná-end... l-dje-h (-l-djah) lay fuel, make a fire (WE)
ni-(< ná-against)... l-táin (-l-táj-l) give a punch (YM 224)
ní-(< ná-against)ñá-cust. ... l-táj-h (-l-táj-l) punch cust. (YM 148, 224)
ní-(< ná-cust.)ná-up-yi-change pos... -ta' (-tal) jump up from sitting or reclining position (YM 185)

Oki... l-tci-d (-l-tci) put thumbprint on (YM 35)
Oki-ñ-(< 'a-beyond)... -dla-á (-dla-) sun shines on... (YM 52)
Oki-ñ-(< ná-cust.)... l-tci' (-l-tci) put thumbprint on cust. (YM 35)
Oki-ñ-(< ná-cust.>) ... (-< 'a-beyond)... -dla' (-dla) sun cust. shines on...

3-3 yizá kí-di-ní-h he is strangling him with hands

Ozá kí-(< kí-over-ná-against)... -ni-h (-nih) strangle with hands

Oki-xo-things... -a-h (-'a-l) accuse ... cust. (YM 2)
4 bikixoñ'di-a-h he(4) is accusing him
xa-out-ní-(< ná-cust.)ná-back... -tj-h (-tj-l) dress cust.

Ozá kí-(< kí-over-ná-against)... -le-h (-loh) strangle with rope (YM 137)
Ozá kí-(< kí-over-ná-against)-ñ-(< ná-cust.)... -nih (-nih) strangle with hands cust. (YM 157)
Ozá kí-(< kí-over-ná-against)-ñ-(< ná-cust.)... -dloh (-dloh) strangle with rope cust. (YM 137)

10.88c. di-start from, emit perfective cessative
starting has paused ... ing
... has paused starting ... ing
... has paused starting ... ing ...

The perfective cessative of di-start from has the same forms as yi-pause perfective cessative with d instead of y initial (10.105c.).

Note:

3-3 yidi-... (yi-3 obj.; di-start from; -yi-cess.)

-tlé- (tloah) yawn (YM 38)
-ltáh (-tláh) stop, stun, render powerless, paralyze (BS)

'axi-(< 'axi-together-ná-against)... -táh (abs.) colors run
\'álná-opposite-Öt-(< O-ná-against)... -'á (abs.) have a branch, projection on each side (usually of corn) (NT 182: 3)
\'i-(< 'á-self-ná-against)<(-< 'a-theme)... -ya' (-nél) make self..., make something of oneself (YM 160)
Oí-(< O-ná-against)... l-á (abs.) projection at particular point of ...

Oí-(< O-ná-against)... l-dje' (-l-djah) solder, weld, glue; cause to adhere (YM 105, HM)
Oí-(< O-ná-against)... -táh (abs.) solid, liquid absorbs taste

dah-forth... -ydá (-gdá-l) one starts off (YM 64)

ti-suffering... l-ya' (-nél... -ná-l) be wounded (YM 160)
níki... -yá (-gdá-l) one person learns to walk (as baby) (YM 63)

Okí-over... l-tci'd (-l-tci) put thumbmark on ... (YM 35)
Okì-over-\(<\) 'a-beyond)\ldots dlá-d (-dlá) sun shines on \ldots (YM 52)
Okì-over-zo-things\ldots ́q (\’á-l) accuse
xa-out-ná-again\ldots dza-h (-nìt, -nì-l) dress again
Ozá kì-(\(<\) kì-over-ná-against)\ldots nì’ (-nìh) strangle with hands
(YM 157)
Ozá kì-\((<\) kì-over-ná-against)\ldots lo’ (-loh) strangle with rope (YM 137)
ná\ldots T (pf.) pick \ldots up
3-1 nácidì-úlah he picked me up (EW 116:24)

10.88f. \textit{di}-yi-start from repetitive aspect continuative

\ldots ing starts from repeatedly
\ldots repeatedly starts \ldots ing from
\ldots repeatedly starts \ldots ing \ldots from

di-start from with \textit{yi}-repetitive aspect continuative becomes \textit{di}-
and has forms like \textit{yi}-repetitive aspect continuative with \textit{d} instead of \textit{y} initial (10.106b.). Note:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{4} dji\text{á}- (dji-4 subj.; \textit{di}-start from; \textit{yi-rep.asp.})
  \item i \textit{a}di\text{á}- (\’a-i subj.; \textit{di}-start from; \textit{yi-rep.asp.})
  \item Pi da\text{á}tí- (da-pl.; \’a-i subj.; \textit{di}-start from; \textit{yi-rep.asp.})
  \item 4-i \textit{aj}di\text{á}- (\’a-i obj.; dji-4 subj.; \textit{di}-start from; \textit{yi-rep.asp.})
  \item D2-i \textit{a}di\text{á}yoh- (\’a-i obj.; \textit{di}-start from; \textit{yi-rep.asp.; -oh-D2 subj.)}
  \item P1-i da\text{á}yi\text{á}d- (da-pl.; \’a-i obj.; \textit{di}-start from; \textit{yi-rep.asp.; -i-d-D1 subj.)}
  \item P2-i da\text{á}yoh- (da-pl.; \’a-i obj.; \textit{di}-start from; \textit{yi-rep.asp.; -oh-D2 subj.)
  \item P3-i da\text{á}tí- (da-pl.; \’a-i obj.; \textit{di}-start from; \textit{yi-rep.asp.)}
  \item P4-i da\text{á}tí- (da-pl.; dji-4 subj.; \’a-i obj.; \textit{di}-start from; \textit{yi-rep.asp.)
  \item \textbf{-a}c (inc.) \(\(<\) 'ac two persons go
  \item \textbf{-dá} (inc.) \(\(<\) dát one person goes
  \item \textbf{-l-dp} (pres.) \(\(<\) dpl explode
  \item \textbf{-go}h (mom.) \(\(<\) goh plunge, bump, hit falling
  \item \textbf{-ka}h (inc.) \(\(<\) kah plural persons go
  \item \textbf{-yá}h (inc.) \(\(<\) gát one person goes
  \item \textbf{-l-yed} (inc.) \(\(<\) yot one runs
  \item \textbf{-l-xí} (mom.) \(\(<\) xít cause melting
  \item \textbf{-lka} (mom.) \(\(<\) tét hear
  \item \textbf{-lid} (pres.) \(\(<\) tit smoke; cause smoking
  \item \textbf{d}-\ldots l-tlá-d (inc.) \(\(<\) tlít light, kindle, cause to flame
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
  \item Okì-over \textit{a}-beyond\ldots dlá-d (pres.) \(\(<\) dlat sun shines on \ldots (YM 52)
  \item \textit{xi-rep.ac.} \ldots T (inc.) repeatedly start \ldots ing repeatedly
  \item \textit{xi-rep.ac.-yá}h (inc.) \(\(<\) gát one person goes
  \item \textit{xi-rep.ac.-l-tf}h (inc.) \(\(<\) tfí sound
  \item \textit{xi-rep.ac.-t}lì\text{á}d (inc.) \(\(<\) tlít move separate obj. forcefully; separate
  \item \textit{obj. fall
  \item \textit{xi-rep.ac.-z-(<} dzí-away)\ldots l-td (inc.) \(\(<\) tlc flip away
  \item \textit{xi-rep.ac.-z-(<} dzí-away)\ldots ka-d (inc.) \(\(<\) kal slap away
  \item \textit{xo-place} \ldots l-tf (inc.) \(\(<\) tfí rain
\end{itemize}

10.88g. \textit{di}-yi-start from repetitive aspect \textit{si}-perfective

\begin{itemize}
  \item repeated starting from \ldots ing took place
  \item \ldots ing has repeatedly started \ldots ing from
  \item \ldots has repeatedly started \ldots ing \ldots from
\end{itemize}

Prefix \textit{di}-start from to regular \textit{si}-perfective forms of \textit{yi}-repetitive
aspect with \textit{d} instead of \textit{y} initial (10.106d.) Note:
2 dí-ní-
díyini-  
(ði-start from; si-pf.; -n-2 subj.; -yi-rep.asp.; -ni-compl.)

4 dįjidi-
dxidìi-z  
(ðji-4 subj.; ði-start from; si-pf.; -yi-rep.asp.; -ni-compl.)

3-3 yidi-
by 1 dįyèc-  
(by 3 dį-x-  
(di-start from; si-pf.; -yi-rep.asp.; -ni-compl.; -c-1 ag.)

-dįt (-bic) braid
-yá (gá-t') one person goes
-goh (goh) bump, plunge, hit falling
-l-yod (-l-yol) one person runs
-dzá (-dá-l) one person goes
-dzįz (-dzį-z) be tugged at, jerked

D1 by 3 nįjidi-sdįz we were jerked (in car)

xį-rep.ac. ... l-tă' (l-tă'-l) sound; cause to hear (YM 222)

10.89. díni- get stuck static

... is stuck

díni- be stuck is a compound prefix treated like ni-absolute (10.97.),
the difference being that in the third persons dí- absorbs -ni- to
form the following. Otherwise dí- is prefixed to the static prefixes:

3 dí-  
(ði-ni-)

4 dįjidi-
by 1 dįyèc-
by 3 dį-x-

-nįh (stat.) (-nih) hurt, be sore, injured (YM 158)
-giz (stat.) (-gis) be crooked, twisted (YM 86)
-γin (stat.) (-gį-l) be holy, supernatural
  blu blu be 'eįjįvin sound blu blu blu makes one holy (JS)
-l-yo' (l-yol) be fleet (YM 84)
-l-zin (-l-zį-l) be held sacred
-dzįn (-dzį-l) be sacrilegious
-tsįs (-tsįs) shake, quiver, tremble from nervousness, fright
-dįjá'd (stat.) be fleet
-djo-l (-djoł) be ballike, round; stocky, "chunky" (WM)
-ṭlé' (stat.) be wet
-tlľd (stat.) (-tlįl) tremble from weakness, be overpowered

'á-thus xo-things... l-tšį-d (abs.) be normal (FH)
Oe: xo... l-tšį-d (abs.) subsist on it (YM 221)
Oį-h ni-end... l-yo' (mom.) (-l-yol) get stuck running into ... (FH, WM)
dah... tsįs shiver from cold (YM 230)
tálah... l-tšéhé be alone
ni... l-yè-d (pres., inc.) (-l-yol) lose race (FH), be about to get stuck
running (WM)
Oke... ni-h (-nih) get angry on account of ... (YM 158)

10.89a. díni-get stuck continuative

uniform...ing is halted
... got stuck while ...ing uniformly
The continuative of di-ni-get stuck is treated like ni-uniform (10.98a.) with the present stem, that is, di- is prefixed to the regular ni-uniform continuative. The following show the differences in the position of prefixes:

4 djidini- (dji-4 subj.; di-ni-get stuck)
3-3 yidini- (yi-3 obj.; di-ni-get stuck)

- T (mom., pres.) get stuck...ing
- l-bah (pres.) (-l-bah) be grayish
- bji'h (pres.) (-bji'l) pl. animate obj. sit
- l-gah (pres.) (-l-gah) be whitish, cream-colored
- gic (pres.) (-gic) rub, be rubbed with (NT 418:20)
- yic (pres.) (-yic) rumple, rub washing, shred inner bark (NT 278:22)
- l-yo' (mom.) (-l-yol) one person is a fast runner, one is fleet
- l-tsoh (pres.) (-l-tsoh) be yellowish, orange-colored (YM 231)
- l-jin (pres.) (-l-jil) be blackish, dark brown (YM 106)
- djii'd (pres.) (-dji'l) be fleet, swift
- l-cti-h (pres.) (-l-ctih) be pink, reddish; vegetation is dried, brownish

'T-a-beyond... .l-yo' (mom.) (-l-yol) be stuck (as car in mud, sand) (YM 84)
'tati-suffer... -dle'h (pres.) (-dle'l) be overcome with joy, cry incoherently with joy
Oi'h 'a-beyond... .l-ye'd (pres.) (-l-yol) one is stuck while running; car is stuck in... (YM 84)
tcil-out-nau-cust.-xo-things... -l-nih (cust.) (-l-nih) blunder cust. while relating story, imparting news; accidentally give away a secret (YM 154)

10.89b. di-ni-get stuck yi-perfective

uniform...ing has halted
... has got stuck...ing uniformly

The yi-perfective of di-ni-get stuck moving uniformly is like that of ni-uniform-yi-perfective, that is, di- is prefixed to the prefixes of 10.98b.

- gij (-gic) be stuck crouching
- gi.j (-gic) be rumpled by
- yij (-yic) rumple
'a-beyond... .l-yod (-l-yol) one gets stuck running (WM)
'a'. .l-ni' (-l-nih) get hand stuck in hole (WM)
Ot'h... .l-yod (-l-yol) car got stuck in... (YMG 65)
Ot'h 'a-theme... -yij' (-yij'l) infect, eat into...
yah'a-beyond... -dzá (-dá'l) one person goes in and stays
tci-out-xo-things... -l-ne' (-l-nih) blunder while speaking (YM 155)

10.89c. di-ni-get stuck inceptive

... got stuck on the way

di-ni-get stuck inceptive differs from di-ni-continuative (10.89b.) in that it combines with ni-start for instead of with ni-uniform and is used with the inceptive instead of with the present (or momentary)
stem. The paradigm is given to show the differences in the combinations of prefixes:

1. dinic- (di-ni-get stuck; ni-start for; -c-1 subj.)
2. dini- (di-ni-get stuck; ni-start for; -n-2 subj.)
3. de- (di-ni-get stuck; ni-start for)
4. dje-de- (dji-4 subj.; di-ni-get stuck; ni-start for)
D1. dini-d- (di-ni-get stuck; ni-start for; -i-d-D1 subj.)
D2. dino- (di-ni-get stuck; ni-start for; -oh-D2 subj.)
3-3. yide- (yi-3 obj.; di-ni-get stuck; ni-start for)

(3) by b’le-t (bi-[3] subj.; ’a-i ag.; di-ni-get stuck; ni-start for)

Oa· . . . T (inc.) hand . . . to . . .
Oa· . . . ’a-h (inc.) (-’a-l) let it go, cancel debt, forgive, assign . . . to . . .
turn . . . over to . . ., come to an agreement about . . . (FH)
Oa· ’a-theme . . . ’a-h (inc.) (-’a-l) permit . . . to . . .
’q’ . . . ’a-theme (-’a-l) open door and be unable to close it
’q’ . . . ni-l (inc.) (-nil) take down bars of fence and be unable to get
them back
’q’ . . . lè-h (inc.) (-lè-l) open wire gate, or pair of doors or windows and be
unable to close them
Oe· Oá . . . ’a-h (inc.) (-’a-l) give paper permit to . . . (FH)
Oda· ’a-beyond-di-get stuck ’a-theme-ni-start for . . . ’a-h (inc.) (-’a-l)
cork or lid is stuck in . . .
Oá· . . . ’a-h (inc.) (-’a-l) give in to . . . in fight (YM3)
Oá· ’a-self . . . ’a-h (inc.) (-tâ-l) give self up in fight (YM 3)
na·nic Oa· . . . ’a-h (inc.) (-’a-l) hire
ni-end . . . l-ës (inc.) (-l-ës) take a step, step off distance (YM 104)
ni-end . . . tâ-h (inc.) (-tâ-l) save . . .
ni-end . . . l-nil (inc.) (-l-nil) place hands (WM)
niki-edge . . . l-ës (inc.) (-l-ës) step down onto surface
ntsii. . . . ge-h (inc.) (-goh) kneel (YM 89)
Oya di-get stuck ’a-theme-ni-start for . . . tâ-h (-tâ-l) make . . .
xa-O . . . l-ë (inc.) (-l-ëi) uncover deception, be caught in the act
of . . . (YM 102)
Odâ-tah . . . l-tal (inc.) (-l-tal) trip with the foot
têi-out . . . l-dlo-h (inc.) (-l-dloh) start to smile (FH)
têi-out-nilâ-tb’-theme . . . l-nalâ-d (inc.) (-l-dlat) sun breaks out of
clouds (YM 52)
Ol’a-xa (< ’xa-ax for each other) di-get stuck ’a-theme-ni-start for
. . . tâ-h (inc.) (-tâ-l) make agreement, treaty (YM 190)

10.89d. di-ni-get stuck starting for ni-perfective

. . . ing has been stuck
. . . ing has got stuck . . . ing to goal

When di-ni-get stuck is prefixed to the regular forms of ni-perfective (10.99a.) the results are similar to prefixing di- to those forms with the following changes due to contraction:

2. di-ni- (di-ni-get stuck; ni-pf.; -n-2 subj.; -ni-compl.)
4. dji-dini- (dji-4 subj.; di-ni-get stuck; ni-pf.; -ni-compl.)
3-3. yidi-ni- (yi-3 obj.; di-ni-get stuck; ni-pf.; -ni-compl.)
by 3. de- (di-ni-get stuck; ni-pf.; -ni-compl.; -yi-3 ag.)

-l-nil (-l-nil) have hands in position (FH)
Oa: ...‘q (-'á-t) permit ... to ... turn over to ..., forget or cancel debt, decide in ...’s favor, call it even (YM 3, FH)
3-3 yešiná‘q he cancelled his debt (FH)
Oa. ni-(< ná-back) ... T (pf.) give ... back to ... ‘ád-a ...-tq (-tá-l) adopt child (YMG 89)
‘áq ... T (pf.) open ... (YM 28)
Oda di-stuck-’a-theme- ... ‘q (-'á-t) lid, cork is stuck (is in and won’t come out)
Odá ... T (pf.) put lid, cork, obj. in opening
té- Oa. -'á-self ... -tq (-tá-l) give (self) up to in fight (YM 191)
n- (< na-about) ...-tcid (-l-tcil) move hand quickly, do hand trembling (cer.)
nnaic Oa. ... ‘q (-'á-t) hire (YM 3)
ni-end ... l-’ez (-l’-is) take a step, step off distance (YM 104)
niná 'á-self ... -tq (-tá-l) risk life for ... (YM 192)
niki ... l-’ez (-l’-is) step down onto surface (YM 89, YM 104)
ni- ... ‘q (-'á-t) decide on ...
Oya di-get stuck-’a-theme ... -tq (-tá-l) force ... to give in (YM 191)
Odjá-tah ... l-tá’l (l-tal) trip ... with foot (YM 186)
tché- (< téi-out-ná-back) di-get stuck-’a-theme ... -dlá’d (-l-dtal) sun breaks out of clouds (YM 52)
téi-out ... l-dlo’ (-l-dloh) baby smiles the first time (YM 54)
O’l’axa- (< ‘az-together-a’ for) di-get stuck-’a-theme ... -tq (-tá-l) make agreement, treaty (YM 190)

10.89e. di-ni-get stuck si-perfective
be stuck (in trouble) after having ...ed

The order of prefixes for di-ni-get stuck si-perfective is di-si-ni-, and the forms are like those of ni-uniform si-perfective (10.98c.), that is, di- is prefixed to ni-uniform si-perfective. Note:

by 1 diinéc- (di-get stuck; ni-uni.; si-pf.; -ni-compl.; -c-1 ag.)
by 2 diyini- (di-get stuck; ni-uni.; si-pf.; -ni-compl.; -n-2 ag.)
by 3 yídine-s- (di-get stuck; ni-uni.; si-pf.; -ni-compl.; -yi-3 ag.)
by 4 djidine-s- (dji-4 ag.; di-get stuck; ni-uni.; si-pf.; -ni-compl.)

‘-tq’ (-tá-l) be stolen
’l-yá (-l-yát) be responsible for a killing
‘atí-suffering ...-dli’ (-dle’l) be overcome, cry, talk incoherently for joy, be unable to control oneself (YM 53)
na-about- O-di-get stuck- ’a-theme- ni-uni ... l-ya’l (-l-yal) be beaten up, beat up ...
xa-out ... dsi’ (-dsi) get stuck while speaking (YM 58)

10.89f. di-ni-get stuck continuative cessative

Verbs of color and a few others have the cessative conjugations (10.106b, 10.105c.) if they mean that the color is from outside the subject, for example, ‘aya’ yi-tcox’éh “yarn is getting red (from dye).” If, however, the change of state takes place from within di-ni-get stuck is used with the present stem and the cessative forms of the type dini’. This results in the third person form di-, whereas the inceptive cessative, meaning “change is coming about
through outside agency," has the third person dini:-. Compare the following:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{di-} & \text{tcxi-h} \quad \text{it is becoming red (as flower, or vegetation browning from maturity)} \\
\text{dini-} & \text{tcxi-h} \quad \text{it is becoming rusty (from elements)} \\
\text{di-} & \text{ts\text{o}h} \quad \text{it is becoming yellow (as flower, vegetation)} \\
\text{dini-} & \text{ts\text{o}h} \quad \text{it is being scorched (by fire, iron)} \\
\text{dini-} & \text{tl\text{o}-h} \quad \text{it (rope) is slackening; coming to a point of stability} \\
\text{dini-} & \text{tl\text{i}-c} \quad \text{it is getting wet} \\
\text{dini-} & \text{tl\text{i}-c} \quad \text{he is dampening, soaking it}
\end{align*}
\]

10.89g. **dini-get stuck inceptive cessative**

The inceptive cessative forms of dini-get stuck are of the form dini- < di-ni-yi cessative. Or di- is prefixed to the regular inceptive cessative forms of ni-uniform (10.98d.). Note:

\[
\begin{align*}
3 & \text{ dini-} \quad (\text{di-get stuck; ni-unii.; yi-cess.)} \\
4 & \text{ djidini-} \quad (\text{dji-4 subj.; di-get stuck; ni-unii.; yi-cess.)} \\
3-3 & \text{ yidini-} \quad (\text{yi-3 obj.; di-get stuck; ni-unii.; yi-cess.)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
-\text{l-tsoh} & (-\text{l-tsoh}) \quad \text{scorch} \\
-\text{l-tl\text{o}-h} & (-\text{l-tl\text{o}-t}) \quad \text{loosen, slacken (YM 217)} \\
-\text{l-tli\text{i}-c} & (-\text{l-tli\text{i}c}) \quad \text{dampen, soak (YM 212)} \\
\text{ná-cust...-l-tl\text{o}-h} & (\text{cust.}) (-\text{l-tl\text{o}-t}) \quad \text{loosen, slacken cust. (YM 217)} \\
\text{n-...-tcxi-h} & (-\text{tcxih}) \quad \text{rust (YM 34)}
\end{align*}
\]

10.89h. **di-ni-get stuck perfective cessative**

In the perfective cessative di-ni-get stuck is expressed by prefixing di- to the regular perfective cessative forms (10.98e.) with n instead of y initial, and the following forms show the additional effect of ni- of di-ni-:

\[
\begin{align*}
2 & \text{ dinini-} \quad (\text{di-ni-get stuck; yi-prog.; -n-2 subj.; -yi-cess.)} \\
3-3 & \text{ yidini-} \quad (\text{yi-3 obj.; di-ni-get stuck; yi-prog.; -yi-cess.)} \\
(3) & \text{ by i bi'ini-} \quad (\text{bi-[3] subj.; 'a-i ag.; di-ni-get stuck; yi-prog.; -yi-cess.)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
-\text{l-tsoh} & (-\text{l-tsoh}) \quad \text{scorch} \\
-\text{l-tl\text{o}-h'} & (-\text{l-tl\text{o}-t}) \quad \text{loosen, slacken (YM 217)} \\
-\text{l-tli\text{j}} & (-\text{l-tli\text{j}c}) \quad \text{dye light blue (the wrong shade)} \\
\text{n-...-tcxi'-} & (-\text{tcxih}) \quad \text{rust (YM 52)}
\end{align*}
\]

10.89i. **di-ni-ni-stuck at the end ni-perfective**

... is stuck at the end and unable to return to previous position

di-ni-get stuck may be combined with ni-end-ni-perfective; the order—di-ni-end-ni-perfective—shows that di- is pre-paradigmatic. The resulting forms are as if di- were prefixed to the ni-perfective of ni-end-ni-perfective (10.100b.), the following differences being due to position of the prefixes:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{by 4 } & \text{ -jdine-} \quad (\text{dji-4 ag.; di-get stuck; ni-end; ni-pf.; -ni-compl.)} \\
\text{by 3 } & \text{ -yidine-} \quad (\text{yi-3 subj.; di-get stuck; ni-end; -ni-compl.; -yi-3 ag.})
\end{align*}
\]
10.89i. prefixes

OA: ni-end ...-dzá (-dá-t) one person is stuck doing ...
'q: ... T (pf.) get stuck in opening
ni-end ...-táj (-tac) two persons are stuck
ni-end ...-ká (-kah) pl. persons are stuck
ni-end ...-dzá (-dá-t) one person is stuck
ni-end ...-l-dló-j (-ldloc) animal got stuck trotting

10.89j. di-si-start harming progressive

un-...ing is taking place progressively
... is un-...ing progressively
... is un-...ing ... progressively

In the progressive di-start from combines with si-harm to result in forms of the pattern diye'c- (10.118b.)

na-about-'á-self-xo-place ...-l'ac two persons loiter (YM 51)
na-about-'á-self-xo-place ...-l-kah pl. persons loiter (YM 51)
na-about-'á-self-xo-place ...-dla-l one person loiters (YM 51)

10.89k. di-si-start un- ... continuative

un-...ing is starting
... is starting to un-...
... is starting to un- ... it

di-start is prefixed to si-harm continuative (10.118c.) with the following results:

1 di-c- (di-start; si-harm; yi-cont.; -c-1 subj.)
2 dini, di- (di-start; si-harm; yi-cont.; -n-2 subj.)
3 di- (di-start; si-harm; yi-cont.)
4 diyi- (diyi-4 subj.; di-start; si-harm; yi-cont.)
D1 diyi-d- (di-start; si-harm; yi-cont.; -d-D1 subj.)
D2 diyoh- (di-start; si-harm; yi-cont.; -oh-D2 subj.)
3-3 yidi- (yi-3 obj.; di-start; si-harm; yi-cont.)
P3-3 dayidi- (da-pl.; yi-3 obj.; di-start; si-harm; yi-cont.)

-gis (pres.) (-gis) be crazy
'á-self ...-l-yé (pres.) (-l-yé-l) kill self, commit suicide
'á-self-h- (< ná-cust.) ...-l-yé-h (cust.) (-l-yé-l) commit suicide cust. (YM 78)
Oi- (< O-ná-against) ...-gis (pres.) (-gis) have no ambition for ...
tó ...-gis (pres.) (-gis) be without ambition, stupid, idiotic
na-about-'á-self-xo-place ...-l'ac (pres.) (-l'ac) two persons loiter
na-about-'á-self-xo-place ...-káh (pres.) (-kah) pl. persons loiter
ni- (< na-about)ná-cust.'á-self-xo-place ...-dla-h (cust.) (-dla-l) one person loiters (YM 51)

10.89l. di-si-start un- ... si-perfective

un-...ing has taken place
... has un-...ed
... has un-...ed ...

When si-un-si-perfective (10.118d.) is preceded by a prefix (in this case di-) the initial of the si-perfective changes to y:
by 1 diyéc-  
by 2 diyini-  
by 3 diye’-  
by D1 diye’d-  
by D2 diyo’h-  

\'ádi-self...-l-yf (-l-yél) commit suicide; kill self (YM 78)
na-about-\'á-self-xo-place...-l-\'áj (-l-\'ac) two persons loiter, each one
loiters (YM 51)
na-about-\'á-self-xo-place...-l-kai (-l-kah) pl. persons loiter
na-about-\'á-self-xo-place...-dlá’ (-dlá’l) one person loiters

10.89m.  
-dí-si-emit un-... continue

In combination with ná-xi-, -di- with si-un- seems to have an
inflective prefix which has not been determined (cp. di-si-start from
un-... 10.89k., and dini-get stuck Inceptive 10.89c.) This unknown
prefix may be (-xi-), an inflective with xi- (10.115.). If there is no
inflective prefix, this paradigm illustrates the difference between
di-start from and di-emit, which has not been noted in any other
example.

1  -de-c-
2  -de-
3  -diye-
4  -jdiye--  
   -jde--
D1  -de-d-
D2  -do-h-
3-3  yidiye-

\(3\) by i -bi’iye-
ná-xi-... T (inc.) turn ... over (YM 8)
ná-xi-...l-yal (mom.) (-l-yal) roll over (YM 76)
ná-xi-...l-tši’d (inc.) (-l-tši’l) capsize (YM 225)
ná-xi-...-djic (inc.) (-djic) turn body over (YM 107)
ná-back-ná-xi-... T (inc.) turn back over, turn ... back to where it
was (FH, WM)
ní-ná-xi-... T (cust.) turn ... over cust.
ní-ná-xi-...l-tši’’ (cust.) (-l-tši’l) capsize cust. (YM 225)
ní-ná-xi-...-djic (cust.) (-djic) turn body over cust. (YM 107)

10.89n.  
-dí-si-emit un-... si-perfective

The elements that enter into the conjugation of the type ná-xi-
dí-si-si-pf. allow contraction with di- as compared with di-si-si-pf.
(10.118d.):

1  -dé-
2  -di-ni-
3  -diyé-
4  -dziyé-
D1  -de-d-
D2  -do-
3-3  yidiyé-
by 1  -dec-
by 3 -des-
by 4 -jdes-
-zdes-

(3) by i -bi'iy-e-

\(Oa \cdot n \ldots \cdot -x\) (-d\(\dot{a}\)) one person lay in ambush (NT 98:5)
\(n\(\acute{a}\)-back-\(n\(\acute{a}\)-\(x\)) \ldots -T \) (pf.) turn ... back to original position (WM, FH)
\(n\(\acute{a}\)-\(x\)) \ldots -T \) (pf.) turn ... over
\(n\(\acute{a}\)-\(x\)) \ldots -l-yal (-l-yal) person turns, rolls over
\(x\(\acute{a}\)-\(x\) (\(x\)-\(a\)-out-\(n\(\acute{a}\)-back)\(x\)) \ldots -nez (-nes) be a long roll (NT 404:23)

10.90. \(d\(i\)-start against future

... will start ...ing against
... will start ...ing ... against
... will start ...ing ... against ...

The prefix \(d\(i\)- seems to be a compound, perhaps of \(d\(i\)-start from-\(n\(\acute{a}\)-against. The inflective (\(n\(\acute{a}\)-) affects the future forms as follows:

1 -\(d\(e\)-c\) \(\) (\(d\(i\)-fut.; [\(n\(\acute{a}\)-]; yi-prog.; -c-1 subj.)
2 -\(d\(i\)-\) \(\) (\(d\(i\)-fut.; [\(n\(\acute{a}\)-]; yi-prog.; -n-2 subj.)
3 -\(d\(\dot{o}\)-\) \(\) (\(d\(i\)-fut.; [\(n\(\acute{a}\)-]; yi-prog.)
4 -\(j\(d\(\dot{o}\)-\) \(\) (\(d\(j\)-4 subj.; \(d\(i\)-fut.; [\(n\(\acute{a}\)-]; yi-prog.)
D1 -\(d\(j\)-d\) \(\) (\(d\(j\)-fut.; [\(n\(\acute{a}\)-]; yi-prog.; -d-D1 subj.)
D2 -\(d\(\dot{o}\)-h\) \(\) (\(d\(i\)-fut.; [\(n\(\acute{a}\)-]; yi-prog.; oh-D2 subj.)
3-3 \(y\(i\)-\(d\(\dot{o}\)-\) \(\) (yi-3 subj.; \(d\(i\)-fut.; [\(n\(\acute{a}\)-]; yi-prog.)

\(Oa \cdot n \ldots \cdot -\(k\)\(\dot{\i}\) \) report, discuss about ..., take action for ..., annoy, bother, molest (YM 202)
\('d\(\dot{a}\)-self-a\cdot n \ldots \cdot -\(k\)\(\dot{\i}\) \) become bashful, devote oneself to completely
\(O1- (< \ 0-\(n\(\acute{a}\)-against) \ldots -k\(i\) \) ask ... about ..., ask ... to let ...
\(O1- (< \ 0-\(n\(\acute{a}\)-against) \ldots -k\(i\) \) ask ... about ..., ask ... to let ...
\(O1- (< \ 0-\(n\(\acute{a}\)-against) \ldots -k\(i\) \) ask ... about ..., ask ... to let ...
\(O1- (< \ 0-\(n\(\acute{a}\)-against) \ldots -k\(i\) \) ask ... about ..., ask ... to let ...
\(O1- (< \ 0-\(n\(\acute{a}\)-against) \ldots -k\(i\) \) ask ... about ..., ask ... to let ...

10.90a. \(d\(i\)-start against continuous

...ing against is starting
... is starting to ... against
... is starting to ... it against
... is starting to ... it against ...

\(d\(i\)- seems to be composed of \(d\(i\)-start from and an inflective prefix, probably (\(n\(\acute{a}\)-) against. I shall analyze these forms on this basis although the meaning is very doubtful.

1 -\(d\(i\)-c\) \(\) (\(d\(i\)-start.; [\(n\(\acute{a}\)-]; -c-1 subj.)
2 -\(d\(i\)-\) \(\) (\(d\(i\)-start.; [\(n\(\acute{a}\)-]; -n-2 subj.)
3 -\(d\(i\)-\) \(\) (\(d\(i\)-start.; [\(n\(\acute{a}\)-])
4 -\(d\(j\)-\(d\(i\)-\) \(\) (\(d\(j\)-4 subj.; \(d\(i\)-start.; [\(n\(\acute{a}\)-])
\(i -a\(d\(i\)-\) \(\) (\(a\)-i subj.; \(d\(i\)-start.; [\(n\(\acute{a}\)-])
D1 -\(d\(i\)-d\) \(\) (\(d\(i\)-start.; [\(n\(\acute{a}\)-]; -i-d-D1 subj.)
Oá 'i- (<'á-self-ná-against) ... l-kid (pres.) (-l-kil) ask for girl in marriage

Oi- (< O-ná-against) ... l-nih (mom., pres.) (-l-nih) feel, examine by feeling (YM 156)

Oi- (< O-ná-against) ... ki' (mom.) (<-kil) ask for ...

Oi- (< O-ná-against) ... lid (pres.) (-lil) be polished, filled out, fat, full

P4 bidajdidid they(4) are fat

Otah 'i- (< ná-cust.) 'á-theme ... ji-h (cust.) (<-ji-l) call roll (YM 236)

Niki- (< niki-touch-ná-against) ... l-tal (mom.) (-l-tal) stamp feet

Ya-tilt-n.'a-theme ... 'a-h (inc.) (<-á-l) permit, allow, yield to, bow to

Yá- ... né-h (pres.) (<-né-l) dress

Li- (<a-beyond) ... l-tci (pres.) (-l-tci-l) beat about the bush, lick ...'s boots, flatter to get something (YM 36)

4 til'tilci he(4) is licking ...'s boots

**10.90b.**

di-start against ni-perfective

... has started against

... has started to ... against

The prefixes of di-start against in the ni-perfective have the order di-ni-(ná-) which combine with the following results:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 dé-</td>
<td>(di-start; ni-pf.; -c-1 subj.; [ná-])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 di-ni-</td>
<td>(di-start; ni-pf.; -n-2 subj.; [ná-])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 dé-</td>
<td>(di-start; ni-pf.; [ná-])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 djidé-</td>
<td>(dji-4 subj.; di-start; ni-pf.; [ná-])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D1 dí-di-</td>
<td>(di-start; ni-pf.; [ná-]; -i-d-D1 subj.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D2 dí-</td>
<td>(di-start; ni-pf.; -oh-D2 subj.; [ná-])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-3 yidé-</td>
<td>(yi-3 obj.; di-start; ni-pf.; [ná-])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by 1 déc-</td>
<td>(di-start; ni-pf.; [ná-]; -c-1 ag.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) by i bi'bélé-</td>
<td>(bi-[3] subj.; 'a-i ag.; di-start; ni-pf.; [ná-])</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'-i' (<'i-l) look for (YM 100; EW 90:11)

-l-yéd (-l-yol) dig with implement

-l-xi' (-l-xi-l) melt

-dji' (-dji-l) name is mentioned (FH)

Oi- (< O-ná-against) ... tí' (-tí) concern ... (YM 199)

Oi- (< O-ná-against) ... tciid (<tciil) reach for with hand and miss; just graze with hand

Na-about-'i- (<a-i-yi-rec.ef.) ... l-kid (-l-kil) inquire, ask about

(YM 119)

yi-rec.ef.- ... l-tq' (-l-tq-) be smooth, slippery; slip

xa-out ... l-bj'd (-bj-l) fill, get full (YM 28)

xa-out ... l-bj'd (-bj-l) fill, cause filling up (YM 28)

xa-na- ... l-dáz (-l-das) overcome ... (BS)

xa- ... 'i' (-'i-l) look for ... (YM 100)

Ozé- (<'a-l) hang round object around ...'s neck (EW 110:5)

Otse-irritable-'i- (<a-i-ná-against) ... dji' (-dji-l) speak war langu; speak irritably against ... (EW 152:18)
10.90c.  \( \text{di-} \) start against \( si \)-perfective

... has started to ... against

di-start against has \( si-(ná-) \) perfective, the order being di-\( si-(ná-) \) and resulting as follows:

1 \( \text{de} \)-

\( (\text{di-} \text{start}; \text{si-pf.}; -c\text{-1 subj.}; [ná-]) \)

2 \( \text{dini} \)-

\( (\text{di-} \text{start}; \text{si-pf.}; -n\text{-2 subj.}; [ná-]) \)

3 \( \text{dijz} \)-z-

\( (\text{dji-4 subj.}; \text{di-start}; \text{si-pf.}; [ná-]) \)

4 \( \text{dji} \)-d-

\( (\text{di-start}; \text{si-pf.}; [ná-]; -i\text{-d-D1 subj.}) \)

D1 \( \text{dji} \)-d-

\( (\text{di-start}; \text{si-pf.}; [ná-]; -i\text{-d-D1 subj.}) \)

3-3 \( \text{yidi} \)-z-

\( (\text{yi-3 obj.}; \text{di-start}; \text{si-pf.}; [ná-]) \)

by 1 \( \text{dji}\)-

\( (\text{di-start}; \text{si-pf.}; [ná-]; -c\text{-1 ag.}) \)

\( -l\text{-á (abs.)} \) hold ... horizontal (YM 11)

\( -l\text{-tj} \)- (\( -l\text{-l} \)) be seen, be visible

\( \text{Oi-} (< \text{O-ná-against}) \ldots \text{l-ni} \cdot \text{-l-nih} \) feel, rub with fingers, examine by feeling (YM 156)

\( \text{ná-} \text{again} ... \text{dzá} \text{-(dá-t)} \) one person starts again

\( \text{Oke} \ldots \text{l-yiz} \text{-l-yis} \) be startled on account of ... (YM 80)

\( \text{dzi-} \text{away} ... \text{l-ez} \text{-l-is} \) sit with legs extended

\( \text{dzi-} \text{away} ... \text{l-ez} \text{-l-is} \) be startled, frightened (FH)

10.91.  \( \text{di-ni} \)-prolongative

The prolongative is a compound prefix, each of whose parts, \( \text{di-} \) and \( ni- \) may be separated by other prefixes which come between them. The several forms indicate that there is a choice, perhaps a conflict, in the position of the prefixes, especially of the fourth person and the compounds with 'a-indefinite pronoun in all aspects. AB puts 'a-indefinite pronoun before \( \text{dini-} \); WM inserts it between the prefixes with forms of the type \( \text{dini-} \).

The prolongative is here treated like the pattern of other compound prefixes: \( \text{di-} \) is considered the prefix of motion or action, \( ni- \) is the corresponding inflective.

WM frequently gives \( ni- \) uniform for the continuative, for which he has \( \text{dini-} \text{future}, but doubtless this is inconsistent. I have found \( \text{dini-} \) as the prolongative continuative of many verbs, although it is obvious that it and \( ni- \) uniform have almost the same meaning.

\( \text{dini-} \) prolongative progressive and future

...ing will be prolonged
... will ... prolongatively
... will ... it prolongatively

1 \( \text{dini-c} \)-

\( (\text{dini-prol.}; \text{yi-prog.}; -c\text{-1 subj.}) \)

2 \( \text{dini} \)-

\( (\text{dini-prol.}; \text{yi-prog.}; -n\text{-2 subj.}) \)

3 \( \text{dijzinó} \)-

\( (\text{dji-4 subj.}; \text{dini-prol.}; \text{yi-prog.}) \)

4 \( \text{dijzinó} \)-

\( (\text{dji-4 subj.}; \text{dini-prol.}; \text{yi-prog.}) \)

\( \text{adini} \)-

\( (\text{'a-i subj.}; \text{dini-prol.}; \text{yi-prog.}) \)

\( \text{dijzinó} \)-

\( (\text{dji-4 subj.}; \text{dini-prol.}; \text{yi-prog.}) \)

\( \text{adini} \)-

\( (\text{'a-i subj.}; \text{dini-prol.}; \text{yi-prog.}) \)
Plural: prefix da-pl. to dual forms.

3-3 yidínó- (yi-3 obj.; di-ni-prol.; yi-prog.)
1-i 'adinê-c
   dítê-c-} ('a-i obj.; di-ni-prol.; yi-prog.; -c-1 subj.)
2-i 'adinê-
   díni-} ('a-i obj.; di-ni-prol.; yi-prog.; -n-2 subj.)
3-i 'adinó-
   díñó-} ('a-i obj.; di-ni-prol.; yi-prog.)
4-i 'addinó-
   díñó-} ('a-i obj.; di-prol.; dji-4 subj.; -ni-prol.; yi-prog.)
P4-i dajt'inó-
   dajdínó-} (da-pl. 'a-i obj.; dji-4 subj.; di-ni-prol.; yi-prog.)
(3) by i bi'tínó-- (bi- [3] subj.; 'a-i ag.; di-ni-prol.; yi-prog.)

10.91a. di-ni-prolongative continuative

...ing is taking place prolongatively
...is...ing prolongatively
...is...ing...prolongatively

1 díni-
   (di-ni-prol.; -c-1 subj.)
2 díni-
   (di-ni-prol.; -n-2 subj.)
3 díni-
   (di-ni-prol.)
4 díjídini-
   díjini-} (dji-4 subj.; di-ni-prol.)
   } (a-i subj.; di-ni-prol.)
P4-i dajt'inó-
   dajdínó-} (da-pl. 'a-i obj.; dji-4 subj.; di-ni-prol.; yi-prog.)
by 3 dé-
   (di-ni-prol.; -yi-3 ag.)
(3) by i bi'tínó-- (bi- [3] subj.; 'a-i ag.; di-ni-prol.)

Oci ni.(< ná-cust.)...l'-q-h (cust.) (-l'-q-l) water cust. seeks its level
Ol-(< O-ná-against)...l-tei-d (pres.) (-l-teil) barely touch; hand is
caused to move against... (FH)

n-...l'-i-h (inc.) (-'i-l) hide (YM 101)
3-3 nédinil'i-h he is hiding it
ná-cust...-yo' (cust.) (-yol) drive several (YM 233)
xá-...T (inc.) carry too far (YM 8)
xo-...'ah (mom.) (-'ah) distract, lead one astray, lead one on
xo-...'á-h (inc.) (-'ah) distract, lead one, astray (FH)
xo-...tsé-s (inc.) (-tsis) flame dies out
si-harm...-gic (mom.) (-gic) epidemic is spreading
si-harm...géc (inc.) (-gic) epidemic is starting

Ol na-about-'aži-(< aži-together-ná-against)di-prol.-z-(< dži-away)
ni-prol....l-tsin (pres.) (-l-t$x) box with...
di-ni—prolongative

10.91b.  di-ni—prolongative si—perfective
prolongative ... has taken place
... has ... ed prolongatively
... has ... ed ... prolongatively

In the si—perfective the order of prefixes is di-si-ni— with the following results:

1  dini-
   diné-
   } (di—prol.; si—pf.; -c-1 subj.; -ni—prol.)

2  dini-
   diné-
   } (di—prol.; si—pf.; -n-2 subj.; -ni—prol.)

3  diné-
   } (di—prol.; si—pf.; -ni—prol.)

4  dzidiné-
   dzidiné-ż-
   dzidiné-z-
   } (dji—4 subj.; di—prol.; si—pf.; -ni—prol.)

5  i 'adiné-
   diné-
   } ('a-i subj.; di—prol.; si—pf.; -ni—prol.)

D1  diné-d-
    diné-d-
    } (di—prol.; si—pf.; -ni—prol.; -i-d-D1 subj.)

D2  diné-
    disiné-..-
    } (di—prol.; si—pf.; -oh-D2 subj.; -ni—prol.)

3—3  diné-z-
     } (di—prol.; yi—3 obj.; si—pf.; -ni—prol.)

3—i  'adiné-z-
     } ('a-i obj.; di—prol.; si—pf.; -ni—prol.)

P4—i  da'yiné-z-
     } (da—pl.; 'a-i obj.; dji—4 subj.; di—prol.; si—pf.; -ni—prol.)

by 1  diné—
    } (di—prol.; si—pf.; -ni—prol.; -c—1 ag.)

by 3  yidiné-s-
     } (di—prol.; si—pf.; -ni—prol.; -yi—3 ag.)

(3) by i  bifiné-s-
      } (bi—[3] subj.; 'a-i ag.; di—prol.; si—pf.; -ni—prol.)

Oi—(< O-ná—against) ... -l-yęc (-l-yęc) think one sees...

n—... lį' (lį‘-į‘) hide (YM 102)

n—... -tdź (tōc) two persons become exhausted while moving prol.

n—... gę' (gę‘) be disgusted with killings

n—... kai (kāh) pl. persons become exhausted while going

n—... dzá (dā-l) one person becomes exhausted while going

xa—... -tľ‘ (tal‘) search, hunt for ... (YM 184)

xa xo—... 'd (‘ah) distract, lead one on

10.91c.  di-ni—prolongative inceptive cessative

start to pause in prolonged ...ing
... starts to pause ...ing prolongatively
... starts to pause ...ing ... prolongatively

Prefix di-ni—prolongative to regular forms of the inceptive cessative (10.105b.) with the following results:

1  dini-c-
    } (di—ni—prol.; -yi—cess.; -c—1 subj.)

2  dini—
    } (di—ni—prol.; -yi—cess.; -n-2 subj.)

3  dint—
    } (di—ni—prol.; -yi—cess.)

4  dįjnt—
    } (di—prol.; dji—4 subj.; -ni—prol.; -yi—cess.)

D1  dįnį-d-
    } (di—ni—prol.; -yi—cess.; -i-d-D1 subj.)

D2  dįńo-h-
    } (di—ni—prol.; -yi—cess.; -oh-D2 subj.)

'axi—(< 'axi—together-ná—against) ... -ę́ (–ę́) adhesion (medical); it is caused to grow together (YM 14)
10.91c.-10.92.

**di-ní**-prolongative perfective cessative

prolongative ... ing has paused
... has paused ... ing prolongatively
... has paused ... ing ... prolongatively

The prolongative perfective cessative forms are like those of the inceptive cessative (10.105c.) except:

1. **díní-** (di-ní-prol.; -c-1 subj.; -yi-cess.)
2. **díníi-** (di-ní-prol.; -n-2 subj.; -yi-cess.)
3. **díiní-** (di-ní-prol.; -oh-D2 subj.; -yi-cess.)
4. **díiní-c** (di-ní-prol.; -yi-cess.; -c-1 ag.)

by D2 **díiní-h-** (di-ní-prol.; -yi-cess.; -oh-D2 ag.)

**Oi-** (< O-ná-against) ... -l'á (-l'-á-l) hold head against ...

dah- ... l-yaj (l-yac) fry bread, make sopaipillas

da- (< dah-) xo- ... l-tea-d (l-teal) loosen ground, spade (YM 32)

**n-** ... -l'é (-l'-á-l) pause in making speech (YM 190)

**10.91d.**

**dí-si-ní**-prolongatively un-... continuous

un- ing is taking place prolongatively
... is un- ing prolongatively
... is un- ing ... prolongatively

1. **dé-c** (di-prol.; si-un-; -ní-prol.; -c-1 subj.)
2. **dímí-** (di-prol.; si-un-; -ní-prol.; -n-2 subj.)
3. **díez-** (di-prol.; si-un-; -ní-prol.)
4. **dízidé-z** (di-4 subj.; di-prol.; si-un-; -ní-prol.)

**D1** **dí-d-** (di-prol.; si-un-; -ní-prol.; -id-D1 subj.)

**D2** **dí-díé-h-** (di-prol.; si-un-; -ní-prol.; -oh-D2 subj.)

**10.91e.**

Plural: prefix **da-pl.** to dual forms and note:

P4 **dazidé-z** (da-pl.; dji-4 subj.; di-prol.; si-un-; -ní-prol.)
3-3 **yídé-z** (yi-3 obj.; di-prol.; si-un-; -ní-prol.)

-'i' (-'i-l) look; have eyes open; test the truth (FH)

-téah (-téah) hold mouth open, make ... open mouth (YM 38, FH)

'axa- ... l-djq' (pres.) (-l-djq) be in position with legs drawn up (YM 105, FH)

'ázo- ... l-zé' (pres.) (-l-zih) be motionless (YM 240, FH)

ntsí- ... go' (pres.) (-goh) be in kneeling position, kneel (YM 89)

kal ... l-ja' (pres.) (-l-jah) have weapon cocked, be ever ready

Ozá' ki- (< ki-over-ná-against) ... lo' (pres.) (-loh) strangle with rope (YM 137)

**10.92.**

**na-about, here and there, at random**

**na-down**

The two prefixes under this heading are conjugated the same way. **na-about, here and there, at random**, is a very general prefix, used
in the future, where it is prefixed to the regular future forms (10.87.),
sometimes being shortened to n-.
In the continuative na-about,
enters into the continuative (present) conjugation, being treated
exactly as da-down (10.85.) with n instead of d initial. Similarly, it
takes si-perfective with n instead of d initial.

na-down differs from da-down mainly in meaning and usage. na-
down indicates motion through a longer distance than da-down
which signifies position, action or motion "somewhat lower than
previously." na-down is used with any of the continuative stems—
momentary, present or inceptive, and with yi-perfective. More
restricted in usage than na-about, na-down is used mainly with
verbs of falling, dropping, and the like.

Since both prefixes are used extensively, only a few stems are
given in the following paradigms, particularly to illustrate the
difference in the type of stems which distinguish the meanings.

Stems used with na-about continuative:

-T (pres.) carry; move ... about
-l-‘a’ (pres.) (-l-‘a-l) take orders, act as helper, run errands (YM 9)
-’a-c (pres.) (-’ac) two persons take a trip
-l-‘iz (pres.) (-l-‘is) walk about quietly; feet are caused to move about
-bé (pres.) (-be-l) person bathes, swims about
-l-de-h (pres.) (-l-dah) group of people goes on a trip; group causes
moving about.

-kat (pres.) (-kah) plural persons go on a trip; pl. persons move about
-yáh (pres.) (-gá-l) one person goes on a trip; one person moves about
-l-te’id (pres.) (-l-te’id) gesture, move hand about

dah-...-l-tal (pres.) (-l-tal) heart beats
Oká reach for na’-a-i-...-gij (pres.) (-gic) probe, search for... (as doctor
operating)

Stems used with na-down continuative:

-T (pres.) drop ... obj.
-’á-d (inc.) (-’al) drop fabriclike obj.
-l-dá-s (pres.) (-l-das) heavy mass falls
-de-l (inc.) (-dil) ropelike obj. falls
-l-tin (pres.) (-l-ti-l) drop (as rain, hail, dust)
-l-te’ (inc.) (-l-te’l) drop sticklike obj.

-níi (mom.) (-níi) sprinkle water (YM 168)
-ké-s (inc.) (-kës) stick falls (YM 122)
-yá-h (inc.) (-gá-l) one person moves down
-l-xé-c (inc.) (-l-xéc) viscid substance falls

Stems used with na-down-yi-perfective (10.85a.):

-’ah (-’al) fabriclike obj. falls; drop fabriclike obj. (YM 16)
-’á (abs.) extend, project downward (YM 11)
-l-dá-z (l-das) mass falls (YM 46)
-de-l (dil) ropelike obj. darts downward (YM 49)
-l-dé-l (l-dil) drop ropelike obj.
-níi (níi) drop several obj. (YM 168)
-yá (-gá-l) one person goes, walks down
-ké-s (kës) slender, stiff obj. falls
-l-xé-j (l-xéc) viscid substance, mass falls
-l-tśid (-l-tcil) bulky obj. falls
-l-djo'l (-l-djot) brushy, fluffy substance falls

Stems used with na-about-si-perfective (10.85b.):

-1-te' (-1-te'l) carry sticklike obj.; sticklike-obj.-is-caused-to-move-about
-nil (-nöl) sprinkle; small objects move about (YM 168)
-l-di'a' (-l-dja') move about stamping feet
-l-teid (-l-teil) gesture, do "motion-in-the-hand" (cer.); cause-hand-to-move-about
-tcó' (-tq-h) design, embroider

10.93. ná-back, in a circle, arc, cycle

ná-back should be carefully differentiated from ná-again, for which it is sometimes substituted, and with which it may be combined to form ná-ná-back again. ná- has two primary meanings: "back" and "in a circle, arc, or cycle." These meanings are not distinguished by form although they may go with different selections of stems and aspects. For convenience the prefix ná- will be designated as ná-back, or ná-(ná-)back. The same forms are used for the customary aspect, but that aspect has its own stems.

It is often difficult, and sometimes impossible, to differentiate ná-back from ná- or ní-against, touching, apart from, away from touching (10.95-10.95m.). The latter prefix combines more readily with preceding prefixes than ná-back, or rather its capacity for combination is different. When that capacity is tested many differences can be detected, but at the same time, there are many overlapping forms, and there is often a close relationship in meaning.

10.93a. ná-back progressive

...ing back is taking place progressively
... is ...ing back progressively
... is ...ing ... back progressively

ná-back is conjugated like 'á-thus progressive with n instead of i initial (10.80.). Note:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 niđjo'</td>
<td>(ná-back; dji-4 subj.; yi-prog.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i ná'o'</td>
<td>(ná-back; 'a-i subj.; yi-prog.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D1 něi'd-</td>
<td>(ná-back; yi-prog.; i-d-D1 subj.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural. Regular forms of the type ná-da-, or ni-da- exist for the plural although repetitive forms are preferred. Note:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P3-3 niðayo-</td>
<td>(ná-back; da-pl.; yi-3 obj.; yi-prog.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 by 3 ná-yo-</td>
<td>(ná-back; yi-3 subj.; yi-prog.; yi-3 ag.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i by 4 ná'tčo-</td>
<td>(ná-back; 'a-i subj.; dji-4 ag.; yi-prog.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ná-around a point -tlic be frenzied, hurried, rush about, move madly around a point (YM 216)

ná-again... T (prog.) move back again

10.93b. ná-back future

...ing back will take place
... will ... back
... will ... it back
Prefix ʰ-(< ná-) back to regular future forms (10.87.) and note:

3-3 náido-  
  ʰnéido-  

3 by 3 náido-  
  ʰnéido-  

-ʒe̞-e turn inside out

O-ní-(< ná-in arc) . . . -tcít embrace, put arms around (YM 35)
Otiá away from . . . -l-tal small round obj. glances off, ricochets (YM 186)

10.94. ná-(ná-) back, in circle, arc continuative

...ing back takes place  
... is ...ing back  
... is ...ing ... back

In the continuative, customary, and perfective aspects ná-back requires the inflective prefix (ná-) in the singular and dual forms. ná-back assimilates (ná-) in many of the first and third person conjugations. In the perfective aspects (ná-) replaces -ni-completive (10.117a.).

Plural: Prefix ʰ-(< ná-)-da- to the regular dual forms; note that (ná-) does not enter into the plurals.

Since ná-(ná-) back is used with a great many stems only a few idiomatic compounds will be given.

'axé-(< 'axi-together-ná-circle) . . . -dá-h (inc.) (-dá-l) one person comes back having travelled in a circle

'axi-h . . . -ła-h (inc.) (-ła-l) shuffle cards; round obj. is moved back into . . .

'alná- . . . -T (inc.) (may have singular forms) exchange positions (YM 8)

'alná- . . . -dá-h (inc.) (-dá-l) one goes and returns
'alná-.... T (inc.) carry ... back and forth
'alná-.... -gal (mom.) (-gal) look at one another (NT 130:10)
Oa' -ná-back-'a-theme-.... T (inc.) lend ... to ... (YM 6)
'tá-thus-... l-xí-h (pres.) (l-xí-l) cease, discontinue (YM 243)
Oé- (< O-ná-against-ná-back) ... l-ní-h (pres.) (l-ní-h) remember, recall
Oé- (< O-ná-against-ná-back) ... l-dzid (pres.) (l-dzí-l) fear, be afraid of ...

názi-.... l-tea-d (pres.) (l-tei-l) turn around in sitting position
ná-again.... T (mom., inc.) move ... back again (YMG 72)
ní- (< na-about) ... -be-h (pres.) (-be-t) person bathes, swims
Oki-.... l-teci-h (inc.) (l-tei-l) take semen sample; masturbate (YM 36)
Hí-ná-.... -dá-h (inc.) (dá-l) one person moves straight ahead again
xa-.... l-yí-h (pres.) (l-yí-h) rest, recover breath
2 xá-nilýí-h you are resting
4 xá-djílyí-h he(4) is resting
Otsá-.... l-ta' (inc.) (-l-ta') round obj. glances off, ricochets (YM 186)
Otsá- (< tó-towy-away-ná-back)-(ná)-.... l-te' (pres.) (-l-te-l) discharge, dismiss from job (YM 198)

10.94a. ná-(ná-)back ni-perfective

... ing has arrived back
... has arrived ... ing back
... has arrived ... ing ... back

Prefix ná-back to regular ni-perfective forms in which (ná-) has the same function as -ni-completive (10.99a.). Note:

\[
\begin{align*} 
2 \text{náni-} & \quad \text{náni} & \quad \text{(ná-back; ni-pf.; -n-2 subj.; [ná-])} \\
3 \text{ná-} & \quad \text{(ná-back; ni-pf.; [ná-])} \\
4 \text{nájí-} & \quad \text{(ná-back; dji-4 subj.; ni-pf.; [ná-])} \\
i \text{náá-} & \quad \text{(ná-back; 'a-i subj.; ni-pf.; [ná-])} \\
3-3 \text{nění-} & \quad \text{(ná-back; yi-3 obj.; ni-pf.; [ná-])} \\
\text{by 1 nánic} & \quad \text{(ná-back; ni-pf.; [ná-]; c-1 ag.)} \\
i \text{by 1 nánic} & \quad \text{(ná-back; 'a-i subj.; ni-pf.; [ná-]; c-1 ag.)} \\
i \text{by 2 nání-} & \quad \text{(ná-back; 'a-i subj.; ni-pf.; [ná-]; -n-2 ag.)} \\
i \text{by 3 náí-} & \quad \text{(ná-back; 'a-i subj.; ni-pf.; [ná-]; -yi-3 ag.)} \\
i \text{by 4 náčí-} & \quad \text{(ná-back; 'a-i subj.; dji-4 ag.; ni-pf.; [ná-])} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'axé- (< 'axi-together-ná-back) ... dzáh (dzá-l) one person returns in a circle
'áká- (< 'a-self-ká-fitted) ... l-zas (mom.pf.) (-l-zas) gird oneself, have belt on (YM 243)
'áká- (< 'a-self-ká-fitted) ... l-za'z (-l-zas) gird oneself, have belt on (YM 243)
dá- ... dzáh (dzá-l) one person returns ahead
lé' 'a-beyond-.... l-ta' (l-tal) small obj. bounces back
3 tó- 'aná-tal he (Coyote) bounced back like a small round obj
ná-again.... T (pf.) move ... back again
ná-again.... dá' (-dá-l) eat again
níké- (< niki-ná-back) ... dzáh (dzá-l) one person returns home
xó-ná-cycle-ná-again-.... xai (xah) years pass again (BS)
Otsá- ... l-ta' (l-tal) round obj. ricochets, glances off ... (YM 186)
Otsá- (< O-tó-towy-ná-back) ... l-te' (l-te-l) discharge from job "fire ... (YM 198)
tó- (< tó-towy-out-ná-back) ... da-ñ (-da-l) spring returns
tó- (< tó-towy-out-ná-back) ... l-te' (l-te-l) release, let ... go (YM
10.94b.  \textit{ná-}-(\textit{ná-}) back \textit{yi}-perfective

...ing back has been taking place
... has been ...ing back
... has been ...ing ... back

Prefix \textit{ná-} back (or \textit{n-}) to regular forms of \textit{yi}-perfective (10.104.). In the forms which seem not to change \textit{(ná-)} takes the place of \textit{-nì}-

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{D2 ná-o-} (\textit{ná-back}; \textit{yi-prog.-ná-}; [ná-]); \textit{-o-D2 subj.})
  \item \textit{by 1 ná-e-} (\textit{ná-back}; \textit{yi-prog.-ná-}; \textit{-e-1 ag.})
  \item \textit{by 3 ná-} (\textit{ná-back}; \textit{yi-prog.-ná-}; \textit{-y-3 ag.})
  \item \textit{by 4 ná-do-} (\textit{ná-back}; \textit{dji-4 ag.}; \textit{yi-prog.-ná-})
  \item \textit{by D2 ná-o-h-} (\textit{ná-back}; \textit{yi-prog.-ná-}; \textit{-oh-D2 subj.})
\end{itemize}

'\textit{a-beyond...}-dzäh (-dål) one person goes back beyond
'\textit{axi-h ...-lā} (-lā-t) shuffle cards; put small obj. back into together
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{D2 ná-o-} (\textit{ná-back}; \textit{yi-prog.-ná-}; \textit{-o-D2 subj.})
  \item \textit{by 1 ná-e-} (\textit{ná-back}; \textit{yi-prog.-ná-}; \textit{-e-1 ag.})
  \item \textit{by 3 ná-} (\textit{ná-back}; \textit{yi-prog.-ná-}; \textit{-y-3 ag.})
  \item \textit{by 4 ná-do-} (\textit{ná-back}; \textit{dji-4 ag.}; \textit{yi-prog.-ná-})
  \item \textit{by D2 ná-o-h-} (\textit{ná-back}; \textit{yi-prog.-ná-}; \textit{-oh-D2 subj.})
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{\'a-beyond...}-dzäh (-dål) one person dismounts; one
    goes back down again off ...
  \item \textit{xa...-l-yi} (-l-yi) take a rest, get breath back
  \item \textit{xa-out-ná-again...-dzi} (-dzi) speak out again (NT 130:11)
  \item \textit{xo-n-(-ná-cycle)-ná-again...-xai (-xah) again years pass
  \item \textit{Otēd-hājī \textit{\'a-beyond...-T} (pf.) carry ... back in, replace ...
\end{itemize}

10.94c.  \textit{ná-}-(\textit{ná-}) back \textit{si}-perfective

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{\textit{D2 ná-o-}} (\textit{ná-back}; \textit{\textit{yi-prog.-ná-}}; \textit{\textit{-o-D2 subj.}})
  \item \textit{by 1 ná-e-} (\textit{ná-back}; \textit{\textit{yi-prog.-ná-}}; \textit{\textit{-e-1 ag.}})
  \item \textit{by 3 ná-} (\textit{ná-back}; \textit{\textit{yi-prog.-ná-}}; \textit{\textit{-y-3 ag.}})
  \item \textit{by 4 ná-do-} (\textit{ná-back}; \textit{\textit{dji-4 ag.}}; \textit{\textit{yi-prog.-ná-}})
  \item \textit{by D2 ná-o-h-} (\textit{ná-back}; \textit{\textit{yi-prog.-ná-}}; \textit{\textit{-oh-D2 subj.}})
\end{itemize}

Prefix \textit{ná-} back to the forms of \textit{si-}-(\textit{ná-}) perfective (10.117a.) the order of prefixes being \textit{ná-} back -si-pf.-(\textit{ná-}), that is, \textit{(ná-)} takes the place of \textit{-nì}-

\textbf{Note:}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{3-3 ná-\textit{z}, ná-yiz-, ná-\textit{z}} (\textit{ná-back}; \textit{\textit{yi-3 obj.}}; \textit{\textit{si-pf.-ná-}})
  \item \textit{1-i ná-\textit{z}} (\textit{ná-back}; \textit{\textit{a-1 obj.}}; \textit{\textit{si-pf.}}; \textit{\textit{-c-1 subj.}}; \textit{\textit{ná-}})
  \item \textit{2-i ná-\textit{ni}-} (\textit{ná-back}; \textit{\textit{a-1 obj.}}; \textit{\textit{si-pf.}}; \textit{\textit{n-3 subj.}}; \textit{\textit{ná-}})
  \item \textit{3-i ná-\textit{áz}} (\textit{ná-back}; \textit{\textit{a-1 obj.}}; \textit{\textit{si-pf.}}; \textit{\textit{-ná-}})
  \item \textit{4-i ná-\textit{tēz}} (\textit{ná-back}; \textit{\textit{a-1 obj.}}; \textit{\textit{dji-4 subj.}}; \textit{\textit{si-pf.}}; \textit{\textit{ná-}})
  \item \textit{1-i ná-\textit{si-\textit{d}}} (\textit{ná-back}; \textit{\textit{a-1 subj.}}; \textit{\textit{si-pf.}}; \textit{\textit{-id-D1 subj.}})
  \item \textit{D2-i ná-\textit{so}} (\textit{ná-back}; \textit{\textit{a-1 obj.}}; \textit{\textit{si-pf.}}; \textit{\textit{-oh-D2 subj.}})
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10.94c.-10.94d.

P3-3 náv- (ná-back; da-pl.; yi-3 obj.; si-pf.; [ná-])
by 1 násis- (ná-back; si-pf.; [ná-]; -c-1 ag.)
by 4 nádís- (ná-back; díj-4 ag.; si-pf.; [ná-])
3 by 3 néná- (ná-back; yi-3 subj.; si-pf.; [ná-]; -yi-3 ag.)
i by 3 ná-as- (ná-back; 'a-i subj.; si-pf.; [ná-]; -yi-3 ag.)
(3) by 3 nábítis- (ná-back; bi-[3] subj.; 'adí-i ag.; si-pf.; [ná-])

Plural: forms of the type ná-dasi’d- or nída’si’d-

-’ah (-’ah) skin, butcher
-’aq (-’aq) lie in a circle
-’i’tas (-’i’tas) spin fine, make spiral
-’i’th (-’i’th) arrange in circular line (YM 198)
-’i’th (-’i’th) smoke tobacco, puff
-’iq (-’iq) turn, twist (as valve, faucet)
-’i’kal (-’i’kal) sew
-’i’zi’ (-’i’zi’) cut with pliers
-’i’zh (-’i’zh) one person makes a revolution
-’i’dzh (-’i’dzh) pour
-’i’dhl (-’i’dhl) moisten, dampen (YM 217)
-’i’dhl (-’i’dhl) become wet (YM 217)

'álnà-... T (pf.) ... obj. exchange positions (YM 8)
2 'álná’i’ni-...
3 'álná’i’z-
á-thus... -l-zí’d (-l-zí’l) cease, discontinue (YM 243)
ná-... -ka’d (-ka’d) plants grow again (NT 130:16)
-ká-fit... -l-zas (-l-zas) be girded, have belt on (YM 243)
-ká-fitted... -l-ji” (abs.) be fitted to body

3 yikáṣi” it is fitted to him
i ’akáṣi’ it is fitted to someone
xá- (<xà-out-ná-back)... -dzá (-dá-l) one person comes back out

10.94d.

ná-back inceptive cessative

start to pause... ing back
... starts to pause... ing back
... starts to pause... ing... back

ná-back is prefixed to the regular inceptive cessative forms (10.105b.). ná-yi’- > ná’- or néi’- to which the subjective pronouns are added. The exceptions are:

4 nádi’i-

-ndi’i- (ná-back; dji-4 subj.; yi-cont.; -yi-cess.)
3-3 náy’i-

(ná-back; yi-3 subj.; yi-cont.; -yi-cess.)
(3) by i nábít’i-

(ná-back; bi-[3] subj.; ’adí-i ag.; yi-cont.; -yi-cess.)

In this aspect (ná-) seems not to function or if it does, it is completely absorbed by the cessative yi’-.

The forms are the same for the customary cessative; the prefixes are used with the customary stem.

-l-na’h (cust.) (-l-na’l) generate electricity (YM 145)
-l-ji’h (cust.) (-l-ji’l) blacken, dye black (YM 178)
-c’f-h (cust.) (-c’f’l) dye black, cause to become black (YM 178)
-dzoh (cust.) (-dzoh) mark, scratch (YM 244)

’ada-down... -dá (pres.) (-dá-l) one person dismounts
’att-suffering... -l-’i’h (cust.) (-l-’i’l) injure, punish; suffering-is-caused-to-be-done (YM 133)
'á-thus-ní-(< ná-back) ... 5-ý-h (cust.) (5-ý-t) repair (YM 129)
'ákó-thus ... 2-ý-h (cust.) (2-ý-t) make, do correctly (YM 129)
Oá 'adça'< ... 1-ý-h (cust.) (1-ý-t) give ... another chance
bá 'adça' ná-i-ví-h he is given another chance (YM 132)
ya- ... 1-tal (1-tal) dash off (YM 187)
3 yandá-tal he is dashing off
ya-tít ... dzi' (dzil) pour (YM 240)
Okì- ... dá-h (-dá-t) one stops over ... while returning; one finds ...
while returning
Okì- ... l-tci-h (l-tci-t) have nightmare (YM 36)

10.94d. ná-back perfective cessative

there has been pausing ...ing back
... has paused ...ing back
... has paused ...ing ... back

ná-back is prefixed to the perfective cessative forms (10.105c.) with the result that the prefixes are the same as those of the inceptive cessative (10.94d.) with the following exceptions:

1 něi- (ná-back; yi-prog.; -c-1 subj.; -yi-cess.)
2 něini- (ná-back; yi-prog.; -n-2 subj.; -yi-cess.)

Oká' ... yá (-gá-t) one person dismounted; moved off ...

10.94e. ná-back perfective cessative

there has been pausing ...ing back
... has paused ...ing back
... has paused ...ing ... back

10.95. ná- or ní-against

It is impossible to determine the exact character of ná-(ná-) against, which may be ní-(ní-), since it occurs internally and assimilates to many of the surrounding prefixes. Moreover, since it may occur in the same forms as the customary, "against," "back," and the customary may be confused.

ná-against apparently precedes ná-back or ná-customary, and it may be preceded by other prefixes such as na-about or ni-end.

ná-against may be a postposition that assimilates to the objective (possessive) prefix, for example, bi-ná-against > bi- and bi- may contract with following prefixes (cp. 10.95g-m.).

I cannot agree with WM, who insists that this ná-(ná-) is customary, chiefly because it may occur in addition to ná-customary, and because the inflective prefix (ná-) behaves like (ná-)against rather than like (ná-)back. Furthermore, ná- is used with all aspects—it is by no means limited to the customary.

10.95a. ná-(ná-)against continuative

there is ...ing against
... is ...ing against
... is ...ing ... against
... is ...ing against ...

ná- (or ní-)against is conjugated like dí-start against (10.90a.) with n instead of d initial, very few changes taking place because of the instability of n. Note:
NAVAHO GRAMMAR

10.95a.

2 nini- (ná-against; [ná-] against; -n-2 subj.)
3 nání- (ná-against; [ná-] against)
3-3 náni- (ná-against; yi-3 obj.; [ná-] against)
by 3 né- (ná-against; [ná-] against; -yi-3 ag.)

-ýi (pres.) (-l-ýi) test the truth (WM, FH)
-niíh (mom.) (-niíh) give the wink to, wink to someone to prevent his saying something
-tse-t (pres.) (-tse-ti) pound
-teči- (inc.) (-teči-) bear down on, bear children

'ô-theme...'ýi (pres.) (-l-ýi) be able to see (YM 101)
'axi-together...-ýi (pres.) (-l-ýi) look at each other (EW 78:26)
Oi-(< O-ná-against)...-á-h (inc.) (-á-t) dip bread in stew, soup; move-round-obj.against-it
Oi-(< O-ná-against)...-täh (inc.) (-tah) try; practice shooting at target (FH)
Oi-(< O-ná-against)...-l-kal (mom.) (-l-kal) chop off
Oi-(<O-ná-against)...-gil (mom.) (-gil) push
Oi-(< O-ná-against)...-djih (mom.) (-djih) rub with sand
Oi-(< O-ná-against)...-tōh (mom.) (-tōh) tie ... to...
nam-about-Oi-(< O-ná-against)...-tah (inc.) (-tah) try, make an attempt against ... (YM 185)
ná-against...-tal (mom.) (-tal) kick against (YM 196)
ná-against...-kal (pres.) (-kal) caress, pet
ná-against...-yas (mom.) (-yas) scratch with claws (YM 77)
ná...-gil (mom.), -gil (pres.) (-gil) rub, feel, massage, press against, treat by rubbing (FH)
ná...-l-xal (mom.) (-l-xal) club, strike with clublike obj.
ná...-sol (inc.) (-sol) blow ... (FH)
ná-against-'a-beyond...-gil (mom.) (-gil) give a push
ké- (< ki-security-ná-against)...-dzin (pres.) (-dzin) have courteous attitude
ké- (< ki-over-ná-against)...-dop-h (inc.) (-dop-t) smooth
ki- (< ki-sever-ná-against)...-tō-h (mom.) (-tō-h) break, fracture (YM 218)
ki- (< ki-sever-ná-against)-(ná)...-l-dla- (pres.) (-l-dla) tear apart (YM 52)
těi-out...-yót (inc.) (-yot) drive several out
Ol na-about-'axi- (< 'axi-together-ná-against)-z- (< dzi-away)...-l-tśin (pres.) (-l-tśi) box with; punch-together-here-and-there (YM 224)

In the following ná- (ná-) seems to mean "against" and the stems are customary:

O'oh ná-cust...-l-q-h (-l-qi) be inefficient, inadequate; unable to afford ... (YM 10)
Odá ná-cust...-l-ní-h (-l-ní-l) desire to possess, covet (YM 159)
nam-about-Oi-(< O-ná-against)ná-cust...-tah (tah) try (YM 185)
ná...-l-ní (-l-ní) look at, see
ná-'axi...-l-ýi (l-qi) steal (YM 101)
ná-'axi...-l-ýi (l-qi) look at each other
ni- (< na-about)ná-cust...-l-h (l-h) orate (YM 190)
li- (< ná-against)ná-cust...-l-tkal (l-tkal) kick again and again (YM 186)
ni- (< ná-against)ná-cust...-yas (yas) claw at (YM 77)
li- (< ná-cust.) (ná)...-l-tśi (l-tśi) punch, pommel (YM 224)
yah'a-ná-cust...-l-níh (-l-ní-l) stick head in and jerk it back (YM 166)
10.95a. \(10.95c.\)  

**PREFIXES**

\(ki-(< \text{over-nå-against})\) nå-against ni-perfective

...ing against has happened  
... has arrived ...ing against  
... has arrived ...ing ... against

The prefix nå-against is conjugated in the ni-perfective exactly like dî-start against ni-perfective (10.90b.) with \(n\) instead of \(d\) initial.

'-a' ('-ah) deceive, fool (FH)  
-L'- (L'-l) look at  
-yîl (yîl) push, poke, nudge, touch

'exi-together ... -l'- (L'-l) look at each other (YM 101)  
'th-us ... -l'- (abs.) be numerous (YM)  
Oî-(< O-nå-against) 'a-i ... l'-q-d (L'-q-l) measure (YM 10)  
Oî-(< O-nå-against) 'a-i ... l'-q-d (L'-q-l) measure up to ..., be adequate to ..., be able to afford ... (YM 10)  
Oî-(< O-nå-against) ... -yîl (yîl) touch, shove (with purpose of wakening ...) (FH)  
Oî-(< O-nå-against) ... -dlî-d (dlî-l) be interested in (YM 54)  
xa-... -l-xe'j (L-xe) irrigate

10.95c. nå-against yi-perfective

there has been ...ing against  
... has been ...ing against  
... has been ...ing ... against

nå-against, when prefixed to yi-perfective (10.104.) has the same forms as ni-uniform yi-perfective (10.98b.) with the following exceptions. Obviously the analysis is different:

D1 nî-d. (nå-against; yi-prog.; [nå-]; -i-d-D1 subj.)  
D2 nó- (nå-against; yi-prog.; -oh-D2 subj.; [nå-])  
by 1 néc. (nå-against; yi-prog.; [nå-]; -c-1 ag.)  
(3) by i bi'tîno-. (bi- [3] subj.; 'adi-i ag.; nå-against; yi-prog.; [nå-])

'-a' ('-ah) deceive (YM 13, YM 88, FH)  
-L'a' (-lah) be deceived  
'a-beyond ... -l-yîl (L-yîl) doze (YM 89)  
4 'ajno-lyîl he(4) dozed  
i 'iîo-lyîl someone dozed  
'exi-together ... -êî' (-êî-l) see each other (EW 78:26)  
'th-us ... -l-nín (abs.) be nice, fine, beautiful (NT 168:22)  
Oê...l-ii' (L-ii') keep at ..., stay with it, persist at ...  
3 yê-nî-llî' he kept at it  
Oî-(< O-nå-against) ... -l'-îz (L'-iz) push foot against  
Odà...l-ı-ı-d (L-ı-l) desire uncontrollably (YM 59)
yaha-...l-ne' (l-ni-l) stick head in and jerk it out (YM 164)
Oya- 'a-...de-' (-dah) group falls under ...'s power (YM 45)
xa-out...l-ya'-j (-l-yoc) bubble up (YM 86)
xa-out...l-tea'-d (-l-tecal) card wool; cause swelling out (YM 33)
Oza- ...l'-t' (-l'-t') kiss (YM 89, 191)

10.95c. ná-(ná-)against si-perfective

The conjugation of (ná-) against with si-perfective differs from that of (ná-) inflective that goes with ná-back (10.94c.), as demonstrated by the following forms. (ná-) against is usually preceded by ná- or an equivalent prefix which also enters into combination in a fashion phonetically somewhat different from ná-back. In this conjugation the forms are given that enter into the part of it nearest the stem complex. These forms are comparable with, but not identical to those of ni-uniform-si-perfective (cp. 10.98c.). The main difference is that an extra n enters into the conjugation, and dominates s:

1. -né- (si-pf.; -c-1 subj.; [ná-] against)
2. -nini- (si-pf.; -n-2 subj.; [ná-] against)
3. -ne-z- (si-pf.; [ná-] against)
4. -jne-z- (si-pf.; [ná-] against)
   - -zne-z- (dji-4 subj.; si-pf.; [ná-] against)

D1 -ne-d-. (si-pf.; [ná-] against; -i'd-D1 subj.)
D2 -mo-. (si-pf.; -oh-D2 subj. [ná-] against)
   - sinó-. (yi-3 obj.; si-pf.; [ná-] against)

by 1 -néc- (si-pf.; [ná-] against; -c-1 ag.)
by 3 -ine-s- (si-pf.; [ná-] against; -yi-3 ag.)

'a-theme...l-na' (-l-nah) choke on ... (YM 149)
O1- (< O-ná-against)...tac' (-tah) try (YM 185)
O1- (< O-ná-against...l-tah (-l-tah) hinder, delay, prevent
O1- (< O-ná-against)ná-O...-l-tac' (-l-tac) instruct... in it; teach it to ...
   (YM 209)

ná-against...-l-tac' (-tac) kick; move round obj. (foot) against (YM 186)

ná-against...-l-xal (-l-xal) club...; cause clubbing against

ná-against...-sol (-sol) blow against (FH)
D1 náne-lzol we two blew against
ná-against-. (< 'a-theme)...l-ya'l (-l-ya') eat too much meat (FH)

10.95e. ná-si-against un... continuous

un...ing is taking place
... is un...ing ...

ná-against prefixed to si-un- continuous (cp. 10.118a.) results in the following forms:

1 nóc- (ná-against; si-un-; [ná-]; -c-1 subj.)
2 nini- (ná-against; si-un-; [ná-]; -n-2 subj.)
3 nó- (ná-against; si-un-; [ná-])
4 dji-nó- (dji-4 subj.; ná-against; si-un-; [ná-])
   - dji-ní- (dji-4 subj.; ná-against; si-un-; [ná-])

D1 ní'd- (ná-against; si-un-; [ná-]; -i'd-D1 subj.)
D2 nóh- (ná-against; si-un-; [ná-]; -oh-D2 subj.)
3-3 yinó- (yi-3 obj.; ná-against; si-un-; [ná-])
by 1 ne-c- (ná-against; si-un-; [ná-]; -c-1 ag.)
by 3 nó- ni- (ná-against; si-un-; [ná-]; -yi-3 ag.)
(3) by i bidínó- (bi- [3] subj.; 'adi-i ag.; ná-against; si-un-; [ná-])
'.á-h (pres.) (-'ah) deceive (YM 13)
Oi-(< O-ná-against) ... -l-'a-h (pres.) (-l-'ah) mistake, fail to distinguish,
faller (WM, FH)
Oi-(< O-ná-against)ná-cust.... -l-'a-h (cust.) (-l-'ah) make mistakes in
thinking; misplace words, names (FH)
ná-cust.... -'ah (cust.) (-'ah) deceive cust. (YM 13)
yi-....-nah (mom.) (-nah) become untied without agency

10.95f. Oín-, Oná-, Oní-against ..., apart from ... Since -ní-, -ná-, or -ní- as a form of the postposition “against”
asimilates to its objective (possessive) prefix to become the type
form bi-, and since bi-against it then contracts with the aspective
prefixes, paradigms are given to show the phonetic changes.
In these forms there may be two objects, one of the stem, one of
the postposition. The pattern is of the type Oí- but the paradigm is
given with bi- objective (possessive) prefix.

10.95g. O-ń-, O-na-against ... progressive

...ing against ... is taking place progressively
... is ...ing against ... progressively
... is ...ing ... against ... progressively
1 bé-c- (bi- [3] obj.; ná-against; yi-prog.; -c-1 subj.)
2 bé- bi- (bi- [3] obj.; ná-against; yi-prog.; -n-2 subj.)
3 yié- (yi-3 obj.; ná-against; yi-prog.)
4 bídjo- (bi- [3] obj.; ná-against; dji-4 subj.; yi-prog.)
i bò'o- (bi- [3] obj.; ná-against; 'a-i subj.; yi-prog.)
D1 bíd- (bi- [3] obj.; ná-against; yi-prog.; -id-D1 subj.)
D2 bél-h- bò-h- (bi- [3] obj.; ná-against; yi-prog.; -oh-D2 subj.)

Plural: prefix bída- to regular progressive duals (10.84.) and note:
P2 bída-h- (bi- 3 obj.; ná-against; da-pl.; yi-prog.; -oh-D2 subj.)
3-3 yiýó- (yi-3 obj.; ná-against; yi-3 obj.; yi-prog.)
P3-3 yídáyo- (yi-3 obj.; ná-against; da-pl.; yi-3 obj.; yi-prog.)
(3) by i bi'lo- (bi- [3] subj.; ná-against; 'adi-i ag.; yi-prog.)

It will be noted that most of the stems used with this conjugation
have the actual or implied meaning of “against” or its opposite,
“off, away from against, apart.”
-T (prog.) move ... against ...
-l-tal kick
-l-ne chop off
-nah rub body against
-nih hurt
NAVAHO GRAMMAR

10.95h.  

Oná-(ná-) against ... continuous 

there is ... ing against ...  

... is ... ing against ...  

1 béc.  (bi- [3] obj.; ná-against; [ná-]; -c-1 subj.)  
2 bini-  (bi- [3] obj.; ná-against; [ná-]; -n-2 subj.)  
3 ye-  (yi-3 obj.; ná-against; [ná-])  
4 bidji-  (bi- [3] obj.; ná-against; dji-4 subj.; [ná-])  
i bé’è’-  (bi- [3] obj.; ná-against; ‘a-i subj.; [ná-])  
D1 bid-  (bi- [3] obj.; ná-against; [ná-]; -i’d-D1 subj.)  
D2 béh-  (bi- [3] obj.; ná-against; [ná-]; -oh-D2 subj.)  

Plural: prefix bi-da- to regular continuous duals (10.84a.).  

The above examples are to be read “I ... against it,” etc. In the  
following the pattern is extended to indicate the object of the post-  
position ná-against as well as the object of the stem, for example,  
3-3 against 3 “he is... ing it against it;” 1 against i “I am ... ing  
against something;” 1-i against i “I am ... ing something against  
something.”  

3 against 3 ye-, yi-  

1 against i ’iná-  (’a-i obj.; ná-against; [ná-]; -c-1 subj.)  
2 against i ’éní-  (’a-i obj.; ná-against; [ná-]; -n-2 subj.)  
3 against i ’iyí-  (’a-i obj.; ná-against; [ná-])  

4 against i ’é-dji-  (’a-i obj.; ná-against; dji-4 subj.; [ná-])  
D1 against i ’i-d-  (’a-i obj.; ná-against; [ná-]; -i’d-D1 subj.)  
D2 against i ’oh-  (’a-i obj.; ná-against; [ná-]; -oh-D2 subj.)  

Plurals against i: prefix ’é’- (< ’a-i obj.-ná-against) to regular da-pl.  
continuatives (10.84a.).  

1-i against i ’é’èc-  (’a-i obj.; ná-against; ’a-i obj.; [ná-]; -c-1 subj.)  
2-i against i ’è’è-  (’a-i obj.; ná-against; ’a-i obj.; [ná-]; -n-2 subj.)  
3-i against i ’è’è-  (’a-i obj.; ná-against; ’a-i obj.; [ná-])  
4-i against i ’è’è’è’-  (’a-i obj.; ná-against; ’a-i obj.; dji-4 subj.; [ná-])  
D1 against i ’è’è’è’-  (’a-i obj.; ná-against; ’a-i obj.; [ná-]; -i’d-D1 subj.)  
D2 against i ’è’è’è’è’-  (’a-i obj.; ná-against; ’a-i obj.; [ná-]; -oh-D2 subj.)
10.95i. *O-ná-* against ...

**ni-perfective**

- has completed...
- has completed...
- has completed...

Prefix **bi- (< bi-[3] obj.-ná**-against) to regular ni-perfective forms (10.99a) with the following results:

1. *bíni-* (bi-[3] obj.; -ná-against; ni-pf.; -c-1 subj.; [ná-])
2. *bi-ní-* (bi-[3] obj.; -ná-against; ni-pf.; -n-2 subj.; [ná-])
3. *yé-* (yi-3 obj.; -ná-against; ni-pf.; [ná-])
4. *bídí-,* (bi-[3] obj.; -ná-against; dji-4 subj.; ni-pf.; [ná-])
3-3 *yi-ní-* (yi-3 obj.; -ná-against; yi-3 obj.; ni-pf.; [ná-])
3-3 by i *bi-te-* (bi-[3] obj.; -ná-against; adí-i ag.; ni-pf.; [ná-])

- *l-ka-l* (l-ka-l) chop off ...
- *ni-end...gil* (-gil) be pushed so far, be pushed to end (YM 79)
- *ni-end...yil* (-yil) push so far; push to end (YM 79)

10.95j. *O-ná-* against ...

**yi-perfective**

- has been ...
- has been ...
- has been ...

1. *bé-* (bi-[3] obj.; ná-against; yi-prog.; -c-1 subj.; [ná-])
2. *bi-ní-*
   - *bi-* (bi-[3] obj.; ná-against; yi-prog.; -n-2 subj.; [ná-])
3. *yé-* (yi-3 obj.; ná-against; yi-prog.; [ná-])
4. *bídí-,* i *bí-,* D1 *bí-d-,* D2 *bó-*
   - *bi-* (bi-[3] obj.; ná-against; yi-prog.; -oh-D2 subj.; [ná-])
   - by 1 *bé-c-* (bi-[3] obj.; ná-against; yi-prog.; [ná-]; -c-1 ag.)
   - by 4 *bídjo-* (bi-[3] obj.; ná-against; yi-prog.; [ná-])
   - by D2 *bé-,* by 3 *yíyo-* (yi-3 obj.; ná-against; yi-subj.; yi-prog.; [ná-]; -yi-3 ag.)
   - i by 3 *'e-* ('a-i obj.; ná-against; yi-prog.; [ná-]; -yi-ag.)
3-3 against 3 yi-
yiyi- \(\{\text{(yi-3 obj.) ; ná-against ; yi-3 obj.) ; yi- prog. ; [ná-] ;}
\text{yi-3 ag.)}\)

-\'q-d (\'q-t) be confined, enclosed, contained
-\'q (\-'á-t) dip ... against, “dunk”
-l-ne' (l-ni-t) chip, chip off by pounding
-\'ni' (\-'niš) be hurt
-ka-\l (kal) chop, chop off by knocking
-\qp-d (stat.) parts of confining surface have been covered (AB)
-tšé' (tšah) eat mushy, viscid substance
-jo' (-joh) comb, brush
-ci-j (-cič) poke against
-djø' (-djih) rub with sand, granular substance
-djø-l (-djol) rub with brushy substance
-t García (stat.) be slightly, noticeably stronger (after great weakness)
-l-těšil (l-těšil) flake, peel off (as skin, paint)

xə...-l-ne' (l-ni-t) punch out, pound out (NT 426:10)

10.95k. O-ná-(ná-) against ... si-perfective

it exists ... ed against
... has ... ed against
... has ... ed ... against ...

Prefix bi- (< bi-ná-against) to si-(ná-) perfective forms (10.117a.) and note:

...ing against 3 bé-z. (bi-[3] obj.) ; ná-against ; si-pf. ; [ná-])
...ing against i 'i-z. ('ai-i obj.) ; ná-against ; si-pf. ; [ná-])
3 against 3 yé-z. (yi-3 obj.) ; ná-against ; si-pf. ; [ná-])
3-3 against 3 yiyiż-

by 3 against 3 biyis- (bi-[3] obj.) ; ná-against ; si-pf. ; [ná-])
by i against 3 bi'is- (bi-[3] obj.) ; ná-against ; 'adi-i ag. ; si-pf. ; [ná-])

-\ldá (-\ld-\l) watch, take care of ...; guard; cause-sitting-against ...
-\yaml (-yaml) push
-\lqá' (-\lq-\l) be heard; sound against ... (YM 222)
-lij (-lic) squirt against, urinate (YM 135)
-l-ló (-l-ló-) tie ... to ...
na-about ... -d\ž-d (d\ž-t) dwindle, diminish, be destroyed (NT 342:6)
na-about ... -sá (-sá-) destroy; cause evil against here and there, cause
ceremony against ... (YM 139)
zh...-\yaml (-yaml) rub against (FH)

10.95l. O-ná-against ... inceptive cessative

there is ...ing alongside ...
...ing against ... starts to pause
... is starting to pause ...ing against ...

Prefix bi- (< bi-(3) obj.-ná-against) to regular inceptive cessative forms (10.105b.) with the following results:
10.951.–10.96.  

PREFIXES

10.951. 

1 bíc-  
(bi-[3] obj.; -ná-against; yi-cont.; yi-cess.; -c-1 subj.)
2 bít-  
(bi-[3] obj.; -ná-against; yi-cont.; yi-cess.; -n-2 subj.)
3 yít-  
(yi-3 obj.; -ná-against; yi-cont.; yi-cess.)
4 bídji-  
(bi-[3] obj.; -ná-against; dji-4 subj.; yi-cont.; yi-cess.)
D1 bíd-  
(bi-[3] obj.; -ná-against; yi-cont.; yi-cess.; -i-d-D1 subj.)
D2 bóh-  
(bi-[3] obj.; -ná-against; yi-cess.; -oi-D2 subj.)

-T (inc. cess.) move ... alongside, move ... up the side of ...
-’ac (inc. cess.) (’ac) two persons go up the side of ...
-ta-h (inc. cess.) (tah) affect by seepage; disintegrate ...ing against ...
alongside ...
-tá: (inc. cess.) (tah) fly up along
-ká-h (inc. cess.) (koh) pl. persons go up alongside
-ýá-h (inc. cess.) (yoh) series of events takes place
-ý-d-h (inc. cess.) (yoh) one person goes uphill
1 bícā-h  
I go uphill
2 bíná-h  
(bí-[3] obj.; -ná-against; yi-prog.; -c-1 subj.; yi-cess.)

Oi- (< O-ná-against) ní- (< ná-cust.) ... lac (cust.) (lac) two persons go up uphill (EW 98:1)

10.95m.  

O-ná-against perfective cessative

...ing against, alongside has paused
...ing up or down hill has paused
... has paused ...ing up or down hill

The forms of the perfective cessative are like those of the inceptive cessative (10.951.) except:

1 bít-  
(bi-[3] obj.; -ná-against; yi-prog.; -c-1 subj.; yi-cess.)
2 bini-  
(bi-[3] obj.; -ná-against; yi-prog.; -n-2 subj.; yi-cess.)

-T (pf.cess.) move ... uphill
-’á-j (’ac) two persons go uphill
-ta-h (tah) affect by seepage; disintegrate by ...ing alongside
-lá-h (lah) fly uphill, fly alongside up
-lá (-tá-l) one is added to ... (YM 7)
-níil (-nii) pl. obj. are added to ... (YME 1)
-yá (-gá-t) one person goes uphill
-kai (-kah) pl. persons go uphill
-yá (-yoh) series of ceremonial events takes place

10.96.  

ná- (ná-) again, another time, another one

The prefixes ná-again and ná-back, often appearing together, are frequently confused. ná-again may be prefixed to any form of the verb. Like ná-back, ná-again sometimes, but not always, requires the d-form of the stem. There seems to be the idea that if an action can be accomplished "again" the agent is known. If other prefixes do not intervene, or if those that do require the inflective (ná-), ná-again requires the inflective (ná-) in the continuative, customary, and perfective, singular and dual. The following remarks apply to the cases in which ná-again enters into the conjugation.

ná-again is prefixed to the progressive forms exactly as ná-back progressive (10.93a.). The plural has a tendency to take repetitive or prolongative forms (10.91, 10.106a.).
In the continuative the conjugation is ná-(ná-) as in 10.94.

ná-again is prefixed to the regular dí-start against-ni-perfective with n instead of d initial (10.90b.) and the following forms are distinctive:

4 ná-ñi- (ná-again; dji-4 subj.; ni-pf.; [ná-])
4-i ná-ñi- (ná-again; dji-3 subj.; 'a-i obj.; ni-pf.; [ná-])

10.96a.  
ná-(ná-) again yi-perfective

When ná-again is prefixed to the regular forms of yi-perfective (10.104.), forms of the following pattern result:

3 by 1 ná-náč- (ná-again; yi-3 subj.; yi-prog.; [ná-]; -c-1 ag.)
3 by D2 ná-náh- (ná-again; yi-3 subj.; yi-prog.; [ná-]; -oh-D2 ag.)
3 by P2 ná-da-h- (ná-again; da-pl.; yi-3 subj.; yi-prog.; -oh-D2 ag.)
i by 4 ná-ñó- (ná-again; 'a-i subj.; dji-4 ag.; yi-prog.; [ná-])

-ñó' (-ñó) eat (gen.)
-ñó' (-ñó) drink

ná-again...T (pf.) move...back again  
niki-ñi- (< ná-back)ná-again...dzá (-dá-l) one person starts home again

Oká- 'áda- (< 'a-ná-dah back down)ná-again...yá (-gá-l) one person gets down again; dismounts again

tči-out-ná-again...dá-j (-lac) two persons start out again

tči-out-ná-again...kai (-kah) pl. persons start out again

tči-out-ná-again...dzá (-dá-l) one person starts out again

10.97.  
ni-absolute

Note that the passive agents yi- and dji- can absorb this ni-without change of tone, but dji-4 active voice subject cannot.

1 nc., nic- (ni-abs.; -c-1 subj.)
2 ni- (ni-abs.; -n-2 subj.)
3 ni- (ni-abs.)
4 dji- (dji-4 subj.; ni-stat.)
i 'i- ('a-i subj.; ni-stat.)
D1 ni-d- (ni-stat.; i-d-D1 subj.)
D2 noh- (ni-stat.; oh-D2 subj.)

Plural: Prefix da-pl. to regular dual forms.

by 3 yi- (ni-stat.; -yi-3 ag.)
by 4 dji- (dji-4 subj.; ni-stat.)

-da-z be heavy (YMG 81)
-dá there is Girl's Dance
-teł be wide
-l-lè' (dual and pl. only) be ... in number
-ne-z, nè-z be long, tall, deep
-γé' be healthy
-tso-a-h be enlarging
-tsoh be large
-ł-tšil be firm, stubborn, resistant
-jóni be nice, pretty, good, satisfactory
-tshó-ti be ugly, filthy, worn, out of order, ruined
-li be (belong to)
-llah be clumsy, awkward, handicapped
-lliz be hard
'a...-lah be among (YMG 26)
3 'atah he is amongst them
Oa...-tci' (-tci'l) be stingy with (YM 35)

10.98. ni-uniform progressive

ni-uniform is essentially a progressive-continuative prefix. It behaves like yi-progressive with n instead of y initial (10.102.); it is conjugated in the continuative and has yi-perfective (as well as si-perfective).

10.98a. ni-uniform continuative

uniform...ing takes place
...ing continues uniformly
... moves uniformly
... moves ... uniformly

1 nie- (ni-uni.; -c-1 subj.)
2 ni- (ni-uni.; -n-2 subj.)
3 ni- (ni-uni.)
4 dji- (dji-4 subj.; ni-uni.)
i 'ani- ('a-i subj.; ni-uni.)
D1 ni-d- (ni-uni.; -i-D1 subj.)
D2 noh- (ni-uni.; -oh-D2 subj.)

Plural: Prefix da-pl. to dual forms. Plural intransitive uniform continuative forms often take the prolongative conjugation (10.91.), but regular ni-uniform plurals may be used with transitive forms.

3-3 yini- (yi-3 obj.; ni-uni.)
3 by 3 yini- (yi-3 subj.; ni-uni.; -yi-3 ag.)
(3) by i bi'tini- (bi-3 subj.; 'adi-i ag.; ni-uni.)
-téh (mom.) (-tél) one animate obj. is lying
-ni (pres.) (-né-l) pl. are dying (YM 218)
-ke' (pres.) (-kel) cool to normal (YM 117)

'a-beyond...dzhin (pres.) (-dzh-l) be cursed, witched
Oa-...-'l-'h (inc.) (-l'-l) slip ... to (YM 102)
Oa- 'a-beyond...dah (pres.) (-dah) fall into ...'s power (YM 45)
'á-self-'ki-over...-l-tché-h (pres.) (-l-tch-l) drive (attacker) off (YM 33)
n-a-about...-tin (pres.) (-t-til) instruct, teach, coach (YM 209)
n-a-about...-tá (pres.) (-tá-l) orate, make speech (YM 190)
n-a-about-'a-i...-T (pres.) move some ... about
ná-cust...-T (cust.) move ... cust.
ná-...-l-nah (pres.) (-l-nah) choke while swallowing
xa...-tá (pres.) (-ta-l) hunt, search for (YM 184)
xa-...-'l-yá-c (inc.) (-l-yoc) bubble up (YM 86)
xa...-l-tea-d (pres.) (-l-teal) card wool (YM 33)
xo...-llah (-li-l) place is difficult
Oza...-taha (-tá-l) (pres.) kiss (YM 191)
10.98b. **ni-uniform yi-perfective**

uniform ...ing has been taking place
... has been ...ing uniformly
... has been ...ing ... uniformly

The yi-perfective forms of ni-uniform are like those of di-emit (10.98b.) with n instead of d initial.

'a-beyond ... b- ... (.lit) squirm off
ni-end ... j/i-perfective (.lit) squirm to end
ni-end ... yá (-gá-t) one has given up (but will go on) (FH)

ni-end-ixo-things ... yá (-gy-q-t) be smartest, most intelligent, wisest

2 niwiti-niyyá-d you are the most intelligent
D1 niwoni-daaz-d we are the most intelligent
ti-ixi-nil-end ... yá (-yol) drive several out to end (FH)

10.98c. **ni-uniform si-perfective**

there has been uniform ...ing
... has ...ed uniformly
... has ...ed ... uniformly

The si-perfective forms of ni-uniform are like those of si-perfective (10.117) with n instead of s initial and note:

4 dzine-z- (dji-4 subj.; ni-unii.; si-pf.; -ni-compl.)
D2 no-z-sino-} (ni-unii.; si-pf.; -oh-D2 subj.; -ni-compl.)
3-3 yine-z- (yi-3 obj.; ni-unii.; si-pf.; -ni-compl.)
(3) by i bi'line-s- (bi-[3] subj.; 'ad-í-i ag.; ni-unii.; si-pf.; -ni-compl.)

-T (pf.) ... uniformly

'-q (-'q-l) measure up to, increase in volume
'-l-tl-tl-tl-l) steal, do surreptitiously (YM 93)
'-dá (-da-tl) one person sits, stays, is at home
'-dá (-da) dance Girl's Dance

-dol (-do-tl) be warm, hot
-ñéj (-t-l) two animate obj. lie
'-tj (-t-l) be hidden, stolen, done surreptitiously
-l-yol (-yol) bloat

-gai (-gah) be very hot, feverish
-gij (-gic) cut with blade
-ke (-ke-tl) two sit, stay, dwell
-l-kaz, -l-kaz (-l-kas) make cold, cool

-l-le' (-l-le-tl) cool to normal

-l-k1 (-l-k1) clot, curdle

-tsiq (-tisi) absorb; extinguish light

-l-tlah (-l-tlah) prevent, hinder, cause difficulty (YM 93)

na-about ... tá (-ta-t) instruct, coach (YM 209)
na-about ... l-tá (-l-ta-t) gallop about (YM 209)

na-about ... l-tlah (-l-tlah) squirm about (FH)

xa-out ... l-tá (-ta-t) search for, hunt for ... (YM 184)

zo-place ... gai (-gah) (3 only) weather is very hot
tsištá ... l-tcó (-l-tcó-t) drive into a corner, "stump ... by ...ing" (YM 34)
10.98d.  

**ni-uniform inceptive cessative**

uniform ... ing is starting to pause

... is starting to pause ... ing uniformly

... is starting to pause ... ing ... uniformly

The conjugation of *ni*-uniform is like that of *yi*-inceptive cessative (10.105b.) with *n* instead of *y* initial. Note:

4  *djin*i-  (dji-4 subj.; *ni-uni.; *yi-cess.)

3-3  *yini*-  (*yi-3 obj.; *ni-uni.; *yi-cess.)

-dó: *h (-doh) warm, heat

-gá: *h (-gah) become very hot, feverish

-l-gé: *c (-l-gic) cut with blade

-ka:*s (-kas) become cold

-teá:*d (-tcal) swell (YM 32)

*Oa* 'á-self-ná-cust.-xo-things...-dzi:*h (cust.) (-dzi:*l) be, become aware of ...

ná-cust...-l-doh (cust.) (-l-doh) heat cust.

ná-cust...-dzi:*h (cust.) (-dzi:*l) want, desire, feel like ...

bil nání-dzi:*h he feels sleepy; he desires sleep

doh nání-dzi:*h he feels like laughing

ná...-teá:*d (inc.cess.) (-tcal) be satiated, have enough to eat (YM 32)

4  *najni-teá:*d he(*4) has enough to eat

ná-cust..-xo-place...-l-doh (cust.) (-l-doh) cust. heat space

*ni-(*< ná-cust.)ná...-teá:* (cust.) (-tcal) have enough to eat cust.

4  *ninajni-teá:* he(*4) cust. has enough to eat

*ki-(*< ki-touch-ná-against)...-có:*c (inc.cess.) (-coc) lay parallel obj. side by side (YM 190)

*ki-(*< ki-touch-ná-against)ná-cust...-coc (cust.) (-coc) cust. lay parallel obj. side by side (YM 180)

xo-place...-l-dó:*h (inc.cess.) (-l-doh) heat space

xo-place...-l-tsó:*s (inc.cess.) (-l-tsós) deflate, be wrinkled, shrivelled

10.98e.  

**ni-uniform perfective cessative**

uniform ... ing has paused

... has paused ... ing uniformly

... has paused ... ing ... uniformly

The forms of *ni*-uniform perfective cessative are like those of *yi*-perfective cessative (10.105c.) with *n* instead of *y* initial. Note:

2  *nini*-  (*ni-uni.; *n-2 subj.; *yi-cess.)

4  *djin*i-  (dji-4 subj.; *ni-uni.; *yi-cess.)

3-3  *yini*-  (*yi-3 obj.; *ni-uni.; *yi-cess.)

P3-3  *daini*-  (da-pl.; *yi-3 obj.; *ni-uni.; *yi-cess.)

-dó: *h (-doh) become hot, warm

-l-yol (-l-yol) inflate, bloat, deflate

-l-yol: *l (-l-yol) inflate, bloat, deflate

-gá: *h (-gah) become very hot, feverish; whiten

-gi:j (-gic) cut with blade

-ka:*s (-kas) become cold, cool off

*a-beyond-ná-again.'a-theme...-'a-l ('a-l) chew again

*Oa* 'a-thus-xo-things...-zi:* (zí:*l) be, become aware of ... (YM 243)

'à-ki...-l-teá:* (l-teá:*l) drive off attacker
ni-start for inceptive

...ing starts for
... starts ...ing for
... starts ...ing ... for

ni-start for is comparable with yi-continuative (10.103.) and di-start from (10.88a.), but since n is unstable in ways different from d and y, the conjugation differs. ni-start for implies continuative action or motion and is used with the inceptive stem.

1 nic- (ni-start for; -c-1 subj.)
2 ni- (ni-start for; -n-2 subj.)
3 yi- (ni-start for) (This form indicates that ni-probably includes yi-cont.)

4 dji- (dji-4 subj.; ni-start for)
i 'i- ('a-i subj.; ni-start for)
D1 ni-d- (ni-start for; -i-d-D1 subj.)
D2 noh- (ni-start for; -oh-D2 subj.)

Plural: Prefix da-pl. to regular dual forms.

3-3 yi- (yi-3 obj.; ni-start for)
1 'a-unic- ('a-i obj.; ni-start for; -c-1 subj.)
2-'a-ani- ('a-i obj.; ni-start for; -n-2 subj.)
3-i 'i- ('a-i obj.; ni-start for)
4-i 'adj- ('a-i obj.; dji-4 subj.; ni-start for)
(3) by i bi-ixe- (bi-[3] subj.; 'ad-i ag.; ni-start for)

ni-start for inceptive may be used with any verb of motion; hence only a few stems are given here.

-T (inc.) start ...ing ... for
-t-del (-t-dil) eat berries
-lec (-lic) blacken with soot, apply soot
-tod (-tod) suck on
-tel (-tiah) crawl
-ted (-tel) be dug with implement
-yal-t (-yal) roll eye
-dji- (-dji-t) streak black, make black line

'ada-down xo-place...si-d (inc.) (-sil) rake ... down in place
Oa...T (inc.) give to ... (YM 5)
ba' wait 'a-beyond...T (inc.) lend ... to ... (YM 6)

tőe-< tő-out-ná-back)'a-theme...dzi-d (inc.) (-dzil) waken, wake...
Ol tői-out...'a-h (inc.) (-'a-l) divulge, communicate with...

10.99a. ni-perfective

...ing has arrived
... has arrived ...ing
... has arrived ...ing ..., ... has brought ...

ni-perfective is the completed inceptive; it is used to exp "arrival at, finish."
1 ni- (ni-start for; c-1 subj.; -ni-compl.)
2 yini- (ni-start for; n-2 subj.; -ni-compl.)
3 ni- (ni-start for; -ni-compl.)
4 djiini- (dji-4 subj.; ni-start for; -ni-compl.)
i 'ani- ('a-i subj.; ni-start for; -ni-compl.)
D1 ni'-d- (ni-start for; -ni-compl.; i'd-D1 subj.)
D2 no- (ni-start for; -oh-D2 subj.; -ni-compl.)

Plural: Prefix da-pl. to dual forms.

3-3 yini- (yi-3 obj.; wt-start for; -wi-compl.)
2-i 'inii- ('a-i obj.; m-start for; -w-2 subj.; -wi-compl.)
4-i 'ajni- ('a-i obj.; dji-4 subj.; m-start for; -wi-compl.)

Plurals with indefinite object are of the type P3-i darii-.

-mc- (wi-start for; -wi-compl.; -c-1 ag.)
by 3 yi- (wi-start for; -m-compl.; yi-3 ag.)
by 4 dji- (dji-4 ag.; w^-start for; -wi-compl.)
by i 'i- ('a-i ag.; m-start for; -wi-compl.)
by D2 'ano-h- (wi-start for; -oh-D2 subj.; -oh-D2 ag.)

-T (pf.) arrive ...ing, bring ..., finish ...ing
-bqz (-bqs) hooplike, wheellike obj. moves, rolls
-lbqz (-l-bqs) drive wagon, car; cause hooplike obj. to move, roll
-mdz (-mqz) sphere moves, rolls
-də' (-də'l) eat (gen.)
-ti' (-tih) extend in a line
-nə' (-nah) crawl (YMG 87)
-gəj (-gic) cut with blade
-ya-l (-yal) roll eye
-dzə (-də-l) one person goes
-dzid (-dzil) wake up
-l-djq (-l-djqh) move stamping feet
-te'il (-te'i-l) snow falls
-ləz (-lə-s) lead one animal by rope
-tbiz (-tbius) harden

'a-nā-xo-things...-jə-d (-jə-l) be healthy
Oar 'a-theme...-T (pf.) lend ... to ... (YM 6)
Oar: tsi- uncertain...-kəz (-kəs) grasp, comprehend thoughts
ki...-l-ti' (-l-tih) persist, keep at ... (YM 200)
Oki(< ki-over-nā-against)2(< 'a-theme)...-tcid (-tci-l) fumble, feel amongst (YM 41)
Otsd di-emit-'a-theme...-li'd (-lil) be bright, shiny; glitter with reflected light (YM 31)
Otsd xo-things...-jə-d (-jə-l) be in good health, spirits
tći-out...-T (pf.) carry ... out
2 tći-ni-
3-3 tći-ni-
tći-out...-'áh (abs.) arm is sticking out
tći-out...-tq-d (-tqol) lean out (of window, car) (YM 215)
tści-out...cód (-col) drag out fabriclike obj. (WM)
tści-out...tliji (-tlic) person falls out (of window, car) (YM 215)
tści-out-'a-beyond...l-di-l (-l-di-l) fight for survival (YM 48)
tści-out-xo-things...'q (-'á-tl) speak out, tell, divulge things
Ol tści-out...'q (-'á-tl) divulge, communicate ... with ... (YM 5)

10.99b. ni-(ná-)-start for continuative

The conjugation of ni-(ná-)-start for is found only with compounded prefixes; the inflective (ná-) is necessary because of preceding prefixes which require it. The conjugation differs from that of (ná-) against in certain important respects. Like ná-(ná-)-back, (ná-) affects only the singular and dual forms.

1 níg- (ni-start for; [ná-]; c-1 subj.)
2 (nì.)níg- (ni-start for; [ná-]; n-2 subj.)
3 ná-, níg- (ni-start for; [ná-])
4 díg- (díg-4 subj.; ni-start for; [ná-])
i 'á- ('a-i subj.; ni-start for; [ná-])
D1 nít-d- (ni-start for; [ná-]; -d-D1 subj.)
D2 nò-h- (ni-start for; [ná-]; -oh-D2 subj.)
3-3 yini- (yi-3 obj.; ni-start for; [ná-])
3-i 'i- ('a-i obj.; ni-start for; [ná-])
by 3 ne- (ni-start for; [ná-]; -yi-3 ag.)
3 by 4 díg- (yi-3 subj.; díg-4 ag.; ni-start for; [ná-])
(3) by 3 bi'te- (bi-[3] subj.; 'adi-i ag.; ni-start for; [ná-])

Ol- (< O-ná-against)ná-cust...'q-h ('q-tl) measure up to ... (YM 10)
Ol- (< O-ná-against)ni-(< ná-back)ná-again...dá-h (inc.) (-dá-l) one person catches up again with ... ná-again...T (inc.) start to ... for again ná-again...díg-h (inc.) (-díg-t) start to eat again niki- (or nixi-)ni-(< ná-back)ná-again...dá-h (inc.) (-dá-l) one person starts back home again nixé- (< nixi-home-ná-circle)...dá-h (inc.) (-dá-l) one person starts for home in a circle, or completing circle Oki-...yá-h (inc.) (-qá-l) one person finds, comes upon ...
téc- (< teci-out-ná-back)...dzi-d (inc.) (-dzi-t) wake up... 3 tèenádzi-d he is starting to wake up P3 teci-da dzi-d they are starting to wake up 3-3 teci-yinidzi-d he is waking him up teci-out...T (inc.) start...ing... out, ... is starting to move out teci-out...l-baq-s (inc.) (-l-baq) start to drive wagon, car out teci-out-'a-theme...l-bal (inc.) (-l-bal) hang curtainlike obj. out; pull ... by force (as by hair, clothes) teci-out-'a-theme...l-di-h (inc.) (-l-di-t) survive but weakening, fight for survival teci-out-ná-cust...l-ni-h (cust.) (-l-ní-t) stick head out and jerk back (YM 164)
tści-out-ná-again...dá-h (inc.) (-dá-l) one person starts out again Ol tści-out...'a-h (inc.) (-'á-tl) start to communicate ..., tell ... (YM 5)
Ol tści-out-ná-again...'a-h (inc.) (-'á-tl) start to speak out again, communicate ... with ..., tell ... to ... (WE)
10.100. *ni*-end continuous

there is ...ing ... to end
... is ...ing ... to end
... is setting, placing, putting ... down

Though *ni*-end is often combined with *ni*-start for, it is also a
*yi*-continuous used with the present stem (10.103.).

1 *ni*c- (ni-end; yi-cont.; -c-1 subj.)
2 *ni*- (ni-end; yi-cont.; -n-2 subj.)
3 *ni*- (ni-end; yi-cont.)
4 *ndji*- (ni-end; dji-4 subj.; yi-cont.)
i *ne'e- (ni-end; 'a-i subj.; yi-cont.)
D1 *ni'd- (ni-end; yi-cont.; -i'd-D1 subj.)
D2 *no'h- (ni-end; yi-cont.; -oh-D2 subj.)

Plural: Prefix *nda- < ni-end-da-pl. to dual forms and note:
P 3 *ndayi- (ni-end; da-pl.; yi-cont.)
P 4 *ndadji- (ni-end; da-pl.; dji-4 subj.; yi-cont.)
3-3 *ni- (ni-end; yi-3 obj.; yi-cont.)
1-i *ne'ec- (ni-end; 'a-i obj.; yi-cont.; -c-1 subj.)
2-i *ni'i- (ni-end; 'a-i obj.; yi-cont.; -n-2 subj.)
3-i *ne'e- (ni-end; 'a-i obj.; yi-cont.)
4-i *ni'tci- (ni-end; 'a-i obj.; dji-4 subj.; yi-cont.)

... *T* (pres.) set ... down, place ..., put ... down, move ... to end
ni' ...-T (pres.) put ... on ground, floor

10.100a. *ni*-ni-end start for continuous

...ing is arriving
... is arriving ...ing
... is arriving ...ing ...
... is ...ing ... down, setting ... down, placing ...

Prefix *ni*-end (pre-paradigmatic prefix) to regular forms of *ni-
start for (10.99.) and note:

3 *ni- (ni-end; ni-start for)
4 *ndji- (ni-end; dji-4 subj.; ni-start for)
i *ni'i- (ni-end; 'a-i subj.; ni-start for)
D1 *nmi'd- (ni-end; ni-start for; -i'd-D1 subj.)
D2 *nno'h- (ni-end; ni-start for; -oh-D2 subj.)
3-3 *ni- { niiy- }

4-4 *nixodji- (ni-end; xo-4 obj.; dji-4 subj.; ni-start for)
1-i *ninic- (ni-end; 'a-i obj.; ni-start for; -c-1 subj.)
2-i *ninu- (ni-end; 'a-i obj.; ni-start for; -n-2 subj.)
3-i *ni't- (ni-end; 'a-i obj.; ni-start for)
4-i *ni'tci- (ni-end; 'a-i obj.; dji-4 subj.; ni-start for)

(3) by i *nbi'te- (ni-end; bi-[3] subj.; 'adi-i ag.; ni-start for)

-T (inc.) put, place, set ... down
-né-h (inc.) (-nah) crawl
-ge-h (inc.) (-goh) flow so far and stop; irrigate so far; plunge
-yá-h (inc.) (-gá-t) one person arrives
-l-lá'd (inc.) (-l-tlil) stop, halt (YM 215)
'aza...-zi'd (inc.) (-zil) rake together (YM 240)
OA...-NÉ-h (inc.) (-nah) crawl up on game, stalk (YM 148)
ni-end-'a-beyond...-gé-c (inc.) (-gic) aim ... (FH)
téi...-tì-j-h (inc.) (-tì-j) dodge ..., slip out of (situation)
téi...-só-d (inc.) (-sol) drive several out
téi-out-ná-again...-yó-d (inc.) (-yol) drive several out again
téi-out-ná-...-só-d (inc.) (-sol) drive several out again

10.100b. ni-end ni-perfective

...ing has arrived at end
... has ... ed to end
... has ... ed ... to end

When in ni-end is prefixed to the regular forms of ni-perfective (10.99a.), the following forms differ from the regular prefixes:

1 nini-
   ni-
   } (ni-end; ni-start for; -c-1 subj.; -ni-compl.)

2 nini-ni-
   ni-
   } (ni-end; ni-start for; -n-2 subj.; -ni-compl.)

4 nji- ni-
   djinini-
   } (ni-end; dji-4 subj.; ni-start for; -ni-compl.)

3-3 yini-
   yini-
   } (yi-3 obj.; ni-end; ni-start for; -ni-compl.)

P3-3 ndayini-
   dayini-
   } (ni-end; da-pl.; yi-3 obj.; ni-start for; -ni-compl.)

1-i nini-
   } (ni-end; 'a-i obj.; ni-start for; -c-1 subj.; -ni-compl.)

2-i nii-ni-
   } (ni-end; 'a-i obj.; ni-start for; -n-2 subj.; -ni-compl.)

3-i nini-
   } (ni-end; 'a-i obj.; ni-start for; -ni-compl.)

by 1 nii-
   } (ni-end; ni-start for; -ni-compl.; -c-1 ag.)

by 3 nii-
   } (ni-end; ni-start for; -ni-compl.; -yi-3 ag.)

4 by 3 djin-
   -ni-
   } (ni-end; ni-start for; -ni-compl.; -yi-3 ag.)

-T (pf.) set, place, put ... down
-ţé (abs.) lie coiled
-l-bé-z (-l-bqs) park car, bring wagon to stop (YM 23)
-l-lá-z (-l-las) cut fine, delicately (WE)
-né (-nè-ł) move camp
-ná' (-nah) crawl
-yá (-gá-ł) one person goes
-ge-d (-gol) dig with implement
-go' (-goh) plunge, irrigate (YM 89)
-l-ke' (-l-ke-ł) cool to normal
-sé (-sé-ł) mature, grow up (YM 175)

D1 nii-ni-láé we are growing, have grown up
-dzá (-dá-ł) one person goes
-ja-j (-jac) erode, wear away (YM 236)
-có-j (-coc) lay parallel obj. (YM 179)
-l-tcó' (-l-tcó-ł) follow scent
-l-tláh (-l-tlil) stop, hinder, halt (YMG 89, YM 215)

'axá-together...-zí-d (-zil) rake together
'axá...-l-tcó' (-l-tcó-ł) chase each other (YM 84)
'axá-(< 'axá-together-ná-against)...-l'-é (-l'-q-ł) balance, be eq
   volume (YM 14)
10.100b.-10.101.

Prefixes

10.100c. ni-ni-get stuck continuative

A compound prefix ni-ni- seems to be correlative with dini-get stuck (10.89a.), changes coming about because of the ability of ni- to combine with other ni-’s in a manner different from di-:

1 ne-c-
2 nini- ne-
3 ne-
4 djine-
   i ’anine-
   ’ane-
D1 ni-d-, ne-d-
D2 no-h-
3-3 yine-
3-i ’ane-
4-i djine-
(3) by bi’line-

Oa’ ná-back.'a-beyond...l’q-h (inc.) (-l’q-l) liquid returns to normal level
Oi- (< O-ná-against) ...l’q-h (inc.) (-l’q-l) measure liquid
Oi- (< O-ná-against)’a-i...l’q-h (inc.) (-l’q-l) measure (with hand, foot, tape), fit to...
Oi- (< O-ná-against)...dlî (pres.) (-dlî) be interested in ... (YM 54)
Oi- (< O-ná-against)ná-cust..'a-i...l’q-h (cust.) (-l’q-l) measure cust. (YM 10)
Oi- (< O-ná-against)ná-cust...-dlî-h (cust.) (-dlî) be interested in ... cust. (YM 54)
na-about’-a-beyond...-cê-h (inc.) (-cê-l) string warp

D1 nani’lij’ê’h
xa-out’-a-beyond...-l-nê-h (-l-nah) wear out ...ing
dsi-away...sol (inc.) (-sol) blow on
têi-out...-l-ne’ (-l-ni-l) stick head out and jerk it back (YM 164)
têi-out...yô-d (inc.) (-yôl) drive several to end (away from corral after leaving gate) (FH)
têi...-l-teê-h (-l-teê-l) drive one out; two are moving chasing (YM 33)

10.101. yá- with verbs of speaking

yá- with verbs of speaking is conjugated like ’á-thus with y instead of ‘ initial, in the progressive, continuative, and yi-perfective (10.80, 10.80b, 10.104). The following changes occur in yi-perfective:

2 yáini-
   yéini-
   } (yá.; yi-prog.; -n-2 subj.; -ni-compl.)
D1 yád-
   (yá.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.; -i-D1 subj.)
D2 yáo-
   (yá.; yi-prog.; -oh-D2 subj.; -ni-compl.)
-l-tih (prog.) speak, converse
-l-ti' (pres.) speak, converse
-l-ti' (pf.) speak, converse

10.102. yi-progressive

there is progressive ...ing
... is ...ing progressively
progressive ...ing is being caused
... is ...ing along ...ing
... is going along ...ing ...
... is causing ... to ... progressively
... is causing ... to ... it progressively
... is going along causing ... to ... it

The progressive is one of the basic conjugations. It may be used with the progressive stem of almost every verb. It occasionally has other prefixes compounded with yi-, but even then has only slight variations of the pattern. The vowel -o* of the third persons is characteristic and persistent in compounds.

Plural progressive forms, though possible as shown, are rarely used, the prolongative (10.91.) being preferred.

1 yiic- (yi-prog.; -c-1 subj.)
2 yi- (yi-prog.; -n-2 subj.)
3 yi- (yi-prog.)
4 djo- (dji-4 subj.; yi-prog.)
i 'o- ('a-i subj.; yi-prog.)
D1 yi'd- (yi-prog.; 'i-d-D1 subj.)
D2 yo'h- (yi-prog.; -oh-D2 subj.)
P1 da'i-d- (da-pl.; yi-prog.; -i-d-D1 subj.)
P2 dao'h- (da-pl.; yi-prog.; -oh-D2 subj.)
P3 dei-, dai- (da-pl.; yi-prog.)
P4 da'djo- (da-pl.; dji-4 subj.; yi-prog.)
P1 da'o- (da-pl.; 'a-i subj.; yi-prog.)
1-2 nec- (ni-2 obj.; yi-prog.; -c-1 subj.)
1-4 xwe'c- (xo-4 obj.; yi-prog.; -c-1 subj.)
3-1 co- (ci-1 obj.; yi-prog.)
3-3 yo- (yi-3 obj.; yi-prog.)
3-3-3 yiyo- (yi-3 obj.; yi-3 obj.; yi-prog.)
1-i 'e'e- ('a-i obj.; yi-prog.; -c-1 subj.)
2-i 'i- ('a-i obj.; yi-prog.; -n-2 subj.)
3-i 'o- ('a-i obj.; yi-prog.)
4-i 'adjo- ('a-i obj.; dji-4 subj.; yi-prog.)
D1-i 'i'd- ('a-i obj.; yi-prog.; -i-d-D1 subj.)
D2-i 'o'h- ('a-i obj.; yi-prog.; -oh-D2 subj.)
P4-i da'tco- (da-pl.; 'a-i obj.; dji-4 subj.; yi-prog.)
3 by 3 yiyo- (yi-3 subj.; yi-prog.; yi-3 ag.)
(3) by 3 bo- (bi-[3] subj.; yi-prog.; yi-3 ag.)
(3) by i bi'lo- (bi-[3] subj.; 'adi-i ag.; yi-prog.)

10.103. yi-continuative

there is ...ing
... is ...ing
... is ...ing ...
... is causing ... ing
... is causing ... to ... 
... is causing ... to ... it

The continuative (called imperfective by other writers) may be used under proper circumstances with the momentary, present, or inceptive stem. yi-continuative is used with the inceptive stem when it denotes an action or procedure in which the subject does not move through space.

1 yic- (yi-cont.; -c-1 subj.)
2 ni- (yi-cont.; -n-2 subj.)
3 yi- (yi-cont.)
4 dji- (dji-4 subj.; yi-cont.)
i 'a- ('a-subj.; yi-cont.)
D1 yi-d- (yi-cont.; -i-d-D1 subj.)
D2 yoh- (yi-cont.; -oh-D2 subj.)
P1 da'i-d- (da-pl.; yi-cont.; -i-d-D1 subj.)
P2 dah-, daoh- (da-pl.; yi-cont.; -oh-D2 subj.)
P3 dai-, dei- (da-pl.; yi-cont.)
P4 da'dji- (da-pl.; dji-4 subj.; yi-cont.)
P1 da'a- (da-pl.; 'a-i subj.; yi-cont.)
3-1 ci- (ci-1 obj.; yi-cont.)
3-2 ni- (ni-2 obj.; yi-cont.)
3-3 yi- (yi-3 obj.; yi-cont.)
3-4 xo- (xo-4 obj.; yi-cont.)
3-i 'a- ('a-i obj.; yi-cont.)
P2-3 da'h- (da-pl.; yi-3 obj.; yi-cont.; -oh-D2 subj.)
P3-3 da- (da-pl.; yi-3 obj.; yi-cont.)
3-3-3 yi yi- (yi-3 obj.; yi-3 obj.; yi-cont.)
1-i 'ac- ('a-i obj.; yi-cont.; -c-1 subj.)
2-i 'i- ('a-i obj.; yi-cont.; -n-2 subj.)
4-i 'adjji- ('a-i obj.; dji-4 subj.; yi-cont.)
D1-i 'i-d- ('a-i obj.; yi-cont.; -i-d-D1 subj.)
D2-i 'oh- ('a-i obj.; yi-cont.; -oh-D2 subj.)
P4-i da'tci- (da-pl.; 'a-i obj.; dji-4 subj.; yi-cont.)
1 by 3 ci- (ci-1 subj.; yi-cont.; -yi-3 ag.)
2 by 3 ni- (ni-2 subj.; yi-cont.; -yi-3 ag.)
3 by 3 yi- (yi-3 subj.; yi-cont.; -yi-3 ag.)
(3) by 3 bi- (bi-[3] subj.; yi-cont.; -yi-3 ag.)
(3) by i bi'ti- (bi-[3] subj.; 'adi-i ag.; yi-cont.)
D1 by 3) nixi- (nixi-D1, D2 subj.; yi-cont.; -yi-3 ag.)
D2 by 3)

A short list of stems used with yi-continuative follows; note that they are verbs of action rather than verbs of motion.

-béj (pres.) (-bic) boil,
-l-béj (pres.) (-l-bic) cause boiling
-bių (pres.) (-bic) braid, twill
-diz (pres.) (-dis) spin, twist one element on another
-yq̴h (pres.) (-yq̴t) (irregular see 8.97.) eat (gen.)
-giz (pres.) (-gis) turn, twist as pivot, screw
-l-yal (mom.) (-l-yal) animal eats meat; tear meat from bone
-y̷f-h (mom., inc.) (-y̷f-t) (irregular see 8.97.) eat (gen.)
-l-jic (pres.) (-l-jic) dance
-tcah (pres.) (-tcah) cry, weep
-l-tcin (pres.) (-l-tcin) give off odor, have odor, smell
-l-tci (pres.) (-l-tci) cause bearing down, pressing; give birth to, be born, originate
-l-tcoj (pres.) (-l-tcoj) eat herblike substance (as grass, hay, greens)
-l-tcq (mom., inc.) (-l-tcq) spoil, ruin, mar, wreck, disfigure
-tcrah (pres.) (-tcrah) scream
-l-tcāl (pres.) (-l-tcāl) lap up
-tcōd (pres.) (-tcōd) move hand quickly, scratch with hand, paw
-le'h (pres.) (-le'h) become, change
-l-tcoj (pres.) (-l-tcoj) eat herblike substance (as grass, hay, greens)
-tcōh (pres.) (-tcōh) animate obj. becomes very cold, freezes, dies of cold
-tkōh (pres.) (-tkōh) weave, tie, intertwine

yi-perfective

yi-perfective is the progressive completive, corresponding to the progressive and continuative. It differs from the ni-perfective in that it does not indicate the finish of the action, or the arrival at a goal. It differs from the si-perfective in not indicating a state that has been brought about.

yi-perfective

1 yi- (yi-prog.; -c-1 subj.; -ni-compl.)
2 yini- (yi-prog.; -n-2 subj.; -ni-compl.)
3 yi- (yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)
4 dji- (dji-4 subj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)
i 'i- ('a-i subj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)

D1 yi-d- (yi-prog.; -ni-compl.; -d-D1 subj.)
D2 go- (yi-prog.; -oh-D2 subj.; -ni-compl.;)
P1 dai-d- (da-pl.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.; -d-D1 subj.)
P2 dao- (da-pl.; yi-prog.; -oh-D2 subj.; -ni-compl.;)
P3 dayi- (da-pl.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.;)
3-3 yi'iyi- (yi-3 obj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)
i-3 'ayi- ('a-i subj.; yi-3 obj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)
1-i 'i- ('a-i subj.; yi-prog.; -c-1 subj.; -ni-compl.)
2-i 'i-ni- ('a-i subj.; yi-prog.; -n-2 subj.; -ni-compl.)
3-i 'i- ('a-i subj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)
4-i 'adjī- ('a-i subj.; dji-4 subj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)

D1-i 'i-d- ('a-i obj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.; -d-D1 subj.)
D2-i 'o- ('a-i obj.; yi-prog.; -oh-D2 subj.; -ni-compl.;)
3-3-3 yi-yi- (yi-3 obj.; yi-3 obj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)
P3-3 daiyī- (da-pl.; yi-3 obj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.;)
by 1 yic- (yi-prog.; -ni-compl.; -c-1 ag.)
by 3 yi- (yi-prog.; -ni-compl.; -yi-3 ag.)
by 4 dji- (dji-4 ag.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)
by i 'ado- ('adi-i ag.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)
3 by 1 yic- (yi-3 subj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.; -c-1 ag.)
3 by 2 yin- (yi-3 subj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.; -n-2 ag.)
3 by 3 yo- (yi-3 subj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.; -yi-3 ag.)
4 by 3 dji- (dji-4 subj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.; -yi-3 ag.)
(3) by 3 bo- (bi-[3] subj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.; -yi-3 ag.)
In the following stem list note that the perfective stems correspond with the stems given in 10.103. for yi-continuative—they are stems denoting action rather than motion, although stems of motion may be used with yi-perfective if they denote progressive completive motion.

- T (pf.) ...ing ... has progressed
- l-bf'sz (-l-bqs) drive wagon, car; roll hooplike obj.; cause hooplike, wheellike obj. to roll
- l-bé-j (-l-bic) boil ...; cause to boil
- b'j' (-be'l) pick berries, fruit
- dâ' (-dit) be eaten (gen.)
- de' (-dah) clean
- dé-l (-dit) eat berries, pollen
- nía' (-nah) crawl
- yâ' (-yf-l) (irregular see 8.97.) eat (gen.)
- yol (-yol) breathe, blow
- ge'd (-gol) dig with implement
- l-kaz (-l-kas) make cold
- ka-z (-kas) straighten stiff obj.
- yas (-yas) mark with teeth, tear with teeth
- yaj (-yac) nibble
- l-yal (-l-yal) animal eats; tear meat from bone
- l-ya-l (-l-yal) club, hit with club
- yâ-d (-yal) shake flexible container
- l-xa-l (-l-xal) club; cause clublike obj. to move
- l-zol (-l-zol) blow hard
- dzi' (-dzih) be left, remain
- tse'd (-tsil) pound, beat with hammerlike obj.; hammer

'a-theme ...-dlâ' (-dlj-l) drink, be a drinker (YM 54)
'á-self-kî ...-l-tcî' (-l-tcî-l) masturbate self (YM 37)

by 1 'áke-ce'qî'by 2 'ákti-niltcî'.

dî ...-l-dlî' (-dlî-l) be drunk, be made to drink
ke- (< kî-sever)'a-theme ...-ah ('al) take hair down (YM 16)

xa ...-qa (-'â-l) pull one tooth, take one ... out (as dollar from bank, pocket)

1 xaî'q' I pulled one tooth
2 xanâ'q' you pulled one
3-3 xaî'q' he pulled one

xa ...-nil (-nil) pull several teeth; take pl. obj. out

xa-out-'a-theme ...-xâ' (-xî-l) snore

tî-out-nâ'-again-xo-things ...-tî (-tâ-l) speak out again (BS)
yi-cessative

Two prefixes, yi-cessative and -yi-repetitive aspect have many overlapping forms. The close relationship between these two prefixes is understandable since, in order to repeat a motion or action, it must be stopped.

yi-cessative may also be confused with xi-repetitive action, especially when xi- > yi- as it frequently does in combination with other prefixes. yi-cessative may be distinguished from -yi-repetitive aspect by the second person perfective cessative (yini- instead of yi-), by some forms with 'a-indefinite pronoun, and by some future forms. -yi-repetitive aspect has si-perfective or yi-perfective, whereas yi-cessative has -yi-perfective cessative (Young and Morgan do not differentiate these).

10.105a. yi-pause future cessative

... ing will pause
... will pause ... ing
... will pause ... ing ...

Prefix yi-cessative to regular future forms (10.87.) and note:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i 'i-do-</td>
<td>('a-i subj.; yi-cess.; di-fut.; yi-prog.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-3 yi-do-</td>
<td>(yi-3 obj.; yi-cess.; di-fut.; yi-prog.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'i-(&lt; 'a-beyond-yi-cess.)...l-yoc</td>
<td>be put to sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néi-...l-gah</td>
<td>rub white on, whiten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néi-...l-tsoh</td>
<td>rub yellow on, make yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néi-...l-jil</td>
<td>rub black on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néi-...l-tcih</td>
<td>rub red on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néi-...l-tlic</td>
<td>rub blue on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dah-...tcih</td>
<td>flash red (YM 34)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya-tilt...zil</td>
<td>pour (YM 187)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okiddi xadah 'i'i-(&lt; 'a-beyond-'a-i-yi-cess.)...l-ni'l</td>
<td>drop one bomb on (YM 165)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oiki-(&lt; ki-over-yi-cess.)...zil</td>
<td>cover by raking over ... (YM 240)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ozá kí-(&lt; ki-over-ná-against)di-...nih</td>
<td>choke, strangle with hands (YM 157)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10.105b. yi-pause inceptive cessative

... ing starts to pause
... is starting to pause ... ing
... is starting to pause ... ing ...

The prefixes yi-continuative-yi-cessative form the inceptive cessative conjugation, meaning “start to pause.” The prefixes are used with the inceptive cessative stem, often, but not always, the same as the inceptive stem.
Plural: Prefix da-pl. to dual forms and note:

P1 yidayi-d- (yi-3 obj.; da-pl.; yi-cont.; yi-cess.; -i-d-D1 subj.)
P2 yidayo-h- (yi-3 obj.; da-pl.; yi-cont.; yi-cess.; -oh-D2 subj.)
P3 da- (da-pl.; yi-cont.; yi-cess.)
P4 yidadji- (yi-3 obj.; da-pl.; dji-4 subj.; yi-cont.; yi-cess.)
3-3 yi'ki- (yi-3 obj.; yi-cont.; yi-cess.)
P3-3 yi'de- (yi-3 obj.; da-pl.; yi-cont.; yi-cess.)

1-i 'i-c- ('a-i obj.; yi-cont.; yi-cess.; -c-1 subj.)
2-i 'i- ('a-i obj.; yi-cont.; yi-cess.; -n-2 subj.)
3-i 'i- ('a-i obj.; yi-cont.; yi-cess.)
4-i 'adj-i- ('a-i obj.; dji-4 subj.; yi-cont.; yi-cess.)

.T (inc. cess.) pause ...ing ...
-da- (-da-l) one person sits
-l-dé-h (-l-dah) clean, clear away
-dis (-dis) roll in spiral; turn element on itself
-l-dis (-l-dis) give a twist, wrap up (YM 50)
-l-ta-l (-l-tal) kick; move round obj. forcefully
-l-yá-c (-l-yac) bite
-l-yi-j (-l-yic) crouch
-zoh (-zoh) mark, scratch (YM 244)
-l-tse-l (-l-tse-l) (cess. only) see (YM 219)
-c-f-h (-cf-l) dye black (YM 178)
-dji (-dji-l) move black; black obj. (speck) moves
-l-tei-h (-l-teih) reddens, dye red

'at-i-suffering-ná-cust....l-'i-h (cust.) (-l-'i-l) injure, harm (YM 133)
'á-thus-ná-back-xo-things....l-'i-h (cust.) (-l-'i-l) quit, back out cust. (YM 202)
'á-thus-ní- (< ná-back)ná-cust....l-'i-h (cust.) (-l-'i-l) repair (YM 129)
'áko ná-cust....l-'i-h (cust.) (-l-'i-l) make it correctly (YM 129)
Oá 'aodjá' ná-a-theme....l-'i-h (inc. cess.) (-l-'i-l) give ... a chance (YM 132)
Ota- ni- (< ná-cust.)....l-nih (cust.) (-l-nih) there is an epidemic (YM 158)

ná-cust....l-na-h (cust.) (-l-na-l) generate electric (YM 145)
ná-cust....dzo-h (cust.) (-dzo-l) mark, scratch (YM 244)
 ya-tilt....l-zi-d (inc. cess.) (-zil) pour (YM 240)
ya-talt....l-ta-l (-l-tal) start off running fast, dash off (YM 187)
ki- (< ki-touching-ná-against)nì-end....cóc (inc. cess.) (-coc) lay parallel obj. side by side (YM 180)
ki-over....zi-d (inc. cess.) (-zil) cover by raking over ... (YM 240)
Ol ná-around....dis (inc. cess.) (-dis) wrap up ... (YM 50)
1 nèti-dis I am wrapping it up
3-3 náyi-dis he is wrapping it up

10.105c.

yi-pause perfective cessative

...ing has paused, stopped
...has paused, stopped ...ing
...has paused, stopped ...ing ...

The forms of the perfective cessative are the same as those of the inceptive cessative (10.105b.) with a few exceptions. The perfective cessative is prefixed to the perfective stem.
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1 yi-  
2 yini-  
3 yi-yi-  
by 1 yi-c-  

- dis (-dis) spin, twist spirally
- di' (-ni-t) move camp
- gai (-gah) whiten
- ge' (-gol) dig with implement, shovel dirt
- gi' (-gic) slice, cut with blade
- ka' (-kal) sew
- l-kp' (-l-kp-t) smooth
- l-yay' (-l-yac) bite
- l-ye' (-l-yic) stoop over, crouch
- l-ta' (-l-tst-t) see (YM 219)
- dji' (-dji-t) be black, move as black line, speck
- te' (-teh) (abs.) know how to . . . (YM 36)

- l-dli' (-l-dli-t) make . . . drink, make . . . drunk; cause to drink
- da' . . . te' (-teh) flash red (YM 34)

- ya-tilt. . . l-ta' (-l-tal) dash off running, start running fast (YM 187)
  2 yeinilt'l you have dashed off
  3 ya'lt'a he has dashed off
- ya-tilt. . . zi'-d (-zil) pour (YM 240)

Ok'i-over . . . zi'-d (-zil) cover by raking over . . . (YM 240)
  2 biki-nise'-d you have covered it by raking . . . over it

Ok'i . . . l-te' (-l-teh) have nightmare (YM 36)

10.106.  Repetitive

Two prefixes indicate the repetitive: xi-repetitive action or motion (abbreviated “rep.ac.”), and -yi-repetitive aspect (abbreviated “rep.asp.”). Pre-paradigmatic xi- means “move repeatedly” whereas -yi- means “start from repeatedly, start for repeatedly.” Either may occur without the other, or they may be used together. Since -yi-repetitive aspect does not occur without another conjugated prefix, it is treated as an inflectional prefix.

Both repetitive prefixes are composed of unstable sounds, and they have many overlapping forms, both with each other and with other combinations of yi-prefixes. They are therefore considered separately to differentiate the changes occurring with them, and to indicate the effects of their respective positions. They correspond to the compound prefixes ni-end-ni-start for, di-ni-prolongative, ná-(ná-) back, customary, and yi-ni-reciprocal effect.

10.106a.  

-yi-repetitive aspect future

. . . ing will take place repeatedly
. . . will repeatedly . . .
. . . will repeatedly . . . it

The order of the future repetitive aspect prefixes is di-future-yi-progressive-yi-repetitive aspect; they contract into forms that match the future forms (10.87.) with diy- instead of d initial. A few
examples only will be given to show the position of the elements in
the prefix complex, the others being quite regular.

4 dji'diyo- (dji-4 subj.; di-fut.; yi-prog.; -yi-rep.asp.)
3-3 yidiyo- (yi-3 obj.; di-fut.; yi-prog.; -yi-rep.asp.)
(by i bidiyo- (bi-[3] subj.; di-fut.; 'a-i ag.; yi-prog.; -yi-rep.asp.)

-T (fut.) ...ing will take place rep.
'a-beyond-z-(< dni-away) ...-T (fut.) throw ... rep.; move ... beyond
rep.
'i-(< 'a-beyond-xi-rep.ac.) ...-T (fut.) carry ... rep.; load ...
na-about-xo-place ... na-l universe moves
ni-end ... -ni-l cut with ax into regular sized pieces
ni-end-xo-place ... -dlal plow (YM 52)
ni- ... -jih saw wood
xa-out ... -txe jerk, whip
xa-out-nä-again-z-(< dni-away) ... -sih pointed obj. moves out away
swiftly again
xa-xo- ... -tji rain
xi-rep.ac. ... ni-l pound vigorously
xi-rep.ac.-z-(< dni-away) ... -tqc flip away
xi-rep.ac.-z-(< dni-away) ... -xal club, hit with club

10.106b. -(yi)-repetitive aspect continuative

... is repeatedly ... ing
... is repeatedly ... ing ...

The continuative repetitive aspect differs from the inceptive
cessative (yi-yi-) (10.105b.) in the following forms:

2-i 'iyi- ('a-i obj.; yi-cont.; -yi-rep.asp.; -n-2 subj.)
D1-i 'iyi-d- ('a-i obj.; yi-cont.; -yi-rep.asp.; -i-d-D1 subj.)
D2-i 'iyoh- ('a-i obj. yi-cont.; -yi-rep.asp.; -oh-D2 subj.)
(by i bi'ti- (bi-[3] subj.; 'adi-i ag.; yi-cont.; -yi-rep.asp.)

-T (mom., pres., inc.) move ... rep.
-sih (mom.) (-sih) make mistake, err rep.
-djih (mom.)(-dji-l) saw wood (YM 106)
na-about ... -l-te (mom. pres.) (-l-te-l) carry sticklike obj.

10.106c. -yi-repetitive aspect yi-perfective

... has been taking place repeatedly
... has been ... ing repeatedly
... has been ... ing ... repeatedly

The conjugation of -yi-repetitive aspect yi-perfective has some
forms exactly like those of yi-perfective: 4, 3-3, 1-i, 3-i, and all
duals (10.104.). The chief difference is in the lengthening of the vowel
because of contraction.

1 yi- (yi-prog.; -yi-rep.asp.; -c-1 subj.; -ni-compl.)
2 yi-ni- (yi-prog.; -yi-rep.asp.; -n-2 subj.; -ni-compl.)
3 yi- (yi-prog.; -yi-rep.asp.; -ni-compl.)
i 'ayi- ('a-i subj.; yi-prog.; -yi-rep.asp.; -ni-compl.)
2-i 'i-yini- ('a-i obj.; yi-prog.; -yi-rep.asp.; -n-2 subj.; -ni-compl.)
1 by i ci'tyoi- (ci-1 subj.; 'adi-1 ag.; yi-prog.; -yi-rep.asp.; -ni-compl.)
3 by 1 yi'e- (yi-3 subj.; yi-prog.; -yi-rep.asp.; -ni-compl. -c-1 ag.)
3 by 2 yi- (yi-3 subj.; yi-prog.; -yi-rep.asp.; -ni-compl. -n-2 ag.)
3 by 3 yi'yi- (yi-3 subj.; yi-prog.; -yi-rep.asp.; -ni-compl. -yi-3 ag.)
3 by 4 dzi- (yi-3 subj.; dzi-4 ag.; yi-prog.; -yi-rep.asp.; -ni-compl.)

-i-ka-l (-kal) nail; cause solid obj. to hit ... rep.
-tse'd (-tsil) pound, hit with hammer, mallet
-l-dil' (-dil'l) be made drunk

'a-beyond ...-zi' (-zq-1) beat spouse (YM 234)
'à-thus ...-la' (-lé-1) do, make, build, construct ... rep.
'à-thus ...-l-yá' (-l-né-1) make, construct, build ...
Oi: 'i-(< 'a-beyond-xi-rep.ac.) ...-áyá' (-sí-1) feed, force food into ...
(YM 182, FH)

10.106d. 

-yi-repetitive aspect si-perfective

... ing has repeatedly taken place
... has repeatedly ... ed
... has repeatedly ... ed ...

The forms resulting from the combination of si-perfective and -yi-repetitive aspect are comparable with those of di-start from -si-perfective (10.88c.) with y instead of d initial, the changes noted below being due to the instability of yi- as compared with di-.

4 dzii-
   dziz- }
   
4 yi'e- ('a-i subj.; si-pf.; -yi-rep.asp.; -ni-compl.)
P4 da'si- (da-pl.; dzi-4 subj.; si-pf.; -yi-rep.asp.; -ni-compl.)
Pi da'jii- (da-pl.; 'a-i subj.; si-pf.; -yi-rep.asp.; -ni-compl.)
3-3 yiye'zi (yi-3 subj.; si-pf.; -yi-rep.asp.; -ni-compl.)
by 1 yi's- (si-pf.; -yi-rep.asp.; -ni-compl.; -c-1 ag.)
by 3 ye's- }
   yi's- }
   (si-pf.; -yi-rep.asp.; -ni-compl.; -yi-3 ag.)
i by 3 'aye's- }
   i's- }
   ('a-i subj.; si-pf.; -yi-rep.asp.; -ni-compl.; -yi-3 ag.)
i by D2 'ayo'h- (a-i subj.; si-pf.; -yi-rep.asp.; -ni-compl.; -oh-D2 ag.)

10.107.

yi- with "see" continuative

The following paradigm is given in full because the stem 'i'ld "look, see, get into position to see" seems to have a prefix, so far undetermined, in addition to the regular aspective prefixes. This element results in -o- of the third persons, behaves like -ni- in others, as in the second person. The compound forms, di-continuative, ni-continuative, and the perfectives seem to contain (ná- against, which is not evident in the paradigm here given (unless it be the undetermined element). In short, this seems like a mixed, of irregular conjugation (op. YM 100-1).

1 yi'ic-
2 yi'nii-
3 yo-
4 djo-
D1 yi'd-
D2 yoh-
1-2 nec-
1-4 xwec-
1-i 'ec-
1-D1 nxec-
2-1 ci-ni-
2-4 xwi-ni-
2-i 'i-n-
2-D1 nxini-
3-1 co-
3-2 no-
3-3 yo-
3-4 xo-
3-i 'o-
4-1 cidjo-
4-2 ndjo-
4-4 xodjo-
4-i 'adjo-
4-D1 nxidjo-
D1-2 ni'd-
D1-4 xwidi-
D1-D2 nxid-
D1-i 'i'd-
D2-1 co'h-
D2-4 xo'h-
D2-D1 nxoh-
D2-i 'o'h-

'-i (prea.) ('-i:l) see, look at, get glance into position, focus on

10.108. yi-ni-have ... like, be ... ed like ... static
... has a ... like...

The following conjugation may be used with the -l- form of any monosyllabic noun as a stem (cp. 4.21.):

1 yinic-
2 yini-
3 yi-
4 djo-
D1 yini'd-
D2 yinoh-
P1 deini'd-
P2 deinoh-
P3 da-
P4 dadjo-

cac yilsii- he has a head like a bear
djan yinictlah I have a hat like John's

yilsq she is pregnant (-tsq abdomen) (cp. -l-tsq'l be pregnant) (YM 219)

10.109. yi-ni-change continuative

The prefix combination yi-ni- seems to mean something like "change takes place." The future of the form yidiye'c- probably overlaps that of -yi-repetitive aspect future (10.106a). Since the meaning is not clear the conjugations are given without analysis:
1 yinic-
   yoc-
2 yini-
   yo-
3 yo-, yo-
4 djo-
D1 yini'd-
   yo'd-
D2 yinoh-
   yo'h-

3 by 1 yo'c-
3 by 3 yo'c-
3 by 4 djo'-

-l-yé (pres.) (-l-ye-l) be called, be named ... 
-dlég (pres.) (-dlé-l) believe

Oi' ...'a'h (pres.) (-á'í) (3 only) be discontented, have change of temper
1 ci' yo'a'h I am discontented
tco-useful...'i' (pres.) (-í'l) be useful
tco-useful... l'i' (pres.) (-l-í'l) use, put to use

10.109a.

yi-ni-change si-perfective

The si-perfective of yi-ni- is formed by prefixing yi- to the regular si-perfectives (10.117.), and note:

3 yo'z-
4 dzo'z-
   djiyo'z-
i' o'z-
D1 yiso'd-
   yisi'd-
D2 yiso-
3-3 yiiyo'z-
by D2 yiso'h-
3 by 3 yo's-
   yo's-
(3) by i bi'to's-

-l-yé (pres.) (-l-ye-l) be called, have the name ... (NT 369:27)
-l-téj' (l-téji) winnow (FH)
-dlég (pres.) (-dlé-l) believe (YM 51, 92; FH)

Oa' ... -bč (-bč'i) (3 only) lose at gambling (YM 28)
1 cao-bč I lost to ... at gambling
Oa' ... t-bč (t-bč'i) win at gambling (YM 28)
1 ba' yisélbč I won it from him
Oa' ... nah (nah) forget about (YM 147)
'sí- (<'á-thus-si-harm) ... l'i'd (-l-í'l) quit, back out, surrender (YM 202
Oé xo-things ... s'i'd (-sí'l) know things (YM 175) .
Oí (< O-ná-against) xo-things ... sa' (< sa'h) miss..., find ... gon
(YM 175)
3-3 yixo'saq' he found him gone
D1 bixosi-lsq' we found him gone
ta...ni' (-nih) mix (as dough, mortar) (YM 156)
ti' xwii- (< xo-things-si-harm)...ni' (-nih) suffer, get hurt (YM 158...
PRELICTES

1.109a.-10.110. **yí-ní-doubtful destination continuative**

there is doubt about reaching a goal ... ing
... is trying to reach goal ... ing

The prefix combination **yí-ní-**, designated as "doubtful destination," is distinct from **yí-ní-reciprocal effect** (10.111, 10.111d.) although the two are often confused by the Navaho. At first glance **yí-ní-reciprocal effect** may seem to have the progressive-continuative forms, **yí-ní-doubtful destination**, absolute or inceptive forms, so that we might interpret them as one prefix combination, differing in the two systems. Both, however, have si-perfectives with different conjugations, and they react differently to the same tests—third persons, for instance—so that it has been deemed best to consider them as separate prefixes, each with its own conjugation.

**yí-ní-doubtful destination** is explained as "trying to make it," "it" being a definite target, and the interpreters explain further, "you don't know if the subject will reach the target or not." It contrasts with 'a-beyond in implying a definite goal, with ni-start for in implying doubt as to whether the goal will be reached or not; with dzi-away which indicates no doubt—"you know the object will hit the target" (cp. 10.119–10.119c.).

**yí-ní-doubtful destination** should also be compared with **Oná-(ná-)** against... (10.95f–10.95m.) in that **yí-** persists no matter what person the object of "against" is, and besides, **yí-ní-** behaves quite differently in contraction.

**yí-ní-doubtful destination continuative**

... moves trying to get to target
... tries to get ... to target

1 yin.i.c-
2 yin.i-
3 yí-
4 dji-
i 'i-
D1 yiní-'d-
D2 yinóh-
3-3 yí-
i 'i-nic
2-i 't-nd-
4-i 'dji-
D1-i 'i-ni-d-
D2-i 'inok-

-1-tój-h (inc.) (-1-tój-l) listen to ... (WM)
-1f (abs.) set a high value on, put a high price on ... (WM)

Oi (< bi-ná-against-yi)-ni-. . . -yah (abs.) be able to do it, be proportionate to ..., match ...
3 bi-yah, yi-yah
4 bidji-yah

10.110a. yi-ní-(ná-) doubtful destination customary
there is customary ...ing to doubtful destination ... is ...ing to doubtful destination customarily

When the two prefix combinations ná-(ná-) customary and yi-ní-doubtful destination occur together, the effect of (ná-) or (ní-) or both, is to lengthen the inflected prefix of the third persons—in the other persons ná- is prefixed to the continuative forms (10.110.) resulting in néi-:

3 -ya-
4 -dji-
i 'i-
1-i 'i-ni-
2-i 'i-ni-
3-i 'i-
4-i 't-d-

ná-cust...-l-tój-h (cust.) (-l-tój-l) hear; sounds tries to move to ... cust. (YM 222)

10.110b. yi-ní-doubtful destination ni-perfective
... has ...ed to doubtful destination ... has tried to ... to destination

The prefix combination yi-ní-doubtful destination combines with ni-perfective prefixes (10.99a.) to lengthen ni-perfectives:

1 yi-ní-
2 yi-nini-
3 yi-ní-
4 yi-jni-
3-3 yi-ní-

-l-ne' (-l-ni-l) throw round obj.
-l-xa-l (-l-xal) throw club, stick
-l-xan (-l-xâ-l) throw obj. (gen.)
-lo' (-loh) throw loop, lasso

10.110c. yi-ní-doubtful destination si-perfective
... has tried to ... to destination

The combination of yi-ní-doubtful destination with si-perfective has the order yi-si-ní-; the following forms should be compared:
with those of si-(ná-) (10.117a.). The presence of the second s in some of the forms is unexplained; no evidence of si-harm is present in the continuative, customary, or ni-perfective.

1 yinis-, yisinis-
2 yini-, yisinii-
3 yiyi-ë-
4 dji-ë-

D1 yisi-d-, yisint-d-
D2 yisó-, yisónô-
1-i 'i-sis-
2-i 'i-sinni-
3-i 'i-s-
4-i 'adjį-s-, 'adzi-s-

D1-i 'isid-d-
D2-i 'isö-

-l-tëf' (-l-té-t) hear; sound tries to move (YM 222, FH)

10.110d. yî-nî-doubtful destination inceptive cessative

The cessative affects yî-nî-doubtful destination by combining with -ni- to result in a falling tone; yî-nî-yî-cess. > yînî-:

1 yinî-c-
2 yinî-
3 yinî-
4 yijnî-

-l-tah (inc. cess.) (-l-tah) count
-l-tô-h (inc. cess.) (-l-ôh) shoot arrow
-l-ne' (inc. cess.) (-l-nî-ô) shoot one small obj.
-l-xa-l (inc. cess.) (-l-xal) throw club, stick
-l-ê-h (inc. cess.) (-l-hô) throw loop, lasso

10.110e. yî-nî-doubtful destination perfective cessative

... has paused ...ing to doubtful destination

The cessative perfective of yî-nî-doubtful destination has the following forms.

1 yinî-
2 yinini-
3 yijinii-
4 yijnî-

D1 yinî-d-
D2 yinô-

-l-ta' (-l-tah) count
-l-ôh (-l-ôh) shoot arrow
-l-ne' (-l-nî-ô) shoot one small obj. (YM 163)
-l-xa-l (-l-xal) throw club, stick
-l-ô' (-l-hô) throw loop, lasso

10.111. yî-nî-reciprocal effect

yî-nî- is a prefix combination which I refer to as “reciprocal effect” (abbreviated “rec.ef.”). It is not to be confused with yî-
yi-obj.-ná-against because yi-persists in all persons and the complex is treated in an entirely different way from Oi-(ná-) against. The outstanding distinction of yi-ní-reciprocal effect is the -ó- of the third persons—yó-, djó-, and ’ó-.

Although yiní-reciprocal effect may seem formally to be related to di-ní-prolongative (10.91.), it is distinct in the following respects as well as in that already noted: In the future the position of the combined elements differs—yi- precedes di-future, -ní- combines with it to result in yidé-c-, in comparison with diné-c-. ’a-indefinite pronoun combines with yi- to form ’i- whereas ’a- has the position between di- and ní- of the prolongative—’i-dé-c- compared with diné-c-.

The prefix complex yi-ní- means that the object has the same effect on the subject as the subject has upon the object, hence the reference “reciprocal effect.” The complex is a common one, and it should be noted, is used for words expressing emotion, instruction, asking expecting an answer, and the like.

10.111a.  yi-(ní-) reciprocal effect future

... ing will take place having reciprocal effect
... will ... having reciprocal effect
... will ... it having reciprocal effect

The order of the combination of prefixes in the future is yi-di-fut.- (ní-)yi-prog. and the results of the contractions may be described as those of di-start against future (10.90.), (ní-) having the same effects in this conjugation as (ná-) in that. Note:

3-3 yi-dō- (yi-rec.ef.; yi-3 obj.; di-fut.; [ní-]; yi-prog.)
1-i ’i-dé-c- (’a-i obj.; yi-rec.ef.; di-fut.; [ní-]; yi-prog.; c-1 subj.)
4-i ’i-jdō- (’a-i obj.; yi-rec.ef.; djí-4 subj.; di-fut.; [ní-]; yi-prog.)
(3) by i bidīlō- (bi-[3] subj.; ’adi-1 ag.; yi-rec.ef.; di-fut.; [ní-]; yi-prog.)

-bēl pick berries, small fruit
-tah read, count, go to school
-jīl call by name, give name to (YM 236)
-īsil chop, pound
-īgīl listen to (YM 222)
-loh loop, throw loop at, over; cheat, deceive
Oa- ’a-theme...-li-l depend upon (WM)
Oi-(< O-ná-against)...-kil ask about, inquire
Ota- ’a-theme...-ji-l call roll (YM 236)

10.111b.  yi-(ní-) reciprocal effect continuative

... ing is having reciprocal effect
... is ... ing with reciprocal effect
... is ... ing with reciprocal effect

1 yinic- (yi-rec.ef.; [ní-]; c-1 subj.)
2 yini- (yi-rec.ef.; [ní-]; n-2 subj.)
3 yó- (yi-rec.ef.; [ní-])
4 djō- (djí-4 subj.; yi-rec.ef.; [ní-])
-bé (pres.) (-be-t) pick berries, small fruit (YM 25 -bé-)
-t'-don (mom., pres.) (-do-t) shoot gun at target
-t'-d' (mom., pres.) (-d'-t) hold taut, cause tautness
-t'-ta (pres.) (-tah) read, count, go to school (YM 185)
-t' (pres.) (defective) hold by attachment (YM 188, FH)
-t-me (pres.) (-ni-t) throw round obj. at, hammer on, hit with hammer
-t' (pres.) (-ni-t) have regard for, esteem greatly, show affection for
-ki (mom.), -ke-d (pres.) (-kil) ask question expecting an answer
-t-xa-t (pres.) (-xt-x) throw club at target
-sih (mom.) (-sih) throw point obj. (as spear) at target
-dzi (mom.) (-dzi) scold, speak to, utter
-tsa (mom.), -tah (pres.) (-tah) move while holding ... in teeth
-t'é (pres.) (-tëh) hold in fingertips (YM 222)
-t'sin (pres.) (-tëh-t) dig for, dig after
-jih (pres.) (-jih-t) call by name, use ...'s name
-dji (pres.) (-dji) claw at, grasp with claws, nails (YM 106 -dji')
-dji (pres.) (-dji-t) be called by name (YM 236)
-leh (pres.) (-leh-t) throw rope at, rope an animal
-tl-leh (pres.) (-lh-t) throw viscid substance at

'a beyond limit 'a-beyond ...-li (pres.) (-li-t) depend on, rely upon (YM 134)
’á-thus ...-sin (pres.) (-si-t) maintain, take care of, keep in order (YM 182)
Oi- (< O-ná-against) ...-t' (pres.) (defective verb) hold ... against ...
Oi- (< O-ná-against-yi-rec.ef.)ni-rec.ef. ...-ni-h (inc.) (-n-h) accuse of flirting with spouse (YM 150)
by 3 yi-ni-h
Oi- (< O-ná-against) na- ...-ke-d (inc.) (-kil) ask for another
3-1 ciná-yóke-d he is asking me for another, he is asking me again (WE)

Ota- ...-jih (pres.) (-jih-t) call roll (YM 134)
a-t- ...-li (pres.) (-li-t) expect ... (YM 134)
1-3 nain'ílI I am expecting him
1-2 na'ni-nílI I am expecting you
3-3 nayóli he is expecting him

ná-cust. ...-be-h (cust.) (-be-t) pick berries cust. (YM 25)
1 néinibe-h I cust. pick berries
2 néinibe-h you cust. pick berries
10.111c.  yi-(nī-) reciprocal effect yi-perfective

there has been ...ing with reciprocal effect
... has been ...ing with reciprocal effect
... has been ...ing with reciprocal effect

1 yi-  (yi-rec.ef.; yi-prog.; -c-1 subj.; [nī-])
2 yi-nī-  (yi-rec.ef.; yi-prog.; -n-2 subj.; [nī-])
3 yō-  (yi-rec.ef.; yi-prog.; [nī-])
4 dzō-  (dżi-4 subj.; yi-rec.ef.; yi-prog.; [nī-])
i 'ī-  ('a- subj.; yi-rec.ef.; yi-prog.; [nī-])

D1 yi-d-  (yi-rec.ef.; yi-prog.; [nī-]; -d-D1 subj.)

D2 yō-  (yi-rec.ef.; yi-prog.; -ō-D2 subj.; [nī-])

3-3 yi-yi-  (yi-3 subj.; yi-rec.ef.; yi-prog.; [nī-])
3-ī 'ā- ('a- subj.; yi-rec.ef.; yi-prog.; [nī-])

3 by D2 yō-h-  (yi-3 subj.; yi-rec.ef.; yi-prog.; [nī-]; -ō-D2 ag.)

(3) by i bi-  (bi-[3] subj.; ’adi-i ag.; yi-rec.ef.; yi-prog.; [nī-])
i by 3 é-  ('a- subj.; yi-rec.ef.; yi-prog.; [nī-]; -y-3 ag.)

-‘a-l (’al) chew
-bf’ (be’d) pick berries, small fruit
-l-ta’ (l-tah) count, read, go to school (YM 188)
-tq’ (l-tah pres.) (defective) have hold of, hold by attachment (YM 188)
-l-ne’ (l-ni-l) hammer
-nī’ (l-ni-l) be affectionate
-gic (mom.pf.) (-gic) cut with blade
-l-ka’ (l-kal) chip, chop off ...
-ke’d (kil) ask expecting an answer
-dzik (dzik) scold
-tso’d (tso’l) grasp
-tśi’ (tśi’h) hold with nails
-tśin (tśi’l) dig for, dig after
-ji’ (ji’l) call by name
-dji’ (dżi’h) grasp with claws
-dji’ (dżi’l) be called by name (YM 236; NT 254: 20)
-dlq’ (dlq’l) drink

'axi-together ... l-tq’ (l-tah) all, sum is ...

Oi-(< O-nā-against) ... l-don (l-dq’l) shoot at target
Oi-(< O-nā-against) ... l-ta’ (l-tah) count
Oi-(< O-nā-against) ... l-tq’ (l-tq pres.) hold ... against ...

Oi-(< O-nā-against) ... tsa’ (tsah) hold in teeth
Oi-(< O-nā-against) ... tā’ (tśi’h) hold with nails
Ota- ... ji’ (ji’l) call roll (YM 236)
10.111d.  **yi-(nî-)** reciprocal effect *si*-perfective

There has been ...ing with reciprocal effect
... has ...ed having reciprocal effect
... has ...ed ... having reciprocal effect

1  ye-
   (yi-rec.ef.; *si*-pf.; -c-1 subj.; [nî-])
2  yini-
   (yi-rec.ef.; *si*-pf.; -n-2 subj.; [nî-])
3  ye-
   (yi-rec.ef.; *si*-pf.; [nî-])
3-3  yès-
   (yi-3 subj.; yi-rec.ef.; *si*-pf.; [nî-])
3-i  'ayès-
   ('a-i subj.; yi-rec.ef.; *si*-pf.; [nî-])
by 1  yec-
   (yi-rec.ef.; *si*-pf.; [nî-]; -c-1 ag.)
by 3  yès-
   (yi-rec.ef.; *si*-pf.; [nî-]; -y-3 ag.)

by 3  yìyòs-
   (yi-3 subj.; yi-rec.ef.; *si*-pf.; [nî-]; -y-3 ag.)

-ní-d (-nî-l) be affectionate, be loved
-dji' (-dji-l) be called by name

10.111e.  **yi-(nî-)** reciprocal effect optative

May (let)... have reciprocal effect ...ing

The prefix complex *yi-(nî-)* reciprocal effect conforms to the optative rule of 10.82c., but since *yi-* and *(nî-)* are separated by -ó-optative, and since all three affect one another, the optative conjugation is given here. Note that $y > \gamma$ and that -i-ó- with an inflectional prefix (here *(nî-)*) $> -ô-$ (10.82a.):

1  yo'-c-
   (yi-rec.ef.; -ô-opt.; [nî-]; -c-1 subj.)
2  yo'-
   (yi-rec.ef.; -ô-opt.; [nî-]; -n-2 subj.)
3  yo'-
   (yi-rec.ef.; -ô-opt.; [nî-])
4  dîjô-
   (dji-4 subj.; yi-rec.ef.; -ô-opt.; [nî-])
D1  yo'd-
   (yi-rec.ef.; -ô-opt.; [nî-]; -i-d-D1 subj.)
D2  yo'-'h-
   (yi-rec.ef.; -ô-opt.; [nî-]; -ô-D2 subj.)
1-i  'ô'-c-
   ('a-i subj.; yi-rec.ef.; -ô-opt.; [nî-]; -c-1 subj.)
2-i  'ô'-
   ('a-i subj.; yi-rec.ef.; -ô-opt.; [nî-]; -n-2 subj.)
3-i  'ô'-
   ('a-i subj.; yi-rec.ef.; -ô-opt.; [nî-])
4-i  'adjd-
   ('a-i subj.; dji-4 subj.; yi-rec.ef.; -ô-opt.; [nî-])

(3) by 1  bi'tô-
   (bi-[3] subj.; 'adî-i ag.; yi-rec.ef.; -ô-opt.; [nî-])

10.112.  **kó**-so far progressive

...ing so far is taking place progressively
... is ...ing so far progressively
... is ...ing ... so far progressively

When *kó* so far assimilates to the progressive prefixes the following changes take place:

1  kwâ-c-
   (kó-so far; yi-prog.; -c-1 subj.)
2  kwâ-
   (kó-so far; yi-prog.; -n-2 subj.)
3  kwâ-
   (kó-so far; yi-prog.)
4  kôdjo-
   (kó-so far; dji-4 subj.; yi-prog.)
D1  kwi'd-
   (kó-so far; yi-prog.; -i-d-D1 subj.)
D2  kwâ-h-
   (kó-so far; yi-prog.; -ô-D2 subj.)

'q ... nél' increase in size, expand; spread legs apart; make an opening so far (YM 162)
10.112a.  

**kó-so far yi-perfective**

...ing so far has been taking place
... has ...ed so far
... has ...ed ... so far

It is impossible to tell whether the perfective of kó-so far is ni- or yi-. Since yi-perfective seems to fit slightly better I analyzed the perfective as a yi-perfective, but ni- would fit nearly as well; I list all the forms available:

by 1 kóś-  
by 2 kwi-ní  
by 3 kó-  
by 4 kódji-  
by D1 kwi-d-  
by D2 kó-h-

'q. ...dza. (-rii-l) increase in size so far, expand; spread legs apart; make opening so far (YM 162)

10.113.  

**xa-out-ná-back**

xa-out vertically is conjugated in the simpler aspects like da down (10.85.). In the cessative, the contraction is of the form: xa-(né-yi)-yi- > (xa-ná-)-yi- > xá-yi- > xáí-. In other words, xa- and ná- are capable of absorbing one of the yi-prefixes, and of combining with each other. The perfective cessative conjugation follows:

1 xáí-  
2 xáiní-  
3 xáí-  
4 xádji-  
D1 xáid-  
D2 xáo-

nahdji’...’áj (-’ac) two persons back up, go off the trail
nahdji’...yá (-’ád) one person backs up, goes off the trail
nahdji’...-kai (-kah) pl. persons back up, go off the trail
nahdji’...-dje’ (-djah) pl. persons run back, go back fast

10.114.  

**xi-repetitive action**  
**xi-change position**

The prefix xi- is in some respects apparent as a repetitive when I have called the “repetitive of action or motion.” It has been distinguished from (-yi-) “repetitive of aspect,” which should considered as an inflectional prefix (10.106-10.106d.). xi-repetitive action has some overlapping forms with xo-place, si-un-, and other unstable prefixes, so that they are difficult to isolate, especially when i becomes a, and other changes take place because of assimilation.

Moreover, there seems to be another prefix xi- that has forms similar to those of xi-repetitive action in some aspect
other forms that differ only slightly. This second *xi*-seems to mean "change position, up, upward," in contradistinction with *ni-di-*cessative which means "separate two surfaces, start lifting...," and *xa-*up vertically, up out of. The two last prefixes are inceptive, and indicate "start of a motion up or up out," whereas *xi-* perhaps refers to "raising an object without changing its horizontal position." *xi-* in this form may be used with the inceptive, but is a kind of compromise between a present and an inceptive.

A study of the several paradigms shows that some combinations are used only with *xi-* in the meaning of "change position," others are used in either meaning.

In some instances the position of *xi-* is clear and generally agreed upon, but speakers do not agree about the forms which combine with *yi-, si-,* and the like, and they give varying forms. In fact, the differentiation of the repetitive aspects is secured from the old men rather than from today's speakers. The latter may realize and use some of the forms, but do not distinguish meanings and often even confuse the repetitives with the cessatives. These remarks are illustrated by many of Morgan's mixed paradigms. Many of the forms here given are taken from texts in which they are frequently demonstrated, but some could not be checked with interpreters who say "they are the same."

The paradigms should be considered as suggestive; probably many corrections should be made, especially in interpretation. When a combination like *xa-* is interpreted as a *xi-* or *xa-*prefix, it is because of other forms, often the second person singular, that indicate *i* instead of *a,* or *o,* as the primary vowel of the prefix.

**10.114a.**  
*xi*-repetitive action progressive  
progression of repetitive motion takes place  
... progressively repeats ...ing  
... progressively repeats ...ing ...

The progressive of *xi*-repetitive action (abbreviated rep.ac.) is like that of the regular progressive with *x* instead of *y* initial (10.102.). Note:

| 4 | djiyo-  
| 3-3 | yiyo-  
| xiyu- | xiyou- |

P3-3 dayiyo-  
(da-pl.; *xi*-rep.ac.; *yi*-3 obj.; *yi*-prog.)

**10.114b.**  
*xi*-repetitive action future  
repetitive ...ing will take place  
... will ... repeatedly  
... will ... it repeatedly
Prefix *xi-* to the regular future forms (10.87.) and note:

-3<i> i<do>- ('a-i obj.; xi-rep.ac.; di-fut.; yi-prog.)
-3<i> i<do>- ('a-i subj.; xi-rep.ac.; di-fut.; yi-prog.; -yi-3 ag.)

-<i>na-l come to life, live through a change (as plant transplanted)
-<i>via-l person moves (FH)

'a-beyond... T (fut.) unload, carry... beyond rep. (YM 56)
'a-<i>x<--...-<i>k<i>l cut wood in random sizes

na-about...-<i>le-l hop about (YM 198)

'ni-end...-<i>n<i>i-l chop wood

xo-place...-l-y<i>l wriggle on stomach (YM 76)

di-out...-l-t<i>l throw out one obj. after another (EW 49)

Oti'i 'a-beyond...-tal dart at, spring at...

10.114c. xi-repetitive action continuative

repetitive...ing is taking place
... is...ing repeatedly
... is...ing... repeatedly

1 xec., xic- (xi-rep.ac.; yi-cont.; -c-1 subj.)
2 xi- (xi-rep.ac.; yi-cont.; -n-2 subj.)
3 xi- (xi-rep.ac.; yi-cont.)

<i>4 xidji-} (xi-rep.ac.; dji-4 subj.; yi-cont.)

i 'a'gi-, 'i- ('a-i subj.; xi-rep.ac.; yi-cont.)
D1 xi'<i>-d- (xi-rep.ac.; yi-cont.; -i'-<i>d-D1 subj.)
D2 xoh- (xi-rep.ac.; yi-cont.; -oh-D2 subj.)

Plural: prefix da-pl. to dual forms.

3-3 xi<iy<i>- (xi-rep.ac.; yi-<i>3 subj.; yi-cont.)

1-i 'i-c- ('a-i subj.; xi-rep.ac.; yi-cont.; -c-1 subj.)
2-i 'iy<i>- ('a-i subj.; xi-rep.ac.; yi-cont.; -n-2 subj.)
3-i 'i- ('a-i obj.; xi-rep.ac.; yi-cont.)
4-i 'adji- ('a-i obj.; xi-rep.ac.; dji-4 subj.; yi-cont.)

-T (inc.) load, carry load... rep.; set down... one by one

'a-c ('ac) two persons go

-ma-l (inc.) (-ma-l) gulp noisily, without chewing (YM 143)

-l-ta-l (inc.) (-l-ta-l) kick; move round obj. forcefully

-yá-h (inc.) (-gá-l) one person goes

-l-yod (inc.) (-l-yod) rigid obj. sways

-l-xa-c (inc.) (-l-xa-c) bite, gnaw

-có-h (inc.) (-coh) brush, comb

-tse-l (inc.) (-tsel) pound, chop

-tstå-s (inc.) (-tstås) whip, switch; jerk ropelike obj.

díc (pres.) (-díc) file

tó-h (inc.) (-tó-l) tie, weave, knit

'a-beyond...-l-xan (inc.) (-l-xa-l) throw...; slam door (YM 92)

'a-theme-ná-cust... ma-l (cust.) (-ma-l) gulp noisily (YM 143)

'axi-together...-le-h (inc.) (-lo-h) catch, trap one after another (YM 13)

3-3 'axi-yile-h he is snaring them one after another

Oa...-tlo-h (pres.) (-tlo-l) tie... to... (as horse to a post)

na-about...-le' (mom.) (-lé-l) hop about like a stick (YM 198)
1 naxacel' I am hopping about
2 naxate' he is hopping about
na-down...-l-ni-h (inc.) (-l-nih) trade (YM 158)
3-3 nayi-ni-h he is trading it
na-about...-ni-h (pres.) (-na-t) move body rep.; heart beats
na-about...-ya-h (pres.) (-ga-t) person moves about in position
na-about...-toa' (pres.) (-teah) hop about
ni-end...-tih (inc.) (-tih) break up (as a box) (YM 206)
i-end...-l-ne' (pres.) (-l-ni-t) cut in regular size (as wood, cornstalks, squash for drying)
i-end...-ni-t (inc.) (-nil) chop wood
ni-end...-l-ge'c (inc.) (-l-gic) slice
ni...-si-h (inc.) (-sih) make mistakes
3 niiyisi-h he is making mistakes
D1 nxi-lzi-h we are making mistakes
yō'-i(<'ā-thus)...-l'ih (pres.) (-'l-i-t) bury them; cause-doing-thus-out-of-sight (NT 432:3)
xa-out...-T (inc.) move...out rep., unload...
1 xaxac-T I am moving...out rep.
xa-out...-l-tal (inc.) (-l-tal) kick, move small obj. out forcefully
xa-out...-tsxis (mom.) (-tsxis) switch, whip, jerk ropelike obj.
xa-out...-l-tsei'd (inc.) (-l-tsei'li) pull out one after another (as weeds) (YM 226)
Otoc' xa-out...-ni-t (inc.) (-nil) castrate; take genitals out one after another (YM 166)

10.114d. xī-repetitive action yi-perfective

there has been repeated...ing
...has been...ing repeatedly
...has been...ing...repeatedly

xī-repetitive action has the same forms as nī-uniform yi-perfective (10.98b) with x instead of n initial, that is, the resulting vowel is long, as compared with the short vowel of the regular yi-perfective. Note:

3 yi- (xī-rep.ac.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)
4 diji- (xī-rep.ac.; dji-4 subj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)
3 xiyi- (xī-rep.ac.; yi-3 obj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)
by 1 -xsc- (xī-rep.ac.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.; -c-1 ag.)
by 3 -xo- (xī-rep.ac.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.; -yi-3 ag.)
by 4 -xido- (xī-rep.ac.; dji-4 ag.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)

-yá (-gá-t) one person goes up
-djih (-djih) rub sand on...

'a...-tah (-tal) (pass.) jump, dart, bounce up (YM 187)
O-...-T (pf.) move...into...,load... (as wagon, truck)
Oi...(<O-ná-against)....'á(-'ál) add to it one at a time
Oi...(<O-ná-against)...-nil (-nil) add to it several at a time
tá...-lóz (-lós) lead animal to water
ni-end...-l-ne' (-l-ni-t) chop wood in even lengths
ni-end...-ji' (-ji-t) saw wood
xa-out...-ka'd (-kal) it (tongue) hangs out (NT 22:26)
10.114e.  **xi-repetitive action si-perfective**

there has been repeated...ing
...has...ed repeatedly
...has...ed... repeatedly

The conjugation of *xi*-repetitive action *si*-perfective is like that of *di*-start from *si*-perfective (10.88c.) with *x* instead of *d* initial. The forms that differ are due to the instability of *xi*- which, because its relationship to *yi* is so close, has many forms that overlap with those of *yi*-repetitive aspect (10.106d.). Note:

\[\begin{array}{ll}
4 & \text{dzi-} \\
& \text{xidzi-} \\
& \text{dzi-} \\
& \text{xidzi-} \\
3-3 & \text{xiyi-z} \\
& \text{(xi-rep.ac.; yj-3 obj.; si-pf.; -ni-compl.)} \\
& \text{by 1 xec-} \\
& \text{xic-} \\
& \text{(xi-rep.ac.; si-pf.; -ni-compl.; c-1 ag.)} \\
& \text{by 3 xj-s} \\
& \text{(xi-rep.ac.; si-pf.; -ni-compl.; yj-3 ag.)} \\
3 & \text{by 3 xec-} \\
& \text{(xi-rep.ac.; yi-3 subj.; si-pf.; -ni-compl.; -yi-3 ag.)} \\
& \text{(3) by i bi'ti's} \\
& \text{(bi-[3] subj.; adi-i ag.; xi-rep.ac.; si-pf.; -ni-compl.)} \\
i & \text{by 1 'axec-} \\
& \text{('a-i subj.; xi-rep.ac.; si-pf.; -ni-compl.; c-1 ag.)} \\
i & \text{by 3 'ayes-} \\
& \text{('a-i subj.; xi-rep.ac.; si-pf.; -ni-compl.; yj-3 ag.)} \\
i & \text{by D2 'ayo-h} \\
& \text{('a-i subj.; xi-rep.ac.; si-pf.; -ni-compl.; -oh-D1 ag.)} \\
i & \text{by P2 da'xo-h} \\
& \text{((da-pl.; 'a-i subj.; xi-rep.ac.; si-pf.; -ni-compl.; -oh-D2 ag.)} \\
i & \text{by P3 da'ze's} \\
& \text{((da-pl.; 'a-i subj.; xi-rep.ac.; si-pf.; -ni-compl.; -yi-3 ag.)} \\
-T (pf.) & \text{move... load...} \\
-mal (-mal) & \text{gulp, swallow noisily (YM 143)} \\
-l-ta'1 (l-tal) & \text{kick; move-round-obj.-forcefully} \\
-l-yod (l-yot) & \text{one person runs} \\
-l-xaj (l-xac) & \text{bite, nibble, gnaw} \\
-ts'e-l (ts'eil) & \text{pound} \\
-ts'eos (ts'esis) & \text{switch, whip, jerk ropelike obj.} \\
-djé' (-djah) & \text{pl. run} \\
-l-tç'o1' (l-tç'el) & \text{two run; one chases the other} \\
\end{array}\]

'a-beyond...T (pf.) & \text{move... beyond; load...} \\
'axi-together...lo' (-lok) & \text{trap, snare one after another (YM 136)} \\
3-3 'axiyi-zlo' & \text{he has snared them one after another} \\
\text{O}i- (< O-ná-against)...l-tó (l-tol) & \text{tie... to... (YM 215)} \\
na-about...-le' (Le-l) & \text{hop about; move-about-sticklike (YM 146)} \\
ná-circle...l-tse-a (l-tasil) & \text{turn about while sitting (YM 228)} \\
-ni-end...T (pf.) & \text{unload; carry... rep. to end} \\
ni-end...ti' (tik) & \text{break up (as box) (YM 206)} \\
ni-end...ji' (ji-l) & \text{saw wood} \\
ni- (< na-down)...lá (lél) & \text{pay; lay long flexible obj. down (WM)} \\
xa-out...T (pf.) & \text{move... out} \\
xa-out...l-tó (l-tol) & \text{pull out one after another (as weeds) (YM 226)} \\
téi-out...'áj ('ac) & \text{two persons go out} \\
téi-out...yá (gá-l) & \text{one person goes out}

10.114f.  **xi-(ná-)** repetitve action continuative

...ing is repeated
...repeats...ing
...repeats...ing...
xi-repetitive action combines with (ná-) inflective; it is usually preceded by some other prefix that requires (ná)-, often ná-customary.

1 -xéc-  
   -xic-  
   (xi-rep.ac.; [ná-]; -c-1 subj.)  
2 -xí-  
    (xi-rep.ac.; [ná-]; -n-2 subj.)  
3 -xé-  
    (xi-rep.ac.; [ná-])  
4 -xidji-  
   -díjí-  
    (xi-rep.ac.; dji-4 subj.; [ná-])  
D1 -xé-d-  
    (xi-rep.ac.; [ná-]; -i-d-D1 subj.)  
D2 -xóh-  
    (xi-rep.ac.; [ná-]; -oh-D2 subj.)  
3-3 -yi-  
    (xi-rep.ac.; yi-3 obj.; [ná-])  
by 3 -yi-  
    (xi-rep.ac.; [ná-]; -yi-3 ag.)

\'a-beyond-ná-cust....-te\' (cust.) (-tal) spring, bounce, dart up (YM 187)
\'a-beyond-ná-cust....l-xôh (cust.) (-l-xôh) throw ..., slam door (YM 92)
\'ay\'iýa ....-lë (pres.) (-lë) lay a spell with words (NT 318:6)
\'axi-together-ná-cust....-dloh (cust.) (-dloh) snare, trap one after another (YM 136)
\'axi-<\'axi-together-ná-against)ná-cust....-l-tô-h (cust.) (-l-tô-h) tie together (YM 214)

ná-....-T (inc.) turn ... over
ná-circle....-yâ-h (inc.) (-yâ-l) one person turns around standing
1 náxácâ-h I am turning around standing
4 nídji-yâ-h he(4) is turning around standing

ná-cust....-tcâh (cust.) (-tcâh) hop cust. (YM 32)
1 náxtcâh I cust. hop
3 náxtcâh he cust. hops
4 náxidjtcâh he(4) cust. hops

n-(< ni-end)ná-cust....-dâ-h (cust.) (-dâ-l) one returns cust.
ni-< na-about)ná-cust....-te-h (cust.) (-te-l) hop about sticklike cust. (YM 190)

ni-< na-about)ná-cust....-niâh (cust.) (-niâ-l) move body cust.
ni-< na-down)ná-cust....-l-nîh (cust.) (-l-nîh) trade, exchange cust. (YM 158)
1 nináxâcînih I cust. trade
ni-< ná-circle)ná-cust....-l-son (cust.) (-l-son) turn cust. while sitting
1 nináxâltson I cust. turn while sitting
3 nináxâltson he cust. turns while sitting

xa-out-ná-cust....-l-tô (cust.) (-l-tô) pull out one after another (as weeds) (YM 226)
Otoc' xa-out-ná-cust....-nîô (cust.) (-nîô) castrate (YM 166)
tô-out....-T (inc.) move ... out rep.
Otô' \'a-beyond-ná-up....-tô (mom.) (-tal) dart, spring up at ...
D1  xa'd.-  \{ (xi-rep.ac.; si-pf.; [ná-]; -i'd-D1 subj.)
     \{ (xi-rep.ac.; si-pf.; [ná-]; -i'd-D1 subj.)
D2  xiso-  (xi-rep.ac.; si-pf.; -oh-D2 subj.; [ná-])
by 1  xás-  (xi-rep.ac.; si-pf.; [ná-]; -c-1 ag.)
by 3  xa's-  (xi-rep.ac.; si-pf.; [ná-]; -yi-3.ag.)
by 4  dxis-  (xi-rep.ac.; dji-3 ag.; si-pf.; [ná-])

\(Oa\) na-down... ni'n\- (ni-nih) sell to... buy... (FH)
na-down... \(l\-ni\)\- (\(l\-nih\) trade, exchange, buy, sell (YM 158)
a-xi\-(< xi-ná-against)\-tl\ (abs.) pl. persons are seated
ni'ná\-... ni'q\- (\(ná\-t\)) there has been an earthquake
n\-(< ni-end)\-ná-back... dzá (\(dá\-d\)) one person returns home

10.114h. \(xí\)-repetitive action future cessative
repeated ...ing will pause
... will pause ...ing repeatedly
... will pause ...ing repeatedly

Prefix \(xí\)- < \(xí\)-repetitive action-yi-cessative to the regular
future forms (10.87.).

10.114i. \(xí\)-repetitive action inceptive cessative
repeated ...ing is starting to pause
... repeatedly ...ing starts to pause
... repeatedly ...ing starts to pause

\(xí\)-repetitive action inceptive cessative is like yi-cessative
with \(x\) instead of \(y\) initial (10.105b.). Note:

3 \(xí\-, yi\- (xi-rep.ac.; yi-cont.; yi-cess.)
4 \(xidji\-\}
    \{ (xi-rep.ac.; dji-4 subj.; yi-cont.; yi-cess.)
3-3 \(yi'y\-\}
    \{ (xi-rep.ac.; yi-3 obj.; yi-cont.; yi-cess.)
(3) by i \(bi\-\}
    \{ (bi-[3] subj.; 'adi-i ag.; xi-rep.ac.; yi-cont.;
\-t-ná-h (inc. cess.) (-ná-t) generate electricity (YM 145)
\(Oi\-(< O-ná-against)\-T (inc. cess.) add ... one at a time
\(ní\-(< ná-cust.)ná-back... ná-h (inc.cess.) (-ná-t) revive cust. (YM 145)

10.114j. \(xí\)-repetitive action perfective cessative
repeated ...ing has paused
... has paused ...ing repeatedly
... has paused ...ing repeatedly

The conjugation of \(xí\)-repetitive action perfective cessative is the
same as that of perfective cessative (10.105c.) with \(x\) instead of \(y\)
initial. Note:

2 \(xí-ní\- (xi-rep.ac.; yi-prog.; n-2 subj.; yi-cess.)
3 \(yí\-, xí\-\}
    \{ (xi-rep.ac.; yi-prog.; yi-cess.)
3-3 \(yi'y\-\}
    \{ (xi-rep.ac.; yi-3 obj.; yi-prog.; yi-cess.)
by 4 \(xidji\-\}
    \{ (xi-rep.ac.; dji-4 ag.; yi-prog.; yi-cess.)
ná-back... ná' (\(ná\-t\)) revive, generate electricity (YM 146)
yá-(< yá-up in air-ná-up)... l-xan (\(l\-xá\-d\)) throw ... up (YM 92)
10.114k. *xi-*(yi-)* repetitive action repetitive aspect future

... will repeatedly ... to ... repeatedly

The two repetitive prefixes *xi-* and *yi-* are combined in the following forms:

1. xidiye’c- (xi-rep.ac.; di-fut.; yi-rep.asp.; yi-prog.; -c-1 subj.)
2. xidyi- (xi-rep.ac.; di-fut.; yi-rep.; yi-prog.; -n-2 subj.)
3. xidiyo- (xi-rep.ac.; di-fut.; yi-rep.asp.; yi-prog.)
4. xijdiyo- (xi-rep.ac.; dij-4 subj.; di-fut.; yi-rep.asp.; yi-prog.)
3-3. yidiyo- (yi-rep.ac.; i-prog.)
3-i. xiditfo- (xi-rep.ac.; i-prog.; -t subst.)

Plural: forms of the type D1 *daxini’d*- (10.115b.) are preferred to the regular *xi-*(yi-)* forms which may occasionally be used.

a. -T (fut.) move ...
   -l-tqc lip, peck, jerk round obj.
   -ni’t pound with hammer, mallet
   -kal slap
   -l-xal club
   -l-x&l throw ...; slam
   -l-x&l snore
   -sih move sharp obj. forcefully, throw spear
   -l-tlil throw ropelike obj.

b. ‘axi-together... -loh catch, snare one after another (YM 136)
   On. ni-end... -tac two waylay ..., two lie in ambush (YM 43)
   ‘i’-(< ‘a-beyond-xi-rep.ac.)... T (fut.) carry ... beyond, unload
   (YM 6)
   Oi-(< Oná-against) ... -tac tie ... to ... (YM 214)
   na-down ... -ni h trade, exchange (YM 158)
   nd-back ... -nac revive, return to life (YM 145)
   ni-... -tih break up (as box) (YM 206)
   Otco’ xa-... -nac castrate; take genitals out one after another (YM 166)
   4. xaxijdioyni’l he(4) will castrate it
   3-3 xaidioyni’l he will castrate it

10.115. *xi*-change position continual

A prefix *xi-* in combination with some undetermined prefix is very puzzling; some of its forms are like those of *xi-rep.ac.-yi-rep. asp.* The fact that *xi-* takes *ni*-perfective suggests that the inflective prefix may be *ni-* but it does not behave like any other *ni*-prefix we have analyzed. *xi-* seems to refer to a change or alternation of position of the body or a part of the body or an object without moving from a stationary position. *xi-* is a part of the theme combination *ná-xi-di-*? in verbs of “rolling, turning over.”
10.115a.  

**Xi-change position ni-perfective**

*xi-* is prefixed to the regular *ni-*perfective forms (10.99a.) with the following changes. As in the continuative the fourth person *xidje-* is not explained, although the fourth person plural *xijni-* is regular.

\[
\begin{align*}
2 \text{xi-ni-} & \quad (\text{xi-;} \text{ni-pf.}-\text{n-2 subj.}; \text{-ni-compl.}) \\
4 \text{xidje-} & \quad (\text{xi-;} \text{dji-4 subj.}; \text{ni-pf.}; \text{-ni-compl.}) \\
\text{P4 daxijni-} & \quad (\text{da-pl.}; \text{xi-;} \text{dji-4 subj.}; \text{ni-pf.}; \text{-ni-compl.}) \\
\text{by 2} \text{ xi-ni-} & \quad (\text{xi-;} \text{ni-pf.}; \text{-ni-compl.}; \text{-n-2 ag.}) \\
\text{by 3} \text{ xe-} & \quad (\text{xi-;} \text{ni-pf.}; \text{-ni-compl.}; \text{-yi-3 ag.}) \\
\end{align*}
\]

- *T* (stat.) be in series
- *dá* (stat.) persons sit in rows
- *dọ’* (-dọ’l) jerk elastic obj.
- *l-txas* (-l-txas) jerk rope, switch, whip
- *tca*’ (-tcah) hop (YM 32)
- *lá* (-lé-l) form a line (NT 190:6)

\[\text{’a-beyond...-l-xan} (-l-xá-l) \quad \text{throw...away} \quad (NT 66:15)\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{Oa-} \text{ni-...-láj} (-lac) & \quad \text{two persons lie in ambush; waylay} \quad \text{(YM 43)} \\
\text{Oa-} \text{ni-...-kai} (-kah) & \quad \text{pl. persons lie in ambush; waylay} \\
\text{Oa-} \text{ni-...-dzá} (-dá-l) & \quad \text{one person lies in ambush; waylays} \\
\text{ni- (< na-down)...-dzá} (-dá-l) & \quad \text{one lays bets} \\
\text{ná-á-back...-dé-l} (-dil) & \quad \text{dart back down} \quad (EW 92:11)
\end{align*}\]

10.115b.  

**Xi-ni-change position prolongative continuative**

*xi-ni-* is treated like *dį-nį-*prolongative continuative (10.91a.) with *x* instead of *d* initial. Note:

\[
\begin{align*}
4 \text{djiyi-} & \quad (\text{dji-4 subj.}; \text{xi-ni-}) \\
3-3 \text{yi-} & \quad (\text{yi-3 obj.}; \text{xi-ni-})
\end{align*}
\]
Plural: prefix da-pl. to dual forms (daxini’d-).

\[-i\-\text{til’} \text{ (inc.)} \ (-i\-til) \text{ throw pl. obj.}\]

10.115c. xi-ni-change position prolongative si-perfective

xi-ni- change position prolongative is treated like di-ni-prolongative si-perfective (10.91b.) with x instead of d initial. Note:

by 3 xè-s- \ (xi-change pos.prol.; si-pf.; [ni-]; -yi-3 ag.)
by 4 dji-s- \ (xi-change pos.prol.; dji-4 ag.; si-pf.; [ni-])
by D2 xinòh- \ (xi-change pos.prol.; si-pf.; [ni-]; -oh-D2 ag.)
by D4 xidji-s- \ (xi-change pos.prol.; dji-4 ag.; si-pf.; [ni-])

Oa’...-dá \ (abs.) one lies (sits) in wait for… (YM 43)
Oa’...-tå \ (abs.) pl. lie (sit) in wait for… (YM 43)
Oa’...-kê \ (abs.) two lie (sit) in wait for… (YM 43)

ná...-tå \ (stat.) pl. persons sit

10.116. \ xo- place, in place; things, conditions, circumstances

In earlier works, xo- has been listed incidentally, sometimes as a verbal prefix. The prefix xo- may be a subject or object, in which case it may mean “place, condition, things, circumstances,” or it may mean “in place,” in which case it may be used with any of the personal pronouns and, like other prefixes, it sometimes combines with them. For these reasons, and because it is the only prefix with -o-vowel, paradigms are given for xo-. Changes in the phonetic forms parallel somewhat those of ‘a-beyond in that xo- may combine with the inflected prefixes to appear as a different form, for instance, as xwe’-, xwi’-, xa-, etc. For convenience xo- will be referred to as “place” in the paradigms, but it is to be understood as having any of the meanings given above.

10.116a. \ xo-place progressive

things are . . . ing progressively
. . . is . . . ing in place progressively
. . . is . . . ing things progressively

1 xwe’c- \ (xo-place; yi-prog.; -c-1 subj.)
2 xo’- \ (xo-place; yi-prog.; -n-2 subj.)
3 xo- \ (xo-place; yi-prog.)
4 xodjo- \ (xo-place; dji-4 subj.; yi-prog.)
i ‘axo- \ (‘a-i subj.; xo-place; yi-prog.)
D1 xwi’d- \ (xo-place; yi-prog.; -i-d-D1 subj.)
D2 xo’h- \ (xo-place; yi-prog.; -oh-D2 subj.)

10.116b. \ xo-place, things absolute

place is . . .

things are . . .
. . . is in place

xo-place, things combines with ni-absolute (10.97.) to form the following:
1. $\text{xač-}$ (xo-place; ni-abs.; -c-1 subj.)
2. $\text{xoni-}$ (xo-place; ni-abs.; -n-2 subj.)
3. $\text{xa-}$ (xo-place; ni-abs.)
4. $\text{xodji-}$ (xo-place; dji-4 subj.; ni-abs.)

**D1** $\text{xoni'd-}$ (xo-place; ni-abs.; -i-d-D1 subj.)
**D2** $\text{xonoh-}$ (xo-place; ni-abs.; -oh-D2 subj.)

- $\text{yáji}$ small place
- $\text{l-dzis}$ slightly hollow, washed out place
- $\text{tsoh}$ large place
- $\text{tēi-d}$ nice, pleasant place (YM 221)
- $\text{l-tecin}$ have odor, it smells
- $\text{l-tśa'}$ bowl-like place (deeper hollow than $\text{l-dzis}$)

'a-. . . yóí' excellent, good at, adequate (YM 234)

10.116c. *(xo-place)*

**CONTINUATIVE**

place is . . .
things are . . . ing
. . . is . . . ing things
. . . is . . . ing in place

In this paradigm the prefix *xo-* refers more particularly to "things, conditions" (abbreviated as t):

1. $\text{ixač-}$ (xo-things; yi-cont.; -c-1 subj.)
2. $\text{xot-}$ (xo-things; yi-cont.; -n-2 subj.)
3. $\text{ixa-}$ (xo-things; yi-cont.)
4. $\text{xodji-}$ (xo-things; dji-4 subj.; yi-cont.)

**D1** $\text{xwi'd-}$ (xo-things; yi-cont.; -i-d-D1 subj.)
**D2** $\text{xonoh-}$ (xo-things; yi-cont.; -oh-D2 subj.)

by 1. $\text{ixač-}$ (xo-things; yi-cont.; -c-1 ag.)
by 3. $\text{ixač-}$ (xo-things; yi-cont.; -yi-3 ag.)

by t. $\text{ixač-}$ (xo-things; 'adi-i ag.; yi-cont.)

- $\text{l-bi'}$ (mom., pres.) (-l-bi'-l) build hogan (YM 27)
- $\text{l-dé-h}$ (pres.) (-l-dah) clean, clear place
- $\text{l-tal}$ (pres.) (-tal) sing, perform ceremony
- $\text{l-tal}$ (pres.) (-tal) plan
- $\text{l-tal}$ (pres.) (-tal) come into existence (YM 125)

'á-thus . . . l-yi' (mom.) (-l-yi'-l) do things
'á-thus . . . l-yáh (pres.) (-l-yáh) take care of things
Oá na-about . . . l-áh (pres.) (-l-á) plan for, govern
Oá . . . l-teci'h (mom.) (-l-teci'-h) make angry, cause trouble (YM 37)
Oé . . . l-teci'h (pres.) (-l-teci'-h) plan for, govern
Oé . Ol . . . nii' (pres.) (-nii) tell about, communicate things
na-about . . . l-áh (mom.) (-l-áh) have, come into possession of (YM 126)
na-about . . . l-áh (mom., pres.) (-l-á) have, come into possession of (YM 126)
na-a-beyond. . . l-áh (mom., pres.) (-l-á) have, come into possession of (YM 126)
as-about . . . l-áh (mom.) (-l-áh) have, come into possession of (YM 126)
as-about . . . l-áh (mom., pres.) (-l-á) have, come into possession of (YM 126)
as-about . . . l-áh (mom., pres.) (-l-á) have, come into possession of (YM 126)
na-a-beyond. . . l-áh (mom., pres.) (-l-á) have, come into possession of (YM 126)
s-a-pl. . . l-din (pres.) (-l-din) there are rains here and there
na-a-beyond. . . l-áh (mom., pres.) (-l-á) have, come into possession of (YM 126)
na-a-beyond. . . l-áh (mom., pres.) (-l-á) have, come into possession of (YM 126)

á-cycle. . . a-beyond . . . na-d (inc.) (-nav) long time passes (YM 151)
ná-cust.-a-beyond . . . na' (cust.) (-nal) long time cust. passes (YM 151)
10.116d. \(xo\)-place \(ni\)-perfective

When \(xo\)-place is prefixed to \(ni\)-perfective (10.99a.), the two do not contract, note:

\[
\begin{align*}
2 ~ \text{\(xwi\)-ni}{} & \quad (\text{\(xo\)-place; \(ni\)-pf.; -\(n\)-2 subj.; -\(ni\)-compl.)} \\
\text{-te\,l} \quad \text{(stat.)} & \quad \text{be wide, broad, gradually widening} \\
\text{-zi\,d} \quad \text{(-zil)} & \quad \text{grope one's way (YM 240)} \\
\text{-ts\,a} \quad \text{(-st\,a)} & \quad \text{be bowllike}
\end{align*}
\]

'tal\(ki\) ...-\(k\,\xi\) (-\(k\,\xi\)-\(l\)) terraces lie, there are terraces
'tal\(ki\) da-...-\(ka\,\xi\) (-\(ka\,\xi\)) there are broad terraces
\(Oa\) '\(\acute{a}\) ...-\(sin\) (-\(\acute{a}\)-\(l\)) be aware of (YM 243)
'\(\acute{a}\) ...-\(l\,-\(l\,\xi\) (abs.) be relatively wide (YM 14)
\(Oe\) \(ni\)-end ...-\'\(\acute{a}\) (-\'\(\acute{a}\)-\(l\)) enforce law
\(ni\)-end ...-\'\(\acute{a}\) (-\'\(\acute{a}\)-\(l\)) make decision, law, decide
\(niki\) ...-\(l\,-\(l\,\xi\) (-\(l\,\xi\)-\(l\,\xi\)) rain
\(lahgo\) ...-\(li\) (-\(li\)) chant according to a special line

10.116e. \(xo\)-place \(yi\)-perfective

things have been ...ing
... has been ...ing things
... has been ...ing in place
... has been ...ing ... in place

Whereas \(ni\)-perfective and \(yi\)-perfective usually have so many forms in common that it is difficult, or even impossible, to be sure to which perfective a form belongs, the distinction comes out clearly with \(xo\)-place. We have noted (10.116d.) that \(xo\)- and \(ni\)-perfective do not contract; \(xo\)- and \(yi\)-perfective do, to form the type \(xo\'\)-.

\[
\begin{align*}
1 ~ \text{\(x\,\xi\)-} & \quad (\text{\(xo\)-place; \(yi\)-prog.; -\(c\)-1 subj.; -\(ni\)-compl.)} \\
2 ~ \text{\(xwi\,\xi\)-} & \quad (\text{\(xo\)-place; \(yi\)-prog.; -\(n\)-2 subj.; -\(ni\)-compl.)} \\
3 ~ \text{\(x\,\xi\)-} & \quad (\text{\(xo\)-place; \(yi\)-prog.; -\(ni\)-compl.)} \\
4 ~ \text{\(xodji\)-} & \quad (\text{\(xo\)-place; \(dji\)-4 subj.; \(yi\)-prog.; -\(ni\)-compl.)} \\
\text{D1 \(xwi\,d\,\xi\)-} & \quad (\text{\(xo\)-place; \(yi\)-prog.; -\(ni\)-compl.; -\(d\)-D1 subj.)} \\
\text{D2 \(xo\)-} & \quad (\text{\(xo\)-place; \(yi\)-prog.; -\(oh\)-D2 subj.; -\(ni\)-compl.)} \\
\text{by 1 \(xu\,e\,c\,\xi\)-} & \quad (\text{\(xo\)-place; \(yi\)-prog.; -\(ni\)-compl.; -\(c\)-1 ag.)} \\
\text{by 3 \(x\,\xi\)-} & \quad (\text{\(xo\)-place; \(yi\)-prog.; -\(ni\)-compl.; -\(yi\)-3 ag.)} \\
\text{by 4 \(xodji\,\xi\)-} & \quad (\text{\(xo\)-place; \(dji\)-4 ag.; \(yi\)-prog.; -\(ni\)-compl.)} \\
\text{by i \(x\,o\,\xi\,t\,o\,\xi\)-} & \quad (\text{\(xo\)-place; \(\\,adi\,i\)-ag.; \(yi\)-prog.; -\(ni\)-compl.)} \\
\text{by D2 \(xo\,h\)-} & \quad (\text{\(xo\)-place; \(yi\)-prog.; -\(ni\)-compl.; -\(oh\)-D2 ag.)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[-l\,-\(\acute{a}\) \quad \text{(abs.) extend, project} \\
-l\,-\(in\) \quad \text{(stat.) early light; things are visible} \\
-tah \quad \text{(stat.) be in town; be amongst places} \\
t\,-\(d\) \quad \text{(-t\,d\,l) sing, perform ceremony} \\
-te\,l \quad \text{(-te\,l) broad, wide} \\
y\,-\(q\,\xi\)-\(\xi\) \quad \text{(-\(q\,\xi\)-\(l\)) be wise, thoughtful, intelligent, careful} \\
\text{D1 \(xwi\,d\,\xi\q\)} \\
\[-l\,-\(ji\,j\) \quad \text{(-\(j\,j\)-\(c\)) time passes} \\
d\,\xi\q \quad \text{(abs.) be hollow, tubular} \\
d\,\xi\,\xi\,\xi \quad \text{(abs.) low, shallow place} \\
-t\,\xi\,a\,\xi \quad \text{(abs.) hollowed, bowllike plain} \\
d\,\xi\,\xi \quad \text{(-dji\,-\(l\)) be black, blackened} \\
t\,\xi\,\xi \quad \text{(abs.) smell bad}
-this (-this) harden (WM)

'a-beyond...l'-á (abs.) records are left
'a-beyond...te-l (abs.) wide, broad
'akó ...-dzá (-nie-) things took such a course
Oa... 'a...-dzá (abs.) deep hole that does not belong (as from stick in flesh)

'á-thus...-din (stat.) (-dí-l) be wanting, missing, non-existent
'áxó-din there is no such thing
'á-thus...-té (-té-l) things are thus
'á-thus...-la' (-le-l) do, create, construct
'áxó-la' place is prepared
'á-thus...-dzá (-nie-) be done to, happen
'á-thus...-dzi'l (abs.) be strong

Oá...-l-tči', -l-tči'd (-l-tči'l) cause trouble for..., irritate..., make angry (YM 27)

'ádíl (<'ádí-self-í-with)...-l-bé-j (abs.) be in hot water, be embroiled
Oe: Oí...-l-ni'í (-l-níh) relate, report, give information about
Oí'...-dzá (abs.) be hollow, tubular (YM 27)

na-about...-l-tči' (-l-tči'l) rain here and there
ná-'a-beyond...ná-d (-nat) there was maximum accomplishment;
many things happened; long time passed (YM 151)

ni' earth...-díj'í (-díjí-l) night came on; earth became dark
xa-out...-la-h (-tal) pop up with an idea, dart up like a snake
tsi-xa...-sá (-sá-l) disturb the peace (YM 139)
Otcí' 'a-beyond...-fi' (-fíh) there is a route to...

Oyá...-dzá (abs.) there is a leak, hole through a thin obj. (FH)
xa-out...-te-l (abs.) place widens out
xa-out...-ge'd (-god) dig hole
xa-out...-tsá' (abs.) bowl-like place (deeper than -l-dzis) (FH)

ţó... 'a-beyond...-yói (abs.) increase in number, quantity; become much, many (YM 234)

tči-out...-tči' (-fíh) trail leads out (WE; EW 90:3)

Ol... 'yé' (abs.) be lazy

Ol Oé...-zin (-zi-l) be acquainted with...

10.116f. xo-place si-perfective

place is...

things are...

... has...ed in place

... has...ed... in place

Prefix xo-place to regular si-perfective forms (10.117.) and note:

2 xwí-ní- (xo-place; si-pf.; n-2 subj.; -ní-compl.)
3-3 xaz...
xax-} (xo-place; yi-3 obj.; si-pf.; -ní-compl.)

by 3 xos...

(xo-place; si-pf.; -ni-compl.; -yi-3 ag.)

-l-T (pf.) keep, have...; cause... to be in place

xaz'í it is the rule, law

-l-bj' (-l-bjí-l) build hogan (YM 27, FH)

-ní' (-nil) desire in vain

-gac (-gac) shoot witch obj.

-ka-d (-kal) be flat, spready place

-l-tči' (-l-tči'l) smell, odor is given off

-lj' (-le-l) become

-ilic (stat.) be muddy
'a-beyond-ná-again...-l-je' (-l-jah) go hunting again
P3 'aná-daxacje' they went hunting again

Oa sa-'d...-l-tj' (-le-l) complain about things (YM 141)
Oe 'ádí- (< 'ádí-self-ná-against)...-l-ni' (-l-nih) exploit
na-about...-có' (-coh) sweep place here and there
na-about...-le' (-le-l) appear at random; roam (YM 127)
ní- (< na-about) da-pl...-tqí' (-l-tqí-l) there have been rains
yá-good...-yú' (-yq-l) watch over, care for
xa-out...-li' (-lih) trail extends out of canyon
Ol xa-out...-dja' (-djih) jerk out (as sack of flour)

nixil xada-xacdíja ' we were suddenly jerked out of car

10.116g. xo-place with "see" continuative

... knows the place
... is familiar with things (there)

The undetermined prefix of 10.107. shows itself with xo-place in the continuative by its lengthening influence. It behaves as the pronominal prefixes in having long -o- in the third, the most common persons, and in so doing resembles a progressive.

1 xwe·c.-
2 xwi-ni·-
3 xo-·
4 xodji-·
D1 xwi-d·
D2 xo-h·

'4 (pres.) (-'í-l) know the place
'4-l-'í-h (inc.) (-'í-l) early light, pre-dawn

Oá ...'4 (pres.) (-'í-l) guide ...; see the place for ...'s benefit (cp. YM 108)

10.116h. -xo-(ná-)place continuative

xo-place combines with (ná-) and results in the following forms:

1 -xóc- (-xo-place; [ná-]; -c-1 subj.)
2 -xó-, xoí· (-xo-place; [ná-]; -n-2 subj.)
3 -xá· (-xo-place; [ná-])
4 -xodji· (-xo-place; dji-4 subj.; [ná-])
D1 -xwi·d· (-xo-place; [ná-]; -i·-D1 subj.)
D2 -xóh· (-xo-place; [ná-]; -oh-D2 subj.)
by 1 -xóc· (-xo-place; [ná-]; -c-1 ag.)
by 3 -xá· (-xo-place; [ná-]; -yi-3 ag.)
by 4 -xodji· (-xo-place; dji-4 ag.; [ná-])

Oa 'á-thus...-l-yq (pres.) (-l-yaq-l) be careful, watchful, shrewd, wary
'á-thus...-ín (pres.) (-d·-l) indefinite things are lacking
'á-thus...-l'í (pres.) (-l-í-l) behave, do things thus
'á-thus...-nh (pres.) (-n-1-1, -né-1, -n-1-1) do thus
'á-thus...-yq (pres.) (-l-yaq-l) care for, watch over; be wise, sensible
'á-thus...-ti (pres.) (-t-í-1) be angry (YM 3)

Oá ná-cust...-tjí (cust.) (-t-í-1) become angry at ... cust.
Oe...-sin (pres.) (-s-í-1) know, be acquainted with ...
Oe...-dzid (pres.) (-dzil) be dangerous

cé-xádzid I am dangerous
Oi...s<q-h (inc.) (-sqh) miss absent person (YM 175)
n-(<ni-end)áh-back...dá-h (inc.) (-dá-l) one person returns home
ná-cust...-bí-h (cust.) (-bí-l) build hogan (YM 27)
ná-cust...-zí-h (cust.) (-zíl) grope one’s way cust.
ná-cust...-dle-h (cust.) (-dle-l) become cust.; revert to...; change
back to...; country is getting green (FH)
ná...-dle-c (pres.) (-dle-h) paint (FH)
ná-again...-dle-h (pres.) (-dle-l) become again
ní-(<na-about)áh-cust...-'á-h (cust.) ('á-l) plan (YM 9)
ní-(<ní-cust.)áh-back...-dle-h (cust.) (-dle-l) revert cust.
Ol’á-thus...-tí-h (-tí-l) have visions (NT 150:28)

10.116i.
-xo- (ná-) place si-perfective
Prefix xo-place to regular si-(ná-) perfective forms (10.117a.) and
note:

3 -xás- (xo-place; si-pf.; [ná-])
by 3 -xás- (xo-place; si-pf.; [ná-])

'o-beyond-ná-circle...-dzôh (-dzôh) encircle, bound with line
ná-back...-dle' (-dle-l) things have become green; get new...
cike‘ náxásdle’ I got new shoes
ké-(<ki-against)áh-cust...-dle-h (pres.) (-dle-l) peace has returned (YM 117)
ké-(<ki-against)áh-back...-dle-h (pres.) (-dle-l) level off, smooth
road, place
Okí...-‘ah (‘ah) blame (YM 13)

10.116j.
-xo-ní-start for place continuous

... is starting for place

xo-place may be prefixed to the regular forms of ní-start for
(10.99.) and note:

3 xo- (xo-place; ní-start for)

-l-‘in (stat.) daylight is starting
-l-bí- (pres.) (-bí-l) build hogan
-yá (pres.) (-yá-l) be intelligent, wise, careful, thoughtful (YM 81)

1 xonisá
   D1 xoni-dzá
   D2 xonohsá

-yé’ (stat.) weak, feeble, weakening
-dzog (stat.) there is wisdom
-jóni (stat.) satisfactory, beautiful, happy, good, healthful, content
-jó (stat.) be happy, successful, enjoyable, satisfied, content
-djí (stat.) be named, called
-ló (stat.) be available; there is, there are
-lží (stat.) ground is hard

Oa...-yá (pres.) (-yá-l) be careful with..., have a care for
Oa...-á-thus...-l-yá (pres.) (-l-yá-l) manage one’s own affairs
Oa...-teč’ (-teč-l) be stingy with land (YM 38)
Oa...sa-d...-ló (stat.) complain; there are words on account of...
(YM 141)

'á-self...-dzí-l (stat.) have energy, be energetic (YM 14)
Oe: Odá...-l-á-h (inc.) (-l-á-l) give paper permit to..., with... there
is permission for...’s benefit (FH)
ná-cust...-dlo people are at a place, there are always some (FH)
Oke...-l'-j (pres.) (-l'-j-l) obey, do according to... (YM 101)

10.116k.  xo-yí-place repetitive aspect continuative

- there is repeated...ing in (at) place
- things are repeatedly...ing
- is repeatedly...ing in place
- is repeatedly...ing in place

1 xo-c- (xo-place; yi-cont.; yi-rep.asp.; -c-1 subj.)
2 xo- (xo-place; yi-cont.; yi-rep.asp.; -n-2 subj.)
3 xo- (xo-place; yi-cont.; yi-rep.asp.)
4 xodjí- (xo-place; yi-cont.; dji-4 subj.; yi-rep.asp.)
D1 xwi-d- (xo-place; yi-cont.; yi-rep.asp.; -d-D1 subj.)
D2 xo-h- (xo-place; yi-cont.; yi-rep.asp.; -oh-D2 subj.)

-l'-h (mom., inc.) (-l'-l) early light arrives
'a-beyond...-l-yé (pres.) (-l-yé-l) place beyond is called
'd-á-thus...-dí (pres.) (-dí-l) guide
'á-thus-ná-cust...-l'-h (cust.) (-l'-l) place is cust. prepared (YM 131)
Oi...-l'-a-h (pres.) (-l'-á-l) communicate knowledge, learn from, teach
to, derive knowledge from
n(-< na-about)...-a-h (pres.) (-lá-l) be ordained
ná-cust...-l'-h (cust.) (-l'-l) daylight cust. returns (YM 101)
Otíj' da-suspended...-tsé-h (inc.) (-tsih) point at with stick (as pointer)
Ol tèi-out...-l'-h (mom.) (-l'-l) help out...
Ol tèi-out-ná-cust...-l'-h (cust.) (-l'-l) help out cust.

10.116l.  xo-yí-place repetitive aspect si-perfective

- things have repeatedly...ed
- has repeatedly...ed things

Prefix xo-place to regular si-perfective forms (10.117.) and note:
by 3 xo-s- (xo-place; si-pf.; -yi-rep.asp.; -ni-compl.; -yi-3 ag.)
by 4 xodjo-s- (xo-place; dji-4 ag.; si-pf.; yi-rep.asp.; -ni-)

-l'-d (l'-l) become fully daylight; seeing is caused
-l'-ná- (l'-nih) be dependable
-l'-yé (l'-l) place is called, has the name...
Oa' á-thus...-l'-yq-d (l'-yq-l) come to one's senses, turn over a new leaf

10.116m.  xo-yí-ní-place reciprocal effect continuative

- things are...ing with reciprocal effect
- is...ing things with reciprocal effect

xo-place combines with yi-ní- reciprocal effect to result in the following forms. They should be compared with xíní- (10.115b.):

1 -xwi-nic- (-xo-things; yi-rec.ef.; [ni-]; c-1 subj.)
2 -xwi-ní- (-xo-things; yi-rec.ef.; [ni-]; n-2 subj.)
3 -xó- (-xo-things; yi-rec.ef.; [ni-])
4 -xodjó- (-xo-things; dji-4 subj.; yi-rec.ef.; [ni-])
D1 -xwi-ní-d- (-xo-things; yi-rec.ef.; [ni-]; -d-D1 subj.)
D2 -xwi-ní-dh- (-xo-things; yi-rec.ef.; [ni-]; -oh-D2 subj.)

-dí (pres.) (-dí-l) be named, called, have a name
'd-á-thus...-sí (pres.) (-sí-l) keep, maintain position
10.116n.  xo-xi-(yi-) place repetitive action repetitive aspect, continuative

things are repeatedly starting to ... repeatedly
... is repeatedly starting to ... in place repeatedly
... is repeatedly starting to ... it in place repeatedly

xo-place prefixed to xi-rep.ac.-yi-rep.asp. combines as xwi-; the conjugation is like that of -yi-repetitive aspect continuative (10.106b.) with xw instead of y initial. Note:

1 xwi-yi.  (xo-place; xi-rep.ac.; yi-cont.; -yi-rep.asp.; -n-2 subj.)
2 xodi-   (xo-place; xi-rep.ac.; dji-4 subj.; yi-cont.; -yi-rep.asp.)

-T (inc.) ... moves in place
-l-tíh (inc.) (-l-tíl) start to rain

na-about...-náh (pres.) (-ná-t) earth quivers, quakes
ni-end...-l-dla-d (pres.) (-l-dlal) plow (YM 52)
ni-end-ná-cust...-l-dla' (cust.) (-l-dlal) plow cust. (YM 52)
n-(< na-about)da-pl...-náh (pres.) (-ná-t) universal things move (AB)
xa-out...-tčid (pres.) (-tči) scratch out hole (as animal digging)
xa-out-ná-cust...-go' (cust.) (-goh) dig hole out cust. (YM 90)

10.116o.  xo-xi-yi-place repetitive action repetitive aspect, si-perfective

... repeatedly starts ... ing repeatedly in place
... repeatedly starts ... ing ... repeated in place

Prefix xwi- < xo-place- xi-repetitive action to regular yi-repetitive aspect-si-perfective forms (10.106d.) and note:

1 xwi-ni.  (xo-place; xi-rep.ac.; si-pf.; -yi-rep.asp. -n-2 subj.; -ni-compl.)
2 xwi-z.   (xo-place; xi-rep.ac.; si-pf.; -yi-rep.asp.; -ni-compl.)
3 xodi-z.  (xo-place; xi-rep.ac.; dji-4 subj.; si-pf.; -yi-rep.asp.; -ni-compl.)
D1 xwiye'd. (xo-place; xi-rep.ac.; si-pf.; -yi-rep.asp.; -ni-compl.; -i-d-D1 subj.)
D2 xwiyo- (xo-place; xi-rep.ac.; si-pf. -yi-rep.asp.; -oh-D1 subj.; -ni-compl.)
i-end...-l-dlá-d (-l-dlal) plow field (YM 52)

10.116p.  xo-si-things harm progressive

things harmful are ...

When xo-things-si-harm is prefixed to the progressive the forms are:

1 xwe·c.  (xo-things; si-harm; yi-prog.; -c-1 subj.)
2 xwi-   (xo-things; si-harm; yi-prog.; -n-2 subj.)
3 xo-c., xo-s. (xo-things; si-harm; yi-prog.)
4 xodi·- (xo-things; dji-4 subj.; si-harm; yi-prog.)
D1 xwi'<- (xo-things; si-harm; yi-prog.; -i-d-D1 subj.)
D2 xo·h.  (xo-things; si-harm; yi-prog.; -oh-D2 subj.)
Otleah ...ke·l scold, exert authority by words
10.116q. \( xo-si \)-things harm future

things will be ... harmfully
things will be un...
... will harm things

Prefix \( xwi' < xo-things-si-harm \) to regular future forms (10.87.).

\(-\text{\-yél} \) place will be called, named (YM 78)

\( \text{Oa} \)'aya-tilt...li'l be suspicious of ... (YM 133)
\( \text{ti} \)...ni'ih suffer (YM 158)

10.116r. \( xo-si \)-things harm continuative

harmful things are taking place ...ing

\( xo-things \) combines with \( si \)-harm to form \( xo' \)- and note:

2 \( xwi-ni' \) (\( xo-things; si-harm; yi-cont.; \( -\text{\-n-2 subj.} \)

4 \( xodjo' \) (\( xo-things; dji-4 subj.; si-harm; yi-cont.)

D1 \( xwi'd' \) (\( xo-things; si-harm; yi-cont.; -\text{\-d-D1 subj.} \)

\( \text{Oa} \)'aya-tilt...l-ni (pres.) (\( -\text{\-n-l} \) be suspicious of ... (YM 133)
\( \text{Oa} \)'aya-tilt...li (pres.) (\( -\text{\-l} \) be suspicious of ... (YM 133)
\( \text{Oa} \)'aya-tilt-ná-cust...l-ni'h (cust.) (\( -\text{\-n-l} \) suspect cust.
\( \text{Oo} \)'aya-tilt-ná-cust...li'h (cust.) (\( -\text{\-l} \) suspect cust.
\( \text{'á} \)-thus...t'i'h (inc.) (\( -\text{\-t} \) do things thus (FH)
\( \text{'á} \)-thus-ná-cust...t'i'h (cust.) (\( -\text{\-t} \) quit, back out cust. (YM 202)
\( \text{O}i-(O-ná-against)ná-cust...-sqh (cust.) (\( -\text{\-s} \) miss, find ... gone
\( \text{D1} \) binázwvi-izqh we miss him; we came and found him gone
\( \text{ti} ...ni'h (pres.) (\( -\text{\-n} \) suffer (YM 158)
\( \text{ti} \) ná-cust...ni'h (cust.) (\( -\text{\-n} \) suffer cust. (YM 158)

10.116s. \( xo-si \)-things harm yi-perfective

harmful things have been taking place
... has been harming things ...ing

When \( xo-things-si-harm \) is prefixed to the yi-perfective (10.104.) the following forms result:

1 \( xo-ci-c' \) (\( xo-things; si-harm; yi-prog.; \( -\text{\-c-1 subj.}; -\text{\-n-compl.} \)

2 \( xo-ci-ni' \) (\( xo-things; si-harm; yi-prog.; \( -\text{\-n-2 subj.}; -\text{\-n-compl.} \)

3 \( xo-c' \) (\( xo-things; si-harm; yi-prog.; -\text{\-n-compl.} \)

4 \( xodjic \}
\( xodji- \) \( \} (\( xo-things; dji-4 subj.; si-harm; yi-prog.; -\text{\-n-compl.} \)

D1 \( xo-ci-d' \) (\( xo-things; si-harm; yi-prog.; -\text{\-n-compl.}; -\text{\-d-D1 subj.} \)

D2 \( xo-co' \) (\( xo-things; si-harm; yi-prog.; -\text{\-n-compl.} \)

Plural: Prefix \( da-pl \) to dual forms.

\( \text{Ot} \) (\( -ke-d \) (-ke-l) scold, assert authority with words (FH, AB)

10.116t. \( xo-si \)-things harm si-perfective

harmful things have occurred
things have been un...
... has un... things

Prefix \( xwi' < xo-things-si-harm \) to the regular forms of si-perfective (10.117.) and note:
3 xo-\(z\)- (xo-things; si-harm; si-pf.; -ni-compl.)
4 xodzo-\(z\)- (xo-things; dji-4 subj.; si-harm; si-pf.; -ni-compl.)

by D2 xo-\(h\)- (xo-things; si-harm; si-pf.; -ni-compl.; -yi-3 ag.)

\(\text{Oa} \cdot \text{\'aya-tilt...-\'i} \cdot\) (\'i\-l) suspect ... (YM 133)
\(\text{Oe} \cdot \text{\'\'adi-\langle \text{\'adi-self-n\-against}\rangle...-l\-ni} \cdot\) (l-ni\-l) exploit ... 

\(\text{Oi-\langle O-n\-against\rangle...-\'a} \cdot \text{\(\text{sah}\)} \) miss, find ... gone (YM 175)

\(\text{t\i} \cdot \text{...-ni} \cdot\) (ni\-n) suffer (YM 158)

### 10.117.

**si-perfective**

*si-(ni-)*-perfective denotes condition, quality, existence of ..., and is the conjugation of *si*-static (8.31.), as well as of completed general action or motion. *si*-perfective of active verbs denotes that the action has been completed in such a way that a state is described. The state may refer to a condition denoted by the prefix, for example, *di*-start from with *si*-perfective indicates that the start has been completed.

| 1 \(\text{si-}\) | (si-pf.; -c-1 subj.; -ni-compl.) |
| 2 \(\text{sisi-}\) | (si-pf.; -n-2 subj.; -ni-compl.) |
| 3 \(\text{si-}\) | (si-pf.; -ni-compl.) |

**Plural:** prefix *da-pl.* to dual forms and note:

| P3 *da-z-\(\) | (da-pl.; si-pf.; -ni-compl.) |
| 3\(\) 3 \(\text{yis-}\) | (yi-3 obj.; si-pf.; -ni-compl.) |

by 1 *sis-\(\) | (si-pf.; -ni-compl.; -c-1 ag.) |

by 3 \(\text{yis-}\) | (si-pf.; -ni-compl.; -yi-3 ag.) |

by 4 \(\text{dzis-}\) | (dji-4 ag.; si-pf.; -ni-compl.) |

by D2 so-\(h\)- | (si-pf.; -ni-compl.; -oh-D2 subj.; -ni-compl.) |

by P3 \(\text{dais-}\) | (da-pl.; si-pf.; -ni-compl.; -yi-3 ag.) |

(3) by i \(\text{bi'fis-}\) | (bi-[3] subj.; 'adi-i ag.; si-pf.; -ni-compl.) |

- \(T\) (stat.) there is ... obj., condition, quality
- \(l\-T\) (stat.) be in one's possession, keep ... obj.
- \(\text{\'i\-d} \cdot \) (\'i\-l) nauseate, disgust ... (YM 102)
- \(\text{\'a} \cdot\) (\'a\-l) substitute
- \(\text{\'a\-i} \cdot\) (\'a\-l) give birth to
- \(\text{z\i} \cdot\) (z\i\-l) stand

\(\text{\'a\-beyond} \cdots \text{\'a\-l} \cdot\) (\'a\-l) urinate (YM 135)

\(\text{\'a\-l\-z\-doh} \cdots \text{\'a\-l\-doh}\) mass is divided into more than two parts

\(\text{\'a\-z\-\-\-\text{\'a} \cdot\) (z\-l) forfeit

\(\text{Oa} \cdot \text{...-\'i} \cdot\) (abs.) (3 only) be careful of, respectful of ... (YM 207)

by 1 \(\text{ba\-sisti}\) I am respectful of it, him

by 3 \(\text{ya\-yisti}\) he is respectful of him, it

\(\text{da-\-\-\-}\) be dry, dessicated

\(\text{da\-\-\-}\) one person is very ill, one person dies

3 \(\text{da\-tsaq}\) one person, animal died

**dah-suspended...-\(T\) (stat.) be up on, suspended**
ná-back...-zó-z (-zó-s) turn fabric inside out
ná-xi-...-tsa’d (-tsíl) turn while sitting (YM 228)
ní-(< na-about)...-l-bó-z (-l-bqś) take a trip on wheels (as by wagon, car, train) (YM 23)

n-da-...-l-kaj (abs.) be cramped from sitting (YM 23)
1 ndacickaj I am cramped from sitting
3 nda-ckaj he is cramped from sitting

10.117a. -si-(ná-) perfective

The inflective prefix (ná-) seems to take the place of -ni-completive in the perfectives, the following forms resulting with si-perfective; changes in tone being notable:

1  -si- (si-pf.; -c-1 subj.; [ná-])
2  -síni- (si-pf.; -n-2 subj.; [ná-])
3  -ná- (si-pf.; [ná-])
4  -dzi- (dzi-4 subj.; si-pf.; [ná-])
     -dziz-

i 'á-a- ('a-i subj.; si-pf.; [ná-])
D1 -si-d- (si-pf.; [ná-]; -i-d-D1 subj.)
D2 -só- (si-pf.; -oh-D2 subj.; [ná-])
3-3 -náiz- (yi-3 obj.; si-pf.; [ná-])
by 1  -sis- (si-pf.; [ná-]; -c-1 ag.)
by 3  -yínás- (si-pf.; [ná-]; -yi-3 ag.)

'álná-...-T (pf.) exchange positions (YM 8)
2  'abláini-T
3  'ablániz-T

'áda-ná-...-l-d’-d (-l-ti-l) devote oneself to completely, “be all wrapped up

in . . .”

Oé-...-l-ní ('-l-níh) remember . . .
Oé-...-l-kwi- ('-l-ko) vomit
Oé-...-l-dzi-d (-l-dzi-t) be frightened, shy away from . . .

ná-circle...-l ū (abs.) flow around

ná-against...-a-theme...-l-dí-d (-l-dí-t) have exactly the right amount,

plenty but none to spare (FH)
4 ná'táisíd-d he(4) has the proper amount

ná-again...-a-beyond...-díc (-díc) urinate again (WE)
O-ní-...-kaí (abs.) straddle (YM 115)

'ká-...-i’ (-i-th) be reticent toward, be shy, respectful of . . . in speech

kin-...-l-da’ (-l-da-l) menstruate for the first time (YM 44)
by 3  kina-sda’ she menstruated for the first time

10.118. si-harm, un-...

A prefix si-harm, untoward, un-... has been a matter of great confusion; it becomes -o- in the progressive at the same time retaining -s- in some forms, and therefore looks like a si-perfective. Young and Morgan have sometimes interpreted the forms of si-harm as static although the stems with which they occur are not perfective or even continuative in all cases. Moreover, some of the prefix forms are incompatible with such an interpretation. si-harm is assimilated to prefixes other than progressive and future, but it persists in enough forms to indicate its distinction.
si-harm indicates an untoward event, an intent to harm, an undoing, but sometimes has the opposite meaning "favorable, hopeful, encouraging."

10.118a. **si-harm, un-... progressive**

harm is ...ing progressively
... is ...ing harm progressively
... is ...ing harm to ... progressively

1 só- (si-harm; yi-prog.; c-1 subj.)
2 sì- (WM) (si-harm; yi-prog.; n-2 subj.)
3 sò- (si-harm; yi-prog.)
4 di'yo- (di-4 subj.; si-harm; yi-prog.)
i 'yo- ('a-i subj.; si-harm; yi-prog.)
D1 sì-d- (si-harm; yi-prog.; i-d-D1 subj.)
D2 so-h- (si-harm; yi-prog.; oh-D2 subj.)
3-3 yì- (yi-3 subj.; si-harm; yi-prog.)
1-i 'iye-c- ('a-i obj.; si-harm; yi-prog.; c-1 subj.)
2-i 'yi- ('a-i obj.; si-harm; yi-prog.; n-2 subj.)
3-i 'yo- ('a-i obj.; si-harm; yi-prog.)

-né-l kill many
-l-xé-l kill one
-l-té-l there is threatening sound
só-llté-l evil (witch) sound moves (EW 310:20)
na-about-'a-theme...l-ní-h epidemic spreads
na-about-'a-thus-xo...dlá-t one person loiters

10.118b. **si-harm future**

there will be ...ing harmfully
...will... doing harm
... will... harming...

The future of si-harm may have the same forms as -yi-repetitive aspect future (10.106a.), there being none in which si- or s- is un-assimilated. If si-harm and yi-repetitive aspect are used together yi-(< si-) is prefixed to the repetitive aspect future forms. The analysis is of the pattern:

3 di'yo- (di-fut.; si-harm; yi-prog.)
3-3 yì-di'yo- (yi-3 obj.; di-fut.; si-harm; yi-prog.)

-né-l kill many
-l-xé-l kill one
-dlq-l believe

'á-self...l-yé-l commit suicide; kill self
by 4 'adjì-di'yo-lvé-l he(4) will kill himself
na-about-'á-thus-xo-place...l-'ac two persons loiter
na-about-'á-thus-xo-place...kah pl. persons loiter
na-about-'á-thus-xo-place...dlá-t one person loiters
ki-sever-'i- (< 'á-beyond-si-harm)...'al untie, loosen hair
Otíq...-'i-l prevent... obstruct... (FH)
3-3 yì-di'qódo-ží-l he will put it in his way
Otíq' na-about-xo-things...na-l have trouble (YM 146)
10.118c.  

**si-harm continuative**

harmful ...ing is taking place  
... is ...ing harmfully  
... is un...ing  
... is un...ing ...

1 sis-, cis- (si-harm; yi-cont.; c-1 subj.)  
2 si- (si-harm; yi-cont.; -n-2 subj.)  
3 si- (si-harm; yi-cont.)  
4 dzi- dji- (dzi-4 subj.; si-harm; yi-cont.)  

D1 si-d- (si-harm; yi-cont.; i-d-D1 subj.)  
D2 so-h- (si-harm; yi-cont.; -h-D2 subj.)  
3-3 yi-yi- (yi-3 obj.; si-harm; yi-cont.)  
3-4 xas- xac- xwi- (xo-4 obj.; si-harm; yi-cont.)

3-i 'i- (i-gi obj.; si-harm; yi-cont.)  
4-i 'adj-i- (a-i obj.; dji-4 subj.; si-harm; yi-cont.)

3 by 3 yo- (yi-3 subj.; si-harm; yi-cont.; -yi-3 ag.)

-tá-d (inc.) (-tal) unravel  
-tá-d (inc.) (-tal) untie  
-nih (pres.) (-nih) milk  
-gis (mom.) (-gis) unscrew  
-l-ýé (mom., pres.) (-l-ýé) one is killed  
-l-xé (mom., pres.) (-l-xé) kill one

Oa- ...-bý-h (pres.) (-bý-l) lose at gambling (YM 28)
D1-i 'i-ní-bý-h we are losing at gambling  
D2-i 'i-nóhý-bý-h you are losing at gambling

Oa- ná-cust....-bý-h (cust.) (-bý-l) lose at gambling cust.

_dah_-suspended...-T (mom.) set ... up on (as shelf); fasten ... to (YM 8)

2 dasti-, dahi-  
3 dasti-, dahi-, dahi-yi-

dah-forth...-a-c (inc.) (-ac) two persons are prevented from going  
dah-forth...-yá-h (inc.) (-yá-l) one person is prevented from going  
dah-forth...-ká-h (inc.) (-kah) pl. persons are prevented from going  
xa...-né-h (inc.) (-nah) crawl up to watch ...  

(Ad 1/49:9)

Otc'ah xu-out...-ké (pres.) (-ké-l) scold, exert authority with harsh words (YM 114)

2 bitc'ah xaciniké you are scolding him  
3 yitc'ah xa-céhé he is scolding him

Otc'jna-about-xwi-<(xo-things-si-harm)...-ná (pres.) (-ná-l) (3 only) have trouble (YM 146)

Otc'jni-na-about>ná-cust.-xwi-<(xo-things-si-harm)...-ná-h (-ná-l) (3 only) have trouble cust. (YM 146)

10.118d.  

**si-harm si-perfective**

harmful ...ing has been done, taken place  
... has ...ed harmfully  
... has ...ed harming ...

The combination si-harm-si-perfective-ní-completive gives rise to some of the most intricate contractions of the language. The forms...
illustrate many principles that have already been advanced, particularly those concerning the effects of one sibilant on another.

The dual forms are exactly like those of *si*-perfective (10.117).

\[
\begin{align*}
1 \text{ si}, \text{ sé} & \quad (\text{si-harm}; \text{si-pf.}; -c-1 \text{ subj.}; -\text{ni-compl.}) \\
2 \text{ sini} & \quad (\text{si-harm}; \text{si-pf.}; -n-2 \text{ subj.}; -\text{ni-compl.}) \\
3 \text{ siz}, \text{ ciyi} & \quad (\text{si-harm}; \text{si-pf.}; -\text{ni-compl.}) \\
4 \text{ dziiz} & \quad (\text{dziiz-4 subj.}; \text{si-harm}; \text{si-pf.}; -\text{ni-compl.}) \\
\end{align*}
\]

by 1 \text{ sic}, \text{ sis} \quad (\text{si-harm}; \text{si-pf.}; -\text{ni-compl.}; -c-1 \text{ ag.})

by 2 \text{ sini}, \text{ yini} \quad (\text{si-harm}; \text{si-pf.}; -\text{ni-compl.}; -n-2 \text{ ag.})

by 3 \text{ si} \quad (\text{si-harm}; \text{si-pf.}; -\text{ni-compl.}; -yi-3 \text{ ag.})

by 1 \text{ yies} \quad (yi-3 subj.; si-harm; si-pf.; -yi-3 ag.)

by 2 \text{ yisini} \quad (yi-3 subj.; si-harm; si-pf.; -ni-compl.; -c-1 ag.)

by 3 \text{ yos} \quad (yi-3 subj.; si-harm; si-pf.; -ni-compl.; -yi-3 ag.)

by 4 \text{ dzo}s, \text{ djo}s \quad (yi-3 subj.; dziiz-4 ag.; si-harm; si-pf.; -ni-compl.)

by D1 \text{ yinid} \quad (yi-3 subj.; si-harm; si-pf.; -ni-compl.; -i'-D1 ag.)

by D2 \text{ yisoh} \quad (yi-3 subj.; si-harm; si-pf.; -ni-compl.; -oh-D2 ag.)

(3) by i \text{ bi'to}s \quad (bi-[3] subj.; 'adi-i ag.; si-harm; si-pf.; -ni-compl.)

\[\text{-l-ye'} (\text{-l-ye'}l) \text{ be called, have the name (NT 306:5)}\]

\[\text{-l-yé'} (\text{-l-yé'}l) \text{ quiet down, become quiet, calm (as weather)}\]

\[\text{-l-yi} (\text{-l-yé'}l) \text{ one is killed}\]

\[\text{-l-xi} (\text{-l-xé'}l) \text{ kill one}\]

\[\text{-z} \text{ (abs.)} \text{ slander, gossip}\]

\[\text{-dzo} (\text{-rie'}, \text{-rie'}l) \text{ happen, come to be . . .}\]

\[\text{-t-til} (\text{-t-té'}l) \text{ break, shatter (as glass) (FH)}\]

\[\text{tá} . . . \text{-nil} (\text{-nil}) \text{ take apart (Ad 12/48:5)}\]

\[\text{Otči' na-about-xwi-}(\text{< xo-things-si-harm}) . . . \text{rá} (\text{-ńa'-l}) \text{ have trouble (YM 146)}\]

10.118e.

**si-harm optative**

The combination of *si*-harm with -ő-optative has the pattern of *dó*- (10.82d.) with *s* or *y* instead of *d* initial. Note:

\[
\begin{align*}
4 \text{ djiyó} & \quad (\text{dji-4 subj.}; \text{si-harm}; -ő-opt.) \\
3 \text{ yiýó} & \quad (\text{yi-3 subj.}; \text{si-harm}; -ő-opt.) \\
\end{align*}
\]

(3) by i \text{ bi'tiýó} \quad (bi-[3] subj.; 'adi-i ag.; si-harm; -ő-opt.)

\[\text{'adi-self. . . -l-ye'} (\text{-l-ye'}l) \text{ commit suicide; kill-self (YM 78)}\]

\[3 \text{'adiyólyé'} (\text{'adiyólyé'}l) \text{ may he commit suicide}\]

\[4 \text{'adiyólyólyé'} (\text{'adiyólyólyé'}l) \text{ may he(4) commit suicide}\]
If a prefix precedes the conjugation the pattern is the same, but the initial is uniformly y or γ instead of s:

'axi-together...-le-h (-loh) snare one after another (YM 136)
3-3 'axi-yóle-h may he snare them one after another
'a...-zd' (-zq-l) beat wife, spouse (YM 234)
1 'ayósq' may I beat my wife
2 'ayó-zq' may you beat your wife
D1 'ayo-dzq' may we beat our wives

10.118f. si-(ná-) harm continuative

1 -sinác- (si-harm; [ná-]; -c-1 ag.)
2 -sín-i- (si-harm; [ná-]; -n-2 ag.)
3 -se- (si-harm; [ná-])
4 -sédjí- (si-harm; ná-; dji-4 ag.; [ná-])

D1 -si-d- \{ (si-harm; [ná-]; -d-D1 ag.)
D2 -so-h- \{ (si-harm; [ná-]; -oh-D2 ag.)

n-(< na-about)...-dá (pres.) (-dá-l) one is panicky (about making u speech, betting, etc.) (FH)
n-(< na-about)...-lác (pres.) (-lác) two are panicky
n-(< na-about)...-kái (pres.) (-kái) pl. are panicky

10.118g. -si-(ná-) harm ni-perfective

1 -sinác-
2 -sín-i-
3 -se-
4 -sidzi-
D1 -si-ne-d-
D2 -si-noh-
3-3 -yise- \{ -yiye- \}

n-(< na-about)...-lác (pres.) (-lác) two are panicky
n-(< na-about)...-kái (pres.) (-kái) pl. are panicky
n-(< na-about)...-dzá (-dzá-l) one is panicky

10.118h. si-yi-ni-harm change continuative

un...ing is taking place
... is ...ing un...ing
... is ...ing un...ing...

When si-un- is prefixed to the forms of yi-ni-change continuative (10.109.) the following conjugation results:

1 yo-c- \{ (si-un-; yi-ni-change; -c-1 subj.)
2 yo-; yo- \{ (si-un-; yi-ni-change; -n-2 subj.)
3 yo- (si-un-; yi-ni-change)
4 dji (dji-4 subj.; si-un-; yi-ni-change)
i 'o- ('i subj.; si-un-; yi-ni-change)
D1 yo-d- (si-un-; yi-ni-change; -d-D1 subj.)
D2 yo-h- (si-un-; yi-ni-change; -oh-D2 subj.)
1. -i 'o-c- (\('a-i\) obj.; si-un-; yi-ni-change; -c-1 subj.)
2. -i 'o- (\('a-i\) obj.; si-un-; yi-ni-change; -n-2 subj.)
3. -i 'o- (\('a-i\) obj.; si-un-; yi-ni-change)
4. -i 'adj-. (\('a-i\) obj.; dji-4 subj.; si-un-; yi-ni-change)
D1. -i 'o-d- (\('a-i\) obj.; si-un-; yi-ni-change; -i-d-D1 subj.)
D2. -i 'o-h- (\('a-i\) obj.; si-un-; yi-ni-change; -oh-D2 subj.)

(3) by i bi'lo- (bi-[3] subj.; 'ad-i ag.; si-un-; yi-ni-change)

-\(kq-h\) (pres.) (-\(kq-t\) plead, beg (NT 260:16; 262:2)
-\(y\)j (pres.) (-\(y\)j-t) kill many one by one (NT 274:25)
-\(l-t\)t\(i\) (pres.) (-\(l-t\)t\(i\)) winnow, sift (FH)
-\(t\)t\(i\)-\(d\) (abs.) avoid
-\(l-t\)t\(i\)-\(d\) (abs.) be envious, envy ... (YM 42)
2 yinilt\(t\)t\(i\)-\(d\) you are envious (FH)
-\(dl\)\(q\) (pres.) (-\(dl\)q-t) believe (YM 51)

Oa... nah (pres.) (-nah) forget about ... (YM 147)
Oa: n\(\tilde{a}\)-cust...-b\(\tilde{i}\)-h (cust.) (-b\(\tilde{i}\)-t) (3 only) lose cust. at gambling (YM 28)
ca: n\(\tilde{a}\)-b\(\tilde{i}\)-h I cust. lose at gambling
Oa: n\(\tilde{a}\)-cust.-'a-theme...-b\(\tilde{i}\)-h (cust.) (-b\(\tilde{i}\)-t) cust. win from ... at gambling (YM 28)
Oa: n\(\tilde{a}\)-cust...-n\(\tilde{a}\)-h (cust.) (-n\(\tilde{a}\)-h) cust. forget about ... (YM 147)
\(t\)u...-n\(\tilde{a}\) (pres.) (-n\(\tilde{a}\)) mix (as dough, mortar) (YM 156)
\(t\)a-n\(\tilde{a}\)-cust...-n\(\tilde{a}\)-h (cust.) (-n\(\tilde{a}\)-h) mix (as dough, cement) (YM 156)
\(n\)\(\tilde{a}\)-back...-d\(\tilde{a}\)-d (inc.) (-\(\tilde{a}\)-al) untie knot, pull out slipknot, unravel
\(n\)\(\tilde{a}\)-back...-t\(\tilde{a}\)-d (inc.) (-\(\tilde{a}\)tal) unfold, unroll fabric (YM 186)
\(n\)\(\tilde{a}\)-back...-f\(\tilde{a}\)-h (inc.) (-\(\tilde{a}\)tal) untie something tied to something (as horse tied to hitching rack)
\(n\)\(\tilde{a}\)...-t\(\tilde{a}\)-\(h\) (pres.) (-t\(\tilde{a}\)-t) destroy, ruin (WM)
\(n\)\(\tilde{i}\)-(< \(n\)\(\tilde{a}\)-cust.)\(n\)\(\tilde{a}\)-back...-'\(a\)' (cust.) (-\(\tilde{a}\)-al) untie cust.
\(n\)\(\tilde{i}\)-(< \(n\)\(\tilde{a}\)-cust.)\(n\)\(\tilde{a}\)-back...-'a' (cust.) (-\(\tilde{a}\)-al) untie cust.
\(n\)\(\tilde{i}\)-(< \(n\)\(\tilde{a}\)-cust.)\(n\)\(\tilde{a}\)-back...-'a' (cust.) (-\(\tilde{a}\)-tal) unroll, unfold fabric cust. (YM 186)
\(c\)\(\tilde{o}\)-cust...-'\(\tilde{t}\)-h (cust.) (-\(\tilde{t}\)-t) acquire (YM 197)
\(t\)c\(\tilde{o}\)-n\(\tilde{a}\)-cust...-'\(\tilde{t}\)-\(\tilde{t}\)-h (cust.) (-l-'\(\tilde{t}\)-t) sue (YM 103)

10.119. \(d\)zi-away progressive

...ing away is taking place progressively
... is ...ing away progressively
... is ...ing ... away progressively

The conjugation of \(d\)zi-away corresponds closely with that of yi-progressive (10.102.) with \(dz\) instead of \(y\) initial. It is given to show the consonant changes due to contraction of sibilants.

1 dze-'c- (\(d\)zi-away; yi-prog.; -c-1 subj.)
2 dze-' (\(d\)zi-away; yi-prog.; -n-2 subj.)
3 dzo- (\(d\)zi-away; yi-prog.)
4 dji-dzo-\(d\)zidzo- (dji-4 subj.; \(d\)zi-away; yi-prog.)
   i 'udzo- ('a-i subj.; \(d\)zi-away; yi-prog.)
D1 dzi-d- (\(d\)zi-away; yi-prog.; -i-d-D1 subj.)
D2 dzo-h- (\(d\)zi-away; yi-prog.; -oh-D2 subj.)

Plural: Prefix da-pl. to the dual forms, and note the order with the indefinite pronoun:
dzi-away continuative

there is ...ing away
... is ...ing away
... is ...ing away

The continuative of dzi-away is like that of di-start from (10.88) with dz instead of d initial.

dzi-away ni-perfective

dzi-away differs from di-start from in having a ni-perfective of the type dzi-ni-perfective-ni-completive > dzi-. This fact differentiates the meaning of dzi-away from ’a-beyond in that dzi- seems always to denote that the subject has control of the object that moves away, whereas ’a-beyond (with yi-perfective) has the idea of more indefinite and more continuous motion.

dzi-away yi-perfective

When dzi-away is combined with other prefixes with a less definite meaning it takes yi-perfective, like di-emit yi-perfective (10.88b) with dz instead of d initial. Note:

| 4 | dzidji- | (dzi-away; di-4 subj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.) |
| 3 by | bǐtō- | (bi-[3] subj.; ’adi-i ag.; dzi-away; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.) |

tsi-uncertain progressive

tsi-uncertain, confused, doubtless a compound prefix, is found with few stems, particularly verbs of thought and consideration. The conjugation of the progressive is comparable with ’á-thus (10.80), but since the vowel is -i- the contractions differ somewhat.

| 1 | tse-s- | (tsi-uncertain; yi-prog.; -c-1 subj.) |
| 2 | tse- | (tsi-uncertain; yi-prog.; -n-2 subj.) |
| 3 | tse- | (tsi-uncertain; yi-prog.) |
| 4 | tsidjo- | (tsi-uncertain; dij-4 subj.; yi-prog.) |
| D1 | tsi-d- | (tsi-uncertain; yi-prog.; -i-d-D1 subj.) |
| D2 | tse-h- | (tsi-uncertain; yi-prog.; -oh-D2 subj.) |

Plural: prefix tsi-da- to regular duals, or preferably use tsi-yini-reciprocal effect continuative plurals (10.111b.).

...la-t move along seeking safety
n-(< na-about)...kos think about, consider in thought

tsí-(ná-)uncertain continuative

... is ...ing in a confused way
-tsi-(ná-)continuative has the same forms as tči-(ná-)out (10.123a.) with ts instead of tč initial.

Oa· na-about...-ke·s (pres.) (-kos) think about ..., consider ...

10.120b. tsí-(ná-)uncertain si-perfective
... has been uncertain about ...

Prefix tsi- to regular forms of si-(ná-)perfective (10.117a.) and note:

3 -tsíz- (tsi-uncertain; si-pf.; [ná-])
4 -tsídziz- (tsi-uncertain; dji-4 subj.; si-pf.; [ná-])

Oa· na-about...-kéz (-kos) think about ..., consider ...

10.121. dji-attitude

dji- is a prefix that expresses attitudes and emotions; it seems to be combined with si-harm in some conjugations. dji- must be differentiated from dzi-away since some phonetic effects overlap because of the contacts of sibilants.

10.121a. dji-attitude future
dji'- < dji-si- is prefixed to the regular forms of the future (10.87.). The conjugation is given to indicate the limitations and compromises made by the competition of sibilants.

1  dji-dec-
dzi-dec- } (dji-att.; si-harm; di-fut.; yi-prog.; -c-1 subj.)

2  dji-di-
dzi-di- } (dji-att.; si-harm; di-fut.; yi-prog.; -n-2 subj.)

3  dji-do-
dzi-do- } (dji-att.; si-harm; di-fut.; yi-prog.)

4  dji'di-do-
dzi'ido-
dzi'zo-
D1 dji-di-d-
dzi-di-d- } (dji-att.; si-harm; di-fut.; yi-prog.; -i·d·D1 subj.)

D2 dji-do-h-
dzi-do-h- } (dji-att.; si-harm; di-fut.; yi-prog.; -oh·D2 subj.)

3-3  yidzi-do-
...-la*l hate
Oa...-ba·l aid, pity enough to give aid (YM 21)
Oa...-li·l trust (YM 133)

10.121b. dji-attitude continuative
... has ... attitude, emotion

Some forms, as dji·nic- and dzi·ni·d-continuative and yi-perfective suggest that some speakers consider the compound of a nature corresponding with dzi·yi·ni-reciprocal effect (10.111b.), rather than dji·si-harm, but such an interpretation is not borne out by the future, or most of the continuative forms. c of the fourth person
continuative and the treatment of the sibilants, as well as the position of the prefixes in the perfective, favor the interpretation as si-harm:

1 djó- (dji-att.; si-harm; yi-prog.; -c-1 subj.)
2 dzi- (dji-att.; si-harm; yi-prog.; -n-2 subj.)
3 djó-, dzó- (dji-att.; si-harm; yi-cont.)
4 yidjó- (dji-att.; si-harm; dji-4 subj.; yi-cont.)
D1 dzi-d (dji-att.; si-harm; yi-cont.; -i-d-D1 subj.)
D2 dzóh (dji-att.; si-harm; yi-cont.; -oh-D2 subj.)

by 4 yidjó- (dji-att.; si-harm; dji-4 ag.; yi-cont.)

-ba' (mom.) -bá-h (pres.) (-ba-t) aid through pity, be generous (YM 21)
-lá (pres.) (-la-t) come to hate, dislike (YM 138); abandon because of hate (AB)
-dlá (pres.) (-dlá-t) be hated (YM 138)

Oa- ... -lìh (pres.) (-lì-l) trust, be able to call on ... (YM 34)
Oa- 'aya-tilt-xo- ... -li-h (mom., inc.) (-lì-l) be suspicious of ... (EW 114:19)
Oa- ná-again ... -lìh (pres.) (-lì-l) be able to call on another
Oa- néi- (< ná-cust.-si-harm)...-dlì-h (cust.) (-dlì-l) opponent has someone to call on (YM 134, FH)

'tada- 'a-beyond ...-dlìh (pres.) (-dlì-t) throw the bluff, bluff ...

tá- Ol ná-again ... -l-ì’-h (mom.) (-l-ì’-l) be in the same “fix,” “chickens come home to roost”

fó- ...-tá (pres.) (-la-t) really hate, despise

10.121c.  

\[ \text{dji-attitude yi-perfective} \]

... has had ... attitude

1 djó- (dji-att.; si-harm; yi-prog.; -c-1 subj.; -ni-compl.)
2 dzi- (dji-att.; si-harm; yi-prog.; -n-2 subj.; -ni-compl.)
3 dzó- (dji-att.; si-harm; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)
4 yidzó- (dji-att.; si-harm; dji-4 subj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)
D1 dzi-ní-d (dji-att.; si-harm; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.; -i-d-D1 subj.)
D2 dzi-nó- (dji-att.; si-harm; yi-prog.; -oh-D2 subj.; -ni-compl.)
3-3 yidzó- (dji-att.; si-harm; yi-3 obj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)

Oa- ... -lì-’ (-lì-l) trust, have confidence in ... (YM 134)
Oa- 'a-theme ... -lì-’ (-lì-l) be dependable (YM 134)

tá- Ona- ... -l-ya’ (-l-ya’-l) have the same trouble; don’t laugh you may have the same difficulties; “chickens come home to roost” (FH)

10.121d.  

\[ \text{dji-attitude si-perfective} \]

Prefix dji'- or di'- to regular forms of si-perfective (10.117.) and note:

3 dzó-z- (dji-att.; si-harm; si-pf.; -ni-compl.)
4 dzidzó-z- (dji-att.; si-harm; si-pf.; -ni-compl.)
D1 \(dzi\)-\(si\-d\)-
\(di\)-\(si\-d\)-
\}\(dji\-att.; \(si\-harm; si\-pf.; -ni\-compl.; -i\-d-D1 subj.)

D2 \(dzi\)-\(so\-\)
\(dji\-att.; \(si\-harm; si\-pf.; -oh\-D2 subj.; -ni\-compl.)

3-3 \(yidzo\-z\-\)
\(yi\-3 obj.; \(dji\-att.; si\-harm; si\-pf.; -ni\-compl.)

(3) by i bidji\-'lo\-s\-\(bi-[3] subj.; \(dji\-att.; ‘adi-i ag.; si\-harm; si\-pf.; -ni\-compl.\)

-\(ba\-’ (-ba-l) aid, treat kindly because of pity (YM 21)

-\(ni\-’ (-ni-l) trust

-\(la\-’ (-la-l) hate, abandon (YM 138)

-\(dl\-a\-’ (-lla-l) be hated (YM 138)

\(Oa\-
\(\ldots\)-\(li\-’ (-li-l) trust, depend upon \ldots, count on \ldots for help, expect help from \ldots (YM 134)

\(Oe\-\(Oa\-
\(\ldots\)-\(ba\-’ (-ba-l) treat \ldots to \ldots (YM 21)

... be \(ba\-’ dji\-se\(ba\-’ I treated him to \ldots (YM 21)

\(na\-about\-’a\-theme\-\ldots\)-\(li\-’ (-li-l) trust

10.122.
\(tc\-\)useful future

\ldots will be useful

\ldots will be used

The prefix \(tc\-\)oi-, sometimes \(tc\-\)i- or \(tc\-\)i seems to be a compound, possibly of \(tc\-\)oi\-\(yi\-ni\- (10.109.). To form the future prefix \(tc\-\)oi- or \(tc\-\)i- to regular forms of the future (10.87.) and note:

4 \(tc\-oi\-\(yo\-d\)-
\(tc\-i\-d\)-
\}\(tc\-\)oi\-\(useful; \(si\-harm; dji\-4 subj.; di\-fut.; yi\-prog.)

(3) by i tcobi\-di\-\(lo\-\(tc\-\)oi\-\(useful; bi-[3] subj.; di-fut.; ‘adi-i ag.; yi-prog.)

-\(‘i\-l be useful (YM 102)

-\(l\-’ ‘i-l be used

10.123.
\(tc\-\)i\-out future

\ldots ing out will take place

\ldots will \ldots out

\ldots will move \ldots out

Prefix \(tc\-\)i\-out to regular future forms (10.87.) and note:

4 \(t\-\(i\-j\-d\)-
\(t\-\)i\-\(d\)-
\]\(t\-\)i\-\(out; dji\-4 subj.; di\-fut.; yi\-prog.)

3-3 \(t\-\)i\-\(d\)-
\(t\-\)i\-\(d\)-
\]\(t\-\)i\-\(out; yi\-3 obj.; di\-fut.; yi\-prog.)

-\(‘a\-l)
\(\ldots\-\(bi\-\)l divulge, make known facts, knowledge (YM 5)

-\(l\-b\-q\-s roll wagon, car out, drive out (YM 22)

-\(d\-i\-l dart, move out suddenly

-\(x\-a\-h winter comes (YM 93)

-\(c\-f\-l summer begins (YM 178)

\(t\-\)i\-\(<\(t\-\)i\-\(out\-n\-a\-back)\ldots\-\(d\-q\-l spring returns

\(t\-\)i\-\(<\(t\-\)i\-\(out\-n\-a\-back)\ldots\-\(r\-l free one person, release (as from jail

\(t\-\)i\-\(<\(t\-\)i\-\(out\-n\-a\-back)\ldots\-\(n\-i\-l pl. persons are freed, released (as from jail

3 \(t\-\)i\-\(ne\-d\)-\(n\-i\-l they will be freed

(3) by i \(t\-\)i\-\(ne\-\(b\-d\)-\(i\-\(lo\-\(n\-i\-l they will be freed by someone

\(t\-\)i\-\(<\(t\-\)i\-\(out\-a\-b\-y\-d)\ldots\-\(d\-i\-l keep fighting to survive, survive (YM 48)

\(t\-\)i\-\(<\(t\-\)i\-\(out\-a\-b\-y\-d)\ldots\-\(b\-a\-t hang curtain out

\(t\-\)i\-\(<\(t\-\)i\-\(out\-a\-b\-y\-d)\ldots\-\(d\-i\-l dart out beyond
tći-out-di-emit...tsp{l} lean out
tći-out-di...l-dloh baby smiles first time (YM 54, FH)
tći-out-di-start...llic one animate obj. falls out (of window, car, wagon) (YM 215)
tći-out-xi-rep.ac....´ac two persons go out rep.
tći-out-xi-rep.ac....l-bal curtain flaps
tći-out-xi-rep.ac....gá-l one person goes out rep.
tći-out-xi-rep.ac....kah pl. persons go out rep.

10.123a. tći-(ná-)start out continuous

...ing out is starting
... is starting to ... out
... is starting to ... it out

The prefix combination tći-out-(ná-) results in the following:

1 tćeč- (tći-out; [ná-]; -c-1 subj.)
2 tćěně- (tći-out; [ná-]; -n-2 subj.)
3 tće- (tći-out; [ná-])
4 tćědźi- (tći-out; dji-4 subj.; [ná-])
i tće´e (tći-out; 'a-i subj.; [ná-])
D1 tći-d- (tći-out; [ná-]; -i-d-D1 subj.)
D2 tćó-h- (tći-out; [ná-]; -oh-D2 subj.)
P4 tćiadji- (tći-out; da-pl.; dji-4 subj.; [ná-])
3 tćyíy- (tći-out; yi-3 obj.; [ná-])
P3-3 tćidayi- (tći-out; da-pl.; yi-3 obj.; [ná-])
1-i tćěěc- (tći-out; 'a-i obj.; [ná-]; -c-1 subj.)
2-i tći-i- (tći-out; 'a-i obj.; [ná-]; -n-2 subj.)
3-i tći-e (tći-out; 'a-i obj.; [ná-])
4-i tćčěćı (tći-out; 'a-i obj.; dji-4 subj.; [ná-])
(by i tćiˇbilˇc- (tći-out; bi-[3] subj.; 'adi-i ag.; [ná-])

-T (inc.) ... out
-t’a-h (inc.) (t’á-l) divulge information
-l-bq-s (inc.) (l-bqš) drive out wagon, car
-l-de-t (inc.), l-dil (mom.) (l-dil) dart out, move out suddenly
-ta-h (inc.) (tá-l) information is divulged
-gé-c (inc.) (-gic) cut off with blade
-γá-h (inc.) (γá-l) one person goes straight ahead
-xá-h (inc.) (xah) winter starts
-tsp{l}d (inc.) (tsp{l}) lean out (YM 226)
-cf-h (inc.) (cf-l) summer starts (YM 178)
-dla-d (pres.) (dla-ł) rope is tearing
-lil-c (inc.) (lilic) person falls out of ... (car, window)

10.123b. tći-(ná-) out ni-perfective

...ing out has terminated
... has ... ed out
... has ... ed ... out

Prefix tći-out to regular ni-perfective forms (10.99a.) and note:

2 tći-ní- (tći-out; ni-pf.; -n-2 subj.; -ni-compl.)
by 3 tće- (tći-out; ni-pf.; -ni-compl.; -yi-3 ag.)
by 4 tćiďje- (tći-out; dji-4 ag.; ni-pf.; -ni-compl.)

-T (pf.) move ... out
-t’á (abs.) arm is sticking out
-djé’ (-djah) pl. persons run out
10.123c. \( t\ddot{c}i-xi-(n\acute{a}-) \) out repeated action continuative

\[
\begin{align*}
&\ldots \text{is } \ldots \text{ing out repeatedly} \\
&\ldots \text{is } \ldots \text{ing } \ldots \text{ out repeatedly}
\end{align*}
\]

Prefix \( t\ddot{c}i \)-out to regular \( xi-(n\acute{a}-) \) repeated action continuative forms (10.114f.) and note:

1. \( t\ddot{c}i\check{x}e- \) (\( t\ddot{c}i \)-out; \( xi \)-rep.ac.; [n\acute{a}-]; -c-1 subj.)
2. \( t\ddot{c}i\check{y}i- \) (\( t\ddot{c}i \)-out; \( xi \)-rep.ac.; [n\acute{a}-]) (FH)
3. \( t\ddot{c}i\ddot{d}ji- \) (\( t\ddot{c}i \)-out; \( dji-4 \) subj.; \( xi \)-rep.ac.; [n\acute{a}-])

- \( T \) (inc.) take \ldots out one at a time, carry \ldots out one at a time
- \('a\cdot c \) (inc.) ('ac) two persons go out one at a time, two go out repeatedly
- \( k\acute{a}-h \) (inc.) ('kah) pl. persons go out one at a time, pl. persons go out repeatedly
- \( g\acute{a}-h \) (inc.) ('gá-t) one person goes out repeatedly

10.124. \( li \)-natural ni-absolute

Prefix \( li \)-natural, inherent, to regular forms of ni-absolute (10.97.) and note:

3. \( li- \) (\( li \)-nat.; ni-abs.)
4. \( djil- \)
   \( djil- \)
   \( djil- \)
   \( lidji- \)
   \( i \)'al- \)
   \( i \)'al-
   \( i \)'al-

- \( gai \) be white
- \( kan \) be sweet, savory, tasty
- \( kon \) be inflammable
- \( kol \) be rough, folded
- \( tsoi \) be yellow
- \( jin \) be black
- \( tci \) be red
11-11.118. SYNTAX

11-11.25. Position of Elements

11. As noted, the word is an utterance, the simplest form being the consonant-vowel or consonant-vowel-consonant: tó “it is water,” le’ “let (may) it be,” ni “it is a fact,” sp’ “it is a star.” With a selection of nouns, some monsyllabic, a certain amount of communication can be carried on. With an understanding of demonstratives and postpositions many elementary ideas can be conveyed, that is, utterances or sentences may be constructed. However, though the English speaker may put off his mastery of the verb, there can be no idiomatic or satisfactory communication without verbs. It has been pointed out that nouns are often verb forms without any modification whatsoever.

11.1. The position of the noun in the sentence will be discussed next, but, before taking up the subject, it should be pointed out that once a number of elements have been combined into a complex, the complex functions as a whole, being from then on regarded and treated as the particular “part of speech” for the occasion. For example, a descriptive noun built from a verb is thereafter treated syntactically as a noun, and though it may have a verbal form, its function in the utterance is that of a noun:

dló’ó-yájí “little prairie dog” is a noun-verb compound, but in a sentence behaves like a noun—dló’óyájí xayí·ci·j “he poked out a little prairie dog.”

bá’óltà’í “the-one-for-whom-reading-is-caused” but once the combination of verb and postpositional complex has been made and nominalized, the unit “teacher” is treated as a noun in the utterance.

diné baxasti·n do’le’li: “the man her husband the-one-who-was-to-be” (NT 312:26) is a complex of two nouns and a verb bound together by a nominalizer; the whole complex is the subject of the sentence, “the man who is to be her husband.”

djo’l be’ ndadjinehi’gí is a compound “ball with-it that-which-they(4)-throw-about,” but it is treated as a noun meaning “ball-game.”

11.2. The subject noun, whatever its form, usually stands before the verb:
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11.2.—11.6.

The objective noun may stand alone before the verb. The pro-
nominal subject is a part of the verb form, which also indicates
whether the verb has a pronominal object or not. Consequently, the
Navaho subject and object noun are undifferentiated if only one is
mentioned:

tsin nēidi-tá he picked up a stick
ná'lostše nēidi-Ɂ he picked up a pipe
letša' yilná-d I licked the plate
'atsi' iyiyq he is eating meat
'awé' yicteɁ she bore a baby

11.3. If the nominal subject and object are mentioned, the sub-
ject may stand first, the object next, and the verb after the object,
the order being subject-object-verb:

'iri'i ɁiɁ na- 'ayt-Ɂle' lightning knocked the horse over; lightning
horse aside caused-live-obj.-to-fall
bá 'olta't nixada'alcini neintin the teacher instructs our children; the-
teacher our-children he-instructs-them (YM 210)

11.4. The discussion of pronouns has shown that the position of
nominal subject and object in the sentence influences the choice of
the pronominal object of the verb. In the examples of 6.24. the
object is yi-. If the nominal order is object-subject instead of subject-
object, the objective pronoun is bi-.

11.5. The subject of the passive verb, like the nominal subject of
the verb in the active voice, precedes the verb:

xakeɁ xajdi-Ɂlá he(4) removed his(4) moccasins; his(4)-moccasins were-
removed-out-by-him(4) (HC 4:18)
xavíté-ɁtiɁ diɁ-Ɂyé Talking God was called; Talking-God he(4)-was-
called
tó dide-Ɂgol I will drain the water; water will-be-dug-(ditch made)-
by-me

11.6. If the subject and agent of the passive verb are both nominal,
the subject stands first, the agent next, followed by the verb—
subject-agent-verb. This order corresponds with the position in the
active voice and with the relationship between active voice object
and passive voice subject, and active voice subject and passive
agent:

'altso na-Ɂyé' dabol-Ɂdél (earth people) all were devoured by the mon-
sters; all monsters they-were-devoured-by-(them) (EW 14:22)
gah dloh nabigáɁh cottontails died laughing; cottontails laughter were-
killed-by
djádi diné bi-ɁyíɁ (< bi-Ɂsi-ɁɁyíɁ) the antelope was killed by the man
11.7. The possessed noun, if it is the only noun expressed, has the same position as the unpossessed noun, whether it is subject, object, or agent:

\[
\text{cijé' ca- yiniltí my father gave it (animal) to me; my-father to-me moved-animate-obj.}
\]

\[
\text{cina:Itso-s ná-lne' I dropped my book; my-book I-caused-it-a-small-obj.-to-move-down}
\]

\[
\text{niibé-j nabi-cgij he was cut by your knife}
\]

\[
\text{'awé' bámí yizyas the baby scratched its mother}
\]

11.8. If the possessor and the possessed object are expressed nominally, the name of the possessor stands first:

\[
\text{tcidi bike'-naritfih the tire is wobbling; car its-foot is-moving-about-indefinitely}
\]

\[
\text{düne baxasti-n do-le-t the man is to be her husband; man her-husband will-become}
\]

\[
\text{cijé' bítí' ca- yiniltí my father gave me his horse; my-father his-horse to-me he-moved-it-live-obj.}
\]

11.9. Since the postpositions are so essential to the relationship between nouns, pronouns and verbs, it seems best not to use the term "indirect object," which is a doubtful reality even in English. The meanings of the postpositions are idiomatic, and differ so much from the meanings of the prepositions in English that they can be mastered only by practice and careful attention to usage. The example "give to," a favorite to demonstrate the indirect object in English, must in Navaho be considered from the viewpoint of postposition, prefix and stem; literally "give it to me" means "to-me you-start-to-move...-obj.-to-goal," and the most unusual part of the thought is the choice of the descriptive verb. The inceptive stem with \(-ni\)-start for (goal) is one of the active descriptive stems (cp. 12.28–12.43.).

Obviously such constructions have little in common with the indirect object.

11.10. Another favorite English example for the indirect object is "say, tell." In Navaho something is said "toward, facing" someone; the postposition is usually \(-tí\) "toward the general direction of" in distinction to \(-a\) "to the end of ... , for, on account of ... , and \(-dí\) "to a definite point":

\[
\text{mqí: bití' 'ání Coyote spoke thus to them}
\]

\[
\text{mqí: yítí' xadade-cya-j they shouted at coyote}
\]

\[
\text{belagdá-na: bití' yáctí' I am speaking to a white man (YM 206)}
\]

Postpositions vary greatly in idioms:

\[
\text{'ádíl yáltí' he is talking to himself; with-self talking-is-being-caused (YMG 59)}
\]

\[
\text{la' dini bít darna some Navaho approve; some Navaho with-it they-are}
\]

\[
\text{'awé' bámí yil níf the baby loves its mother; baby its-mother with-her it-is}
\]

11.7.–11.10. SYNTAX 295
11.11. Actually in Navaho, as in English, the verbs of speaking are idiomatic in meaning and structure. Comparable with “tell” in English is *ni* which may take a direct object: *xalni* “she told him(4); she-causes-telling-him(4).” If the meaning is “communicate with him,” the form is *be' xol ni* “by-means-of-it with-him(4) she-says.” Compare also *bijdinii* “he is being told by her(4);” *bidi-nii'd* “he was told by her;” and *bidjinii tcaxalxel'i* “they(4) ask him darkness; they(4)-say-(to)-him darkness.”

11.12. Some of these constructions which may seem like indirect objects are treated in the same way as all postpositions. It seems practical therefore to learn how such postpositions function, then to learn the specific ones required by usage. Such postpositions, very numerous in Navaho sentences, are sometimes suffixed directly to a noun; more often they have the same position as the possessed noun.

*kin-tah* town; *houses-among* (cp. *bi-tah* “among them”)

*tse-di'ii* ninkyá I went up to the rock; *rock-to-a-point end-I-arrived-at*

*tse'Da'-*di'ii* ni'-ni'á* he crawled to the edge of the cliff; *rock-edge-to-a-point end-he-arrived-at-crawling*

11.13. The position of the postposition and of the prefixed pronoun must be carefully differentiated, and particularly, the three third persons should be distinguished:

*mii' yitii' xade-cya'-j* he (first third person) shouted at coyote (second third person); in this example *yi-* refers to coyote.

*mii' bitii' djini* he(4) said to coyote; coyote toward-him he(4)-says.

*bii-* here refers to coyote, the only third person, because the subject is the fourth person (*di'ii-*).

Examples of this sort need a context in which a speaker assigns a third person form to one third person, a fourth person form to a second third person—the speaker should thenceforth consistently differentiate the two throughout his speech.

11.14. The following are examples of the position and function of postpositions in simple sentences:

‘axil xaxodiné-lne’ we spent our time talking; with (accompaniment)

*each-other things-were-communicated-prolongatively-by-us*

*citcidii cil náxidé-ltsíd* my car overturned while I was in it; my-car with

(accompaniment)-me was-caused-to-turn-over

‘é’ *baq-šénih* I wrung out the clothes; clothes along-them I-did-with-

*my-hand* (YM 155)

‘altéii' sénih* I squeezed them together; toward-each-other-reciprocally

*I-did-with-my-hands*

*sizá baq-yilná-d* I licked by lips; my-mouth along-it I-licked (YM 150)

*tcidii bi-h niná-h* get into the car; car into-it you-go

*cila' altéii' adé-cli-l* I’ll clench my fist; my-fingers toward-each-other

*I-shall-do-thus* (YM 130)

*cijéé li'-ca' yiílté* my father gave me a horse; my-father horse to-me

caused-it-live-obj.-to-move
11.15. The following are more complicated examples of nominal order:

děl̕ ́yé’d bidil̕ ́: xani’ bejní:yač he(4) had streaked his(4) face with
Burrowing Monster's blood; Burrowing Monster its-blood-afore-
mentioned his(4)-face with-it-he(4)-had-streaked (note that this is
not a passive verb, be- “with-it” expresses what might otherwise be
an agent)
bito’ xava-snilid̕ ́:’e-cdl̕ ́:’ I took a drink from the well; well-from some-
thing-was-drunken-by-me
xasti-n gā-ni bayangō’ ni:lbq̕ ́:z we drove to Hastin Gani’s home; Mr.
Arm his-home-toward rolling-to-end-was-caused-by-us
naxasdáz̕ ́:n bikā’ ’i:ná xá-ti’ life began on the earth, earth on-it-life
strung-out (YM 200)
na-be-hō bikēyah bikā’-dō’ xaci’tod̕ ́:zil I was forced off the Navaho
reservation; Navaho their-land from-on-it out-against-me-force-
was-exerted-by-someone (YM 60)
cikēyah bikā’-dō’ tō ḏide-cgol I’ll drain the water off my land; my-land
from-on-it water will-be-dug-by-me (YM 90)
bibē’ jca’ ayi-lgē’d he ran his knife into me; his-knife toward-me he-
was-causing-to-dig-beyond

11.16. Independent pronouns, usually used for emphasis, have
approximately the same position as nouns:
lá’ bi těiyā yě:zoșin he is the only one who knows him; just he alone he-
knows-him (YM 198)
ci be’ āda’ xodienc į I am going to tell you about myself; I by-means-of-it
self-on-account-of I-am-starting-to-say-things
ci be nił xodienc į I am going to tell you about it; I by-means-of-it with
(accompaniment)-you I-am-starting-to-say-things

11.17. The use of several nouns in juxtaposition is relatively rare;
the descriptive verb takes the place of one or the other in many
cases. Often a demonstrative is used instead of the repetition of the
noun. Moreover, although the pronominal system is well developed,
the Navaho does not always keep the subjects and objects clear.
Even if he does, it often happens that he uses demonstratives and
pronouns for long speeches, so that a nominal reference may occur
only at the introduction of the subject under consideration (cp.
12.19.).

11.18. Nouns and other forms sometimes follow the verb:

... djiin djiin ’ātse xasti-n ... (in quotes) First Man said it is said;
quotation he(4)-said it-is-said First Man (EW 84:5)
nitšį’ acki’ kōná-náqį’ lá be’el kil na-yáč Rainboy was thus captured
again by Lake Traveler (Frog); rain boy thus-he-was-again-being-
done-thus-to-prog. truly lake traveler (HC 18:8)
kocį’ ka’ ’āyi-la’ ayē-hi’ here arrows were made by the husband; here-
probably arrows were-made (by)-the-particular-one-who-married
(WE)
11.19. The character of the sentence with nouns, pronouns, and postpositional complexes has been indicated, but examples of Navaho sentences are rarely found with such simple forms. More often, the sentence abounds in demonstratives—pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, some of which may be independent forms, or they may be prefixes, suffixes, or enclitics. Many such elements are almost impossible to translate, but as in most languages, they are of the utmost importance. A study of such elements as the indefinite demonstrative adverbs, 'a-, 'a-, and 'á-, ko, kó, and kó', or the combinations into which lá: "just, actually, really, absolutely" enters will give an excellent idea of Navaho idiom.

11.20. Demonstrative words precede the verb; in fact, the verb tends to be the last word in the sentence, although there are exceptions, as we have seen (11.18.). The demonstrative adjectives (pronouns) immediately precede the noun they point out:

\[ \text{di- na-ltsos} \ yó'\text{ani'á-h} \] take this book away; this book move-round-obj.-out-of-sight
\[ \text{di- bá-} \ \text{nómá} \ \text{bitçí} \ \text{di'a-h} \] take this bread to your mother; this bread your-mother toward-her start-from-moving-round-obj.
\[ \text{'ei-gólíjí} \ \text{yó'\text{antíe-h}} \] take that skunk away; that-near-you skunk cause-live-obj.-to-move-out-of-sight
\[ \text{'ei-tóxis} \ \text{cá} \ \text{nánt'a-h} \] take that jar down for me; that-near-you water-sack for-my-benefit move-round-obj.-down
\[ \text{'ëi} \ \text{tséjín} \ \text{lù} \ \text{bi-hini-l} \] put some of those black rocks in it; those-remote basalt-rocks some into-it-move-pl.-separate-obj.-to-goal (EW 120:7)

11.21. Adverbs usually precede the verb, often they have first place in the sentence. Note also that temporal elements or words precede locatives:

\[ \text{yiskágó- si-ké} \] we two shall be home tomorrow; tomorrow-future we-two-are-at-home(sit) (stat.)
\[ \text{'aké-dgo} \ \text{díbèyájí} \ \text{dane-skah} \ \text{leh} \] in fall the lambs are usually fat; being-fall sheep-young they-are-fat (stat.) customarily (YM 141)
\[ \text{'a-dict-} \ \text{bit} \ \text{néxíndé-l} \] there perhaps it glided with them; there-at-probably with-them long-flexible-obj.-moved-back
\[ \text{kud dí-gi} \ \text{bo-tájí} \ \text{'ó-ide} \] now at the four places where the group attacked him; now four-in-place to-him-attacking group-moved-off
\[ \text{tá-ci-dà-di} \ \text{kp'ádin} \] for a long time there had been no fire; absolutely past-at fire there-was-none
\[ \text{la'jidí na'-lyéhé bá xo-yangó} \ \text{nseyá} \ I \ have often gone to the store; many-times store-along-toward I-have-gone-about
11.22. Several adverbs may occur in juxtaposition:

'a-di' 'a-dé' yang'ndz'á then he went inside again; toward-a-point-there-from-there he-came-back-in
téidá là: 'i-risí: ye: yiwé: 'áxol-la: by high pressure she must have been seduced; inevitably (must) exceedingly by-means-of-him slave she-was-made

'aké-dé' nahd'é: 'a-dé' daxi-zí: bító-ní-d each was told to stand a short distance from the next one; the-next-one aside-from-there-remote-from-there-near-you on-it-they-stand-rep. they-were-told

djó ko xó-tqí: so this is what happened (YM 160)
bikidíi' xadáh 'i-rííí: we dropped bombs on it; over-it-to-a-point down-in-space we-moved-some-pl.-obj.-beyond (YM 164)

tlé: 'go tó-di nícté-h leh I usually sleep outdoors; night-being-outside I-animate-obj.-lie customarily (YM 214)

'ako là: 'áxodjini:-leh that is the proper way for a person to speak (EW 120:11)

'a-dó' 'a-dé' bító: níná-h get in then; then (from-a-point) from-there into-it go (EW 120:13)

11.23. Adverbs may be placed after the verb:

cíjé: xi-ná xá:hdá: when my father was alive; my-father he-was-living when-past

cí 'ácla:-yé: 'álé: ca'cin maybe it is the one I made; I the-one-known-to-be-made-by-me it-is maybe (YM 177)

11.24. Adverbs may occur between the subject and verb:

xa-cité-tú'i 'á-di xwélyod Talking God overtook him(4); Talking God there-remote-at he(4)-was-run-up-to

xula: 'álq-dií: nil-ní her(4) oldest brother; her-brother ahead the-one-who-is (WE)

tcíí: tó-djígo ná-bqás car is rolling backward (no one is in it); car back-ward-toward-point-being is-rolling-back

tcíí: tó-djígo ná-bqás back the car; car reversing-toward cause-to-roll-back

tcíí: tó-djígo mná-nbó-s turn the car around; car reversing-toward cause-rolling-back-to-end-again

tcíí: tó-djígo bil ná-dá-l the car is going backward; car backward-to-a-point-being with-him it-is-moving-back (YM 195)

dibéyáji kúd xazatlí: c lambs are now being dropped; lambs now are-being-dropped-out-in-place

11.25. The following show the order of various types of words:

lej xá-djíec: tó bil 'adaxa-z'él time after time the water washed away the soil; soil somewhere-probably water with-it it-repeatedly-floated-beyond (FS 25)

cé: nikixoníltól it started to rain on me; by-means-of-me causing-long-streaks-arrived-in-place-touching-the-earth (YM 208)

Mary yohlé na-tu-só bító' 'ácle-h I am writing to Mary; Mary she-is-called letter toward-her I-am-doing-thus

dzíl bító' 'ayó' 'ániza-d it is far to the mountain; mountain to-it very it-is-relatively-far (YM 26)

tó be 'atsintíhí daxi-lína-h we generate electricity by means of water; water by-means-of-it lightning we-cause-to-move (live) (YM 145)

bikó bító' ni'té-clél I'll pay him for it; its-value toward-him I-shall-lay-something-down (YM 128)
11.26. Throughout this discussion, particularly in the examples cited, there have been short words, apparently free forms, which sometimes hardly have a meaning, but which often express relationships. Two functions of such words are outstanding; sometimes they are combined in a single monosyllabic form. One of these functions is evidential, explaining on what basis a statement or observation is made. The most common of these is probably ni “he says,” or the fourth person equivalent, djini “someone says, it is said,” and indeed both may be used. After a direct quotation ni may refer to the person who made the statement, and the following djini refers to the fact that the whole story or statement may be hearsay. The Navaho speaker is quite wary about taking responsibility for what he says; he is apt to use some qualifying word.

11.27. A second function of such words is temporal; in this respect time may be expressed by one of the progressive or continuative aspects and one of the temporal or temporal-evidential words. Most of these are a matter of vocabulary, but examples will be given to show their relational significance—such words are hardly used independently.

The listing, as usual, is alphabetical, but the following scheme shows some patterning and the relationship some of these words bear to one another.

A temporal sequence may parallel the verbal aspect and system classification:

- Future do·le·l it will be, it is decreed
- Customary leh, or li customarily, usually, habitually
- Present ga’ verifiable at the present time, but not necessarily in the vicinity of the speaker or speakers
- Past ni’ used to be, but is no longer, hence, sometimes “deceased”

11.28. A classification of elements indicating evidence would include:

- ye’ verifiable in the vicinity of speaker or speakers
- ga’ verifiable but not necessarily in the speakers’ vicinity
- yf·h verifiable in the past, but no longer verifiable, although possibly still existent; with future, “wish”
- yf·ni’ verifiable in the past, but no longer existent (probably compounded of yf·h and ni’ “past known”)
- ni for a fact, it’s a fact
- ni’ experienced by speaker in the past, I recall, possibly still existent; compare with ni’ “used to be but is no longer”
- ni he says
- djini it is said, someone says
- la’ true, but unexplained, it seems (AB thinks this is momentary as compared with leh customary. 11.53.)
lā  present evidential but unexplained, convincing but surprising, unexpected, I wonder
lq: acceptable, but unexplained in past, final, agreed upon, no longer susceptible to argument

11.29. A pair of words classifies a fact or its opposite:

ni  for a fact
xani- contrary to fact (see also 11.67, 11.85.)

11.30. Young and Morgan in their treatment of such words sometimes define them in connection with a particular aspect, tense, or mode. Examples do not always corroborate the limitations they define, possibly because they emphasize the temporal and omit or understress the evidential function of these elements (FS 6, 11, 16, 18, 21, 23, 31; YMG 108).

11.31. The syntactic elements are:

-ê: (> -ne: after stems with nasalized vowel; -yê: after a stem with an open syllable) "was, dead, gone, the one previously referred to, the one known, indeed":

cādi-yê: my deceased older sister
tëko handmade-ê: then the aforementioned cottontails he had killed
tseh-ê: ni-tcxâ: the stones mentioned became very red (EW 102:17)
tseh-ê-cî-: surely it must have been a rock (BS)
dadîlî-ê: it caught fire indeed (EW 104:12)
natóh-ê: tobacco (in his possession) (EW 104:9)

11.31a. -ê: may assimilate to the preceding vowel:
camâh-ê: my late mother
xalâh-â-ni: his(4) late sister (WE)
naxâdîjâ-ô-ô: put it into your mouths (EW 104:10)
tsha-ô-ô: yi’ yi’yi’giz he cleaned out the baskat (EW 104:25)
tôh-ô: (not tôh-tô) the aforementioned water (FS 30—1).

This example is very interesting in that it suggests that tô, the independent noun for "water" may be equivalent to lâ- the prefix form (5.43.).

11.31b. Affixed to a future verb -ê: means "wish, it will be indeed, may it be indeed, mind you it will, ought":
naxo-dô-lô-ô: I hope it will rain
bi-h didô-lxé-lô: I wish he would kill a deer (FS 31)
'ô: mind you! note this! you may notice!
yah’ado-gá-lô: he ought to enter (EW 190, n. 69)
yâ’dôhô-lô: may it be well, good! (a common greeting)

11.32. -ê-nil’ seems to be used interchangeably with -ê; it is perhaps a compound of two particles each meaning "past, gone, the one referred to" (cp. 5.32.).
"ni" for a fact, it's a fact. Young and Morgan note that a short high tone does not become long and falling before this element. They consider that it is preceded by lá "truly;" I have not found this to be invariable. The two words are so closely related in meaning that both may be used for emphasis, but ni may be used without lá which probably supplies the contradictory or surprise meaning (FS 23):

kad di lá de-yá ni now this one truly is going for a fact
ni da'ác is it a fact?

"ni'" experienced by speaker in the past, possibly still existent, as I recall, the deceased. Compare ni' and nilé', which means "used to be but is no longer" (cp. FS 23):

cijé'é ni' ye· cil xo·lné' ni' my late father told me about it (FS 23)
kóxo-tá·di' kohgo de·sdoí ni' at this time last year it was hot I recall (FS 23)
sitsili táb 'ahniníng kintahi· gó dahdii·yá· ni' my younger brother had started to town in the morning as I recall it; my-younger-brother still being-morning town-toward he-started-off (pf. cess.) I-recall (FS 24)

"nilé', nilé'" it used to be but is no longer, past, deceased. This word makes any preceding statement irrevocably past, as do-le'1

11.33. do·le't, often shortened to do' it will be, is decreed: The full form do·le't is the regular third person future of the verb -le't "happen, come to be, occur." It or the shortened form do' may be used with any of the continuatives or the static forms. The word is so free that examples need hardly be given. It is placed after the word or words to which it refers:

'idaxo·l'á·h (inc. cess.) do· they will go to school, learn something
biza·d binanicín (pres.) do·le't I shall teach language (YM 209)
bíté· síviz' (stat.) do· as protection you will stand before them (NT 74:18)
xóle'h (pres.) do· you will come into being (EW 100:25)
makes it future. If used after a noun it means “gone, no longer existent, deceased.” Like do l t, it is very free (cp. 11.33.):

\[ n̂l̂' t̂a- d̂o- dah \] not yet, it was to have... but has not yet come to pass
\[ n̂l̂' t̂o- do- dah \] unfortunately it did not happen
\[ xodiye- ax̂- t̂ konîko n̂l̂'e-’ \] “I’m going to kill him(4),” it will have been said; I-shall-kill-him(4) thus-being-said-past-fut. (NT 30:21)
\[ ’ixo- ĉa- ĥ (inc. cess.) n̂l̂’ \] I have learned something

11.37. ye’ present and verifiable in the vicinity of speaker and listener, truly, very, appropriate, propitious, voluntarily (AB, FH, ep. FS 29):

'al̂si- si- ye’ he is very small, he is certainly small (FS 29)
\( ci \ ye’ \) ’adicî I am really the one who says it (FS 29)
\( ’ei’ ye, ci \) Hey! That’s mine!
di- ye’ ‘a- d̂e’ this one is really from over there (NT 64:3)
\( do- du \ ye’ \) ‘asl̂’ it was really hopeless; no really something-became (FS 30)
\( ko’ ye’ \) it is really a fire, there is a fire (FH)
\( ko’ ye’ \) right here
\( xaoi \ ye’ \) who is it actually? (FH)
\( xa’i ye’ \) which one, let’s see now . . . (YM 92)
\( xa’gō- ye’ \) everything is ready; it’s all right to start (FH)
\( xa’di- zi ye’ \) ‘et̂h who will volunteer? who will risk it?
\( kuwi ye’ \) here of his own accord (AB)
\( kad- e’ \) now is the proper time (FS 30, FH)
\( da’ ye’ \) xo- li- d̂ exactly what has happened? (AB)

11.38. ye’, ye’h verifiable in the past, but no longer verifiable, though possibly still existent, aforementioned, past, deceased; with future, “wish.” “ye’h is a little stronger than ye’ni” but there isn’t much difference” (FH):

\( xa’di \ ye’ \) who was it? (FH)
\( ko’ ye’ \) there was a fire (and something happened to it), there must have been a fire (ep. ko’ n̂l̂’): “there was no longer a fire, there had been a fire” [FH]
\( xa’gōcf’ t̂o- ye’ \) xol xo- ŷe- go obviously he(4) was in great fear (EW 114:18)
\( do ye’ \) xaĉlejdilc- ĥda he(4) surely did not rest (EW 116:2)
\( xa- uzi’f- d̂a’ \) at the time he spoke (EW 100:11)
\( naxodo- l̂e’-l̂f \) I certainly wish it would rain (YMG 108)
\( b̂e- so ce’ xodo- le- l̂f \) I wish I would get money; money with-me-things-will-happen-wish (YMG 108)
\( de- soi n̂a- xodo- l̂e- l̂f \) I wish it would get warm again; it-has-started-to-be-warm again-things-will-become-wish (YMG 108)

11.38a. ye’ sometimes functions as a nominalizer; possibly it is past compared with -i’, -i, and -i’g’ (5.23-5.30.):

\( dadilili’f’ \) (crystal) that was lighted (EW 104:12)
\( ’aadzo ĝo ye’ \) the place from which he shot arrow
\( b̂e’ ĉ’ e’ \) ’at’ a’ be’ xazdi- sa they(4) two were dressed in different kinds of flint; flint garments-to-be-sure different with-them(garments) they(4)-were-dressed (EW 108:16)
tá· daizkéh·gi at the very place where they two had sat
ni' tł' biyi' xodi-stóh·' noise was heard within the earth; earth-obviously
in-it there-were-sounds (EW 110:13)

11.39. ye'ni’’, see -é'ni’ 11.32.

11.40. yi'la' ... may..., but I hope not; ... may not ..., but I hope it will; be sure to..., be sure not to...:

bida 'o'o-bni yi'la' whatever you may do, don't...
tsidá lá-ká ná'óvodízi'id yi'la' don't waste time (NT 44:7)
tá-ká bikidi-ga' yi'la' be sure to look for it under any circumstances (NT 26:3)
tá-ká yosi' xì·la' (< yosi'h yi'la') be careful not to make a mistake (EW 108:4)
l'í' tógó· dító-s bá· yo-ní xì·la' (< yo-nih yi'la') don't forget to water the horse; horse to-water lead you-forget be-sure-not

11.41. ga' verifiable at the present time, but not necessarily near the subject (AB); emphatic particle (FS 8):
kól·gá' dínë bikéyahdi that's the way it is in the Navaho country (AB, cp. kól·ye·' this is the way it is right here')
'è'i gá' tl' xaliká-hgo this one (wife) cust. ground corn (NT 30:20)
'è'i gá' 'è'i da-t łá they surely those must be the ones (NT 224:7)
tá· gá' 'a-ní' niki'eywe' yisdi·të·h łá true it is obvious (that) our baby the baby will be successfully raised; truly-it-is-evident our-baby is-caused-to lie-safely truly (NT 39:20)
tá· gá' 'a-ní' tó-la'i ni-dlí łá it is obviously true that we are one (tribe) (NT 58:24)

11.42. xani' contrary to fact, see 11.67, 11.85.

11.43. xi'la' is probably the same as yi'la', its initial being affected by a preceding h (11.40.).

11.44. djo' therefore, consequently, as is known. djo' is an untranslatable introductory word that refers back to what has been said or thought (FS 14).

11.45. tó·h in vain, try to ... (and fail) (see also 11.83, 11.84):
tó·h de-yá he is tired (gen.); in-vain he-started-to-go
tó·h 'aliníñic 'átó it is impossible; in-vain is-it-done-thus it-is-thus
tó·té·yá'n watermelon; in-vain one-eats-something
tó· xata déz'ì' in-vain she looked among them
tó·h nío (< ní-go) saying in vain
tó· ná'o-skáñ in vain she begged

11.46. la' expresses consternation or astonishment, "unexplainably, I don’t understand why, I can’t see why...":
ci la' I truly (NT 224:16)
'asdžú la' sili' łá why! she’s a young lady! (of a child one has not seen for years); young-woman I-am-astonished she-has-become to-be-sure (FS 18)
11.46.-11.48a. **SYNTAX**

11.46a. *tö la* apparently, it looks so but probably isn't. This complex is sometimes used with *naxalin* “it resembles, looks like”:

- *dí- ké tö la ‘áltši-si naxalin* this shoe looks too small; this shoe apparently is small it-resembles
- *dí- bě-so tö la ‘bě’elya- naxalin* this dollar looks like a counterfeit; this dollar apparently counterfeit it-resembles
- *tö la’ bígö de-skö-z* it seems a bit cold; apparently quite it has become-cold

11.47. *la-na* wish it would … (and it may), desire that … (op. *la-na* “desire” [noun]):

- *'ákó yinicyé la-na* I wish that were my name
- *do ‘ákó yinicyé-dah la-na* I wish that were not my name
- *dí- dzit bą-hgö cac nda-kai la-na* I wish bears lived on this mountain
- *kó xöne’ la-na- nsn niteit’ I was hoping this would happen; thus things happen wish I want past
- *kwicj- na-dě-’ kijdöle-l la-na* here probably may corn be planted
- *… ci’ la-na* I wish … were mine
- *dinēké’ yáccit’ la-na-(pres.) I wish I could speak Navaho
- *la’ biná-xođjo-tl’l la-na* some more (than others) want to learn it

11.48. *lá* enters into many idioms to form idioms. Just as *la* expresses wonder about a situation or statement, *lá* expresses conviction, “it is …, I find it is …, I have discovered …, I am convinced it is …”:

- *ci lá léyi maq’i yiítšá ni* I am convinced that it was a coyote I saw (whatever you may think it was); I to-be-sure only coyote I saw for-a-fact
- *dícin cinví tsįį ‘I am hungry,” says A. B replies, cidó’ lá “Why! I am too!”*
- *cıká naxaldá lá* I found the ceremony was being held for my benefit
- *dí- tsé ‘été lá* this is a rock (I thought it was something else)

11.48a. When *lá* follows a sentence, it may refer to the entire statement preceding:

- *díjó tá’ bě’xózína lá* I see now that it was easily solved, to be sure there is nothing to it; as-I-now-see just what is known to be sure
- *tá’-a-ni- cibé-so tö- ‘axayói ndí tá’ do- bini-yhéda lá* actually I had plenty of money but there was nothing to spend it on; it is-the-truth my money was plentiful but there was absolutely no cause to be sure
11.49. **láádó':** if, in case, in the event that..., provided that....

Note particularly the position of this compound between the two clauses whose relation it points out:

- *do· nuxaltin láádó': de-cá-t* (FS 16)
- *nuxaltin láádó': do· de-cá-t* (FS 16)
- *tá·do-le'é bini-na· né-tlah láádó': do· 'á·dí de-cá-t* (FS 16)

11.50. **lágo** was listed as a negative optative (8.81.), but there seem to be two of these words, apparently unrelated, or perhaps there is only one with two different meanings. One meaning is temporal, perhaps **lágo** forms a temporal clause introduced in English by "before...":

- *dibé tá· da-ztsq.: lágo biktiniyá* (FS 16)
- *tciidá ká-áq: yitcso-h lágo naxalni:* (FS 16)
- *tí: tó· yisqgo dado-tse-l lágo bítílid* (FS 16)
- *neznó yisqgo na'akai do-le-l lágo xata-l bini-tsá* (FS 16)
- *ké·dilyé-h lágo* (FS 16)

11.51. **lá djini** let's pretend, it is said to be:

- *cac ni-dlj: tó djini* let's pretend (play) we are bears (FS 17)
- *kin góné' si-ké tó djini* let's pretend we are in the house; house inside we-two-sit truly it-is-said (FS 17)

11.52. **le'** may... be, would that it ..., but who knows (FS 18):

- *'adiní' le' let there be light (YMG 19)
- *tó dilti la' selj: le' I wish I had some whiskey: water dark some there-is-round-obj. would-that (YMG 19)
- *nikidóílitsej'go yiodoc le' I wish it would rain as I trot along; raining I-trot-prog. may-it-be (YMG 108)

11.53. **leh**, le customary. This word may be used after various aspects; if the verb has the customary form ná-(ná), the customary idea is repeated, once in the verb form, once with **leh** (op. **ki** 11.54.):

- *e'elá-hgodah 'á-di le* they customarily arrive there about sunset; sunset being-about there-remote-at cust. (NT 312:4)
- *ake'dgo díbóyáji dane-skah (stat.) leh* in fall lambs are usually so (YM 141)
- *lé' go té:di nicté-h (inc.) leh* I usually sleep outside; night-being in-place I-lie-down (inc.) usually (YM 214)
- *áko tó 'axonjim' (pres.) leh* that is the proper way for a person to so truly one(4)-says-things-thus usually (EW 120:11)
- *siddás (stat.) leh* he cust. sits, stays (NT 266:11)
11.53.-11.56. SYNTAX

Jdko yddahgo dasa’q (stat.) le’ so on top it cust. rests (NT 404:17)
dintle (pres.) we cust. say
tá xa’di-dah ya’ na-y’-le’igi’ (< na-y’ah le) ndi tó: ndá-gó-hdah tif’ bil
no-lfi-leh (< no-lfi-l leh) why does he keep going about to dances
and galloping on horseback?

11.54. li, le is hardly to be differentiated from leh “customarily” (11.53.):

tó: ndaxa-ztór li (DD) (lé FH) they just stayed home; merely they-cust.-
stay cust.
tó sédá li I just stay home; merely I-sit cust. (DD)
kadaxidiká-hac lé (or leh) those who are cust. ill; those-who-start-rep.-
going-ill-interrogative cust. (FH)

11.55-11.86. Negative

11.55. Several words express the negative. do’dah is a quite
emphatic “no, never;” ndah is a non-emphatic, contradictory
answer or remark. For instance, in answer to the statement, dít:
belasá’na bitse’ xólónigí” “this is a pear,” one might say, ndah
belasá’na “no, it is an apple.” There are various modifications
of these negatives, made by combinations of elements which have
already been discussed:

do’-dahih (do-ddi) be’ do-dah never, absolutely never
tah do-dah not yet; still not
tó do-dah alas! no! (referring to a decision suddenly changed). tó: here
means reversal of a plan or conclusion.
ndi do-dah but no!

11.56. In the discussion of the negative many examples will be
given, because negative elements give rise to many idioms.
The simplest negative statement is made by do’ ...-dah, a
negative frame. The positive statement as usually made is included
between the two parts; do’ starts the negative expression (sometimes
being sufficient), -dah completes it:

do’ ci-dah it isn’t I
do’ ci’-dah it isn’t mine
do’ ákwu’-edah it isn’t so, it’s wrong

do’ ákwu’-dah it is not exactly so, not absolutely correct

do’ bihi-dah it does not belong to anyone (cp. do’ bi’-i-dah “it isn’t his)
do’ bi’-dah not that one, it’s the wrong one

The following attributes are found primarily in the negative:

do’ ‘ahsoxodé’-f’-dah conditions are unbearable, hopeless (EW 106:18)
do’ ‘áđéhi-dah it is as one might expect, harmless, without fault

do’ oc unsheltered, uncared for, less evident than a shadow

do’ ol yá’âté-dah ... does not like it (cp. Ol yá’âté “... likes it”)
do’ yá’ácxé-dah it is emphatically not all right; it is awful (WE)
do’ ol xéjfi-dah ... is angry (cp. do’ do’ ol xéjfi-dah “... is not angry”)
do’ bi’q’-dah it is dying out

do’ bi’yq’-dah he is becoming sad
do· bi·tci·-dah he is becoming weak
do· bi·tci·-dah he is becoming very weak, his life hangs by a thread
do· bi·yâh·dah, do· bi·yâh it is not enough, it doesn’t fit
do· deni·-dah it is dull, blunt (equivalent to bikâ· yija·j “its edge is wearing away” (cp. deni “it is sharp”)
do· tcoxo·r‘i·-dah it is inevitable, things are beyond help, hopeless

dobixôné·dzáq·-dah it is impossible (FS 14)
do· tší·-dah he is very weak

do· tší·d‘átzi·-dá it is not normal, it is intolerable (WE)
do· tší·d‘átzi·-dá it is not to be scorned, ignored; not normal it-is-thus

do· tšídá bizzi·l·-dah he is very weak indeed; not absolutely his-strength (weaker than do· tšídah) (FH)
do· ‘ákózo·tzé·-dah things are abnormal

do· la‘ lahgo ‘álé·-dah they are the same; not one otherwise it-is-thus

-dah is sometimes omitted, in which case one has to judge by context whether do· is negative or future (11.33.):
do· i·yâ·c, do· i·yâ·c·-dah, do· i·lyâ·c·-dah vigil, ceremonial period of sleeplessness; there-is-no-sleeping

11.57. The examples already given differ little from those which follow except that some cannot be analyzed. The following illustrate simple negative expressions:
do· i·nisí·n·-dah I do not want; I-do-not-want-something

do· tâ‘ údzádi·-dah it is not unimportant, not to be treated lightly, not to be ignored; it-is-not-that-which-has-just-happened-thus

do· naxasti·n xodo·le·l·-dah no one can be your husband

do· níkkê xodo·le·l·-dah you will never have a husband; not-your-husband things-will-be

do· naxoniti‘-dah there was no way to get down; no-place-strung-out-down

do· na·yâhi·-dah there is no one at home; there-is-no-one-going-about

do· neín·dah I want nothing; I-do-not-want

do· nein·dah I don’t want anything; there-is-not-that-which-I-want

do· xayóí·-dah he is not very capable, he has little power

do· xadá·hdi‘ yádo·ti‘-dah they dared not speak; not-toward-in-front-of-him(4) they-speak

do· ci di·nîçì·-dah you are not my concern, I am not concerned about you; not I-you-are-bothered (YM 199)
do· xaltciní·-dah undefined natural smell; that-which-does-not-give-off-odor

do· xolt‘-dah things are invisible; it is dark; things-are-not-seen

11.58. The position of words or elements before or within the negative frame seems to make little difference in meaning:
do· ciná·l·-dah ‘áni, or do· ciná·l ‘áni·-dah he doesn’t speak that way in front of me (FH)

tah do· kintahó· dicé·h·-dah, or kintahó· tah do· dicé·h·-dah, or do· kintahó· tah dicé·h·-dah I have never been to town (FH)
citcidi do· di·tší·h·-dah or do· citcidi di·tší·h·-dah my car won’t start; my-car does-not-make-a-sound (FH, YM 222)
ci do· delf‘-dah or do· ci· ilf‘-dah I didn’t do it (FH)
Occasionally, however, one form will do and the other will not, showing that they are not absolute alternants:

ci-h yilka-z do- siki diyá-h-dah, but not do- ci-h yilka-z ciki diyá-h-dah
I never get a cold, I do not have a cold; into-me cold-has-been-moving it-does-not-start-to-move over-me (FH) (Ad 1/49:8)

11.59. With the fourth person subject do' . . . -dah expresses a negative command of general import, or politely refers to the second person (cp. 8.75–8.76.):

do' 'adjini-dah one should never speak thus; don't ever speak that way

do' ‘adjip-dah one should never do that, don't ever do it

do' 'djîca-dah one should never cry, don't cry

do' 'djûcxa-dah one should never scream, never scream

11.60. The negative frame do' . . . 'álé-dah with an optative verb form designates "cannot, be unable to . . . ," literally, "may . . . be it-is-not-thus":

do' 'dóca' 'álé-dah I cannot go; not may-I-go it-is-thus (YMG 107)

do' ‘orx’-c 'álé-dah I cannot go to sleep; not may-I-go-to-sleep it-is-thus (YMG 107)

do' binásí:’ dôsâ-l 'álé-dah no one can pass him unseen: not cust-away-from-him may-he-sail it-is-thus (EW 112:20)

tci’di do’ do-stcé’ 'álé-dah I cannot get the car started; car not may-I-cause-to-sound it-is-thus (YM 222)

11.61. The negative may have a nominalized form with -i "don't be the one who . . . .":

do' nsin-i-dah I want nothing; not I-am-the-one-who-wants (YMG 18)

do' na-yúh-i-dah no one is at home; not one-who-goes-about

do' danítn-i-dah don’t look; not one-who-looks (WE)

do' xalnì-yi-dah undefined taste (as cabbage); not that-which-is-tasted

do' xalécin-i-dah undefined smell; not that-which-gives-off-odor

do’ lá sání-tá-š-i-dan (-dan < -dah-ni for a fact) now you mention it we two have not come for anything (EW 106:13)

11.62. A double negative do' do' . . . -dah is equivalent to a positive:

do' do’ bi-l cítâ-dah he is not angry (ep. do’ bi-l xéjâ-dah "he is angry; with-him there-is-no-satisfaction") (AB)

do’ do’ ‘asoxodic’-hda do’ I shall not be discouraged; not not-I-am-without-hope it-will-be

11.63. do’ lá’ kád . . . -dah means "don't want to . . . .":

do’ lá’ kád sítâ-go sélì’-dah I don't want to be a soldier; not really now being-a-soldier I-become-negative (FS 6)

do’ lá’ kád ’ákó’ nstèyá-dah I don't want to go there; not really now there-remote I-have-travelled-about-negative (FH 6)

do’ lá’ kád na’ nît’-dah I don't want to give you a round object; not really now to-you I-have-moved-round-obj.-negative (FS 6)

11.64. Three negative frames, do’ ndó’ . . . -dah, do’ ndì . . . -dah, and do’ ndó’ ndì . . . -dah are considered by Young and Morgan to be
exactly the "same." FH finds no difference in meaning between any of the three, or do .' ...-dah or do. dadó' ...-dah. Those whose introductory elements are extended seem to be more emphatic than do. ...-dah:

do. ndó' da-tsa-h no-lin-dah he doesn't even look sick (FS 5)
'awé' do. ndó' yidló-h-dah or do. ndí yidló-h-dah the baby is not even
cold (much less uncomfortable) (FS 5)

11.65. Very little difference in meaning is detectable between the
frames do. ...-dah and do. ...-gó' unless it be that do. ...gó' refers
to a future idea:

do. ciýá-j-gó' 'ání he isn't my son, he is not my son even though he says
so (I will not acknowledge him as my son) (NT 52:15)
do. nza-d-gó' not far forward (YM 15)
'ei do. tcpxo-'i-gó' or 'ei do. tcpxo-'i'-dah they were very mean, powerful
(FH)
do. ya. nda-kái-gó' when they have nothing to do in the future (NT
16:10)
do. biki'-ní-gó' he couldn't talk to them (NT 40:2)
do. bítšá- xasti'-gó' respect him by avoidance in the future, be careful
about him (FH)
do. 'ákóxo-té-gó' or do. 'ákóxo-té-dah never before had the place been
this way, the place is not the same (FH)
do. biká'-gó' nike. díncii I really hate you (EW 94:7, FH)
do. 'i-yá'-gó' (or do. 'i-yá'-dó') do. dahdide-câ-l-dah I shall not start
before (unless, until) I have eaten (YM 17, FH)
'et kéyáhd do. biká' 'anítá'-gó' biní-na or 'et kéyáhd do. biká' 'anítá'-dah
biní-na because things do not mature on that land (FS 10, FH)
do. ce. nikixonítá'-gó'-cít. tâ. kwee' na-câ-go ce. xodi-na' do-le-t it is
probably if it had not started to rain on me I would have stayed
longer; not with-me rain-fell-probably just here I-going-about
with-me time-passes it will-be it-has-been (YM 17)
do. ye. naza'tido'-á-l-gó' or do. ye. naza'tido'-á-l-dah it will be a preter
for him (EW 108:4); he is not going to permit you (FH)
'ai ye' diné do. da-té-d-gó' ké-xalí those evil people live there (NT
200:19)

11.66. The frame do. ye' ...-t seems to indicate a threat,
lucky that, it is a good thing that... not ..." (possibly ye'-n
"threat"): 

do. ye' ni-tsán-t it's a good thing that I did not see you, you are
I did not see you (cp. ni' tóoxami tâ. do. niltš'-dah which has
same meaning (FH))
do. ye' ciná-l' adimín-t it is a good thing you did not say that I
presence, you better not let me hear you that (FS 7); I had
been there when you said that (FH)
do. ye' ca. yánúltí'go ndisétá'í' it is a good thing I did not hear
about you, when-you-were-talking I didn't
hear-you (FS 6)
ca. náñilj đjini do: yé 'i-dá' 'ákwé' na-cáh-i I hear you were talking about me, it is a good thing I was not there at the time; about-me you-were-bothering they-say not at-the-time-remote I-am-going-about (FS 7)

11.67. The frame do' xani' ...-dah may express a condition contrary to fact (cp. 11.85.):

do' xani' kól'go 'ánilé-h-dah why not make it this way (YM 95)
do' xani' ni 'akdo' nił' biki dah'ini-l-dah why don't you saddle your horse too (YM 95)

11.68. do'cq' ... lá see to it that ..., make sure that ..., take care that ..., be determined that ... not:
do'cq' gah tá-gé'd nácdá-h lá I am determined not to return without a cottontail
do'cq' 'áko ná-nácinté-h lá I am determined not to do that again (FS 6)
do'cq' ni-lxac lá I'll see that it does not bite you (FS 6)

11.69. The frame do'cq' léi' ... lá is similar to do'cq' ... lá:
do'cq' léi' 'awá-lya yah'aniná-h lá I am determined that you shall not go to jail (FS 6)
do'cq' léi' lá' do: 'awá-lya yah'aniná-h lá I'll see to it that you go to jail (FS 6)
do'cq' léi' 'acki- tó bi-lxé- lá I'll see to it that the boy does not drown (FS 6)

11.70. An emphatic negative frame with the significance of a positive is do'ládó' ...-dah "it certainly is, is it not! My! But it is!":
do'ládó' 'ayóí- 'áté- 'áté-dah it is a terrible thing, it is shocking
do'ládó' 'ayóí 'ínté-da lá samá you're a fine one surely (to be) my mother (NT 116:4)
do'ládó' tsíña 'i-tá-dah it is certainly destructive, it is a wrong that destroys (WE)
do'ládó' yówé- 'ánílé-h dáq xasti-n you are a man despicable beyond words (WE)
do'ládó' tó nixada'i-dah you are certainly unspeakably dirty (WE)
do'ládó' nda-z-dah lá it certainly is heavy (FS 5)
do'ládó' de-ska-z-dah lá it certainly is cold (FS 5)
do'ládó' njón-dah it (mask) certainly is beautiful (NT 236:28)
do'ládó' be-llé-dah there is nothing like it (coyote call) (NT 212:7)

11.71. The frame do' ... le' 'áté-gó' means "proof against, withstand":
do' xa'ádí-dah yiniká-o-ya le' 'áté-gó' bidzi-łgo teín ne-lká-łgo 'áyi-la' he made the stockade so strong that nothing could get through
cínba-l do' tó biniká-o-ge-h le' 'áté-gó' 'i-cla' I made my tent waterproof, so strong water could not leak through it (FS 19)

11.72. The negative frame lá' do' ...-i seems to be an emphatic form of do' ...-i. It is often a negative command and sometimes seems to mean "absolutely don't be the one who ...", "not even ...", "don't even ...":
11.73. The frame tå· do· ...-i is also used in complex sentences to indicate a temporal clause "before ...":

tå· do· nádáh-i before he comes back, ... (YMG 48)
tå· do· dost̓-łsêh ni'-oh yicyod before they saw me I ran out of sight; they do-not-see-me out-of-sight I ran (YM 159)
'ei tå· do· bi'-yicáhi kidołolgo 'álítł; là that (cord) even before I step into it (basket) will surely break; that I do-not-step-into-it it-will-break-being it-is-thus (EW 120:4)

11.74. In the following the negative frame is tå· do· ...-i-dah:

tå· do· be· dòca'-i-dah I have no means by which to go; absolutely not by-means-of-it that-which-I-may-go (YMG 107)
tå· do· be· xosóléh-i-dah no transportation is available; absolutely not that-by-means-of-which-there-should-be-travelling (YM 199)
tå· do· yi'-łsání-i-dah I saw no one (cp. tå· do· yi'-łsání ... "I didn't get to see ...", and tå· do· yi'-śq/-dash "I didn't get to see" used without another clause [FH])
tå· do· na· xatšid-i-gi-dah things are not at all right where you (coyote) are; not on-account-of-you-things are-proper-at (NT 208:27)
tå· do· nixidé-lín-dah do· (-nín < ní-i-) absolutely nothing will affect us (EW 80:14)

tådá tå· do· be· boxóné-dzán-dah (-dzán < -dzé'-i) really there is no way to get at it; absolutely not it-is-possible (EW 112:25)
tådá tå· do· bidi-stáq'-i-dah actually he could not be heard (EW 96:12)
tå· 'a·ni cibé-so tå· 'oxayó nás tå· do· bini-yéh-é-dah tå· actually I had plenty of money but I found it useless (because there was no place to spend it) (FS 15)

11.75. The following examples have the negative frame tå· do· ...-i-go:

tå· do· ntsé-i-gó l'éiyá 'ákó' nil de'c'ac I'll take you only on condition that you do not cry (FS 26)
tå· do· xói-dah bi'l xólé'-i-gó l'éiyá di· ñi' na· de'cé-t l I'll give you this horse only on condition that you don't tell anyone (FS 26)
11.76. In the following the frame is tâ' do' ...-i-gô':

tâ' do' bita'-i-gô' kolê-go xoc yil'á a patch of cactus so thick there was absolutely no space between them; absolutely not-between them being-thus cactus was-a-mass (NT 32:4)
tâ' do' djóyê'-i-gô' it was nothing one would want to eat (NT 48:17)

11.77. The negative tâ' do' ...-dah seems to be more emphatic than do' ...-dah, less emphatic than tâ' do' ...-i: 

tâ' do' bino-lin-dah nothing can be compared with it (WE)
'ei kad tâ' do' átêhi-dah do'le'I these effects must not be lasting; these now harmless must be (EW 80:2)
tâ' do' xodi-na'-dah it was not very long; absolutely not time-had passed (cp. tâ' do' xodi-na'-i "it was not even long")
tah tâ' do' tsike-dah it is not yet suitable, satisfactory, convenient; still absolutely not suitable

tâ' do' yâ'álé-dah it wasn't right

tâ' do' 'i-tla'-dah I did not go to school

tâ' do' 'oljîh 'ådza-dah not decreasing; absolutely not it-disappeared it-became (EW 104:15, cp. nê-lle' do' 'o-di'h '$idza-dah "the amount did not become less" [EW 104:24])
tâ' do' yîli-dji'-dah it was not quite dark (FH) (cp. do' xîli-dji'-dah "before night came ..., before it was absolutely dark")
tâ' do' dinosin-da you two keep nothing holy (NT 120:26)
tâ' do' be tei-nîn-da you are no use to anyone (NT 16:8)
tâ' do' xako de-yâ'-da he (turkey) never gave up looking for him(4)
(NT 26:24)
tâ' do' yi-tsê-dah I did not get to see it (FH)

11.78. tâ' do' ndô' ...-i seems to be a very emphatic negative:

tâ' do' ndô' kónizah-i it was no time at all

11.79. The frames tâ' do' ...-gô' and tâ' do' ...-gô'go seem to mean "unless":

tâ' do' naixo-tâ'-gô'go cîna-dâ' 'altsô dado-gâ'îl unless it rains my corn will all dry up (FS 26)
tâ' do' la'i yîlda-z-gô'go da-qi do' nîdaxodo-dle-lkah unles it has snowed a lot the plants will not come up in spring (FS 26)
tâ' do' 'aze' 'aîl'-gô' dinîyâ'-gô' go djêî 'âdi'h yêigo ndînô-lxê't unless you go to the hospital your tuberculosis will become really serious (FS 26)

11.80. The combination of particles tâ' and kâ' seems sometimes to mean "carefully, carelessly," but with a negative it means "don't." The translation "be careful that ..., be careful how ..." is probably justified in some cases, if there is no other negativizing particle:

tâ'kâ bainôhtîn-i la' (tâ' FH) don't bother him, be careful not to bother him (EW 108:13)
tâ'kâ cil yah'o-lye'd whatever happens don't let him come in to my house

tâ'kâ la' cil yah'o-lye'd don't let anyone come in to my house (as when ceremony is in progress) (FH)
tâ'kâ bit tô'â-l be careful not to divulge your purpose to him (EW 96:11)
11.81. The following examples have *tá-ká* with a negative:

*tá-káhi diné do daohdła'-dah* none of you believed this man (even though he was right) (NT 168:19, FH) (cp. *tá xani: diné do daohdła* "you did not believe the man but he was right," and *tá xani: diné daohdła* "you believed the man but you should not have [FH])

*tá-ká yoshi xi-'la’* be careful not to make a mistake; careful you-make-a-mistake you-may-but-we-hope-not (EW 108:4)

*tá-ká č ya didó-txil-dah* should there be destruction (obscurity) because he would not keep quiet (FH)

11.81a. *tá-ci: do’ ...* what is more ... not:

*tá-ci: do’ yójó yíla-l-i* what is more it was not properly chewed

11.82. A free particle, *tče'h, tče: may stand before a statement, causing it to mean "... in vain, try to ... and fail" (see also 11.45.):

*tché dényá* I am tired (gen.); in-vain I-started-to-go

*tché bidjini-goh* futilely she(4) said to him ...

*tché xota dė-x’i’* in vain she looked among them

11.83. *tché* "in vain" before a negative statement means "try not to ...":

*tché do’ ba' ná'axojddilé'-gó’* he tried (in vain) to be unconcerned about it. This sentence has three negatives: *tché* "in vain," *do’ ...-gó’ "not," and the prefix combination *'á-xo-di’ "pretend;" it means then "in-vain not on-account-of-him he(4)-pretended-to-see."

*tá tché do’ búnizin-gó’* he tried to resist: just-in-vain he(4)-did-not-wish-evil

11.84. If *tché* stands within the negative frame it means "not in vain," therefore, "succeed in ..."

"ask xa’i lá do’ tché ntsizniké-z-dah* exactly how he(4) tried to think

do’ tché ‘áxo’to’l’i’-dah not in vain was something being done to him(4)

‘axo’i lá do’ tché yíká ‘á-tl’-dah how her treatment of him might be successful

11.85. *xani:* means "contrary to fact":

ni xani: not you (said to someone trying to crowd in) (FS 13)

ci xani: tleiyá belagd'-na biza-d ci bë-xózin I am not the only one who understands English; I am contrary-to-fact it-is-only white-man his-language I-understand (YM 95)
11.85.-11.88.  SYNTAX

cq' xani· 'at'q dine'ě da-nlinig'i· xani· 'atá bits'i· bq· 'adaz'úh leh they think that all Indians wear feathers in their hair; recall-that contrary-to-fact different tribes which are contrary-to-fact feathers their-hair extraneous-to-it they stand-up cust. (DD)
dí· dj' xani· naxod-o-t'i' il'i· (or xwi-ndzin) it looked as if it would rain today (but it didn't)
tá· xani· 'òsidji' il'i· níl'ė· it seemed to be the end (but it wasn't)

11.86. lágo is a negative wish used with the optative, "may it not ... , I hope it will not ... , it is desirable that ... might not ... ;" it follows the verbal statement. It contrasts with la'na: "it is desirable, I hope it will ...":

yóqį' lágo don't eat it (YMG 54)
'o-cxá-c lágo I hope I won't go to sleep (YMG 107)
yikq'go naxót'a lágo I hope it will not rain tomorrow (YMG 107)
be· bil xó-lne' lágo don't tell him (YMG 54)
be· ná-o-ne' lágo don't hurt him (YMG 54)
biki dólta-l lágo don't step on it (YMG 54)
ciyótxe-l lágo I hope I won't be killed (YMG 53)
tcidí tà· 'ákwe'è nó'á-l lágo don't park there; car just-there do-not-move-round-obj.-to-end (YMG 107)

11.87-11.100. INTERROGATIVES

11.87. Since almost every interrogative idea is expressed more than once, it is difficult to assign an independent meaning to each element. Prefixed bound forms may be thought of as interrogative pronouns. They have the pattern of similar demonstrative elements—xa- "what" (general), xa- "what near you," xa- "what remote"—they enter into combination with the same elements in the same way, and they are used to form questions, as well as interrogative pronominal compounds, such as "whatever, whoever, wherever, however, and the like.

11.88. Besides, there are enclitics which have interrogative or interrogative pronominal significance; and there are also a few interrogative prefixes or introductory elements. These have been included with other bound forms (7.11-7.103.); here some examples will be given to illustrate their syntactic functions, and to show how they combine with various other elements. The more simple constructions are given first, later, the more complicated complexes that take on idiomatic meanings are discussed (11.101-11.118.).
11.89. -cq', sometimes abbreviated to -c, is suffixed to short forms. If the form is a noun plus -cq' or -c, the suffix means “where is...?” -c abbreviated from -cq' should not be confused with -ic which may also be shortened to -c, but affects the preceding high vowel by lengthening it, or the preceding low vowel by raising the tone. Moreover, da' which may form a frame with -ic or -c is not used with -cq', or -c, its short form (cp. 7.93, FS 14, 24):

ninâ-cq’ where is your mother? (cp. ninâ-c [< ninâ-ic] “is it your mother?”)
djan-cq’ where is John? (cp. djan-ic “is it John?”)
diné-cq’ where is the man?

11.89a. -cq’ like most interrogatives, is often used in combination with other interrogative elements:

dîkwî-cq’ or dôkwî-cq’ ninâxwi how old are you? how many is it?
winters-have-passed-you?
diné-cq’ xa- yolvé what is that man near you called? the-man-question
what-near-you he-is-called (YM 92)
nîlîdi-cq’ xa- xâfî what is going on over there? over-there-at-question
what-near-you things-are-being-done (YM 161)
xa’i-cq’ whatever it is (NT 30:12)
xuda-cq’ de-ênît I wonder what will happen to me; what-of-various-
possibilities-question I-shall-become (YM 161)
dî-cq’ xâtîbih whose is this? to whom does this belong? (cp. dî-dic
xâtîbih meaning and usage exactly the same FH)
dî-cq’ xâtî (xâtîdî) bîlî? whose horse is this? this-question who-remote
his-horse (YM 94)
xâtîdî-cq’ or xâtîdc which one? (YM 94)
xâtîdi-cq’ ninîzin which one do you want? (YM 94)
xâtî-cq’ t’ântî who are you? (YM 94, 160)
xâtî-cq’ ninâ who is your mother (NT 52:7)
xâtîda-cq’ which of those possible?
xâ-dî-cq’ nîlîjcî (< nî’adijcî) where were you born? what-remote-
place-at-question your-birth
xâ-cq’ ’îlî ’atsî ’ê’-de-tî’ how about guessing first? (NT 66:23)
xâ-dîji’-c ninîsbâ-s how far is it to where I park? where-to-a-point-
question I-cause-rolling-to-the-end (FH)
xâ-đê’-c from where? where-from-question (cp. xâ-đê’ “where did he
come from?” There is no detectable difference in meaning, one
interrogative may suffice [FH])

11.90. -ic, -c is an interrogative enclitic attached to the first word
of an utterance. It differs from -c, the short form of -cq' in its
phonetic effects. The high tone of the vowel of -ic combines with a
final vowel of the form to which it is added. If that tone is low, the
resulting vowel is rising; if that tone is short and high, the vowel is
lengthened; if the tone is high and long, the vowel may absorb -î-
and remains the same.

When the vowel of the word to which -ic is suffixed can absorb its
vowel, there is no way to differentiate the two—both have the same
function. Probably these interrogatives are doublets, each having
come into the language by a different route:


1.90.-11.91. SYNTAX 317

dic (< díc-ic) this one?
dícic-ic nIłí are you hungry? (This is a translation from English. dícic-ic ni-txé- “is hunger killing you?” is a more classical Navaho form).
dinétsoh-ic yinïlyé is your name dinétsoh?
'adá-dá'-íc do: kinlán'gó- niníyá-dah didn’t you go to Flagstaff yesterday? yesterday-question not to-Flagstaff you-went-negative
dó-c níl yá'áté-dah don’t you like it?
ní-c (< ní-ic) na-be-hó nIłí are you a Navaho? (FH)
ndá-c (< ndá-ic) it is, isn’t it? (FH)
diné-c (< diné-ic) nIłí are you the man? (cp. diné-cq “where is the man?”)
lác-a-ní really? really-question it-is-true
kintahtó-c (< -gó-ic) cíl dá'á-c are you going to town with me? town-to-question with-me you-two-are-starting-to-go (ep. 7.33.)
cih-ic cí dane-l'ó can they measure up to me? I-is-it I-they-measure-up-to (WE)
na-kai biza-d-ic níl bé-xózin do you know Spanish? Mexican its-word-question you-know
níná'ítló-c (< tó-c < -to-ic) do you want to smoke again?
bé-xónsin-ic do you know him?
tó'dih-ic tó-do: xáxodíyinígí:érí is that not a special place where holy things are performed? specifically-question is-it-not-a-holy-place-at (FH)
tsina-ba's-ic yobile tečidí go' yobile is a wagon called an automobile? wagon-question it-is-called auto actually is called (HM)
tó-c xógló or dá-tó-c xógló (tó-c < tó-ic) is there any water?
tó-gó-c (< tó-gó-ic) diníyá are you going to the well (spring, water supply)?
bé:nín'i'í-c or béc nín'i'í’ did you steal it from him? with-him you stole-it-question, or with-him-question you-stole-it (YMG 17)

11.90a. It has been said that the interrogative enclitic -íc may serve as the test of the word (4.35.). Examples show that t’à: “absolutely, just,” da’ interrogative, do: “not,” are words:

ni da’ác is it a fact?
dó-c bini:yé nanná:-da why don’t you find out? not-interrogative because-of-it you-are-going-about (NT 110:2)
dó-c níl yá'áté-dah don’t you like it?
lác-kólé is this right? should it be this way? absolutely-question so-it-is
lác 'ákólé is that right? absolutely-question something-so-it-is
lác 'ákólé was that right? absolutely-question thus-so-it-is

11.91. da’ may be used with -íc to form an interrogative frame—he pattern is like that of do ...-dah negative, the first element being independent, the second an enclitic. da’ may introduce a question and may be used without the enclitic. It is often the first element of an utterance, but may stand before the second word, probably for emphasis:

da’ 'áko bini’ niyá-j do you accept me as a son? is it thus let-it-be your-son (NT 66:20)
da’ díc- is it this one?
da’ tác- is it really ...? (NT 56:20)
da’ ni-c is it you? (same as ni-c “is it you?”) (NT 168:14)
11.92. The frame dó’ . . . -ic li is an indirect question of uncertainty, wonder, apparent probability; “see if it is, maybe it is, will be”:

nantijo-jigó- dó’ diniytá’-c li  could it be you are going to Gallup? do you happen to be going to Gallup? (FS 7)
nda-z dó’ic li  could it be heavy? I wonder if it is heavy (FS 7)
bé-so dó’ ne’ ádín-ic li  could it be you are out of money? you aren’t broke are you? (FS 7)
ciké dó’ic li  you could be one of my relatives (FS 7)
tlo-dó’ diniy’-kóso dó’ic li  look outside and see if it is cloudy (Ad 12/48: 5)

11.93. Several particles will be discussed before some of the more complicated, specialized interrogative forms are exemplified. They have a meaning of indirect reference, of doubt, “whatever, whoever, whenever,” instead of asking a direct question. They are combined in the same way as the interrogatives just illustrated.

da’ exactly, just how, possibly but to be proved, demanding proof, a wish to be convinced. Young-Morgan have this equivalent to xa’ (ep. 7.2.) in the phrase da’cqa’ ’áté “of course” (FS 4):

da’-tší  perhaps, maybe

da’-tší-d  possibly a little better than normal

da’-daca’ xo-té  how is it there? (NT 206: 26)
da’-ye’ xo-tí-d  exactly what happened? what is the matter?
da’-dadaohtindah  whatever you plural do (NT 178: 27)

11.94. cf: “possibly, probably” seems to be an independent particle in some instances, in others, it is appended to a combination of elements:

cf: nádi  (in context) possible but (AB)

yiskqú-gó- naxdo-íítí-l cf:  it will probably rain tomorrow, it may rain tomorrow (FS 24)
xá-djí-cf:  somewhere; time after time probably (YM 92, FS 25)
xá-dí-cf:  wherever it may be; where-remote-place-possibly

xá-cf:  someone; who-remote-possibly

xáhgó-cf:  or xá-gó-cf:  it is awful, terrible, extreme

dí- tó xá-djí’-cf: ndo’yoh  this water will flow (as far as) somewhere;
this water to-whatever-point possibly it-will-plunge (YM 92)
11.95. A particle, lá “surely, evidently, obviously,” was discussed as a syntactic element (11.48–11.48a.); here it is illustrated in combination with the interrogatives previously discussed. With an interrogative it is more indirect than -cə’, by means of which a direct question is implied; lá has the idea of “wonder,” the person asking would like to know, but asks indirectly. Sometimes it is emphatic, “how in the world . . . . , why in the world . . . .” lá occurs in combination for some of the most common sayings, greetings, and the like:

\[\text{da-lá yítə, da-létə (or xa- lá yítə)} \] exactly how is it? what color is it?
\[\text{how is he (patient)? (AB)}\]
\[\text{dókwi- lá nínáxai how old may you be? (FS 16)}\]
\[\text{xa- lá 'áníné-h what are you trying to do? (YM 60)}\]
\[\text{xa- lá 'ádxane-h what is happening? Very common as a greeting, “hello!”; it also has a connotation of sympathy (YM 161)}\]
\[\text{xa- lá 'áxor-azo what has happened? Also a common greeting, with the connotation of surprise (YM 161)}\]
\[\text{xa- lá 'i-nídzi- what happened to you? what did you do? wonder you-have-done-something (YM 160)}\]
\[\text{xa- lá yínidza- what happened to you? I wonder it-happened-to-you (YM 160)}\]
\[\text{xa- lá yítə, xa- létə what is the matter with it? I wonder what is the matter with it (of something that is wrong)}\]
\[\text{xa- létə-go (< lá yítə) how did it happen to be wrong? I wonder what went wrong with it (AB)}\]
\[\text{xa’ádi- lá xádini’- what in the world are you looking for? (FS 16)}\]
\[\text{xa- lá yíné-h or xa- líné-h what may be happening to him? I wonder what he is doing (YM 161)}\]
\[\text{xá- di lá ‘ádi-tri- who are you? I wonder who you may be (less blunt than xáic’) (FS 16)}\]
\[\text{xá-di lá ‘ádi-lá wherever can we plural be? where in the world are we? (FS 16)}\]
\[\text{xá-di lá ‘ádi-tri- wherever did you find it (baby)? (NT 38:18)}\]
\[\text{xá-gó- lá diniyá where are you going, if I may ask? (AB)}\]
\[\text{xá-di’i’ lá how far, just where to if I may ask? (FH, FS 15)}\]
\[\text{xá-di’i’ gó lá yá’ádi’- lá ni he said, “I wonder which direction is best;” where-toward-a-point-being wonder place-it-is-good wonder he-says (FS 16)}\]
\[\text{xá-ádi- gó lá I wonder how . . . (used if conditions are contrary to expectations) (AB)}\]
\[\text{xá- lá tá’-biýá . . . ni’ now let’s see . . . (used in an attempt to recall something momentarily forgotten (FS 12)}\]
\[\text{xá- lá tá’-biýá yíníye- ni’ now let’s see! what is your name? (FS 12)}\]
\[\text{xá- lá tá’-biýá yítə- ni’ now let’s see, how was it? how did it look? (FS 12)}\]
\[\text{xá- lá tá’-biýá dji’-i’-ni’ now let’s see! what does one do (next)? (of a step in a process) (FS 12)}\]
11.97. lá finality, decision. lá may enter into interrogative or indirect pronominal complexes:

xa-heč: lá let’s undertake it whatever the consequences
zá-di lá wherever possible

11.98–11.100. Interrogatives with “Be”

11.98. Many independent elements, bound prefixes, and other elements are combined with -lé “be” to form interrogative or indefinite pronominal complexes:

deíté (< da-ylé) is it possible? how is it? (FH)
di-c da-ylé, di-c deíté exactly what is wrong with this? how is it that . . . ?
da-cfélé (< da-cf- ylété) I don’t know exactly (FH, NT 142:7,8)
xalté (< xa ylété) how is he? (FH)
xá ylété how are you? (FH)
ciicidi da-cf ylété cá níníl? see what is the matter with my car (Ad 12/48:5)
da- télé-go (< da- lá ylét-goh) télé-h yáčti exactly why does no one answer me; how-is-it that in-vain I-speak (WE)
da- bélé-lá tó: átí I wonder if it is just pretending; why-is-it evidently merely doing-thus (EW 114:18)
da- lá xalé how is it that . . . ? (WE)
xá- ylété-go (< lá ylét-goh), xa- la ylété why is it that . . . ? (admittedly something is wrong)
xá-c ylété bijin la what’s the matter that it is black? (I did not expect it to be black) (AB)
xá-caq’ ylété what’s wrong with it? (it is all right) (AB)
xá-caq’ ylété-go being as it is, what’s to be done about it? (AB)
nitéciocq’ xáit’é-go (< xa-ylé-go) dilyo’ how fast is your car? your-car question how-is-it it-runs (YM 17)
’bíocq’ ’bi xá- ylét-goh what’s the matter with this? how can this be? (AB)
nmocq’ xa- ylété how is your mother (who has been ill)?
xalétícocq’ (< xa-ylé-), xalétígocq’ (< xa-ylé- ) why, why?
xalétícocq’ ’ál? how is it done?
xálétícocq’ do- cítéf’ yáníld’ah why do you not speak to me? (YM 94)
’álé it is thus
da-caq’ ’áté áltsé’ iyé of course, go ahead and eat first; exactly-question it-is-thus first you-eat-something (FS 4)
da-caq’ ’áté deló-sko- z ndó of course, I’m cold (why wouldn’t I be?) (FS 4)
xá’délíd’é’ lá yinál’ where do you come from? (NT 52:5)
xásti-nçf’ ’íté (< ’áté) whatever kind of man he may be (NT 34:17)
xá’délgo some way or other, (in) whatever way (NT 34:22)
xá’dél-gocq’ how? why? in what way? (AB)
xá’dél-gi where specifically (practically the same as xá-di) (YM 93)
xá’dél-gi dañah wherever (YM 93)
xá’dél-gocq’ (or xá’dél-gic) ní-ní’é exactly where did you leave the round object? (YM 93)
11.99. *xa'áli*, *xa'áli*-h often seems to mean the same as *xa'ále*. Jsegue however seems to show that *xa'áli*- is the more indefinite of the two complexes, meaning perhaps “what, if there is such a thing, why if there is such a reason.” Note that *xa'ále* is followed by a postposition designating an exact place or motion, or by -go “what things being thus,” whereas *xa'áli* is followed by the indefinite enclitics; it often means “how, why”:

*xa'áli*-h  what is it? how (I didn’t hear)? (AB)
*xa'áli*-c  what is it? (cp. *xa'ále*-c “where is it?”) (FH)
*xa'áli* - 'alé  what is it? (NT 16:16)
*xa'áli* - ye - 'ánilti  who are you? (NT 52:5)
*xa'áli* - tilti  who is he? (NT 64:25)
*xa'áli*-dah  whatever; how-amongst (if there is such a thing)
*xa'áli*-cf  yi-yi'yd'  he ate something (possibly there was something to eat) (YM 94)
*xa'áli*-c biké - 'ini-dza  how did you get that way? how according-to-it happened-to-you (YM 160)
*xa'áli*-c bq-h  why? for what reason? (AB)
*xa'áli*-c bini-na  why, for what particular reason (AB)
*xa'áli*-c bini-ye  what for? for what purpose (AB)
*xa'áli*-c bini-yi yihiyá  why have you come? (AB)
*xa'áli*-c biká yihiyá  what did you come for, after? (AB)
*xa'áli*-c bini-ye diminá  why did you start out? why are you going? (AB)
*xa'áli*-c  what is it? (YM 94)
*xa'áli*-c bini-ye 'ánilti  why did you do it? (YM 94)
*xa'áli*-c nizin  what do you want (YM 94)
*xa'áli*-c dine'e ne'esdzá-n  what is your wife’s clan? (FH)
*xa'áli*-c ne'esdzá-n ya- na-yah  what does your wife do? (FH)
*xa'áli*-c bé-xásinic  how should I know? what do I know? (FH)
*xa'áli*-c 'alé  what is it (inanimate obj.)?
*xa'áli*-c 'aliti  what is it (animate obj.)?
*xa'áli*-c (xa'áli*-c nili  who are you?
*xa'áli*-lá  what in the world (NT 24:18, 38:9)

11.100. The following are combinations of elements and processes that have been separately discussed—syntactic particles, interrogatives, negatives, etc.:

do - tá - 'adlé-dáv (< *'adlé-dah-ic*) leh  it isn't good to drink, is it? not absolutely something-to-drink-not-question cust.

do - nátdháv (< *-dah-ic*) leh  it isn't good to smoke, is it? not smoke-negative-question cust. (FH)

do - na'dodáv (< *-dod-dah-ic*) it isn’t flexible is it? not it-is-flexible-not-question (FH)
'adé-dé-c do' naltito-jigo- náintyá-dah didn't you go to Gallup yesterday? yesterday-question not toward-Gallup you-went-about-not (FS 14)

tá- do' naxinná síntíf stand still; absolutely not you-move-about you-stand (YMG 55)

tá- do' níhtigo síndahí ni-h do-likas you will take cold if you sit in a draft; absolutely not when(where)-wind-is you-sit-into you-cold-will-move (Ad 12/48:5)

tá- do' núdahí 'i'-q'go bini-na: 'i-y'q' since he had not returned by sunset I ate; not he-returns the-sun-having-set that's-the-reason I-ate (YMG 48)

tá- do' cí-h nini'ni ní-go cí-xlone' he told me to tell you not to worry; absolutely not indifferent-to your-worry with-you-saying with-me he-reported-things (YMG 55)

11.101–11.118. Connectives and Clauses

11.101. Now that the elements of the language have been discussed and examples given to show how each fits in, we may take up more complicated utterances in which various ideas are expressed. Some, simple in form, express complex ideas in English; others, apparently simple in English, may be quite cumbersome in Navaho. First, a few examples are given to indicate the position and function of modifiers in the sentence:

nílì be'likih xalji-díjí lá sítin (< sít- ni) over there (remote) at the black lake he lies it is reported; over-there-remote lake black-place-side it-is-reported living-obj.-is (EW 112:20)

na-be'ho bikéyah biká'-gi dibé nséni'' I distributed the sheep on the Navaho reservation; Navaho their-land in-place-on-it sheep I-moved-about-with-hands (YM 157)

nílì-đi xol 'áltsé-dá' xol ba-txíj 'o'-lde' over there at the place where those conducting him had first attacked; over-there-at with-him(4) first-past with-him(4) attacking-them group-has-been-moving-off (BS)

11.102. Connectives have been included among bound forms (7.46–7.47.). -dó' or -dó' "and, also, in addition" may connect verbs as well as nouns:

tá- belagá-na tá- belagá-na 'asdzáni 'aldó' yah'adoj-kaíh three white men and three white women came in. 'aldó' is an independent word, probably composed of 'al-reciprocal and -dó' "also."

dá-dilkał 'q': 'áyi-la-dó' yah'ano-lne' he opened the door and took a quick look in; curtain-in-front hole he-made also round-obj.-was moved-inside (YM 164, 191)

cibe'ldlíí nésélítahdó: 'i-txá-j I unrolled my blanket and went to sleep; my-blanket I-caused-untying-and I-went-to-sleep (YM 186)

'awé: xazlí'-dó' bikidji la' nó-xásdíjí' a baby was born and afterward another was born; baby became and afterward one-again-became (YM 125)

naxaltindó· kos 'axidé-ti' rain and clouds are connected; rain-and clouds are-together-in-a-line (YM 199)

11.103. When two nouns are mentioned correlatively the post-position -l "with, accompanying" may be used (cp. 11.102. where
11.103a. The word 'inda, 'inda "and, furthermore, moreover" seems to have the same function as -dó: "also." It connects nouns as well as clauses (op. 7.47.):

gá-gi 'inda taqá 'inda xazéitóíi. 'inda néécdja' 'azídji-kai crow and turkey and chipmunk and owl had come together (NT 16:1)
'atsíniltki' xato'o'lyakka' 'dditó-llka' né-íi-tllka: 'inda be-cxal néídi-la-hq. the zigzag lightning arrow, the straight lightning arrow, the sunray arrow, the rainbow arrow, and the flint club which he picked up (EW 192:18)
'a-dé' nácdoí-tsoh 'inda gini 'ei-di xq: xá-dayi-stil mountain lion and prairie hawk (came) (to) extract them (witch obj.) from him; from there (came) mountain-lion and prairie-hawk extraneous-to-him(4) they-extracted-pl.-obj.

11.104–11.111, Clauses

11.104. Relative and substantive clauses are formed by suffixing -ígi: "that which, the one who, the place where" to almost any form (op. 5.30.):

di 'acki 'átsé-nígi-tó kóniyániidíjí' 'i-lxá-c this little boy is taking a nap; this the-one-who-is-little merely is-going-to-sleep (Ad 12/48:5)
bíl· 'da-tsánígi· be· bi'te-cnih I'll call his attention to the fact that his horse is dead; his-horse the-one-that-died with him I-shall-report-something-(to)-him
tá 'ácidiníngí· 'áde-cni-t I'll do whatever you say; just that-which-you-tell-me I-will-do-thus (YM 160)
'ei gá-gí 'átáé-yígi· 'itáo (<'ittá'-go) ya naxaemi' that crow that-was-the-one-who-flying-off-to-him explained-things (EW 92:22)
'adi-dó' tá· do· niicinitíngi· ba· 'ákopín 1 I am aware of the fact that you did not work yesterday; yesterday that-which-is-not-having-worked about-it I-know-thus (YM 243)

11.105. The following clauses, dependent in English, are expressed in Navaho without a subordinating element:
da' cił di'aci niżinin do you want to go with me? question with-me you-singular-two-will-go-question you-want
da' djanič de-cá'č niżin does John want to go with me? question John-question he-will-go you-think
ntő́ʼ xade-sdzih niżin I want to speak to you; toward-you I-shall-speak-out I-want
kó xóme' la'-na' niżin 'ítė ' I was hoping this would happen; thus things-happen-it-would-be I-want past (YM 160)
citcidi niżinin 'ei be' diná-h if you want my car, take it; my-car you-want-it that with-it you-will-go (Ad 12/48:5) (cp. nátoh la' niżinigo cinatóh bizis biyi'di' la' zaniti' h “if you want a cigarette take one out of my pack; cigarette one if-you-want my-tobacco its-pack from-out-of-it one take-long-obj.-out [Ad 12/48:5].” -go, the subordinating element, may be used or omitted in expressions like these).

11.106. The preceding examples all have “think” or “want” as a verb; but do not contain these modifications, there is more than one clause without a subordinating element:

naxasdzá'n bitá' tlo'oh be' xodo-tiñi nåxásdzi' the earth has become green again; earth-woman on-it grass by-its-means place-is-green place-has-become-back (YM 126)

'nhgo'či bi' dijilé' 'altso nidi'-tlo'oh surprisingly enough the two lying inside completely finished the smoke; my! in-it they(4)-two-lay all they-smoked-it (EW 104:15)

'ilxo tél' niżin 'ydoté' oddly enough you are asleep (while) I am talking to you; you-are-asleep surprisingly to-you I-am-talking (YM 129)

xání' 'iyildin tá' xólé xa' na' vá' she(4) was distracted by what she was doing; her(4)-mind she-caused-to-disappear just as-things-are she (4)-was-busy-about

niţé', niţé' often means “past, used to be but is no longer,” but in the following examples and others like them, it seems to mean “but, contradictory;” it is sometimes interchangeable with ndi (11.110.):

mqí' yítso' nižin niţé' (or ndi) tó' cił 'údza' lá' I thought I saw a coyote but I just imagined it; coyote I-saw-it I-thought but merely with-me it-happened it-must-be (YM 162)

bit dél'aj niţé' (ndi) tó' 'á-xosisti'd I was going with him but I backed out; with-him I-had-started-to-go-dual but merely thus-back-it-was-done-by-me (YM 202)

na'kiyá'l bi-de-chki nižin niţé' tó bitci' yiti' d I wanted to ask him for a quarter but I hesitated; two-bits I-will-ask-him-(for) I-want but merely from-him I-hesitated (YM 207)

kintahgo' di-ka' nižin niţé' (ndi) 'axoni-tli' I wished we would go to town but it rained; town-to-we-started-out I-want but it-rained (YMG 47) be' odle-hé be' golii' seloh niţé' yi-h xana'lyod' I caught a skunk in the trap but it escaped; trap with-it skunk I-trapped but out-of-it it-ran-out (Ad 1/49:8)

bi'tléči-h niţé' yá' 'áxoni-zí' I was fooling him but he caught on; I-was-cheating-him but for-him thus-things-were-an-attitude (Ad 1/49:9)

'axil xwi'ne' niţé' (ndi) 'asdzáni la' bináł xadine-sdzi' we were conversing but I said something (obscene, insulting) I ought not to say before a woman; we-were-communicating with-each-other but woman some before-her I-got-stuck-speaking-out (YM 58, FH’s translation)
11.106.-11.107a. SYNTAX

11.107a. -go may change a verb into a participial clause; note that some examples are verbs used as nouns, -go makes them verbal nouns in the English sense:

yiskį-\(\text{go}\) kwe'\(\text{e}\) na-ca\(\text{go}\) ce: na-ki ná-xai tomorrow I shall have been here two years; it-being-tomorrow here I am-going-about with-me two years-have-passed (YMG 48)

\(t'\text{niqta'}-\text{go ba' cit zone-ni}\) I enjoy reading; reading-being-for it-with there-is-amusement (YM 165)

bitséníl xoš-\(\text{go sitį}\) holding his stone ax he lay; his-stone-ax having a-live-obj.-lay (NT 128:14)

də-dah tė-\(\text{bidjínī-}\text{go}\) saying "no" to him in vain; no in-vain she(4)-saying-to him (WE)

ci xo-snį-\(\text{go ba'átleonii 'olta'dji ni-ninil}\) taking my advice he put his children in school; I having-advised him his-children school-to-ward-a-point he-moved-several-obj.-to-the-end (Ad 12/48:5)

b̌i-ti-\(\text{biči-ko ye' ántšza'zi kođe' kélo-d-}\text{go ye' dah.'o-ldzil} with a tumpline so frail it was ready to break she carried her pack; her-burden its-cord so comparatively-thin ready to-break with-it she-moves-along-carrying-pack (EW 120:3)

damń-\(\text{go tā- ni' xá-djidah na-ca-}\text{go ciít yá'átē-h} I like to take a walk on Sundays; Sunday-being just earth somewhere I-am -going-(being) with-me it-is-good (Ad 12/48:5)

11.107. The most common subordinating enclitic is -\(\text{go}\) which forms various kinds of clauses. It may be affixed to independent forms or to a combination of bound forms to show a relation to the rest of the sentence; this is one of my reasons for considering all "words" essentially verbal:

'\(e'e'a-hdíji-\text{go cikéyah, or 'e'e'a-hdíji cikéyahago\} my land is on the west side; west-side-being my-land-is or west-side my-land-being (YM 106, FH)

\(\text{ano}-.\text{go tisíde-oni-l ca'cin nsin I think may be wounded in the war; enemy-being I-shall-be-injured perhaps I-think (YM 160)\)

tsín biýa-ddíji-\text{go sédá I am sitting under a tree; tree under-it-side-being I-am-sitting (YM 31)}

do-jö-\text{go} ndízni-tih he staggered considerably; not-controlled-being he-moved-in-a-line (EW 110:6, 9)

ciyanidót cáda'a-hdíji-\text{go cićeí biýan my grandfather's house is south of mine; that-which-is-my-home-from south-side-being my-grandfather his-house (YM 176)\)

tá'níni-di'\text{go Alaska biti'yaxo-ti'-go} áxo-lya only very recently a new highway was built to Alaska; just very-recently-it-being Alaska toward-it some-place-being-in-a-line it-was-made-thus (YM 199)
ning-i-go na'akai-go ba· cíl xoné-ní-d I enjoyed a good Night Chant
dance; being-nice pl.-persons-going-about(dancing) for-it with-me
there-was-amusement (YM 165)
tá· do-jó·go xo'di-na'·go 'a'dé·' náme-sdží·d it was considerably longer
when-from there he slid back; considerably time-having-passed
from-there he-arrived-back-and-squatted (WE)
tsidi· bitíg' 'anáxta·go ní'ltśá I saw you darting at the bird; bird
toward-it you-rep.-darting I-saw-you (YM 187)
niba' sédá·go 'ádaxodécká·' I got bored waiting for you; awaiting-you
I-sitting got-bored (YM 143)
tsídá bi 'ádanó·lníné-ní 'ákójmo·lnin·go 'ádaxo·la· they(4) were made as
beautiful as they were; exactly they were-beautiful-the-ones
mentioned so-they(4)-resembled-being they-were-made-thus (EW
104:5)
cá· ná'á·h bi'dicni·go nèsiskan I begged him to give it to me; "to-me
give-round-obj." I-saying-to-him I-begged (YM 110)
tá· 'ádadi· dibé tá· do· yó· 'ánáninikl nícicni·go 'adandééká·' I'm tired of
continually having to tell you not to lose the sheep; just-toward-
every-direction "sheep don't-lose-them" I-saying-to-you I-am-
tired-of

11.107b. -go may be used to create a statement qualifying a noun
or pronoun:

'acki· bikéi· 'ádin·go binésá I brought up the orphaned boy; boy his-
relatives being-lacking I-raised-him (YM 176)
'ei gó·qi 'állici na·'a-c·go yiyi·ltśá lá those crows saw the two children
going about; those crows children-two-going-about they-saw-them
to-be-sure (EW 92:18)
nixisítá·go bikéyah yá·átda·fe·go la· 'ádadim síl· some of our soldiers
have died for their country; being-our-soldiers their-country for-
its-benefit injury-having-been-done-thus-to some they-nothing
have-become (YM 163)
bíté·díji· déc·fe·go bi·yáh télínýá I looking the other way passed him;
in-a-direction-away-from-him I-looking moving-alongside-him I-
went-out (YM 31)
nízá·dó· géyá·go cítíd' dahndesni·' he waved at me as I was leaving;
moving-to-a-distance I-having-started-to-go toward-me he-waved
(YM 156)

11.107c. -go may be suffixed to form a temporal clause. In this
type of clause the dependent and independent clauses seem to be
just the reverse of those in English—actually the process is the
same as that just illustrated:

kintahdi na·cá·go 'áxó·tí·d I was in town when it happened; in-town
when I-was-going-about it-happened (YM 161)
biyandi yíníyá·go yo·'i·ya· do·le·l by the time you get to his place he
will be gone; his-home-at when-you-have-arrived he-has-gone-away
it-will-be (YMG 48)
tó· dijiniyá·go xoł xwečcne' as soon as he came I told him; just when-
he(4)-arrived with-him(4) I-reported-things (YMG 17)
djiníyá·go xoł xodečniíh I'll tell him(4) when he comes; when he-has-
arrived with-him I-will-communicate (YMG 17)
béc 'altó·zi kínílidí·d·go cítídigi' 'axó·tah when the wire broke it sprang
at me; iron narrow when-it-broke toward-me it-sprang (YM 187)
when the baby fell into the water I risking my life went after it; baby into-water when-it-plunged life I-risking toward-it into-water I-ran (YM 192)

11.107d. -go followed by 'inda "then, and then" may form a temporal clause "as soon as, when .... then ...;" with a negative "not until" (ep. 11.73.):

'tá-dí ni-lá-j-go 'inda 'adi-d'í as soon as we arrive there we shall eat; there-remote-at when-we-two-have-arrived then we-shall-eat (YM1) xodicni'-go 'inda yá'àlé when I say so then it will be the right time; when-I-say-things then it-is-good tá- 'i-d'é-go xor xwecné'go 'inda yínìyá I had already told him when you arrived; already with-him I-having-reported-things then you-arrived (YMG 47) xa'dí: damì-do-le-l 'ákgo 'inda b é:xodo'zi-l whatever they say will be final; whatever they-say it-will-be so-being then it-will-be-known lá-ká tééndo-si-d 'úlni니q'-go 'inda don't waken him until noon; don't waken-him when-it-is-noon then (YMG 107) tcìj 'axidi-nílka-l-go 'inda yah'axidi-djah as soon as you have chopped the wood bring it in; wood when-you-have-chopped-it then move-pl.-obj.-inside (YM 103) Columbus bil 'o'ol-go ná'axó-ná-d-go 'inda k'éya nixil dahso'ānikigya-nilik'el Columbus sailed for a long time to reach our land; Columbus with-it( ship) floating-beyond after-time-had-elapsed indefinitely then land with-ours that-which-lies-on(contiguous to) -it reached-by-floating (YM 151)

11.107e. -go may introduce a clause to be translated by English "if" or "since":
nina-nic bininidí: -go laq'i ná-xibil-h do-le-l if you take an interest in your work you will earn more; your-work if-you-are-interested-in it much again-you-gain it-will-be (Ad 12/48:5) xacide-l'í'-go-oq' xa' xodo-níl what if he finds out about me? what-if he-finds-out-about-me-question what (more remote) will-happen (FS 24) tá- nilidi'- xwe'esdzán 'atidjil'í'-go xo-lij-i' ēibq: xwe'esdzán káidé: xwi-srinigí-tá-bikixodo-ljici'-álé since he has been abusing his wife for years it served him right when she nearly killed him; just that-one-from-there his(4)-wife since-he-abuses for-a-long-time that is-the-reason his(4)-wife almost the-one-who-killed-him(4) it-served-him-right (Ad 1/49:9)

11.107f. -go acts as a subordinating frame with têé: (têé': ...-go) to indicate "futility, lack of accomplishment, mean to ....... but do not ....":
têé: nzin-go he meant to; in-vain he-wanting kin 'alts' 'áde-cli-l têé: nzin-go tó- bil ná-s xo'de-cji-j I meant to finish building the house but I kept putting it off; house all(completed) I-shall-construct I-meaning just with-it continuing I-kept-letting time-pass (YM 237)

11.108. -go 'álé or -go xaz'qá with the future tense means "can, be able to, may ....:"
11.109. *goda 'áté expresses possibility; it seems to be less certain than -go 'áté; this combination is equivalent to ca'cin nsin "I think maybe":

cijë'- 'átì-goda 'áté nsin I thought it might be my father; my-father possibly-being it-is-thus I-think (FS 12)
kinta-hó- de-cá-l-goda 'áté I may go to town (FS 12)
dí- tsé dahide c'á-l-goda 'áté (or xaz'á) I am going to lift this stone

11.110. *ndi is a contradictory word, "but, even, although, though":

lá- 'ako *ndi even then (he was under the spell) (NT 232:18)
'alkid'-' nxini' daxazlí'- *ndi even though long ago we became sensible; long-ago our-minds became although (NT 294:18)
xajó-go 'níte' *ndi tá- do- bidi-tá'í so quietly even wind could not hear him (EW 96:11)
sikis kingó'- bilet de'-á bini-yé cákáníyá xq- *ndi citcei cil xaxodiné-some I was going to town with my friend who came for me, but instead my grandfather had to spin out a long story; my-friend to-town with-him I-was-going because he-came-for-me instead but my-grandfather with-me reported-things-prol. (YM 155)
'ókó- 'níc' de-cá-l 'níte'' *ndi cíná-níc xóló-go bini-na- tá- do- déyá-dah I would have gone to see you but I had work to do; there-remote to-you I-shall-go past but my-work being because-of-it I-did-not-get-started (YMG 48)
cá bi-yah xaxonictá- 'níte'' *ndi tá- do- xakínicañi tá- náníshá all day I looked for him but I did not find him I came back; all-day I-looked-for-him(4) past but I-do-not-come-upon-him(4) just I-returned (YMG 48)

11.110a. With the negative *ndi means "not even":

bë-so tá'-l *ndi do- na-c'a-dah I haven't even a dollar; dollar one even not I-am-carrying-a-round-obj. (FS 21)
belagí-nu biza-d lá'- tó *ndi do- nèi'á-dah he doesn't know a word of English; white-man his-word one even not he-carry round-obj. (FS 18)

11.111. Two words form a frame: 'ajá ... *ndi "even though ... nevertheless":

'ajá cibë-so xló- *ndi tá- do- la' ba- nínildah even though I had money nevertheless I did not give him any; though my-money there-was even (but) not some to-him I-moved-several-obj.-not (FS 2)
'ajá' ayógo niyol *ndi cil ýá-ázo-té-h tó nte-l bi-yahgi lé' even though it is very windy nevertheless I like the place because it is beside the sea; even though much-being it-blows nevertheless with-me the-place-is-good water wide beside-at because
11.112. Cause is expressed by various words or elements which conform to other parts of the language. Under certain conditions several are interchangeable, but there is usually one that cannot be used. The several possibilities will be indicated as well as those which are incorrect in the particular sentence.

- bq is suffixed to demonstrative pronouns:

\[ \text{di-bq: for this reason, because of this (NT 294:11)} \]
\[ \text{te-bq: because of that} \]
\[ \text{vi-bq: for that (remote) reason} \]

\[ \text{"álah 'inds axil xoai-lnin kud tsididi-ndjì yinlel 'ebq: let's talk later because now I have too much to do; remote-interval then together-with we-shall-talk-over-things now too-many-things I-are-bothered-by that's-why (FS 29)} \]
\[ \text{xai til-thodah dantó'tgi nyq-go 'ai niyi xoðgo 'úbq: (or bini-na', xá-tá, boc 'étel, but not bini-ylé) do diniyòó dañh you cannot run fast because of the kind of stuff you eat; whatever there grass-among-other-things those-things-which-are-junk you-eating-it those-inside you-being-it that's-why you-cannot-run} \]

11.113. -ni'na: "because of ..." is treated like a postposition, having a possessive pronominal prefix: -ni'na: seems to be used if there is a defined or implied struggle or opposition:

\[ \text{tcaxalxe-lygo bini-na': xwe-nilgo tčinyá I groped my way because of the darkness; it-being-dark its-reason groping-for-things I-went-out (YM 240)} \]
\[ \text{tcaxalxe-lygo bini-na': do xoé-da nh there is no visibility because of darkness; it-being-dark its-reason things-cannot-be-seen (YM 30)} \]
\[ \text{do osoxo-do-bé-jgo 'ánixiy 'í-d 'átčini da álúu'i bini-na': he treated us very badly because of the school children; very badly he-caused-us-to-be-thus children they-who-go-to-school because-of-them (NT 374:10)} \]
\[ \text{'átčini tčé-h bítíni-go 'é bini-na niđadi-tcq' because the children were asked for in vain they became angry; children in-vain they-being-asked-for that-is-the-reason they-became-enraged (NT 374:11)} \]
\[ \text{tcít biki 'idzgo bini-na bike: de-sdq-h the tire blew-out because the car is overloaded; car on-it being-heavy that-is-the-reason its-tire (foot) blew-out (YMG 51)} \]
\[ \text{ló 'axayóí 'íy-qgo bini-na' siziz dini-ltló' I loosened my belt because I ate a lot; much I-having-eaten that-is-why my-belt I-loosened-it (YM 217)} \]
\[ \text{awé: ba naniec-tahgo bini-na: do na-cnie dah I do not work because I am handicapped by a baby; baby on-account-of-it I-being-handicapped that-is-why I-am-not-working (YM 211)} \]
\[ \text{'ayó: ani'ghgo bini-na: awá-lyा sidó he is in jail for stealing; much stealing because-of-it in-jail he-sits (YM 201)} \]
cin'áldé didi'n bini-na· do· yie't-dah I cannot see because the sun is shining in my eyes; my-eyes-place it-shines that-is the-reason I-do not-see
do· 'ákwi· 'iinit'dahgo bini-na· 'utini-cla· I punished you because you did not behave; not-your-behaving that-is-why I-punished-you (YM 133) ('dahgo bini-na· is here equivalent to léi'). Other ways to express the clause to which bini-na· refers are: do· 'ákwi· 'ánlè-go and do· 'ákwi· 'ánlè-dah 'ei.

'asdáni bini-na·ni· báitseq· the woman who was pregnant by him; the-particular-woman-who-because-of-him pregnancy-for-him-was caused (NT 36:16)

xa'áti-c bini-na· what is the reason? why? (same as xa'álé-gocq') (FH)

11.114. -ni'gé has a possessive pronominal prefix; it seems to indicate a cause which has no implied opposition:

ciyán góne' bi-doká'i bini-yé badiní'íq I allowed him to spend the night in my home; my-home inside night-passed-over-him that-is-the-reason I-allowed-it-to-him (YM 3)
kad cá ni'tolojihó· bini-yé déyá now I am going to get a haircut; now for-my-benefit hair-cutting-will-be that-is-the-reason I-started-off (Ad 1/49:8)
xójó yide-stsé't bini-yé na'stq-d I am craning my neck in order to see properly; properly I-will-see because-of-it I-am-stretching-about (YM 226)
tcódi nei'bq-s do·le't bini-yé binabinictin I am teaching him to drive a car; car he-rolls-it-about it-will-be that-is-the-reason I-am-instructing-him (YM 209)
djàn bíli' ca'lo-íí't bini-yé 'ábidien t I am asking John to lend me his horse; John his-horse he-will-lend-me that-is-the-reason I-am-speaking-thus-to-him (YM 166)
bini-yé náná-ni· that which you are seeking; the-particular-thing because-of-which-you-are-going-about (NT 110:7,10)
tá· 'ani· cibé-so tó· 'axayóí ndí tá· do· bini-yéhédah lá actually I had lots of money but I found it useless; it-is-true my-money there-was much but not-there-was-a-reason (FS 15)

11.115. be· 'élé "because conditions are such that . . .":

dibéyájí toh ndí 'áda-llíístí tá· do· naxaltini yíč' éi be· 'élé (or 'éibq· or bini-na·) the lambs are still small because there has been no rain this summer; lambs still even are-small absolutely-it-does-not-rain summer-passes that-is-the-reason (YM 24)
kin góne' deska'z kó' 'ddin 'éi be· 'élé, or kin góne' deska'z kó' 'ádin bini-na· the house is cold because there is no fire; house inside it-is-cold fire-is-lacking that-is-the-reason (YM 24, FH)

11.116. xá'lá may introduce a causal clause:

xá'lá yá'áxo-llè-go, or yá'áxo-llè-go bini-na·, or yá'áxo-llè-go be· 'élé (but not yá'áxo-llè-go bini-yé) because it is a nice place (FH)
xá'ládah tá-xahi nikénisdá 'élq because-for-one-reason I am going home in a short time (FH)
xá'lá na· 'áctí because I am doing it for you
xá'lá bini-na· ná'i-zni'i for such a reason that which has been offered (will not be accepted) (NT 206:15)
SYNTAX

11.116.-11.118.  

\[
\text{do} \ n\text{-de-cd\-áldah } xá\text{-lá do} \ cít yá'áx\text{-ó-té-hdah}, \text{ or } \text{do} \ n\text{-de-cd\-áldah do} \ cít yá'áx\text{-ó-té-go } bini\text{-na}. \text{ I am not going (coming) back because I do not like the place (YM 92)}
\]

11.117. Compare the following:

\[
xá \ dí· bini\text{-yé } 'ánti' \text{ why do you do this? what-remote this because-of-it you-do-thus} \\
xá\text{-lá na } 'áctí' \text{ because I am doing it for you; because on-your-account I-am-doing-thus} \\
ná 'áctí' \text{ I am doing thus for your benefit} \\
xá\text{dí bini\text{-na} } 'ánti' \text{ why are you doing thus? what-remote because-of-it you-are-doing-thus} \\
xá\text{-lá } 'íntí' \text{ what are you doing?}
\]

11.118. léí' \text{ may be equivalent to } -go bini\text{-na} \text{ of the frame } do \ldots -dah\text{-go bini\text{-na}}, \text{ or to } 'éibq', bini\text{-yé}, xá\text{-lá}, \text{ but not to } bini\text{-na} \text{ or be } 'élé \text{ "not ...because"}:

\[
\text{citcidi bike' } yá'áda\text{-té-h léi' na\text{-kai bikéyagó' be' de\text{-cál ni\text{-zí}.' because my tires were good I thought I would go to Mexico; my-car its-tires they-are-good because Mexican his-land-toward with-it(car) I-shall-go I-thought (FS 20)} \\
\text{do• citah xwi\text{-rí\-dah léi' cibé\text{-éldq-h téé-h dahdi\text{-ti\text{-h} because I was weak I could not lift my gun; not my-body moves-negative because my-gun in-vain I\-(tried-to)	ext{-}lift (FS 20). do• citah xwi\text{-rí\-dah 'éibq' and do• citah xwi\text{-rí\-dahgo bini\text{-na} are interchangeable forms, but do• citah xwi\text{-rí\-dah bini\text{-yé and xá\text{-lá do• citah xwi\text{-rí\-dah are not (FH).} \'ajá' }'ayójogo niyol ndi cít yá'áxo\text{-té-h tó nte\text{-l bi\text{-yahgi léi' even though it is windy I like the place because it is beside the sea; though much-being it-blows yet I-like-the-place water wide beside-it-at because (FS 20)} \\
\text{tó• xaxadlé\text{-hígí' }'ayó\text{• yi\text{-ctcj-h léi' bá na\text{-cnicigí do• tá\text{-cidin ló' xa\text{\textstatus{a\text{-l\textstatus{e\text{-l-gó' na\text{-yá\text{-dah because I know a lot about fishing my boss never goes on a fishing trip without me; that\-which\-is-fishing well I-am-trained for-that-reason the-one-for-whom-I\-work not lacking-me fish floating-out-along-toward he-goes-about-not (FS 20). 'éibq', be• 'élé, or xá\text{-lá may be substituted for léí', but not bini\text{-na} or bini\text{-yé (FH). tá• do• may be used instead of do• tá• without changing the meaning (FH).}
\]

12. The discussion of morphology and syntax has brought out the fact that a single category of ideas may be expressed by many or all the grammatical processes. In this section a few divisions of usage will be discussed to show how various processes may combine to denote kindred ideas.

12.1-12.18. TIME AND PLACE

12.1. We have seen that tense, though it may be said to exist—future, present, and past—is nevertheless subordinated to aspect, particularly progression and continuation (8.36–8.39.). Independent words may indicate time:

- **tah** interval of time, pause, time lapses
- **xah** when, immediate, general interrogative of time (cp. -xah “winter, year passes”)
- **xāh** remote time
- **tsì-t** at once, in a hurry
- **tsx-t** in a great hurry, very quickly
  - 'ahbinì, 'ahbinì morning
  - òx xahá soon
  - tà, 'axán, tá-'xan, tà-xan very soon, near
  - 'átse, 'átìse first, before …

12.2. Such “words,” however, are often modified by postpositions that indicate whether the complex signifies past (-dā’), present (-dī), or future (-gó’). In this respect independent words behave like nouns or other forms:

  - 'ahbinì-dā’ earlier this morning; this-morning-past
  - 'ahbinì-gó’ later this morning; this-morning-future
  - xàdā’-dā’-dí where in all this time past (NT 52:15)
  - xa-dzi’f-dà’ at the time he spoke (EW 100:11)
  - tà- dinèi-jí-gó’ when in the future I have called the man by name (NT 296:20)

12.3. Bound forms, especially pronominal or adverbial demonstratives, may refer to time as well as to place:

  - 'a-dó’ from there near you; then
  - 'á-dó’ from over there remote; from that time
  - kàd kodó’ from now on (YM 237)
  - 'á-tah later; remote-interval (FS 29)
  - biki-djì’ to a point over it; afterward
12.4. Postpositions or enclitics, suffixed to verbs may have temporal as well as locative value:

\[ \text{\textit{nánisdzá\text{-}dji'}}\] until I return; I-have-returned-up-to-that-point
\[ \text{\textit{'q\text{-}də'}}\ kótł\text{-}go later (I became aware) of it

A word like 'i\text{-}dą' “at that time” seems to be a \textit{yį}-perfective verbal form (10.104.), so that -dą-', which has just been called a “postposition,” may be interpreted as a verbal stem. The “adverb” kəsdą' “almost” is also found as ka sidą', a \textit{sį}-perfective indicating that the verbal quality of -dą' is not far-fetched (NT 234:29).

12.5. Other apparently adverbial forms, which nevertheless have verbal possibilities, and to which postpositions may be suffixed are:

\[ \text{nizáh }\text{at a distance (but not very far)} \]
\[ \text{niza\text{-}d at an indefinite distance} \]
\[ \text{nizá\text{-}d so far as (farther than niza\text{-}d)} \]
\[ \text{nilá\text{-} over there (not very far)} \]
\[ \text{nilé\text{-}h over there (farther than nilá\text{-} but still visible)} \]
\[ \text{nilé\text{-}i way over there} \]

12.5a. These “verbal adverbs” or “adverbial verbs,” whatever they may be called, may also denote temporal ideas:

\[ \text{\textit{nizá\text{-}d\text{-}gò\text{-} a long time in the future} (YM 116)} \]
\[ \text{\textit{tà\text{-} do\text{-} ndò\text{'} kó nizahi } it wasn’t long until \ldots} \]
\[ \text{\textit{xa\text{-}cf nizá\text{-}d\text{-}gò\text{-} 'axodo\text{-}ljič who knows how long in the future; time will pass who knows how far forward}} \]
\[ \text{\textit{nzah nozo\text{-}lji\text{-}jgoh} when a short time had passed; a-short-distance time-moved-to-an-end-when (NT 152:26)} \]
\[ \text{\textit{da\text{-}cf nizá\text{-}d\text{-}jì' dìnè nà\text{-}s nèdidjìh (sales) may help the Navaho quite a bit; possibly to-a-distant-point Navaho forward may-move-them-cust. (NT 414:10)} \]
\[ \text{\textit{do\text{-}zà\text{-}gi\text{-}dò' it is not at all long (until \ldots) (NT 218:23)} \]

12.6. One of the many generalized uses of the stem 'á́l “round object moves” is the designation of time, the “round object” being the sun. Some of the cardinal directions are named from the progression of the sun:

\[ \text{\textit{xà'a\text{-}a\text{-}h east; round-obj.-is-starting-out-beyond}} \]
\[ \text{\textit{cá dà\text{-}á\text{-}h south; sun-starts-moving}} \]
\[ \text{\textit{'e\text{-}e\text{-}a\text{-}h west; some-round-obj.-is-starting-beyond}} \]

12.7. Temporal forms are constructed on the same stem:

\[ \text{\textit{ne\text{-}nà\text{-}to\text{-}lā́l until the sun sets again with you (NT 44:22)}} \]
\[ \text{\textit{tah do\text{-} xà'a\text{-}a\text{-}h\text{-}gò\text{-} the sun has not yet risen (NT 320:26)}} \]
\[ \text{\textit{tà\text{-} dàho\text{-}d'\text{-}q the sun had just come up (NT 338:14)}} \]
\[ \text{\textit{kwe'è e\text{-}q\text{-}go the sun being here (NT 36:23)}} \]
\[ \text{\textit{'ańni\text{-}i'q, 'ańni\text{-}i'q midday, noon; center of the sky, zenith; round-obj.-has-been-moving-off-as-far-as-the-center}} \]
\[ \text{\textit{'q\text{-}q\text{-}q} sunset; some-round-obj.-has-moved-off} \]
\[ \text{\textit{be\text{-} e\text{-}e\text{-}a\text{-}h she spent days there; with-her some-round-obj.-moves-off (NT 90:29)}} \]
\[ \text{\textit{na\text{-}te\text{-}x'q just after noon; round-obj.-has-started-to-move-under}} \]
12.8. The following terms indicate dates:

xo’-a’ a date was set (NT 124:2)
be- bá xo’-a’ a time is set for them (children to go to school) (NT 376:1)
xii nínóh’a’h you two set a date (NT 262:23; 324:2)
xii há ndja’a-h they(4) set a date for it (chant) (NT 234:3)
xiti:’ axá ndadjitá-h they(4) agreed upon a date (NT 320:5)
noxo-tání跌; until the date set (NT 276:18; 310:29; 362:27)
xo’lá-gó for all time, forever (NT 232:11)

Compare the following examples with those above:
‘éi tóidá be noxo-lá-gó being the very last (act of the ceremony)
(NT 214:20; 232:11)
nná xo’l’á the rite ends again (NT 246:5)

12.9. The passage of time spans is expressed in other verbal compounds. For example, night (or twenty-four-hour day believed to begin at night) is to be thought of as “night passes repeatedly:”
yido’tká:l night will pass
yí-tka-h it is day
yiská tomorrow, the next day; night-has-passed
ci-do’tká:l I shall spend the night; night-will-pass-me

12.10. Age is expressed by the stem -xah “winter is, it is winter”:
dóku-c bináxai how old is he? how-many winters-have-passed-him-in-cycle
neeż: cináxai I am ten years old; ten winters-have-passed-me-in-cycle

Compare: cido:xah “I shall spend the year, winter; winter-will-pass-me;” ce:xa’h “I am spending the year; year-starts-passing-me.”

Comparative stems for other seasons are treated as verbs of motion: dq’l “be spring, spring passes;” -cít “be summer, summer passes, noves.”

12.11. More abstract expressions of time are created from several verb stems: -nal “time passes, there is motion through a wide expanse, there is smooth motion over a surface” (this stem should not be confused with -na’l “live, be alive, have the ability to move”); -kil “oscillate;” -zil “revolve;” -jic “move in rhythmic, orderly fashion.”

biná’áda-úñózí bil da’axi-qq:go ná’axóná-d we fought the Japanese a long time; Japanese with-them together-we-killing a-long-time-passed (YM 151)
xodi-na’ there is delay, time passes (WE)
do- xodi-na’ quickly, time does not pass
tá- do- ne- xodina’i don’t waste any more of my time (NT 394:21)
tó- xodiná’gó soon, in a little while, sooner than tá- xahá soon
do- ce- xodo-naldah I won’t last long at it; I will not stay with it (as job); not with-me things-will-move
diyi: yi:lo-gi tá- xodi-na-h it takes time to weave a rug
tá- náxodina-hgo every once in a while (NT 384:24)
ná’axóná-d it lasted a long time (NT 390:19)
12.12. The following words probably refer to machinery for registering time (as well as to other ideas):

'axl'ilkid hour; something-oscillates-back-in-circle (YME 44)

na'alkidi time by the clock; temperature; something-that-is-caused-to-sway-about

na'lkidi time in general

The following are derived from -zil "revolve, move in a cycle":

nide'zid month; cycle has been completed (AB, RP)

nidadid month is passing

ndxidizi'd months pass in succession

na'dxolzid he takes his time (Ad 12/48:7)

12.13. The stem -jic "move rhythmically, move in order, move mechanically" is the basis of such time words as:

tl'oxol'ljij as time went on (NT 74:26)

djo'el be ndadjihig'i 'alni'gô xol'ljic the ballgame is half over; the ballgame middle-toward moves (YM 237)

kon kodo de'ska-zgo xodidol'jic from now on the weather will be cold; now here-from having-started-to-be-cold time-will-move (YM 237)

dq-go tâ niyolgo 'axodo-ljic spring is a period of continual winds;

spring-being just blowing time-starts-to-move-beyond

bi do xodinal'jic cold weather will soon be over;
soon cold with-it time-will-pass-on (YM 238)

'akon-e*' there! you will see!

12.14. Besides independent words, verbs, and affixes, several syntactic devices also indicate time. Among the bound forms -e' was listed as a future enclitic, -i' as a past—both form temporal clauses of the elements to which they are suffixed:

kad-e' now will be a good time

tahan-e' wait! it will happen!

'akon-e' there! you will see!

12.15. The suffix -i' has meaning only in a context:

yah'i yâi' nezdâ after coming in he sat down (FS 14)

xaya xayikâ-n-i' biya niyinikâ after having set it down before him(4) he set it down before him (self) (WE)

biyidî tâ yo-smîl-i' tê'h 'axi'h néirî-i after taking his car apart he was unable to put it together again (Ad 12/48:6)

yikide'jê-i' ye náxontihigo xa' ñdi-dzâ after he had spat on them (ashes) he got busy pressing them(4) with them (EW 104:18)
12.16. A negative clause may express the idea which in English is temporal; "before . . ." would be in Navaho " . . . had not happened, had not had a chance to happen when . . .":

 tá· do· dahi-tsehé ni·oh yieyoö before they saw me I ran out of sight; they-do-not-see-me out-of-sight I-ran (YM 159)
‘ei tá· do· bi· yieahtii kido·Holgo ‘ałį‘tá that (cord) even before I step into it (basket) will surely break; that I-do-not-step into-it it-will-break being it-is-thus to-be-sure (EW 120:4)
dane·ziná‘gi‘ tá· do· yas bi·h ndadzisa‘dah those who died before they (had a chance to) roll in the snow: those-who-died they-had-not-rolled-in-snow

12.17. In the following several processes are combined to express time:

‘acdia‘ ná-xáidi‘ ná·bó·hidí·da·la‘q‘igo nixo-liji‘j five years ago the period during which the Navaho had many sheep ended; five years past Navaho their-sheep being-many time-arrived-at-end (YM 238)
‘ał‘q‘i‘ tá· náxodo·viago at that point when only a short time had passed (NT 52:24)
da‘nuq‘ náz·dę‘ ‘adé·jici‘dę‘ I don’t know how long it was until there was a birth, (but) ever since time began names have been said (NT 292:6)
kórimo nít‘e‘ thus it will have been said (NT 30:21)
ni‘ici‘dij‘ ‘axo·liji‘jgo‘c‘ the time of childbirth having come (NT 36:17)
‘ei yé·ni‘ ‘ał‘díji‘ ‘i·lká‘hgo when that (remote future) time arrives (NT 324:6)
‘ał‘k‘díji‘ be· nixo·tá‘n‘f·díji‘ ‘axo·liji‘jgo the time having been set for it (ceremony) in the fall having arrived (NT 276:18)
nda·f‘ ndáhdíji‘ diné ná‘s néidídíji‘ (sales) may help the Navaho quite a bit; possibly to-a-distance Navaho forward they-move-cust. (NT 414:10)

12.18. Navaho shares with other North American languages the nsistence on place. The final bound forms include a great many ostpositions with explicit locative connotations. Initial bound forms are concerned mainly with specific designations of place which may merge into temporal meanings. Illustrative of locative leas, in addition to the examples already mentioned, are the ominal finals -ni: "belonging to a place," and -ke: "in place," and he verbal prefix xo-place (5.33, 5.35a, 10.116.). Both may be used together as in the example kó’key noxoílítj ‘he put him in the firelace; fire-place he-placed-animate-obj.-in-place” (NT 246:14).

12.19. Thus

12.19. Another feature that Navaho has in common with other North American languages is the abundant use of "thus" and "so," characteristic well illustrated by independent words, bound forms, verbal prefixes, and demonstratives, whose meanings can often ardly be differentiated. Idiomatic Navaho cannot be achieved without them, but an examination of texts shows also that some
narrators have a "thus and so" habit not nearly as exaggerated as in others. RM for example piled one such expression upon another, as compared with t lá'h, Charlie Mitchell, Slim Curley, and others.¹

The following sentences illustrate the expression of "thus, so":

'inda nālotse' bitse' djó kad kogo· kólé·go na·cča·gö kólé·go 'akon then the tobacco pipe (stone) is so constructed thus being fashioned (decorated) thus being so it is (BS)
tšídá 'ákólyia· djó 'akon exactly thus it is made so it is (BS)
... lga 'akogo 'ai· 'ei 'akwi· djó 'okon dē·šį́'i· (offerings) were to be sure so that this here so it was observed (BS)
'ákogo sō·tsö 'ei dį· xonį·yę consequently Big Stars these this one on his(4) account (BS)
ťá· 'āhigi· 'ai·di· 'akon gini tá· 'ai· 'akon 'ánį·go just the one that was that very one so prairiehawk just that way so speaking thus (making his sound) (BS)
ťá· 'ás di· gini djó 'okon di·di nácdōi bitlo 'o·dō· 'ai ginihiği· 'ánį·go just that this prairiehawk so it was this very mountain lion being with him from there that one who was prairiehawk making his sound thus 'ákó· içį́' ūda·tė· tá·do·le·tšá·kōdigi náx biná·nā́l from now on firewood everything for our sake do for her (WE)
'áko dį· 'ėdi· di·di·ińi·dgo· 'ei tá· 'átė 'asinisi·h do· šišę́' if so not that (but) this you had said those just so it is (blessings) you would have missed (NT 220:17)
'ėdiš 'á·di kólé·go sidi· le šišę́ xo·tį·dė́' that one over there being thus he lives customarily as soon as they are visible (NT 266:11)

12.20–12.27. NUMBER AND QUANTITY

12.20. The section on Numerals (9.13–9.22.) shows the use of independent words, suffixes, and numeral stems as verbal prefixes (adjectives) as well as finals (verbs). Here the more general ideas of number expressed by various processes will be summarized.

12.21. We have seen that there are three grammatical numbers – singular, dual, and plural–of which plural may be considered as derived (from singular and dual) insofar as conjugation is concerned, because a slight prefix modification of dual for first and second persons and of singular for third and fourth persons forms the plural. From the vocabulary viewpoint, however, plural is just as primary as the other numbers. Navaho shares with many other North American languages the use of distinct stems for singular, dual, and plural: -gā·l "one person goes," -ac "two persons go," -kah "plural persons go;" -l·yot "one runs," -l·tė́l "two run," -dįah "plural run;" -dą·l "one sits," -kē "two sit," -tį́ "plural sit." Moreover, the various stems expressing what in English would be he same idea as "go" or "sit" are not treated the same way grammatically. They seem to be in different morphological and semantic categories.

¹ Reichard 1944; Haile 1938; Sapir 1942
12.22. An interesting feature of verbs like "go" is that the dual and plural stems may be used in the singular to indicate a total, for instance, _nil dev'ac_ "you will go with me; with-you I shall-go-as-one-of-two" (ep. _di-tac_ "we two will go"); _xol ni'áj_ "he led him(4); with-him he-arrived-as-one-of-two;" but _xol nikai_ "they two led him(4); with-him they-two-arrived-as-more-than-two."

12.23. Another way of expressing number is by the essential meaning of some stems, which include plurality of the subject or object:

- _-ic_ lead, lead several on a string, string beads
- _-dah_ persons move as a group, as an organization
- _-nil_ plural separable objects move, move plural objects
- _-joc_ parallel objects move, move parallel objects
- _-lé-1_ a pair of objects moves, move a pair, one of a pair
- _-loh_ loop one...
- _-lé-0_ lead one on a string, lead one...

Conceptually such stems have something in common with verbs like "go," "run," and "sit," but differ morphologically in that they are the same throughout the three numbers, that is, each stem is conjugated in singular, dual, and plural. Because the verbs differ so greatly in their connotations the Navaho often have great difficulty with English number. For instance, they conceive the stem _-joh_ "hook, snare, interlock strands" as a plural, and have corresponding trouble with other stems.

12.24. A phase of the verb form closely related to that of number and sometimes obscuring it, is the prefix and compounding of prefixes. This subject was discussed under the repetitives (and the prefix _da_-), any of which may denote a distributive (8.62-8.72.). These meanings must be ascertained in connection with the stem, which sometimes has a distributive or repetitive form.

12.25. The prefix _na_-here and there may also be considered as a distributive, which is in a sense a plural. For instance, a stem denoting a single object, such as _sq'ó_ "round object is in position" may have a plural _na'zó_ "there are round objects here and there" (YM 7-8); _sizó_ "he is standing," _na'zó_ "they are standing about, they are standing here and there."

12.26. Meanings of prefixes may be learned from the changes that take place in singular and plural forms. For example, _ni_-uniform in the transitive has regular plural forms (with _da_-plural), from which fact I conclude that a close relation exists between the prefix _ni_-uniform and the object. On the other hand, verbs with prefix _ni_-uniform in the singular intransitive take prolongative plurals. It must be then that such verbs refer to motion rather than to persons or things (10.98a.).
12.27. Mass, volume, or amount is expressed in several ways. The stem -q-\text{t} has to do with measuring, of volume or length, as well as extent or mass. The compounds of this stem are very interesting, or instance, nēl-\text{q} “maximum number, quantity, amount;” binil-\text{q} he measures up to it.” Another stem -lq-\text{t} (-lq-\text{t}), conjugated in the plural only, expresses a large number or quantity (op. nēl-\text{q} di “how many times [NT 396:13]; nēlā yiskā “many days” [NT 78:18]). He expression tō 'axayōl “many, a large number, large amount, lot” (YM 208) is very common.

12.28-12.60. Verbs

12.28. In this work repeated references have been made to the ype verbs (abbreviated T in formulas). Since they are so basic, and since the dictionary planned is not available, these verbs will be exemplified with their fundamental compounds. Forms of these indispensable verbs will be discussed for each one in order. We have seen that the static forms are descriptive; they indicate the presence of an object when often in English a noun with “is” or “are” could be used. Although a generalized meaning can be arrived at or each one, it is far from comprehensive or literal. Like all categories, the inclusion of an object, material, or substance may depend on the point of view and cannot always be predicted. Therefore a list of objects, either named or implied, in any usage of the stem will be given after the principal parts of the particular verb.

Next a list of nouns, often built on a static form of the stem, will be given. The nouns will be followed by formulas for the prefix compounds with the meanings that apply to the several stems, and they in turn will be followed by formulas that apply to the specific stem under discussion with its particular meaning.

The most generalized of these stems, the one entering into the largest number of compounds, and forming the most abstract meanings is -\text{q}-\text{t} “one round or convenient object is, moves.” The formulas for compounds with this stem establish the pattern for succeeding stems, but since -\text{q}-\text{t} refers to only one object as compared with plural objects, substance, material, etc., some of the fundamental formulas will appear first with other stems.

12.29.

\begin{align*}
-\text{\text{a}}-\text{t} & \quad -\text{\text{a}}-\text{h} \quad -\text{\text{a}}-\text{h} & \quad -\text{\text{q}} & \quad \text{sa}-\text{\text{q}} \quad \text{round, convenient obj. lies, is}; \\
(\text{opt.}) -\text{\text{a}}-\text{h} & \quad -\text{\text{a}}-\text{h} & \quad -\text{\text{q}} & \quad \text{moves} \\
-\text{\text{a}}-\text{h} & \quad -\text{\text{a}}-\text{h} \quad -\text{\text{q}} & \quad \text{lies, is}; \\
\end{align*}

Nouns used with -\text{q}-\text{t}: bandoleer (EW 110:14), barrel, bottle, bowl, bread, candy and cigarettes in package (compactness empha-
sized), hat, house (kin and xo'yan), irascibility, keg, knife (thought of as stone), meat in one piece, melon, news, rock, scalp (EW 196: 10), silver dollar, stone.

If 'á'l is used with “moccasins,” they are dried up and shapeless (cp. -lé'l 12.42.).

Nouns compounded with -'á:l:

'aniki de'áni (< de'á-i) halter; that-round-obj.-that-lies-over-the-face
'ażé su'áni (< si'-q-i) bridle bit; that-which-lies-(in)-mouth (YME 8)
be'edizi bá dahsa'áni spindle whorl; that-which-lies-suspended-for-
spindle
be xaz'á rule, code, regulation, law (spec.)
be xaz'á-ni (< xaz'á-i) the law, government (gen.)
tó bitéé' 'az'á structure in a channel to check water
'to'cftah 'az'á adenoid; round-obj.-lies-along-nasal-fold
ná'álkadgo xála' bq-h na'ándini thimble; that-which-lies-on-one’s(4)-
finger-(for)-cust.-sewing (YME 90)
xaz'á fact, rule, law
xvi'yis'á laws frequently made
tsi-'á:l pillow; head-support (AB)
tlé xona'áí, tle xona'éi moon; the-particular-supernatural-one-that-
carries-the-night

The following are general compounds used with -'á:l and other
type verbs (T):

'a-beyond-a-i...-T (fut., inc., yi-pf.) move ... in or out of sight
(YM 108). When used with -'á:l this compound refers to the move-
ment of the sun, hence to the time of day.
Oa 'a-beyond-ni-start for ...-T (inc., ni-pf.) lend ... to ... (YM 6)
'ada 'a-beyond...-T (inc., ni-pf.) ... falls from hand
'a-beyond-ná-again-a-i-ni-start for ...-T (inc., ni-pf.) move ... back
beyond, move another ... back beyond, move ... again
'a-beyond-zi-rep.ac...-T (inc. ni-pf.) load ..., rep. carry ... beyond;
drink a lot, “be loaded”
'alná-(ná) ... T inc., ni-pf.) change positions of ... (YM 8)
'aliná-(ná) ... T (inc., ni-pf.) carry ... back and forth (YM 8)
'altshá ni-start for-(ná) ... T (inc., ni-pf.) divide, share. If the stem
is '-á:l the division is in two, if the stem refers to plural objects,
a substance, or a mass, the division may be in two or several
parts.

'altshá xi-rep.ac.- (ná)...-T (inc. ri-pf.) separate ... one by one
Oa ni-start for ...-T (inc., ni-pf.) give ... to ... (YM 5)
Oá Oa ni-start for ...-T (inc., ni-pf.) give ... to ... for benefit of ...
Oá n- (< na-back)dí-start from cess...-T (inc. cess., pf. cess.) fetch ... for ..., bring ... for benefit of ... (cp. nádi-cess... T "pick up")
Oq dah-suspended-sti-pf...-T (stat.) ... is fastened, pinned on ...
(EW 192: 22)
'q dí-ni-get stuck starting for ...-T (inc. ni-pf.) open door
Oq h ni-end-ni-start for ...-T (inc., ni-pf.) pawn ... , put ... in pawn
'i'i- (< 'a-beyond-a-i-zi-rep.ac)/yi-rep...-T (cont., yi-pf.) load or un-
load ... one by one
O4 (< O-ná-against)'a-i-(ná)-against ...-T (cont.) rub ... with ...
Oi (< O-ná-against)ná-cess...-T (inc.cess., pf.cess.) add ... to ... 
(YM 7)
dahi-di...-T (pres.) hang downward (as carcass on a hook)
dahi-emit cess...-T (inc.cess., pf.cess.) (fut. dahi-di-di-) hang ... up.
   See also dah-si-harm...-T
dah-forth-di-start... from cess...-T (inc.cess., pf.cess.) (fut. dah-di-di-)
   start off with ... , start off carrying, holding ... (YM 5)
dah-suspended-yi-prog...-T (prog., pres., yi-pf.) hold ... up, hold ...
   (YM 5)
dah(ri)-xi-rep.ac...-yi-rep.asp...-T (prog., pres., yi-pf.) have ... ready,
   handy, be prepared for an emergency
dah-suspended-si-harm...-T (inc., si-pf.) set, place ... up (as on a
   shelf) (YM 8)
dah-suspended-si-pf...-T (stat.) ... is up on ..., suspended (NT
   404:17)
Odd-h diní-prol...-T (fut., cont., si-pf.) cork, cover put lid on, cork
   in; move meeting ...
Oddá-h ni-start for ...-T (inc., ni-pf.) meet ... while carrying ...
   ni-di-start from ...-T (inc., si-pf.) (fut. di-di-) take ... , start moving ...
   (YM 5)
   ni-fire-di-start from ...-T (inc., yi-pf.) (fut. di-di-di-) put ... into the
   fire (YM 8); with -djah “build, start fire” (YM 105)
   tó-sikisco Oa- ni-start for ...-T (inc., ni-pf.) give ... to ... expecting
   no return; just friendship-being give ... (RH)
   ni-about ...-T (pres., si-pf.) carry ... about (YM 6); have ... own ...
   (not necessarily with one); play shinny
   ni-down-a-beyond-di-start from cess...-T (inc.cess., pf.cess.) (fut.
   ndi-ti-) take ... down off (as off shelf, peg, branch)
   ni' aside a-beyond ...-T (inc., yi-pf.) knock ... over (YM 78)
   h(> ná-up)di-start from cess...-T (inc.cess., pf.cess.) (fut. h- di-di-)
   pick up, lift; choose ... ; separate surfaces of ... (YM 5)
   ni-start for ...-T (inc., ni-pf.) bring ... , start ... for, arrive with ...
   (YM 5)
   ni-end-di-cess...-T (inc.cess., pf.cess.) take off ... (as something worn
   on body) (EW 110:14)
   ni-end-ni-start for ...-T (inc., ni-pf.) put, set, place ... down (YM 5)
   ni' ground ni-end-ni-start for ...-T (inc., ni-pf.) put, set, place ... on
   ground, floor (YM 5)
   ni-end-xi-rep.ac...-T (cont., si-pf.) load ... , move ... to end rep.
   yi-prog...-T (prog.) carry ... , move along carrying ... (YM 5)
   yisdá-(< yisdá-safety-ni-start for) ...-T (inc., yi-pf.) save, take ... to
   safety (YM 7)
   yó-out of sight-a-beyond ...-T (inc., yi-pf.) ... moves out of sight,
   lose ... (YM 6)
   Oki-over cess...-T (inc.cess., pf.cess.) cover ... with ... (YM 108)
   xa-out...-T (inc., si-pf.) move ... out, up out
   xa-out-dini-prol...-T (inc., si-pf.) (fut. xa-dini-di-) carry ... too far
   (YM 8)
   xace ni-end-ni-start for ...-T (inc., ni-pf.) put ... away, store ...
   preserve ... (YM 5)
   xa-(< xa-out-ná-back) a-beyond-(ná)...-T (inc., yi-pf.) take ... out
   of pawn (YM 8)
   Oya ni-start for ...-T (inc., ni-pf.) take ... away from ... by force
   (YM 7)
   si-pf...-T (stat.) ... is, lies
   si-pf...-l-T (stat.) ... have ..., keep ... ready
   dzilté-ni-start for-(ná)...-T (inc., ni-pf.) take ... out, off fire, water.
   With -yé-l “catch large quantities of fish” (YM 7)
The following compounds are used with ‘-á’l only. With the subject prefix ‘a-some obj., which may be combined with other prefixes, ‘-á’l refers to “sun moves, time is:"

’a-i...’-á’l (prog., fut., pres., si-pf.) sun moves, it is day
’a-beyond-’a-i...’-a’h (inc., yi-pf.) sun moves beyond, sun sets
’alni-center-’a-beyond-’a-i...’-a’h (inc., yi-pf.) it is noon; sun-moves-to-center (YM 2)
dah-forth-’a-i-di-cess...’-á’l (fut., inc.cess., pf.cess.) (fut. dah’tido-) be mid-morning (YM 1)
yà-’a-i-di-start from...’-á’l (fut., inc., si-pf.) (fut. ya ‘addi’di-) be mid-afternoon, from mid-afternoon to sunset (YM 2)
xa-out-’a-i...’-á’l (fut., inc., yi-pf.) sun rises (YM 1)
xá-(< xa-out-ná-cycle)ni-start for cess...’-a’h (inc.cess., pf.cess.) set a day, date (EW 220:3)
xá-(< xa-out-ná-cycle)ni-end-xo-things...’-á’h (inc.) set date for beginning of ceremony (EW 220:2)
xá-(< xa-out-ná-cycle)xo-things...’-á’h (inc.) agree upon a time, day, set a date (EW 220:2)

Other idioms based on ‘-á’l are:

Ọa-(< O-a:) ñi-emit-’a-i-ni-get stuck...’-a’h (inc., ni-pf.) (fut. Oa-di’-’i-) permit to to ... (YM 3)
’yà-yó’ Oini si-pf...’-q (stat.) be irritable, cranky, irascible (YM 3)
Ọa- di-ni-get stuck...’-a’h (inc., ni-pf.) (fut. Oa di-di-) forgive ..., turn over to..., cancel obligation (YM 2)
Ọá si-harm-xo-things-si-pf...’-q (stat.) there’s a chance for ... ... (has a chance (FH)
Ọq: ña-misfortune-xo-things-si-pf...’-q (stat.) be ill, sick, afflicted (YM 9, YME 78)
Oí’ yimi-...’-a’h (pres.) be discontented
Oí-(< O-ná-against)aí-(ná-) against...’-á’h (pres.) dip food, “dunk,” pass bread through liquid; move something against ...
Oí-(< O-ná-against’a-beyond-xo-things-yi-rep.asp...’-a’h (pres.) (3 only) emulate ... try to be like ...
da-xo-place...’-a’h (pres.) make blanket design
da-xo-xi-rep.ac.-yi-rep.asp...’-a’h (inc.) try to make up one’s mind to do something desperate, serious
tá-di-start from...’-a’h (inc., si-pf.) misinterpret; round-obj.- is-out-of-place
tó: Oa- di-ni-get stuck...’-a’h (inc., ni-pf.) give in in a fight (YM 3)
nan/ic Oa- di-ni-get stuck...’-a’h (inc., ni-pf.) hire (YM 3)
ná’s xo-things-di-ni-get stuck...’-a’h (inc., ni-pf.) get a habit (FH)
yà-tilt-yi-cess...’-a’h (inc.cess., pf.cess.) empty round obj.; tilt round obj.
ýó’a-di-start from...’-a’h (inc., yi-pf.) (fut. ýó’adi-di-) give up... quit ... (YM 3)
Okéyáh Oa xa-out...-’a’h (inc., si-pf.) take ...’s land away from ...
Oki din/i-get stuck ...-’a’h (inc., ni-pf.) take off lid, take cork out; with ‘á-self “take off, put on hat”’ (YM 2)
Oki- xo-di-cess....-’a-h (inc.cess., pf.cess.) (fut. Oki di-di-) accuse ...

xani’ di-start from ....-’a-h (inc., si-pf.) carry news

xani’ yah’a-ná-cess.....-’a-h (inc.cess., pf.cess.) bring news back in

(EW 140:7)

xo-things....-'a-h (si-pf.) set holy things in motion

xo-things-di-emit....-’a-h (pres., yi-pf.) start to speak; give a piece of

one’s mind

Ozé- di....-’a-h (inc., si-pf.) (fut. Ozé- di-di-) plot against ...

(YM 1)

Otsá dini-get stuck....-’a-h (inc., ni-pf.) (fut. Otsá di-di-) prohibit ...

from ...ing (YM 3)

téi-out-da....-'q (fut., pres., si-pf.) put into words, speak out (NT 148:3)

léi-téi start for-(ná-)....-’a-h (inc., ni-pf.) explain (WE)

téi-out-téi-end-téi-(ná-)....-’a-h (pf.) stick one’s head out (and keep it out)

téi-out-xo-things-yi-rep.asp....-’a-h (inc., si-pf.) tell a story, say (the same thing), predict (NT 148:20, 25)

Ol téi-da-xo-things-yi-rep.asp....-’a-h (inc., si-pf.) tell to... to say to ...

(NT 182:21)

Ol téi-ni-start for-(ná-)....-’a-h (inc., ni-pf.) answer..., inform...,

tell to...

12.30.

té-’i -té-h -té -te-h -t† si-t† animal, animate obj. is, moves

(opt.) -te’.

Nouns used with some form of -té’l: adenoids, animal, animal tracks, baby, corpse, insects, persons

Nouns compounded with -té’l:

‘awé’ yi’ nitéhi crib; that-in-which-baby-is-laid (YME 21)

‘ayáádiyo-té-l bragging, self-assertion

‘áci-ci tah ‘aztî adenoid; something-living-lies-in-nasal-fold

biká’ dah’anitéhi bed, bedstead; that-on-which-someone-lies (YME 7)

dahitiši ‘hummingbird

di-yi* siti-ni babyboard, cradleboard; this-particular-one-in-which-it-lies (NT 280:3)

le’ elle-h interment; something-is-caused-to-lie-in-ground (YME 46)

Verbs compounded with -té’l:

Oï- si-pf....-t† (stat.) have ... garment on; be completely devoted to ...

,... be all wrapped up in ...; in-it-one-lies

tó dah-ni-uni.-si-pf....-t† water rushes forth (pf.) (NT 106:18)

na’ltoos Oki ni-end....-te-h (inc., ni-pf.) take...’s picture (YM 189)

ni-end-ni-inc....-te-h (inc., ni-pf.) promise ... to; put-down-a-live-

obj. (NT 376:22)

le-h....-te-h (pres., yi-pf.) inter, bury a corpse (YM 189)

12.31.

-t†-h -t†-h -t†-h -t† long, slender, rigid, obj. is,

(opt.) -ṭ-h -ṭ-h -ṭ-h moves

Nouns used with forms of -t†-l: basket, corneal, dipper, gun, log, offering, one cigarette, prayerstick, snow crust, stick.

Nouns compounded with -ṭ-l:
"á̂tá sitání headband; that-stiff-obj.-lies-(on)-forehead
'aze' bidá-dití'q aspergill (cer.)
'azé' dé-tání horse collar; stiff-obj.-which-hangs-against-neck (YME 18)
á̂lná dah'ätzá cross; one-stiff-obj.-lies-across
'ddah sitá'n upper loom beam
'ása' dítání Dutch oven (YME 28)
á̂tsé xá-tí'q removal of one rib (AB 33)
'à-h sitá'n lower loom beam
be 'q' ná:lthi key: that-long-obj.-by-means-of-which-there-is-opening (YME 47)
dahyí-tá (YME 21), dahsítá (RT) crescent moon, first quarter
Odá-h góna dahsítání gigi yoke; the-long-obj.-that-lies-in-front-hanging-around
dá' dítít stiff door, gate, bar: long-obj.-lies-in-front
dá' ná:lthi wooden gate; long-obj.-that-lies-against-in-front (YME 36)
tá 'ástá-n extension of mask, tableau; some-long-obj.-that-lies-(on)-forehead
tó bidá- dítthi small water gate; long-obj.-that-lies-in-front-of-water
ní-tít brush (cer.)
yá:lthítá-n sky prayersticks (cer.)
Oga' nítá sitání humerus; long-obj.-that-lies-between-arm-(parts)
yá:lthítá-n ground squirrel (YME 83)
tse'li nástání petrified wood
tsin sitá'q measure of length, yard, mile; stick lies (YME 55)
tsi' dé-tá'n spear (YME 82)
Ost' yástá-n neck ligament
Odá'-dé bi'ú sitá'n thigh bone, femur; it-lies-between-leg-(parts) (YME 33, 90)
lít' biza-sitá'n old-fashioned bridle bit; long-obj.-lies-(in)-horse's-mouth
(OF)
Ol dáhnáthítí pin; that-which-cust.-lies-suspended-with...
The following compounds are type forms not included among compounds of -dál:

Oá- dí- T (inc., si-pf.) take warp off warpframe
'q- diní-get stuck...-T (especially with -tí'l, -kal, -djáh, and -lé-l) (cont., ni-pf.) open door (YM 208)
 dá'- a-beyond-dí-没有太大 get stuck...-T (AB), dá-di'-a-ni-get stuck...-T (YM 113, YME 17) close door

The following compounds have been found with -tí'í only:

Okl' Okal dl-emít...-tí'l (fut., pres., yi-pf.) aim arrow, place notch of arrow to bowstring (NT 152:25)
Oét' kal xi-rep.ac...-tí'l (fut., cont., yi-pf.) be ever ready, have arrow aimed toward...
Oét' Ol kal xi-rep.ac...-tí'l (fut., cont., yi-pf.) (obj. of -l is English subject) have it in for..., be prepared for opposition
Ol dah-suspended...-l-tí'l (fut., pres., si-pf.) pin, pin together, pin up

12.32.

-nil-nil-nil-nil-nil Nil si-nil there are separate objects, pl. obj. move
-nil-nil-nil-nil-nil-nil yis-nil separate pl. obj. are, are moved
Nouns used with -nil: apples, bandoleers, bracelets, cookies, dollars, drops of liquid, fire (torches); fragments of flour, grain, herbs, meal, pollen, sand; melons, oranges, packages, pair of glasses, persons, sandpainting, wagons, warp.

Nouns compounded with -nil:

'ataninil alternation; pl.-obj.-are-between (YME 3)
'akaninili meal sprinklers in Fire Dance version of chants (cer.); the particular-ones-who-sprinkle-meal
'aki dahinili, 'aki dahanili saddle blanket; those-which-hang-down-on-something
'azê' dé-nil (YME 40), 'azê' dé-nil tsinigi (FF) hames: those-which-lie-against-neck
'adjánili fringe, tassels; pl.-obj.-are-(along)-legs
'atle-yah dahsinili singletree, whiffletree; those-which-lie-suspended-in-under-bottom (YME 79)
'é' bil dahnzniligi manufactured buttons; those-which-lie-suspended-here-and-there-(on)-garment
'i' sinil heald sticks (YME 41)
bq. dahsinil ornamental tassels; those-which-lie-suspended-on-border (FF)
béc sinil Winslow, Arizona; flints-lie (YME 98)
tó neinili Water Sprinkler (god) (NT 174:24)
tó bičqi' tsin sinili irrigation gate; the-pieces-of-wood-that-lie-obstructing-water
naza-snil feast given by man after “fooling around” with girl
nibal sinil camp; tents-are (YME 11)
náke sinili eye glasses, spectacles; those-which-lie-in-eye-place (YME 82)
yah'i'i-nil-li policeman, sheriff; the-particular-one-who-rep.-moves-them-into-(jail) (YME 65)
yisdi 'i-nil-li savior; the-particular-one-who-rep.-moves-pl.-(persons-to)-safety (YME 75)
yi sinil weaving sheds; pl.-obj.-lie-in
tse 'aki sinil stone weights (FF)
tse xaxani-ligi quarry; the-place-out-of-which-stones-are-moved
Odjé diejío-l bidane-zniligi ventricle of heart (FF)
Otcociló-l bas sinil, or Otcocitó-l 'á sinil ring of saddle cinch (FF)

The following have been found only with -nil of the type verbs:

'alki ná-up-di-start from...-nil (inc., si-pf.) dig tunnels one above the other (EW 114:6)
Oa' di-start from...-nil (inc., si-pf.) take warp from warpframe
'á-self-yu'-under 'a-beyond...-nil (inc., yi-pf.) subjugate them*(YM 167) (also with -tá 'subjugate one' YM 190)
Oq-h ni-end-nil-start for...-nil (inc., ni-pf.) put pl. obj. on (bandoleers, bracelets) (NT 270:6, EW 196:25)
'i'-i-(< 'a-beyond-xi-rep.ac.-a-i)...-nil (inc., yi-pf.) dig, bore hole, burrow (YM 169)
dahí-di-emit...-nil (pres., yi-pf.) hang up pieces of meat, hang jerky to dry
di-start from...-nil (mom., si-pf.) sprinkle liquid, meal, pollen, sand
na-about...-nil (mom., si-pf.) sprinkle liquid, meal, pollen, sand here and there
na-aside 'a-beyond-xi-rep.ac....nil (fut., pres., si-pf.) knock over one by one (YM 167)

Onák 'a-theme-ni-start for...-(ná)....ni-l (inc., ni-pf.) bore hole through ... (YM 169)
ya-tilt-yi-cess....ni-l (inc.cess., pf.cess.) pour (emetic, mush) (WE)
yah-'a-da-pl.-zo-place...ni-l (inc., yi-pf.) put persons in jail

Okí dah-suspended-'a-theme...ni-l (pres., si-pf.) saddle horse; suspend-pl.-obj.-on ...

xa-out-'a-beyond...ni-l (inc., yi-pf., si-pf.) dig out (EW 114:6, 192:24)

lid Obe-(< O-ná-against-ná-up)....nil (mom., si [ná] pf.) smoke pieces of meat (also with 'á-l "smoke one piece of meat" YM 168)

12.33.
-kal -ka' -kad -ka-d -ka-d si-ka-d there is a surface; surface (opt.) (opt.) -kad (mom.) moves, make a surface; spread (YM 111)

Nouns used with -kal: blanket, buckskin, fabric, buffalo robe

Nouns compounded with -kal:

'axq· be'ekid nda·ka' series of dams, lakes; lakes-are-spread along-one-another

'alki daxonka·d broad terraces; flat-places-lie one-above-the-other
dá·dilkal door curtain, blanket hung in doorway (YME 26)
táká' dahikali water buttercup, water lily; that-which-lies-spread-on-water
tó bá tsé yo'á·ka·d rubble spillway

nánílka·dí shepherder; one-who-causes-spread-thing-here-and there

níné·ska·dí tortilla, Navaho bread; that-which-is-spread-evenly-in-circle (YME 92, NT 78:29)

ni'nó·lka·dí altar spread (cer.)

xoc sika·dí· prickly pear; the-particular-cactus-that-spreads

sika·d lining, spread (cer.); it-is-spread

tsé biká· dle·c tádo·kal palette; stone-on-which-paint-is-spread-with-water

tsé sika·d pavement; stones form-surface (YME 62)

tsí sika·d foliage of fallen tree; tree lies-spread

Odje·kal deafness, ... is deaf; ...'s ears-are-covered

té·j be· xazaká·d or té·j be· xa·ika·d spade, shovel; that-by-means-of-which-soil-is-spread-in-place (YME 78)

ña·kal skirt; bottom-covered

Verbs compounded with -kal:

'axi-(< 'ax-together-ná-against)(ná)-against ...-kad (pres., si-pf.) clap hands; spread-against-each-other (YM 111)

'á-ki·ni-uniform...l·ka·d (pres., si-pf.) drive off attackers (YM 113)

Oo· na-about-xo-things...ka·d (pres., yi-pf.) sigh, be disappointed (YM 112)

di·start from...ka·d (inc., si-pf.) spread fingers

na-about-ni-uniform...l·kal (prog., fut., pres., si-pf.) herd animals, sow, broadcast seeds; cause-spread-thing-about-uniformly (YM 113)

ña-against-di-cess...-ka·d (inc.cess., pf.cess.) (fut. n-di-di-) slap (ep. YME 111)
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ná-back-díni-prol... l-kal (inc., si-pf.) herd animals back (YM 112)
ní-uniform... l-kal (prog.) herd animals
xi-díi-away-díi-cess... ko-d (inc.cess., pf.cess.) slap, box (as ears)
dzi-ni-start for... ka-d (inc., ni-pf.) slap...
tståla díni-prol... l-kal (fut.) push pl. into corner, “stump them”
(also with -l-teč-l) (YM 33-4, 113)
tståla ni-uniform... l-ka-d (pres., si-pf.) corner, “stump pl. persons”
(YM 113)
téi-out-díni-prol... l-ka-d (inc., ni-pf.) herd animals out (ep. YM 112)

12.34.
-ká-l -ká-h -ká-h -ká-h -ká sì-ká (opt.) contained substance is, moves (may refer to container or substance contained, but the relation between the two is preserved)

Nouns used with -ká-l: dry substances in container as bread, cakes, cheese, rolls, medicine (herbal), meal, salt, sugar in bowl, or on plate, in box or trunk; liquids in container (as in bottle, bucket, water keg, etc.)

Nouns compounded with -ká-l:

'akí xoíká terraced irrigation
'ása' to be na-káhí bucket, pail; that-in-which-water-is-carried
(YME 12)
tó dahniká Water-vessel-hangs (place name)
tó dahnikzí small reservoir
tó süká pond, pool
yává xóká skyhole (myth.)

12.35.
-γé-l -γé-h -γé-h -γé-h -γé sì-γé (opt.) load is, moves; packed or consolidated material is, moves

Nouns used with -γé-l: entrails, load, nasal mucus

Nouns compounded with -γé-l:

'aze' na-γéhí herbalist; one-who-possesses-(organized-knowledge-of)-medicine
dílyéhé Pleiades (constellation)
dílyhi lead (metal) (YME 49)
tó dahsiyí large body of water, large reservoir
tó sýí water in natural confines
na-lyéhí load, pack, property, goods, merchandise
na-lyéhí bá xo-yun store; house-for-benefit-of-property
na-lyéhé yá sidáhí trader, storekeeper, clerk; one-who-remains-in-charge-of-goods
na-ltsos neí-γéhí mail carrier; one-who-rep.-carries-letters-about
zé dé-yíñí cape
zé dé-lyé necktie, medicine collar (cer.)
tsáskeh biká' dahná-yañíñí mattress; that-load-which-lies-here-and-there-on-bed (YME 54)
lej 'akí siyíñí sandbag, weight (FF)
líj be dáhsiyíníñí bladder (YME 9)
lí' na'ayéhí saddle horse (YME 74)
12.36.

-tsos -tsos -tsos -tsos -tsos -tsos (opt.) -tsos -tsos si-l-tso-z fabriclike obj. is, moves

Nouns used with -tsos: any substance in bag, sack, or paper container; book, fabric, garment, paper, skirt

Nouns compounded with -tsos:

'ictcid xacte' ninâltso-s suspension of uterus (AB 32)
dahnayizi- bike- dilsâ-si pouch of bandoleer (FF)
Otâ-e siltso-z apron; fabric-is-(on)-abdomen (YME 4)
tó siltso-z water lies spread (as after a rain)
nâltso-s book, letter, paper, ticket, certificate, permit (YME 10)
nâltso-s btkâgi, or nâltso-s btkâsti'i book cover
naîltso-s dahnayot corrugated paper (DD)
zé- dêltso-z scarf (YME 58)
tleîtsos Kotex (YME 48)
tleîtsos man's breechcloth (YME 11)

Verbs compounded with -tsos:

ya-down-dini-get stuck...l-tsos (cont.) sew blanket down while weaving it
... xa-out-di-cess....l-tsos (inc.cess., pf.cess.) take off garment (as shirt or dress)

12.37.

-joc -joc -jo-j -jo-j -jo-j ci-joc (opt.) parallel obj. lie, move; make bridge; stretch legs out in front; move splitting, split; pour in sheets; slide, slip (as sand, small hard obj.)

Nouns compounded with -joc:

Ota-joc femur, thigh bone
na'ajo-c poles or logs lying in order
nañiijo-j, or nañiijo-ji bridge, span; Gallup, New Mexico
nâ-e- tsin 'alkini-jo-j longitudinal fracture (AB 35)

Verbs compounded with -joc:

'a-beyond-nâ-again-2o-place...jó-c (inc., ni-pf.) sand pours in again; slides, slips back
di-joc (stat.) easily split
ni-....-jo-j (ni-stat.) combination of parallel obj.
Êi-(< Êi-over-nâ-against)di-emit-(nâ-)against...-jo-c (pres., si-pf.) stretch out, extend legs (in sitting position) (YM 239)

12.38.

-jol -jo- -jo-d -jo-d -jo-d ci-jó-d there is bulky obj., bulky obj. (opt.) moves
-col -co- -co-d -co-d -co-d yi-ci-d drag, move bulky obj. over surface
Nouns compounded with -jol:

'akī na-jo-di' harrow; that-which-is-caused-to-drag-about-over-something (YME 41)

'ē' na-jo-di' gown (worn by priests and choir singers)

'ē' na-co-di' minister, priest; one-who-drag-garment

tsin na-jo-di' sled (YME 79)

Verbs compounded with -jol:

ni-start for...-jó-d (inc., ni-pf.) weather starts to clear, clouds move slowly (YM 239)
yó'-a-ná-back- xo-place-(ná-) back...-l-jol (inc., yi-pf.) weather clears off

12.39.

-djah -djah -dje-h -dję-h -dję' ci-dję' pl. obj. are, lie, move (opt.) -dje-h (ep. -djah pl. persons move, run)

Nouns used with -djah: branches, cord (refers to strands), firewood

Nouns compounded with -djah:

'atèi nìdíldié' fire for ceremonial sweatbath

'atéi dé-díldjaj fire-making with drill (cer.)

bízé' nda'adjaj meal-sprinkling of sandpainting rite (cer.); pl.-obj.-are-placed-on-its-mouth-here-and-there

dido'ldjaj' fire-making

kècédjé' hidden ball, mocassin game (FF)

tsjé da'cdjaj' lower millstone (YME 55)

Verbs compounded with -djah:

di-burn-di-start from...-l-djej (pres., yi-pf.) (fut. di-di-di-) make, lay, build fire (YM 105, EW 102:12)
ni-end-ni-start for...-l-djej (inc., ni-pf.) warp is strung

12.40.

-djih -djih -dja-h -djà-h -djà' ci-djà' (opt.) granular mass is, moves; there is a pile; lay wood in cord

The stem -djih is used with many of the same nouns given for -nil ("pl. separate obj. lie, move" 12.32.). The difference is sometimes indistinguishable, but it seems that -nil emphasizes the separateness of the objects, whereas -djih refers to mass.

Nouns used with -djih: arrows (EW 218:15), ashes, bottles, buckskins, bugs, bundles, cookies, firewood, flour, gall (NT 318:25); jerky, marbles, oranges, package of candy in cellophane, peanuts, pebbles, puppies, sand, seeds, shot, songs, yucca leaves

Nouns compounded with -djih:

be· ke-tā' be· da'adjaj' the songs with which prayersticks are charged (cer.) (AB)
dabiyi'n 'axá· dudidja-hgo songs arranged in orderly groups
dajndja'-jó' gé' sleeping cars; the-room-in-which-people-lie-down (DD)
ci-djú'- song set
sin bá-h daddidja·'i branch songs (cer.)
sin bina· 'idja·'i branch songs (cer.)

Verbs compounded with -djhí::
'álah ná········dja'- (si-pf.) people assemble
Ot.< (O-ná-against)(ná)-against ...-dja-h (pres., yi-pf.) rub with ... (as sand)
ná-against-xi-rep.ac.·······-dja-h (pres., si-pf.) apply ... (as meal, sand)
ni.< (na-about)xi-rep.ac.·······-dja-h (pres., si-pf.) gather wood one stick at a time
Ol xa-out·xo-place·······-dja-h (inc., si-pf.) jerk people out like sacks of flour (pun)

12.41.

-djol -djol -djo·l -djo·l ci-djo·l  fluffy, bunchy, non-com- pact substance is, moves;
-djó·l (opt.) move as fluffy mass; become steam, vapor; vaporize

Nouns used with -djol: brush, cloud, hay, smoke, tangled cord, wool.

Nouns compounded with -djo·l:
'adá-dijdjoli herbs used to seal prayersticks (cer.)
tó bitól. 'ajdjo·lí brush diversion (irrigation)
tódjé-h bidáddihdio·lí herbs used as stopper of water vessel
ni-jdjo yarn being wound into a ball
Onjít bél·jdjoli powderpuff; that-which-is-caused-to-fluff-against-face
yas dah'·djo·l snowdrift
Ozdol dahdidjo·l Adam's apple; larynx
látah 'adidjoi·lí flax (YME 34)
ládjíc bi látuuh dadidjoi·lítú boxing glove (FF)
tloh be· na·ldjoi·lí pitchfork; the-particular-one-by-means-of-which-hay-is-moved-about (YME 41)

Verbs compounded with -djol:

dah·'-a-di·cess.·······-djó·l (inc. cess., pf. cess.) steam up, steam becomes visible
di-ni-get stuck.·······-djó·l (stat.pf.) be round like a ball, stocky, “chunky”
(YM 108)
xa-out·a-beyond·······-djó·l (inc., yi-pf.) (smoke) moves out, rises (NT 424:18)

12.42

-lé·l -le -lé } -lé· -lá si-lá long, flexible obj. is, moves; pair is,
(opt.) -lé } -lé moves

Nouns used with -lé·l: belt, cable, death (EW 208:9), feather, ireddrill (WE), flexible branch, lightning, lightning arrow (EW 96:9), necklace, oesophagus (EW 210:11), offerings, prayersticks, rain-
bow, rope, sapling, snake, strip of bark, strand of hair; sunbeam; pair of doors, moccasins, shoes, stars, towcards

Nouns compounded with -lé-l:

'i' silái:, or Oyi' silái: internal organs of chest and abdomen; the-particular-ones-that-lie-ropelike-within
Odjá'd 'álki dahsilá-go indifference, unconcern, sulkiness, lack of cooperation; one-leg-hangs-ropelike-over-the-other (WE)

Verbs compounded with -lé-l:

'axa-h ni-cess....-lé (inc.cess., pf.cess.) fold fabriclike obj. (as blanket) (YM 127)

di-h ....-lé-l (fut., pres., yi-pf.) roll a cigarette (YM 128)
ná-xi-....tá (ni-pf.) (pollen) encircled his mouth (cer.) (EW 208:4)
ná'-á-di-cess-....-lé-l (fut., inc.cess., pf.cess.) accept an offering, pick up ...
... (NT 176:9)

Nouns used with -tloh: mush, nasal mucus, old hat or wornout obj., pitch.

Nouns compounded with -tloh:

'aze:* 'étlohi liniment (YM 51, AB 22)

'aze:* xaxatle-h trench mouth; there-is-slimy-condition-of-mouth

(AB 34)

'o-idjé:* 'bináástlé:* moon halo (YME 72)

na'álle-h impetigo contagioso; it-is-slimy (AB 19)

Ná'álle-h humidification (YME 44)

tééástlé:* spinach

djoxána*-éi bináástlé:* sun halo (YME 72)

Verb compounded with -tloh:

Onééástil xa-ni-....-lé-h (inc., ni-pf.) blow nose; nasal mucus-starts-to-move-out

12.43.

-tloh -tloh -lé-h -tá-lé-h -tá-’ si-álé,’ be amorphous, mushy, slimy, damp, indeterminate; mushy, indeterminate substance moves

(opt.) -té-h

Nouns compounded with -tloh:

12.44. Verbs of Force and Speed

12.44. A number of verb stems refer to swift, sudden, vigorous or forceful motion. These will be abbreviated as F since all may be used with the same prefixes. With them forms meaning "drop, fall, hit, throw, hurl" and the like are compounded. A few are the same stems as those of the type (T) stems; most of them are different, and of course, this class of stems includes some for which the type stems have no corresponding forms. Both are given below:
2.44. Verbs of Animated Motion

12.45. Verbs of "animated motion" include words indispensable to elementary speech such as "go, run, chase," and the like. "Go" and "run" have entirely different stems in singular, dual, and plural. These stems may have "transitive" forms, that is, -l-, -d-, and -l- forms. Some stems, as -dah "orderly group of persons, separate objects," and -djah "plural persons, things move," overlap the class we have considered as type (T) stems and stems of force (F). Moreover, the singular stem for "go" has phonetic irregularities not found in any other verb—the first and second singular subject pronouns assimilate to the stem initial (8.95.), which is not stable in the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stems of force (F)</th>
<th>Type stems (T)</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>drop</td>
<td>-al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fall</td>
<td>-al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hit with</td>
<td>-al</td>
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<tr>
<td>throw</td>
<td>-tsos</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fabriclike obj.</td>
<td>-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group of obj.</td>
<td>-dah</td>
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<tr>
<td>Granular mass</td>
<td>-das</td>
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<tr>
<td>Long, slender, flexible obj.</td>
<td>-dit</td>
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<tr>
<td>Long, slender, rigid obj.</td>
<td>-le:t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small, round obj.</td>
<td>-ni:t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person, large animal</td>
<td>-goh</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spread obj.</td>
<td>-kat</td>
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<tr>
<td>Contained substance</td>
<td>-yas</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pouchlike obj.</td>
<td>-yal</td>
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<td>General</td>
<td>-l-xal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clublike obj.</td>
<td>-l-xal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volume of liquid</td>
<td>-l-xtal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Move of own weight</td>
<td>-l-tsił</td>
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<td>Bunchy substance</td>
<td>-l-djol</td>
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<tr>
<td>Animate obj.</td>
<td>-tılıc</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mushy substance</td>
<td>-l-til</td>
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<tr>
<td>Plural obj.</td>
<td>-nil</td>
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<td></td>
<td>-nil</td>
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<td></td>
<td>-nil</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-nil</td>
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<tr>
<td>Twisting obj.</td>
<td>-kps</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prefix compounds for these stems are:

'a-beyond...-l-F throw...
'adah down 'a-beyond...-F... falls
na-down...-F... drop...
'läke' xa-out...-F... falls from hand

Forms with some of the stems:

Oa- dini-prol...-dah (fut., inc.cess., pf.cess.) garment slips off ...
(NT 160:7)

Oq. ni-end-ni-start for...-dah (fut., inc. ni-pf.) garments fall into place
on... (NT 160:8)

Oq. xa-...-l-dah (fut., inc., ni-pf.) fasten side strings to loom (in setting
up warp on loom)
12.45.–12.46. Usage and Vocabulary

Many idioms are formed on these stems, which of course are also compounded with the ordinary prefixes with literal meanings. The idioms only will be noted here.

12.46. The following stems for “go” are compounded with the same prefixes, but it must be remembered that the duals and plurals are not ordinarily found in the singular, although there are some exceptions. The “passive” -d- and -l-stems are listed here also, and indicated in the formulas, when the idiom is based on the passive stem only. In the formulas the stem may be indicated as “go” or “run” meaning that any of the three—singular, dual, or plural—may be used.

The following are the stems for “person goes” with their principal parts, passives, and general meanings:

-\( a\)c  
-\( a\)c  
-\( a\)c  
-\( a\)c  
-\( a\)j  

\( gá\)-l  
\( gá\)-h  
\( gá\h  
\( gá\)-h  
\( gá\)-l  

\( dá\)-l  
\( dá\)-h  
\( dá\h  
\( dá\)-h  
\( dá\)-l  

\( ká\h  
\( ká\)-h  
\( ká\h  
\( ká\)-h  
\( ká\)-l  

\( dë\)-h  
\( dë\h  
\( dë\h  
\( dë\)-h  
\( dë\)-l  

\( n\)a\-\( yá\i\)  
\( n\)a\-\( yá\i\)  
\( n\)a\-\( yá\i\)  
\( n\)a\-\( yá\i\)  
\( n\)a\-\( yá\i\)  

\( n\)a\-\( yá\i\)  
\( n\)a\-\( yá\i\)  
\( n\)a\-\( yá\i\)  
\( n\)a\-\( yá\i\)  
\( n\)a\-\( yá\i\)  

Nouns compounded with the above stems are:

-\( n\)a\-\( a\)c  man’s male cross cousin (mother’s brother’s daughter, father’s sister’s daughter); with ... two-persons-go-about (cp. and distinguish \( n\)a\-\( a\)c “two persons cust. go about,” a form that means “a man and woman are going together, are having a sexual relationship”)

-\( a\)yá\i\h  assistant to chanter (cer.); with-each-other one-who-goes-about

-\( a\)yá\h  herbalist; one-who-goes-for-medicine

-\( n\)á\-\( yá\i\) newly born infant; one-who-recently-moves-about

-\( x\)á\-\( yá\h  absentee; the-particular-one-who-went-for...’s benefit

-\( x\)á\-\( yá\h  volunteer; the-one-who-went-amongst-just-according-to-his-own-will (YME 96)

-\( n\)á\yá\h  profession; one-person-goes-about-(for)-things (YME 67)

-\( n\)á\yá\h \( n\)a\-\( d\)zizin  religion; one-person-goes-about prayer

-\( x\)á\-\( yá\h  disease carrier; one-who-goes-about-with-disease (YME 14)

-\( x\)á\-\( yá\h  sick person; one-who-goes-about-ill (AB 30)

-\( x\)á\-\( yá\h  easterner; one-from-down-under-the-east-goes-about (YME 28)

-\( x\)á\-\( yá\h  southerner; one-from-under-the-south-goes-about (YME 81)

-\( x\)á\-\( yá\h  solstice; sun pauses-at-end
 intermediary who arranges ceremony; one-who-goes-after-
medicine-bundle
na'vähi  tourist; one-who-goes-about-in-restricted-territory (YME 92)
diyáhi  turtle; the-particular-one-who-starts-going-in-vain

Ol  dizzyness; things-move-in-a-circle-with ... (YM 103, 
YME 26)

entry; he-came-in-amongst (YME 29)
diýáhi  discovery (YME 25)

ambush, ambuscade (YME 3)

fatigue; futile starting-to-go-beyond (YME 32)

dance troupe, dance units in a group

dance units one after another

sandpainting, sandpainting figures

Night Dance dancers

Mexican, rover

horse race; horses run-away-from-one-another

war

survival (of custom): from-it group-moved-away-in-front

means of travel, conveyance; by-means-of-it-group-

travels (NT 156:12)

stairs; that-by-means-of-which-there-is-cust.-

ascending (YME 83)

earth beings (animal and human); groups-that-move-

about-earth-space

birds (cer.), those who inhabit the atmosphere

cactus cleaner (plant name)

toilet paper; that-by-means-of-which-excrement-is-
cleaned (YME 92)

mattock; that-by-means-of-which-herbs-are-cleared

(YME 54)

Compounds of stems for "go":

na-about...-"go" (pres., si-pf.) (the fut. singular is -ga-l with na-
about) busy oneself at, be busy about, do ...; ... goes about for...
(YM 68)

ni-start for ...-"go" (inc., ni-pf.) visit ...; start-to-go-to...

end-cess..-"go" (inc.cess., pf.cess.) one attacks ... (EW 116:2)

( < O-ná-against) cess...-"go" (inc.cess., pf.cess.) join ..., become
one of a party (YM 67)

ni-end-ni-start for ...-"go" (inc., ni-pf.) be physically tired of ...
(YM 66)

Compounds of stems for "go":

na-about...-"go" (pres., si-pf.) (the fut. singular is -ga-l with na-
about) busy oneself at, be busy about, do ...; ... goes about for...
(YM 68)

ni-start for ...-"go" (inc., ni-pf.) visit ...; start-to-go-to...

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( < O-ná-against) cess...-"go" (inc.cess., pf.cess.) join ..., become
one of a party (YM 67)

ni-end-ni-start for ...-"go" (inc., ni-pf.) be physically tired of ...
(YM 66)
dah-na-about...γάh (pres., yi-pf.) heart beats fast (EW 114:9)
dahì...γά-h (inc.) be willing to...intend to...

dei ni-end-ni-start for..."go" (inc., ni-pf.) shrink, turn upward in
drying (as leather, meat drying) (YM 72)

Odá-h ni-start for..."go" (inc., ni-pf.) meet...head...off (YM 65)
ta-amongst..."go" (pres., si-pf.) (fut. is -ga-l) go about, be amongst
(YM 69)

tá-dì-start against..."go" (fut. tá-dì-dì-...γá-l) wander about, roam
(YM 64)

ná's di-start from..."go" (inc., ni-pf.) (fut. di-di-) advance, progress,
start to go forward (YM 66)
ni-end-'a-beyond-di-cess..."go" (inc.cess., pf.cess.) break loose (FH)
ká na-about..."go" (pres., si-pf.) be ill, sickly, invalidated (YM 69)
ká-(or xá)-ni-start for-(ná)-against..."go" (prog., inc., ni-pf.) go after
(YM 70)

Oká-(or O-xá)ni-start for-(ná)-against..."go" (inc., ni-pf.) go after...

Oké hedji...'a-beyond..."go" (inc., yi-pf.) replace, take...'s place
(YM 68)

Oké...dah-forth-di-cess..."go" (inc.cess., pf.cess.) start tracking

Oké...q..."axi-..."go" (inc., si-[ná]-) pf.
bypass, go around... (YM 43)

Okì di-start from..."go" (inc., si-pf.) quit, give up, stop doing...
(YM 63)

Okì xo-things-di-start from..."go" (inc., si-pf.) sing, perform ceremo-

ny over...

Okì-(< ki-over-na-against)ni-start for-(ná)-against..."go" (inc., ni-pf.)
find, discover; come upon... (YM 65)

xada-down di-cess..."go" (inc.cess., pf.cess.) dismount

xa-out-xo-things...γá-l (fut., pres., yi-pf.) (3 only) things begin on
earth, originate (YM 62)

Oteá ni-start for..."go" (inc., ni-pf.) separate from...

Oteá ná-back-ní-(ná)...dá-l (fut., inc., si-pf.) divorce...

Oteq-h na-about-'a-theme...da-l (fut., pres., si-pf.) be protected

(té-h di-start from..."go" (inc., si-pf.) get tired (YM 63)

Ol 'axi-together-di-cess..."go" (inc.cess., pf.cess.) (fut. Ol 'axi-di-di-
meet... (YM 64)

Ol dah-forth-di-cess..."go" (inc.cess., pf.cess.) originate with...

Ol ná-xo-di-start from...γá-l (fut., inc., si-pf.) be dizzy; with...things
start-to-move-in-circle (YM 72)

Ol' Ol na-about..."go" (pres., si-pf.) ride horseback; horse goes-about

with... (YM 72)

'axi-together-da-pl.-di-cess...kah (inc.cess., pf.cess.) they go in pairs

(WE 246, n.9)

'akli na-about...kah (fut., pres., si-pf.) be crowded (YM 110)

Ol 'alta-ná-back...kah (inc., si-pf.) get mixed (as sheep of several
flocks) (YM 110)

'da-self-'ki-over ni-di-emit...dáh (pres.) try to live as best one can

'ê...Oe: xá-(< xa-out-ná-back) di-cess...dá-h (inc.cess., pf.cess.) put on
clothes (EW 112:19)

'ê...Ol' ná-back...dá-h (inc., ni-pf.) dress; go-back-into-clothes (YM 71)

ná-di-cess...dá-h (inc.cess., pf.cess.) rise, get up (YM 63)
ni-end-dini-prol...dá-l (fut., cont.) arrive in a modest way
ni-end-si-harm...-dá-h (inc., ni-pf.) be down to the last resource, desperate, panicky, at the end of one's string (BS) yah'a-dí-ni-get stuck...-dá-h (inc., yi-pf.) go in and stay

Oya: 'a-beyond-díni-prol....-dah (fut., inc., si-pf.) come under ...'s power (YM 45)
Oyd díni-prol....-l-dah (fut., cont., si-pf.) sift ...; strain ...; cause-pl.-obj.-to-move-through ... (YM 45)
Oyd ni-end-ní-start for....-l-dá-h (inc., ni-pf.) sift, strain ... (YM 45)

12.46a.

-l-yol -yo' -ye'd -ye'd -yod (opt.)
-l-te'-l -te'-h -te'-l -te'-h -te' (opt.) -te' (mom.)
-djáh -djáh -djé-h -djé' -djé-h -djá' (mom.)

Nouns based on the stems for "run":

'ax'd-djóley-di baseball game (YME 6)
'ax'd-djóle-fit-idi ajajdilkal baseball
'axil ká'aná'aloyo' cooperation; running-after-cust.-with-each-other (YME 19)
'áká 'e'lóye'd help, aid, assistance; someone-runs-by beyond-after-something (YME 42)
be' xadah dañ'ti-lyo'i' parachute; the-particular-one-with-which-there is-moving-down-off (YM 62)
tóyol Taos, New Mexico; Running Water (YME 89)
na-lyodi runner; one-who-runs(ran)-about
ko' bitis dacdilyo' fire jumping rite (cer.); they(4)-jump-over-fire
xata-li yiká 'análayo'i assistant to chanter; one-who-runs-after-singer
so' bídí-lye'd shooting star
tsé na'-lyodi grindstone

The following compounds are formed with the stems of "run." If any of the three may be used the stem is indicated as "run;" if only one has been found, the stem is given:

'a-dini-get stuck...."run" (cont., yi-pf.) get stuck while running (YM 84)
Oa· dí-cess....-l-yol (fut.cess., inc.cess., pf.cess.) beat ... in race, ... runs from ... (YM 82)
'áká 'a-beyond-ná-cust. -'a-theme...."run" (cust., yi-pf.) help ...; run-beyond-after ... (YM 83-4)
Oká· dí-emit...."run" (pres., yi-pf.) collide with ..., bump into ..., run against ...
Okí-cess...."run" (fut.cess., inc.cess., pf.cess.) attack ...; pause-running-over ... (YM 84)
'ni' tóa-(< tóa- into unknown space-ná-back)'a-beyond... -l-yol (fut., inc., yi-pf.) lose ...'s mind, memory, forget; ...'s mind runs-into-foreign-territory (SCE)
Ol 'allki-cess...."run" (inc.cess., pf.cess.) attack, fight with ... (YM 85)
Ol dah'a-dí-cess....-l-yol (fut.cess., inc.cess., pf.cess.) ride in car
12.46a.-12.47. Usage and Vocabulary

12.46. Oli'na-about...l-yol (fut., pres., si-pf.) ride horseback; horse-runs-about-with...
Olyah tči-out-ni-start for-(ná)-...l-yo' (mom., ni-pf.) one passes..., both obj. are running (YM 82)
Olyah tči-out-ni-start for-(ná)-...djah (mom., ni-pf.) pl. persons pass... all are running (YM 82)
Olyah tči-out-xi-'a-beyond-ni-uni...l-tčé-h (cont., ni-[ná]-pf.) two running pass... running (YM 82)
Olyah gö', instead of Olyah, with the three preceding compounds indicates "running obj. pass stationary obj."

12.47. Verbs of Doing and Making

12.47. The several stems on which verbs of doing and making are formed are treated in the same way. With few exceptions, 'á-(ná-) "thus" is thematic with all. The passive stems are given below as well as the active stems. The relation between -l-čé-t and -lčé-t is very close, if indeed they are not alternants.

-či-t -či-h -či -či-d do, make; mimic
-či (mom.) action, imitate doing
-či' (opt.)

-či-t -či-h -či -či-d be made, be done to;
-či' (opt.) be mimicked, imitated

-čé-t

Nouns based on stems for "make":

'atěši-lči punishment (YME 67)
'atěši-lči-ni harm (YME 41)
'atixo-dza sad occurrence
'atixo-li-ti cause of illness
'akā kq' be '-lči-higi wick; that-oil-with-which-it-is-done-thus
'aze-lči-ši physical, doctor; one-who-makes-medicine
'asdzqo do-ba-ndjišt-da continence (FF)
'atsi-tšo tš-šiné-h baptism; water-is-put-(on)-forehead (YME 6)
'á-lčwi-nči kindness (YME 48)
'ánášiné-h reconstruction (YME 70)
'asši witchcraft (EW 142:2)
'ákošti-ni anyone who does so
'atsé tco-'i-hi firstaid; the-particular-useful-(thing)-that-does-first
(YME 34)
'ášiši behavior; things-done-thus
'ázo-tili guidance (YME 39)
'ázo-dza-hi'ige occurrence (YME 59)
'ázo-tili'ide occurrence (YME 59)
'ál'i production of goods (YME 66)
'q. 'éédza expansion (YME 31)
'el'i mimicry
'el'i'ide imitation, copy
'el'i'ide'ige photography (YME 64)
'el'i'ini'ige photographer (YME 64)
'el'iyiga photography (YME 64)
'o'dlejé lahgo 'dná-nil phase of moon (YME 64)
bá-h bil ál'ini yeast (YME 100)
bá-h 'ál'igi bakery (YME 6)
ba'hi'ägi 'áxáti misbehavior, crime (YME 55)
be. 'é-xiini'h bini'ye 'ilyá'ige monument (YME 56)
bé-c bijdí-gáp 'ál'ini stove; iron-(in)-which-food-is-prepared
bé-c lgaš 'i-l'ini silversmith
biyél'i'ide clarification (YME 16)
bil 'el'ini baking powder (YME 6)
 vá'cindondi bi. xaz'áini 'ádeil'ini'ige Congress; those-make-laws-at-
Washington (YME 18)
vá'cindondi 'atah be. xaz'áini 'i-l'ini'ige congressman; the-one-
amongst-whom-laws-are-made-at-Washington (YME 18)
dine daminé-higí xacte deile'i undertaker (YME 94)
dil 'álné-h Wasserman test; blood-is-done-to (AB 36)
do. 'akexól'idá disobedience; things-are-not-done-according-to-some-
thing (YME 25)
do. bil ntsixáke-si'ige: 'áxo-dza accident; that-which-was-not-thought-of-
happened (YME 1)
 t'ílya wound (YME 99)
t'ilo-líli one who gets sick
tá. 'áko'né-hé 'áleí need, necessity (YME 58)
tá. 'i-cájíni 'éléné-h clarification (YME 16)
tá-dole'é 'álo-l'idí'ige factory; place-where-anything-pl.-are-made (YME 31)
tó. Ol'áti imagination; merely with... it-is-done-thus (YME 44)
tó be'elyiga. merely it-is-imitated (YME 132)
nahdí' kó'elyga riddance; to-a-point-aside-so-(far) it-was done-thus
(YME 72)
nal'sos biká 'eelyá'ige picture; the-paper-on-which-imitation-is-
made (YME 64)
nal'ini 'áyo'li'ili cause of epidemic
xacte dayile'é carpenter
xacte codíné-h preparation; things-are-made-ready (YME 66)
zábq'h 'al'íh lipstick, salve; mouth-border-is-made
sa'd ná-nálahd'é sa'd be. 'ánda-lne' translation; from-another; language-
words-are-cust.-made-with-them (YME 92)
Oj'é 'i-l'ini stepfather; one-who-acts-(as)-father
djoxona-'i'ini'ige watchmaker (YME 96)
tó'í'yá a'íni'ige kó'one' kitchen; room-in-which-food-is-prepared
too'í' usefulness (YME 95)
too'l'í use (YME 95)
téé'h 'éél'í failure; in-vain there-is-imitation (YME 32)
la' yil'í yollyéí success; the-particular-one-that-is-called-accomplish-
ment (YME 86)
la' yityá'ige accomplishment (YME 1)
lahgo 'éeldí'ige metamorphosis; change-is-made (YME 160-1)
Since all stems are used vary idiomatically, and since usage is very specific, formulas may be repeated for each verb of doing or making.

Compounds with -'i:\n
\'ati-ni-(ná-)…-l\'i\h (pres., ni-[ná-] pf.) do harm to …, desecrate (EW 80:12)
Oá 'acdia' ná-again-'a-beyond…-l\'i\h (pres., yi-pf.) give another chance to … (YM 133)
\'á-thus-O-(ná-)…-l\'i\h (cont., yi-pf.) do thus to …
\'á-thus-ná-again-xo-things-(ná-)…-l\'i' (pres.) do holy things again
\'á-xo-dí-…-l\'i\h (pres.) pretend to do thus (NT 32:36)
Oe. 'a-theme…-l\'i\h (pres.) copy, take picture of, imitate; imitated doing … (YM 103, 132, FH)
'i- (< 'á-self-ná-against)dí-start against…-l\'i\h (pres.) do for ...'s self (NT 42:12)
tí-ádi-self cess…-l\'i\h (inc.pess., pf.cess.) hurt oneself (YM 160)
tá. Oit na-xo-'a-beyond…-l\'i\h (inc., yi-pf.) lay belongings with … (as corpse), bury with (FH, NT 430:28)
yô'r-a-out of sight…-l\'i\h (inc., yi-pf.) bury corpse (NT 432:19)
kó-so-(ná-)…-l\'i\h (pres.) do thus to … (NT 48:26)
xacet 'á-thus-ná-back-dí-cess…-l\'i\h (inc.pess., pf.cess.) get ready (YM 162)
xacet ni-start for…-l\'i\h (inc., ni-pf.) do a good job
tcoi- or tci- (teo-use-si-harm)…-l\'i\h (pres., si-pf.) use, be of service (YM 102)
tcê'h 'á-thus-(ná-)…-l\'i\h (pres., yi-pf.) try to do, do in vain
tcê'h 'á-thus-O-(ná-)…-l\'i\h (inc., ni-pf.) do to … in vain (NT 100:10)
Otdjó kó-so-yi-rep.asp…-l\'i\h (pres.) make motions toward … (NT 208:17)
le' a-dí-start against…-l\'i\h (pres.) count on …, depend upon …
dloh xá-out-xi-rep.ac-ni-rep.asp…-l\'i\h (inc.) chuckle; laughter-breaks-out (YM 100)

Compounds with -'i:\n
Oa.'ati-xo-things…-l\'i\h (pres., yi-pf.) treat ... with respect (NT 86:18)

The two paradigms Oa. ná-(ná-)against…-l\'i\h (pres.) and Oa. yi-ni-(ná)…-l\'i\h (pres.) seem to be identical in meaning. WM and FH consider the first person yinic\'i\h as irregular with the regular forms of ná-(ná-)against for all other persons, but in the texts cited yinic- seems to be a paradigm in its own right. The forms of both are constantly used; the Navaho translate them often as “bother.”

Oa. ná-(ná-)against…-l\'i\h (pres., si-[ná-] pf.) attend to …, be concerned about …, take action on …, annoy …, nag, molest, bother … (FH, YM 202, NT 98:20)
Oa. ná-xo-things-(ná-)…-l\'i\h (pres., si-[ná-] pf.) plan for …, discuss about …, have a care for …, concern oneself about …, make a settlement (NT 84:2, 344:24)
Oa. yi-ni-(ná)…-l\'i\h (pres., si-[ná-] pf.) attend to …, be concerned about …, take action on …, talk about …, annoy, nag, molest, bother … (AB, FH, FS 24, NT 38:9)
'a-ati-suffering-(ná-) . . . -lfh (pres.) suffer for . . . 's benefit, devote oneself to . . . completely (YM 162; AB)
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Oa · xwi·-(< xo-things-yi-ni-). . . . -lfh (pres., si-pf.) discuss, talk over, agree about things, have a trial (NT 292:4)
Od · 'ati-suffering-(ná-) . . . -lfh (pres., yi-pf.) suffer for . . . 's benefit, devote oneself to . . . completely (YM 162; AB)
Oá · 'a-thus . . . -lfh (pres.) behave, be extremely . . . , be very . . .
Od · 'a-thus-xo-things-(ná-) . . . -lfh (pres.) be kind, congenial, sympathetic to . . .
Od · 'ado · (< 'ad-self-a for)ná-di-start against . . . -lfh be bashful (AB)
Od · áko-(ná-) . . . -lfh (pres., yi-pf.) behave, act so (NT 340:15)
Od · 'a-thus-xo-things . . . -lfh (fut., pres., yi-pf.) things happen, things go on (NT 264:25)
Od · 'a-d-(< 'a-thus-ná-back)-xo-things cess . . . -lfh (inc.cess., pf.cess.) back out of . . . , give up . . . , quit (YM 202)
Od · Oa ni- . . . -lfh (pres.) criticize . . . (EW 78:20)
Od · 'a-thus-(ná-) . . . -lfh (pres.) "just fool around" (YM 160)
Od · Od · Ol · 'a-thus-(ná-) . . . -lfh (pres.) imagine, merely with . . . it is done thus (YM 162)
Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od · Od ·Od
12.47.-12.48. Usage and Vocabulary

12.48. Even though nouns include a verbal connotation “it is a ...” and though stems may include a description which must often be thought of as “it is ...,” there are nevertheless several stems for “be.” One, -lé-h, has almost a full set of principal parts, a few used often, the rest infrequently. This stem is probably nearest (though not very near) to the English copula, and expresses state or condition in a general way. It seems to be a part of some of the unconjugated forms that have been called “adjectives” (9.), but often they precede some form of -lé-h, usually the 'á-static or present:

'álah 'á-thus-(ná-)...lé-h (pres.) gather, bundle them together, assemble (YM 131)
'q. 'á-thus-(ná-)...lé-h (pres.) open ... (YM 131)
Oe 'a-i...lé-h (pres.) imitate, take picture (YM 132)
Oe xa-xo-di-cess...lé-h (inc.cess., pf.cess.) dress... with ... fix ... up with ..., paint evenly with (NT 264:4)
Oi xé-'l 'á-thus-(ná-)...lé-h (inc.cess., pf.cess.) pack into ... (as wagon, car) (YM 130)
bizdilido 'á-thus-(ná-)...lé-h (inc.cess., pf.cess.) shine ..., make ... shiny (YM 130)
dei 'á-thus-(ná-)...lé-h (inc.cess., pf.cess.) lift, raise ... (YM 130; NT 158:16)
tá 'i-cajáni 'á-thus-(ná-)...lé-h (pres.) make it clear, clarify ..., leave no doubt about it (YM 130)
tá Ol xosihgo 'á-thus-(ná-)...lé-h (inc.cess., pf.cess.) encourage (YM 130)
nahdý kó-(ná-)...lé-h (inc.cess., pf.cess.) push ... aside (as curtain) (NT 178:3)
ni-end 'a-i-ní-start for...lé-h (inc., ni-pf.) leave ... (FH)
ni-end 'i-(< 'a-i-ná-against)'a-i-(ná-)...lé-h (inc.cess., pf.cess.) halt stop (YM 132)
yá 'á-thus-(ná-)...lé-h (pres.) bend down with ... (YM 161)
yéígo 'á-thus-(ná-)...lé-h (inc.cess., pf.cess.) get worse, worsen (YM 160)
'ká 'á-thus-'a-i-(ná-)...lé-h (inc.cess., pf.cess.) order ... (as from catalogue) (YM 136)
sodizín 'á-thus-(ná-)...lé-h (pres.) perform prayer rite
Otég 'á-thus-(ná-)...lé-h (pres., yi-pf.) write to ...
Otég Oná-kis 'á-thus-(ná-)...lé-h (pres., yi-pf.) wink at ...; toward ... ...'s eye does-thus (YM 133)
Olá-hdí 'a-theme...lé-l (fut., pres., yi-pf.) do more than ...
tá ...lé-h (pres.) be successful, accomplish, succeed at ... (YM 130)
tahgo 'á-thus-(ná-)...lé-h (pres.) change, alter (appearance, character) (YM 130, 160)
Ol pe 'á-thus-xo-things-(ná-)...lé-h (pres.) bluff, scare ... out of it (YM 131)

12.48–12.53. Verbs of Being and Becoming
12.48.-12.51.

"fd- 'crnl*' y df4i- truth; the-particular-thing-that-is-true

'y bi1 xaojé.' 'áté these are your siblings; these with-them you were-born they-are (EW 96:20)

xaité (< xu-yílté) how is he?

xanti how are you?

do- bitčįįįį ni'okés 'áté-da he never gets a break; not toward-him-side twisting-it-is (Ad 1/49:1)

tsidá là- 'áté-gi the exact conditions (EW 106:2)
tsidá Occell . . . is absolute (NT 210:1)
da-çaq' 'áté, xacaq' 'áté of course (FS 4, 17)
do- tc-q- 'áté-go it is repulsive (FS 6)
lahgo 'áté-go otherwise; being-changed

12.49. -li, -lf probably static, refers to specific persons:

diné 'íť (< 'átí) he is a man, an Indian, a Navaho

xu'átí 'íť who is he?

xasti-n S 'átį he is Mr. S.

dja'abaní 'aas dzi 'átį it is Bat Woman (EW 120:3). Compare xu'átí 'íť what is he? diné 'átį he is a Navaho

12.50. -iľ probably with thematic static ni-, seems to mean "be" in the sense of "belong to, be of . . .":

'ini' nli-ni- (< ni-ľ-i-) determination; that-particular-thing-that-is-someone's-mind (YME 24)
yada-ni nillé his mother-in-law; the-one-that-is-her-son-in-law (man speaking when he does not avoid his mother-in-law)

yidin nillé he craves it (YM 125)
da-něľ bi 'ălah 'iłlı celebration; games for-them crowd is-thus

danlíngi (< da-n-ľ-i-gi-) those-who-belong-to . . .

yil nillé they agree, they are congenial, loving, sympathetic, loyal, "all wrapped up in each other"

na-be-hó la' ni' danlı the Navaho are unprogressive (YM 124)
yisda nillé he is out of breath

xwi-nillé he is satisfied

ci nih nciľ-go (< ni-c-ľ-go) 'étr . . . nillé' if I were you

12.50a. 'iłi (probably < 'á-thus-ni-abs.-ľ) is probably a form of -li; it means "be worth, be valuable, have value":

'iłlı it is valuable, high-priced; it is left to fate

bil 'iłlı he is tolerant; with-him there-is-value

do- 'iłlı-da it is cheap, worthless (YM 127)
do- bę-h 'illnida it is of no value, worthless (YM 127)

dókwi-cq' bę-h 'iłlı how much is it worth? (YM 127)

12.51. xoló be available; things-are. The stem -ľό may be derived from -ľ- be-go-subordinating suffix.

ntcit xoló you have wood; your firewood there-is, your-firewood is-available

Oe- xolónigi- possession, possessor; that-which-is-. . . 's-means-of (YME 66)

tá- do-le'ė le-ỳi' daxólónigi mineral; whatever-things-in-the-earth-may-be (YME 55)

Oa- sa-d xoló make a complaint (YM 141)

diné náxólǒ-ni- (< náxól-ľ-ò-i) Athabaskans; the-particular-ones-who-are-related-to-Navaho
12.52. The negative "be nothing" is expressed by the theme 'á-
with the stem -díː:

-díː - díːh - díːd 'ádin be nothing, wanting
lacking; disappear, die; destroy, use up;
dwindle, become extinct

Compounds built on -díː:

'ábiː'ísdíːd riddance; it-has-been-made-nothing-by-someone (YME 72)
'ádin zero; there-is-none (YME 101)
'á-d 'ádini bachelor, widower, unmarried man; the-particular-one-
who-has-no-wife
kq 'ádini unmarried woman, widow
'ē'ísdíːd riddance, disappearance; something-has-disappeared (YME 72)
bé-gacii tco 'ádini steer; the-particular-cattle-that-have-no-genitals
(YME 84)
dibé tco 'ádini wether; sheep-that-has-no-genitals (YME 97)
yini 'ádin excitement (YME 30)
djī 'ádíːh tuberculosis; lungs-are-disappearing (YME 93)
tein 'q-h 'ádin cleanliness; there-is-no-dirt-on ... (YME 16)
tčii̱lḏdíːgiSurvivor (YME 87)
bilf 'ádìn his horse is gone; his-horse is missing
ţî 'be- 'édin he has no horse; horse with-him is-none
čibè-so 'ádin I have no money; my-money is-lacking

12.53.

-le̱ -le̱h -le̱h -le̱h -liː 'si-liː' become, change, evolve, 
develop, happen, occur
-le̱ (opt.)
-le̱ -le̱h -le̱h -le̱h -liː 'cause change, develop-
-le̱ (opt.)
-dle̱ -dle̱h -dle̱h -dle̱h -dlîː; be changed, developed, evolved
-dle̱ (opt.)

Nouns compounded with -le̱:

xis bi 'xazlī 'pus in sac; pus-has-become-in-place (AB 2)
Oız 'xazlī demise, decease; throat, (breath)has-become (YME 23)
Ol 'ana 'xazlī declaration of war; with ... things-have-become-
hostile (YME 23)

Verbs compounded with -le̱:

'a...-le̱ (fut., pres., si-pf.) (3 only) event occurs (YM 126)
'a-si-pf...-lîː '(si-pf.) accept offering (NT 178:5)
'awē 'xazlī baby was born (YM 125)
'ana xo...-le̱ (fut., pres., si-pf.) war breaks out (YM 125)
Oa sa-vd xo...-le̱ (fut., pres., si-pf.) complain about ... (YM 127)
'ălah...-le̱ (fut., pres., si-pf.) assemble, crowd becomes (NT 178:22)
Oe 'atah...-le̱ (fut., pres., si-pf.) become involved in ...; with ...
amongst it-becomes (YM 124)
Oe xo...-le̱ (fut., pres., si-pf.) come into possession of ...; with ...
things-become (YM 126)
bā-h 'a-si-pf...-lîː '(si-pf.) it costs ...
be-lq 'a-si-pf...-lîː '(si-pf.) come to agreement (YM 127)
Ode (or Odi) 'áné-ló' si-pf. . . . -ló' (si-pf.) overwhelm . . . , beyond one's capacity it-became (YM 125)
tó Oq-h xo-. . . -le l (fut., pres., si-pf.) perspire, sweat; water on . . . place-becomes (YM 127)
na-about xo-place . . . -le l (fut., pres., si-pf.) things appear, one roams about (YM 127)
Oke xo-. . . -le l (fut., pres., si-pf.) follow . . . 's instructions; according-to . . . things-happen
Oyidji' . . . -le l (fut., pres., si-pf.) power goes into . . . xo-things-di-emit . . . -le l (fut., pres., si-pf.) things originate, come into existence (YM 123)
xwi-si-pf. . . -ló' (si-pf.) become satisfied, be satisfied, satiated
Ozé' xo-si-pf. . . -ló' (si-pf.) . . . died; . . . 's breath became-supernatural (YM 126)
Ol ye' xo-. . . -le l (fut., pres., si-pf.) scare . . . , bluff . . . out (YM 126)
lá'í si-. . . -ló' (si-pf.) become united; one-became (YM 125)

Nouns compounded with -dle l:
'atah 'asadló' involvement; amongst it-has-become (YME 46)
'atah 'idló' membership (YME 54)
'ake xoide-sdló' conquest, defeat (YM 18)
'asadzó nádlé-hé Changing Woman; the-woman-who-cust.-changes
dló ni-dló' all relatives of clan-group
tó Oq-h nádlé-higi' sweat, perspiration; the-water-that-cust.-appears-on-surface-of . . .
nádlé-hé transvestite, berdache; it(person)-changes
yááté-h náádlé-hé recovery; good-becomes-again (YM 70)
yááté-h náádlé-hé convalescence; good is-becoming-back-prog. (YME 19)
xactíc tsé nádlé-hé concrete; the-mud-that-changes-(to)-stone (YM 18)
tsoi nádlé-hé Changing Grandchild (myth.)
tbiké cac nádlé-hé Changing Bear Maiden (myth.)

Verbs compounded with -dle l:
'atí di-dini-prol. . . . -dle l (fut., pres., si-pf.) be overcome with joy, talk incoherently because of joy (YM 53)
'atí ni- (< ná) di-ni-get stuck . . . -dle l (pres., si-pf.) sob from grief (NT 170:7)
'axil ni-stat. . . . -dló' (stat.) be lovers; become-together
'alkis né-stat. . . . -dló' (stat.) be lovers; be-on-each-other's-side
álah ná-a- (< 'u[ná]-)back . . . -dle l (fut., cont., si-pf.) assemble, get together in crowd
táti-d dini-prol. . . . -dle l (fut., pres., si-pf.) be curbed of . . . 's own accord, curb oneself; just tame it-becomes-prol.
-na ná-(ná)-back . . . -dle l (pres., si-pf.) recover . . . 's health (YM 126)
ná-back-xo-things . . . -dle l (fut., pres., si-pf.) revert to former state, change back to, be restored (YM 126)
-ní ná-back-xo-things . . . -dle l (fut., pres., si-pf.) regain consciousness; . . . 's mind is-changed-back (YM 53)
yááté-h ná(ná)-back . . . -dle l (pres., si-pf.) get well; well be-changed-back (YM 126)
Oke di-. . . -dle l (fut., pres., si-pf.) overcome, defeat; according-to . . . change-is-emitted (YM 53)
12.54. Verbs of saying, telling, speaking, learning, teaching, and instructing are treated in particular ways. The stem -tih “speak, talk, converse” usually, but not always, has a prefix yá-, probably meaning “speak with good or normal intentions.” The two stems, -nih “relate, explain,” and -ni’l “say to . . . , tell . . . ,” are so closely related in certain forms and in meaning as to have been frequently confused by those presenting Navaho in English.

Verbs of teaching and learning have been included here because the stem -’á:l seems to have the general meaning “communicate with . . . , divulge knowledge.” In addition, the stem -t’l means “instruct, guide, demonstrate.” The choice of terms based on these stems is difficult to determine. Rarely are they used to mean “instruct in school,” for which compounds of -tah “count, do in series, read” are used (cp. YME 90).

12.55.

-tih -tih -ti’ -té-h -ti’ (opt.)

-speak, converse, talk, discuss, debate, make a speech; put a spell on with words

Nouns compounded with -tih:

-ovi:ki yálti’i: Walapai Indians; those-who-speak-(like)-babies
bé-c bi: yálti’igi: telephone: the-metal-into-which-there-is-speaking (FF)
tádídi: be: ’ayáxidi-té-higi: pollen prayer (cer.); that-pollen-with-which-there-is-frequent-speaking
ke-lá:n yálti’ talking prayerstick (cer.)
xa-cté-tihi, xa-cté-éltihi Talking God (myth.)

Verbs compounded with -tih:

’a-idi-start from . . . -té-h (inc., si-pf.) lay a spell with words
Oa: yá-(ná-). . . -l-ti’ (pres., si-pf.) talk about . . . , talk . . . over (NT 54:18)

’ádil yá-(ná-). . . -l-ti’ (pres., si-pf.) talk to oneself (YMG 59)
Oe: Oa: yá-(ná-). . . -l-tih (fut., pres., yi-pf.) hold . . . responsible for . . . (WE)

bike’ dini-hgo yá-(ná-). . . -l-tih (fut., pres., yi-pf.) be sarcastic, speak harshly, abuse in speech (YM 207)

dinéhö-djí’ Otoq’ yá-(ná-). . . -l-tih (fut., pres., yi-pf.) speak Navaho to . . . ; Navaho-according-to-speak-to . . .
do: xahdah yá-(ná-). . . -l-tih (fut., pres., yi-pf.) speak hesitantly; not-quickly speak (YM 207)
do: xátí:(dah) yá-(ná-). . . -l-tih (fut., pres., yi-pf.) speak indistinctly, garble one’s talk (YM 207)

Otso’ be: yá-(ná-). . . -l-tih (fut., pres., yi-pf.) lisp; speak-with-tongue (YM 206)

Otoq’ yá-(ná-). . . -l-tih (fut., pres., yi-pf.) speak to . . .

12.56. The principal parts, as well as the formulas, show that -nih “report, relate, narrate, tell about . . . ,” and -ni’l “say to . . . , tell . . .” are distinctive.
Nouns based on -nih:

'alklidi' 'áchá: xo-t'í-digi: bú xane'i'gi: history of what was done in the past (FH)
'alklidi' xane'i'gi: history of what was said in the past (FH)
béc zalni'í' telephone; that-metal-which-speaks-of-things
xane', or xani' tale, story, myth, lore, history
xajo'ó ba: xane' explanation; the-careful-narration-about-things
(YME 31)

Verbs based on -nih:

'ayá-di 'áchá: lá: naxalinigi: Oe: Ol xo-di:...-l-nih (fut., pres., yi-pf.) outline for ... tell ... about the main part, give ... the gist of ...; those-which-appear-to-be-the-chief-things by-means-of ... with ... things-are-related (cp. YM 154)
Oa: na-about-xo-things ...-l-nih (fut., pres. si-pf.) tell ... report to ... about things (EW 186:26; NT 54:10)
Oa: xo-things ...-l-nih (fut., pres., si-pf.) tell ... about, report to ... about things (WE)

'áchá: xo-things ...-l-nih (fut., pres., si-pf.) confess; tell things about self
Oe: Ol xo-things ...-l-nih (fut., pres., yi-pf.) tell ... about things, report to ..., communicate with ... about ... (YM 154; NT 283:3)
Oe: Ol na-xo-things ...-l-nih (fut., pres., si-pf.) report ... to ..., tell ... to ... (WE)
dá: xo-things ...-l-nih (fut., pres., si-pf.) tell all, tell to the end (NT 283:4)
Ota' xo-things ...-l-nih (fut., pres., yi-pf.) interpret for ... (YM 154)
tá: xutü:go Ol xo: ...-l-nih (fut., pres., yi-pf.) reassure ... (YM 154)
xane' Ol na-xo-things ...-l-nih (fut., pres., si-pf.) teach history (FH)
Ol xo-things ...-l-nih (fut., pres., yi-pf.) report to ..., tell ... (NT 42:4.
148:7, 238:3; EW 102:14)

12.57.

-ni:l } -ni:h -ni: say to, tell

Note that compounds with -ni:l take the present stem -ni: (> nin-) even though some speakers insist that the stem is -ni:l, not -ni:l.

Nouns based on -ni:l:

béc ánínigi: bell; the-metal-that-speaks-thus
tá:lá:í ná:ánigo individual; the-only-one-who-cust.-speaks-thus (cp.
YME 45)
tó: tčánání: suggestion; that-which-is-merely-spoken-out-thus
ci ní:ní: claimant; the-particular-one-who-says-‘I’ (YME 16)
tlic: ánínigi: rattlesnake; the-snake-that-speaks (YME 69)
Verbs compounded with -ni:l:

Oa· na-xo-si-harm...-ni (pres.) (with -gó fut. enelic) predict; say-things-about... (NT 148:3)
'tá-(ná-)thus...-ni:l (fut., pres.) speak thus (when exact words are quoted); mention to ...; have the sound ... (YM 165)
'tá-thus-di-emit-(ná-)...-ni:l (fut., pres.) speak thus (FH)
'tá-thus-O-di-(ná-)...-l-ní (pres.) ask ...; get permission from ... (NT 264:20, FH)
'tá-l-di-emit...-ni (pres.) mean (NT 288:9; EW 92:22; FH)
Oe· Oa· xo-things-di-emit...-ni (pres.) tell the truth about ...
Ol-(< 0-ná-against)xo-things...-l-ní:h (inc.) have the say about ..., be the authority for ... (NT 168:28)
di-emit...-ni (pres.) start saying
'ká 'th-us-di-emit-(ná-)...-ni (pres.) call attention to ... (YM 165; EW 104:1)
Ol 'axi:l na-xo...-ni (pres.) talk things over with ...; say-to-each-other-with ...

12.58. One stem for "learn" and "teach" seems to be the same as -á:l "round obj. moves," the meanings are arrived at by compounding. The meaning of the prefixes has not been satisfactorily isolated in full. For convenience the principal parts are repeated here.

-á:l -á:á -á:á
(opt.) -a:h -a:h -a:h
-á:h -á:á -á:á
'sa:á round obj. is, moves;
'sa:á divulge, communicate
'sa:á' knowledge, inform
'a' (rep.)

Nouns based on -á:l referring to communication of knowledge:

'ixo:-a:h education, learning (YM 100)
'ixo:-l-a:hi pupil, understudy, one who is learning ceremony; the-one-who-is-learning-things
be 'axxi:á:nigi lesson; that-by-means-of-which-things-are-learned (FH)
bikl 'ixwi:do:á:ti tuition; that-particular-value-which-will-be-for-learning (YME 93)
bixo:'q:i knowledge; particular-things-learned (YME 48)
bixo:c'a:hi:gi my lesson (FH)

Compounds with -á:l referring to learning and teaching:

Ol-(< 0-ná-)O-xi-rep.ac.-yi-cess...-l.'á:l (fut., inc.cess., pf.cess.) teach ... (obj. of -i) to ... (obj. of stem-complex) (WM, FH, AB)
Ol-(< 0-ná-)xo-things-yi-cess...-l.'á:l (fut., inc.cess., pf.cess.) learn, be in training, train
I xo-yi-cess...-l.'á:l (fut., inc.cess., pf.cess.) (3 only) ... teaches (WM)
Ol-téi-out...-l.'á:l (fut., inc., ni-pf) call ...'s attention to ... (FH)
téi-out...-l.'á:l (fut., pres., si-pf) put into words, speak out (NT 148:3)
Ol tói-out-ná-yi-cess...-l.'á:l (fut., inc.cess., pf.cess.) speak out to ..., put into words for ... (NT 204:4)
Ol tói-xo-things...-l.'á:l (fut.) tell ..., communicate knowledge with ... (NT 42:5)
12.59.  

`-tah -tah -ta' — -ta' do in series, count, read, practice, teach, learn (opt.)

Nouns compounded with `-tah':

'atsó'yita' pulse; blood-vessel-is-counted
'ołta' school, education, counting
'ołta', or 'ołta'gó' pupil, student; one-who-reads
bá'ółta'í teacher; one-for-whose-benefit-there-is-practice
yé'go 'óltah college; very, extreme schooling
na'ltso's póltai' printed matter; paper-that-is-read-rep.

Verbs compounded with `-tah':

Oá 'a-i-yi-ni-rec.ef....-l-tah (fut., pres., yi-pf.) teach; reading-is-done-for...

yini-rec.ef....-l-tah (fut., pres., yi-pf.) go to school, count, read, do in graded series

Ott'é' yini-rec.ef....-l-tah (fut., pres., yi-pf.) read ... to ...

12.60. The stem `-tí'l "instruct, guide, coach, demonstrate" is probably the same as `-tf'l "move long, slender, rigid object" (12.31.), the idea being that the instruction is in a continuous line.

-tí'l — -tin -tí'h -tá' instruct, guide; coach, show, demonstrate

Nouns compounded with `-tf'l referring to instruction:

'akídi-tí'h understanding, comprehension (YME 18)

'akí'ítí-tí'h investigation

'asdzá'nanítinií woman teacher; the-woman-who-instructs

'é-de-tí'hi diagnostician, seer, diviner

nanitín instruction, teaching, advice

nanitini teacher; one-who-instructs (YME 90)

Verbs compounded with `-tf'l:

Oé' di....-tí'l (fut., pres., si-pf.) guess (NT 216:17, 218:2, 220:15)

Oi- (< O-ná-)<O-dini-prol....-l-tí'l (fut., cont., si-pf.) teach ... (as a process), instruct ... (obj.) in ... (obj. of `-í') (FS 9; YM 210; NT 222:11, 234:11)

Oi- (< O-ná-)<na-a-theme-ni-uni....-l-tí'l (fut., pres., si-pf.) instruct in ... demonstrate ...

Oi- (< O-ná-)<na-O-dini-get stuck....-l-tí'l (fut., pres., si-pf.) instruct ... in ... (NT 170:1)

na-O-a-ni-uni....-tí'l (fut., pres., si-pf.) show to ...; teach by showing

Okí-a-theme-di-cess....-tí'l (fut., inc. cess., pf. cess.) comprehend, understand (YM 208)
13. Throughout this work repeated references have been made to the effects of speech diversity on Navaho forms. Such effects have sometimes obscured meaning and choice of form, at other times they account for alternant forms, and at still others, they make interpretation and analysis almost impossible. In this chapter the known phases of diversity are brought together, primarily to outline the problems posed by Navaho, both within the language itself and in its relationship to other Athabaskan languages. The summary of questions brought out by this work obviously includes others of interest not only in the reconstruction of Athabaskan, but even in the contributions of American languages to linguistic theory in general.

13.1. The occurrence of diversity in Navaho speech was noted in a preliminary paper in 1945. At that time the problems were formulated and partially illustrated, but there was no opportunity to develop the discussion insofar as prefixes and contractions contributed to it because the grammar was not available. As I reread that article in the light of present knowledge, I withdraw a minor suggestion to the effect that the contraction of da-plural and yoh-D2 continuative to either dah- or dao- might distinguish the momentaneous from the other continuatives. I have no reason to believe that there is a distinction.

13.2. Moreover, I think that the two paradigms of 8.2 of that work may be independent. If so, the paradigm of the second column under “N Brothers” may be the cessative for which the N Brothers may have had incorrect forms, or which may have been improperly recorded. All forms were approved at the time by the whole group of students who were very critical. I have never since found 'a- instead of 'á- used with -lé' (pres.) or -la' (past) “do, make,” and it seems as if the two were confused (op. this work 10.80b, 10.80c, 10.80e.).

13.3. In reviewing the entire problem of diversity several major relationships emerge. The Navaho themselves formulate two of these when they refer to x-speakers and zas-speakers. The first is the problem of aspiration and its significance, the second is the question

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1 Reichard 1945
2 Ibid., p. 164
of sibilant variation. Since x-speaking is related to augmentation and exaggerated emphasis (8.92.), it may be that the Navaho consider those persons who exaggerate the articulation of h or x as "affected" or even "raving." As a matter of fact, this type of speech has a great many ramifications, as we have seen. By zas-speakers the Navaho mean those who use zas for yas "snow," and in this phrase they are formulating the sibilant problem which is broad and involved.

13.4. In addition to these major types of diversity there are the vowel problem, the n-problem, and the effects of contraction which are intricately interwoven. In the discussion that follows pronunciation, morphology and etymology are not separated, but I will attempt rather to interpret what all have to offer to the solution of the major problems of interrelationship.

13.5. The difference in pronunciation of vowels is perhaps no greater than in other languages, yet it seems to me that it has significance not formerly pointed out. The change from a to i, or the reverse, has an intermediate stage e under the influence of assimilation, as be'eta' < bi'ata' "his alienable feather" (5.1.). In some contracted forms 'e'e-< 'a-beyond-'a-i subj.-yi-cont. is definitely crystallized, whereas in others there are alternants, 'i'i- or 'e'e-< 'a-beyond-'a-i obj.-yi-cont. (10.76b.). e may result from some influence of n, and alternants like dicné, dicné, and dicné "I say" are common (3.51, and Reichard 1945, p. 164). Obviously e of be'eta' and of dicné are not of the same order.

13.6. The change of vowels forming vowel clusters or a new vowel is illustrated by dai-, dei- sometimes heard (though probably incorrectly) as de-< da-pl.-yi-3 obj.-yi-cont. (10.84a, cp. also 10.93b, 10.101, 10.103.). Most of my informants consider ai and ei "the same," but the speakers at Pinyon were insistent in correcting me or saying ai, more usual at Ganado, for ei. Since they noticed the light deviation and since the difference between i and e is demonstrably a matter of contraction in some cases, there may be some point in trying to determine what these derivations are in a field wider than Navaho.

13.7. Changes that illustrate the fluidity of vowels occur in connection with the subordinating suffix -go. xa'áté "why" is an interrogative form derived from -té "be." Usually when -go is affixed he form is xa'átégo or xa'áté:go. The stem vowel é sometimes becomes ã in the contraction: xa'átío or xa'átéo < xa'áté:go (NT 32:15, ?h 28). Similarly, tã·'ákóté "it is exactly so, it is correct, it is the ame;" which usually combines as tã·'ákóté:go, sometimes becomes ţ·'ákótão (NT 230:4).
13.8. This sort of change is not confined to é, as exemplified by the stem -ti "it is done to, made": lé ‘ódatô < lé ‘ódaty-gó or ló ‘ódaty-gó "they just do it thus" (NT 434:9); lár ‘álehê-gi ‘itáo (< ‘áty-gó) "making everything just as it was" (NT 22:31). In ló ‘ódatô (probably ló ‘ódaty) í is lost in favor of o of -go, but its effect is apparent in the nasal quality and length of ç. No explanation of ù in ʾitáo from ʿáty-gó is apparent, unless it be the effect of the nasalization. Unpredictable changes of this kind must be kept in mind in any attempt to explain vowel change from language to language.

13.9. More easily understood from the examples in Navaho are nó "saying" (NT 20:25) from nío < nî-go (NT 16:17, 20:25, 22:7, and my own texts).

13.10. Vowel loss and its effect on the "syllable" is also important. Prefixes with initial n and vowel of several types—a, i, á, i—may be reduced to n or ñ, it being sometimes impossible to decide from the existent forms what vowel is lost. This is one explanation of syllabic n, but it is obscured by the alternation of vowels a and i when several "syllables" of the type na- > ni-, ná- > ni- occur in juxtaposition (3.7, 10.36, 10.38.). The last change seems to be formal or "mechanical;" perhaps it is "rhythmic alternation."

13.11. Of general interest in western North America is the change of a consonant stop to a glottalized stop or a continuant, since many changes of this sort occur in many languages, not all of the same family. In Navaho the change from stop to glottalized stop may be caused by the juxtaposition of two vowels in a particular setting—CV-'VC > CV'C, the vowels concerned being a or i (3.13, 3.41.).

13.12. Still another effect of contraction on the vowel is the change of tone; a low tone may become high when contracted with n, the n being evident only in the high tone. This effect will be summarized under 13.35-13.43.

13.13. The question of sound (or "syllable") dominance, as it relates to the kind of vowel, as well as to the tone and quantity was discussed in 10.49-10.54. Other examples of vowel dominance are illustrated by diversity, in one case a dominates, in another o takes precedence. The first example is concerned with the second dual pronoun -oh-. 'a-beyond is quite obviously affected by yi-continuative and becomes 'i-. However, D2 'oh- shows no effect of yi-continuative but results from 'a-beyond yi-cont.-oh-D2 subj., and cannot be formally distinguished from 'oh- < 'a-i pronoun yi-cont.-oh-D2 subj. I have found no examples of diversity in arriving at these forms; they are fixed and regular. On the other hand, the effect of -ô-optative, which has a particular kind of dominance is not uniform as the two paradigms of 10.76d. show. In the first of the order 'ayo-
< 'a-beyond-yi-ó-opt., a is not contracted with o, but in what appears to be an alternant form, the contraction results in a form of the order 'o'- (10.76d.).

13.14. If we now return to the second person dual pronoun -oh-, we find diversity in the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>prog.</td>
<td>D2 'áh- or 'óh- &lt; 'á-thus-yi-prog.-oh-D2 subj. 10.80.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cont.</td>
<td>D2 náh- or nóh- &lt; ná-back-(ná)-oh-D2 subj. 10.94c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cont.</td>
<td>D2-i ná'áh- or ná'óh- &lt; ná-back-'a-i obj.- (ná)-oh-D2 subj. 10.94c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prog.</td>
<td>D2 béh- or bóh- &lt; bi-(3)obj.-ná-against-yi-prog.-oh-D2 subj. 10.95g.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cont.</td>
<td>D2 béh- or bóh- &lt; bi-(3) obj.-ná-against-(ná)-oh-D2 subj. 10.95h.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13.15. These examples show that either á or o may dominate; either indicating its identity by initial, tone, or quantity. For instance, 'áh- shows the influence of -oh- by its length. 'óh- or 'óh- shows the influence of 'á- by initial 'á, tone or tone and length. Compared with other alternant forms of the same order are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>prog.</td>
<td>2 'á- or 'i- &lt; 'á-thus-yi-prog.-n-2 subj. 10.80.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cont.</td>
<td>1 'ác- or 'éc- &lt; 'á-thus-(ná)-c-1 subj. 10.80b.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cont.</td>
<td>2 'án- or 'ín- &lt; 'á-thus-(ná)back-n-2 subj. 10.80b.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cont.</td>
<td>3-3 'i- or 'iyi- &lt; 'á-thus-yi-3 obj.- (ná)-back 10.80b.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yi-pf.</td>
<td>1 'á- or 'i- &lt; 'á-thus-yi-prog.-c-1 subj.-ni-compl. 10.80c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yi-pf.</td>
<td>3-3 'áyi- or 'i- &lt; 'á-thus-yi-3 obj.-yi-prog.-ni-compl. 10.80c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yi-pf.</td>
<td>by 3 'áyi- or 'é- &lt; 'á-thus-yi-prog.-ni-compl.-yi-3 ag. 10.80c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yi-pf.</td>
<td>3 by 1 'ác- or 'i-c &lt; 'á-thus-yi-3 subj.-yi-prog.-ni-compl.- c-1 ag. 10.80c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cont.</td>
<td>by 1 'óc- or 'i-nc- &lt; 'á-thus-yi-rec.ef.-ni-rec.ef.-c-1 ag. 10.80i.</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

13.16. These are all concerned with á in combination with other sounds and the variations may result quite reasonably from a difference in the grouping of the prefixes as explained in 10.55-10.58. The important point here is that speakers do not agree on the kind of contraction resulting from 'á- plus another prefix.

13.17. The following illustrate differences in decisions as to when contraction with resultant vowel change sets in:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ni-pf.</td>
<td>2 náni- or náyini- &lt; ná-back-ni-pf.-n-2 subj.-ni-compl. 10.94d.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si-pf.</td>
<td>3-3 ná-z- or náyiz- or néiz- &lt; ná-back-yi-3 obj.-si-pf.- (ná-) 10.94f.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cont.</td>
<td>3-3 yé- or yi- or yiyi- &lt; yi-3 obj. of &quot;against&quot;-ná-against-yi-3 obj. of stem-(ná)-against 10.95h.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13.18. Other examples of this sort are apparent in the paradigms, but outstanding is the fact that, whatever the extent of variation may be, whether of indecision about contraction or vowel domination, many of the prefixes involve a high tone. It is probable, therefore, that each element of the prefixes isolated, as 'á-thus, Oi-(ná-
against, yí- ni-reciprocal effect, is a compound that influences the way in which the equation of contraction may be set up. This result seems to me to justify the procedure here adopted for analysis.

13.19. Probably of comparable order, but not readily determinable is the variation γó- or γwí- in names of for insects and worms. In contraction the effect of the labialized vowel on a consonant, making it a labialized consonant, is demonstrated elsewhere, as for example, in the variants xoí- and xwí- < xo-things-γí-cess. (NT 68:13, 74:6, 434:24). It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that γó- or γwí- is a compound of γó- and some other prefix, possibly ná- or ní-, but examples are too few to make conclusions on this point fruitful. The fact that the bound element γó-away from speaker (7.9.) also appears as γwí- in γó-yahgo' or γwí-yahgo' "downward (he rolled)" (NT 132:14; WM) supports the theory that the change of consonant and vowel is general rather than specific.

13.20. Incidentally this reasoning leads me to a possible explanation of the pattern of a feature of nominal prefixes. Many of them have a high tone, even if the "noun" to which each is most obviously related has a low or low long vowel. I would look for proof in comparison with other languages that such a theoretical prefix as ké-pertaining to the foot (independent form -ke') was derived from a basic element ke- (possibly ki-) and had combined with something like ná-against. Besides this deduction is the added fact that when "nominal" prefixes of the form CV- are used with a verbal form, the effect of an inflective prefix (ná-) is evident (5.39.).

13.21. To return to other types of vowel (and possibly consonant) loss, two "syllables" of type CV may combine to one: le'j be' xaxalka'dí or le'j be' xal'ka'dí "shovel, spade, that-by-means-of-which-soil-is-spread-out-in-place" (YME 78); toazalxe' or ta'laxe' "darkness;" tloh be' naxaldjo'li' or tloh be' na'ldjo'li' "pitchfork, that-by-means-of-which-hay-is-spread-about-in-space;" xatsole'yar' or xatsole'ya' "flash lightning." In forms of this type a whole syllable is lost, as is indeed often the case with verbal prefixes, and in this respect the glottal stop may be lost as well as x.

13.22. In various parts of the analysis aspiration has been shown to be effective in particular ways. Perhaps the most obvious of these is the variation of h, a slight aspiration compared with the continuant x with prolonged heavy aspiration. The voiceless stops t and k are sometimes so strongly aspirated as to become x (3.15.): tátídi'n or xátídi'n "pollen;" tócdódi' or xo'cdódi' "poorwill;" tôko'i or xo'koi' "lantern, that-which-is-water-fire;" tinláí or xínláí "Gila monster;" kó'níke or xó'níke "fireplace;" kone'cgic or xone'cgic "poker;" bikétsoh or bixétsoh "his great toe;" bikéyah or bixéyah
"country, his, their land;" 'q. biná:ká' or 'q. biná:xá' "put it in (paperbag);" bikúdá:yá or bíxádé:yá "I started after it."

13.23. The change from $k$ to $x$ in these examples is due to emphasis on the aspiration of the consonant which sometimes becomes so exaggerated that the original sound is lost. In the following examples there is a double influence, of preceding $h$ in addition to the 

13.24. An interesting phase of the verb stem is notable in this connection. A study of vocabulary shows that almost all stems with theoretical $x$ initial are really stem-complexes of the form -$t$-$x$-initial (-$t$-$γ$- > $lx$. 3.80.), but two stems -$x$-$qs$ "itch;" and -$x$-$ah" "winter, year passes," are not of this type. -$x$-$qs$ "itch" is an aspirated alternant of -$k$-$qs$ "itch." I have found no form of the stem -$x$-$ah$ of the type -$k$-$ah$, but possibly some relative exists in other languages.

13.25. Suggestions have been made to the effect that certain suffixes, particularly those with vowel initial, may help to reconstruct the character of a stem final (3.133.). Examples may be found under 3.39, 5.23–5.31, 11.31–11.32, 11.90. I have taken the position that $x$ is an initial, $h$ a final, and have insisted that there are at least two phonemes in relation to these two sounds. The following examples show that the differentiation, at least as historically determined, is not invariable; in each case the more frequently heard form is given first:

'asinisi-híc (DD) or 'asinisi-yíc (FH) are you making a mistake? (-si-$h$ cont.)

xá-hgó-cf; or xá-hó-cf’ (NT 204:12) "my! it is awful! there are a great many!" (a term of exaggeration corresponding with "awful, awfully, terrible" in English)
tcahi; or tcayi or tcdi crybaby (5.23, 5.26, 5.27.)
tshé; or tséyé; surely it must have been a rock (11.31.)
nahó; or nahó; (EW 90:21) toward the side

13.26. These forms show that the aspiration problem is related to the instability of $y$, $g$, $γ$, and zero—in tséyé; and tcayi, tse and tca are interpreted as open syllables, rather than as ending in $h$, a more common interpretation. In the following the problem is not exactly that of $h$, but analogous in that $g$ or $γ$ may become when final;³

³ Reichard 1945 p. 165
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tcáí < tcáhi “crybaby;” tlá:h < tláhi “lefty” (5.27.). Here then as in verb stems h seems to be the “light” syllable final paired with ŋ of the “heavy” syllable, and therefore the glottal stop may be a part of the h-problem. Perhaps this relationship may explain the peculiar forms: ciké'hdínída'l “sit behind me (on horse)” (NT 388:9) interpreted by WM as ciké dahdí'ndí'á'l, and tli:'hdí'lyis < tli' dahdí'lyis “they start off on horseback” (NT 298:20).

13.27. The change from voiced g and y to ŋ and x, respectively, is not inconsistent with the interpretation of h final because many stems, both nominal and verbal end in very lightly articulated voiceless consonants.

13.28. A phase of the aspiration problem is the prefix with aspirated initial x, differing somewhat from the problems of stem initials, stem finals, and prefix finals. The differences are doubtless more apparent than real, first because initials in Navaho are treated somewhat differently from finals, and second, because prefixes, especially verbal prefixes enter into much more complicated combinations than other sounds. Initials tend to be voiceless, whereas they are voiced or have voiced equivalents when they have a position farther forward in the word or verb-complex (10.51–10.54.). The isolated forms of many prefixes are similar, and indicate their differences of meaning and function only by changes that take place in combination with other prefixes.

13.29. Most outstanding of these overlapping forms are the yi-prefixes (10.102–10.111e.), the ni-prefixes (10.97–10.100c.), the xi-prefixes (10.114–10.115c.), and the si-prefixes (10.117–10.118h.). And not only do these simulate one another, but any of them may combine with others to result in similar forms which may be very confusing. Obviously several prefixes of other Athabaskan languages have in Navaho been reduced to yi-. Except for those related to other prefixes, especially of types na-, ni-, ná-, ní-, xi-, and si-, there are few variants of compounded forms. In other words, yi-prefixes are quite thoroughly stabilized in their own right. The variant forms will be discussed under the other prefixes (13.30–13.54.).

13.30. There are prefixes of the three basic types with x initial. Of these xa-out is stable, xi-repetitive action is unstable, and xo-place has some variant forms. (I am omitting xi-change position because the analysis is doubtful.) The following are variants of xi-repetitive action:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>prog.</th>
<th>3-3 xi-yo- or xi-yo- or yiyo- &lt; xi-rep.ac.-yi-3 obj.-yi-prog. 10.114a.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cont.</td>
<td>1 xec- or xic- &lt; xi-rep.ac.-yi-cont.-c-1 subj. 10.114c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cont.</td>
<td>4 xidji- or dji- &lt; xi-rep.ac.-dji-4 subj.-yi-cont. 10.114c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cont.</td>
<td>i ’ayi- or i’- &lt; ‘a-i subj.-xı-rep.ac.-yi-cont. 10.114c.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
13.31. One type of variation concerns the instability of the first person form xec- or xic-: doubt about the vowel is probably due to the effect of sibilant c—such variation is sometimes found in si-

conjugations.

13.32. The other variation is in the third and fourth person forms—xi- may survive, or may be reduced to yi-. This is true of the indefinite form also, in the continuative a survives and xi- becomes yi-, or yi'- may combine with 'a- and become 'i-. Differences in the fourth person are almost certainly due to position. xi- and dji- are both theoretically initial in the verb complex, and when both occur together, some compromise must be made. The forms show that it was not been incontrovertibly settled, and either form is accepted.

13.33. Variants with xo-place are involved with ni- and si-pre-

fixes (10.116h, 10.116s, 10.116t.).

13.34. These conclusions, arrived at from the study of Navaho alone, are interesting in the light of the following brief comparison with Chiricahua\(^4\) prefixes that seem to be reliable cognates:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Navaho</th>
<th>Chiricahua</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>prog.</td>
<td>yi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cont.</td>
<td>yi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yi-pf.</td>
<td>yi-(ni-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>out</td>
<td>xa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>place</td>
<td>xo-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^4\) Hoijer 1946c

13.35. Time and again in this grammar the discussion of necessity led to the influence of n: It was shown that n may be syllabic 3.7.), that nasalized vowels may be lengthened into syllables ending n n, and n may otherwise affect a form in V when a suffix is added 3.49–3.53.). The influence of n is quite the most difficult problem of the prefix analysis, and has led to the determination of "inflec-

tional" prefixes, especially (ná-)back, distinguished from (ná-)against 10.25–10.26, 10.94c–10.95m.). n-prefixes in combination with each other, and with yi-, xi-, xo-, and si-prefixes are still another major problem (10.97–10.100c, 10.107–10.111e, 10.114f–10.114g, 10.115–

10.115c, 10.116d–10.116j, 10.116m, 10.117–10.118h.)
13.36. In many of these categories there is speech diversity. Speakers vary in pronouncing a stem with nasalized vowel or without it; in changing a nasalized vowel to Vn, or in retaining the nasalization with n (5.15–5.16.). A few of many examples follow:

'ati or 'atî  suffering, sorrow, misfortune
-dji' or -dji'  postposition "to a particular point"
ñe' or ñê'  past
kingi or kígî  at, in the house
biteč'èti-n  "his doorway;"  biteč'èti-gi  "at his doorway" (NT 272:1)
'akiduhnástá or 'akiduhnástá-n  Upper-mountain-ridge (cer. place name)
lá- 'alts or lá- 'alts or lá- 'atsoni  "everything"
-nah or -na, possibly -nqh  move intermittently, swallow.
-ní-1 or -ní- K  say, tell (cp. 12.56–12.57.)

13.37. Still another phase of the n-problem, especially in relation to other languages, is the noun stem with a preceding high tone derived from some form of n in other languages (5.18.). These stems seem, however, to be stable in all possessed forms.

13.38. The following are some variants of verbal prefixes affected by n in some way or other:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>prog.</td>
<td>2 bé- or bi- &lt; bi-3 obj.-ná-against-yi-prog.-n-2 subj. 10.95g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prog.</td>
<td>D2 bé-h- or bó-h- &lt; bi-3 obj.-ná-against-yi-prog.-oh-D2 subj. 10.95g.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cont.</td>
<td>D2 béh- or bóh- &lt; bi-3 obj.-ná-against-(ná-)-oh-D2 subj. 10.95h.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cont.</td>
<td>3-3 yé- or yi-yi- or yi- &lt; yi-3 obj.-ná-against-yi-3 obj.- mattered (ná) (the first obj. is the obj. of ná-against, the second is the obj. of the stem) 10.95h.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cont.</td>
<td>3-i 'iyi- or 'i- &lt; 'a-i obj.-ná-against-(ná-) 10.95h.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yi-pf.</td>
<td>2 bé- or bi-ní- or bi- &lt; bi-3 obj.-ná-against-yi-prog.-n-2 subj.-ná- (ná-) is used instead of -ní-compl.) 10.95j.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cont.</td>
<td>1 -xe- or -xi- &lt; xi-rep.ac.-ná-c-1 subj. 10.114f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cont.</td>
<td>3 -xe- or -xi- &lt; xi-rep.ac.-ná-(ná-) 10.114f.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13.39. In this set of variants the doubt about vowels in the second persons represents the conflict between ná- and ní-. If the prefix is considered to be ná- the resulting contraction is bé-, if it is ní-, the result is bi'-. The difference in the dual second person is due to choice of dominance of bi- and -oh-, interpretations of the same order as the examples of 13.13, 13.14.

13.40. The differences in the following examples are accounted for by the way in which the prefixes are combined (ep. 10.56–10.58.). The third passive form in ne- illustrates a change of vowel resulting from the combination, and the effect of yi-3 agent as distinguished from yi-subject or object:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cont.</td>
<td>3 ná- or ní- &lt; ni-start for-(ná-)back 10.99b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cont.</td>
<td>3-3 ní- or níyí- &lt; ni-end-yi-3 obj.-ni-start for 10.100a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni-pf.</td>
<td>1 níni- or ní- &lt; ni-end-ni-start for-c-1 subj.-ni-compl. 10.100b.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
13.41. The next examples illustrate the function of position and the several possibilities of combination:

pf. cess. 2 yi-yini- or yi-nini- < yi-doubtful destination-yi-prog.- (ni-) subj.-yi-cess. 10.105c.

pf. cess. 3 yi-yini- or yi-ni- < yi-doubtful destination-yi-prog.- (ni-) yi-cess. 10.105c.

cont. 2-i 'i-ni- or 'i-ynini- < 'i-obj.-yi-rec.ef.-(ni-) subj.-yi-cess. 10.111b.

13.42. In the following the diversity is due to the relative power attributed to yi- in absorbing (ni-):

yi-pf. D1 yini-d- or y1-d- < yi-doubtful destination-yi-prog.-i-d-D1 subj.-yi-cess. 10.111c.

yi-pf. D2 yino- or y6- < yi-doubtful destination-yi-prog.-o-h-D2 subj.-yi-cess. 10.111c.

13.43. The following combinations of yi- and ni- show both to be of an order different from any we have elsewhere, but the value of each may have something in common with yi-ni-reciprocal effect since in both certain combinations result in -o- or -â-:

cont. 1 yinic- or yoc- 10.109.

cont. 2 yini- or yo- 10.109.

cont. 3 y0- or y0- 10.109.

cont. D1 yini-d- or y0-d- 10.109.

cont. D2 yinoh- or y0-h- 10.109.

13.44. Just as the aspiration problem merges with that of y and n, so the h and n-problems overlap that of the sibilants. There is a close relationship between the stem initials y, γ, x, z, s, and dz. Some of the changes refer to nouns. sin “song” has the possessive bi-yi-n “his song” in the Ganado area, at Oraibi it is bi-sin. The chanters at Ganado with whom I discussed bisin considered it “absolutely wrong.” Some laymen explain the two forms as functional, bisin “a song without relationship to any other,” biyi’n “a song related to a group of songs” (5.15). The unusual feature is not the difference in the forms, but some speakers’ intolerance of bisin.

13.45. Variants of the final consonant are shown by -tši’s and -tšik “body”: do' sitši'sdah “I have no strength, my-body-is-not;” ni'dó' bitši'h ditši’il your body is also the one that is too dark” (NT 134:5). Informants tolerate both forms, -tši’s and -tšik, my only examples of the kind.

13.46. Two si-prefixes give rise to certain variants. si-perfective and si-harm may be combined with numerous other prefixes, and
the resulting complex may sometimes be interpreted as a matter of how far the contractions can go. These changes and others including sibilants have variants of the same order as those of 13.17–13.18:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{si-pf.} & 3-3 \text{ná-yiz- or néiz- or ná-z-} < \text{ná-back-}yí-3 \text{obj.-si-pf.-} (ná-) 10.94f. \\
\text{si-pf.} & 3-3 \text{ yi-yiz- or yi-z-} < yí-3 \text{obj.-ná-against-si-pf.-} (ná-) 10.95k. \\
\text{yi-pf.} & 4 \text{ xodjic- or xodji-} < \text{xo-things-si-harm-yi-prog.-ni-compl.} 10.116s. \\
\end{array}
\]

\text{si-pf. by D2 xoso-h- or xo-h-} < \text{xo-things-si-harm-si-pf.-ni-oh-D2 ag.} 10.116t

\text{fut.} & 3-3 yídýo- or yído-z- < yí-3 \text{obj.-di-fut.-si-harm-yi-prog.} 10.118b. \\
\text{cont.} & D1 -si’-d- or -siní-d- < -si-harm-(ná-)-i-d-D1 subj. 10.118f. \\
\text{cont.} & D2 -so-h- or -sinóh- < -si-harm-(ná-)-oh-D2 subj. 10.118f. \\
\text{cont.} & 2 dži- or dži-ní- < djí-att.-si-harm-yi-cont.-n-2 subj. 10.121b. \\
\text{cont.} & D1 dži-’d- or dži-ní’d- < djí-att.-si-harm-yi-cont.-i-d-D1 subj. 10.121b.
\]

13.47. From these examples we may conclude that \text{si-perfective} usually persists as \text{s} or \text{z}, but \text{si-harm} may persist, may become \text{y}, may or may not absorb (ná-) or -ní-. Except for the future all these examples are concerned with a relationship between \text{n} and \text{s}, or \text{s} and \text{n}, and position is here important as well as the elements that make up the compound.

13.48. Change of vowel caused by contraction of sibilants in combination is illustrated by the following alternants:

\text{si-pf.} & D1 -ne’d- or ni’d- < -si-pf.- (ná-)-i-d-D1 subj. 10.95d. \\
\text{cont.} & 4 djínó- or djini- < djí-4 subj.-ná-against-si-harm-(ná-) 10.95e. \\
\text{cont.} & \text{by 3 nó- or ní-} < \text{ná-against-si-harm-(ná-)-yi-3 ag.} 10.95e. \\
\text{si-pf.} & D1 xisi’d- or xa’d- < xi-rep.ac.-si-pf.- (ná-)-i-d-D1 subj. 10.114g. \\
\text{si-pf.} & D2 no-’, or sino- < ni-uniform-si-pf.-oh-D2 subj.-ni-compl. 10.98c.
\]

13.49. The next set of variants shows differences as to choice, whether the alveolar or blade alveolar should be retained when the two come into juxtaposition, or whether either should be contracted into a lengthened vowel. A reference to the paradigms 10.118c., 10.118d, 10.119, and the stem used with them shows that with few exceptions, the choice does not depend solely upon the presence of one or the other sibilant in the stem:

\text{cont.} & 1 sis- or cis- < si-harm-yi-cont.-c-1 subj. 10.118c. \\
\text{cont.} & 4 dzís- or dji- < djí-4 subj.-si-harm-yi-cont. 10.118c. \\
\text{cont.} & 3-4 xa’- or xac- or xwi- < xo-4 obj.-si-harm-yi-cont. 10.118c. \\
\text{si-pf.} & 3 siz- or ciij- < si-harm-si-pf.-ni-compl. 10.118d. \\
\text{si-pf.} & 4 dziz- or diji- or dži-z- or yidzozs- < djí-4 subj.-si-harm-si-pf.-ni. 10.118d. \\
\text{prog.} & 4 džidzo- or dzidzo- < djí-4 subj.-dzi-away-yi-prog. 10.119. \\
\text{fut.} & 1 dji-dec- or dzi-dec- < djí-att.-si-harm-di-fut.-yi-prog.-c-1 subj. 10.121a. \\
\text{cont.} & 3 djoy- or dzó- or djo- < djí-att.-si-harm-yi-cont. 10.121b.
13.50. From these and other examples it seems to me that there is
a feeling that a change from alveolar to blade alveolar is analogous
to a change of vowel from contraction as, for instance, in the pro-
gressive third persons (10.102.) and in the third person passives of
the yi-perfective (10.104.).

13.51. Still another change caused by sibilants is that of a com-
plete change of consonant which may be coupled with a lengthened
vowel, the sibilant disappearing in the combination. In the example
of the continuative 3-4 xas-, xac- or xwi- of 10.118c. several of these
possibilities are evident, others are the following:

cont. 4 dzis- or dji- < dji-4 subj.-si-harm-yi-cont. 10.118c.
si-pf. 2 sini- or yiini- < si-harm-si-pf.-n subj.-ni-compl. 10.118d.
si-pf. by 2 sini- or yiini- < si-harm-si-pf.-ni-compl.-n-2 ag. 10.118d.
yi-pf. 3 dzö- or dji- < dji-att.-si-harm-yi-prog.-ni-compl. 10.121c.
si-pf. dji- may become di- in the presence of other sibilants
10.121d.
fut. tcoi- may become tci- probably < tco-useful-si-harm-
10.122.
dzi- or di- have become established for the prefix “pertaining
to fire”

13.52. Although the variants of ni-, yi-, and xi-prefixes in com-
bination are numerous, they are few compared with those involving
sibilants. Quite possibly some of the yi- and xi-prefixes in Navaho
are related historically to γi- or si- cognates in other Athabaskan
languages, and in a work of comparison and historical reconstruction
I suggest a search for and a serious consideration of the effects
of sibilants and sibilant combination. Moreover, I think such a com-
parison will disclose processes and results of an entirely different
order from the relationships of obvious alveolar as compared with
blade alveolar initials.

13.53. Sometimes the non-occurrence of a characteristic is as
significant as its occurrence. In a region that extends from the
northern part of the intermontane region and perhaps uninterrupt-
tedly to the West Coast and into California the problem of the
distinction between alveolar and blade alveolar sibilants is a knotty
one, s and c and their correlates often approaching one another, and
at the same time appearing to be separate phonemes. I have noted
that there may be variation between s and ts in Navaho (3.31a.), but
I have never found doubt between the pronunciation of s and c, ts
and tc, tś and tč, as is commonly the case in California, along the
West Coast, and in the northern Plateau regions. We have seen that
s and c may be interchanged, and that there may be differences as to
how far the changes may be carried, but the changes take place
under the influence of other parts of a word, that is, they are a
matter of assimilation, not of pronunciation. That this lack in
Navaho is of significance is demonstrated by a comparison of stems of the northern languages, Sarsi and Chipewyan, both of which have *ts* for Navaho *tc* and the reverse.\(^5\)

13.54. We have seen that complex changes of various kinds come about when prefixes combine because of juxtaposition. When two prefixes compete for a place, as for instance, a pre-paradigmatic prefix and one that has initial position in the inflection, variant forms as those below occur:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{prog.} & \quad 4 \text{ djidinô-.} < \text{ dji-4 subj.-di-prol.-ni-prol.-yi-prog. 10.91.} \\
& \quad \text{or dijnô-.} < \text{ di-prol.-dji-4 subj.-ni-prol.-yi-prog. 10.91.} \\
\text{prog.} & \quad i \text{'adinô-.} < \text{'a-i subj.-di-prol.-ni-prol.-yi-prog. 10.91.} \\
& \quad \text{or diniô-.} < \text{ di-prol.-'a-i subj.-ni-prol.-yi-prog. 10.91.} \\
\text{prog.} & \quad \text{P4-i daj'linô-.} < \text{ da-pl.-dji-4 subj.-'a-i obj.-di-prol.-ni-prol.-yi-prog. 10.91.} \\
& \quad \text{or dajdinô-.} < \text{ da-pl.-dji-4 subj.-di-prol.-'a-i obj.-ni-prol.-yi-prog. 10.91.} \\
\text{si-pf.} & \quad 1 \text{ dini- or diné-.} < \text{ di-prol.-si-pf.-c-1 subj.-ni-compl. 10.91b.} \\
\text{si-pf.} & \quad 4 \text{ dzidinè.z-.} < \text{ dji-4 subj.-di-prol.-ni-prol.-si-pf.-ni-compl. 10.91b.} \\
& \quad \text{or dizdinè.z-.} < \text{ di-prol.-dji-4 subj.-ni-prol.-si-pf.-ni-compl. 10.91b.} \\
\text{cont.} & \quad \text{D2 disô.h- or dó.h-.} < \text{ di-prol.-si-harm-ni-prol.-oh-D1 subj. 10.91e.} \\
\text{si-pf.} & \quad \text{D2 -sino-.} < \text{ -no-.} < \text{ si-pf.-oh-D2 subj.- (ná-)against 10.95d.} \\
& \quad \text{or -no-.} < \text{ ná-against-si-pf.-oh-D3 subj.- (ná-)against 10.95d.} \\
\text{ni-pf.} & \quad 4 \text{ djininí-.} < \text{ dji-4 subj.-ni-end-ni-pf.-ni-compl. 10.100b.} \\
& \quad \text{or nijni-.} < \text{ ni-end-dji-4 subj.-ni-pf.-ni-compl. 10.100b.} \\
\text{ni-pf.} & \quad 3-3 \text{ yinini-.} < \text{ yiní-.} < \text{ yi-3 obj.-ni-end-ni-pf.-ni-compl. 10.100b.} \\
& \quad \text{or ni-ni-.} < \text{ ni-end-yi-3 obj.-ni-pf.-ni-compl. 10.100b.} \\
\text{ni-pf.} & \quad \text{P3-3 dayinini-.} < \text{ da-pl.-yi-3 obj.-ni-end-ni-pf.-ni-compl. 10.100b.} \\
& \quad \text{or ndayiní-.} < \text{ ni-end-da-pl.-yi-3 obj.-ni-pf.-ni-compl. 10.100b.} \\
\text{abs.} & \quad 4 \text{ djil- or djil- or lidji-.} < \text{ dji-4 subj.-li-inherent-ni-abs. 10.124} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\(^5\) Li 1930, 1933
Nancy Woodman, Lukachukai, Arizona
from 'ádxo-nilí-gí. April 1, 1949

ciya: xazłį’đé.4

ciya: xazłį’4 xóla.

1 tå’ bita’igó: ndjiyá “ orphan”: tå’ “ absolutely;” bi-3 obj. of post-
position -ta’ “between” (6.16, 7.49.); -t-nominalizing suffix “the one
that” (5.25.); -gó: postposition “in the position of” (7.75.). n- < na-
about (10.92.); dji-4 subj.; -yá: < -yá pres. of -gá’l “ one person
walks, goes” (8.96.), the stem is lengthened before rlé’go. The com-
pound means “ one who is in the position of merely going about be-
tween them.” Interestingly enough, Nancy nasalizes -yá before
rlé’ which Morgan, the transcriber and editor, usually writes thus.
Often, however, it is rlé’ and probably was so pronounced by
Nancy, or it may be that -yá < -yá under the influence of following
n (3.26, 3.37.). In this form -yá might be confused with -yáh (pres.)
or -yá’h (cust.) of -yá’l “kill pl.,” but could not be so interpreted
(cp. YM 68, 72, 75).

2 rlé’go “past” (11.36.): rlé’ “past;” -go- subordinating enclitic
(7.69.)

3 xaxane’ “her story”: xa-4 poss. (6.16.); xane’ “story”

4 ciya: xazłį’đé’ “from my childhood”: ci-1 poss.; -ya: postposition
‘under” (6.16, 7.64.); xaz- < xo-things-si-3 pf. (10.116f.); -ly’ pf.
stem of -le’l “become” (12.53.); -dé’ postposition “from” (7.43.);
ence “ things have become from under me”

5 'ánistší-sígo “ I being small”: ‘á-(ná-)static (10.78.); -c-1 subj. >
-s before tês (3.32.); -tšísí verb stem “be small;” -go subordinating
enclitic
One-who-used-to-go-about-between-them being-past her(4)-story

From-the-time-things-happened-under-me

Still I-being-small my-mother-deceased was-wanting they-say. I-did-not-see-her I-do-not-remember-about-it. Still-probably a-baby I-being my-mother was-gone. My-father only was my-mother-old-also was. When my-mother was-gone from-when-it-became however I-grew-up I-don't-know.

6 ci-má “my mother”: ci-1 poss. (6.16.); -má “mother”

7 'ádin “be nothing, be dead”: ’á-3 static (10.78.); -din static stem of -dí'l “be nothing, be missing, wanting” (12.52.)

8 djiní “one says, it is said, they say”: dji-4 subj. (6.18.); -ní pres. stem of -ni'l “say” (12.57.)

9 tā' do: yi-itsí-dó “I never saw her”: tā' do' ...-i negative frame (11.73.); possibly Nancy used -dó' for -gó' in which case the frame is tā' do' ...-i-gó' (11.76.). yi-itsá 1 pf. cess. of -tsé'l “see” (10.105c.); -tsá' may result from -tsá'-i, or -tsá' may be lengthened before -dó' (3.36.). If -dó' is not -gó' as suggested, it may be the enclitic -dó' “and” (7.46.)

10 tā' do: ba' áxoni-zi'-da “I do not remember her at all”: tā' do' ...-da negative frame (11.77.); ba' < ba-3 obj.-a' postposition “about” (6.16, 7.18.); ’á-thus-xo-things-ni-unii.-pf. cess. (10.105c.); -zi' > -zi before -da pf. or static of -zi'l “have attitude toward, be aware of”; hence, “there-is-no-awareness-of-things-about-it” (3.34-3.35.)

11 nclj'go “I being”: nc- < ni-abs.-c-1 subj.; -lj “be” > -lį' after -c-, short high vowel becomes long falling vowel before -go subordinating enclitic (3.35, 3.93, 7.69, 10.97, 12.50.)

12 cijé'é “my father”: ci-1 poss. (6.16.) -jé'é “father”

13 xöló “it is,” here “was living” (12.51.)
14 cimásánidó “my maternal grandmother also”: ci-1 poss. -má “mother;” -sánt “old;” -dó “also” (6.16, 7.46.)

15 nléi demonstrative adverb here with temporal meaning “when, at the time when” (12.5, 12.5a.)

16 cimá ’adin silí’-dó-ci “however (it may have been) from the time when my mother died”: cimá ’adin see notes 6,7; si-li’ 3 si-pf. (10.117.); -li’ static stem of -le’-l “become” (12.53.); -dó postposition “from, from the time”; ci ‘probably” (7.48, 11.94.)

17 xá’alet’-gócí “however it was, how” (11.94, 11.98a.)

18 bédacni’h “I remember”: béd is probably thematic but may come from bi-3 obj.-n-against-ná-back; da-c- < da-misfortune-yí-cont.-c-1 subj. (10.95a.); -ni’h (or -ni’h) pres. stem of -nit (or -nil) “be aware of, recall, remember”

19 xodjo’bá’igo “being pitiful, being an object of pity”: xo-4 obj.-djo- ’ < dji-att.-yi-cont. (10.121b.); -bá (probably -ba’) pres. stem of -ba’l “pity, be kind to;” -i nominalizing suffix; -go subordinating enclitic (5.25, 6.20, 7.69.)

20 yicá’l “I go about prog.”: yi-prog.-c-1 subj.; -gá’l “one person goes” (8.96, 10.102, 12.46.)

1 tá; ’áxo’dza’go’ “absolutely it was, conditions kept being, things happened so”: tá “just;” ’á-thus-xo-things-yí-prog.-ní-compl. 10.116e.); -dza’ pf. stem of -né’l “be done to” (12.47.); -gó postposition “indefinitely forward,” here “future” (7.75.)

2 le’ctcí’hthá nazalíndì “as if in a place among the ashes”: le’ctcí’h ashes;” -tah postposition “among” (7.50.); naxa- < na-xo-ground-i-abs. (10.116b.); -lin static stem “be like, resemble;” -di postposition “at, in place” (7.44.)

3 nisédzil “I was pushed”: ni-end-ci-1 subj.-ná-against (3.32, 0.95h.); -dzil pres. stem of -dzil “be pushed”
These anything-at-all I-was-aware-of\textsuperscript{10} almost everything I-remember-(as)\textsuperscript{18} being-absolutely-pitiful\textsuperscript{19} I-go-about\textsuperscript{20} ever-since I-can-remember-about-it.\textsuperscript{10} Absolutely awful just-as-it-happened\textsuperscript{21} from-then\textsuperscript{15} ashes-amongst the-place-being-like\textsuperscript{22} I-was-pushed-about\textsuperscript{23} ever-since I-remember.\textsuperscript{10} From-then-on\textsuperscript{24} I-was-mistreated\textsuperscript{25} then absolutely all with-it I-was-mistreated\textsuperscript{26} whatever\textsuperscript{27} what-was-probably-at-hand with-it\textsuperscript{28} absolutely everything with-it I-was-mistreated\textsuperscript{29} ever-since I-remember.\textsuperscript{10} Just any-old-place then\textsuperscript{15} just at-the-doorway-for-example\textsuperscript{30} face-down in-a-huddle\textsuperscript{31} I-spent-the-nights\textsuperscript{32} past.\textsuperscript{2} Bedding\textsuperscript{33} even was-not-provided-for-me.\textsuperscript{34}

24 'á·dó' "and then, then, from then on": 'á'-before -dó- postposition "from" (3.37, 7.1, 7.48.)

25 'atíci'\textsuperscript{2}či\textsuperscript{3}di: "at the place where I was mistreated": 'atí'-suffering-c\textsuperscript{1} subj.-'adi-i ag.-l-pass. caus. (10.77.); 'i\textsuperscript{4} pres. stem of 'i\textsuperscript{4} i-\textsuperscript{5}"do" > -i\textsuperscript{4} before -d\textsuperscript{5} postposition "in place" (3.35, 7.44.)

26 be: 'atíci'\textsuperscript{2}či\textsuperscript{3}l-i\textsuperscript{4}l "by means of it (everything) I was mistreated": bi\textsuperscript{-}3 obj.-e- postposition "by means of" (6.16, 7.24.); 'atí'-suffering-c\textsuperscript{1} subj.-'adi-i ag.-yi-prog.-ni-compl.-l-pass. caus. (10.104.); -i\textsuperscript{4}d pf. stem of -i\textsuperscript{4} i-\textsuperscript{5}"do" (12.47.)

27 xáicf: "whatever (remote) possible": xá-interrogative "remote;" -i nominalizing suffix; cf. "possibly" (5.25, 7.2, 11.94.)

28 tás bi\textsuperscript{-}1l xá\textsuperscript{-}tlo\textsuperscript{-}lčicdéf: "absolutely (whatever) was at hand": tá- absolutely;" bi\textsuperscript{-}3 obj.-l- "with (accompaniment)" (6.16, 7.103.); xá\textsuperscript{-}tlo\textsuperscript{-}l- < xá-out-'adi-i ag.-yi-prog.-ni-compl.-l-pass. caus. (10.104.); -tcid pf. stem of -tcil "move hand;" cf. "possibly" (11.94.)

29 See notes 25, 26

30 tás tcé\textsuperscript{-}či\textsuperscript{-}ngó\textsuperscript{-}da "just at the doorway for example": tás: "just;" tcé\textsuperscript{-}či\textsuperscript{-}n "doorway;" -gó postposition "in position" (7.75.); -da(h) postposition "for example" (7.38.)

31 cicdjo\textsuperscript{-}lgo "I being curled up, huddling": cic- < si-pf.-ni- compl.-c-1 ag. (10.117.); -djo\textsuperscript{-}l static stem of -djo\textsuperscript{-}l "bunchy substance lies" (12.41.); -go subordinating suffix (7.69.)

32 naci\textsuperscript{-}lka' "I spent nights here and there": na-about-c\textsuperscript{-}1 obj.-yi-cont.-yi-rep.asp. (10.106b.); -l-ka' mom. stem of -l-ká\textsuperscript{-}l "night passes" (cp. notes 49, 55)

33 be: 'adinó\textsuperscript{-}té\textsuperscript{5}li: "bedding": be- < bi\textsuperscript{-}3 obj.-e- postposition "by
means of” (6.16, 7.24.); ’adínô- < ’a-i subj.-dînî-prol.-yi-prog. (10.91.); -têl “one animate obj. lies” (12.30.); -i nominalizing suffix “the particular one that” (5.23.). Hence, “bedding” is “the particular-one-by-means-of-which-someone-lies-prol.”

34 do’ be ca’ ’áxáyî’gô. “it was not provided for me”: do’ . . . -gô negative frame (11.65.); be’ see note 33; ca’ < ci-1 obj.- ’a- post-position “for, on account of” (6.16, 7.18.); ’á-xá- < ’á-thus-things-(ná-)cont. (10.116h.); -yá > -yá’. before -gô pres. stem of -yá’l “provide for, care for” (3.37, and cp. note 9)

35 nanîkâ’d “I am herding”: na-nic- < na-about-’a-theme-nî-unii. -c-1 subj. (10.98a.); -ka’d pres. stem of -kal “spread” (12.33.)

36 bitîzî “her goats”: bi-3 poss. (6.16.); tlîzî “goat”

37 tá’ xôlô’go “just being”: tá’ “just;” xôlô “there were” (12.51.); -go subordinating enclitic (7.69, and cp. note 13)

38 yá’h “beside her, extraneous to her”: yi-3 obj. differentiated from 3 subj. (in this case bitîzî); -q’h postposition “extraneous to” (6.16, 7.22.)

39 yidzi’hi‘i. “those that survived”: yi-cont. (10.103.); -dzi’h pres. stem of -dzih “breathe;” -ígî nominalizing suffix “the one that” (5.30.)

40 bikê’ na’câ “I followed them about”: bi-3 subj.- ké’ postposition “behind, following” (6.16, 7.79.); na’câ < na-about-yi-cont.-c-1 subj.-yá(h) pres. stem of -gá’l “one person goes” (8.96, 10.92, 12.46.)

41 ’aká’n dabîzisîgî. “those that were flour sacks’: ’aká’n “flour;” dabî-P3 poss. (6.16.); -zîs “sack;” -ígî nominalizing suffix “the one that” (5.30.)

42 tá’ ’áxô’dzà’gi “just wherever it happened to be”: tá’ “just;” ’áxô’dzà’ see note 21; -gi postposition “in place” (7.66.)

43 ’áda’lya-gô “they being made”: ’áda- < ’á-thus-da-pl.-yi-prog.-
So-it-was nevertheless I-went-herding. My-mother deceased my-goats just-being possessed-by-her she-died surely. So these-that-were-still-alive I-went-about-after. My shoes even without sheep I-followed-about. My-clothes even those-that-were-flour-sacks just whatever-happened-to-be being-made being-ragged flapping-about-on-me I-went-herding. My-hair even awful burrs sticking-up-on-it I-went-about. Lice even now killed-me. It-being-so absolutely everything on-account-of-it I-suffering days-passed-me. So nevertheless it-was-so even my-stock there-was.

ní-compl. (10.90c); -l-ya' pf. stem of -l-né'í "do, make" (12.47.); -go subordinating enclitic (7.69.)


45 ciki dahrda'ta'go "flapping about me": ci-1 obj.-ki postposition "on" (6.16, 7.84.); dahnda- < dah-on-na-about-da-pl.-yi-cont.-yi-rep.asp. (10.84a.); -ła' mom. stem of -łát "one obj. slips over another"

46 bil kída'z'à'go "being on it": bi-3 obj.-l "with (accompanying)" (6.16, 7.103.); kída'z- < ki-on-ná-up-da-unfortunately-si-pf.-ní-compl. (10.85b.); -'á < -'á before -go absolute stem "project, stand up" (3.35.); -go subordinating enclitic (7.69.)

47 cidani'-lx'à'go "they (lice) killed me": cidanií- < ci-1 obj.-da-pl.-'a-theme-ni-si-harm-yi-cess. (6.20, 10.98e.); -lx'à- < -lxá "cause killing one;" -go subordinating enclitic (6.79.)

48 biłe ti'xo'cni'-hgo "I suffering on account of these things": bi-3 obj.-lé postposition "on account of" (6.16, 7.82.); ti'xo'c- < ti-suffering-'a-theme-xo-things-yi-cont.-yi-rep.asp.-c-1 subj. (10.116k.); -ni'h < -ni'h before -go pres. stem of -nih (-nih) "hurt, suffer;" -go subordinating enclitic (7.69.)

49 ci'níká "I spent my days": ci-ní- < ci-1 obj.-yi-prog.-yi-rep. asp.-ní-compl.; -l-ká pf. stem of -l-ká'l "night passes" (cp. notes 32, 55)

50 cilf' xóló "there was my stock, I had my stock": ci-1 poss.-l'ì 'pet, stock, domesticated animal" (6.16.); xóló "there were" (12.51, and cp. notes 13, 37.)
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51 xa'áté:gi'cif: “something or other”: xa-interrogative “what,” 'áté: 'álic before -gi “it is thus;” -gi may be the nominalizing suffix (shortened -í) with -g glide consonant (3.35, 3.39.), or it may be the postposition -gi “place;” -cif: interrogative “probably” (11.98a.)

52 'asési:hgo “when I had done something wrong”: 'asé- < 'a-obj. -si-pf.-c-1 subj.-ni-compl. (10.117.); -si'h pf. stem of -sih “make a mistake, do wrong;” -go subordinating enclitic (7.69.)

53 ciki'o: sxálbó “she clubbed me and”; ci-1 obj.-úi postposition “on” (6.16, 7.84.); 'o's- < 'a-beyond-si-un-si-pf.-ni-compl. (10.76q.); l-xa'l pf. stem of -l-xal “move clublike obj.;” -dó: “also, and” (7.46, 12.44.)

54 tá: do: ca'iltsóó “she gave me nothing to eat”: tá: do: . . . í negative frame (11.72.); ca- < ca- < ci-1 obj.-a' postposition “to, toward” (6.16, 7.18.); 'i- < 'a-i obj.-ni-start for (10.99.); -l-tso- < -l-tso'd inc. stem of -l-tsol “provide food” (cp. notes 60, 65)

55 yiska “day, night passed”: yis- < yi-si-pf.-ni-compl.-l-caus. (10.117.); -l-ká pf. stem of -l-ká'l “night passes” (cp. notes 32, 49)

56 náwohdji “longer, to a point beyond”: náwo “beyond, farther;” -djí postposition “to a point” (7.95.)

57 tá: do: 'acání “I had not eaten”; tá: do: . . . í negative frame (11.72.); 'acání < 'a-i obj.-c-1 subj.-yá (> yán before í) pres. stem of yf-í “eat (gen.)” (8.97.)

8 biké' táchicá'h “behind them I cust. went amongst”: bi-3 obj.- k: postposition “following” (6.16, 7.19.); táchicá'h < ta-among-st.-á-cust.-á-start from-(ná-)c-1 subj.-yá'h cust. stem of -gá'l “one person goes” (10.94a, cp. note 61)

9 tliiziyáji “kid”; tliiz “goat;” -yájí “small, young

0 bá ná'i-stso'go “which I had rep. fed”: bá < bi-3 obj.-á post-position “for benefit of” (6.16, 7.20.); ná'i-s- < ná-cust.-'a-i obj.-yi-ont.-yi-rep.asp.-c-1 subj. (> s before ts)-l-tso' cust. stem of -l-tsol
Once something-or-other\textsuperscript{51} when-I-had-done-wrong\textsuperscript{52} my-mother beat-me-and\textsuperscript{53} she-did-not-give-me-something-to-eat\textsuperscript{54} two days\textsuperscript{55} perhaps, longer\textsuperscript{56} perhaps I-did-not-eat\textsuperscript{57} only goats after-them I-wandered.\textsuperscript{58} Goat-small\textsuperscript{59} one merely I-having-fed-it.\textsuperscript{60} This-one always after-me-went-about-and\textsuperscript{61} being-night\textsuperscript{62} just my-arms it-lay.\textsuperscript{63} That morning\textsuperscript{64} for-it I-again-will-provide-something-to-eat\textsuperscript{65} I-wanting\textsuperscript{66} outside-toward\textsuperscript{67} I-start-carrying-it\textsuperscript{68} past. Right-there\textsuperscript{69}

"provide food" (10.105b, 10.106b, cp. notes 54, 65, 78); -go subordinating enclitic (7.69.)

61 ciké· tádíyá·h "it follows me about": ci-1 obj.-ké· postposition "following" (6.16, 7.79.); tádí- < ta-among-ná-cust.-di-start from-(ná-) (8.96, 10.94a, 12.46, cp. note 58)

62 tlé·'go "at night, when it was night": tlé· "night" > tlé· before -go subordinating enclitic (7.69.)

63 tá· citah nté·h "absolutely in my protection it lay": tá· "absolutely," ci-1 poss. (6.16.); -tah "fold," here "arm curve;" n-té·h < ni-uni.-té·h mom. stem of -té·l "one animate obj. lies" (10.98a, 12.30.)

64 ’ahbínígo "it being morning": ’ahbíní "morning;" -go subordinating enclitic (7.69.)

65 bá ná·i·de·stsol "something for it to eat again": bá < bi-3 obj.; -á postposition "for the benefit of" (6.16, 7.20.); ná·i·de·stsol < ná· again-á-i obj.-yi-cess.-di-fut.-yi-prog.-c-1 subj. (> s before ts)-l-stsol fut. stem "provide food" (10.87, ep. notes 54, 60, 78). Hence, "I will get food for it again (as usual)."

66 nsingo "I wanting": nsin < ni-abs.-c-1 subj.-zin abs. stem "want;" -go subordinating enclitic (7.69, 10.97.)

67 tló·go· "toward outside": tló· "outside;" -gó· postposition "toward" (7.75.)

68 dahdi·ltí· "I started carrying it": dah-di- < dah-forth-di-start from-c-1 subj.; yi-cess. (10.88e, 10.105c.); -ltí (> -l-tí· before ntlé·') pf. stem of -l-té·l "move animate obj." (12.30, cp. note 63)

69 tá· ’á·dji· "in that direction": tá· "absolutely;" ’á- there, demonstrative bound form > ’á· before -dji· postposition "to a point, in the direction of" (7.1, 7.95.)

70 bił na·’adi·txa·l "with it (in my arms) I fell": bi-3 obj.-l post-
An Orphan's Story

My Childhood

When I was still small my mother died they say. I do not remember seeing her. I was probably only a baby when my mother died. Only my father and my maternal grandmother were left. I do not know how I managed to grow up after my mother died.

From the time I remember anything at all I recall almost nothing except being absolutely pitiful. Things happened that were incredible. As far back as I can remember I was pushed about in places corresponding to the ashes. From that time on I was misreated in every way that could possibly be imagined, and with any object that might possibly come to hand. Just any old place, for example at the doorway, huddling face down, I used to spend the night. No bedding was even provided for me.
with-it I-fell\(^70\) to-be-sure. Fireplace-at\(^71\) hunger-probably on-account-of-it I-collapsed.\(^72\) At-that-time corn only being-like-the-main-(food)-is-eaten-by-them\(^73\) past. So this gruel which-had-been-milked\(^74\) some for-me it-had-been-made-thus\(^75\) this after-I-drunk-it\(^76\) then sustained I-went-out-and\(^77\) I-fed-it.\(^78\)

probably \(\text{-n}^{i}\) since it becomes \(-\text{nin}\) with \(-\text{tg}^i\) nominalizing suffix "the one that" (3.49, 3.50, 5.30, 10.116c.)

75 cá 'ádadji-la:go "having been made by them(4) for me": cá < \(\text{ci-1}\) poss.-\(\text{á}\) postposition "for benefit of" (6.16, 7.20.); 'ádadji-\(\text{<}\) 'á-thus-da-pl.-dji-4 ag.-yi-prog.-yi-cess. (10.105c.); -la\(\text{<}\) pf. stem of \(-\text{l}^{e}\) (\(-\text{l}^{i}\)) "make" (12.47.)

76 yicdlq:go "I having drunk it"; yic- < yi-prog.-nì-compl.-c-1 ag. (10.104.); -dlq:\(\text{<}\) pf. stem of -dlq:\(\text{<}\) "drink;" -go subordinating enclitic (7.69.)

77 tčiniyá:dó. "I went out and": tčiní- < tči-out-ni-start for-ni-compl. (10.99a.); -yá pf. stem of -gá:tl "one person goes;" -dó enclitic "and" (7.84, 12.46.)

78 'a:i'tsoc:d "I fed it": 'a- < 'a- < 'a-i obj.-a\(\text{<}\) postposition "to, for" (6.16, 7.18.); 'i- < 'a-i obj.-yi-prog.-yi-cess.; -t-\(\text{tsoc}:d\) pf. stem of -t-tsol "provide food" (10.105c, cp. notes 54, 60, 65) "I gave some food to someone"

Even so I nevertheless went herding. My deceased mother left some goats when she died. I followed the survivors (goats) about. Without shoes I herded the sheep. Even my clothes were of flour sacks just as they happened to be, with these rags flapping about on me, I herded sheep. My hair besides was filthy with burrs, and I was eaten (killed) with lice. So it was that I spent my days suffering everything imaginable, but even at that I had my stock.

Once when I had done something or other wrong my mother (grandmother) beat me and did not give me anything to eat for perhaps two days, maybe it was longer that I went herding the goats without food. One was a kid that I alone fed. This one always followed me about and at night lay cuddled in my arms. That morning as I started outside with it to look for something with which to feed it, I fell right there with it in my arms. I collapsed near the fireplace because of hunger. At that time corn was the main staple. So some thin gruel mixed with milk was made for me. After I had drunk this I was strong enough to go out and feed it.
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