

# Navajo Coordination

Theodore B. Fernald & Ellavina T. Perkins

Swarthmore College & Navajo Language Academy\*

## 1 Overview

Coordination is used to combine phrases into larger phrases or sentences into larger sentences. Words like *and* and *or* do this in English. The only limit on the number of coordinated phrases in a sentence is the willingness of the hearer to listen:

- (1) Shił naa'aash bił tooh nílnígíí biih yit'áázh dóó dah 'adiilkóó' 'ákó  
1-cousin 3-with river 3-flow-rel 3-in 1dpl-go.P Conj off 1dpl-swim.P Conj  
shił naa'aash t'áá nízaadgóó sít's'ázhnífkóó' 'áádóó hodíina'go tó naanázlǫ́  
cousin just far-toward 1-from-4-swim.P Conj after-a-while water-bend  
léi'gi bí'nífkóó'.  
indef-gi 3-1-swim-up.P  
My cousin and I got into the river and the current started carrying us along so he swam a  
long ways away from me, but after awhile I caught up with him at a bend in the river. (v.  
YM 1987:240)<sup>1</sup>
- (2) 'At'ééd léi' **dóó** bimá **dóó** bimá sání **dóó** bicheii nda'alkidígóó  
girl indef Conj 3-mother Conj 3-grandmother Conj 3-grandfather movies-to  
naaskai.  
3-3-go.pl.P  
A girl, her mother, her grandmother, and her grandfather went to the movies.

---

\* We are grateful to Elly van Gelderen, Donna Jo Napoli, and the participants in the Athabaskan Languages Conference in Yellowknife for helpful discussions. The authors alone are responsible for any errors that remain. This material is based upon work supported by the National Science Foundation under Grant No. 0317318.

<sup>1</sup> Glosses: Hyphens in the glosses indicate morpheme boundaries; periods are used when more than one word or symbol is needed to gloss a single morpheme. Pronominal agreement morphemes inside the verb are glossed 1, 2, 3, or 4, indicating person; the order of the glosses corresponds to the order in which the morphemes appear:

object of postposition – postposition – plural – direct object – subject – stem.aspect

The glosses of the verb modes are F for future, I for imperfective, NI for neuter imperfective, NP for neuter perfective, O for Optative, P for perfective, Pg for progressive, U for usitative.

Q indicates a question focusing enclitic; -GO and -ÍGÍÍ are subordinating enclitics and are not given an English gloss. We also use *dpl* for duo-plural, *FUT* for future particle, *inch* for inchoative, *INDEF* for indefinite determiner, *NOM* for nominalizer, *pass* for simple passive, *PAST* for past particle, and *SUP* for suppressed argument (due to the 'a- prefix).

Example (1) shows four clauses being coordinated; (2) has four noun phrases being coordinated. Notice that the verb in (2) contains a plural marker. This indicates that the singular noun phrases count as a plural when coordinated.

In general, the possibilities for coordination depend on the conjunction—the word used to link the clauses or phrases together. *Dóó* can coordinate clauses, noun phrases, (DPs), postpositional phrases, and postpositions. Other conjunctions are less versatile. Conjunctions differ in other ways. For example, *léi'* can be used as a determiner or as a conjunction. Other conjunctions cannot do this, but some can only appear between two clauses while others can additionally appear at the beginning of a sentence. The bulk of this article consists of an explanation of the function and use of each of the major conjunctions, beginning with clausal coordination, followed by the coordination of phrases and words. The final sections discuss general issues relevant to coordination. The section below draws a distinction between coordination and subordination.

## 2 Coordination vs. Subordination

In Navajo subordinate clauses and coordinate clauses bear a superficial similarity. Each involves a sequence of clauses with a clitic on the final word of the first clause or a particle between the clauses. The first example below is an example of subordination; the second involves coordination:

- (3) Béeso ła' sha'doonił nízingo béeso bá hooghandi naaghá.  
 Money some 1-borrow.F 3-expect.I-GO money 3-for house-at 3-walk.I  
 He/she is at the bank expecting to borrow some money.
- (4) 'Ashkii bi'ée' hazhó'ó 'ayíyishchid dóó 'ólta' góne' yah 'íyá.  
 boy 3-shirt nicely 3-3-tuck.P Conj school areal-in 3-in 3-go.P  
 The boy tucked his shirttail in nicely and went into the classroom. (YM 1987:3)

The difference between the two is that the two clauses have equal status when coordination is involved, but with subordination one clause (the second) is the main clause and the other is a modifier of it. There are also cases that involve the presence of a subordinating enclitic that is followed by an independent -ordination word. These cases are discussed in this article. This article focuses on coordination.

There is a third way of connecting clauses within a single sentence that is like subordination and coordination. It involves placing the first clause inside a frame of two particles and following this with the second clause. In the example below, this frame consists of *'azhą...ndi:*

- (5) 'Azhá dichin nisin ndi 'abínídáá' t'áadoo 'íyáá' da.  
 Conj hunger 1-want Conj morning-past just-not 1-eat.P.neg.  
 Even though I was hungry this morning I did not eat.

*Ndi* is a conjunction which, when used by itself, has approximately the meaning and usage of the English *but*. This contrastive meaning is present in (5) but with greater emphasis. It may be that the proper analysis is one in which *ndi* is the sole conjunction and *'azhá* is an emphatic adverb. With such an analysis, there would be no reason to consider *'azhá...ndi* as a frame with a meaning that could not be predicted from the meanings of its components. However, *'azhá* speakers do not seem to use *'azhá* without *ndi*, leading us to conclude that *'azhá...ndi* is a coordinating frame.

### 3 Conjoining clauses

The most commonly used coordinating conjunctions in Navajo are *dóó* 'and' and *'áádóó* 'and then'. These are considered in the first two sections, and the remaining conjunctions are considered alphabetically in the subsequent sections.

#### 3.1 *dóó* and/and then

*Dóó* can be used to coordinate a variety of constituents including clauses, noun phrases, postpositional phrases, enclitic phrases, and postpositions. In (6) through (10), this conjunction is used to coordinate clauses. Clauses may consist of a predicate alone or a predicate along with any number of its arguments. The clauses being coordinated consist of a verb in (6) and (7), a postposition followed by a verb in (8), and two adjectives (neuter verbs) as in (8) and (10). There is no need for the internal structures of the two clauses to be the same in any way:

- (6) 'Ífta' dóó 'iíhaazh.  
 1-read.P Conj 1-sleep.P  
 I read and I went to sleep.
- (7) Yáfti' dóó hataaŕ.  
 3-talk.I Conj 3-sing.I  
 It talks and sings. (e.g., as in describing a doll).
- (8) Yah 'íyáá dóó dah neezdá.  
 3-in 3-enter.P Conj up 3-sit.P  
 S/he came in and sat down.<sup>2</sup>

<b>dóó</b>	<b>'and'</b>
[X <sub>1</sub> dóó X <sub>2</sub> ]	'X <sub>1</sub> and X <sub>2</sub> '
Conjoins clauses, noun phrases, postpositional phrases, enclitic phrases, postpositions	
Right dislocation is sometimes possible	

<sup>2</sup> Note: Examples like (6) and (8) in this section strongly suggest that the event described in the first clause occurs before the event described in the second clause. This has led some scholars to assign the gloss 'and then' to *dóó*.

- (9) Nizhóní dóó 'íí.  
3-pretty.NI Conj 3-expensive.NI  
It is pretty and expensive. (e.g., as in describing a car).
- (10) Ntsaa dóó ndaaz.  
3-big.NI Conj 3-heavy.NI  
It is big and heavy (as in describing a box, boulder, etc.).

Because arguments of verbs are normally optional in Navajo, two clauses being conjoined may look fairly different. It is possible to conjoin a clause consisting of a verb and its arguments with one in which the verb stands by itself:

- (11) Bììh séhí dóó hooghangóó náníftí.  
deer 1-kill.SP Conj house-to rever-3-1-carry.P.AnO  
I killed a deer and then carried it back home. (YM 1987:23)
- (12) 'Ashkii bi'éé' hazhó'ó 'ayíyishchid **dóó** 'ólta' góne' yah 'íyá.  
boy 3-shirt nicely 3-3-tuck.P Conj school areal-in 3-in 3-go.P  
The boy tucked his shirttail in nicely and went into the classroom. (YM 1987:3)

The first clause in the example below has no verb, but the second has a verb as its main predicate:

- (13) Kóó bììh bitiin dóó níléí tsékooh góyaa yóó' 'abitiin.  
here deer 3-trail and over.there canyon areal-down away 3-trail.N  
There's a deer trail here and down in the canyon it disappears. (YM 1987:5) (or: Here's the deer trail and it disappears down into the canyon.)

In addition to clauses, *dóó* can be used to coordinate noun phrases, postpositional phrases, enclitic phrases, and postpositions. See section 4 for discussion.

### 3.2 'áádóó *and then*

'Áádóó can be used as a clausal coordinator as in (14) through (16), meaning roughly 'and then':

- (14) Ch'iyáán 'íshłaa 'áádóó da'iidáá'.  
Food 1-make.P Conj 1Pl-eat.P  
I cooked and then we ate. (YM 1987:1)

---

The other examples in this section do not have this interpretation because the clauses describe states rather than events. See section 5.3 for more information on time and coordination.

- (15) Tʔ'éédáá' dibé ch'ínjéé' yiists'áá' 'áádóó t'óó íléí tsé deez'áhi  
 last-night sheep out-3-escape.P 3-sound.P Conj merely over-there rock out-3-jut.NP-NOM  
 bizánághah góne' 'ahosoolts'áá'.  
 3-behind areal-in SUP-areal-disappear-sound.P  
 Last night the sheep got out of the corral and the sound they made disappeared over there  
 around the point of the ridge. (YM 1987:73)
- (16) Hwéeldi hoolyéédéé' Tséhootsoóidi nináda'iis'ná 'áádóó dibé  
 Ft.Sumner-at areal-call.P-from Ft.Defiance-at 3Pl-return.P Conj sheep  
 hataas'nii' dóó da'nífts'áá' góó diné  
 4-among-distribute.P Conj Pl-place-away-to people  
 'afts'ádahaazdéél jiní.  
 separate-Pl-4-go.P.PI0 4-say.P  
 The people moved back from Fort Sumner to Fort Defiance where sheep were distributed  
 among them after which they separated and each group went its own way. (YM 1987:103)

Stative (neuter) verbs cannot be coordinated with 'áádóó:

- (17) \*Nizhóní 'áádóó 'íí.  
 3-pretty.NI Conj 3-expensive.NI  
 It is pretty and then expensive.
- (18) \*Dichxosh 'áádóó níłchxon.  
 3-shaggy.NI Conj 3-smelly.NI  
 (It is shaggy and smelly.)
- (19) \*Bił hózhq' 'áádóó 'oolzhiizh.  
 3-with areal-happy.NI Conj 3-dance.P  
 (S/he was happy and then s/he danced.)
- (20) \*Doo bił hózhq' da 'áádóó yicha.  
 neg 3-with areal-happy.NI neg Conj 3-cry.P  
 (S/he was unhappy and then s/he cried.)

'áádóó	'and then'
[X <sub>1</sub> 'áádóó X <sub>2</sub> ]	'X <sub>1</sub> and then X <sub>2</sub> '
Conjoins clauses, postpositional phrases...	
Right dislocation is possible	

'Áádóó entails that one event takes place after another. Stative verbs do not express events that take place, and so they are incompatible with the meaning of 'áádóó.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The order of stative verbs does not make a difference with 'áádóó. The following counterpart of (6) is still ungrammatical, but it would be perfectly grammatical with -go instead of 'áádóó:

Right dislocation is possible with 'áádóó when postpositional phrases are coordinated:

- (21) Jooł 'atiin tsé'naa 'ahííłhan 'áádóó 'anít'i' báátis.  
ball road across 3-1-throw.P Conj fence 3-over  
I threw the ball across the road and over the fence.

#### Other uses

'Áádóó can be used to begin a sentence, showing continuity with previous utterances in the discourse, as in (22).

- (22) 'Áádóó díkwíí shíí náánéiskáago 'índa kǫ́' bił dah diijéé'.  
Conj several probably days.later only.then horse 3-with off 3-depart.P  
And then several days later they set off on horseback. (YM 1987:9)

In this useage, 'áádóó still retains the meaning of a conjunction, but it applies to the previous sentence in the discourse.

### 3.3 'áko *so, so that, so then*

The particle 'áko can be used to combine two clauses in the structure [S<sub>1</sub> 'áko S<sub>2</sub>]. 'Áko can also be used along with other particles (see section 3.3.3).

The interpretation of a sentence consisting of two clauses conjoined by 'áko depends on certain features of the clauses being conjoined.

#### 3.3.1 "Normal" cases

Except when one of the clauses has an imperative interpretation, the order of the clauses is significant. The interpretation of such sentences is that the (truth of the) first sentence is the cause of the (truth of the) second sentence:

- 
- (i) \*'Oolzhiizh'áádóó bił hózhó.  
3-dance.P Conj 3-with areal-happy.NI  
(S/he danced and then s/he was happy.)
- (ii) 'Oolzhiizhgo bił hózhó.  
3-dance.P-GO 3-with areal-happy.NI  
S/he danced and then s/he was happy.

(23) Ntsaa 'áko ndaaz.  
 3-big.NI Conj 3-heavy.NI  
 It is big so it is heavy

<b>'áko</b>	<b>so, so that</b>
[S <sub>1</sub> 'áko S <sub>2</sub> ]	'Because of S <sub>1</sub> , S <sub>2</sub> '
conjoins clauses	

(24) Ditá 'áko nt'iz.  
 3-thick.NI Conj 3-sturdy.NI  
 It is thick so it is sturdy.

The examples above contain stative predicates in each of the conjoined clauses. In each case the interpretation is 'Because of S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub>'. The same interpretation holds for the following examples:

(25) Deesk'aaz náhásdlíí' 'áko bee honeezdooí shá hánáágiz.  
 cold areal-be.P Conj 3-by-means-of areal-warm-Nom 1-for 3-turn.P  
 It has gotten cold again so I had the heater turned back on for me.

(26) Díí tsits'aa' ntsaa dóo ndaaz 'áko ch'ééh 'iih yish'aah.  
 this baggage 3-big.NI Conj 3-heavy.NI Conj in-vain 3-in 3-1-carry.SRO.I  
 This baggage is big and heavy so I'm trying in vain to get it in (the car).

Example (25) contains two perfective verbs; (26) contains conjoined statives followed by an imperfective.

### 3.3.2 Imperatives

In a sentence of the form [S<sub>1</sub> 'áko S<sub>2</sub>], where one of the clauses is interpreted as an imperative, and the other is in the future mode (or has a future interpretation for some other reason, like having a future adverb), things are a little different from the cases seen in section 3.3.1. When an imperative is involved, the order of the two clauses does not matter. The resulting interpretation is 'Because of S, S<sub>IMP</sub>'<sup>4</sup>, where S<sub>IMP</sub> represents whichever clause was the imperative:

(27) Sédáa doo 'áko díínááí.  
 1-sit.NP FUT Conj 2-come.F  
 I'll be staying home so come (over).

<b>'áko (with imperatives)</b>	
[S <sub>1</sub> 'áko S <sub>2IMP</sub> ]	'Because S <sub>1</sub> is true, make S <sub>2</sub> true'
[S <sub>1IMP</sub> 'áko S <sub>2</sub> ]	'Because S <sub>2</sub> is true, make S <sub>1</sub> true'
conjoins clauses	

(28) Dííloh 'áko bídi'doodlií.  
 3-2-rope.F Conj 3-3-will-brand.F  
 Rope it so that it can be branded.

<sup>4</sup> Or, paraphrased a different way, 'Because S<sub>1</sub> is true, make S<sub>2</sub> true'.

The interpretation of (27) is ‘Because of  $S_1$ ,  $S_2$ ’, where  $S_2$  means ‘you come over’. The interpretation of (28) is ‘Because of  $S_2$ ,  $S_1$ ’, or ‘Because it will be branded, rope it’. The examples below are consistent with this. The sentences have the same interpretation. In each case, *biih ninííł* is the verb with the imperative interpretation, but in (29) it appears in the first clause and in (30) it appears in the second.

(29) Łeets’aa’ bii’ táádaagisí łeets’aa’ biih ninííł ’áko taidoogis.  
dishwasher dishes 3-in 2-put.I.PIO Conj 3-3-wash.F  
Put the dishes in the dishwasher so that it can wash them.

(30) Łeets’aa’ taidoogis ’áko łeets’aa’ bii’ táádaagisí biih ninííł.  
Dishes 3-3wash.F Conj dishwasher 3-in 3-2-put.I.PIO  
The dishwasher can do the dishes so put them (the dishes) in (the dishwasher).

Below are additional examples with imperative interpretations:

(31) Bikáá’adání bikáá’ łeets’aa’ ninííł ’áko da’diidííł.  
table 3-on dish 3-2-put.I Conj 1-Pl-cat.F  
Set the table (with dishes) so we can eat.

(32) ’Eii tóshjeeh náníxéés ’áko łahdégé’ dínéesh’ííł.  
that barrel 3-2-turn.I Conj other-side 3-1.look.F  
Turn that barrel around so I can look at the other side.

(33) Damóogo ’álah ’aleeh ’áko ’áadi nihaadínáál.  
Sunday 3-gather 3-be Conj there-at 1dpl-to-2-arrive.F  
There is a meeting on Sunday so come see us there.

(34) Díí bikáá’ dah ’asdáhí ditł’o dóó yilzhólí ’áko bikáá’ dah nídaah.  
this 3-on up one-sit-Nom 3-furry.NI and 3-soft.NP Conj 3-on up 2-sit.I  
This chair is furry and soft so sit in it.

### 3.3.3 ’áko with other particles

The conjunction *’áko* may combine with other particles such as those that follow. There is very little difference in meaning between them. They all denote ‘then’ to some degree, indicating sequence of events.



### 3.3.3.1 'áko 'índa when, then

While 'áko and 'índa can be used independently, they can also be combined. The pattern [ $S_1$  'áko 'índa  $S_2$ ] indicates that the condition described in  $S_1$  must occur before the condition described in  $S_2$  can happen:

- (35) Chizh ła' 'ahidíłkaał 'áko 'índa nich 'i' ni' deeshłééł.  
firewood some 3-2-chop.I Conj 2-to 1-pay.F  
I'll pay you when you chop some wood (and not before). (YM 1987:77)
- (36) 'Áłtsé naaltsóos 'iish' áád 'áko 'índa yiit' ash doo.  
first paper 3-3-mail.P Conj 1-dpl-go.F FUT  
Let me mail a letter; only then can we go.

This combination can be used as a conjunction when both clauses are imperative:

- (37) Łééchaą' í ba' nítsoód 'áko 'índa dibé bikéé' bi' díłnih.  
dog 3-for-2-feed.I Conj sheep 3-after 3-2-send.F  
Feed the dog then send it off after the sheep.

In cases like this, clause order is significant. The interpretation is 'make  $S_1$  true, then make  $S_2$  true'.

The conjunction 'áko 'índa is also used with fourth person generalizations about behavior:

- (38) Hooghan 'áf' iłhgo 'áłtsé da' jiidlish 'áko 'índa biih jínééh.  
house 3-make.U-GO first Pl-3-4-bless.U Conj 3-into 4-move.U  
When a house is built first it must be blessed [with cornmeal and pollen dabbed in an area in each four directions of the home] then one can move in. (see YM 1987:303)

The interpretation of fourth person generalizations is related to imperatives in that fourth person generalizations state how people normally behave or ought to behave. As with (35), clause order is significant. (37) has the interpretation 'In general, people do 1 and then do 2', where 1 and 2 represent the behavior described in  $S_1$  and  $S_2$ , respectively.

### 3.3.3.2 'áko ndi even so, even then

Used as a conjunction by itself, *ndi* works like the English conjunction *but*. *Ndi* can also be combined with 'áko, having the approximate meaning 'but even then':

- (39) Díí chidí 'ayóo dilwo' ha'ní 'áko ndi doo baa jíníshlíí da.  
 This car very 3-fast.NI 3-say.NI Conj neg 3-about 4-1-rely.NI neg  
 They say this car is fast but even so I don't have any expectation for it.

### 3.3.3.3 'áko shíí then maybe/ then probably

Alone, *shíí* indicates probability. It can be used after 'áko as part of a conjunction complex:

- (40) Shik'is bił 'ílyeed 'áko shíí da' diidííł.  
 1-friend 3-with 3-drive.I Conj 1-Pl-cat.F  
 My friend is coming (by car); maybe we'll eat then (when s/he gets here).
- (41) Jáan bá da' diidííł 'áko shíí nihaadoogáál.  
 John 3-for 1-Pl-cat.F Conj 1-Pl-to-3-go.F  
 Let's have a dinner for John then maybe he will come see us.

In the example below, the first clause bears the subordinating enclitic *-go*, which is coordinated with the second clause:

- (42) Shizhé'é naalnishdégé' nádzáago 'áko shíí nda' alkidígóo nihidoo'ish  
 1-father 3-work.I-from return.P-COMP Conj probably movies-to 3-1PL.take.F  
 When my father returns from work, he will maybe then take us to the movies.

### 3.3.3.4 'áko shíí 'índa then only

The conjunction complex 'áko *shíí 'índa* indicates the meaning 'Only if/after  $S_1$  is true, will  $S_2$  be true'. The order of the clauses is significant:

- (43) 'Áłah 'aleehgo ch'iyáán 'ádadiilnííł 'áko shíí 'índa diné ndahidookah.  
 meeting-GO food 3-1-Pl-make.F Conj people 3-Pl.will-arrive.F  
 During the meeting let's cook some food; only then will people surely come.

This conjunction complex can also appear after a clause bearing the enclitic *-go*:

- (44) Diyogí ninítł'óqgo 'áko shíí 'índa shibéeso t'áá hólóq doo.  
 rug 3-1-weave.P-GO Conj 1-money just 3-exist.NI FUT  
 I may have some money only when I finish weaving the rug.

### 3.4 doodago or

The conjunction *doodago* is used to coordinate clauses, noun phrases, postpositional phrases, and enclitic phrases. The first four examples below involve coordinating clauses:

- (45) Bini' ídeeshtah doodago 'éiyá yóó' 'adeeshwoł.  
let 1-go.school.F Conj only away 1-off-run.F  
Let me go to school or else I'll run away.
- (46) Díí 'éétsoh 'ádánaháfniih doodago 'ádánahideeshnih.  
this coat reflex.3-2-buy.I Conj reflex.3-1-buy.F  
Buy this coat for yourself or else I'll buy it for myself.
- (47) Nimá sání bá 'atoo' nídnííłdoh doodago háadida bił 'adíyíłł.  
2-grandmother (mat.) 3-for stew revers.heat.F Conj somewhere 3-with 2-eat.F  
Reheat the stew for your (maternal) grandmother or else eat with her somewhere (in a restaurant).

<p><b><i>doodago</i></b> 'or' conjoins clauses, noun phrases, postpositional phrases, and enclitic phrases Right dislocation is possible</p>
--

Clauses containing only adjectives (neuter verbs) can be coordinated using *doodago*:

- (48) Nizhóníísh doodago nichxóó'íísh?  
3-pretty.NI-Q Conj 3-ugly.NI-Q  
Is it pretty or is it ugly?

The following examples have coordinated noun phrases:

- (49) Charlie doodago Daniel níká 'adoolwoł.  
Charlie Conj Daniel 2-after SUP-will-run.F  
Either Charlie will help you or Daniel.
- (50) Charlie níká 'adoolwoł doodago Daniel.  
Charlie 2-after SUP-will-run.F Conj Daniel  
Either Charlie or Daniel will help you.

As the last pair of examples indicate, when *doodago* is used to coordinate noun phrases, *doodago* and the noun phrase that follows it can appear after the verb, leaving the other noun phrase in the normal position for arguments before the verb.

In addition to clauses, *doodago* can be used to coordinate noun phrases, postpositional phrases, and enclitic phrases. See section 4 for discussion.

### 3.5 doodaii' or

*Doodaii'* is used for logical disjunction, usually represented in English by *or*. This conjunction can be used to conjoin two clauses:

- (51) Shíká 'anánlwo' doodaii' t'áadoo shaa nánít'íní.  
1-after 3-run.U Conj just-neg 1-to 2-1-bother.I  
Help me or else don't bother me! (YM 1987:350)

<b><i>doodaii'</i></b>	'or'
conjoins clauses, noun phrases, postpositional phrases, and enclitic phrases	
Right dislocation is possible	

- (52) Náá'íídéeshtah nisin doodaii' t'óó siláogóó deeshááŕ.  
again-1-read.F 1-want.NI Conj merely army-to 1-go.F  
I want to either go to school again or enter the armed forces. (YM 1987:350)
- (53) Bíísh 'áníŕnūgo 'ánít'í doodaii' daats'í t'áá níniik'eh 'ánít'í?  
3-Q 1-3-say.P-GO 2-do.I Conj possibly just 2-2-will 2-do.I  
Did he tell you to do it or did you do it of your own free will and accord? (YM 1987:714)

*Doodaii'* can be used with adjectives (neuter verbs):

- (54) Łizhinígíí doodaii' figaaígíí shaa ní'aah.  
black.N-NOM Conj white.N-NOM 1-to 2-give.I  
Give me either the black one or the white one. (YM 1987:350)

It can coordinate noun phrases in any syntactic function:

- (55) 'Ałk'idáá' t'oh naadáá' dant'íhgo łíí' doodaii' béégashii da há hada'ał'ées ní't'ée'.  
long-past grass corn 3-ripe-GO horse Conj cow such-as 4-for out-Pl-3-stomp.I PAST  
Long ago when the wheat ripened it was stomped out by horses or such things as cattle.  
(YM 1987:402)
- (56) Hastiinísh ashkii doodaii' íéechaa'í daats'í neiniłché?  
man-Q boy Conj dog possibly about-3-3-chase.I  
Is the man chasing the boy or the dog?
- (57) Bii' sitlé'é doodaii' bááh łikaní daats'í nínizin?  
pie Conj cake possibly 3-2-want.NI  
Do you possibly want pie or cake?

- (58) Bá'ólta'íish Jáan doodaii' Mary yich'į haadzíí' ?  
 teacher John Conj Mary 3-to 3-talk.P  
 Did the teacher talk to Jáan or Mary?
- (59) Háidígíí nínízin bii' sitlé'é doodaii' bááh fikaní daats'í?  
 which-NOM 3-2-want.NI pie Conj cake possibly  
 Which do you want, pie or cake?
- (60) Łééchaq'í doodaii' ma'ii daats'í dibé baa naajeeh.  
 dog or coyote possibly sheep 3-at neg 3-about.chase.I neg  
 Either a dog or possibly a coyote is chasing the sheep around.

In (55), the noun phrases being coordinated are in the function of subject; in (56) and (57), they are objects, in (58), they are oblique arguments (i.e., objects of postpositions that serve as arguments of the verb), and in (59) they are adjuncts.

In many cases, *doodaii'* and the noun phrase that follows it can be moved to a position after the verb, leaving the other noun phrase in front of the verb:

- (61) 'I'í'ąągo dah díníilghaazh 'ádíléét doodaii' náneeskaadí.  
 evening fry.bread SUP-2-make.F Conj tortilla  
 This evening either make fry bread or tortilla.

*Doodaii'* can also be used with temporal adverbs:

- (62) Yiskąągo daats'í doodaii' naakiiskąągo daats'í dah dideesháál.  
 tomorrow perhaps Conj two-days-GO perhaps out 1-leave.F  
 I'll start out in one or two days. (YM 1987:350)

When *doodaii'* is used, *daats'í* 'possibly' often appears as well, as shown in (53) and (56). The uncertainty conveyed by *daats'í* justifies the use of the disjunction *doodaii'*. *Daats'í* can appear with both phrases that are being coordinated. Here, the phrases being coordinated are noun phrases:

- (63) “Bee dah ní'diidlohi” díníigo ha'át'íishq' 'ááłbidiní  
 “3-by.means.of up SUP-3-lift.U-NOM” 2-say.NI-GO what-about SUP-2-mean.I  
 --t'óól daats'í doodaii' 'ázníłdáás neíłkidígíí daats'í 'ááłdiní.  
 --rope possibly Conj indef-weigh.NI 3-3-measure-NOM possibly 3-1-mean.I  
 What do you mean when you say “bee dah ní'diidlohi” -- do you mean a hangman's rope  
 perhaps, or do you mean a scale for weighing? (YM 1987:2)

Sometimes *doodaii'* is used after a clause bearing the complementizer *-go* and before another clause:

- (64) [Naat'áanii yá'át'éego t'áadoo le'é yinit'íigo doo 'ákóqó yiniyé 'ádił niidáah da.]  
leader 3-good.NI-GO something 3-3-bother.I-GO neg there 3-reason reflex-with 3-tire.I neg  
T'óó naaltsos 'ákóqó 'íł'íigo **doodaii'** béesh da yee halne'go ła' yiyił'íih.  
just letter there 3-3-make.U-GO Conj telephone INDEF 3-3-make.U  
[A good leader does not tire himself out running around here and there whenever  
something comes up.] He writes a letter or makes a telephone call to take care of it. (YM  
1987:649)

This is a curious construction because *-go* normally subordinates the clause in which it appears, while *doodaii'* normally coordinates clauses or phrases. In (64), *doodaii'* seems to be coordinating a subordinate clause with a main clause.

### 3.6 háálá *for, because*

This particle appears in the position of clausal coordinators and clearly entails a causal relationship between the two clauses.

*Háálá* is used to connect two clauses and entails a causal connection between the two. When two clauses are combined by *háálá* [S *háálá* S], the second clause is interpreted as the cause, the first clause is interpreted as the effect: *Tó yaa 'anool'ąął háálá doo nahatın da* 'The water level is going down because there is no rain'.

The combined clauses consist of a verb as in (65) and (66), a postposition followed by a verb as in (67) and (68), and adjectives (neuter verbs) as the main predicate as in (69) and (70).

- (65) Kin Łánídi naashnish háálá 'áadi shaghan.  
Flagstaff 1-work.I Conj there 1-house  
I work in Flagstaff because I live there.
- (66) Doo háágóó da deeshnéet da háálá kwe'é shikéyah.  
neg somewhere-to neg 1-move.F neg Conj here 1-land  
I will not go (move) anywhere else because my land is here.
- (67) Doo ndiishdáał da háálá kwii doo shił yá'áhoot'éeh da.  
neg back-1-go.F neg Conj here neg 1-with areal-like.NI neg  
I won't come back because I don't like it here. (YM1987:427)

(68) Łįį' łizhinígíí nayiisnii' háálá 'éí bił nizhóní.  
 horse black.N-NOM 3-3-buy.P Conj det 3-with 3-beautiful.NI  
 S/he bought the black horse because it is beautiful to him/her.

(69) Bikáá'asdáhi ndaaz háálá nineez.  
 sofa 3-heavy.NI Conj 3-long.NI  
 The sofa is heavy because it is long.

<i>háálá</i>	'because'
[S <sub>1</sub> <i>háálá</i> S <sub>2</sub> ]	'Because of S <sub>2</sub> , S <sub>1</sub> '
conjoins clauses	
Right dislocation is not possible	

(70) Łįį' dilwo' háálá néiltihí 'át'é.  
 Horse 3-fast.NI Conj race-Nom 3-be.NI  
 The horse is fast because it is a race horse.

The following are additional examples with *háálá* sentence constructions.

(71) Be'eldífldahsinilgóó doo na'asbaąs da háálá shił 'ayóo 'ánízáád.  
 Albuquerque-to neg 1-drive.I neg Conj 1-with very 3-far.NI  
 I don't drive to Albuquerque because it is too far in my estimation.

(72) Naalyéhé yá sidáhi doo shił nilįį da háálá t'áábí sizínigi t'éiyá 'ádaa nitsékees.  
 trader neg 1-with 3-be.NI neg Conj just-self 3-stand.NP-at only reflex-3-think.I  
 I don't like the trader because he thinks only of himself.

(73) Níléi léechąą'í binászid háálá t'áá 'áko náshidiit'įįh.  
 that dog 3-1-afraid.of.I Conj always 1-3-bark.U  
 I am afraid of that dog because it always barks at me.

(74) Tsinyaagi dínéeshtééł háálá ch'ééh déyá.  
 tree-under-at 1-lie.F Conj in-vain 1-go.P  
 I am going to lie down under the tree because I am tired.

(75) She'esdzáán doo shich'į' bił náhodooldįįh da lágo háálá gohwééh t'áadoo  
 1-wife neg 1-at 3-with become.angry.O neg hope Conj coffee just-neg  
 nahátnii' da lá.<sup>5</sup>  
 3-1-buy.P neg EMPH  
 I hope my wife doesn't get mad at me; I didn't buy the coffee. (YM 1987:541)

<sup>5</sup> The entire expression *doo shich'į' bił náhodooldįįh da*, which includes the negative frame, means 'S/he will become angry with me'. The verb does not seem to occur outside the negative frame, nor can the verb's meaning be separated from negation. YMM (1992:141) notes that the meaning of the prefix complex *náhodii-* is uncertain.

Finally note that the following is ungrammatical. The clause followed by *háálá* cannot appear after the other clause:

- (76) \*’Áadi shaghan, Kin Łánídi naashnish háálá.  
 there 1-home Flagstaff 1-work.I Conj  
 (I work in Flagstaff because I live there.)

The meanings of *háálá* and *biniinaa* (and its alternate form, *yiniinaa*) both are about causes and effect, but they differ with respect to how their meaning is put together with the clauses in sentences. In [ $S_1$  *háálá*  $S_2$ ],  $S_1$  is the effect and  $S_2$  is the cause. The opposite is the case with [ $S_1$ -*go biniinaa*  $S_2$ ]. In such sentences,  $S_1$  is the cause and  $S_2$  is the effect:

- (77) ’Adáádaá’ ’ayóo deesdoigo **biniinaa** shibéégashii ’aftso  
 yesterday very 3-hot.NP-GO because my-cattle all  
 taah yikai.  
 into-water 3-get.P-into  
 Because it was so hot yesterday, my cattle all got into the water.’ (YM 1987:795)

Also, note the syntactic difference, that the subordinator *-go* must appear with *biniinaa*, but not with *háálá*.

*biniinaa* ‘because’  
 [ $S_1$ -*go biniinaa*  $S_2$ ] ‘Because of  $S_1, S_2$ ’  
 connects a modifier with a main clause  
 Right dislocation is not possible

3.7 -ii’ *and, and thereupon*

The enclitic *-ii’* combines clauses according to the pattern [ $S$ -*ii’*  $S$ ]. Examples are *Naaltsoos ’áyilaaii’ ’ayí’ah* ‘S/he wrote a letter and mailed it’ and *Tsinyaagi jineeztúúii’ ’ajíilghaazh* ‘S/he lay down under a tree and went to sleep’.

The enclitic *-ii’* can be used with non-stative clauses (as in exx. (78-81)).

- (78) T’óó tá’ádeesgizii’ ’íyáá’.  
 just 3-reflex-wash.P-Conj 3-eat.P  
 S/he just washed up and ate.
- (79) ’Íít’óódii’ ’iilghaazh.  
 3-suck.P-Conj 3-sleep.P  
 S/he (the baby) suckled and went to sleep.

*-ii’* ‘and, and thereupon’  
 [ $S_1$ -*ii’*  $S_2$ ] ‘ $S_1$  and  $S_2$ ’  
 Connects clauses  
 Right dislocation is sometimes possible



- (80) Shicheii shiř yah íyáii' neezdá.  
 1-grandfather 1-with 3-in 3-enter.P-Conj 3-sit.P  
 My grandfather (maternal) came in on me and sat down. (YM 1987:474)
- (81) Tř'éédáá' t'óó yóó' 'iijéé'ii' Ndáá'góó nishiijéé'.  
 Last.night just away 1-Pl-run.P-Conj Enemy.Way.dance-to 1-Pl-run.P  
 Last night we ran away and went to the Enemy Way dance.

Some speakers, but not all, accept *-ii'* as a connective between clauses containing stative verbs:

- (82) %Ntsaaii' ndaaz.  
 3-big.NI-Conj 3-heavy.NI  
 It is big and heavy.
- (83) %Nineezi' 'átt'áá'í.  
 3-long.NI-Conj 3-thin.NI  
 It is long and thin.
- (84) %Ditáii' nitř'iz.  
 3-thick.NI-Conj 3-stiff.NI  
 It is thick and stiff.

However, speakers that reject (83-85) tend to accept the following, which has the neuter color term as the predicate of the second clause:

- (85) Na'ashxaazhii' bináá' dah lizhin.  
 3-sleep.P 3-eye up 3-black.NI  
 Having slept, s/he has her eyes open.

Examples (82), (83), and (84) would all be grammatical with *dóó* or with *-go* in place of *-ii'*. The resulting meanings are all approximately the same.

In principle, any pair of clauses can be connected using *-ii'*. When the conjoined clauses are non-stative, there is an implicature that the event described in the first clause took place before the one described in the second.

Right dislocation expressing an afterthought is possible for *S-ii'*:

- (86) Náni'nřkaadgo 'íyáá' tá'ádeesgizii'.  
 3-3-herd.P-GO 3-eat.P 3-reflex-wash.P-Conj  
 When he herded (the sheep) back, he ate, after washing himself.

- (87) Awéé' t'ááshq̣q̣ 'iifghaazh 'íft'óódií'.  
 baby just-luck 3-sleep.P 3-suck.P-Conj  
 The baby luckily went to sleep, after suckling.

The groups of examples below indicate that clauses connected by *-ii'*, *-go*, and *dóó* have approximately the same meaning:

- (88) Ch'ééh déyáago tsinyaagi nítíi' 'iifhaazh.  
 In-vain.1-go.P-Comp tree-under-at 1-lie.NP-Conj 1-sleep.P  
 When I got tired I lay down under a tree and went to sleep. (YM 1987:474)
- (89) Ch'ééh déyáago tsinyaagi nítíigo 'iifhaazh.  
 In-vain.1-go.P-Comp tree-under-at 1-lie.NP-Conj 1-sleep.P  
 When I got tired I lay down under a tree and went to sleep.
- (90) Ch'ééh déyáago tsinyaagi nítíi' **dóó** 'iifhaazh.  
 In-vain.1-go.P-Comp tree-under-at 1-lie.NP-Conj 1-sleep.P  
 When I got tired I lay down under a tree and went to sleep. (YM 1987:474)
- (91) 'Abínigo gohwééh 'áyii'ííhii' t'óó'góó ch'élwo' naaltsoos biniiyé.  
 Morning coffee 3-3-make.U-Conj outside-to out-3-run.U paper 3-for  
 In the morning he makes coffee *and* runs out to get the newspaper.
- (92) 'Abínigo gohwééh 'áyii'íigo t'óó'góó ch'élwo' naaltsoos biniiyé.  
 Morning coffee 3-3-make.U-Conj outside-to out-3-run.U paper 3-for  
 In the morning he makes coffee *and* runs out to get the newspaper.
- (93) 'Abínigo gohwééh 'áyii'íih **dóó** t'óó'góó ch'élwo' naaltsoos biniiyé.  
 Morning coffee 3-3-make.U-Conj outside-to out-3-run.U paper 3-for  
 In the morning he makes coffee *and* runs out to get the newspaper.

### 3.8 'índa *and only then*

The particle *'índa* is normally used to attach a temporal adverbial to a clause. This adverbial may consist of a temporal adverb, or it may be a clause subordinated by the enclitic *-go* (S<sub>1</sub>-*go* *'índa* S<sub>2</sub>). In such cases, S<sub>1</sub> identifies the reference time of S<sub>2</sub>. The particle also appears with *'áko* (see section 3.3.3). With either an adverb or an adverbial clause, the sentence will mean that only after the reference time indicated by the adverbial will the event described in the main clause occur. The particle *'índa* also appears with *'áko* (see section 3.3.3).

Example (94) contains a subordinate clause before *índa*; (95) has a temporal adverb in that position.

(94) Neezdáago 'índa yiyííłtsá.  
3-sit.P-GO only.then 3-3-see.P  
Only when s/he sat down did s/he see it.

(95) 'Adááááá' 'índa chidí naana'í niséłbááz.  
yesterday only.then car 3-crawl-Nom 3-1-drive.P  
Yesterday was the first time that I ever drove a tractor. (YM 1987:472)

<b>'índa</b>	'and only then'
[S <sub>1</sub> -go 'índa S <sub>2</sub> ]	'S <sub>2</sub> only after S <sub>1</sub> '
[Adv 'índa S]	'S only after Adv'
	connects temporal adverb to main clause
	Right dislocation is not possible

'*Índa* is not a conjunction. It is mentioned briefly here because it is sometimes appropriate to use instead of clausal coordination.

3.9 léi' *because / inasmuch as / in view of the fact that*

*Léi'* as a conjunction glossed as 'because', 'inasmuch as' or 'in view of the fact that' in the pattern [S *léi'* S] (e.g. *yizloh léi' yidiíłíd* 'he has roped it and is branding it'). It is also used as an indefinite determiner (similar to the English *a* or *an*) when following a noun or an adjective modifying a noun: '*abaní nizhóní léi'*' 'a nice buckskin'.

The combined clauses by the subordinate particle indicates a sequence of events in which the event described in the first clause precedes the event described in the second. As with the other conjunctions, the clauses being conjoined can be quite different internally. There is frequently an inference that the event in the first clause caused the event in the second. The clauses being subordinated consist of a verb as in (96) and (97), a postposition followed by a verb as in (98) and (99), and it may subordinate two adjectives (neuter verbs) as in (100) and (101).

(96) Kii kii' yizloh léi' yí'diíłíd.  
Kii horse 3-3-rope.P Conj 3-3-brand.I  
Kii has roped the horse and is branding it.

<b>léi'</b>	'in view of the fact that'
[S <sub>1</sub> <i>léi'</i> S <sub>2</sub> ]	'because of S <sub>1</sub> , S <sub>2</sub> '
	conjoins clauses
	Right dislocation is not possible

(97) Tó niidoii léi' bee tá'ádésgiz.  
water become.warm.P Conj 3-by means of Reflex1.wash.P  
Since the water got hot, I washed myself with it.

(98) Shizhé'é nádzáá léi' nihił yah 'íyá.  
1-father 3-return.P Conj 1Pl-with 3-into 3-come.P  
My father had returned and came in on us.

(99) Doo nahatín da léi' tó yaa 'anool'aał.  
neg rain.P neg Conj water down 3-go-down.Pg  
Because it hasn't been raining, the water level is going down

(100) Naak'a'atáhi ditáá léi' nitł'iz.  
fabric 3-thick.NI Conj 3-stiff.NI  
Because the fabric is thick it is stiff.

(101) Gad dit'in léi' nizhóní.  
juniper 3-dense Conj 3-beautiful.NI  
Because the juniper is dense it is beautiful.

As is often the case with coordinated clauses<sup>6</sup> in Navajo, when *léi'* is used there is often an implicature that the event or condition described in the first clause brought about the event or condition described in the second:

(102) Siláo bibe'eldqoh 'aháínínil léi' t'áá 'ał'aa sinil.  
policeman 3-gun 3-3-disassemble.P Conj just apart-3-lie.PIO.P  
The policeman had taken his gun apart as a result they are lying in separate pieces. (YM 1987:24)

(103) Dziłgháadi nahóółtáá léi' tsékoohdęę' tó ch'íní'go'.  
mountain-top-at 3-rain.P Conj rock-in-from water out-3-rush.P  
It rained up in the mountain as a result the water rushed out from the canyon.

The particle *léi'* is also used to mark a noun phrase as indefinite.

### 3.10 *ndi* but

The conjunction *ndi* functions very much like the English word *but*. The structure [S<sub>1</sub> *ndi* S<sub>2</sub>] indicates that both S<sub>1</sub> and S<sub>2</sub> are true, but it further indicates that, given the claim that S<sub>1</sub> is true, there is something surprising about S<sub>2</sub> being true. *Ndi* is used only to conjoin clauses, not other constituents:

---

<sup>6</sup> Naturally this is not the case with *háálá*, which entails that the condition described in the second clause caused that which is described in the first.

- (104) T'áá 'ashání 'asháa ndi sitsi' yéé 'áadijł.  
Just SUP-1-eat.I-í SUP-1-eat.I Conj 1-flesh PAST 3-dwindle.Pg  
I eat and eat but I keep right on losing weight. (YM 1987:11)
- (105) Ch'iyáán t'óó 'ahayóí ndi tó 'ádin.  
food many Conj water none.NI  
There's lots of food but no water. (Young and Morgan, 1987:605)
- (106) 'Áłchíní 'ólta' yaa daneesánígíí t'óó 'ahayóí hólqo ndi 'óta' bá 'ádin.  
children school 3-to 3Pl-grow.P-Nom many 4-exist.NI Conj school 3-for none.NI  
There are many school age children, but there are no schools for them. (YM 1987:87)
- (107) Hastiin Tsii'agodí doo naa'áanii nlíi da ndi 'ayóo 'ádíhólnííh.  
Mr. Shorthair neg boss 3-be.NI neg Conj very 3-bossy.NI  
Mr. Shorthair is not the boss, but he's very bossy. (YM 1987:16)
- (108) Nizhóní ndi 'íłí.  
3-pretty.NI Conj 3-expensive.NI  
It is pretty but it's expensive.
- (109) Mary bidibé yázhí naaki ndi Daniel 'éí díí'.  
Mary 3.sheep little two Conj. Daniel as.for four  
Mary has two lambs but Daniel has four.

<i>ndi</i>	but
[S <sub>1</sub> <i>ndi</i> S <sub>2</sub> ]	'S <sub>1</sub> but S <sub>2</sub> '
conjoins clauses	
right dislocation is possible	

*Ndi* cannot be used to conjoin two noun phrases or two postpositional phrases:

- (110) \*Mary ndi Jáan léé'chą́'í yinołchééł.  
Mary Conj John horse 3-3-chase.Pg  
(Mary and even John are chasing the horse.)
- (111) \*'Asdzání hastiin ndi kúú' yiyiiltsá  
woman man Conj horse 3-3-see.P  
(The woman saw the man and even the horse.)
- (112) \*Jooł 'atiin tsé'naa ndi 'anít'i' báátis 'ahíłhan.  
ball road across Conj fence 3-over 3-1-throw.P  
(I threw the ball across the road but even over the fence.)

Right dislocation is possible with *ndi*. The following examples are grammatical:

- (113) Sitsi' yéé 'áadijł t'áá 'asháni 'asháą ndi.  
 1-flesh PAST 1-dwindle.Pg SUP-1-eat.I-í SUP-1-eat.I Conj  
 (I keep right on losing weight but I eat and eat.)
- (114) Hastiin Tsii'agodí 'ayóo 'ádfhólníh doo naat'áanii nlíj da ndi.  
 Mr. Shorthair very SUP-3-bossy.NI neg boss 3-be.NI neg Conj  
 Mr. Shorthair is very bossy, but he is not the boss.

*Ndi* sometimes appears at the beginning of a sentence in a discourse to show a contrast with the preceding sentence.

[See also 'áko *ndi*, section 3.3.3.2]

### 3.11 *ńt'ée'* past

[The particle *ńt'ée'* is also spelled and pronounced *nít'ée'*, *ńt'ěě'*, and *nít'ěě'*.]

The particle *ńt'ée'* commonly appears at the end of single clauses to indicate that the proposition it expresses was true at some point in the past. *ńt'ée'* is also used in the position of a conjunction in the pattern [S *ńt'ée'* S], to combine two clauses. In such cases, the first clause is taken to be true in the past relative either to the reference time of the second clause or to speech time. *Ná'iisláá' ńt'ée' ńdaasdo* 'She went pinyon picking and got stiff (physically)' or *Nayiisnii' ńt'ée' doo búghah da lá* 'She bought it but it didn't fit her'.

Any pair of clauses, in principle, can be connected using *ńt'ée'*. The clauses being connected may consist of a verb as in (115) and (116), a postposition followed by a verb as in (117) and (118), and it may connect two clauses with statives (neuter verbs) as the main predicate, as in (119) and (120).

- (115) 'Adááđáá' ná'iiyeláá' ńt'ée' ńdasisdo.  
 Yesterday SUP-1-pick.P PAST 1-become.sore.P  
 I picked pinyon yesterday and I got sore (physically) as a result.

- (116) Hastiin kéechąą'í biiltsąą ńt'ée' nábidiił'in.  
 man dog 3-3-see.P PAST 3-3-bark.I  
 When the dog saw the man it started barking at him.

<p><b><i>ńt'ée'</i></b>          past          [S<sub>1</sub>-<i>ńt'ée'</i> S<sub>2</sub>] 'S<sub>1</sub>[past] and S<sub>2</sub>'          connects clauses</p>
--

- (117) 'Asaa' biih deeschid nít'ée' bilasáana biyi' lá.  
 dish 3-in 3-1-put.P PAST apple 3-in Emph  
 When I put my hand into the jar I discovered that there was an apple inside. (YM 1987:678)
- (118) Shimá 'ée' shá 'áyiilaa nít'ée' doo shíghah da.  
 1-mother clothing 1-for 3-3-make.P PAST neg 1-fit.NI neg  
 My mother had made an outfit for me but it didn't fit me.
- (119) Díí beeldléí nizhóní nít'ée' fikon.  
 3-pretty.NI PAST 3-flammable.NI  
 This blanket was pretty but it is flammable.
- (120) Hastiin bíiyis nít'ée' 'ayóo dit' o.  
 man 3-handsome.NI PAST 3-hairy.NI  
 The man was handsome but he is very hairy.

When clauses are connected with *nít'ée'* there is often an implicature that the condition described in the first clause brought about the condition described in the second clause. There is no connotation that the result is either positive or negative:

- (121) Jáan shiiltsáá nít'ée' naanáswod.  
 John 1-3-see.P PAST rever-3-run.P  
 John saw me as a result he turned around and took off.

Below are additional examples:

- (122) Tsxíłgo kintahgóó tádiideeshaał nisin nít'ée' doo hah nánishdzáa da.  
 quickly town-to among-1-go.F 1-think.NI PAST neg late revers-1-come.P.neg  
 I was thinking about a quick trip to town but I didn't return until very late.
- (123) Kintahgóó deesháał nisin nít'ée' chídi doo sizíı da lá.  
 Town.to will-1-go.F 1-want.NI PAST car neg. 3-park.P neg. emph.  
 I wanted to go to town but discovered the car was not (parked) there!
- (124) Ray shiléechaą'í biiltsáá nít'ée' t'áadoo nábidiił'in da.  
 Ray 1-dog 3-3-see.P PAST just-neg 3-3-bark.I neg  
 My dog saw Ray but it didn't bark (at him).

- (125) Tʔ'éédáá' taah deeshchid nít'ée' tóʔ'iish bik'ídinishchid.  
 Night-past water-into 1-stick-hand.P PAST watersnake 3-on-1-stick-hand.P  
 Last night I stuck my hand in the water and I put it on a watersnake. (YM 1987:678)

Other uses of *nít'ée'*

The particle *nít'ée'* can be used at the end of a single clause to indicate that the event or condition it describes occurred in the past:

- (126) 'Ahbínídáá' jáádk'ehdi kǫ́' shiʔ 'ahééhiniłtǫ́h nít'ée'.  
 this.morning race.track-at horse 1-with around-3-run.I PAST  
 This morning I rode the horse at a gallop around and around the race track. (YM 1987:49)
- (127) 'Ólta' góne' yah 'aheejée'go shǫ́ shimá ch'ééh hánihidées'ǫ́ nít'ée'.  
 school areal-in 3-into 1pl-run.P-GO probably 1-mother in.vain out-3-look.PAST  
 When we went (ran) into the classroom my mother probably looked all over for us. (YM 1987:66)
- (128) Siláo nishkǫ́ nít'ée'.  
 police 1-be.NI PAST  
 I was (used to be) a policeman. (YM 1987:678)

*Nít'ée'* can also appear at the beginning of a clause in a discourse to indicate that after the event described in the preceding sentence was completed, the next event occurred:

- (129) Sháá'ǫ́ ch'íníyáá léi' kóq' sidá.  
 sun-in out-3-go.P LÉI' here 3-sit.NP  
 He came out into the sunlight and sat there.  
 Nít'ée' éi Na'ashq'ii Dich'íshii, Ii'ni' ch'ééh biłthéego ch'ééh 'ábíł'ǫ́ lá.  
 NÍT'ÉE' TOP Horned Toad Lightning in.vain 3-3-kill.I-GO in.vain 3-3-do.P emph  
 Then, Lightning tried in vain to kill Horned Toad. (Whitewater 1984:35)

The particle can also be used on a noun phrase to indicate that the individual described by the noun is deceased or 'former':

- (130) Shimá sání nít'ée' yee shiʔ hoolne'.  
 1-mother old PAST 3-of 1-with 3-tell.P  
 My late grandmother (mat.) told me about it. (YM 1987:678)



### 3.12 *yéędą́ą́'* past

*Yéędą́ą́'* is a particle that, like *ńt'éeé*, can be used to subordinate a clause and entails that the clause it subordinates was true in the past relative to the time the sentence is uttered. Unlike *ńt'éeé*, *yéędą́ą́'* cannot appear at the end of a main clause:

(131) \*'Ashkii bichidí yichq' *yéędą́ą́'*.

boy 3-vehicle 3-ruin.P PAST

(When the boy's car broke down.)

(132) Bichidí yichq' *yéędą́ą́'* 'ashkii t'áani' nálwod.

3-vehicle 3-ruin.P PAST boy afoot 3-return.P

The boy returned on foot when his car broke down.

(133) Diné bikéyah bikáa'gi ndahonidzood *yéędą́ą́'* Naatsis'áan hoolyééógóó

Navajo 3-country 3-on-at pl-areal-3-flee.I PAST Navajo.Mtn areal-called.NI-to

niha'áłchíní bił 'adahineet'íí'.

1pl- children 3-with SUP-pl-1dp-sneak.off.P

At the time people were on the run in Navajoland, fleeing in small groups, we sneaked away with our children one group after another, to Navajo Mountain. (YM 1987:9)

The interpretation of clauses bearing *yéędą́ą́'* suggests that they are subordinate to the clause that follows.

## 4 Coordinating Phrases and Words

### 4.1 Noun Phrases and Nouns

#### 4.1.1 Common Nouns

The conjunctions *dóó* 'and', *doodago* 'or', and *doodaii* 'or' can be used to coordinate noun phrases. The coordinated noun phrases in (134) and (135) are subjects of the verbs in their clauses:

(134) 'Ałk'idą́ą́' Naabeehó bikéyah bikáa'gi ch'il dóó tó bee 'áda'aziin ńt'éeé' jiní.

formerly Navajo 3-country 3-top-in grass Conj water 3-with plentiful.NI past 4-say

It is said that formerly water and grass were plentiful in the Navajo country. (YM 1987:10)

(135) Naalyéhé yá sidáhi dóó be'esdzáá ts'ídá 'álaháji' ná'áłt'ohgo nát'oh yee 'ádi'niigá.

trader Conj 3-wife very constant 3-smoke.I-GO cigarette 3-with refl-3-kill.I

The trader and his wife are killing themselves, constantly smoking cigarettes. (YM 1987:17)

The coordinated noun phrase in the example below functions as the object of the incorporated postposition *-ghá:*

- (136) K'aa' léi' naaltsos dóo chidí bikee' yigháníjil.  
arrow INDEF paper Conj car 3-shoe 3-through-3-stuck.P  
The arrow went through a (piece of) paper and a tire.

It appears that *dóo* cannot coordinate nouns inside a noun phrase. The following is a noun phrase but the adjective *yazhí* cannot have scope over the first conjunct:

- (137) 'ashkii dóo 'at'ééd yazhí  
boy Conj girl little  
the boy and the little girl  
\*the little boy and the little girl

On the other hand, (138) is ambiguous; the indefinite marker *léi'* can have scope over the first conjunct:

- (138) 'ashkii dóo 'at'ééd léi'  
boy Conj girl INDEF  
the boy and a girl  
a boy and a girl

When the indefinite marker and an adjective are both present, the results are consistent with (137) and (138). The indefinite marker can have scope across the coordinate structure but the adjective cannot:

- (139) 'ashkii dóo 'at'ééd yazhí léi'  
boy Conj girl little INDEF  
the boy and a little girl  
a boy and a little girl  
\*the little boy and a little girl  
\*a little boy and a little girl

In the following example, two clauses nominalized with the enclitic *-ígíí* are coordinated with *doodaíi'*. Note that the second constituent in the coordinate structure includes the question enclitic *-sh:*

- (140) Háidígíísh ni nił fikan, náneeskaadí 'ak'ah bił 'ályaaígíí doodaii'  
 which-Q you 2-to sweet, tortilla lard 3-with 3-make(pass).P-NOM Conj  
 mandigíiya bił 'ályaaígíísh?  
 butter 3-with 3-make(pass).P-NOM-Q  
 Which do you like, tortillas made with lard or those made with butter?

#### 4.1.2 Coordinating noun phrases of different person/Coordinating pronouns

This section explains how to express such concepts as 'you and I', 'you and the horse'--that is, how to coordinate noun phrases that have different person features. Except where a source is indicated, the examples in this section are constructed by the authors.

Pronouns occurring as separate words outside the verb are not frequently used in Navajo. When they are used, they are normally emphatic or indicate that the speaker feels a need to be usually precise. The sentences in this section that include independent pronouns, thus, have limited use. They are cases of very careful speech of the sort one might find in a courtroom where it is important to be precise about each participant in an event being described. For instance, if I am reporting that a certain woman saw the defendant and me together at a certain time I might use the fourth person to refer to the defendant and say:

- (141) 'Asdzání nihiiltsá shí dóó hó.  
 woman 1dp-3-see.P me Conj 4  
 The woman saw us, that one and me.

In normal circumstances, however, I would be slightly less precise and simply say '*Asdzání nihiiltsá*', 'The woman saw us'.

Most of the sentences in this section that contain independent pronouns, are not used in ordinary speech.

##### 4.1.2.1 Object positions

When coordinating different persons in direct or oblique (postpositional) object position, the normal thing to do is to coordinate two clauses that share a subject:

- (142) 'Asdzání shiiiltsá dóó niiltsá.  
 woman 1-3-see.P Conj 2-3-see.P  
 The woman saw me and saw you.

- (143) 'Asdzání shíiitsá dóó íí' yíiitsá.  
woman 1-3-see.P Conj 3-3-see.P  
The woman saw me and saw the horse.

Third person noun phrases (that do not consist of pronouns) can be coordinated in the normal preverbal position in which direct objects appear:

- (144) Bá'ólta'ísh Jáan dóó Mary yich'í haadzí'?'  
teacher-Q John Conj Mary 3-to 3-talk.P  
Did the teacher talk to John and Mary?

- (145) 'Asdzání Jáan dóó Mary yíiitsá.  
Woman John Conj Mary 3-3-see.P  
The woman saw John and Mary.

- (146) Lillie dóó Helen 'álah 'aleehgóó deesh'áázh.  
Lillie Conj Helen conference-to 3dpl-go.F  
Lillie and Helen will go to the conference.

However, coordinated object pronouns normally do not sound good in preverbal position:

- (147) ?'Asdzání shí dóó ni nihíitsá.  
woman me Conj you 1dpl-3-see.P  
The woman saw you and me.

- (148) ?'Asdzání ni dóó shí nihíitsá.  
woman you Conj me dpl-3-see.P  
The woman saw you and me.

Instead, the conjoined pronouns can be added in a position after the verb with the interpretation of a clarifying afterthought:

- (149) 'Asdzání nihíitsá shí dóó ni.  
woman 1dpl-see.P I Conj you  
The woman saw us, you and me.

Alternatively, the conjoined pronouns can appear at the beginning of the clause:

- (150) Shí dóó ni 'asdzání nihiitsá.  
 I Conj you woman 1dpl-see.P  
 The woman saw you and me.

There is no chance that *shí dóó ni* could be mistaken for the subject of this sentence because of the inflectional marking in the verb. The verb is marked as having a singular subject and a non-singular object, while *'asdzánús* singular and *shí dóó ni* is non-singular.

#### 4.1.2.2 Subject positions

Independent pronouns are used for first, second, and fourth person when coordinating subjects of different persons. Third person is not normally represented by free pronouns. The pronouns are coordinated within a single clause:

- (151) Shí dóó ni 'álah 'aleehgóó diit'ash.  
 I and you meeting-to 1dpl-go.F  
 You and I should go to the conference.
- (152) Shí dóó shizhé'é 'aheenílnééz.  
 now 1-father recip-1dpl-tall.NI  
 My father and I are equally tall. (YM 1987:52)<sup>7</sup>
- (153) Ni dóó nimá 'aheenółzhóní.  
 you Conj 2-mother recip-2du-pretty.NI  
 You and your mother are equally pretty. (YM 1987:54)

Third person noun phrases (that do not consist of pronouns) can be coordinated in the normal pre-verbal position in which subjects appear:

- (154) Shí shigaan dóó ni nigaan t'áá 'aheenífnééz.  
 me 1-arm Conj you 2-arm just recip-3-long.NI  
 My arms and your arms are the same length. (YM 1987:52)

---

<sup>7</sup> This proposition can be expressed without coordination as follows:

- (i) K'ad shizhé'é bił 'aheenísnééz.  
 now 1-father 3-with recip-1-tall.NI  
 I'm as tall as my father now. (YM 1987:52)

- (155) 'Awéé' dóó dibé yázhí t'áá 'aheenífdáás.  
 baby Conj sheep small just recip-3-weigh.NI  
 The baby and the lamb weigh the same. (YM 1987:52)
- (156) Sitsilí dóó shideezhí t'áá 'aheenítso.  
 1-little.brother Conj 1-little.sister just recip-3-size.NI  
 My little brother and little sister are the same height. (YM 1987:52)

#### 4.1.2.3 Ordering of person in coordinate structures

When noun phrases or clauses that differ with respect to person are coordinated, one normally puts first person first. Second person is next in rank, followed by third and fourth together. Thus, (157) is preferred over (158) and (159) is preferred over (160).

- (157) a. 'Asdzání shiitsá dóó niitsá.  
 woman 2-3-see.P Conj 1-3-see.P  
 The woman saw me and saw you.
- b. 'Asdzání niitsá dóó shiitsá.  
 woman 2-3-see.P Conj 1-3-see.P  
 The woman saw you and saw me.
- (158) a. 'Asdzání nihiiitsá shí dóó ni.  
 woman 1dpl-see.P I Conj you  
 The woman saw us, you and me.
- b. 'Asdzání nihiiitsá ni dóó shí.  
 woman 1dpl-3-see.P you Conj me  
 The woman saw us you and me.
- (159) a. Shí dóó 'éí 'áyóo 'atk'is niidlí.  
 1 Conj that very friend 1du-be.NI  
 S/he and I are good friends.
- b. 'Éí dóó shí 'áyóo 'atk'is niidlí.  
 that Conj 1very friend 1du-be.NI  
 S/he and I are good friends.

- (160) a. Ni dóó hó bá'ólta'ísh nihich'í' haadzí'?  
 2 and 4 teacher-Q 2dpl-to 3-talk.P  
 Did the woman talk to you and that one (him)?
- b. Hó dóó ni bá'ólta'ísh nihich'í' haadzí'?  
 4 and 2 teacher-Q 1dpl-to 3-talk.P  
 Did the woman talk to you and that one (him)?

This is a stylistic preference, but either ordering is acceptable. This general preference holds for all the examples in section 4.1.2. The generalization does not apply to sentences in which temporal sequencing between clauses is entailed or implicated, because time determines the order. Thus,

- (161) 'Asdzání shiiltsá dóó k'í' yiyiiltsá.  
 woman 1-3-see.P Conj 3-3-see.P  
 The woman saw me and (then) saw the horse.
- (162) 'Asdzání k'í' yiyiiltsá dóó shiiltsá.  
 woman 2-3-see.P Conj 1-3-see.P  
 The woman saw the horse and (then) me.

## 4.2 Postpositional Phrases, Enclitic Phrases, and Postpositions

### 4.2.1 The Basics

Postpositional Phrases can be coordinated using such conjunctions as *dóó* 'and', *doodago* 'or', *doodaii* 'or':

- (163) Jooł 'atiin tsé'naa dóó 'aní'i' báátis 'ahííłhan.  
 ball road across Conj fence 3-over 3-1-throw.P  
 I threw the ball across the road and over the fence.
- (164) Jooł 'aní'i' báátis dóó atiin tsé'naa 'ahííłhan.  
 ball fence 3-over Conj road across 3-1-throw.P  
 I threw the ball over the fence and across the road.
- (165) Tsédáajj' doodago dził bigháa'ji'ísh nííní'na'?  
 cliff-to Conj mountain 3-on-to-Q 1-crawl.NP  
 Did you crawl to the edge of the cliff or to the top of the mountain?

- (166) Jool' 'atiin tsé'naa doodaii' 'aní'i'í báhátishísh 'ahííníłhan?  
 ball road across Conj fence 3-over-Q 3-2-throw.P  
 Did you throw the ball across the road or over the fence?

The PPs in these sentences describe the path followed by the ball. The order of the PPs makes a difference, as the interpretations of (163) and (164) show.

Two postpositional enclitic phrases, consisting of a noun phrase and a postpositional enclitic, can be coordinated:

- (167) Tsé'áándéé' dóo tsédáají' ninish'na'.  
 cave-from Conj cliff-to 1-crawl.P  
 I crawled out of the cave and to the edge of the cliff.

It is also possible to coordinate two enclitic phrases where one is a noun phrase with a postpositional enclitic and the other is a postpositional phrase with a postpositional enclitic:

- (168) Tsédáají' dóo dził bigháa'jí' ninish'na'.  
 cliff-to Conj mountain 3-on-to 1-crawl.P  
 I crawled to the edge of the cliff and to the top of the mountain.

- (169) Tsé'áándéé' dóo tsédáají' dóo dził bigháa'jí' ninish'na'.  
 cave Conj cliff-to Conj mountain 3-on-to 1-crawl.P  
 I crawled out of the cave, to the edge of the cliff, and to the top of the mountain.

The next examples involve coordination of postpositions rather than postpositional phrases:

- (170) K'aa' 'aní'á biyaa dóo báátis 'ayiist'oh.  
 arrow bridge 3-under Conj 3-across 3-3-shot.P  
 S/he shot arrows over the bridge and under it.
- (171) K'aa'ísh 'aní'á biyaa doodago daats'í báátis 'ayiist'oh?  
 Arrow-Q bridge 3-under Conj possibly 3-over 3-3-shot.P  
 Did s/he possibly shoot arrows under or over the bridge?

In each of these cases, 'aní'á (the bridge) serves as the object of the postposition. [It may be that this is a case of control like what happens when two clauses are coordinated.] In the examples below, the postposition *biyaa* is coordinated with *bikáá'góó*, which consists of the postposition *bikáá'* followed by the postpositional enclitic *-góó*:



- (172) K'aa' 'aní'á biyaa dóo bikáá'góó 'ayiist'oh.  
 arrow bridge 3-under Conj 3-top-along 3-3-shoot.P  
 S/he shot arrows under the bridge and along the top of it.
- (173) K'aa'ísh 'aní'á biyaa doodaii' daats'í bikáá'góó 'ayiist'oh?  
 Arrow-Q bridge 3-under Conj possibly 3-along.top 3-3-shoot.P  
 Did s/he shoot arrows under or possibly along the top of the bridge?

#### 4.2.2 Additional issues with Coordination and Postpositions

##### 4.2.2.1 Coordinating postpositional phrases with postpositional enclitic phrases

Postpositional enclitics have various properties. Some cliticize onto nouns, verbs, particles, or free postpositions, and some can cliticize onto more than one of these. If a noun that has an enclitic attached to it is a PP, we would expect it to be possible to coordinate it with a PP that consists of a noun followed by a free postposition. In fact, this turns out not to be possible. Example (175) contains a noun that has a postpositional enclitic (*tsé'áándéé'*); (176) contains a PP that consists of a noun followed by a free postposition (*tsé yik'i*). Either one can appear with the verb *ch'ínímááz*:

- (174) Nástáán tsé'áándéé' ch'ínímááz.  
 log rock cave-from out-3-roll.P  
 The log rolled out of the cave.
- (175) Nástáán tsé yik'i ch'ínímááz.  
 log rock 3-over out-3-roll.P  
 The log rolled out over the rock.

Attempting to coordinate *tsé'áándéé'* with *tsé yik'i*, however, results in an unacceptable sentence:

- (176) \*Nástáán tsé yik'ii dóo tsé'áándéé' ch'ínímááz.  
 log rock 3-over Conj cave-from out-3-roll.P  
 (The log rolled out of the cave and over the rock.)
- (177) \*Nástáán tsé'áándéé' dóo tsé yik'i ch'ínímááz.  
 log cave 3-over Conj rock out-3-roll.P  
 (The log rolled out of the cave and over the rock.)

The conclusion is that nouns carrying postpositional enclitics cannot be coordinated with postpositional phrases containing free postpositions.

However, enclitic phrases that are constructed of a postpositional phrase and an enclitic *can* be coordinated with postpositional phrases:

- (178) Chidí naat'a'í hooghan yikáá' góó dóó dzit yąąh ch'ínísaal.  
 Airplane house 3-over-along Conj mountain-over 3-alongside out-3-float.P  
 The airplane flew over the house and along the mountain.
- (179) K'aa' 'atiinji' dóó tsé'naa 'ayiist'oh.  
 arrow road-up.to Conj across 3-3-shoot.P  
 S/he shot arrows up to the road and across it.
- (180) Nástáán tsé yikáá' góó dóó tsékooh góyaa ch'ínímááz  
 log rock 3-over-along Conj canyon areal-in out-3-roll.P  
 The log rolled over the rock and off into the canyon.

In example (178), the postpositional phrase *hooghan yikáá'* bears the enclitic *-góó*, and this phrase is coordinated with the postpositional phrase *dzit yąąh*. In (179), the noun phrase *'atiin* carries the enclitic *-ji'*; the enclitic phrase is coordinated with the free postposition *tsé'naa* a free postposition that has *'atiin* as its implicit argument, but does not agree with it (i.e., does not have a pronominal prefix linked to *'atiin*). In example (180), the enclitic phrase *tsé yikáá'góó* is formed of the postpositional phrase *tsé yikáá'* and the enclitic *-góó*; this is coordinated with the postpositional phrase *tsékooh góyaa*.<sup>8</sup>

#### 4.2.2.2 Cases with incorporated postpositions

Two PPs can be coordinated in Navajo as seen in section 4.2.1. Navajo also allows certain postpositions to be incorporated into the verb. Coordination is not possible between a postpositional phrase and a noun phrase followed by an incorporated postposition. The sentence in (181) is a coordination of two full clauses. It cannot be shortened as in (182) by conjoining the PP *shikee' yik'i* with the sequence of the NP followed by the incorporated P in the second clause.

- (181) Chidí bikee' shikee' yik'iimááz 'áádóó nikee' yik'iimááz.  
 car 3-shoe 1-shoe 3-over-3-roll.P Conj 2-shoe 3-over-3-roll.P  
 The tire rolled over my shoe and then it rolled over your shoe.
- (182) \*Chidí bikee' shikee' yik'i dóó nikée' yik'iimááz.  
 car 3-shoe 1-shoe 3-over Conj 2-shoe 3-over-3-roll.P  
 (The tire rolled over my shoe and your shoe.)

<sup>8</sup> The postpositional phrase *tsékooh góyaa* is interesting in that the postposition *-yaa* carries the areal agreement marker *gó-* rather than a third person pronominal marker.

Instead, the two noun phrases can be coordinated and taken as the object of the incorporated postposition:

- (183) Chidí bikee' shikee' dóó nikee' yik'iimááz.  
car 3-shoe 1-shoe Conj 2-shoe 3-over-3-roll.P  
(The tire rolled over my shoe and your shoe.)

Alternatively, the second clause of (181) can be reduced to a shorter, parenthetical comment consisting of a conjunction and a noun phrase that has the same role as the object of the incorporated postposition:

- (184) Chidí bikee' shikee' yik'iimááz 'áádóó nikee'.  
car 3-shoe 1-shoe 3-over 3-over-3-roll.P Conj 2-shoe  
The tire rolled over my shoe and then your shoe.

## 5 Additional issues

This section considers several additional issues that are relevant to coordination in general.

### 5.1 Coordination of clausal complements

Clausal complements can be coordinated using *dóó*:

- (185) Níyoltsoh nihich'į' yigáałgo dóó chidí naat'a'í naashta'go baa neiséyeel.  
hurricane 1pl-to 3-move.Pg-GO Conj airplane 3-1-fly.I-GO 3-about 1-dream.P  
I dreamed about a hurricane coming towards us and flying a plane.

'Áádóó can be grammatically substituted for *dóó* in the example above with no significant change in meaning.

### 5.2 Must coordinates be of the same category?

The constituents being conjoined must be of the same syntactic category (e.g., clause, noun phrase). There do not seem to be any sentences in which expressions like the following can be used:

- (186) \*Ashkii dóó 'anít'i' báátis  
boy Conj fence 3-over  
(≈the boy and over the fence)

However, it is difficult to imagine a predicate that would have such a constituent as an argument. The verb (*baa*) *neiséyeel* (dream) can have either a nominal or clausal complement, as the following two examples show:

(187) *Níyoltsoh baa neiséyeel.*  
hurricane 3-about 1-dream.P  
I dreamed about a hurricane.

(188) *Chidí naat'a'í naashta'go baa neiséyeel.*  
airplane 3-1-fly.I-GO 3-about 1-dream.P  
I dreamed about flying an airplane.

In fact, it is grammatical to coordinate these arguments despite the apparent fact that *níyoltsoh* is a noun phrase and *chidí naat'a'í naashta'go* is a subordinate clause:

(189) *Níyoltsoh dóo chidí naat'a'í naashta'go baa neiséyeel.*  
hurricane Conj airplane 3-1-fly.I-GO Conj 3-about 1-dream.P  
I dreamed about flying a plane and a hurricane.<sup>9</sup>

This kind of coordination is possible with other verbs that allow both nominal and clausal complements:

(190) *Níyoltsoh 'áádóó tó yílaadgo baa ntséskees.*  
hurricane Conj water 3-rise.P-GO 3-about 1-think.I  
I'm thinking about the hurricane and water rising.

(191) *Níyoltsoh 'áádóó tó yiyílaadgo baa ntséskees.*  
hurricane Conj water 3-3-raise.P-GO 3-about 1-think.I  
I'm thinking about the hurricane and it causing water to rise (causing a flood).

(192) *Níyoltsoh 'áádóó kintah tó bik'iigo' go baa ntséskees.*  
hurricane Conj town water 3-flood.P-GO 3-about 1-think.I  
I'm thinking about the hurricane and the town flooding.

---

<sup>9</sup> The sentence is less good if the order of the coordinated constituents is reversed:

(i) ?*Chidí naat'a'í naashta'go 'áádóó níyoltsoh baa neiséyeel.*  
airplane 3-1-fly.I-GO Conj hurricane 3-about 1-dream.P  
I dreamed about flying a plane and a hurricane.

Examples like these suggest that a clause subordinated by the enclitic *-go* can serve as a noun phrase.

### 5.3 Multiple conjunctions

More than one conjunction can appear within a single sentence. The examples below have two different conjunctions (*dóó* and *'áádóó*):

(193) T'óó ha'íí'ánígo ndiish'na' dóó tá'ádésgiz 'áádóó bik'idji'  
 Merely dawn up-1-crawl.P Conj reflex-1-wash.P Conj 3-on-after  
 kintahgóó shiif dah 'adiilwod.  
 town-to 1-with off 1-drive.P  
 I got up at dawn and washed myself and then afterward I started out for town. (YM 1987:23)

(194) Denny biñh yiisxí dóó néis'ah 'áádóó hooghangóó néígí.  
 Denny deer 3-3-kill.P Conj 3-3-butcher.P Conj house-to rever.3-3-haul.LPB.P  
 Denny killed a deer and butchered it and afterward hauled it back home.

(195) Łeets'aa' táadígis dóó nahodíishoh 'áádóó łéechaa'í ba'díftsoł, t'áa shqodí.  
 dish 3-2-wash.F Conj areal-1-sweep.F Conj dog 3-to 3-2-feed.F please  
 Wash the dishes and sweep the floor and afterward feed the dog, please.

(196) Mary bilíí' naaki dóó Daniel 'éi biléechaa'í díí' 'áádóó Charlie 'éi bichidí táá'.  
 Mary 3.horse two Conj Daniel as-for 3-dog four Conj Charlie as-for 3-car three  
 Mary has two horses and Daniel has four dogs and Charlie has three cars.

Below, *dóó* appears twice, conjoining clauses each time:

(197) Dłóq' ła' háál'éeł dóó didííjée' dóó bi'niizeez ít'ée' 'aho'niitá.  
 prairie.dog some 3-out-float.P Conj 1-start-fire.P Conj inch-3-1-singe.P PAST areal-rain.P  
 I drowned out some prairie dogs, built a fire and started to singe them when it started to rain. (YM 1987:218)

(198) 'Iidáá' dóó bik'iji' ch'iniit'áázh dóó hooghan biniit'éezh sitsilí bił.  
 1dpl-eat.P Conj 3-after out-1dpl-go.P Conj house 3-against-1dpl-recline.P 1-brother 3-with  
 We ate and afterward we went outside and I lay down with my little brother, leaning against the hogan. (YM 1987:244)

In the example below, *dóó* is used once to coordinate clauses, and once to coordinate two noun phrases that function as the object of the verb in each clause:

- (199) Éí biniinaa nazhniikaad dóó baa áhojilyáago ál'í dibé dóó t'ízi.  
this 3-because 3-4-herd.I Conj 3-for SUP-4-care.I-GO 3-be/do sheep Conj goat  
Because of this\*, you herd and care for your sheep and goats. (Sisco 1974:3)  
[\*because you need the wool for weaving]

The sentence would also be grammatical if the object is not postposed:

- (200) Éí biniinaa dibé dóó t'ízi nazhniikaad dóó baa áhojilyáago ál'í.  
this 3-because 3-4-herd.I Conj 3-for SUP-4-care.I-GO 3-be/do sheep Conj goat  
Because of this, you herd and care for your sheep and goats.

#### 5.4 Time and Coordination

Clausal coordination using *dóó* normally triggers an implicature when both clauses are non-stative and non-habitual (i.e., not a derived stative) that the event described by the second clause occurred after the event described by the first clause. The examples below illustrate this, as do examples (6), (8), (11), and (12) in section 3.1:

- (201) Jeanie 'íyáá' dóó bist'e' 'áyiilaa.  
Jeanie SUP-3-eat.P Conj 3-lunch 3-3-make.P  
Jeanie ate and made her lunch (e.g., to take to work).
- (202) Jáan yah 'íyáá dóó dah neezdah.  
John 3.in 3-enter Conj up 3-sit.P  
John came in and sat down (on a chair).
- (203) T'óó ha'í'ánigo ndiish'na' dóó tá'ádésgiz.  
Merely sunrise up-1-crawl.P Conj reflex-1-wash.P  
I got up at dawn and washed myself. (YM 1987:23)

Example (201) is of interest because it clearly indicates that Jeanie ate before making her lunch. While this might seem odd out of context, it makes sense if Jeanie ate breakfast and then made her lunch to take to work.

When the clauses contain only stative predicates, as in (9), (10), and (13) in section 3.1 and the example below, there is no entailment of temporal sequencing:

- (204) Mary bidibé yázhí naaki dóó Daniel 'éí biléechaa'í dǫ́ǫ́.  
 Mary 3-sheep little two Conj Daniel as-for 3-dog four  
 Mary has two lambs and Daniel has four puppies.

Example (7) in section 3.1 (repeated below) contains derived statives and so with it there is no implicature of temporal sequencing.

- (205) Yáhti' dóó hataaǫ́.  
 3-talk.I Conj 3-sing.I  
 It talks and sings (e.g., as in describing a doll).

### 5.5 Coordination and the animacy hierarchy

Coordination of noun phrases is permitted when the noun phrases differ with respect to their hierarchical status. As explained in numerous discussions on the inverse voice (e.g. Creamer 1974, Perkins 1978, Willie 1991), *hastiin* 'man' and *ashkii* 'boy' outrank *ǫ́ǫ́* 'horse' and *léé'chaa'í* 'dog'. But these noun phrases can be coordinated as long as the noun phrase with the higher rank appears first:

- (206) 'Asdzání hastiin dóó ǫ́ǫ́ yiyiiltsá.  
 woman man Conj horse 3-3-see.P  
 The woman saw the man and the horse.
- (207) Hastiin ashkii dóó léé'chaa'í yinooǫ́chééǫ́.  
 man boy Conj dog 3-3-chase.Pg  
 The man is chasing the boy and the dog.

If the lower ranked noun phrase precedes the higher ranked one within the coordinate structure, the result is ungrammatical for speakers who adhere to the animacy hierarchy:

- (208) \*'Asdzání ǫ́ǫ́ dóó hastiin yiyiiltsá  
 woman horse Conj man 3-3-see.P
- (209) \*Hastiin léé'chaa'í dóó ashkii yinooǫ́chééǫ́.  
 man dog Conj boy 3-3-chase.Pg

Thus, (208) is ungrammatical because *hastiin* outranks *ǫ́ǫ́*.

The sentences below are in the direct voice and have a coordinate noun phrase as subject:

(210) Hastiin dóó ǫǫ' 'asdzání yiyiiltsá  
man Conj horse woman pl-3-3-see.P  
The man and the horse saw the woman.

(211) Ashkii dóó ǫé'chaa'í hastiin neiniłché.  
boy Conj dog man pl-3y-3-chase.I  
The boy and the dog are chasing the man.

These are grammatical even though 'asdzání' appears after ǫǫ', which it outranks, and *hastiin* appears after ǫé'chaa'í. The noun phrase *hastiin dóó ǫǫ'* appears to be of a rank equal to *hastiin*, its highest ranked subconstituent. *Hastiin* and 'asdzání' are of the same rank, so either *hastiin dóó ǫǫ'* or 'asdzání' may appear first in a clause. However, we find that the inverted counterparts of (206) and (207) are somewhat degraded, though clearly more acceptable than (208) and (209):

(212) ?Hastiin dóó ǫǫ' 'asdzání biiltsá.  
man Conj horse woman 3b-3-see.P  
The woman saw *the man and the horse*.

(213) ?Ashkii dóó ǫé'chaa'í hastiin binoołchééł.  
boy Conj dog man 3b-3-chase.Pg  
The man is chasing *the boy and the dog*.

## 6 Conclusion

We have surveyed the conjunctions of Navajo and the issues related to their use. In some cases it is difficult to state with confidence that coordination rather than subordination is what connects two clauses, but we will leave this discussion for another paper.

## References

- Benally, Ruth Whitewater. 1984. *Ałchíní Ba Háne Vol. I*. Albuquerque: Native American Materials Development Center.
- Creamer, Mary Helen. 1974. Ranking in Navajo Nouns. *Diné Bizaad Náníl'iih/Navajo Language Review*. 29-38.
- Perkins, Ellavina. 1978. The Role of Word Order and Scope in the Interpretation of Navajo Sentences. Doctoral dissertation. University of Arizona.
- Schauber, Ellen. 1975. *The Syntax and Semantics of Questions in Navajo*. Doctoral dissertation. MIT. [Published in 1979 by Garland, New York.]



- Sisco, Wilfred. 1974. *Dah Iist'ó Baahane'*. Panorama Press. Albuquerque. [published by Sanostee-Toadlena Title VII Project, Navajo Area Office of the BIA and Navajo Reading Study, UNM.]
- Willie, MaryAnn. 1991. Navajo Pronouns and Obviation. Doctoral dissertation. University of Arizona.
- Young, Robert W. and William Morgan, Sr. 1987. *The Navajo Language: a grammar and colloquial dictionary*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Theodore B. Fernald  
Swarthmore College  
tfernall@swarthmore.edu

Ellavina T. Perkins  
Navajo Language Academy  
eperkins@npgcable.com