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NAVAHO GRAMMAR

GIFT

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 metaphoric 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 interpetations 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'ą́* for *sa'ą́*. 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 naïvely 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 ɔ 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
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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:

ag.	agent
att.	attitude
Ç	consonant
C,	glottalized consonant
'C	glottalized consonant **preceded by glottal stop**
caus.	causative
cer.	ceremony, ceremonial
cess.	cessative
compl.	completive
cont.	continuative
cust.	customary
fut.	future
gen.	general
i	some, someone, something
I	independent pronoun
inc.	inceptive
mom.	momentary, momentaneous
myth.	mythology, mythological
O	object of verb or postposition
obj.	object
opt.	optative
pass.	passive
pf.	perfective
pl.	plural
pres.	present
prog.	progressive
prol.	prolongative
rec.	reciprocal
rec. ef.	reciprocal effect
rep.	repetitive
rep. ac.	repetitive action
rep. asp.	repetitive aspect
spec.	specific
subj.	subject
s	self
t	things (supernatural things)
T	type stem
uni.	uniform
V	vowel
V·	long vowel
V́	vowel with high tone

V́·   long vowel with high tone
V̨   nasalized vowel
V̨́   high nasalized vowel
V̨́·   long high nasalized vowel

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" (8.23ff.).

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*:

AB	Adolph Bitanny (word of mouth), or Bitanny 1941.
Ad	Adahóóniłigíí (the first number refers to the year, the second to the month of publication, the last number to the page).
BS	Reichard, Big Star Chant (unpublished manuscript).
DD	Della Degrote.
EW	Haile 1938 (Enemy Way).*
FH	Frank Harper.
FS	Young-Morgan 1948 (Function and Signification).
FW	Haile 1943 (Flintway).*
HC	Reichard 1944 (Hail Chant).*
NT	Sapir-Hoijer (Navaho Texts).*
Ph	Hoijer 1945c (Phonology).
Pr	Reichard 1943 (Prayer).*
RH	Roman Hubbell.
SCE	Reichard Shooting Chant Evil (unpublished manuscript).
WE	Reichard, Chant of Waning Endurance (unpublished manuscript).
WM	William Morgan (personal communication).
YM	Young-Morgan, 1943, Navaho-English Dictionary.
YME	Young-Morgan, 1943, English-Navaho Dictionary.
YMG	Young-Morgan, 1943, Grammar.

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·, á, á·, ǎ, ǎ·, â, â·, a̧, a̧·, á̧, á̧·, ǎ̧, ǎ̧·, â̧, â̧·, e, e·, é, é·, ě, ě·, ê, ê·, ȩ, ȩ·, ȩ́, ȩ́·, ȩ̌, ȩ̌·, ȩ̂, ȩ̂·, i, i·, í, í·, ǐ, ǐ·, î, î·, i̧, i̧·, í̧, í̧·, ǐ̧, ǐ̧·, î̧, î̧·, o, o·, ó, ó·, ǒ, ǒ·, ô, ô·, o̧, o̧·, ó̧, ó̧·, ǒ̧, ǒ̧·, ô̧, ô̧·.

The consonant arrangement is: ˀ, h, b, w, ẃ, m, ḿ, d, t, ťt, n, ń, y, ý, g, k, ǩk, kw, γ, x, γw, xw, z, s, dz, ts, tś, j, c, dj, tc, tć, l, ł, dl, tl, tł.

Contents

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-

[1] Reichard 1950.
[2] Goddard 1910, pp. 112ff.; 1912, pp. 42ff.

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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.[3] 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.[4] 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 Bizád* 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.[5]

[3] Young-Morgan 1943.
[4] Hoijer 1945a, b; 1946a, b; 1948a; 1949.
[5] Cp. Hoijer 1951.

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 *ž*, 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 *γ* 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.[9]

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, γ, 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" o˙ "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.[10] 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.[11] 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·n "his excrement," neglecting to mention bitcq˙' "his excrement."[12] One explanation of these two forms lies in meaning and usage: tcq˙' "excrement" (possessive bitcq˙') is an inelegant "household" word, but bitca·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.

[9] Hoijer 1945c, pp. 7, 8, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 24, 27, 28, 30, 34, 40, 41, 42, 47.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 32ff; Hoijer 1943, pp. 39–40; 1946c, p. 72; Li 1930a, pp. 53ff; 1930b, pp. 15ff; 1933, pp. 126ff. [12] 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.[13] 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.[14] 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 Navaho. 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

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[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 -CV̆·C inceptive, or -CV̆·' 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 *ę*, 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 -V̆-? 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 *di*-emit? Are they distinct by origin, or have they become so by development? Is *di*-start from related to *di*-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).[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.[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.

[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 *γ* constitute a phoneme that forms a consonant cluster with a whole series of sounds, unrelated in certain respects: *tx, sx, zγ, dzγ, tsx, cx, tcx, lx* (cp. 8.92.). The clustering of *x* or *γ* 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 -$C\acute{V}$· may take the form -$C\acute{V}n\acute{V}$ when a suffix of the form -$\acute{V}$ is added.[20] He fails to show, however, that there are bisyllabic stems of the form -$C\acute{V}n\acute{V}$ or -$C\acute{V}C\acute{V}$ which are diminuatives (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.

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[19] Hoijer 1945a, p. 12.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 34.
[21] Cp. Reichard 1938, pp. 553–9.

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 ᛫ 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*, *ł*. Length is important because it indicates contraction, but it is often difficult to differentitate half long from short vowels in this position.

3.3. Lengthening a vowel may be a means of securing emphasis: *'ádin 'á·din 'ádi·n* "there was none, none, none;" *'ani·di·'* (< *'anídi-i·'*) "very fresh (tracks)" (NT 132:1). Such lengthening occurs

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[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, *xǫ́jǫ́ náxásdlį́·'* "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 *xǫ́jǫ́ náxásdlį́··'* 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: *ą, ę, į, ǫ*. The nasalized vowels may be long: *ą·, ę·, į·, ǫ·*.

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, í, 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·, í·, ó·*, and they may be long, nasalized and high, *ą́·, ę́·, į́·, ǫ́·*.

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 *di·d-* (< *dí·i·d-*), *-ǎ·-* (< *-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·γâi* "one who goes about;" *cínǎi* "my older brother."

Vowels that combine to form vowel clusters are: *ai, ao, ei, eo, io, oi, ǫi, ǫo, ǫi.* 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....," or "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 (*ǹ*) for this purpose.[4] Since *n* is derived from *na-* as well as *ni-*, since *ǹ-* is equivalent to *ná-* or *ní-*, 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 *-n·-* or *-ǹ·-* but *na·-, ne·-, ni·-, no·-, ná·-, né·-, ní·-,* or *nó·-*. The contraction of two interconsonantal vowels may give rise to *-ń·-*. If so, the resulting syllable may involve merely the glottalized *ń* which may be syllabic and stands for *-ńa-* or *-ńi-* (cp. 3.41–3.42.).

[2] Hoijer 1943, p. 39.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 30.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

3.8. Consonants

3.8. The consonantal system is summarized in the following table:

	Stops			Nasals		Spirants			Affricates		
	Voiced	Voiceless	Glot.	Voiced	Glot.	Voiced	Voiceless	Glot.	Voiced	Voiceless	Glot.
Bilabial	b			m	m̃						
Alveolar	d	t	t'	n	ń						
Prepalatal	g	k	ḱ								
Labialized		kw									
Palatal						y		y̓			
Postpalatal						γ	x				
Labialized						γw, w	xw				
Sibilants											
Alveolar	'					z	s		dz	ts	tś
Blade alveolar						j	c		dj	tc	tć
Lateral alveolar						l	ł		dl	tl	tł
Glottal stop			ʔ								
Aspiration							h(x)				

According to position of articulation the stops are: bilabial *b*, alveolars *d, t, t'*, palatals *g, k, ḱ*, labialized palatal *kw*, and the glottal stop *ʔ*. 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 *t', ḱ*, and the glottal stop *ʔ*.

The two nasal spirants *m* and *n* are essentially like those of English; *m* is a rare sound in Navaho, and *m̃* is a result of contraction. *ń*, 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 *y̓*, and, in prefix position, *t', ń, tś, tć*, are preceded, rather than followed, by the glottal closure, or the two may be combined, for example, *bi'ťi-*.

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 *tś* voiceless, fortis, and glottalized.

j is a voiced blade alveolar sibilant similar to medial *s* in English "measure;" *j* 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 *tć* voiceless, fortis, glottalized.

l is a voiced, spirantal alveolar lateral; *ł* 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; *tł* is the glottalized form of *tl*.

y is an unrounded prepalatal semi-vowel pronounced with enough friction to produce in some settings confusion with *γ*; both are nevertheless phonemes. *ẏ*, 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.[5] My vocabulary yields *-ye* as well as *-ẏe* "marry;" *-yé·ł* and *-ẏé·ł* "move ropelike obj.;" *-yil* and *-γil* "push." Hoijer also states, "Neither sound (*y* or *ẏ*) has any noticeable variants."[6] My prefix analysis and the texts indicate that *y* and *γ* are sometimes as difficult to distinguish as *x* and *h*. Morgan often reduces *γ* to *y*. He evidently considers them equivalent in certain forms where I find them distinguished phonetically and morphologically. This is an example of the *γ*-problem pointed out in 1.6. Morgan would hardly distinguish the stems I mention above.

γ 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 *γy*. Labialized *γw* may lose its *γ* character almost entirely to become *w* preceded by a slight spirantal attack: *'awé·'* or *'aγwé·'* "baby;" *γwalya·*, or *wa·lya·* "jail;" *biyo·'* or *biwo·'* "his tooth."

Hoijer and I have discussed *x* and *h*,[7] arriving at different conclusions. I think *x* is best regarded as an initial phoneme, *h* as a final: *xa*-out, *xasti·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 *γ*. When *γ* or *x* precedes *o*, it is pronounced *γwo-* or *xwo*—*w* is written only if *γ* is not pronounced. *γw* and *xw* before *a*, *e*, and *i*, however, are written because the resulting form is due to contraction, *o* survives in *w*.

3.9–3.14. GLOTTALIZATION

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;" *'i̥'i̥·'ą́* "sun has set."

3.11. When the sounds *t̓, k̓, tŝ, tć, tł* 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 *m̓, n̓,* and *y̓* 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 > -m̓-, -d-n > -n̓-,* and *-d-y- >* *-y̓-,* the first and last being rare, *-d-n > -n̓-* being quite common.

3.13. The sounds *n̓* and *y̓* as initials are not confined to stem syllables, as is *m̓,* 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 *t̓*), *n* (> *'n* or *n̓*), *s* (> *'s*), *dz-* (> *tŝ* or *'tŝ*), *dj* (> *tć* or *'tć*), *y* (> *'y* or *y̓*), *x* (> *'x*). In prefix combination with *-a'a-* *j* becomes *-j'C* (cp. 3.41.).

Certain inconsistencies have been tolerated to avoid undue complication. For instance, it would be convenient to have *-n̓-* stand for *-d-n-* as a stem complex initial, and *'n* for *-a'a-n,* but both are written *-n̓-. 't, 'tŝ,* and *'tć* have been retained to indicate *-a-'a-* plus *d, dz,* and *dj,* respectively. On the other hand, *t̓, tŝ,* and *tć* have not been altered to indicate *d-' > t̓, d-tŝ > tŝ,* or *d-tć > tć.* 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."

3.15–3.19. ASPIRATION AND NON-ASPIRATION

3.15. The matter of aspiration is as complex as that of glot-talization; 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—*tádídí·n* > *txádídí·n* > *xádídí·n*.[8] 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 *γ* and *x*.

3.17. The sounds *t, k, γ,* and *x,* as well as *k̓* before *o* take on a cluster character of the type *txwo, kxwo, γwo, k̓wo.* The sounds *t, k, γ,* 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, lx, zγ,* and *dzγ*—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

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[8] Reichard 1945, p. 162.

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 *m̃* has been noted, as has the occurrence of *w* for *γw*. Hoijer lists *w* as a phoneme, unrelated to *γw*, and *γw* a variant of *γ* before *o*.[9] *w* is also found in borrowed words—*wá·cindo·n* "Washington, the U.S. Government" —but, like the other labia's, *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'é* have not yet been convincingly established. *γw* 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 initia; 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·dzoł* (prog.) "we are blowing," we may conclude that the zero stem is *-yoł* related to *-soł* (< *-ł-zoł*) and *-l-zoł*, rather than to *-yoł* which might be related to *-yoł* (non-existent), or to *-yoł* with affiliations with *-doł* (not found). Again, *yi·dził* "we 2 are pushing prog." would suggest seeking other forms of the verb complex in *-yił* (zero), *-dził* (*-d-*form), *-sił* (*-ł-*form), and *-l-ził* (*-l-*form), rather than as *-yił* (zero-form), *-dił* (*d-*form), *-ł-xił* (*-ł-*form), or *-l-yił* (*-l-*form). As a matter of fact, the first series appears, the second has *-gił* 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*-.

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[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 unnasalized vowel precedes a nasalized vowel, the former may become nasalized (-V-CV̨ > V̨CV):

> *sʠ'ą̈* (< *si'ą̈*) round object is, lies
> *xǫ́jǫ́* (< *xo-n-jǫ́*) it is agreeable, satisfactory, beautiful
> *xǫ́lǫ́* (< *xo-n-lǫ́*) 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 V̨ and V to a single phoneme. Some indication of the differences comes out in texts, for instance, -*djị'* or -*djị̈'* "to a point;" ∸*ni'*, ∸*nị'* "mind;" -*ni·t*, -*nị·t* "say to, tell;" *tá· 'altso, tá· 'altsǫ* "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 *ą́* in *cimą́, camą́* "my mother." Hoijer, Young and Morgan follow AB's practice, though they give no reason. The rule is not borne out by -*mąs* (prog.), -*mą·s* (pres.), -*mą́·s* (inc.), -*mą́·z* (pf.), principal parts of the stem "spherical object moves;" *ma'i·, mą'ị·* "coyote," and other stems.

3.28. The example *sʠ'ą̈* "there is a round object" illustrates another common assimilation—of *i* to *a*—from *si'ą̈*, 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'oyan* (< *bi-xo-yan*) where his house, home is
> *cika'ą̈·* (< *cika'ę̈·*) my arrow that very one (NT 238:21)[11]
> *ni da'ác* (< *da'íc*) is it a fact? is it truly?

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[11] See p. x for abbreviations of text references.

be·'eldǫ· (< be·'aldǫ·) gun
ce· 'édin (< ce· 'ádin) I have none; with-me there-is-none
cijé'é (< cijé'i) my father
'i'i·ŧt·l < 'a'i·ŧt·l) we 2 are moving some objects beyond
'o'o·hni·l (< 'a'o·hni·l) you 2 are moving some objects beyond
ŧá· do· 'ódíníní (< ŧá· do· 'ádíní-i) 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'eŧa' (< bi'aŧa') his feather, the feather he uses (cp. bi-ŧa' "its feather")
se'esdzą́·' (< ci'asdzą́·') my wife (cp. ŧá· 'áko 'osdzání "all the women") (NT 268:14)
ná'ácdja·', né'écdja·' (< ní'ásdja·') owl (NT 36:25; 46:10)

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

díkwi, dókwi· how much, how many, a few
doγoj, diγoj it is botryoidal
dokǫ́·j, dikǫ́·j it is sour, salty, acidulous
boγos (< bi-γos) his shoulder joint
boγoc (< bi-γoc) its thorn
xoc dótsahi· (< dítsahi·) cholla; the-particular-cactus-that-is-needlelike
dosǫs, disǫs it is pink, shiny red, copper color

3.31a. Initial ts may be substituted for s:

sodzil, tsodzil, Mt. Taylor
sodizin tsodizin prayer
sq'ą na·γái, tsq'ą na·γái universal harmony (cer.)
tsedi Sadie
sindao, tsindao penny

3.32. The example se'esdzą́·' "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-tsói (< ci-tsói) my daughter's child
si-tsiłí (< ci-tsiłí) my younger brother
dzo·sih (< djo·sih) he (4) is moving a sharp obj. prog.
tli·stsoh (< tli·c-tsoh) large snake
cécó·' (< sécó·') I have combed it
cidjo·l (< si-djo·l) bunchy substance is, lies
yicdjo·l (< yisdjo·l) he has, keeps bunchy substance
cidja·' (< si-dja·') there is a granular mass
yicdja·' (< yisdja·') he has, keeps granular mass
cidjé·' (< si-dje·') plural obj. are
tcétcil, tsétcil hard oak; rock-plant
de·cjah (< de·sjah) it is jagged, curved

3.33. The influence of one type of sibilant upon another varies in extent:

> *cido·ꞩa·l, sido·ꞩa·l* he will have my affection; he will love me
> *bé·sisꞩogi·, bé·cisꞩogi·* ceremonial arrow
> *dziditsxiz* (< *djiditsxis*) he(4) is shaking in a paroxysm
> *tꞩisde·zké·z* (< *tꞩijde·zké·z*) she(4) began to consider it, she thought it over
> *dazdo·ltsa·l* (< *dajdo·ltsa·l*) he(4) is going to die (FH)
> *tᶜil tsin biya· xadúnisą́* vegetation that grows under trees
> *'aze·' tᶜil bé·xózini·* herbalist; one-who-knows-plant-medicine (not *'aze·' tꞩil bé·xó·zini·* which would mean "medicine fragments, medicine broken like pottery")
> *'atᶜą́·h sodizin* protective prayer (cp. *tá· do· sitꞩą́· sinizíni* [FH] and *tá· do· citᶜą́·h sinizíni* [YMG 55] "don't stand in my way")
> *sę·s lijini·* mole; the-wart-that-is-black
> *'asinisi·hic* (DD), *'asinisi·yíc* (FH) are you making a mistake ?
> *niñi·tsá·nic* can't you do better than that ?
> *tsé de·cjahí* Jagged Rocks (place name)
> *sącdjo·l* Old Age; old-age-lies-in-a-heap (NT 128:13)
> *tá· 'éi 'átᶎcᶎ·zni·zi·'* (< *'átᶎcᶎ·jni·zi·'*) "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, *'atᶜą́· xo·dzoh* "boundary line, danger line, line beyond which one is not safe;" but *'altꞩá '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·tꞩi* "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," *-dji'* "to a point." Note that the list includes independent words as well as bound forms:

> *'á·di* (< *'á·di*) in place there remote
> *xá·dji'* (< *xá·dji'*) where to remote
> *yah'i·yái·'* (< *yah'i·yá·i·'*) *ne·zdá* after coming in he sat down (FS 14)
> *tá· 'êigi 'áté·go* (< *'áté·go*) that way, just as that is
> *nánisdzá·dji'* (< *nánisdzá·dji'*) until I return
> *bi·' sizi·ni·* (< *sizᶎ·i·*) 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:

dį·di (< *dį·'-di*) four times
dókwi·cą', díkwi·cą' (< *díkwi·cą'*) how many? how much?
'alní·gi (< *'alní·'-gi*) at the center

Compare *yah'alní·'gi* "at the center inside;" and *'alta' nzi·ngo* (< *nzį-go*) "alternating they stood in line" (note that *τ > -n*, in addition to the tone and quantity changes). Examples may be found with alternant forms—either -V̇-CV > -V̂·CV, -V́·-CV > -V̂·CV, or -V̇·CV, or they may retain the original form.

3.36. Before certain syllables, however, the same kind of vowels -V̇- and -V́·- 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;" *-ni'* "deceased, past, gone" (cp. *ni* "for a fact"):

'atłó·h-e· concerning weaving
nló-e· Hail Chant
xa·ctcé-ltihi-dah Talking God among others (BS)
litci·' de-z'ái-ni' the late Red Point

Compare *xaya· xayi·kâ·n-i·'* (< *xayi·ką-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: *-dę·'* "from a point toward the speaker; along the way;" *-dó·* "from a point away from the actor;" *nt̨ę·', nt̨é·'* "past, used to be;" *-cį·* "doubt, probability;" *-dji* "side;" *lá* "evidently" (pres.); *lêi* "surely, indeed, as expected; a certain":

'á·dę·' (< *'á-dę·'*) along from a remote point, from there
'á·dó· (< *'á-dó·*) from a remote point off
'á·dji (< *'á-dji*) from that (remote) side
bitsiłi·ké (< *bitsiłi·ké*) his younger brothers
xa'áti·cį· (< *xa'áti·cį·*) 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]

tó·' bada'a'dji·niłi (< *tó·' ba· da'a'dji-ni·li*) they (4) just give him things expecting no return) (NT 300:7)
diyáhi (< *diyá·h-i*) he who starts walking
yidiyo·sį·l (YM 182) (< *yi· diyo·sį·l* (FH)) she will feed it, force food into it
'ajdjé'i (< *'ajdjé·'i*) those which someone (4) laid (on it)
'éi 'ása·' bei·ltąji (< *be· yi·ltąji*) potdrum tapper

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[12] Cp. Hoijer 1945c, pp. 37–8.
[13] Cp. *ibid.*, p. 40.

bitsi' naxaido·lté·l (< *nixa· yido·lté·l*) he will give us his daughter (in marriage) (NT 308:17)

cao·bą́ (< *ca·yo·bą́*) 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 *-γ-* is a phase of lingual diversity:

-ígí· "the one who, that which" has the form *-ídí·* on the western part of the Navaho Reservation (5.30.).
tá·'ákó-d-ígi that very one
'asínísí·-γ-íc are you making a mistake ? (FH)
'asínísí·-h-íc are you making a mistake ? (DD)
na·ta·g-i· (< *na·ta-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· ntsáxáke·sn (< *tá· lá be· na· ntsáxáke·s ni*) indeed you are considered to be in first place for a fact (NT 220:1)
'á·l deílni (< *'á· lá*) thus truly they spoke (NT 220:23)
'ákol tá· di·ná·ln (< *'áko lá tá· di·ná·l ni*) even so you (must) go (NT 388:12)
'alnó·'óna· (< *'alni·' góna·'*) around the middle (NT 412:8)
ba· neíse·le (< *ba· neíse·l le*) I keep dreaming about them (NT 234:11)
di·'sdzání·gí· (< *di· 'asdzánígí·*) these who are women (NT 104:19)
dókwí·góncą' (< *dókwí·go-íne·'*) I am not sure how many (NT 276:16)
xa'áťé·go'óncą' (< *xa'áťé·go-góne·'*) I'm not sure that ... (NT 316:15)
ní·' (< *ní-i·'*) *yísol* 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'ČV: *da'alyal* "they pl. are eating some meat," but *da'djilyal* or *da'tčilyal* (< *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·cnil* (< *'a'ade·cnil*) "I shall move some pl. obj. beyond;" *danini·l* (< *da'anini·l*) "they are moving some pl. obj. beyond;" *da'tčo·lyal* (< *da'adjo·-lyal*) "something meatlike has been eaten by them (4);" *da'tšiztłǫ́* (< *da'adziztłǫ́*) "they (4) have woven something."

In the following example Ca'a- precedes *dji*- which is contracted to -*j*-, but ' attaches itself to *n*: *bajni'ą́* (< *ba'adjini'ą́*) "he (4) has lent round obj. to him" (YM 6). In the next examples *d* > *t* after -*j*-: *'áj'tólzin* (< *'á-'adjidólzin*) "he (4) maintains himself, his position;" *'ij'to·lxoc* (< *'ayi-'adjido·lxoc*) "he (4) will go to sleep."

I have not encountered *'j*, though Hoijer has *'áná·'jdi·so·l* (< *'áná·'adjidí·so·l*) "he (4) whistled again;" *'ada'jni·yį́·h* (< *'ada-'adjini·yį́·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 (cp. 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·snil* (< *da'axe·snil*) "some pl. obj. have been moved by them repeatedly."

The glottalizing process may also apply to Ci'a-: *'anáziz bi·'tiyojí* (< *bi·' 'adiyojí*) "trachoma; that-which-is-indefinitely-botryoidal-in-someone's-eyes;" *bi·'te·ldlá·di·* (< *bi·' 'ade·dlá·di·*) "the particular one into whom the sun has shone;" *xabi'te·l'į́·'* (< *xabi'ade·l'į́·'*) "he has been caught in the act by someone" (YM 102); *xabi'tšo·ka·d* (< *xabi'adzo·ka·d*) "he has been slapped with some fabriclike obj.;" *'idiye·cnil* (< *'axidi'aye·cnil*) "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.

ntłiz bá bitáániil (<*bitá yiñil*) jewels were taken out (of pouch) for them (sheep) (NT 244:21)

dinêi·k̇i·'á·j (< *diné yiḳi·'á·j*) two men found them (NT 60:3)

kodóitc̣į' sizҭ·go (< *kodó· yitc̣į'*) standing facing there (in that direction) (NT 298:17)

kodóiḳidjį' ni·'acgo (< *kodó·' yiḳidjį'*) the two having come to a stand over it (scalp) here; here-from at-a-point-over-it (NT 298:18)

dinêil (< *diné yil*) with the men (NT 304:12)

xa'qi·l 'í·yá· lá (< *xa'q· 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)

łêilło'go (<*łei yilło'go*) he is only nursed (not fed) (NT 280:25)

łá· dinêi·ji'gó· (< *diné yi·ji'gó·*) when in future I have called the man by name (NT 296:20)

dibêiłį (< *dibé yiłį*) they are rich in sheep (NT 310:8)

dinêic'e·j (< *diné yic'é·j*) he led men (NT 380:18)

yijì·yi·jic (< *yiji yiyi·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:

do· 'êidajdi·ni·d (< *do· 'êida djidi·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 *-djoł* (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-*djoł*, the classifier being absent and therefore called "zero." However, in referring to the stem complex I shall mean rather *-d-djoł* (> *-djoł*), *-l-djoł*, or *-l-djoł*. It is apparent that one change is *-d-djoł* > *-djoł*, 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·djoł* "bunchy substance is moving progressively," or *yo·ldjoł* "he is moving bunchy material progressively," it is easy to determine that *-djoł* is the stem, and *-l-djoł* the stem complex. If, however, the form encountered is *yi·ldjoł* "we 2 are moving bunchy material progressively," it is impossible to know from this form alone whether the stem complex is *-l-djoł* "cause bunchy material to move progressively," or *-l-djoł* "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-djoł* to become *-l-*, hence in this form *yi·ldjoł*, but *-l-*, the passive causative can absorb *-d-* and results also in the form *yi·ldjoł*. 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 (cp. 5.39.), but it may also be a principle of contraction which parallels others, as we shall see (5.38.):

> *tsį-dił, tsi-dił* (< *tsin-dił*) bouncing sticks (used in game)
> *tsį-tša·', tsi-tša·'* (< *tsin-tša·'*) box; wood-bowl
> *tsį-k̓iz, tsi-k̓iz* < *tsin-k̓iz*) crack in log, wood
> *tį-tse·d* (< *tin-tse·d*) ice cream; ice-pounded
> *'q'á·n̓a'* (< *'a'á·n·n̓a'*) he crawled into a hole
> *do· ditcį·cyi·sxƚ·dah* (< *ditcin ci-yi·sxƚ-dah*) I have not died of hunger;
>   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: *bitcį·h* "his nose," instead of *bitcį·h*. All such nouns may be found in other Athabaskan languages as of the pattern -V-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 *ǫ* 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'*, -*nį'*, and -*ne'* (pres.) "say, tell," I should consider -*ne'* as possibly equivalent to -*ni* plus -*n*-, as is -*nį'*. 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*- (10.114c, 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, γ, x, s, z, dz, l, ł
y, g, γ, x
j, c, dj
l, ł, dl

The last two series—*j̇*, *c*, *dj̇*; and *l*, *ł*, *dł*—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*, *dz*, *l*, *ł*—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

	'	b	m	d	t	ť	n
d ag.	ť	b	m̍	d	t	ť	ń
ł caus.	ľ	lb	lm	ld	lt	lť	ln
ł caus. pass.	ľ	lb	lm	ld	lt	lť	ln

	y(γ)	g	k̍	γ (y)	x	z	s
d ag.	ẏ, d, dz	g	k̍	d, g	—	d, dz	ls
ł caus.	s	lg	lk̍	l.x	—	s	—
ł caus. pass.	l, dl	lg	lk̍	lγ	—	lz	—

	dz	ts	tš	ǰ	c	dǰ	tc
d ag.	dz	ts	tš	dǰ	lc	dǰ	tc
ł caus.	ldz	lts	ltš	c	—	ldǰ	ltc
ł caus. pass.	ldz	lts	ltš	lǰ	—	ldǰ	ltc

	tč	l	l	dl	tł	tł
d ag.	tč	l, dl	l	dl	tł	tł
ł caus.	ltč	l	l	ldl	tł	tł
ł caus. pass.	ltč	l	—	ldl	ltł	ltł

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, t́, g, k, ḱ, dz, ts, tš, dj, tc, tć, dl, tl,* and *tł. 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·* > *t́*: *yi·t́ac* (< *yi·d-'ac*) "we are going prog.;" *yi·t́ic* (< *yi·d-'ic*) "we are stringing beads;" *yitic* (< *yi-d-'ic*) "they are being led (on a string);" *ni·t́é·c* (< *ni·d-'é·c*) "we 2 are starting to lead them; we-2-attached-by-a-string-are-starting-for;" *yi·t́oł* (< *yi·d-'oł*) "we 2 are floating prog."

3.58. *d-m* > *ḿ*: *yi·ḿąs* (< *yi·d-mąs*) "we 2 are rolling a sphere;" *'i·di·ḿał* (< *'i·di·d-mał*) "we 2 will gulp it down"

3.59. *d-n* > *ń*: *di·ńah* (< *di·d-nah*) "we 2 shall crawl;" *di·ńé·h* (< *di·d-né·h*) "we 2 are starting to crawl;" *ni·ńil* (< *ni·d-nil*) "pl. obj. have been laid down;" *yi·ńil* (< *yi·d-nil*) "we 2 are carrying pl. obj.;" *yi·ńih* (< *yi·d-nih*) "we 2 are milking;" *ninéin̓ih* (< *ninéi-d-nih*) "he cust. distributes them;" *bi'to·n̓ij* (< *bi'ad-yo·-d-nij*) "it has been plucked by someone"

3.60. *d-y* > *ý* (exceptional): *t́ó· 'áxoni·ýói* (< *'áxoni·d-yói*) "we are increasing in number" (YM 234); *xoni·ýói* (< *xoni·d-yói*) "we 2 are brave, good at ..., we 2 excel;" *dini·ýog* (< *dini·d-yog*) "we 2 are fluffy"

3.61. *d-y* > *d* (exceptional): *yi·dą́* (< *yi·d-yą́*) "we 2 are eating it;" *yidą́·* (< *yi-d-yą́·*) "it has been eaten"

3.62. *d-y* > *dz*: *yi·dzoł* (< *yi·d-yoł*) "we 2 are blowing;" *yidzoł* (< *yi-d-yoł*) "it is being blown;" *nidzó·d* (< *ni-d-yó·d*) "several are being driven"

3.63. *d-γ* > *d* (exceptional): *di·dį́·ł* (< *di·d-γį́·ł*) "we 2 will eat it"

3.64. *d-γ* > *g*: *di·gé·ł* (< *di·d-γé·ł*) "we 2 shall move a load;" *yo·gé·ł* (< *yo-d-γé·ł*) load is being moved prog., load is being carried;" *yigaj* (< *yi-d-γaj*) "it is being nibbled;" *'agé·h* (< *'a-d-γé·h*) "marriage is being arranged;" *yigiz* (< *yi-d-γiz*) "it is being moved as a pivot"

3.65. *d-z* > *d*: *no·dǫ́·z* (< *no·d-zǫ́·z*) "it has been torn in strips, it is stripped, stripped;" *yi·aọ·s* (< *yi·a-zǫ́·s*) "we 2 are tearing it in strips;" *'ide·z* (< *'i-d-ze·z*) "something is singed"

3.66. *d-z* > *dz*: *yidza·z* (< *yi-d-za·z*) "it has been snowing;" *ni·dzas* (< *ni·d-zas*) "we 2 are sprinkling it in a continuous line;" *'anádzi'* (< *'aná-d-zi'*) "he cust. rakes;" *yi·dzoh* (< *yi·d-zoh*) "we 2 are marking it;" *yi·dzį·l* (< *yi·d-zį·l*) "we 2 are coming to a standstill;" *'adzé·s* (< *'a-d-zé·s*) "something is being singed;" *do·dzoh* (< *do·-d-zoh*) "it is being carried in the mouth"

3.67. *d-s* (< *d-ł-z*) > *łs*: *di·łzah* (< *di·d-ł-zah*) "we will find it gone;" *di·łsas* (< *di·d-ł-zas*) "we are strewing it in a line;" *ni·l-sé·ł* (< *ni·d-ł-zé·ł*) "we 2 are growing up prog.;" *si·łsi·h* (< *si·d-ł-zi·h*) "we have missed the mark, made a mistake"

3.68. *d-dz* > *dz*: *yi·dzį́·s* (< *yi·d-dzį́·s*) "we 2 are dragging it prog.;" *xadi·dzih* (< *xadi·d-dzih*) "we 2 will speak out;" *di·dzih* (< *di·d-dzih*) "we 2 will be left, will survive"

3.69. *d-j* > *dj*: *yido·djį́·l* (< *yido·-d-jį́·l*) "he will be blackened;" *'adidi·djah* (< *'adidi·d-jah*) "we 2 will spit;" *bi'tódjíh* (< *bi-'ad-yó-d-jíh*) "he is being named, called by name;" *yi·djoh* (< *yi·d-joh*) "we 2 are combing it"

3.70. *d-c* (< *d-ł-j*) > *łc*: *di·łcih* (< *di·d-ł-jih*) "we will mow it, cut it (as hair);" *yi·łcic* (< *yi·d-ł-jic*) "we are poking it with slender obj. (as stick);" *yi·łcį́'* (< *yi·d-ł-jį́'*) "we have blackened it "

3.71. *d-dj* > *dj*: *yidi·djį́·l* (< *yidi·d-djį́·l*) "we 2 shall be blackened;" *si·djé·'* (< *si·d-djé·'*) "we pl. exist;" *ba· di·djá·h* "we 2 are giving him wood"

3.72. *d-l* > *l*: *yi·ldją* (< *yi·d-l-dją*) "we 2 are stamping along;" *yi·ldlał* (< *yi·d-l-dlał*) "we 2 are ripping it prog.;" *yi·lgic* (< *yi·d-l-gic*) "blade cutting is being caused by us"

3.73. *d-l* > *dl*: *yi·dloh* (< *yi·d-loh*) "we 2 are looping, lassoing it;" *yi·dló·s* (< *yi·d-łó·s*) "we 2 are leading one along on a rope;" *si·dlį́'* (< *si·d-lį́'*) "we 2 have become;" *naxadlá* (< *naxa-d-lá*) "ceremony; things-are-being-done-in-order"

3.74. *d-ł* > *l*: *yi·ló·l* (< *yi·d-łó·l*) "we 2 are whistling, singing in a high key;" *yi·la·ł* (< *yi·d-ła·ł*) "we hate him;" *yi·l'a·ł* (< *yi·d-ł-'a·ł*) "we are sending him on an errand;" *yi·ltas* (< *yi·d-ł-tas*) "we are twirling a small obj.;" *yi·ltsos* (< *yi·d-ł-tsos*) "we 2 are moving fabriclike obj.;" *yi·lzį·ł* (< *yi·d-ł-zį·ł*) "we 2 are blessing it;" *se·lyín* (< *si·d-ł-xį ni*) "we killed him for a fact" (EW 112:2)

3.75. *d-dl* > *dl*: *yi·dlą́* (< *yi·d-dlą́*) "we 2 believe; we 2 are drinking it;" *'i·dle·c* (< *'i·d-dle·c*) "we 2 are painting something;" *daxoni·dla·h* (< *daxoni·d-dla·h*) "we pl. are starting a ceremony;" *yi·dloh* (< *yi·d-dloh*) "we 2 are laughing"

Of the changes effected by *d*, there are only a few examples of *d-m* > *m̓*, *d-y* > *y̓*, *d-γ* > *d*, and *d-z* > *d*; all others are quite common.

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

3.77. *l-y* > *s*: *xasá·'* (< *xa-l-yá·'*) "deserted, abandoned place;" *naxasá* (< *naxa-l-yá*) "he has caused ceremony to start;" *yisą·d* (< *yi-l-yą·d*) "he has her affection; she loves him;" *yisil* (< *yi-l-yil*) "he has grabbed it"

3.78. *l-z* > *s*: *bil 'i·sa·l* (< *'i·-l-za·l*) "he sailed off in it (car);" *yi·do·są·l* (< *yi·do·-l-zą·l*) "she will love him;" *nin'isą́* (< *nin'i-l-zą́*) "it grows;" *yisé·h* (< *yi-l-zé·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* unvoices the blade alveolar as it does the alveolar sibilant:

l-j > *c*: *yiyí·cé·'* (< *yiyí·-l-jé·'*) "he has sheared it, he has caused cutting of woolly, grassy material;" *neico·d* (< *nei-l-jo·d*) "he is dragging it about;" *yá'ácǫ́* (< *yá'á-l-jǫ́*) "there is goodness, satisfaction;" *yicah* (< *yi-l-jah*) "he is hooking it;" *nicó·h* (< *ni-l-jó·h*) "she is combing your (hair)"

3.80. The causative *l* before *γ*-stem initial unvoices *γ*, but both sounds remain:

l-γ > *lx*: *'adilxá·c* (< *'adi-l-yá·c*) "they are biting something;" *dzo·lxal* (< *dzo·-l-γal*) "he is twirling a clublike obj.;" *'an'i·lx̨į́* (< *'an'i·-l-γį́*) "I have killed someone, something;" *dilx̨į·'* (< *di-l-γį·'*) "it is thawing;" *yil·xod* (< *yi-l-γod*) "he caused oscillation;" *yilxoj* (< *yi-l-γoj*) "he caused tickling;" *yi'ilxá·c* (< *yi'i-l-γá·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*: *xonilá·'* (< *xonil-lá·'*) "I have had a ceremony started;" *di·lid* (< *di·-l-lid*) "he burned it;" *yiyi·lą·d* (< *yiyí·-l-lą·d*) "he has increased it, caused it to increase"

Of the three classifiers l is the most stable. It sometimes changes ln to l, but apparently the stem complex with ln-initial is closely related to that with l-initial. y and γ 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: *'ái ciɣe·l-le·l* ($< ciɣe·l do·le·l$) "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 II

	y-prefix	y-stem	γ	z	s	j	c
-c-1 subj., ag. s		s	c	s	s*	c	c
-s- 3-3 pf.	s, y	s	$s\gamma$	s	s**	cj	c
-h final	h	hy, hs	x, hs	s	hs	c	h, c
	l-caus.	l-stem	$l\gamma$	lz	lx	l	ll
-c-1 subj., ag. c		cl	cx	sz	cx	c	cl
-s- 3-3 pf.	s	zl, sl	s	sz, s	sx	s	sl
-h final	l	l	$l\gamma$	lz	lx	lx	l

* s may result from a combination of -l-y or -l-z. -c- has the same effect on both. The combination -l-γ- $>$ -s is exceptional, being found only with -γi·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: *xonisą́* ($< xoni$-c-$yą́$) "I am aware of, wise about things, careful of it;" *bixode·sah* ($< bixode$·-c-yah) "I miss it, I find it gone;" *díné·sol* ($< díné$·c-yol) "I shall drive several"

3.84. c-γ $>$ c (exceptional, stem initial not clear): *ba· yicáh* ($< yic$-$\gamma áh$) "I caught up with him;" *na·cáh* ($< na$·c-$\gamma áh$) "I am going about;" *bî·cá·h* ($< bî$·c-$\gamma á·h$) "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): *dide·cxá·c* (< *dide·c-yá·c*) "I shall nibble it;" *yicxąh* (< *yic-yáh*) "I am killing them;" *'ádidé·sxás* (< *'ádidé·c-yas*) "I will scratch myself;" *'i·cxa'* (< *'i·c-ya'*) "I am shaking flexible obj.;" *xa·cxe·h* (< *xa·c-ye·h*) "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;" *yisǫ́·s* (< *yic-zǫ́·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-yo·l*) "I am pumping air into it;" *yisas* (< *yic-sas*) "I am sprinkling it in continuous line prog."

3.88. c-s (< *l-γ*) > s (exceptional): *bi· diye·si·l* (< *diye·c-l-yį́·l*) "I shall feed him, force food into him"

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

3.90. c-ɟ > c: *de·cah* (< *de·c-jah*) "I shall spit;" *yídê·ci·l* (< *yíde·c-ji·l*) "I shall call him by name;" *yicó·h* (< *yic-jó·h*) "I am combiing its hair;" *yicic* (< *yic-jic*) "I am breathing it in"

3.91. c-c (< *l-ɟ*) > c: *yicé·h* (< *yic-l-jé·h*) "I am cutting strands, I am shearing, mowing it;" *yicǫc* (< *yic-l-jǫc*) "I am throwing hooplike obj.;" *yicǫ·* (< *yic-l-jǫ·*) "I am taming it, breaking colt"

3.92. c-l-caus. > c: *nacnic* (< *nac-l-nic*) "I am working;" *'áxácyą́* (< *'áxác-l-yą́*) "I have sense;" *na·c'a'* (< *na·c-l-'a'*) "I am being sent on errand;" *xe·cyal* (< *xe·c-l-yal*) "I am wriggling on belly;" *de·cyal* (< *de·c-l-yal*) "I am eating meat;" *'ádícjé·h* (< *'ádíc-l-jé·h*) "I am shaving;" *dinicyo'* (< *dinic-l-yo'*) "I run slowly;" *'acjic* (< *'ac-l-jic*) "I am dancing;" *'ádícjó·h* (< *'ádíc-l-jó·h*) "I am brushing myself, combing my hair"

3.93. c-l-stem initial > cl: *nclį́* (< *nc-lį́*) "I am;" *yicle·h* (< *yic-le·h*) "I am becoming;" *'á·clí·l* (< *'ác-lí·l*) "I am creating, making it;" *yiclé·l* (< *yic-lé·l*) "I am carrying a ropelike obj., a pair of obj.;" *naxonclin* (< *naxonc-lin*) "I look like him, I resemble him"

3.94. c-lz > sz: *'áxodide·szih* (< *'áxodide·c-l-zih*) "I shall become motionless" (YM 239); *'ákászis* (< *'ákác-l-zis*) "I am putting on belt" (YM 243)

3.95. c-l-caus. > c: *yisbąs* (< *yic-l-bąs*) "I am driving it (car, wagon); I am causing it to roll prog.;" *xode·cbį·l* (< *xode·c-l-bį·l*) "I shall build a hogan;" *xadicbin* (< *xadic-l-bin*) "I am filling it;

I am causing filling;" *xanictca·d* (< *xanic-l-tca·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;" *'adicxá·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*, *ł*, 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*, *ł*, 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*-

[15] Hoijer 1945c, pp.19–20, 43–8.
[16] Hoijer considers -*z*- as "augmented by *d*, *ł*, 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.

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assimilates to -c-initial, again leaving only one -c. Just as -c-first person pronoun assimilates to *l* 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* < *l-z* or < *l-y* > *s*, but *s-l-z* > *sz*. The unstable initials *y* and *γ* 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;" *xode·yá* (< *xode·s-yá*) "short singing" (cer.); *'ane·yą́* (< *'ane·s-yą́*) "maturation; something has matured" (YME 54)

3.101. *s-z* > *z*: *de·za'* (< *de·s-za'*) "he belched;" *nde·zid* (< *nde·s-zid*) "time passed;" *ne·zą́* (< *ne·s-zą́*) "he is wellbred"

3.102. *s-s* (< *l-y*) > *s*: *xo·sa'* (< *xo·s-l-ya'*) "he missed it, found it gone;" *ninísą́* (< *niní-s-l-yą́*) "he grew up"

3.103. *s-s* (< *l-z*) > *s*: *yíxo·sa'* (< *yíxo·s-l-za'*) "he missed it;" *yide·sas* (< *yide·s-l-zas*) "he sifted it;" *yisi·h* (< *yis-l-zi·h*) "he missed target, he made a mistake;" *yisil* (< *yis-l-zil*) "he grabbed it"

3.104. *s-c* (< *l-j*) > *c*: *naxacó·h* (< *naxas-l-jó·h*) "he has swept a place;" *yide·có·d* (< *yide·s-l-jó·d*) "he has dragged a fabriclike obj.;" *néicoh* (< *néis-l-joh*) "he moistened it"

The same change takes place in an entirely different setting: *di·gicɫ·* (< *di·gis-cɫ·*) "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·syą́* (< *'áxo·s-l-yą́*) "she took care of me;" *'ádísyaz* (< *'ádís-l-γaz*) "he scratched himself;" *yicγi·j* (< *yic-l-γi·j*) "he is in a crouching position;" *ne·syal* (< *ne·s-l-γal*) "he threw himself down;" *de·syis* (< *de·s-l-γis*) "he dodged (a blow);" *tsá'ászi'* (< *tsá'as-l-zi'*) "yucca; main part is fibrous;" *tan'e·szani·* (< *ta'ane·s-l-zani·*) clan name; *na·cjah* (< *na·s-l-jah*) "he went hunting"

3.106. *s-l*-stem initial > *zl*: *bidane·zlah* "they are tied here and there;" *na·zlɫ* "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·zli·* "he suspected him" (YM 133); *yizlih* "he tasted it" (YM 135); *xazlɫ·'* "things have become;" *dá·áke xa·zlá* "oblong field"

3.107. s̱-l-l-stem initial > sl: yisłáh (< yis-l-lá) "he has it (light-ning arrow);" cikẹ'esłá (< ciki'as-l-lá) "he has a claim on me;" nidjo·słá·' (< nidjo·s-l-lá·') "he hated you"

3.108. s-l-x > sx: yisxį́ (< yis-l-γį́) "he killed one;" yisxal (< yis-l-xal) "he clubbed it"

3.109. Voicing a consonant as in yiz-3-3 si-perfective is not an isolated phenomenon. A comparable form is djilgai "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- > djil-. 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 sétį́ "I exist as an animate obj." as sé- < si-pf.-c-1 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-1 ag.; 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 dziz-, 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, *dži-*away and *dži-*-attitude, in the paradigms of which *dji-* 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*: *dahíłtsos* (< *dah-yíłtsos*) "you are holding fabriclike obj.;" *dahoˑłtsos* (< *dah-yoˑłtsos*) "you 2 are holding a fabriclike obj.;" *dahiˑṭe'* (< *dah-yiˑṭe'*) "he started to run forward;" *daheˑzʼą́* (< *dah-yizʼą́*) "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); *dahsitą́* "narrow rigid obj. is suspended, lies on top of...; there is a crescent moon;" *doˑ 'ahsoxodoˑbéˑjdah* "things are hopeless, there is no hope;" *tsin bą̄ˑ dahsaʼą́* "apple (fruit) is hanging on tree" (FH).

3.116. Final *h* of a prefix unvoices a following voiced consonant, usually a sibilant: *dacdeˑyá* (< *dah-dji-deˑyá* < *dah-j-deˑyá*) "he (4) has started to go forward;" *datsiztį́* (< *dah-dziz-tį́*) "he(4) is lying on top;" *boʼocneˑlʼą́* (< *biʼoh-dji-neˑlʼą́*) "he(4) cannot afford it, he falls short of it" (YM 10); *'álacdoˑleˑl* (< *'álah-j-doˑleˑl*) "they(4) will assemble" (EW 106:9);[18] *bą̄ˑcdeˑyá* (< *bą̄ˑh djideˑyá*) "he(4) passed them" (NT 54:23); *biˑcnoˑtą́* (< *biˑh djinoˑtą́*) "he(4) put his hand into it" (NT 78:17).

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[17] Cp. Hoijer 1945c, p. 39.
[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): *t'ó· 'axonáhyói* (< *t'ó· 'axoná-oh-yói*) "many of you;" *'ohyó·ł* "you 2 are inhaling, taking a breath" (YM 234)

3.119. *-oh-y-*stem initial > *-ohs-* or *-os-* (exceptional): *'ohsą́* (< *'a-yi-oh-yą́*) "you 2 are eating something;" *xonosą́* (< *xoni-oh-yą́*) "you 2 are wise;" *dínóhsó·d* (< *dínóh-yó·d*) "you 2 are driving a few" (ẎM 233)

3.120. *-oh-γ-* > *-ox-*: *γoxá·d* (< *γoh-γá·d*) "you 2 are shaking fabriclike obj.;" *do·xas* (< *do·h-γas*) "you 2 will claw it, scratch it with nails;" *'o·xeh* (< *'o·h-γeh*) "you 2 are being married"

3.121. *-oh-γ-*stem initial > *-ohs-* (exceptional): *do·hsį́·ł* (< *do·h-γį́·ł*) "you 2 will eat it"

3.122. *-oh-z-*stem initial > *-os-*: *dido·sah* (< *dido·h-zah*) "you 2 will belch;" *ndo·sił* (< *ndo·h-ził*) "you 2 will rake them together;" *nosį·h* (< *noh-zį·h*) "you 2 want it;" *γo·sį·h* (< *γo·h-zį·h*) "you 2 are coming to a standing position;" *bitčą́h xo·soh* (< *xo·h-zoh*) "you 2 draw a line of protection" (EW 110:12)

3.123. *-oh-s-* (< *ł-z*) > *-ohs-*: *γohsé·s* (< *γoh-ł-zé·s*) "you 2 are singeing it;" *bíxodo·hsah* (< *bíxodo·h-ł-zah*) "you 2 will find it gone;" *dohsas* (< *doh-ł-zas*) "you 2 are sifting it;" *nohsé·ł* (< *noh-ł-zé·ł*) "you two 2 are growing up"

3.124. *-oh-j-*stem initial > *-oc-*: *xodido·cah* (< *xodido·h-jah*) "you 2 will spit;" *yídó·ci·ł* (< *yídó·h-ji·ł*) "you 2 will call him by name;" *γocoh* (< *γoh-joh*) "you 2 are combing it"

3.125. *-oh-c* (< *ł-j*) > *-ohc-*: *do·hcih* (< *do·h-ł-jih*) "you 2 are mowing it, cutting strands;" *γo·hcic* (< *γo·h-ł-jic*) "you 2 are poking it (with a stick);" *γo·hcį́·h* (< *γo·h-ł-jį́·h*) "you 2 are blackening it;" *naxohco·h* (< *naxoh-ł-jo·h*) "you 2 are sweeping a place;" *γohcǫ·h* (< *γoh-ł-jǫ·h*) "you 2 are breaking a horse, taming it"

3.126. *-oh-l-*pass. caus. > *-oł-*: *doldé·h* (< *doh-l-dé·h*) "you 2 are starting with a group;" *yah'ołdjó·ł* (< *yah'a-oh-l-djó·ł*) "bunchy substance is being carried in by you 2;" *ba· 'áxółyą́* (< *ba· 'áxóh-l-yą́*) "you 2 are taking care of it;" *do·łzih* (< *do·h-l-zih*) "sharp obj. will be hurled by you 2;" *na·łje·h* (< *na·h-l-je·h*) "you 2 are hunting"

3.127. -oh-l-stem initial > -oł-: 'óleˑh (< 'óh-leˑh) "it is being done by you 2;" γołąˑł (< γoh-łąˑł) "you are increasing, becoming many;" xonołį́ (< xonoh-łį́) "you exist;" naxonołin (naxonoh-lin) "you look like, you resemble;" γołoh (< γoh-loh) "you 2 are roping, lassoing it;" γoloˑd (< γoh-loˑd) "you 2 are lapping, sipping it"

3.128. -oh-l-γ- > -ołγ-: γoˑłγał (< γoˑh-l-γał) "you 2 are eating meat, tearing meat from bone;" γinołγé (< γinoh-l-γé) "you 2 are called, have the name. . .;" 'adínóˑłγił (< 'adínóh-l-γił) "you 2 will doze;" xadidoˑłγoc (< xadidoˑh-l-γoc) "you will shout" (YM 86)

3.129. -oh-l-z- > -ołz-: 'ákásoˑłzaˑz (< 'ákásoˑh-l-zaˑz) "you have your belts on" (YM 243): sodoˑłzin (< sidoˑh-l-zin) "you have prayed" (YM 242): 'áxodidoˑłzih (< 'áxodidoˑh-l-zih) "you will calm down, become motionless" (YM 239)

3.130. -oh-ł-caus. > -oł-: yah'ołdjóˑł (< yah'a-oh-ł-djóˑł) "you 2 are carrying bunchy substance in;" 'ałdį̜ˑh (< 'áh-ł-dį̜ˑh) "you are destroying it;" yáłti' (< yáh-ł-ti') "you 2 are talking"

3.131. -oh-ł-γ- > -ołx-: doˑłxał (< doh-ł-γał) "you 2 will club it;" doˑłxeˑł (< doˑh-ł-yeˑł) "you are calming down;" nálxéˑs (< náh-ł-γéˑs) "you 2 are turning it around;" nan'ołxod (< nan'oh-ł-γod) "you 2 are lame"

3.132. -oh-ł-caus.-l-stem initial > -oł-: didołił (< didoh-ł-lił) "you will make it burn, smoke;" γołąˑh (< γoh-ł-łąˑh) "you are increasing in number;" γoleˑh (< γoh-ł-leˑh) "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, -iˑ, -í, and -ígíˑ, -eˑ "custom, way;" -eˑ' "future subordination;" ę́ˑ "past, afore-mentioned;" -i'' "after having. . .;" -íc "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: 'áhí "fog, mist;" tséhę̂ˑcí̜ˑ "surely he must have referred to a rock;" ntsaˑhígíˑ "the one that is wide, large;" cádíyę̂ˑ "my deceased older sister;" 'akoneˑ' (< 'akǫ-eˑ') "you'll see, it will happen so;" t̂âˑ doˑ 'ódínini "don't say

that. don't let him speak thus" (NT 136:23) (cp. *'ádíní* "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'áʔ* for *xa'áʔí* "whatever." AB, despite the fact that he is an *n*-speaker, protested that *xa'áʔ* was "wrong," yet we find *xa'áʔí·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-*, *'ą-* > *-an*, or *-a·n*; *n* > *˸* or *τ*; *-a'a-di-* > *-a'ǐi-*); some consonants change in contact with others (*-l-z* > *-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-ní-* > *yiz-*; and *yi-si-ní-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. (cp. 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. Over-lapping of form is due to the fact that a few consonants and vowels have been overworked, distinguished by the to us unfamiliar pro-cesses of variation of quantity, tone, nasality, glottalization, and the like. Furthermore, there are what almost seem to be infinite sub-divisions of an idea. For instance, one "starts a motion from a point," but he also "starts forward." The first idea is understand-able 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 con-cern 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.[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.[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.

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[1] Sapir 1923; Li 1930a, p. 52; Goddard 1910, pp. 107ff.; 1912, pp. 19ff.
[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" (*cimą́*) seem much better than "garment," "flint," "my mother." Similarly, "it is I, I am the one" (*cí*), "it is mine" (*cí·*) "it is for my benefit" (*cá*), "it is with, by means of it" (*be·*), "it is over him" (*biki*), 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); *kéhí ńdzo·te·zi·'* "after putting on his moccasins" (NT 34:10); *kéhę̀· góne' 'ado·lni·'* "he reached into the place where the moccasins had been" (NT 32:22); *ké bi·h djínil* "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-mą́* "his(4) mother" would then be analyzed as *xo-yi-mą́* > *xa-mą́* "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 different-iate 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 *xoł* "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 *-ł* "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.):

> *si-dzi·l* I am strong
> *ni-dzi·l* you are strong
> *bi-dzi·l* he is strong
> *xa-dzi·l* he (4) is strong
> *nxi-dzi·l* we, you 2 are strong

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
biká·' 'a-ti·n highway; on-it road
tséta' dibé 'abi-ti·n mountain sheep trail; rocks-between sheep their-
    trail-leads-beyond (FW 57:6)
'anábi-ti·n his trail back (YM 207)
tá· 'e-ti·n trail leads just (so far) (NT 168:3)
tćé'é-ti·n exit, doorway, the way out   ∩·ɛ´ˊ ɛ´t͏͏ɿ ∩
yas bi· na'a-ti·n path in snow; snow in-it here-and-there-something-leads
yó·'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 -ké·' "track" is comparable in the following:

nabi-ké·' his tracks were (visible) here and there (NT 130:23)
'abi-ké·' his tracks led off
nañl-ké·' track him
nasíl-ké·' I tracked him
xode·-ké·' 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 -ké·'.

4.12. Another example seems to be a possessive noun used as a verb—bil ná·bi-ye·l "with them another offering"—the possessive of -ye·l "offering" is bi-ye·l, ná·- "again" takes the inflective prefix (-ná-) which raises the tone of bi-possessive (10.94 aff.). The same process operates in the forms 'anábiti·n "his trail back," and 'aná·'á-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·-bé·j (< *'aze·'-yi-bé·j*) alkaseltzer; medicine-boils
bį·stsoh (< *bį· yistsoh*) large deer (NT 320:15)
tį-tse·d (< *tin-tsed*) ice cream; ice-pounded
tsį·cdlo·j (< *tsin yicdlo·j*) bench; wood-it-stands-on-all-fours (NT 276:10)
'ą'ą·ńa' (< *'a-'á·n-yi-ni-ńa'*) he crawled into a hole (NT 22:23)
bitsá·jnįgij (< *bitsá-dji-ni-ni-gij*) they (4) cut its paunch (EW 116:3)
sącdjo·l (< *są-c-djo·l*) Old Age lay (NT 128:13)
xójǫ·le·lgo 'áté (< *xójóni-yi-le·l*) may it be beneficial, satisfactory
xa'o·lyáistsą·' (< *xa'o·lyá-yistsą·'*) 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 signif-
icance, 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 indepen-
dent or possessed nouns:

> *bibe·'altćį'didloh* his buckle: his with-it toward-each-other-something-is-
>   looped
> *bibe·'etsxis, bibe·'tskis* his with-it something-is-jerked
> *cibe·'eldǫ·* 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 mono-
syllabic, 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:

> *tłă·h* (<*tłah-i*) Lefty, the-one-who-is-left-handed
> *'abăn, 'abań, 'abaní* 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·ni·* "my mother-
in-law; the-particular-one-whom-I-do-not-see" (man-speaking); but
do· yo·'i·ni· "his mother-in-law; the-particular-one-he-does-not-
see;" *'actłóhi* "my weaving; something-I-am-weaving," but *'atłóhi*

"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
> *'acté·* (prog.) changing to calm, tranquil, composed; quieting down
> *xacte'* (stat.) normal, regular, usual, orderly, neat, ready
> *xacté·* (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 *-γé·* a static verb in the form *xó-γé·* "weakening, futile, feeble," but *γé·* is absolute or an adjective in *bil γé· 'áxo·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: *dí·skạ́, dí·'skạ́ (< dí·'-yiskạ́)* "four nights." In the following noun the numeral is compounded with the noun and the possessive-nominalizing frame *bi-. . .-i·: bíla'tá·'i· (< bíla'-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.):

> *. . .yiltćah* he has a hat like . . ., he is hatted like . . .
> *cac yinistsi·'* I have a head like a bear
> *né·écdja·' 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
> *'ana· kad da'ani·tah* we are now in the midst of war; these enemies now we-are-amongst

Compare *bí·nícγah* "I am able to do it, I measure up to it" and *bî·γah* "he is able to do it, he measures up to it, it is proportionate to it" with the more frequently used *cî·γah* "alongside me" and *bî·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 *t̂ah*, an element referring to time. That this is an independent form is exemplified by the negative, *t̂ah do· ńnáxáka·h-dah* "still they are not returning;" and *t̂ah da·t̂śi* "later perhaps;" *t̂ah ńt̂ę·'* "time had passed," and other examples.

Suffixes may be used with *t̂ah*, in which respect it behaves like an adverb: *t̂ah-a·'* (< *t̂ah-e·'*) "wait; later-future" *t̂ah-cą'* "how about waiting, staying ?" (WE).

In the form *'át̂ah t̂á· kwe'é* "wait right here" the analysis seems to be *'á*-there remote (demonstrative adverb here used of time) and *t̂ah* "time passes, there is an interval." *'á-t̂ah-i-go* "in a little while" shows *t̂ah* 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. *t̂ó· xa'ą· 'e·lγodígi* "he merely ran to the edge; the-one-who-merely-ran-off-to-a-place-on-the-edge-of-a-place

dan'ilt̂śą̇·'gó· in several directions (they went off) (*-t̂śą̇·* "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.

-dą̇·' is an enclitic which usually has temporal significance. *t̂asdą̇·'* and *t̂a sidą̇·'* (NT 44:27) are said to have the same meaning; the second form seems to be verbal (*si*-pf.). Both should be compared with *'í·dą̇·'* (< *'a*-beyond-*yi*-pf.) "at that time" and with *t̂čé'é-dą̇·'* (< *t̂čí*-out-*'a*-beyond-[*ná*-]) "doorway, entrance, yard." The spacial significance of *-dą̇·'* is not clear in the last example.

4.26. A postposition may be suffixed to a noun:

  tó-la' between the waters
  xo·γan-di at home
  kį·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:

bi-tćį' toward him, in his direction
bi-γá through it
bi-ká·' on it

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

'a·-di at a nearby place
'á·-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)
xá·-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 doubtless 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 (cp. 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
'ayál'é·l filtered liquid; through-something-there-was-floating
bidilę· xani·' *be·zní·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·ła·h (<*'aya-yi-ła·h*) round obj. is being taken away by force
biłe·ļditłah 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: *biki xatá·lí* or *bikixatá·lí* "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: *biḱe'ectcį́* "picture, writing, design; over-it-something-has-been-caused-to-press;'' and *biḱi-'ťe·sdiz* "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·ltcí'í* "dye, red dye; that-by-means-of-which-something-is-red-dened;'' *diné bibe·'i·ltcí'í* "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. *cį́·* "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 *ťá· 'éi 'ą́ťi-cį́·zni·zí·'* "that must have been the one she(4) thought'' (EW 90:17) the subject is really *'éi'ą́ťį·cį́* "that which must have happened'' because -z- (< *dji*-4 subj.) cannot be an initial. -*cį́·* in this setting is comparable with *be·* in the example *be·zní·γaz* "it was striped with it (blood)'' (4.30.).

4.33. Postpositions sometimes have the function of nouns:

bi-ne' his back, behind him
bi-ḱá·' 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-ḱá· do· credit it; on-the-record may-it-be
ťá· biḱá·' 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* (< -*cą'*) or -*ic* to the first word of a sentence. It is suffixed to *ťá·* "just, really, absolutely'' and to *ťó·* "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 -*í* 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 ...,'' *ťâ· 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 *dŏ·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'áŧê·-dah* "it is not good, it is bad, evil," *do· la' xo·dza·-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: *'ata'* "someone's wing, wing belonging to something," *ce'eta'* (< *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 *-ta'* 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'eta'* 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· 'édin*, often *xwe'édin* "he (4)has none; with-him(4) there-is-none," and *xwe· xǫ́lǫ́* "he(4) has some; with-him(4) there-are." Thus the alienable possessive would mean literally "with ... something is ...ed," or more specifically *xwe'eta'* "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;" *'altį·* "bow;" *xwe'eltį·* "his(4) bow;" *'awé·*, *'aγwé·* "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	Verb stem
'il that which comes free, twig, branch, fuzz, leaf	*di'il* (stat.) it has long soft hairs
taj a flip, peck	*-taj* (pf.) flip, peck
tó (*-to'*) water	*di-to'* (stat., pf.) it is watery
yas, zas snow	*-zas* (prog., mom., pf.) sprinkle in a line, strew powdery material
-yol breath	*-yol* (pf.) sob, weep
kid hump, ridge, prominence	*-kid* (pf.) be humped, ridged
xé·l (*-yé·l*) load, pack	*-yé·l, -l-xé·l* (prog.) move load, load moves
xoc (*-yoc*) thorn, cactus, splinter	*-yoc* (prog., mom., pf.) mass becomes thorny
sái (*-zái*) sand, gravel, what has crumbled, slid	*-sái·* (pres., pf.) pulverize, granulate
sá·' abandoned place, evidence of previous occupation	*-sá·'* (pf.) be disturbed at someone's absence
są́ old age	*-są́* (pf.) grow mature
sin (*-yi·n*) song	*-yin* (stat.) be holy, *-sin* (pres., inc., pf.) bless
tsǫ' bog	*-tsǫ* (stat.) be boggy
cé·' (*-jé·'*) saliva, foam	*-jé·'* (pf.) spit
djá·d leg	*di-djá·d* (stat.) be fleet
djádi antelope	
tci·l falling snow, falling cotton of cottonwood, what flutters in the air	*-tci·l* (pf.) snow falls, it is snowing
lid smoke	*-lid* (pres., pf.) cause fire to smoke
dle·c white clay	*-dle·c* (pres.) smear, rub clay on
tłé·' night	*-tłé·'* (inc., pf.) it is night
tłoh grass	*di-tłoh* (stat., pf.) be grasslike, spiny, wiry

5.5. Many monosyllabic nouns are independent: *'é·'* "clothes, shirt, garment;" *bą·h* "border, edge, rim;" *kǫ'* "fire;" *kal* "notch,

inner angle;" *ƙos* "cloud;" *ƙǫ́·j* "body odor;" *nil* "ax, stone head;" *nǫ·'* "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;" *-ƚah* "pocket, crevice, fold;" *-ni·', -nį·'* "face;" *-god* "knee, stump;" *-ką'* "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:

Independent noun		Prefixed form	
xé·l	pack, load	'*a-yé·l*	someone's **pack**, load
xoc	thorn, cactus	*bi-yoc*	its thorn, his cactus
sa·d	speech, language	'*a-za·d*	someone's **speech**
sái	sand	*bi-zái*	its sand
se·s	wart	*bi-ze·s*	his wart
si·l	steam	*bi-zi·l*	its steam
sǫ'	star	*bi-zǫ'*	his star, its star
cé·'	saliva, foam	'*a-jé·'*	someone's saliva
le·j	dust, soil, dirt	*bi-le·j*	its soil, his soil
lij	urine	*bi-lij*	his urine
łį·'	horse, pet	*bi-łį·'*	his horse, pet

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.):

Independent form		Prefixed form	
bé·c	flint, metal, knife	*bi-bé·j*	his flint, knife, metal
te·c	soot	*bi-łé·j*	its soot
xé·l	load, pack	*bi-yé·l*	his load
sis	belt	*bi-zi·z*	his belt
djó·c	vagina	'*a-djó·j*	someone's vagina
łé·l	fire-making apparatus	*bi-łé·l*	his firedrill
łó·l	rope, cord, string	*bi-łó·l*	its cord, string, rope

5.11. The long vowel of some nouns of the type CV·' becomes short in possessed forms:

Independent form		Possessed form	
ya·'	louse	*'a-ya'*	someone's louse
yo·'	bead, necklace	*bi-yo'*	his necklace
ǩa·'	arrow	*bi-ǩa'*	his arrow, weapon

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

'ása·'	jar, pot, dish	*be'ésa·'* her jar; *tó'ása'* water jar (cer.)	
tśa·'	basket, bowl	*bi-tśa·'*, *bi-tśa'* his bowl, basket	

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:

Independent noun	Possessed noun in relation to the whole
'il twig, branch, that which is detachable	*bi'i·l* its branch, foliage
sis belt	*bi-zi·z* his belt

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

Independent noun	Compound form non-functional	Compound form functional
tłó·l rope, string, lariat	*'aya·sis-tłó·l* rope of Angora wool	*'aza·-tłó·l* rein, mouth-rope
	tsi·tłó·l hairstring	*'altị-tłó·l* bowstring
	dja·-tłó·l earstring	*bike·-tłó·l* root; its-base-string
		biké-tłó·l hobble, shoe-string; its-foot-string
		cá bi-tłó·l sunray; sun its rope
		bi-tsi·-tłó·l his hair-string
		tcoc-tłó·l cinch, surcingle; belly-rope
-tcei maternal grandfather, grandchild	*bi-tcei* his maternal grandfather, grandchild	*bi-tcei·* his maternal grandfather, grandchild in relation to him

5.15. Some stems for which these differentiations are made have *n* as a final consonant:

Independent noun	Compound form non-functional	Compound form functional
sin song	*bi-sin* his song[1]	*bi-yi·n* his, its song related to a song-group
tsin stick	*bi-tsin* its stick	*bi-tsi·n* its handle, framework
		'aḱa-tsi·n arrowshaft, arrow-handle
tśin bone	*bi-tśin* his bone	*bi-tśi·n* his bone, part of skeleton
		bidja·-tśi·n bone in mastoid region, its-earbone
tcin dirt, filth		*bi-tci·n* body filth
tcxin expended body substance subject to sorcery		*bi-tcxi·n* his body substance subject to sorcery

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:

Independent noun	Compound form non-functional	Compound form functional
dá'áṭą·' cornhusk, cigarette paper		*dá'áṭa·n* cornhusk, fodder
	'atsį·' base	*'álátsi·n* someone's wrist; someone's-hand-base
		'aḱé·tsi·n someone's ankle; someone's-foot-base
tcą·' human excrement (vulgar)	*bitcą·'* his excrement	*'atca·n* manure (polite term
tći·yą́' food (gen.)		*tći·yá·n* food ready to eat
	biḱe·ṭą́' his prayerstick	*ḱe·ṭá·n* prayerstick
xastį· man, husband	*baxastį·* her husband	*baxasti·n* her husband in relation to her
'asdzą́· woman, wife	*be'esdzą́·* his wife	*be'esdzá·n* his wife in relation to him

The following verbal forms should be compared with the stem changes just given: *'adá sitą́* "webbeam; in-front-of-something-long-obj.-lies;" *'adá sitá·n* "upper loompole;" *'áh sitá·n* "lower loompole."

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[1] West of Keam's Canyon *bisin* is commonly used for either meaning of "his song;" at Ganado it is considered ungrammatical, "wrong."

5.17. A few nouns of type CV́ change to type CV' in possessed forms:

Independent noun	Possessed form
tó water	*bi-to'* its water, spring
tsé stone, rock	*bi-tse'* its stone, rock

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

⁻tá·'	forehead	*⁻tsą́·'*	rib
⁻tog	collarbone	*⁻ji'*	name
⁻ndi	older brother	*⁻ji*	uttered breath
⁻ni', *-ną̇'*	mind	*⁻tcį̇·'*	nose
⁻nį̇·', *-nį̇·'*	inside of nostril	*⁻tcxį̇·'*	muzzle
⁻ǩai'	mother's older sister	*⁻la'*	finger, hand
⁻ǩid	protuberance, eminence	*⁻tłah*	angle, corner, side of face

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;" *tó* (*-to'*) "water." If the noun demands a high tone of the prefix it is written *⁻stem*, for example, *⁻la'* "finger, hand," *'ála'* "someone's finger, hand," *cíla'* "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:

Noun	Compound noun
'ayo·' someone's tooth	*'a-yo·-ctłah* inside of someone's cheek
'atsi·' someone's head, hair	*'a-tsi·-ya'* mane
'atso·' someone's tongue	*'a-tso·látah* tip of someone's tongue
ǩa·' arrow	*'a-ǩa·tsi·n* arrowshaft
	ǩa·bé·c iron weapon point
	ǩa·-yé·l quiver
'adja·' someone's outer ear	*'adja·-ťi·ɉ* earwax
	dja·-tłó·l earstring of beads

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:

ńló-e· Hail Chant; concerning-hail
tó-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
mą'į· ma'i · coyote
tąj-i· turkey; the-particular-one-that-pecks
gá·g-i· crow
ką'-i· group of males
γé'i· god, gods
tsa'-i· group of mature females, female sex
tśi'-i· flea
tśil-i· small animal, Mexican hairless dog (referring to breed)
tcah-i· crybaby, the-particular-one-that-cries
-tcei· maternal grandfather and daughter's child in relation to each other (cp. 5.14.):
tćah-i· Man-with-a-hat (personal name of first man who wore a hat)
do·tłij-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:

ʿkéi spouses, wives, husbands
-ḱei clan relatives, clan relationship
xastoi 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:

'áh-i fog, mist
'ád-i older sister
-dá'-i man's mother's brother, man's sister's son older than speaker
-de·j-i younger sister
dine'-é (< *dine'-i*) tribe, group, people
ḱo·l-i sheep with coarse curly hair
-tsil-i younger brother
-jé'é father
-tcé'é woman's daughter
na'azis-i pocket gopher
di·tcil-i 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:

ʿnăi older brother
'i·năi livelihood
tcăi (< *tcah·i*), *tcayi* 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:

tlă·h (< *tlah-i*) Lefty, the-one-who-is-left-handed (note that in *tcăi* "crybaby" *h* was lost)
'abań, 'abăn, 'abani dressed hide, skin
giń, gin, gini prairie hawk
xasti·n găn, 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-i-to'-i Gopher Spring
na'acó'-i·-to'-i Reptile Spring
tsid-i·-to'-i Bird Spring

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

belasá·na bitse·' xólón-igi pear, the-apple-that-has-a-tail
bijé·' 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:

> *tsi·tłó·l-igi·* old-fashioned navy blue hairstring; the-one-that-is-a-hairstring
> *tsá'ászi' ntsa·h-igi· Yucca glauca;* the-yucca-that-is-large
> *xata·l-igi·* that which he sings
> *yinzin-igi·* that which he wants

5.31. *-ó·, -yó·* dear, beloved:

> *bikis-ó·* his beloved brothers
> *ciyé-yó·* my dear husband
> *bá'ácxé-yó·* my dear brothers-in-law

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

> *bijé'é-ni'* his late father
> *gici·-ni'* the late Cane (User); the-particular-one-who-(had)-cane-deceased
> *tsǫ·tsohó-ni'* the late Big Belly (NT 368:27)
> *xasti·n na·ta·ni·-ni'* Old Man Chief deceased; mister the-particular-one-who-was-chief-deceased (NT 370:17)
> *bi'é·' litci'i-ni'* the late Red Coat; the-one-whose-coat-was-red-deceased (NT 370:27)
> *nigola·s-ni'* the late Nicholas (NT 372:1)
> *na·kai sáni-ni'* the late Old Mexican (personal name)

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

> *bitah-ni·* Folded-arms-people (clan name); place-where-it-is-in-its-fold (NT 92:13,14)
> *mą'i· de·cgij-ni·* Coyote Gap people (clan name)
> *tó'oxe·dli·-ni·* People-of-the-place-where-waters-flow-together (clan name)
> *tó ditci·'-ni·* Bitter-water-people (NT 92:13)
> *tóxá·-ni·* People-of-water's-edge-place (clan name)
> *tó-tsoh-ni·* People of-big-water-place (clan name)
> *kiya·'á·-ni·* People-of-the-masonry-houses (clan name)
> *xactłic-ni·* People-of-the-mud-place (clan name)
> *xona·γá·h-ni·* People-of-the-place-where-he-walked-about (clan name)
> *náxódló·-ni·* people exist at a place

5.34. *-ké, -kéi* plural of persons:

> *'á-ké* (< *'á·d-ké*) wives
> *cinái-ké* my older brothers
> *tsél-ké* young men, youths (EW 144:24 "young relatives")
> *bitsili·-ké* (< *bitsilt-ké*) his younger brothers
> *tci-kéi* girls, daughters (general, not necessarily related)
> *tso·-ké* (< *tsoi-ké*) daughter's children
> *bila-kéi* his sisters, her brothers, siblings of the opposite sex

5.35. *-kę·* youth:

> *tsel-kę·* youth, young man
> *tći-kę·* 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:

> *'aná-ke·* someone's eye socket; someone's-eye-place
> *'al-ke·* in the same dwelling with; reciprocal (pronoun)-place
> *'a'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·h-é* yucca mask of Night Chant; that-which-is-face-place
> *yisdá'a-ke·* lair, den; safety-some-place
> *kǫ' 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·ʼoh* "wristguard, bow guard," and *ke·ʼá·n* "prayer-stick, place-feathered," in which *ke·* seems to be a verbal prefix; *'alki dáda'ake* "terraced gardens; one-above-the-other in-front there-are-spaces," in which *-ke* seems to be verbal, or a postposition. In *xaltcí·'-ke* (< *xo-yi-l-tcí·*) "ground is red, place-reddened-place," and *xo·ke·-γan* "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, *né'é-c-til* "nasal mucus," but *né'édil* "nosebleed." "*né'écdil* 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·'eke-'eltcihí-c-to'* "fountain pen ink, liquid for water or oil color" (cp. 4.31.).

It is interesting to compare this element with the possessive. The form *'aná·' 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
> *'átcį -c-to'* nasal mucus; someone's-nose-peculiar-to-water
> *'álá-c-tó·j* bark of tree
> *tá-c-to', ká-c-to'* perspiration

nálo-s-tse' (*s* < *c* before *ts*) tobacco pipe; tobacco-peculiar-to-stone
'adjá-c-tłoh leg hair; someone's-leg-peculiar-to-coarse-hair
'adjé·-s-tsi·n skeletal portion of trunk; thorax-framework
bi-ni·-c-tsi' his cheek; his-face-peculiar-to-flesh (NT 64:1)

The freedom of *-c-* is shown twice in the example *bi-gą-s-tsi̧·-s-gę́·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*, *ł*, or *h*] in form."[2] Hoijer goes on to cite the example *xas-ti·ns-téli* "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-tél-i* 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.).

5.38–5.70. *Nominal Prefixes*

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·-* (*-tso·'*) "tongue;" *dja·-* (*-dja·'*) "outer ear;" *za·-* (*-za·d*) "word, speech, language;" *djá-* (*-djá·d*) "leg;" *łe·-* (*łe·j*) "soil, dust, dirt."

Others are rarely used independently, although several examples show that they may be: *dé-hê·ni* (*-de·'*) "antlers of the one mentioned." Compare *dé nnêiní·łgó·* "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· sę·sí* "One-that-has-a-wart under-the-eye" (place name).

5.39. The nominal prefix often has the form CV́. 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-gí rim of orifice (*g* is a glide consonant); the-one-that-is-the-rim
dá-γa' person's beard and mustache; mouth-hair
-dá-γi' throat; edge-inside
-dá-ziz uvula; edge-flap
-dá-djó·j opening between mouth and nose
dá-γátsósi tapering mustache (of animal or person)
dá-γánázbąsi One-who-has-a-handlebar-mustache (personal name)

5.41. *dá'á-* corn, plant:

dá'á-tą·' cornhusk, corn leaf, cigarette paper
dá'á-ta·n cornhusks, fodder
dá'á-kaz cornstalk
dá'á-ke cornpatch, cornfield; corn-place
dá á-γáli· rattlepod (plant)
dá'á tca·n cornsmut; corn-excrement
dá'á-tsi· pith of corncob
dá'á-lgai 'aká·n white cornmeal

5.42. *dá·-*, *dá-* (cp *dá·h* "moving in front of" 7.40.) in front, fitted in opening:

'a-dá·-dildjolí herbs for sealing prayersticks (cer.): some-bushy-substance-that-is-placed-in-opening
dá·-dintzí·ni· door guard; the-particular-one-who-stands-in-front
dá·-dińlái door guards (as snake, lightning) (cer.); house furnishings kept near doorway
dá·-dídjah bars across corral opening
dá·-ditį́, dá-ńdítįhí wooden door, gate in one piece
dá·-'te·stlin dam; something-has-been-piled-in-front
bi-dá·-ne·zlá slightly overlapping, just touching (as branches of a shade) (FH)

5.43. *tá-* pertaining to water

tá-'ágis washing, cleansing, dipping, bath
tá-bą·há People-of-water's-edge (clan name)
tá-bą·hgi shore, beach; place-at-water's-edge
tá-zil sac on internal organ: water-collects
tá-tcé· sweathouse

5.44. *té·-* (< *tá-*water-*i·h* into) deep water, in deep water:

té·-lį́' water horse (myth.)
té·-xo·ltsó·di· 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·cto' 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·n someone's pupil; eye-black
'a-ná-tłah corner of someone's eye; eye-corner
ná-ya· sẹ·zi One-that-has-wart-under-the-eye (name of Joseph City, Arizona)

5.46. *né'é-* (*-ní·'*, *-ní'*) pertaining to inside of nostril:

né'é-dil nosebleed
né'é-til nasal mucus; nose-slimy
né'é-cdja·' screechowl; nose-peculiar-to-outer-ear
-né'é-ya·' hair of nostrils

5.47. *-gạ·-* (*-ga·n*) pertaining to arm:

-gạ·-doh arm muscle
-gạ·-yos shoulder joint
-gạ·-ziz sleeve; arm-flaps
-gạ·-stsi·n shoulderblade; arm-peculiar-to-foundation
-gạ·-stsị·ta' middle part of shoulderblade; arm-peculiar-to-main-part-between
-gạ·-ló·' lower arm; arm-appendage

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

ké bi·h dji·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-ni·' instep; foot-middle
ké-kal sole of foot
ké-látah toe; foot-tip
ké-łtci moccasin uppers; foot-red
ké-'abani buckskin footwear
-ké-tłó·l shoestring
-ké-k̇e 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. *k̇e·-* see 5.35a.

5.50. *-γá-* (*-γa'*, *-γa·'*) pertaining to body hair, fuzz, fur, wool:

'aze·' dá-γái (< *dáγáisjin*) Sloan's liniment; medicine-blackened-mustache (named for picture on box)
dá-γá-tśosi tapering mustache; mustache-narrow
dá-γá-názbạsi handlebar mustache: the-mustache-that-curves
dá-γá sika·d mere tuft of beard, small goatee
tsi·-γá mane; head-hair

5.51. *-γó-* (*-γo·'*) pertaining to teeth:

'a-γó-tah fold between teeth and lips; tooth-fold
bi-γó-cgi·j He-lacks-a-tooth (personal name): his-tooth-peculiar-to-gap
'a-γó-ck̇al place where tooth is missing; tooth-notch
'a-γó-ctłah inside of cheek; tooth-peculiar-to-angle

5.52. *γó·-, γwí·-* smooth, shiny body covering; insect, **worm**:

γó·-ne·ctc̨idi· cicada (gen.)
γó·-lájiní black ant
γó·-látcí·' ant (gen.); red ant (spec.)
γó· sitśilí bedbug
γó· siḱidi· worm, caterpillar that humps in moving, measuring worm;
  the-particular-worm-that-humps

5.53. *za-* (cp. *-za'* "belched gas") in mouth, passing through mouth:

za-'azis packet of garment; mouth-pouch
za-xodi·yoh suction of gas
Oza-dzo·l-tśin ... was punched in the mouth

5.54. *za·-* (*sa·d, -za·d*) mouth, voice, word, speech, language:

za·-ńil herbal medicine; pl-obj.-are-placed-in-mouth
-za·-bą·h lip; mouth-edge
za·-láná western mockingbird; words-many
bi-za·-dil sacred blood, blood of animal ritualistically killed; its-mouth-
  blood
'a-za·-látah final meaning of words; speech-tip

5.55. *zá-, zá·-* pertaining to inside of mouth:

zádí, záγí oesophagus; that-which-is-inside-of-mouth
zá-bą·h 'ál'į·h lipstick; mouth-inside-border is-made-thus
'a-zá·-ti'í bridle, bit, rein; that-which-is-strung-inside-mouth
-zá·-γo·j hard palate; inside-of-mouth-botryoidal

5.56. *-zé-* pertaining to neck, throat (outside):

zé náγ̨·' surface of chest and neck to lower jaw and ear
zé ńdz'ái separate shirt collar; neck-stiff-obj.-projects-in-arc

5.57. *-zé·-* (*-zé·'*) breath; part around outside of neck:

zé· dê·ti'í necktie;
zé· dê·lγé·h collar worn in ceremony
zé· dê·γíní cape
zé· dê·ldoi scarf
zé· na·zti'í necktie; it-lies-strung-around-neck
zé· názti'í necktie; it-lies-strung-against-neck
zé· sidoi, zé· de·sdoi shirt collar; that-part-of-neck-which-is-warm (Cp.
  bizé·' xazlį̨·' "he died; his-breath space-became" NT 368:23)

5.58. *-tsá-* main part of:

-tsá-gah part of body between lower ribs and hips
-tsá-tśid tendon of Achilles; main-tendon
tsá'ászi' yucca; something-main-fibrous
tsá-sḱe bed; main-part-peculiar-to-place

5.59. *tsél-* ? :

tsél-ḱ̨·' youth, period from early adolescence to middleage
tsél-tca·' buzzing beetle

5.60. *tsi·-*, *-tsi·-* (*-tsi·'*) pertaining to head, hair, or both:

> *'a-tsi·-yastá·n* someone's neck tendon; long-object-lies-under-peculiar-to-the-head
> *'a-tsi·-γǫ·'* someone's brain; head-nerve-tissue
> *'a-tsi·-ziz* scalp, part of foreigner used in War Ceremony; head-flap
> *'a-tsi·-tsi·n* skull; head-bone
> *'a-tsi·-γóli·* top vertebra, atlas; the particular-one-where-head-pivots
> *tsi·-tłó·l* hairstring, hair-cord

5.61. *-tso·-* (*-tso·'*) tongue:

> *'a-tso·-γaz* tongue papillae; tongue-papilliated
> *'a-tso·-látah* tip of tongue

5.62. *tsi·-* foundation, essential part:

> *tsi·-tsin* skeleton; essential-bone
> *tsi·-zis* quiver; essential-pouch
> *dá'á-tsi·* pith of corncob; corn-essential-part

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

> *cá ńdi·n* sunstreamer
> *cą́ didi·n* sunbeam
> *cą́-látah* end of sunbeam; sun-tip
> *cá-da'á·h* south; sun-round-obj.-is-starting-to-move
> *cá bitłó·l* sunray

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

> *dja·-tini·* dock (plant)
> *dja·-né·z* mule: ear-long
> *dja·-cjint* 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-kǫ·j* odor of genitals: leg-acrid
> *-dzá-stis* shin
> *-dzá-tsid* leg sinew

5.66. *tca-* shade, darkness:

> *tca-xa'oh* shade
> *be· tca-xac'oht* umbrella; that-with-which-place-is-shaded
> *tca-xalxe·l, tca'axalxe·l, tca-xa·lxe·l* darkness; shade-dims-place

5.67. *tcá-* above rim (?):

> *tcá'ol* pinyon tree
> *tcá-cke* arroyo, deep sharp wash; place-where-arroyo-begins-to-merge-with-plain
> *tcá-cdjic* diaphragm
> *tcá-tcoc* syphilis (AB)

5.68. *lá-*, *ʼlá* (*ʼla'*) digit, finger, hand:

> *ʼlá-yáji* small finger
> *ʼlá-tsi·n* wrist; hand-attachment (YM 123)
> *lá-tsini* bracelet (YM 123)
> *ʼla-tsoh* thumb; finger-large
> *ʼlá tsostsidi* index finger; the-seventh-finger

5.69. *le-*, *le·-* (*le·j*) soil, dust, dirt:

> *le·-'i·ni·l* cemetery; soil-in-which-pl.-are-laid
> *le·-yi'* in ground
> *le·-s'ą́·n* pit-baked bread
> *le·-ya neyáni* One-nurtured-under-ground (myth.)
> *le·tsoh* yellow ocher; soil-yellow
> *le·-tsa·'* bowl, earth-bowlshaped
> *le·-djin* coal; earth-blackened
> *le· 'i·ci·j* he poked it into the ground (NT 22:24)
> *le·'aznilę·gó·* to where pieces of meat were buried (NT 22:28)

5.70. *tla·-* (*-tla·'*) bottom, buttocks:

> *tla·-kal* skirt; buttocks-covered
> *tla·-dji' 'é·'* pants; bottom-toward garment
> *bi-tla·-dja·'* 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: *yol-i* "ability, capacity, might;" *bal-i* "shawl, the-one-that-is-curtainlike;" *tsoz-i* "Angora goat;" *tlog-i* "Sia Indian;" *tcahi*, *tcayi*, or *tcă·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: *'atlóh* "weaving, something being woven (pres.)"; *'astlǫ́* "weaving, something is woven (pf.);" *'o·tis* (< *'a-yi*-prog.) "something is roasting (prog.);" *'ate·s* "something is frying (inc.);" *'azté* "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: *'atłóh-i* "weaver, the-one-who-weaves-something;" *'ak̂ah-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:

    tó-zis waterbag, glass jar, bottle
    tsé-dá·' Rock Rim (place name)
    tcoc-tłó·l cinch; belly-rope (cp. *'aban̂ tłó·l* buckskin or goatskin lariat)
    lá-djic glove; hand-case
    -dá-ya·' person's beard and mustache; edge-body-hair
    dé·l-da·' cranebill (cer.)
    cá-látah end of sunbeam; sun-tip

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

    dibé dą̨·' sheep food (plant name); sheep corn
    gah tcidi rabbitskin robe; cottontail robe
    k̂a· bé·c (< *k̂a·' bé·c*) arrowhead; arrow flint
    tsé bą·h Rock Border (place name)
    tsé ką' yellow ocher; rock fire
    tsi· tłó·l (< *tsi·' tłó·l*) haircord

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

    tąji· bi-béjó·' turkey comb; turkey its-comb
    tsénil bi-tsi·n ax handle; ax its-handle
    tśin bi-k̂a marrow; bone its-fat
    lį·' bi-γé·l 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:

    tsé lį·' biγé·l Saddle Rock; rock horse its-load
    tsé 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-γi' throat; edge-within
yá-'ạ·c heaven; sky-opposite
-go-dai (< *-god-dai*) thigh; knee-up-from
kin-tah town; masonry-houses-among
tsé-ya· cave; rock-underneath
tsé-γi' canyon; rocks-within
le·-γi' 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· tó* Senatoa Spring; Water-around-rock
> *tsé-kiz-tóh-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 postpositions:

> *tsé-γi'-gi* Place-in-box-canyon; rocks-within-place. Here the noun and postposition is the "noun;" the postposition *-gi* "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
> *ẓséγi' xayáji* Small Canyon; rocks-within place-is-small
> *xacké·dji na·tá·h* war captain, army officer; warrior-side he-exerts authority
> *tséta·kǫ́* Rock-ridge-in-water; rock-into-water-ridged
> *tséna·dji·n* Bennett Peak; Blackened-around-rock

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

> *tséna·dji·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-γá-'tíndín-i·* rock crystal, crystal; some-particular-rock-through-which-light-shines-beyond (AB). Compare with this an alternant form, *tsé-γá din'idí·n-i·* the-particular-rock-through-which-light-beams-beyond (YME 22). In both forms the compound is framed by *tsé* and *-i·*, the nominalizer.

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

> *be·-di* utensil, implement; that-which-is-"withed"; that-which-is-an-instrument
> *bi-ká·'* its top; credit; what-is-on-it
> *bi-γi'* bottom side; its-in-it

5.87. A postposition with a noun may form a noun:

biká·' 'ati·n highway; on-it road
biki xatá·l patient in ceremony; over-him there-was-singing
'aya·-tśi·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:

ma'i·-tsoh wolf; coyote-large
tsé-gi·j mountain pass; rock-gap
-djá-di·l (< *djá·d-di·l*) thigh; leg-big
tcici-né·z Chiracahua; scoundrel-tall
tco·-yin menstruation; genitals-dangerous
le·-jin coal; soil-black
tłoh-tcin onion; grass-odorous
kin-láni Flagstaff, Arizona; masonry-houses-many

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 -*'ą* [stat.] "be open"); -*tá·n* instead of -*tá* "long slender obj. lies;" -*yá·n* instead of -*yą* "eat;" -*dji·n* instead of -*djin* "be blackened;" -*gi·j* instead of -*gij* "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, *tśin* "bone" and *bi-tśi·n* "its bone as part of skeleton" (cp. 5.13–5.16.):

'á-lá-gi·j crotch between fingers; someone's-finger-gapped
tsé-gi·j Rock Gap (place name)
dzil-ji·n Black Mountain (cp. *dziłjin* and *dzil lijin* "the mountain is black")
'aná-ji·n pupil and iris; eye-black
tci·yá·n prepared food, food ready to eat (cp. *tci·yą* "food" [gen.])

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

tó łtcé'é-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:

'abą·h ńti' border string of blanket on loom; some-border it-is-strung-up
'ana· xo·dzoh boundary line; stranger place-is-marked
'aze·' dłtci·' chili, pepper; medicine it-is-bitter
bidá·' xa'azłi' Rim-strung-out, Grand Canyon
mą'į· łtsoh yellow fox; coyote is-yellow
de· nástśa·' (< *de·' nástśa·'*) ram; horn curved-bowllike)
na-dą́·' 'áśté·h crackerjack; corn it-is-roasted
kin ya·'á tower; masonry from-underneath-projects (the postposition -*ya·* has become a verbal prefix)
'i·ná yá'ácǫ good health; life it-is-good
tśin diri' bullroarer; stick it-moans

5.92. A noun may consist of a noun and several verb stems:

tsé-tcĭ·-ła· Red-rock-shelter (place name); rock-red-shelters

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

'ani·' béldjoł-i powderpuff; face-that-which-is-moved-fluffy-against-it
'ása·' nimaz-i round utensil, receptacle; pot the-one-which-is-spherical
'é·' na·tśǫ·d-i· sweater; garment the-particular-one-that-stretches-around-
   a-restricted-area
yo·' 'ayáli sleighbell; bead the-one-that-rattles
γǫ·' 'askidi camel; the-one-whose-back-is-humped
tsé'éstêi paper bread; something-that-is-baked-against-stone
tćil na'atłǫ'i· grape, raisin; the-particular-plant-that-intertwines-here-
   and-there
tćil xa·ta'i· marshhawk; plants the-particular-one-that-flies up-out-of
tćil litsohigi· orange; plant the-one-that-is-yellow

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

belasá·na bitse·' xólónigi· 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 bi·' de·sgǎi White-in-rock-enclosure (place name); rock within-it it-is-
   white
'atsį ba· naxanįhi butcher; meat on-account-of-it the-one-who-exchanges
tłoh na·ldjo·łi 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 yiłá·n dáde·stłin-i-gi 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:

yi-słe', yi-słei lunch (si-słe' "my lunch")
yi-sga', yi·-gą' covering, skin, foliage
yi-słé, yi-słé· legging, stocking (cp. ʞaihi·łtłe·' "he had buckskin leg-
   gings" NT 160:3)

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

'i·ni' thunder; something-that-moans-rep.
'i'i·'ą sunset; round-obj.-has-moved-beyond
'ólta'i pupil, student; one-who-reads
dahi·słǫ́ loom; tied-so-as-to-hang-down
dahdini·lya·j fried bread, sopaipilla; 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·lį́ waterfall
'aya· sitą́ lower loompole; underneath-rigid--obj.-lies
'álah xa-zlį́ celebration; crowd-is-in-place
'álah 'ale·h council meeting, conference, assembly; crowd becomes
'ą· xa·l'é·l residue after filtering; extraneous it-has-been-caused-to-float-out
'ą· xá·'é·l skimmed liquid; extraneous it-has-floated-up-out
tćé·h djiyá·n, tćé·tći·yá·n watermelon; in-vain one-eats

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

bá xaz'ą́ rule, code; for-its-benefit things-are
be· xaz'ą́ legal requirement; with-it things-are
bil na·'a·c man's male cross cousin; with-him they-two-go-about
bi· xo-dzą́ hollowness (as of a pipe); inside-it place-is-hollow
be·'etsxis whip, switch; with-it-something-jerks
bił́e'estcį 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:

'ał́i dahiṅiłí saddleblanket; those-which-hang-down-over-something
'ał́ésdisi candy; those-which-are-twisted-one-against-the-other
be· 'adiḱǫcí yeast; that-by-means-of-which-something-ferments
be· 'ádíło·di towel, handkerchief; that-by-means-of-which-self-is-wiped

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

'ałtsé xasti·n First Man (deity)
diyin dine'é Holy People; holy group
naxoká·' dine'é 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' 'ałé·' 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·' tąjí· bikin Three-turkey-house (place name) three turkeys their-house

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

naṅí'á xatsoh Large Span, Big Bridge (place name): something-projects-across place-is-large
biḱi 'adání biḱésti'í 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:

'adáni-gi dining-room; place-in-which-something-is-eaten
'i'i·lke·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 *tó, -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·'eldǫ·* "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·'atśǫsí* "small pump; that-by-means-of-which-there-is-sucking-through;" *be·'eldǫ· be· 'anáxáltahí* "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":

> *tćé·h djiyá·n, tćé·tći·yá·n* watermelon; in-vain-one-eats-some
> *té· xoltśó·di·* Water Monster; the-particular-one-that-grabs-in-deep-water
> *tó xadji·lka·dí* Place-where-one-splashes-water-out-with-hand

5.113. Forms of the verbs '*á-...-'į̇́l* "do, make;" and '*á-... -lé·l* "make, construct, create" have become stereotypes for descriptive nouns:

'*i·yĭl'íni·*, '*iyĭl'íni*, '*í·l'íni* one-who-makes-rep.
bá·h '*i·yĭl'íni* baker; bread one-who-makes
tó dilxil '*i·yĭl'íni* brewer; water dark one-who-makes
'*ayo·*' '*i·yĭl'íni* dentist; teeth one-who-rep.-does-thus-to
'*aze·*' '*ál'į̇́·* (< '*ál'į̇́į̇́*) hospital; place-where-medicine-is-made-rep.
tći·yá·n bi·h '*ál'íni* kitchen; food in-it where-it-is-prepared
bil '*é'él'íni* 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:

'*aló·z* (< *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
belasá·na (< *manzana* Sp.) apple
bé·so (< *peso* Sp.) money, dollar
bisó·dí (< *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)
me·l (Eng.) mail
mi·l, *mí·l* (< *mil* Sp.) 1000
mósi (Eng.) cat, pussy
mó·la· (< *mula* Sp.) mule, donkey
damį̇́·go, *damǫ* (< *domingo* Sp.) Sunday
dé·h (Sp. and Eng.) tea
nó·mba (Eng.) number
gabidá·n (Sp.) capitan (NT 372:24)
gá·d (Eng.) God
gá·námó·ntso (Sp.) *Ganado Mucho* (personal name) (NT 374:4)
gê·so (< *queso* Sp.) cheese
gomá·ntci Comanche (NT 360:27)
goxwé·h, *xoxwé·h* (< *café* Sp.) coffee (cp. *tćil·xwé·héh* "Navaho herbal tea" in which -*xwé·h* has become a stem and -*é* (-*i*) is the nominalizing suffix)
kécmic, *kismas* (Eng.) Christmas
kraist (Eng.) Christ
xasó·s (Sp.) Jesus (NT 364:12)

xolyá·n (Sp.) Juliano (NT 372:7)

xwé·ldi (< *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

tcalê·go (< *chaleco* Sp.) vest (cp. Hoijer 1947, p. 179)

6–6.12. Person and Number

6. Navaho has a highly developed pronominal system. The formal relationship between the various types of pronouns—independent, 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·l* "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 (*-tį́·l*) or to a load (*-γé·l*), 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.[2] *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 *cíh* I	D1 *nxíh* we two	P1 *danxíh* we pl.
2 *níh* you	D2 *nxíh* you two	P2 *danxíh* you pl.
3 *yíh* he, she, it	D3 *yíh* they two	P3 *da·yíh* they pl.
(3) *bíh* he, she, it	D(3) *bíh* they two	P(3) *da·bíh* they pl.
4 *xóh* he, she	D4 *xóh* they two	P4 *da·xóh* they pl.
i *'íh* someone, something	Di *'íh* some two	Pi *da'íh* 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, *nixíh-ígí·* "we who are; the-ones-who-are-we" (NT 66:21); *cíh 'é·dí* "I am the very one who ...;" *xóh-ę́·* "he(4) aforementioned" (NT 36:17); with *cíc* "is it I, am I the one

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[2] Ibid., pp. 2, 77 ff.

who ..." (NT 138:9); *cí kǫ̀·* "I here" (NT 34:4); *k̃ad t̃â· ni bé·'ti̇́nti̇̀·* "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 *-í* to the above stems. By preposing *t̃á·* "just, really, absolutely" such a complex would be emphatic: *t̃á· cíhí* "I myself;" *t̃á· xóhí* "he(4) himself, they(4) two themselves" (NT 142:19); *t̃á· nxíhí* "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 *cí·'* it is mine	D1 *nxí·'* it is ours	P1 *danxí·'* it is ours
2 *ní·'* it is yours	D2 *nxí·'* it is yours	P2 *danxí·'* it is yours
3 *yí·'* it is his, hers, its	D3 *yí·'* it is theirs	P3 *dayí·'* it is theirs
(3) *bí·'* it is his, hers, its	D(3) *bí·'* it is theirs	P(3) *dabí·'*, *da·bí·'* it is theirs
4 *xó·'* it is his(4) hers(4)	D4 *xó·'* it is theirs (4)	P4 *daxó·'*, *da·xó·'* it is theirs(4) pl.
i *'í·'* it is someone's	Di *'í·'* it belongs to some two	Pi *da'í·'* it belongs to some of them pl.

Examples of the absolute possessives are: *k̃ad ntsói n̊do·le·l* "now your grandson will become your own again; now your-daughter's-child your-own will-become-back" (NT 26:22); *t̃á· bí·' nli̇́·go* "what is possessed; just his-own-being."

6.16. Possessive Pronominal Prefixes

1 *ci-* my	D1 *nxi-* our, belonging to two	P1 *danxi-* our, belonging to pl.
2 *ni-* your	D2 *nxi-* your, belonging to two	P2 *danxi-* our belonging to pl.
3 *yi-* his, her, its	D3 *yi-* their, belonging to two	P3 *dayi-*, *dai-*, *dei-* their, belonging to pl.
(3) *bi-* his, her, its	D(3) *bi-* their, belonging to two	P(3) *dabi-* their, belonging to pl.
4 *xa-* his, hers(4)	D4 *xa-* their(4), belonging to two(4)	P4 *daxa-* their, belonging to pl.
i *'a-* someone's, something's	Di *'a-* belonging to some two	Pi *da'a-* belonging to some pl.

These prefixes are used with nouns to indicate possession: *ci-mǫ́* "my mother;" *ni-kǫ'* "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-ł* "with (accompanying)-me;" *ni-γa* "forcefully away from you;" *bi-ká·*' "on it;" *xa-ḱi* "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 *tá·* "really, absolutely," the independent pronoun, and the corresponding possessive prefixed to the noun; *tá·* is sometimes omitted.

1	*tá· cíh 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· xóh xa-*	his, her(4) own ...
i	*tá· 'íh 'a-*	someone's own ...
D1,2	*tá· nxí nxi-*	our own, your own
P1,2	*tá· danxí nxi-*	our, your own
P3	*tá· dayíh yi-*	their own
P(3)	*tá· dabíh bi-*	their own
P4	*tá· daxó xa-*	their(4) own
Pi	*tá· da'íh 'a-*	their (some or others) own

Examples of emphatic possessives are: *tá· bíh bi-tso·sḱid biká·'gi* "in place on his own thigh;" *cí se-'eγwé·*' (< *ci-'aγwé·*') "it is *my* baby" (NT 36:27); *ce'eγwé·*' *ne cí cá ni·łṭį* "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.

Subjective prefixes		Agentive prefixes	
1	*-c-* I	*-c-*	by me
2	*-n-, ni-* you	*-n-*	by you
3	— he, she, it	*-yi-*	by him, her, it
3	*yi-* he, she, it (passive only)		
4	*dji-* he, she, the one	*dji-*	by him, her, the one
i	*'a-* someone, something	*'a-, 'adi-* by someone, by something	
D1	*-i·d-* we two	*-i·d-*	by us two
D2	*-oh-* you two	*-oh-*	by you two

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 though 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")
(3) *bi*- him, her, it (passive, "he, she, it")
4 *xo*- him, her (passive, "he, she")
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·lxan-i·'* "after throwing me away she ...; beyond-me-she-threw-after" (NT 52:18); *ná-ci-di·ltł* "he picked me up; up-me-he-paused-starting-to-move-live-obj." (NT 52:25); *ná-si-ńltł (si < ci*-) "he carried me back; back-me-he-moved-live-obj.-to-end" (NT 52:25); *xa'ícq' da·ná·-ci-j-do·dlí·l* "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); *xâ·dicq' ni-ctcį* "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·' bamá̧* (< *bi-má̧*) "the baby's mother, it is the baby's mother;" *xasti·n be'esdzá̧·* "the man's wife, she is the man's wife;" *tcidí bidjá·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·' yijtç (intr.)　　the baby was born

'awé·' yictç (< *yis-l-tc*̧)　she gave birth to a baby

'awé·' bamá̧ yizγas　　the baby scratched its mother; baby its-mother it-scratched-her

bamá̧ 'awé·' yizγas　　its mother scratched the baby; its-mother baby she-scratched-it

'awé·' bamá̧ ńdidi·lxa·l　the baby hit its mother with a stick; baby its-mother it-caused-it-stick-to-move-(against-her)

mą'i̧· dibé yiyi·sx̧ (< *yiyi·s·lx*̧)　the coyote killed the sheep; coyote sheep it-killed-it

diné 'awé·' yiyi·si̧·h　the man is standing the baby up; man baby he-is-causing-it-to-stand

diné djádí yiyi·ltsé·h　the man sees the antelope; man antelope he-sees-it

djádí diné yiyi·ltsé·h　the antelope sees the man

djan tam yi'fe·zlo'　John cheated Tom

djan tam yidi'to·loh　John will cheat Tom

tsa·'á̧ yi· yiyi·giz　he cleaned out the basket (EW 104:25)

6.25.　　Object-Subject or Subject-Agent

*'awé·' 'asdzą́·' bictc*į (< *bis-l-tc*į) the woman bore the baby; baby woman she-bore-it

'awé·' bamą́ nábidí·lxa·l the baby's mother beat it; baby its-mother she-caused-stick-to-move-(against)-it

*dibé mạ'į· bi·sx*į (< *bi·s-l-x*į) the coyote killed the sheep; sheep coyote it-killed-it

*diné 'awé·' bi·s*į·*h* the baby is standing the man up

*'awé·' diné bi·s*į·*h* the man is standing the baby up

djádí diné bi·ltsé·h the man sees the antelope

diné djádí 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·' bamą́ yil nl*į the baby loves its mother; baby its-mother with-her it-is

*l*į*·' yiká·' dahne·zdá* he is sitting on the horse; horse on-it he-is-sitting-on (cp. NT 26:25)

yiba'tó·sta' he has counted past the limit; its-capacity he-has-counted-beyond

bidjá·d yą·h nêiná'ą he put it back on the wheel; its-wheel on-it he-put-it-back

tcidł bidjá·d yą·h nêiná'ą he put the wheel back on the car; car its-wheel on-it he-put-it-back

yą·h yi'a·h he is pawning round obj.; into-it he-is-moving-round-obj.-to-goal

*ye· xwe'eztł*ǫ́ (< *yi-e· xo'aztł*ǫ́) he tied him(4) with it; with-it he-tied-him(4)

bílácga·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)

gólíji· 'ása·' yil yilγol skunk was running carrying a bucket; skunk bucket with-it it-was-running

bitsi' tá· yil xa· le· ńzin 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·' bamą́ bił nlį́   the baby's mother loves it; baby its-mother with-it she-is

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

biba'tó·sta'   the list is exhausted; beyond-its-capacity it-has-been counted

xaya· xayi·lká·ni·' biya· niyiniką́   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:

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

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

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

'amą́ xwe'ewé·' dzizyas   this mother scratched her baby; some-mother her(4)-baby she(4)-scratched-(it)

be'esdzá·n ńlé·' xwe'esdzá·n 'ádji·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·jníyá (< ba· djiníyá)   he(4) came up to him

xaką' 'ádji·la·   (the woman) made him her(4) husband; her(4)-husband he-was-made-by-her(4)

tsá'ászi' be· be'tsiztłǫ́ (< bi'adziztłǫ́)   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-....-dil   catch up with ... moving

O-....-lį·l   take ... a long stiff obj. away

O-....-tcil   release..., let ... out of one's grasp

O-'a-theme....-tłó·l   tie ... to

'a-beyond-O-....-l-'ac   cause two persons to move, despatch two persons (EW 94:13,15)

’*a-O-*. . . .*-l-’į̇·l*　keep hidden from . . . (EW 94:6)
’*á-thus-O-*. . . .*-l-’į̇·l*　harm . . . ; cause doing thus to . . .
O’a·-di-. . . .*-loh*　cheat . . .
O-di-. . . .*-sį̇·l*　make . . . stand up; cause . . . to be righted
O-di-. . . .*-ló·s*　lead . . . away on a rope
O-di-. . . .*-dlal*　break . . . off with force
na-Oé-(<*O-ná-*against). . . .*-dį̇·l*　wear . . . away
tsi’-O-di-. . . .*-l-kah*　make them pl. . . . wild; cause pl. persons to go in
　　confusion
O-dí-·(< ’*a-*theme)*ní-*. . . .*-bic*　boil
O-dí-·(< ’*a-*theme)*ní-*. . . .*-l-bic*　boil . . . ; cause boiling . . .
O-dí-·(< ’*a-*theme)*ní-*. . . .*-bic*　braid . . .
*O-ni-*uniform. . . .*-l-zé·l*　grow up
*O-ni-*uniform. . . .*-sé·l*　raise . . . , cause . . . to grow
Oi-(< *O-ná-*against)*na-O-díní-*prol. . . .*-l-tį́·l*　instruct. . . , teach. . .
O-ná-. . . .*-l-tih*　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 10.81-10.81 c.)

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

　’*axil*　together, accompanying one another
　’*ax-e·*　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-do·ńi·d*　they spoke to each other (NT 26:17)

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

　’*al-ta’ ńzį̇·go*　alternating they stood; each-other-between standing
　’*al-tćic*　facing each other
　’*al-tćį’ sizį́*　facing each other they stand
　’*alke·’ sizį́*　one after another they stand
　’*al-γá*　one through the other
　la’ ’al-γóidę̇·’　many people from different places (NT 36:19)

6.32. '*alxi*- in position together one affecting the other:

'*al·xa·*   two in position side by side
'*alxe·*   position of one affected by position of the other
'*alxil*   accompaniment of two, one affecting the other
'*alxi·*'   one within the other, one affecting the other because both are
within the same confines
'*abaniyę· bil '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·dí*, '*ei·dí* < '*a-i·-í* (*d* is a glide consonant). One series of demonstrative pronoun is emphatic, the other milder, and often used with pointing.

Emphatic demonstrative	Milder demonstrative
di· this one (near speaker and person addressed)	*dí·dí* this is the one
'*ai·*, '*ei·*, '*e·* that one near you	'*ai·dí*, '*ei·dí* that one near you
'*ái·*, '*éi·* that one remote	'*ái·dí*, '*éi·dí* that one remote

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· ńdjá·h*   give me some of them (YM 140)
la' '*ayóigo dabitśi·ní*   some (sheep) are very thin
la' *ná·ná*   another one, some more
la' *biná·xdi*   yearling; one-that-is-a-year-old (YM 100)
la' *dahto·'go*   some of the dew

> *la' diné bil da·nlį* some (customs) seem worthwhile to the Navaho;
> some Navaho with-them they-are
> *la' tá· bil yá'áda·té* some are much in favor (as of a plan); some just
> with-them they-are-good
> *tó la' xǫlǫ·go* if there should be some water; water some there-being

la' may enter into complexes with postpositions and enclitics in the same way as the demonstratives and interrogatives (7.1–7.2.):

> *la' ndi*   not one, not even one (YM 140)
> *la'-ígi·*   the other one (YM 140)
> *la'-dah*   some of those existing, some for example

If *la'* is used twice, as *la' ... la'* it indicates "one ... another, the other ..., some ... other ...."

> *dja·n tcidí la' yide·sbą́·z la' délbą́·z*   John drove one car, I drove the other

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

> *'ati·ngi tcidí lêi' yi·ltsą́ lá*   it occurs to me that I did see some car or
> other (a strange car) on the road (FS 15)
> *xasti·n lêi' ca· niyá*   some strange man came (to me) (FS 19)
> *to·h ńlį· lêi'gi niyá*   he came to a certain (unidentified) river (FS 19)
> *xasti·ntsoh 'asdzáni lêi' yá'ázyeh*   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· lį·' bíh*   that horse is his (YMG 14)
> *'ei· lį·' bi·' silį·'*   that horse became his own (YMG 4)
> *cih 'é·dí*   I am the very one who ...
> *ńlá·hdjí 'á· 'ái·*   that one over there; the-one-there-on-his-side there·
> remote that-particular-one-remote
> *la' 'é· kóťê·go ba· ntsídei·ke·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:

> *niγái*   the one near at hand
> *niγáidi*   the one being pointed out
> *ńlá·, ńlá·h*   there not very far. This is doubtless related to *-lá·* which
>   is used for comparison (9.4-9.5.).
> *ńlé*   far but still visible
> *ńlêi* (< *ńlé-i·*)   the one over there
> *ńzah*   at a short distance
> *ńza·d*   very far
> *ńzá·d*   as far as (unknown distance)

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*

'*a*- there near speaker, general

'*a·*- there near second person

'*á*- there, near third person, remote

'*a-dę́·'* thither from there near speaker

'*a·-dę́·'* thither from there near you

'*á·-dę́·'* thither from (over) there

'*a-di* at (the place) there

'*a·-di* in place there near you

'*á·-di* in place (over) there

'*a-dó·* on from there near speaker

'*a·-dó·* on from there near you

'*á·-dó·* on from over there

'*a-dji'* to a point near speaker

'*a·-dji'* to a point near you

'*á·-dji'* to a point over there

7.2. *Interrogatives*

xa- (gen.) who, which, what, where

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

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

xdi (*xa-i*) who, what in general

xai· what, which one near you

xdi· who, which of all

xa·'ih who, which of some

xá'ih who, which of some

xa-dę́·' what thither from definite point

xa·-dę́·' thither from where near you

xá·-dę́·' thither from where remote

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

xa·-di where is it in place near you

xâ·di whereat of all places

xa-dó· on from where

xa·-dó· on from where near you

xá·-dó· on from where remote

xa-gó· on to where

xa·-gó· on to where near you

xá·-gó· on to where remote

xa-dji' up to what point

xa·-dji' up to where near you

xâ·-dji' up to where remote

The following examples, though few, seem to indicate that some of the demonstratives may be free forms:

> 'a· *niznizi·d* he(4) scraped it (hot earth) aside; there he(4)-moved-scattered-substance-to-end (NT 80:12)
> 'á· over there (NT 188:21; 190:15)
> '*éicį· 'á· yílyod* 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· tá·di da·tśi nijde·ltá·lgo* after taking about three steps aside; aside-toward three-times perhaps after-he(4)-had-stepped (NT 34:10)
> *nah-djį' diná·h* move off to one side (YMG 52)
> '*aké·dę́· nah-dę́' 'á·dę́·' 'a·dę́·' dahi·zį*' 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-djį' 'ayi·ldé·l* 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 *tsén'q·* and *xana·* both of which are said to have the same meaning "across":

> *na·'i·go*' he fell sidewise (NT 336:3)
> *na·'i·kę·z* long rigid obj. toppled over, fell sidewise (YMG 32)
> *xadjilgic na· dahizdé·l* forked lightning flashed across (NT 208:3)
> *ti·s na·ńti'* Row-of-cottonwoods-across (place name)
> *tózis nq· niná'a·h* turn the bottle on its side (WM)
> *tsé nq· sa'áni* Leaning Rock, Tilting Rock (WM)
> *nani'á* it projects across (YM 11)
> *kos dilxil naná'á djini γódahgo* a dark cloud was lying across up above they say (NT 224:19)
> *na· dasitǫ·go* (gun) lying across (his knees) (NT 384:22)
> *xá·gó-na· lá tséña· ndi·kah lá?* where truly can we cross? where-toward-across truly across we-pl.-shall-go-to-end truly (NT 200:4)
> '*éi bitćą·h gó-na· do· na'ádá·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)
> *γónáńdę́·' 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-* (*γó-*) off from actor, off into unlimited space, probably out of sight (cp. *yó·'o-* [<*yó·'a-*] "out of sight;" and *biyó* "somewhat farther, . . .er than"). WM thinks *yó-* and *γó-* are exactly the same.

They are listed separately here because the pronunciation may be a phase of linguistic diversity (13.19.):

> *yó-ne'é, γó-ne'é* inside of house away from the speaker (NT 276:11)
> *yó-γohdį́į̇'* toward a point farther on from subject (NT 94:25; 206:22)

7.6. *gó-* at a definite point within a limited area; moving within a limited area:

> *gó-ne'* room, corral, enclosed space
> *gó-ne' do· xaz'ǫ́·da* there is no room inside (YMG 29)
> *kin gó-ne' yah'i·yá* I went into the house (YMG 29)
> *kin bi·' gó-ne' siką́* (if speaker is outside the house) water (contained substance) is inside the house; house within-it room contained-substance-is (WM)
> *la' dego bą·h gó-dei la' ya·go bą·h gó-yah* 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-ya·* down along the upper edge (WE)
> *bidah gó-ya· yigá·l* he is walking downslope (YMG 29)
> *boko·h gó-ydi· 'e·lyod* it ran down into the arroyo (NT 50:4)
> *so·dzil bidah gó-yah* down the side of Mt. Taylor (they started) (NT 188:11)
> *gó'ą·* disappearing behind a small hill (curve)
> *di· konike gó-ya· kǫ' ńlé· gó-ya·* this fireplace under there under the fire
> *ńléi gó-na· nanitsé·h* lay a stick across (YMG 29)
> *'alni· gó-na·, 'alnó'óna·* around the middle, center (NT 412:18)
> *xaní·' gó-na·* around his(4) waist (NT 78:13)

7.7. *ko-* right here, close at hand:

> *ko-di* here (speaker points); help! help! (equivalent to *kwe'é* "over here") (NT 34:3)
> *ko-c-dę́·'* it's in here toward me, practically in my hand (FH)
> *ko-icį́·* at this point it must have been (NT 26:17)
> *ko-yę̇·* (her tumpline) so as mentioned (EW 120:3)

7.8. *kó-* here, a little farther away than *ko-*; thus, so:

> *kó-'ą·* here hidden by a curve, small hill (NT 300:14)
> *kó-dei* up here, up this way
> *kó-ne'* here inside (YME) 42
> *kó-tê·go 'ál'į* this is the way it is done (YME 91)
> *kó-na·* across here, the crossing is here (YMG 31; NT 200:8)
> *kó-ya·* down here (YMG 31)
> *kó-ne'é* right in here, right then (NT 28:16) (same as *kone'* [FH, WM])
> *ti·s tsidá kóńldi·l* a very large cottonwood; cottonwood very so comparatively-large (NT 24:19)
> *tá· do· ndó' kó ńzahi* a *very* short time; it was not at all long (far)
> *kó náxo·dza·go* next year at this time; so when-it-happens-again (YMG 31)
> *kó xo·té·dą́·'* last year at this time; so-time-was-past
> *bil kó xodo·ni·l* they became suspicious (NT 294:2)

7.9. *yó-* (*yó-*) away from speaker, further; in future. *γó-* becomes *γwí·-* with some speakers (op. 5.52, 13.19.):

γό-'ạ·   moving off hidden by slight depression (WM)
γó-'ạ·go   moving over edge, convex surface (as coffee over top of cup)
    (WM)
lé·j γó'ą́·lį́   earthen spillway; soil farther-over-convex-surface-it-flows
γó-dahgo   above, up above (NT 274:19)
γó-dahgó·   higher up
γó-yahdi   down there (person speaking is above) (NT 118:7)
γó-yahgó·, γwí·-dahgó·   lower down, down below
γó-nán-dę́·'   from the other side
tó· γó-náń-djí   on the opposite side
γó-ná·s-dó·   after a time; further-forward-from (NT 24:13; 38:22)
kin γó-ne' yah'anáką́·h   take the can (contained substance) into the
    house; house toward-room move-contained-substance-in (FH)
γó-ne'é   inside (of house, car, corral) if person speaking is outside (WM)
γó-na·ni   the other side; further-across (YMG 29)

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·lté'   down there he was laid (WE)
'a-kǫ́·   it's here, off away from here (FH) (EW 100:14)
tá·'a-kǫ́· tló·gó nanná   right here outside you go (stay) (NT 28:19)
'akó·ni   in this neighborhood (NT 30:6)
'a-kwi·h   it's there, off from you (FH)
'á-kóns'   then, there inside (EW 102:1; YME 42, 90)
'á-kǫ́·   just about there (FH), right there (YME 42) (NT 20:19; 230:6)
'á-kǫ́·-dah xa·hó ni'   about here, here or so that one (NT 34:16)
'á-kwe'é   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. Postposi-
tions are so called more because some correspond to English pre-
positions 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;" -tćą́·' (stat.) "in the way, obstructing, protective;" -tćá·h
(prog.) "moving in front of, protectively, interceding for."

7.13. Examples of temporal enclitics are: -ę́· "gone, past, de-
ceased;" -ba' "waiting for;" -dą́·' "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 -*cą*' "interrogative," -*cį·* "probability." Causatives are treated exactly as postpositions: '*ê·bą·* "because of that;" *ci-ni·na* "because of me;" *ni-ni·γé* "because of you;" *bi-ǩe·* "because of, according to him." The enclitic -*di* "times" is probably not related to -*di* (stat.) "in place, at;" -*dę́·* (prog.) "from a definite point" is to be compared with -*dę́·* 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.; *cą·h* "on my body," instead of *ci-ą·*, 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·sǩa·z-'as   co-o-ld? 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*', -*djį*' "toward a point;" and -*tćį*' "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

ba· cíni'   my grief; on-account-of-it I-worry (my-mind)

bá 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· 'áxólyą́   take care of yourself; just for-self you-be-careful (NT 32:13)

ca· ná'á·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. -*a·ti̧·h* (prog.) at, toward with force, attacking:

xa·ti̧·h nádjahgo   they attacking him(4); attacking-him(4) they-moving
ca·ti̧·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'á·h   give it to me to keep; for-my-benefit move-round-obj.-to-goal

tó bá tcíctcini   Child-of-the-water (name of culture hero); water for-its-benefit the-one-who-was-born

bá xaz'ą́   law, code, rule; for-their-benefit there-is-decree

bá 'ólta'i   teacher; the-one-for-whose-benefit-it-is-done-in-series

xá 'áyé·h sili̧·'   she became related by marriage; for-his(4)-benefit-marrying became (NT 80:20)

'asdzáni bá 'i·gehi·   the bride; the-woman-for-whom-marriage-is-arranged (NT 312:8, 15) (cp. *diné 'i·gehi·*   groom; the-man-who-is-to-be-married NT 312:15)

7.21. -*'ą·* hidden, out of sight behind a slight knoll or depression. This element has certain characteristics of a verb, some of a postposition or enclitic:

yílk̓id lêi˙ gó·'ą·   unexpectedly vanishing behind a little hump
xaná·'ą· 'e·lyod   he disappeared over the hill
náxá·'ą· 'áńdzo·dá   he moved back out of sight behind a slight depression; disappearing-again he(4)-is-going-back
γó·'ą·   off out of sight in a depression (WM)

7.22. -*ą·h* (stat.) in addition to, extraneous to, effective, but not a part of, of different character, not appropriate to, improper, irregular:

yą·h yi'á·h   he is pawning round obj.; extraneous-to-him round-obj.-he-is-moving-to-goal

tsin bą·h xasisńa'   I climbed the tree; tree extraneous-to-it I-crawled-out

yą·h nináni'ą́   he put wheel back on it; attached-to-it he-moved-round-obj.-back-to-end

'ą·h daxaz'ą́   sickness, illness

'ax-ą·h   attached side by side; together-attached

'al-xą·h   moving side by side; affecting-each-other-side-by-side

bi'i·l tá· bą·h   it (shade) still had branches on it; its branches just on-it

nahą· dêidildjah   it (child) will make fire for us (NT 38:12)

be· 'édą·h tsizde·zké·z   he(4) thought about himself; with-it self-additionally he(4)-considered (NT 28:27)

tó· xá yạ·h nańi·yá·d he just shook it (pollen) off it (white horse) for him(4) (NT 122:2)

tá· 'axạ·h bidá'ákeh ńtĕ· lá adjacent their cornfields used to be (NT 274:16)

7.23. -'ạ·c, -'a·c opposite:

ba-'ạ·ci· násdlị·' opposite it (sorcery) it has gone (become) (Pr 60:40)

yá-'ạ·c in the sky; up-opposite

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

be·dí (< *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· 'akalí bat; that-by-means-of-which-something-is-struck

be-'eke'eltcíhi pencil, crayon, steel stamp; that-by-means-of-which-something-is-caused-to-bear-down-on-something

be· 'azkazi refrigerator; that-by-means-of-which-something-freezes

bc· na'adlo'i· steering wheel; the-particular-one-by-means-of-which-there-is-guiding(looping)-here-and-there

bé·so ne· 'ásdị·dạ·' if you need money; money with-you if-it-disappears (FS 4)

'áde· dahdi·yá·h he started forth of his own volition, he got going under his own steam; self-with he-paused-starting-forth (note that *'ád·* self does not change tone with -e·; cp. *'á·de·* "with that remote one")

'áde· xaná·dzá he got himself out of a difficulty; self-with he-went-back-out

be· xodico the place was soft (furry) with them (otterskins) (NT 204:15)

xwe· xoni·gaigo becoming very hot for him(4); with-him becoming-very-hot (NT 20:1)

tséya'dińdini· be· xo·yan the house was made of rock crystal; rock-crystal with-it house-is (NT 204:15)

xa'icạ' 'abe'-e·-dó' yido·ltolic let's try if it will nurse at breast; is-it-that breast-with-also it-will-suck-interrogative (NT 86:13)

tá·lá'i nsi·dlị·' ke be·, ke be· tá·lá'i nsi·dlị·' we have become kin, we have become one as relatives; one we-have-become courtesy with-it (WM)

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

na·kai-e· Mexican customs; concerning-Mexicans

'atló·h-e· concerning weaving

ńló-e· Hail Chant; concerning-hail

nálo-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:

tá·'-e· backward
nátá·'-e· receding, degenerating; back-reversing-ward
ná·s-e· onward

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·'* completive (7.28.):

k̄ad-e·' now will be the time, now will be a good time (FS 30)
n̄té·'-e·' it will have been (NT 30:21)
yá'áték̄-e·' it will be good (a common greeting, "hello! goodbye")
ntcǫ'ón-e·' it will be useless in future (NT 190:5)
biján-e·' (< *bijá·-e·'*) 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 . . .":

yayi·nil-i·' after having poured, when he had poured
yah'iyá-i·' *ne·zdá* he came in and sat down (FS 14)
tsin la' nêidi·tá·-i·' *nácidi·lxa·l* after picking up a stick he hit me (FS 14)
yóná·s-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 *-γi'* (YMG 22):

bé·c bi·'kǫ'i stove; metal that-which-has-fuel-inside-it
bi·' sizî·ni· (< *sizi·-i·'*) his soul; the-particular-one-which-stands-within-him
'alni·go bi·' di·ká·' it was burned in the center (NT 24:23)
lé'étso yi·' ná·baγan 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'á I put round obj. into the water
tó nte·l bi·hi'é·l he floated into the ocean; water wide into-it he-floated (NT 28:1)
ki·h yi'á (< *kin-i·h*) I took round obj. into town
le·h (< *le·i·h*) into the soil, ground
le·h yiyilti he buried him; in-ground he-laid-body (YM 5)
bi·h n̄djidá·hgo he(4) getting into it (log); into-it he(4)-started-for (NT 24:25)
bike·' yi·hi'e·zi·' after she had put on her moccasins; her-moccasins into-them she-started-to-move-her-feet-after (NT 34:18)
ci'é·' bi·hicá·h (< *bi·h xicá·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'áti·-ne·'   whatever it will be
xa'-i·ne·' xa'áté·go   sometime, somehow he will be sorry (NT 34:22, trans. WM)
xă·-ne·', xăi-ne·'   who, what may it be ? (FS 22)
dabíjá·-ne·'   they will be lucky (FS 22)
'éi 'anáhdle·h-ine·'   this you two will have to repair (NT 106:8)
diná·h-áne·'   you better go there (and see) (NT 110:10; 12:24)
tah-áne·', tah-ine·'   wait and you'll see
nde·cá·l-ine·'   I'll give in, I'll do it (after an argument) (WM)
xagó·-ne·' (< *xago-ine·'*)   goodbye (it's too bad you have to go)

Compare the two sentences: *'ajá xado bike· ti'xwi·séni·' ndi 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·séni·' ndi xo·zdogó· ná·de·cá·l* "even though I may suffer with the heat nevertheless I shall go back to Phoenix."

7.32. -*íye·'* 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
kóté·-ye·' (< *kóté·-iye·'*)   it will probably be this way (instead of the way you say)

7.33. -*íc, -c* interrogative enclitic usually appended to first word of a sentence. -*íc* may be used with *da'*, interrogative particle introducing sentence, or without it (cp. 11.90.):

dinétso-ic yinílyé, or *da' dinétsoh-ic yinílyé*   is your name *dinétsoh* ?
dŏ·c nil yá'áté·dah (< *do·-ic*)   don't you like it ?
da' ná·c ta·'o·ñil (< *ná-ic*)   have they (sheep) been dipped ? have for-you they-been-moved-in-amongst ?
ni da'ác   is it a fact ? for-a-fact is-it ?

7.34. -*í·γah* 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·γah   alongside, beside me
bí·γah   it is enough, it fits; it is used up
do· bí·γahdah   it is not enough, it doesn't fit
djį bí·γah   all day long
bé·so bí·γah   it is worth a dollar; a dollar is enough
dí· 'é·tsoh do· bí·γah-dah   this overcoat does not fit him
kin bí·γah-gi sitą́   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 nc·l'ą́   he cannot afford it; missing-it he-measures-up
bi'oh 'ánisné·z   he is taller than I; missing-him I-am-so-tall
xaké·dę́·'-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' si·ké   we two sit waiting for each other (YMG 21)
bi-ba'-łó·sta'   the list is exhausted, it has gone beyond limit
yi-ba'-łó·sta'   he has counted beyond the limit
ci-ba' yiłtłé·l   run ahead of me; my-waiting you-will-trot (NT 22:20)
n-ba' yicγoł do·   let me run ahead of you; you-waiting I-am-running
    it-will-be

7.37. *-bą·* because (see 11.112):

'éi-bą·   because of that; for that reason
dí·-bą·   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·ctčé·łtihi-dah   Talking God, for instance (BS)
xahgo-dah   some time or other (FS 3)
xá·di-da-cí·   somewhere or other (FS 3)
xá·di-da-cą'   wherever is it (FS 3)
tsé-dah tsin-dah ye·' edadji·łxa·ł   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 biti·n   the trail drops down
'ada-jni·γį   he(4) brought the load down
'ada·nil   I dropped several
'adaya·łtá·ł   he jumped, ran down (FH)
xazéi yiká·' bi-dá·yá   he came down off the ladder (FH)
so·dził bi-dah góyah   down the side of Mt. Taylor (NT 188:11)
tséko·h góya· xa· 'adah tčé·łyod   he ran down into the canyon away from
    her(4) (NT 18:19)
bi-dah góya· yigá·ł   he is walking downhill (YMG 29; EW 120:19)
xa-dah   downslope

7.40. *-dá·h* (prog.) toward a moving object, facing, moving toward, meeting, moving in front of .... (cp. *dá-*in front of 5.42.):

bi-dá·h niyá   I met, encountered him (YMG 23)
yi-dá·h yá·łti'   he talked back to him (YMG 23, Ad 12/48:15)
niyoł bi-dá·h-dji'   facing the wind; wind moving-to-a-point-in-front-
    of-him (NT 24:22)
bi-dá·h-djį' dadzitsa·hą·gi   in front of him was the place he longed (died)
    for (NT 28:11)
łó· xa-dá·h-djį' da'ayą   right in front of him(4) they ate; merely in-
    front-of-him(4)-to-a-point they-are-eating (NT 24:13)
cá-dá·h-djį'   counter-clockwise (NT 232:6)

7.41. *-dą́·'* past, ago, last ...; from the time that..., since ....
-dą́·', like *-gó·* "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.):

na·ki ná·xái·-dǫ́·' two years ago (FS 4)
cį̇·-dǫ́·' last summer
'abiṅ-dǫ́·' earlier this morning
djį̇-dǫ́·' yesterday
xi·náhǫ́·-dǫ́·' when he was alive (YMG 18)
ditcin sinílį̇·'-dǫ́·' dibé dí·lyal if you get hungry eat a sheep (FS 4)
nil likan-dǫ́·' ba· xólne' if you like (the taste of) it, say so (FS 4)
bé·so ne· 'ásdį̇·-dǫ́·' la' na'ło·nil in case you run out of money he will lend you some (FS 4)
xá-dǫ́·' 'á-dǫ́·'-cį̇· 'il názłi some sort of windbreak as they had in the past; whatever-past there-past-possibly branches laid-in-a-circle (NT 48:9)
dah'adilde·'-dǫ́·' after they had started off, from the time they started forth (NT 206:16)
łá· ńléi'ł ńza·-dǫ́·' some distance back; just there at-a-distance-past (NT 50:27)
łó· ni·łlic-dǫ́·' as soon as it (deer) has fallen; right after-it-has-fallen (NT 322:6)

7.42. *-de·ná* in exchange for:

bi-de·ná in exchange for it
'éi bi-de·ná 'adá·h cidi·gé·l in exchange for this (feather) carry me back down (EW 120:10)
dókwi·c bi-de·ná nanilnic how much do you get for your work? how-much in-exchange-for-it do-you-work

7.43. *-dę́·'* from a point toward speaker and person addressed, along the way from, from the time that; with numerals "sides":

'á·-dę́·' from over there (remote)
'a-dę́·' ná·ka they pl. were due back; from-here they-come-back
ké·xałį̇-dę́·' from where he lived
xoc-dę́·', xac-dę́·' from where (he came)
biłłá·h-dę́·' from the very beginning (of time) (NT 62:3)
biki-dę́·' on the upper side; from-over-it (NT 48:21)
bidińná·-dę́·' from the other side (NT 124:19; cp. NT 84:24)
dį̇·-dę́·' four sides
do·łá· 'áni·di-dę́·' xani'dah the lore is not from recent times (NT 76:12)

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

'ólta'-di at school
ńléi-di in place over there
ko-di in place here
xo·yan-di at home
náxo·kǫs-di at the north (BS)

7.45. *-di* times:

dį̇-di four times
na·ki-di twice
lah-di-dah at least once
dókwí·-di-cį̇· however many times

7.46. *-dó'* also, and, too, including:

> *dí·-dó'*   these also
> *djóge'-dó' tį'*   in detail also let us examine it
> *cijé'é-dó'*   my father too (NT 42:1)
> *xa'áťé-dę́·cą'-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:

> *ńda'djí·lťoh-dó· ťá·'áko ń'di·lde·'*   they(4) smoked and they rose at once (NT 188:27)
> *yitčį' sodo·lzin-dó· yitčį' xó·tá·lgo*   when he had prayed and sung against them (NT 274:11)
> *dzilłsį·dę́·'-dó· biyǫ́·gó·-dó· báxátis*   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'alní·-dó·*   from the center inside (house)
> *ntsi·ťá·-dó·*   from the top of your head
> *'a·-dó·-ya·*   from there under
> *tsédá·'-dó· dahdzizdá·h*   on the edge of the rock he(4) sat (NT 42:6)

7.49. *-ta'* (stat.) between:

> *tsé bi·ta'-gi sézį*   I am standing between the rocks; rocks in-place-between I-am-standing
> *tó-ta'*   Between-the-waters (place name)
> *'al-ta' ńzi·ngo*   alternating they stood; each-other-between standing
> *'átcį·c-ta'*   septum; nose-peculiar-to-between
> *ťá· do· bi·ta'-i-gó·*   there was no space between them; not between-them-forward (NT 32:4)
> *ťó· ťá· bi·ta'-gó· ndjiyá*   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·l bi·tah*   it is among my belongings
> *le·c-tah*   hogan floor; ground-peculiar-to-among
> *bi·ta·-cáh (< tah-yi·)*   I am going amongst them
> *ta·-ńi·l*   mush; separate-obj.-are-put-in-amongst
> *ta··'o·ńil*   they (sheep) have been dipped; in-amongst-they-have-been placed
> *bi·ya·'-tah-dę́·'*   out of his feathers; his-body-hair-amongst-from (NT 477, n. 20)

7.51. -*tá* out of place, slightly irregular:

bi-tá di-t*ǫ́* round object is out of place; it is untrue, it has been misinter-
preted (AB); it (round obj.) just missed target, point aimed for
(WM)

ci-tá xosidi·ltś*ǫ́*·' I heard a bare rumor (WM)
bi-tá daxodizni·zgis he(4) just misses being crazy (WM)
tá-jdini·tcá·*ǫ̀*·gó· 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* yiťa' the bird is flying past (over) me
le·j bi-*tis* γó·áĺ*į* earthen spillway; earth over-it it-flows-onward
naxasdzá·n 'alni·gi xodzŏigi· bá·-*tis* dańi·l'é·l 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-cą' whatever may be omitted

7.53. -*ťah* pause, interval, intermission, meanwhile, meantime,
wait (cp. 4.2⟨.):

'á-ťah ťá· kwe'é wait right here
'á-ťah-i-go in a little while
ci-ťa xóĺ*ǫ́* I still have some; my-pause there-is (NT 60:23) (Cp. tsé
tśéstǫ́ ťah bidaigi at a place a short distance above Rock-ledge-
extension).

7.54. -*nah*, -*nąh* arranged over it, draped o⟨ ⟩ it (as towel hung
over a line), leaning against:

yiną·h dahná·ne·zt*į́*· lá again he lay over it (knoll) (NT 94:24)
yi-nah-dji' tsé'ya·go dahne·zt*į* over it he lay prone (NT 94:20)
kin bi-nah-dji' sédá I sit leaning against the house
bi-nah-dji' nini'a·h put a round obj. against it

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

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

7.56. -*náká*, -*níká* through, penetrating:

tó bi-náká ńl*į* water flows through it (YMG 23)
yi-náká-'ťo·nil he will bore through it (YMG 23)

tózis bi-náká diní'į·' you are looking through the glass (tumbler)

bi-náká-dę·' ńdéłį·hgo siłį peeping through the layers he lay; from-through-them peeping he-lay (NT 22:24)

cińba·l do· tó bi-nákâo·ge·h le'áłê·gó· 'i·cla· I made my tent proof against leaking (FS 19)

7.57. -ne', -nę' (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'-dę·' sézį I am standing behind the tree; tree from-the-direction-behind-it I-am-standing

tsin xo·yan bi-ne'-dji' 'i·'áh 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.):

xá'áłi·c bi-ni·na· yiníyá 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 yáńłti' you are talking him into it (WM), you are talking against him (YMG 24)

bi-ni·ká 'ácłį I am getting him into it (bet), I am getting him interested in it, I am getting him to compromise

7.60. -ni·yé because of ..., the reason for ..., the purpose of... (with no idea of opposition, cp. 11.114.):

'a-ni·yé indictment; reason-for-something

ni-ni·yé because of you

xa'áłi·c bi-ni·yé why ? because-of-what (YMG 24)

bé·c bi-ni·yé nanlnic 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 ...:

tsé bi-ni da'aja·j the rock is eroded, worn into, worn partly away (YMG 24)

bi·yahgo biné·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):

ńléi yó-yah-gó there down below he rolled toward (NT 132:14)

tse·ko·h gó-yah down in the canyon (NT 150:28)

tséyi' bidá·' gó-yah down under the canyon rim (NT 150:27)

tséyi' biko·h gó-yah on down into the bottom of the canyon (NT 132:20)

7.63. -yah underneath supporting, propping:

bi-yah ni·'a·h put brace underneath; under-supporting-it move-round-obj.-to-end (YMG 25)

kin tsin bi-yah dani·'áh 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 'é·'   underclothes; under-him-in-place clothes
bi-ya·-gi   at a place underneath (a hill) (NT 188:17)
xa-ya· nêilka'   it (turkey) spread (its wing) under him(4) (NT 26:22)
xa-ya·-na· ná·lyoł   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·-djí·go yicá·l   I am walking along under the rock; rock under-
　　its-side-being I-am-walking-prog. (YMG 25)
bi-ya·-tśi·n   lower jaw, mandible; under-bone-attached
kó-ya·-yïc do·le·l   can it be down there ? (WE)
be·ldléi bi-ya·-dę́·' xasisńa   I crawled out from under the blanket
tsidi· ci-ya·-gi yiła'   a bird is flying below me
yá-ya· nzíni   Sky Pillars (myth.); those-that-stand-under-the-sky

-*ya·* may mean "life span, end of life:"

ci-ya· xazlį́·'   my life
ci-ya· 'axo·ldo   my end is nearing (NT 354:20)

7.65. -*ya·γah* behind, hidden by . . . :

'asdzą́· lêi' tsê·-ya·yah-dę́·' tćélyod   a strange woman ran out from behind
　　a rock; woman strange rock-behind-from she-ran-out (EW 118:23)
　　(same as *tsé bine'dę́·'* [WM])
bi-ya·γah 'aná·lyod   she ran back behind it (rock) (EW 118:25)

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

tsintah-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·áḱeh bibą·h-gi cayan   my house is at the edge of the cornpatch; corn-
　　patch its-border-at my-house-is
biya·-gi   under the hill (NT 188:17)
tséya·-gi   under the rock (NT 192:7)
tsé xa·ltá·l-gi   at Rock-chipped-out (NT 204:9)

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

'atłó·-gi yína·ciniltin   she is teaching me how to weave; at-weaving-she-
　　is-instructing-me
na·be·hó biza·d be· yálti'-gi yína·cine·ztą́·'   he taught me to speak Nava-
ho; Navaho its-word at-speaking with-it he-instructed-me

7.68. -*gi 'áťê·-go 'áťê·go* like, resembling in character and behavior,
behaving as . . . :

ni-gi 'áťê·go cił xóγé·'   like you I am lazy; you-like with-me there-is-
　　indifference
ťá· 'êi-gi 'áťê·go   that way; just that-like-being
ťá· láhá-gi 'áťê·go   in the same way; just one-like being (NT 44:22)
nê'ecdja·' 'áťéhégi·-gi 'áťe·iťáo (< *'áťê·-go*)   he was becoming just like the
　　owl (NT 40:18)
bą·há-gi 'iťê·go (< *'áťê·go*)   being in a bad mood, evil being-like (NT
　　66:28)

tó· 'óxayói 'o·ldáhi-gi 'ité·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 11.107 ff.).

> *na·ki-go ca· nini·l*   give me two; two-being move-plural-obj.-to-me
> *tsį·l-go*   hurry, do it quickly; hurry-being

7.70. *-go* may be suffixed to verbs:

> *'áni·-go*   saying so, speaking thus
> *yicá·l-go*   as I go along

7.71. *-goh* may be suffixed to bound forms:

> *'éi be··go ná·s di·kah*   with that we shall go forward, progress; that with-it-being forward we-shall-start-to-go
> *'átahi-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 siyínigi· bideidji-go tchíníyá*   I went above a body of water; water that-which-lay-confined on-the-upper-side-being I-went-out (YM 26)
> *dei-go díni'į·'*   look upward (YMG 26)

. **7.72.** *-go 'áté*, or *-go xaz'ą́* with future verb form, "can, be able to; it is that":

> *di· tsé dahdidi·'á·l-go 'áté* (*xaz'ą́*)   I can lift this rock
> *nikeh dido·dle·l-go 'áté* (*xaz'ą́*)   he can beat you (fighting); in-your-way he-will-do-being it-is
> *naxodo·ltį·l-go 'áté* (*xaz'ą́*)   it will surely rain; that-it-rain it-is

7.73. *-go-da 'áté* (equivalent to *ca'cin nisin*) possibly, it may; approximately-it-is (FS 11; cp. 11.109.):

> *nańijo·įgó· do·gá·l-goda 'áté*   he may go to Gallup; Gallup-to he-will-go-possibly
> *naxodo·ltį·l-goda 'áté*   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)
> *'i'i·'ą·-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
> *nańijo·įi-gó·*   to Gallup

'é·bạ· bíni'di nixitah-gó· therefore let us have them; for-this-reason let-it-be among-us-future

tá· bénácnį·hi-gó· (whatever) I shall (may) remember

de·yáhá-gó· do· cil bé·xozindah I don't know where he is going; where-he-started-for I-don't-know

tá· 'altsoni 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·ła' it (bird) is flying about above him

dzil-gó· na·cáh I am walking about in the mountains

na·dą́·' bitah-gó· na·náh 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 'ado·lyoł he will help me; after-me he-will-run

bi-ká dítci·d reach for it (YM 34)

xa·'ih lá do· tćé· yi-ká 'á·tį·dah (wondering) how to overcome him; something-question after-him she-might-not-do-in-vain (WE)

tćé·h yi-ká na'agij he probed; in-vain after-it he-stuck-forked-obj.-here-and-there

ni-ká 'ánde·cyoł I will help you; after-you I-will-run-thus-cust.

ci-ká naxadlá· 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·náłah the bird is flying about above me

xo·yan 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·-dę́·' at the top (of tree); its-top-from (NT 50:18)

tó bi-ká·'-djị' to the top of the water; water its-surface-to-a-point (NT 26:23)

tá· tsé'él-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·' yicá·l I am walking along behind him

bi-ké·-dę́·' next, next to (behind) him; from-. . . 's-track

na-bi-ké·' there were tracks here and there (NT 130:24)

xode·-ké·' a footprint was there

tá· 'alké·' yo·łká·lgo one night after the other; just one-after-the-other nights-passing (NT 40:29)

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

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

bitcidi kin yi-ḱą́·h bił yiłyod   his car ran into the house; his-car house
colliding-with-it it-ran-to-end

tcidi 'ał-ḱą́·h yiłyod-gi   headon collision; place-where-cars-collided-
with-each-other

'awé·' bé·c yi-ḱą́·h do·łtcid   the baby ran against the knife; baby knife
in-collision-with-it it-was-touched

tsé bi-ḱą́·h de·ctá·lgo ciḱé·cgan xa·łtọ'   when I stumbled against the rock
I broke my toenail

tsin bi-ḱą́·h yicyod   I ran into a tree (WM)

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

bi-ḱeh-go, bi-ḱeho   according to it, him, his way; guiding . . . , being. . .'s
guide (NT 44:8; 48:4)

bini' bi-ḱeh   according to his ideas; his-mind according-to-it (YMG 22)

belagá·na·-ḱeh-go   in a white man's way

na-kai-ḱeh-dji yálti'   he is speaking Spanish; according-to-Spanish-side
he-speaks

.cackéhe·-ḱeh-go ni.citċį yálti'   he "told us off, bawled us out," reprimand-
ed us; according-to-scolder's-way to-us he-spoke

biḱé-ḱeh-gó·, biḱé-ḱehó·   follow him; (move)-in-the-direction-of-his-
tracks

tá· nináxáxá·h biḱeh 'ákó náxo·tị·h   every year it happens that way;
just winter-passes-to-end-cust. according-to-it so-it-happens-cust.
(YM 162)

bi'é·' tệi ka·ḱeh   only her dress had been arrow-pricked; her-garment
only arrow-according-to (NT 66:7)

cidji ci-ḱe xólọ· do·   my side will speak my way; my-side according-to-
me it-is will-be (NT 68:9)

7.82. -ḱe· on account of, because (YMG 28):

bi-ḱe· bił xóyé·'   he dreads it; because-of-it he-is-weakened

bi-ḱe· dinicni·h   I am irritated because of it, at him

bi-ḱe· nisidzidzá   he was panic-stricken because of it; because-of-it it-
was-awful

biḱe-jditłah   on account of it he(4) was numb (stunned)

yi-ḱe· bą· daxaz'ą́   on account of it he is ill;

7.83. -ḱé, -ḱéh for value, reward, cost, guarantee, exchange, pay, compensation (cp. -de·na):

bé·so bi-ḱé nanilnic   you are working for wages (YMG 23)

bi-ḱéh   value, cost, measure, size, exchange

bi-ḱéh-i   royalty; that-which-is-exchanged

ne·zna·-di-ḱéh silá   one million; ten-times-value it-lies-ropelike

'ayahkini biḱé   in exchange for the Hopi (NT 276:21)

7.84. -ḱi, -ḱih (stat.) over, above (WM "pressing on") (cp. -ká·'):

tsé bi-ḱi dahsédá   I am sitting on a rock; rock on-it I-am-sitting-on

dzil bi-ḱih   over the mountain

'al-k̇i-dji' toward each other (drive them) (NT 152:11)

bi-k̇i-dę́·' de·sḱid there was a knoll on the upper side of it (deer); over-it-side (NT 48:21)

xa-k̇i néiltih he covered him(4); over-him(4) he-cust.-caused-covering-it (NT 28:21)

ci-k̇i naxadlá I am being sung over; over-me ceremony-is-being-sung (FS 15)

xa-k̇i-gi at a place above him(4)

ṫá bi-k̇i xote·l it(rock) was just level with ground; just over-it place-was-wide (NT 40:14)

7.85. -γa away from by force:

'a-γa-'ilγé theft, larceny

'al-γa didi·ṫac let's race; from-each-other-forcefully we-two-shall-start-to-go (NT 22:18)

bi-γa nicṫą́ I took round obj. from him by force; from-him-forcefully round-obj.-was-moved-by-me

dibé ṫłizi bil 'al-γa niltį I gave a sheep in exchange for a goat; sheep goat with-it forcefully-away-from-each-other-I-moved-animate-obj.

7.86. -γá through, piercing, penetrating hole (cp. 7.56.):

tsé·-γá through the rock (natural sandstone arch): rock-through

bi-γá xo·dzą́ it is perforated, he hollowed it (out); through-it place-is-hollowed (NT 24:22)

yi-γá do·cic he will poke a hole through it; through-it he-will-poke

'aniṫi' bi-γá nicńa' I crawled through a hole in the fence: fence through-it I-crawled-back

tsé-γá-'ṫińdini·, tsé-γá-'dińdini· rock crystal; the-particular-one-through-which-light-beams

ṫó· ba-γá 'osde·' group just passed by (place) (NT 208:13)

7.87. -γą́·h (stat.) attached in front of (cp. 7.40, 7.80, 7.99.):

łį·' tsina·bą·s yi-γą́·h dido·lté·l he will hitch the horse to the wagon; horse wagon in-front-attached-to-it he-will-start-a-live-obj.-moving (YM 27)

łį·' tsina·bą·s bi-γą́·h dézį the horse is harnessed to the wagon; horse wagon in-front-attached-to-it it-is-standing (YM 27)

bi-γą́·h 'adizó·h continue that line

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

'á-γi'-i pluck, throat; something-that-is-inside

'a-γi'-dę́·' dil hemorrhage; from-someone's-throat blood

'adá-γi', 'ayá-γi' someone's throat; in-front-inside

'aniṫi' bi-γi' bé·gaci· na·kai the cattle are inside the fence; inside-it cattle move-about

tá-γi' subterranean waters (YME 14)

tsé-γi' canyon, Canyon de Chelley (and other canyons); rocks-inside

sǫ' bi-γi' na·zniligi· stars scattered about in the sky; those-which-are-stars-lying-about-separately-in-it (NT 62:4)

'ása·' bi-γi'-dę́·' ṫó xá·ką́ I dipped water out of the jar; jar in-it-from water I-moved-contained-substance-out (YM 109; NT 16:16)

tó· bi-γi'-djį' ńná·da·sdlį·'   they gave up (evil thoughts); merely to-a-point-within they-became-back-again (NT 66:28)

tá· 'altsoni bi-γi'-gó·   having (to do) everything for himself; just everything inside-him-future (NT 66:1)

tá· bini·-γi'-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-tsé na·cá   I am older than he; just before-him I-go-about

'á-tsé   first, before

'ál-tsé   first, one ahead of the other; reciprocally-first

bi-'í-tsé (< *bi'átsé*) *ci'tijtcį*   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-ki-dji'* afterward)

xa-tsi-dzį'   he stood in front of him(4); in-front-of-him(4)-he-stood (NT 186:12)

7.90. -tsá (prog.) from, away from:

'al-tsá 'asdzoh   two-forked; from-each-other something-is-marked

'al-tsá da·sdzoh   mass divided into more than two parts; from-one-another they-are-marked

'al-tsá ni·tá·į   we two separated; from-each-other we-two-went

bi-tsá niyá   I left him; from-him I-went

7.91. -tsą·, -tsa· avoid, keep away from because of antagonism (cp. *tsá-* "irritable, peevish, angry, ill-tempered, wishing evil"):

'al-tsą· na·'a·c   they two are antagonistic; avoiding-each-other they-two-go-about

bi-tsą· xasti'i·'tlé   he is the one to be avoided; avoiding-him that-which-is-respectful it-is-thus

tá· xa-tsą· xo·ldoh   the distance between them was increasing; just from-them(4) space-increased (NT 62:17)

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

tá· 'al-tsą́·' danlį·go   they pl. having different opinions; just from-one-another they-being

si-tsą́·' (< *ci-tsą́·'*) *yó·náodza'*   he might leave me against my wishes; from-me he-might-go-back (NT 40:23)

bitsi·' 'al-tsą́·'-dji   on both sides of his head against his wishes (NT 40:18)

bé·c bi-tsą́·-dó· 'alya·   it is made of iron; metal deriving-from-it it-is-made (same as *bé·c bi-tsą́·-dé·' 'alya·*)

'al-tsą́·-dji nnini·l   lay them in radiating fashion; radiating-from-one-another-sides lay-them

'al-tsá·h-dji dahdadji·ctca'   on both sides he tied it here and there (NT 78:18)

citcidi si-tsá·' yitcǫ'   my car broke down against my wishes; my-car opposing-me got ruined (FH)

bi-tsá·' kijnigij he(4) cut it away; angrily he(4)-cut-it-off (NT 18:3)

bi-tsá·' yah'adizno·dzá   leaving it (turkey) against his wishes, he(4) went in (cautiously) (NT 28:24)

7.93. -c, -cą' 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 is -ic (11.90.):

xái-c, or xái-cą' 'átị   who is he?

di·c or di·-cą' xa'áti 'áté   what is this?

xá·gó·-cą' or xá·gó·-c diniyá   where are you going?

xa'áti-cą' or xa'áti·-c ninizin   what do you want?

ci-cą'   how about me?

xa·-cą' or xa·-c yinidza·   what happened to you? how did it (injury) happen to you?

nimá-cą'   where is your mother?

djan-cą'   where is John?

tlé·dá·'-cą' xa· yiniti·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. -cị· probably, it must have been (FS 25). This enclitic is suffixed to interrogative pronominal complexes to denote "whatever, however, wherever" and the like:

tá·cị·   it is doubtful

xa'áti-cị·   whatever it may be

yiská·go naxodo·ltị·l-cị·   it will probably rain tomorrow, it may rain tomorrow

xa·-cị· nê·l'á·' ná·xái-dá·'   a number of years ago; however total-number years-ago

7.95. -dji', -djị' (prog.) up to a point, as far as, toward definite point, at definite time (FS 14):

'alki-dji'   toward each other (NT 152:11)

'e'e'a·h-dji'   to a point at the west

tá· be'estló·-dji'   even to the ones (babies) just laced in their cradleboards

nánisdzá·-dji'   until I return

tá·-djị' xa· de·syod   he ran from her(4) in the opposite direction; reverse-direction from-her(4) he-ran (NT 18:8)

nná·ńke·z-djị'   toward where it (poker) fell (NT 48:11)

7.96. -dji on the side of, in the direction of:

cila' nicniá·-dji-yigi·, or nicniná·-dji·-gi·   my right hand; my-hand the-one-which-is-on-the-right-side (YMG 20)

'e'e'a·h-dji-yẹ·   the one aforementioned at the west side

na'aloe· bikǫ'-dji xatá·l   Male Shooting Chant; shooting-concerning male-its-side chant

niltci-dji bikǫ'-dji 'ái xatá·l   Male Wind Chant; wind-side male-its-side that chant (WE)

7.97. *-tcá* beyond spatial capacity, over rim, out of bounds:

ǫ̃·’ bi-tcá ’a·ljó·d   horses moved off (NT 390:12)
ǫ̃·’ bi-tcâ-iljoł   mass of horses (over ridge) (NT 39:10)

7.98. *-tčah* (prog.) at, off to restricted space (AB, YMG 21). (WM thinks *-tčah* is equivalent to *-tčį’*):

bi-tčah xode·cke·l   I shall scold him (cp. NT 34:19)
nixi-tčah xócke·d   he scolded us
xáni’ xol tča·-’e·lyod   his(4) mind left him(4); his(4)-mind with-him(4) it-ran-off
tča· déyá   I went off into restricted place
’altčah bé·lne’   he is chopping it apart (FH)

7.99. *-tčą̃·’*, *-tčą̃·h* moving in front of, moving as an obstruction, moving in . . .’s way; interceding for . . . , protecting . . . :

’a-tčą̃·h   obstruction, protection; something-in-front
bi-tčą̃·h sézį   I am standing in his way; him-in-front-of I-stand
ci-tčą̃·h na·yáh   he protects me; moving-in-front-of-me he-goes-about
’á-tčą̃·h sodizin   prayer for self-protection; in-front-of-self prayer
’á-tčą̃·h najdi·lge·d   he(4) pushed it (bow) as self-protection down in (ground); self-protecting he(4)-drove-it-down (NT 36:3)
ci-tčá·’ ńdidi·dá·l   rise up to protect me (Pr 58:5)
’éi bi-tčą̃·h   moving in front of that (woodpile) (NT 324:9)

7.100. *-tčic* on opposite sides, on both sides, converging:

dibéntsa· bitčįdjigo yó-tčic-dji   on both sides of *dibéntsa·* (mountain) (NT 198:15)
’al-tčic-dji so·zį   one of you stand on each side (WM, cp. NT 326:26)
na·kitsá·da yilłê·go ’al-tčic-i· xastą̃· yilłé   there were twelve, six on each side (WM, FH, FW 277, n. 134)
kin sa’áni yóc-tčic-dę́·’ yigá·l   from this side he is walking between the house and us (WM)

7.101. *-tčį’* (prog.) moving toward but not necessarily all the way, moving in the direction of . . . :

bi-tčį’ yácti’   I am talking to him
xa-tčį’ sodo·lzin   he prayed against them (4) (NT 274:11, 21)
sa·d ’al-tčį’ ’idayi·sńil   they quarreled; words toward-each other-they-flung-rep. (NT 68:10)
dzil bi-tčį’ xo·łǫ́·l   it is raining toward the mountain; mountain in-the-direction-of-it it-is-raining-prog.
’á-tčį’ dêidildjahgo   making a fire for herself
xa-tčį’ dahná·néite’   it (snake) rushed at him again; toward-him(4) it-darted-forth-again (NT 36:9)
xa·cį́· ńzah-tčį’   on for some distance; however far-toward (NT 32:6)
’al-tčį’ ’ada·z’á   (poles) extend toward each other, close it (roof) (NT 46:21)
’al-tčį’ ’áńdo-lní·l   they (schools) will be closed; toward-each-other thus-will-be-done-back (FH)
’áko dá’áłkehę̃· bił ’al-tčį’ ńdaxodo·tłoh   so the fields kept getting choked with (weeds); so fields-mentioned with-them toward-each-other cust.-places-became-bushy (choked)

'al-tčį̇' 'ilé·h he is closing the envelope, French window (cp. 'axa·
  yinilé·h "he is folding the paper" [WM])
tá· 'altso 'al-tčį̇' kó dadjile'go after folding all (the masks); just all
  closed so when-he(4)-arranged-them (NT 256:16)
'asdzání yil 'il-tčį̇' (< 'al-tčį̇') sizįhê·ni' the woman who faces him
  (NT 278:3)

7.102. -lá·h beyond, more than; however ... likes, go ahead
according to ...'s wish (cp. 9.4):

ni-lá·h just as you like, do it your way
bi-lá·h 'ánisné·z I am taller than he; more-than-he I-am-so-tall

7.103. -l accompaniment, with, along with. The postposition -l 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 -l 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-l with song
tca··l with tears, weeping (tcah "crying")
dlo··l with laughter (dloh "laughter")
nxi-l tčide·c'á·l I shall tell you two; with-you-two I-shall-speak-out (BS)
xa'áťi·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·zį·l you will understand; with-you there-will-be-knowledge-
  of-things
'ádi-l dahictį· I am pinning my clothes; with-self I-am-moving-long-
  obj.-on-it
ci-l yá'áťé I am pleased, I like it; with-me it-is-good
ci-l xǫ́jǫ́ things are going well with me; with-me things-are-satisfactory
do· bi-l yá'áda·cǫ̇·dah they were angry; not with-them they-were-
  satisfactory
diné bi-l ninídjé·' the people surrounded him, closed in on him; people
  with-him crowd-moved-to-end
le·tcq·'i bi-l nańicka·d I am out herding with my dog; dog with-it I-am-
  spreading-about-beyond (YM 29)
le·j xo-l dayíkǫ̇dó· 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 dictłó·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 niznilne' 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
góliji· 'ása·' yi-l yilyol skunk ran carrying bucket; skunk container
  with-it he-was-running (NT 20:12)
bi-l dzidiltłah oil your hair; with-it cause-greasing-away

7.104–7.116. COMPOUNDING OF POSTPOSITIONS AND ENCLITICS

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-cą'* (*bi*-3 poss.-*tis*-moving over-*go*- general subordination-*cą'*-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.;" *-dę̇·'* "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;" *-djí* "side" (one of two opposed sides).

7.106. The only examples where such a suffix immediately follows a pronoun are of the type: *cídjí cike xǫ́lǫ́ do·* "(those on) my side will speak my way; I-side according-to-me are it-will-be" (NT 68:9); *xó-dó· biná·ci·-djí ké·xodjitį́* "opposite-them(4) their spouses they(4) lived; they(4)-from their-partners-side they lived" (NT 102:9). Note that *-djí* 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)
tsé-ta'	canyon mouth; rocks-between
tsé-tah kin	house-among-the-rocks (name of San Ildefonso pueblo)
tsé-na· tó	Senatoa; around-rock water
tsé-yi'	canyon; rocks-in
tsin-ya·	underneath the tree
'a·-di	in place there near you
'e'e'a·h-dji-gó·	westward; west-to-a-point-toward (cp. *'e'e'a·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:

> *'ása·' tó yi·' xaidé·lbį·d*   he filled the pot with water; pot water in-it he-caused-filling-it-up
>
> *tó bi·h yígo'*   I fell into the water; water into-it I-fell
>
> *tsé biḱi dahsédá*   I am sitting on a rock; rock on-it on-I-am sitting
>
> *djo·ł tsitśa·' yi·' sa'ą́*   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:

> *kį·h* (< *kin-i·h*)   into town; houses-into
>
> *le·h* (< *le·-i·h*)   into the ground, soil, dust
>
> *le·'* (< *le·-i·'*)   within the ground
>
> *ta·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-ya·-dji' sa·d di·tśa'*   toward-a point below him(4) talking was heard
>
> *'o·dlą'-tśą́·-dji*   infidel; belief-contrary-to-wishes-on-the-side
>
> *bi-ná-ta'-gi*   at a place between his eyes; his-eyes-between-in-place (NT 156:18)
>
> *tćį·ndi·-ta-gó·*   to ghost land (a curse); ghosts-among-toward
>
> *xa-ké·-dę́·'-oh*   missing his(4) tracks; his(4)-tracks-from-missing
>
> *bi-yi'-di*   in the foliage; at-a-place-within
>
> *bi-ká·'-dó·*   from on it; from the surface; on-it-from
>
> *'a·dó· bi-tśą́·-dji'*   from there to a point away from her; there-from diverging-from-her-to-a-point (WE)
>
> *ci-ká·'-dji' ńdidi·łah*   fly above me; on-me-toward you-will-fly-up (NT 26:5)
>
> *dó·yóji· bi-yi'-dó· xanisánigi·*   greasewood fibers; greasewood those-which-grow-from-inside-it (NT 78:6)
>
> *bi-yi'-dę́·' dil xaxa·cjó·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-ḱi-dji'*   afterward, after that (YMG 28)
>
> *'alnińi'ą́·-dó· bi-ḱi-dji'*   afternoon; noon-from afterward
>
> *'i·yą́·'-dó· bi-ḱi-dji'*   after I ate ... (YMG 28)
>
> *bi-ké·-dę́·'*   next to him, the next one
>
> *bi-łą́·-dji' na·cah*   I am walking ahead of him; the-first-(ahead-of-him) I-am-walking-about (YMG 23)
>
> *ci-tćį-dji nlį́*   he is on my side; toward-me-side he-is
>
> *ci-tćį-dji-go nini'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:

kǫ' na'albą·si· bi-dá·h-gi bé·gaci· sizį́   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·-gó· 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," *-gó·* refers forward to "it is beautiful," that is, "beauty-extends-forward."

dzil 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-dji' sédá   I am sitting against the house; house at-the-side-of-it-at-a-point I-am-sitting

dzil bi-ne'-di naxaltin   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."

biká·' adáni bi-ká·'-gi bá·hdó· goxwé·h na·zką́   bread and coffee are on the table; table on-it-in-place bread-also coffee contained-substances-are-here-and-there. *-ká·'* "on" refers to *bi*-it, whose antecedent is "table," and *-gi* "in place" refers to "bread" and "coffee" which follow.

be'ekid bi·yah-gi cayan   my home is beside the lake; lake beside-it-in-place my-home

ʼáʼákeh bi·yah-gó· 'ati·n   the cornfield extends along the road; cornfield along-it-onward road

ʼása·' bi-yi'-dę́·' tó xá·ką́   I dipped a water out of the jar; jar in-it-from water I-moved-out-of-container (YM 109)

yi-ká·-gó· na·ta'   it flew about above him; toward-above-him it-flew-about

xa-tsi·-tah-gó·-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-ę́·-di   the place where he had been killed; he-had-been-killed-the-one-mentioned-place-at

'a·-dę́·'-cį́·   from there it must have been; there-from-probably

xodo·le·l-go-cį́·   (chant) will probably come into existence; things-will-become-being-probably

dabi-tis-go-cą'   whatever may be omitted; omitting-them-being-interrogative

xa'áłé-dę́·'-cą'-dó'   from where will another (man) be found; where-is-it-from-interrogative-also

xá·dji'-go-cį́·   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' xatśozí xo·lyê·-di*   at a place called Narrow Canyon; canyon narrow
> place-is-called-at (WE)
> *'ak̇inástą́ xo·lyê·-dę́·'*   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 'alḳą́·h yílyod-gi*   car crash; cars-colliding-with-each-other ran-to-
> end-place
> *tsé yik̇á·n dáde·sṫlini-gi*   concrete dam; rock it-is-ground (cement)
> place-where-it-is-piled-in-front
> *'adání-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 *nclį* "I am," the stem is *-lį* "be," the initial *-l-* being unvoiced by preceding *-c-* "I." In *yi·dą́* "we two are eating it," the stem is *-yą́*, the initial *-y-* being absorbed by *-d-* of *-i·d-* "we two." In *yohsą́* "you two are eating it," the stem again is *-yą́* 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, *-ʼą́* of *saʼą́* "round object lies, is in position," is the stem. In the example, *siní-tą́* "round object exists placed by you," *-tą́* is the stem complex, composed of *-d-ʼą́* (*d-ʼ* > *t* 3.57.). In *sé-lʼą́* "I have, keep a round object, I-cause-lying-of-round-object," *-l-ʼą́* is the stem complex, and in *siní-lʼą́* "round object is kept by you," the stem complex is *-lʼą́*. Since some stem initials are changed

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by the preceding classifier, certain phonetic effects of the classifiers must be learned. For instance, *-yoł* "wind blows" is a stem, *-dzoł* (< *-d-yoł*) "be forced by blowing" is a stem complex, as are *-soł* (< *-ł-yoł*) "blow lightly" and *-l-zoł* "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-ł-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 *-ł-tsó·z*. Note, for instance, the difference in the two sentences: *be·ldlêi 'axą·h ni·lá* "I folded the blanket" (active verb), and *be·ldlêi 'axą·h ni·lágo siłtsó·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, 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 *-té·l* "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 *'aní-*, but "motion to goal has been completed by someone" has the form *'í-*, 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 *-ní-*, as in *'aní-*, or it may contract with *ní-*, as in *'í-*. 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't̓e·-* (< *bi-*[3] subj.-*'adi*-indefinite agent-*ni-ni*-pf.) because *'a-* as agent in this setting cannot be contracted with *ni-ni*-perfective (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: *γolγal* "you two are eating meat," not *γol-γal* in which the stem complex is -*l-γal*; or *γolxal* in which *l*-active causative changes the stem initial *γ* to *x*; *'oljic* "you two are dancing," not *'oljic* in which the stem complex is -*ljic*; *γosą́* "you two are eating it," not *γoh-yą́* in which the stem is -*yą́* (3.119.).

8.20. The pattern is different, however, in the perfectives which have compound aspective prefixes—*ni-*(*ní-*), *yi-*(*ní-*), *si-*(*ní-*). In the intransitive the order is aspect-subject-completive(-*ní-*). The inter-vention of (-*ní-*) 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-*, *γo·h-*, 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,

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[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 intransitive: aspect-subject-stem complex.
> Progressive-continuative transitive active: object-subject-stem complex.
> Progressive-continuative transitive passive: subject-aspect-agent-stem complex.
> Perfective intransitive: aspect-subject-completive-stem complex.
> Perfective transitive active: object-aspect-subject-completive-stem complex.
> Perfective transitive passive: subject-aspect-completive-agent-stem complex.

Since *dji*-4 subject or agent, and '*a*-indefinite subject or object, and '*a*-, '*adi*- indefinite agent precede aspective prefixes the order in these persons is:

> Progressive-continuative intransitive: subject-aspect-stem complex.
> Progressive-continuative transitive active: object-*dji*-subject-aspect-stem complex.
> '*a*-subject does not occur with '*a*-object.
> Progressive-continuative transitive passive: *dji*-agent-aspect-stem complex.
> Progressive-continuative transitive passive: '*a*-subject-*dji*-agent-aspect-stem complex.
> Perfective intransitive: *dji*-subject-aspect-completive-stem complex.
> Perfective transitive active: object-*dji*-subject-aspect-completive-stem complex.
> Perfective transitive passive:*dji*-agent-aspect-completive-stem complex.

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 *diní*- 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 *-ní*- (< *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 (10.97 ff.).

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 *ł* 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, *ł* ,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—*nêi·d*- < *ná*-back-(*ná*-)-*i·d*-Dl subj.—or the effect *-d*- may have on the stem—*yi·dą́* (< *yi*-cont.-*i·d*-Dl subj.-*yą́*-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—*yohsą́* (< *yi*-cont.-*oh*-D2 subj.-*yą́* eat pres.) "you two are eating it;" *yolγal* (< *yi*-cont.-*oh*-D2 subj.-*l-γal* eat meat pres.) "you two are eating meat." (Note that *h-l-γal* > *-łxal*, but in the last example this does not occur, thus proving that the classifier is *l*, thematic with *-γal*, rather then *ł*.).

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-'ą́ (< *si-'ą́*) 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-tą́ long rigid obj. exists; there-is-condition-of-narrow-elongated-rigidity

si-til hair is matted; there-is-condition-of-hair-tangling

si-łé it is roasted, parched

si-nih 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-ką́ there is contained substance; there-is-condition-of-containedness

si-yic bow-shaped; there-is-condition-of-bowing

si-yį́ there is a load, parcel, consolidated amount of goods; there-is-condition-of-having-been-packed

si-zi·d there is a mass of flowing substance; there-is-condition-of-flowing-substance

si-l-tso·z, si-l-tsó·z there is fabriclike obj.; there-is-condition-of-broad-flexibility (cp. *si-ka·d* "there is spread surface")

si-tśih it exists pinched with fingernails (as corrugated pottery)

si-tśil 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-jó·d it is bulky; there-is-condition-of-bulkiness

ci-dja·' there is granular mass; there-are-plural-obj.-in-mass

ci-djé·' there are plural objects; there-is-condition-of-plurality

ci-djį́į́ it is crushed; there-is-condition-of-being-crushed

ci-djo·l there is fluffy, bunchy, brushy, uneven mass; there-is-condition-of-fluffiness, bunchiness

si-lá there is long, narrow flexible object, there is a pair

si-tłé·' it is viscid, mushy, slimy; there-is-condition-of viscosity

si-tłi·j · there 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 (cp. *-ta'* postposition "between")
>
> *si-té·j* two lie
>
> *si-tį* one animate obj. lies; there-is-condition-of-one-animate-obj.-lying
>
> *si-zį'*, *si-zįh* 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-ƙaz* it is cold; there-is-coldness
> *si-ƙází* it is cool
> *si-zili* it is lukewarm
> *si-sí·'* 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-lį·'* "it has become; there-is-condition-of-change; change-has-been-established"

8.34. Static verbs may have *d*, *l*, 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-tą·d* animate beings are scattered
> *di-ťi* it is emulsified, plasmic
> *di-ťin* it is dense
> *di-ťo'* it is very soft
> *di-ťódi* it is fragile, frail, weak, soft, flexible
> *di-ťó·di* it is very soft
> *di-giz* it is twisted
> *di-ƙádi* spread object is very thin, fabric is thin
> *diƙą́* it is square
> *di-γoj* botryoidal
> *di-γol* rough surfaced, rutted
> *di-tsid* it is fibrous, tough, sinewy; it is gummy, viscid (cp. *tsid* "sinew")
> *di-joc* they are easily split
> *ná-'ą́* 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-tą́* long, rigid objects lie in line
> *ni-té·j* two by two they (animals) lie in a row

ní-tí   one by one animate objects lie in a row
ní-jo·j   parallel objects lie
ní-za·d   it is far
ní-ca·j   it is wearing out
ní-mɑz   it is globular, round, spherical
ní-don   it is taut, tight
ní-yiz   it is round and long, cylindrical
ní-tsilí fabriclike object is soft (as buckskin)

8.36–8.81. 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.[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. *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

[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-yą́* "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 *yi-yį́·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.[3] Here a subdivision 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

[3] Hoijer 1948a, pp. 247–59; Young-Morgan 1943, Grammar, pp. 77ff.; Navaho-English, pp. ii–viii, 1–247

si-perfective, which refer to more absolute completion. The progressive, 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·*-, *djo·*- 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 completive, *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., cp. 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 completive 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 conceptually 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

prefix, takes *si-ni-* rather than *ni-ni-*-perfective. The reason is that Navaho d stinguishes 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.[4] 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.[5]

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 *leh* 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.[6]

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 *-ta·h* yourself, just those people you respect. *ná·t́icta·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'ą́* round object is, there is condition of roundness (10.117.)
> *de·zkai* (< *di-si-kai*) many persons have started to go; condition-of-plural-persons-starting-to-go-has-been-completed (10.88c.)
> *na·znil* (< *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.).

8.59. Some prefixes—*ná-(ná-)* "back," *ná-(ná-)* "against," *yíni-*reciprocal effect, *xo*-place-*si*-harm, and *dji-si*-attitude—have all three perfective forms.

8.60. The prefixes *di*-start against, *yíni*-doubtful destination (10.90b, c, 10.110b, c.) have *ni*- and *si*-perfectives.

8.61. 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.).

8.62–8.72. *Repetitive System*

8.62. 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 (10.106aff, 10.114aff, 10.114k.).

8.63. 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.

8.64. Repetitive forms, especially those resulting in *yi·-*, like the cessatives, were included in the attempted explanation of "conjuncts" and "disjuncts."[7] The paradigms of repetitive prefixes show that cessatives and repetitives were confused, and that they are distinctive.

8.65. 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

[7] Young-Morgan 1943, Grammar, pp. 77ff

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·l* "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-yitci·l* "snow is starting to fall, snowflakes are starting for;" *da-nitci·l* "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."

8.73–8.76. *Imperative*

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 (prog.)   go on, keep on going!
téininilka·d (inc.)   herd them out (you singular) (YM 112)
téininolka·d (inc.)   herd them out (you dual)
'adi·ltlá·d (inc. cess.)   turn on the light (you singular)
'aniltsé·s (inc.)   turn off the light (you singular)

8.74. The future may be an emphatic command for immediate action:

ca· di·ná·l   come to me!
di·tac   let's go; we-two-will-go
di·kah   let's go; we-pl·-will-go
bini' ca· do·gá·l   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 10.82c, 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*-) "inflective," 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 (10.82 a.).

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 (10.82 a.).

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:

> *yí·la', xí·la'* ... 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.)
> *le'* may ... be, would that it ... but who knows (11.52.) (FS 18)
> *lê·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 inceptives 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 character-istics 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 con-jugated 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, never-theless 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 continua-tive 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 irregular-ities, 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 *-le·l, -lé·l, -li·l* "create, make into, construct;" *-né·l, -ni·l, -ni·l* "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-ne·l* and *-le·l* 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 *-'a·h, -'áh,* and *-'á·h*; in the present *-'áh* 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 ⋮ 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:

Regular form		Augmented form	
-tih	cover, wrap	-txih	protect, conceal
-sal	move like a feather	-sxal	heavy obj. (as person) moves like a feather, gracefully
-zi	become still, motionless, silent	-zγi	be dazed, paralyzed, deadened
-si	make numb	-sxi	paralyze, deaden
sǫ'	star	sxǫ'	a fearful star
-sǫs	glitter like copper	-sxǫs	glitter like a red star

Regular form		Augmented form	
dzą·di	here	*dzyą·di*	here in this devilish place
dzil	mountain	*dzyil*	a terrible mountain
-tsa·z	grow big	*-tsxa·z*	grow very large
-tse·	animate obj. is strong	*-tsxe·*	animate obj. is very strong
-tsoh	be yellow	*-tsxoh*	be very yellow
-cǫ́	be satisfactory	*-cxǫ́*	be awful, dangerous (WE)
-tcah	cry	*-tcxah*	scream
-tcah	hop; animal is in heat	*-tcxah*	have erection, sex desire
tcą·'	manure, excrement, faeces	*-tcxą·'*	excrement (vulgar)
-tcih	be red	*-tcxih*	be very red, blush
-tcin	have, exude odor	*-tcxin*	have strong odor
tcin	dirt, soil	*tcxin*	personal parts subject to sorcery
-tcį·'	nose	*-tcxį·'*	muzzle
-tcǫ'	bad	*-tcxǫ'*	wicked, essentially bad
-tcǫ·l	bad, evil; spoil, ruin	*-tcxǫ·l*	soil, pollute, discredit
'antcǫ́'į	one's personal effects, belongings	*'antcxǫ́'į*	personal effects subject to sorcery
-la·l	hate	*-lxa·l* (not *-l-xa·l*)	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.

Stem -CVC, -CV́C, -CV́·C		Stem -CV́CV́		Stem -CV́·CV́	
'á·d	female	*-ádi*	older sister		
di-'il	it has long scattered hairs	*di-ili*	fuzzy with long hairs; "fuzzy" blanket		
		di-tódi	fragile, weak, soft, flexible	*di-tó·di*	very soft (as ripe fruit)
		'as-zóli	light, easily transportable	*'as-zó·li*	light and bulky
		di-kádi	thin fabriclike, spread thinly	(cp. *-ka·d* "it is spread" 12.33.)	
		di-įdi	fragile, brittle		
xone·z-kaz	weather is cold	*xone·z-kázi*	weather is cool	●	
		si-zili	be lukewarm		
n-jón	pretty, nice	*n-jóni*	nice, worthy		
		'áltsisi, 'áltsihi	small (gen.)	*'áltsi·si*	small (as watch)
-tsó·z	narrow	*'ál-tsózi*	narrow		
		'ál-tcįdi	smaller than, less than *'áltcį·di*	*'áltcį·di*	small volume, very little

Of slightly different patterns are:

'áni·d new, recent	*'áni·di* very new
'alḱi·dą́·' long ago	*'alḱi·didą́·'* remote past, merely re-membered
'ayó superior, fine	*'ayói* finer important, baffling *'ayói·* very fine, super-lative
tcil small	*tcili* dwarfed

8.94. Several grammatical processes already described may be used for augmentative or diminutive; they are specialized rather than free:

-zal move featherlike	*-sal* (< *-l-zal*) float, move featherlike	*-sxal* animate (heavy) obj. moves lightly, gracefully
-yol blow breath, breathe on	*-zol* blow hard on	*-sol* blow on lightly

8.95–8.104. IRREGULAR VERBS

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 *γ* 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-γ > g*, and *l-y > s*. The first person dual should always be indicated for any stem whose initial is *y, γ, 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 *-γį́·l* "eat" (gen.). Their irregularities differ somewhat but point to similar influences, manifested in different directions. The principal parts indicate some of the irregularities:

Prog.	Mom. Cust.	Pres.	Inc.	Pf.	Opt.	
-gá·l ⎫ *-ga·l* ⎭	*-γá·h*	*-γáh*	*-γá·h*	*-γá*	*-ya'*	one person goes, walks

-ga·l so far as I can discover is an alternant of *-gá·l*; 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...."[8] 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		Present	
1 *de·cá·l*	I shall go	*yicáh*	I am going
2 *di·ná·l*	you will go	*nnáh*	you are going
3 *do·gá·l*	he will go	*yiɣáh*	he is going
4 *djido·gá·l*	he(4) will go	*djiɣáh*	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 *'ŏ·ya'* "may you go," and *-ya'* for all other persons (10.82 a.).

8.96a. The *d*-form has the principal parts:

Prog.	Mom.	Pres.	Inc.	Pf.	Opt.	
-dá·l } *-da·l* }	*-dá·h* } *-da·h* }	*-dáh*	*-dá·h*	*-dzá*	*-da'*	one person goes, walks

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 $d\text{-}\gamma > g$, then $d\text{-}\gamma$ does not become *d*. If $d\text{-}y > d$, then $d\text{-}y$ does not become *dz*.

8.97. The stem *-ɣį̇·l* "eat" has the following principal parts:

Prog.	Mom.			Pf.	
	Cust.	Pres.	Inc.	Opt.	
-ɣį̇·l	*-ɣį̇·h*	*-yą́*	*-ɣį̇·h*	*-yą́·'*	eat (gen.)

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		Present	
1 *de·cį̇·l*	I shall eat it	1 *yicą́*	I am eating it
2 *di·ɣį̇·l*	you will eat it	2 *niyą́*	you are eating it
3-3 *yido·ɣį̇·l*	he will eat it	3-3 *yiyą́*	he is eating it
4 *djido·ɣį̇·l*	he(4) will eat it	4 *djiyą́*	he(4) is eating it
D1 *di·dį̇·l*	we shall eat it	D1 *di·dą́*	we are eating it
D2 *do·hsį̇·l*	you 2 will eat it	D2 *dohsą́*	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 *-γí·l* but with *d*-initial throughout, even in the perfective which is *-dá·'*; this corresponds with *-dí·l* of the first person dual.

8.100. A related form is *-sí·l* (< *-l*-caus.-*γí·l*) "cause to eat, feed," all forms of which are like *-γí·l* with *s* instead of *γ* initial.

8.101. An interesting form of *-γí·l* is *γo·yá·'* "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 *yi*-perfective *γo·-* and the passive *γo·h-*. Here his form is *γo·yá·'* rather than *γo·hsá·'* which it would be if the analysis were *yi*-prog.-*ni*-compl.-*oh*-D2 subj. It is rather *yi*-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 *-né·l* is unexplained, as is the perfective *-dza·* of *-n'é·l*. It is interesting to note that all classifiers except *l* are used with *-né·l*, 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 *-ní·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:

Prog.	Mom.	Pres.	Inc.	Pf. Opt.	
-l-ni·l	*-ni* ⎫	*-nih* ⎫	*-nih* ⎫	*-ni·'* ⎫	be suspicious about some-
	-ni·h ⎭	*-nih* ⎭	*-ni·h* ⎭	*-ní·'* ⎭	thing definite
-li·l	*-li* ⎫		*-li·h* ⎫	*-li·'* ⎫	suspect, have definite
	-li·h ⎭		*-lí·h* ⎭	*-lí·'* ⎭	suspicion (YM 133, 134)

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:

Prog.	Mom. Cust.	Pres.	Inc. Inc. cess.	Pf., Opt. Pf. cess.	
-'i̧·l	-'i̧·h ⎫ -'i̧·' ⎭	-'i̧	-'i̧·h	-'i̧·' (opt.) ⎫ -'i̧·d ⎭	sight moves, get sight into motion
-łi̧·l		-łi̧		-łi̧·' (opt.)	be visible
-tsé·l (opt.)	— -tsé·h	—	— -tsé·h	-tsá̧	pause in sighting, keep eye on, view (cess.) (YM 219)

Of these -'i̧·l is essentially inceptive, and some of its forms do not fall readily into any prefix category (10.107.). Phonetically the stems -'i̧·l and -łi̧·l behave normally.

-tsé·l is not irregular, but is a cessative—future, customary, inceptive and perfective. Whereas -'i̧·l and -łi̧·l denote "moving the sight, look at," -tsé·l 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

'acẻe (stat.) calm, tranquil, soothing, composed

'acẻé· (prog.) changing to calm, tranquil, quieting down

xacẻe' (stat.) normal, orderly, regular, usual

xacẻé· (prog.) changing (from out of order) to normal, usual, orderly

Of other adjectives but one form has been found:

'aẻá· pretending

'ayáhi harmful, unlucky

'ayó unusually good

'ayói important, baffling

ba·'i bad, unpleasant

ta' alternating

ẻá·gé·d bare, naked, stripped

ẻi·d curbed

ntcǫ·'i ugly, inappropriate, unsuitable

yá out of place, shameful, embarassing (perhaps "shame, embarrassment")

ká careless, impulsive

si cheerful, hopeful, reassuring; disastrous, harmful

tsiẻe worthy, deserving, desirable, outstanding, rare (pretty), superlative

tsi·d tolerable, worthwhile, fair; worthy of notice; tolerant, normal (in character), level-headed; nice, agreeable, pleasing

nalte' irritable, cantankerous, cranky, irascible

γé· 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 *-ẻé·l* "be" but since *'áẻé* "it is" follows many of them, it hardly seems likely; or if they are, the significance of *-ẻé·l* 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:

-'*ili*   be valuable, have value
-*ná·l*, -*ná̜·l*   witness, be present at
-*ni'*   sad, worried (cp. -*ni'* "mind")
-*ki·n*   serve as subsistence
-*dzi·l*   inanimate object is firm, resistant; person has power, there is power
-*tśi·ni*   be very thin, skinny, bony (cp. *tśin* "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; *dí· 'é·' nne·z* "this garment is long;" *łį́·tsoh* "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):

di· 'é·' ci-lá·h 'áṅlné·z   this garment is too long for me; this garment me-beyond is-relatively-long
bi-lá·h 'áṅsné·z   I am taller than he; him-beyond I-am-relatively-tall
yi-lá·h 'áṅlné·z   it (pole) is longer than he; he is taller than he (FH)
bilį́·' di· lį́·' bilá·h 'áṅltsoh   his horse is larger than this horse; his-horse this horse it-beyond is-relatively-large
di· 'é·' ci'oh 'áṅlné·z   this garment is too short for me; this garment me-missing is-relatively-long
bilį́·' di· lį́·' bi'oh 'áṅltsoh   his horse is smaller than this horse; his-horse this horse it-missing is-relatively-large

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

be postpositional, the one compared being the possessive-objective prefix:

> *ni-lá·hgo dinicyo'* I can run faster than you; being-beyond-you I-got-stuck-running
>
> *cídjigo dinicyo' 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...":

> *bilį̄·' 'alá·hdi 'áṅltsoh* his horse is the largest, his-horse beyond-some (other) is-relatively-large
>
> *bilį̄·' 'ayá·di 'áṅltsoh* his horse is the largest, his-horse the-chief(favorite)-one is-relatively-large
>
> *xala' 'alǭ·djį̄' nli·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:

> *niyandó· ciyan bita'gi kodó· naṅijo·jidji' 'áṅzá·d* it is as far from your home to mine as it is from here to Gallup; your-home-from my-home between-them-place from-here Gallup-to-a-point it-is-relatively-far

9.8. The element *yó* is common to the following constructions:

> *'ayó 'áṅsné·z* I am the tallest (FH)
>
> *'ayó 'áṅlné·z* it (rope, stick) is longer (FH)
>
> *'ayó 'áṅzá·d* it is farther (FH)

9.9. *bíyó* somewhat, quite, a bit, something short of:

> *tó· la-' biyó de·sk̄a·z* it seems a bit cold (FS 29)
>
> *tá· bíyóilk̄idę̄· gó-'ą·* (a ridge) that was almost a hill (NT 390:10)
>
> *tá· biyó doiṅzingó·* (< *do· yiṅzingó·*) he was somewhat unwilling (NT 210:4)
>
> *tá· biyó názbą·s silį̄·'* (his eyes) became rounder (NT 40:20)
>
> *tá· biyó de·l'į̄·'* he (old man) suspected it (that old woman was young man's lover) (NT 40:25)
>
> *tá· biyó nácinél'į·h* he (Ute) looked at me (Navaho girl) suspiciously (NT 334:18)
>
> *'asdzáni 'éi tó· biyó tc̄ide·ldlo'* 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 *yó*; the repeated use of the locative *ṅlé·* "farther over there" indicates the comparative idea:

> *nidzi·sne'dó· ṅlé· xáhgó·cį̄· tsé be· ṅlé· le·j tá· yó bil 'ilta·nidjizi·dgo bil djį·k̄á·ni·' yah'anídjo·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 *tó· 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);"

> *'alníŕi'ǫ·go tó· tsé'édin nikixońltą*   at noon it began to rain harder than ever; it-being-noon rainy-conditions-worsened (FS 29)
>
> *be· nixitčį' 'áńdaxaztį'i· tó· tsé'édin danê-sé-l naxalin*   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 xólónigi· tó· tsé'édin danixitsą·' 'altčį' 'áńda-lne'go 'áťé*   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)
>
> *djį·dą·' têiyá tó· tsé'édinda xactłic xazlį·' lá*   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 *-go* the subordinating suffix, and seem to be "verbs":

> *tá·' yiską*   three days passed
>
> *na·kigo náłoh*   two cigarettes

9.14. The cardinal numbers are:

> *łá'i, łá·lá'i*   one
>
> *na·ki*   two
>
> *tá·'*   three
>
> *dį·'*   four
>
> *'acdla'*   five
>
> *xastą·h*   six
>
> *tsostsid*   seven
>
> *tse·bį·*   eight
>
> *náxástêi·*   nine
>
> *ne·zną·h*   ten
>
> *la'-tsâ·dah, łá-tsá·dah*   eleven
>
> *na·ki-tsâ·dah, na·ki-tsa·dah*   twelve
>
> *tá·'-tsâ·dah*   thirteen
>
> *dį·-tsâ·dah*   fourteen
>
> *'acdla'-á·dah, 'acdla'-a·dah*   fifteen
>
> *xastą·-'á·dah*   sixteen
>
> *tsostsid-tsâ·dah*   seventeen
>
> *tse·bį·-tsâ·dah*   eighteen
>
> *náxástêi·-tsa·dah*   nineteen
>
> *na·-di·n*   twenty; two-tens
>
> *na·-dį· la'*   twenty-one; two-tens one
>
> *na·-dį· na·ki*   twenty-two; two-tens two

$na\cdot d_i\cdot$ *tá·'* twenty-three; two-tens three
$na\cdot d_i\cdot$ *dį·'* twenty-four; two-tens four
$na\cdot d_i\cdot$ *'acdla'* twenty-five; two-tens five
$na\cdot d_i\cdot$ *xastą·h* twenty-six; two-tens six
$na\cdot d_i\cdot$ *tsostsid* twenty-seven; two-tens seven
$na\cdot d_i\cdot$ *tse·bį·* twenty-eight; two-tens eight
$na\cdot d_i\cdot$ *náxástêi·* twenty-nine; two-tens nine
tá·di·n, táh·di·n thirty; three-tens
diz·q_i·n forty; four-tens
dizi $ła$', dizdi·n dó· ba'ą· tá·lá·'i forty-one; four-tens plus one
'acdl$_a$·di·n, 'acdla'·di·n fifty; five-tens
xast$_i$·di·n sixty; six-tens
tsost$_{i}$·di·n seventy; seven-tens
tse·bį·di·n eighty; eight-tens
tá·lá$_h$ádi ne·zná·di·n one hundred; once ten-tens
na·k$_i$di ne·zná·di·n two hundred; twice ten-tens
tá·di ne·zná·di·n three hundred; three-times ten-tens

To form numbers from 100 to 1000 suffix *-di* "times" to the regular cardinal numbers:

1000 *tá·láhá-di mi·l* (or *mi·l*, from Spanish *mil* "thousand"); one times a thousand

1,000,000 *tá·láhá-di mi·ltsoh* one-times big-thousand; or *ne·zną́ biké silá* (old word probably for large number)

1,000,000,000 *tá·lá'i-di mi·l-di mi·l ntsa·higi* the-one-that-is-one-times a-thousand-times a-large-thousand

dzididi·n-di a given very large number (AB)

dzidi-di·n-di 'al'q·h millions and millions, uncounted units, an incredibly large number

9.15. As *-di* expresses "times," so *dó· ba'a·n*, or *dó· ba'ą'* or *dó· expresses* "plus, more than, and":

353 *tá·-di ne·zną́-di·n dó· ba'a·n 'acdla-di·n dó· ba'a·n tá·'* three-times ten-tens and in-addition five-tens and in-addition three

1949 *tá·láhá-di mi·l dó· ba'a·n náxástêi·-di ne·zną́·di·n dó· ba'a·n diz·di·n dó· ba'a·n náxástêi·* one-time a-thousand and in-addition nine-times ten-tens and in-addition four-tens and in-addition nine

9.16. Ordinals are indicated by using the cardinals followed by *góne'* or *góne'ígí·*:

tá·'i góne' the first one (cp. *'átsé, 'áltsé* "the first one preceding")
tá·', or *tá·'i góne'* the third one

9.17. Numerals, like many other elements, may become verbal prefixes conjugated with the pattern of 10.78.; in the following paradigm the stem is *-lah* "one," the dual prefixes indicating "two of …;" together, they result in the meaning "both of …." *tá· "just"* is a formal element used with this combination:

D1 *tá· 'áni·dlah* both of us; just two-ones (FH)
D2 *tá· 'ánólah* both of you
D3 *tá· 'álah* both of them (cp. *'ílah ni·dlį·'* "they assembled, one they-became")
D4 *tá· 'ádjílah* both of them(4)

Other stems used with the same element *tá·* and the same conjugation are: *-té* "... all are, just all of ...;" and *-ł-tso* "... are all; just ... are all" (YMG). Compare with these *tá·'átágigo na'ané* "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":

D1 *ndini·łté*   we two are
D2 *ndinołté*   you two are
D3 *ndiłté*   they two are
D4 *nijdiłté*   they(4) two are

Compare: *nazdiłté* two of them(4) (are sent) (NT 84:11; 260:1; 324:1)

> *xa'oh ne·l'ą·go ba· ndajdiłtê·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 (*-ná-*) form (cp. however, *xastą· yiłté* "there were six" FH):

D1 *táni·łté*   we three
D2 *tánółté*   you three
D3 *tálté*   they three
D4 *tádjiłté*   three of them(4)

D1 *díni·łté*   we four
D2 *dínółté*   you four
D3 *diłté*   they four
D4 *dídjiłté*   four of them(4)

> *tádjiłté ndzi·ztá·dji'*   three (runners) sitting at intervals (NT 86:4)
> *dídjiłté na·tá·ni·*   four chiefs were there (NT 96:21)
> *ne·ználté*   there were ten (NT 56:13; 316:7)
> *dókwiłté*   however many, there were few (NT 270:14)

9.20. The form for "there are five" is *'acdlalté*, presumably because the final *a* of *'acdla'* is low and combines with *yi-* of *yiłté*, that is, it does not require the (*-ná-*) prefix. On the other hand, there may be two conjugations—(*-ná-*) and *yi-* with different meanings:

> *'ałčici· xastą· yiłté*   there were six on each side (FH)
> *na·kitśá·da yiłtê·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.):

> *bił tási·łte'*   with (including) him there were three of us (NT 374:17)
> *tádjiste'*   three of them(4) (were heard) (NT 264:10)
> *dídziste'*   four of them(4) (were heard) (NT 264:11)

The *si-*perfective of *n-dini-*static continuative used for "two," is *nazde·ste'* "two of them(4) (were heard) (NT 264:9).

9.22. When a total is to be expressed the postposition *-l* is used:

> *tsá'ászi' bil tá·' bi·' xo·yan* "the yucca is the third in which there was a house; yucca with-it three in-it there-is-a-dwelling (NT 42:2)
> *tá· bil tá·' yiskǫ́* 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 *bê·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-yá·l* "two bits;" a half dollar is *dǫ́·ya·l*, or *dǫ́·yá·l* "four bits;" *xastǫ́·-ya·l* or *xastǫ́·-yá·l* "seventy-five cents, six bits."

The nickel, *litsoh* "it is yellow," and the dime, *do·tłij* "it is blue," are named from paper money of the several colors. *gî·nisi* (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:

> *dǫ́·-ya·l dó· litsoh* (for *dǫ́·ya·l dó· ba'a·n litsoh*)   fifty-five cents; two-bits and a nickel
> *na·ki do·tłij*   twenty cents; two-blue-(ones)
> *dǫ́·ya·l dó· ba'a·n tá·łá'i do·tłij dó· tá·' sindao*   sixty-three cents; four-bits and in-addition one blue-(one) and three cents
> *tá· do·tłij dó· ba'a·n łtsoh*   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.

10.1–10.14. Position of Pronominal Prefixes

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-:

ni-pf.	by 1	*nic*-	(< *ni*-pf.-*ni*-compl.-*c*-1 ag.)
yi-pf.	by 1	*yic*-	(< *yi*-prog.-*ni*-compl.-*c*-1 ag.)
si-pf.	by 1	*sis*-	(< *si*-pf.-*ni*-compl.-*c*-1 ag.)
pf.cess.	by 1	*yi·c*-	(< *yi*-prog.-*yi*-cess.-*ni*-compl.-*c*-1 ag.)

10.4. Intransitive and transitive active voice perfectives have the pattern *si*-pf.-*c*-1 subj.-*ni*-compl. > *sé*-; the resulting contracted prefix differs with the character of the perfective:

ni-pf.	1	*ni*-	(< *ni*-pf.-*c*-1 subj.-*ni*-compl.)
yi-pf.	1	*yi*-	(< *yi*-prog.-*c*-1 subj.-*ni*-compl.)
si-pf.	1	*sé*-	(< *si*-pf.-*c*-1 subj.-*ni*-compl.)
pf. cess.	1	*yi*··	(< *yi*-prog.-*yi*-cess.-*c*-1 subj.-*ni*-compl.)

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*-2 subject may not be discernible:

cont.	2	*ni*-	(< *yi*-cont.-*n*-2 subj.)
inc.	2	*ni*-, *ń*-	(< *ni*-start for-*n*-2 subj.)
inc.	2	*di*-	(< *di*-start from-*n*-2 subj.)

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:

ni-pf.	2	*yini*-	(< *ni*-pf.-*n*-2 subj.-*ni*-compl.)
yi-pf.	2	*yini*-	(< *yi*-prog.-*n*-2 subj.-*ni*-compl.)
si-pf.	2	*sini*-	(< *si*-pf.-*n*-2 subj.-*ni*-compl.)

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, *dini*-emit static has the first person *dinic*-, but the third *di*-; *dini*-be stuck while moving uniformly continuative has the first person *dinic*-, and the third, *dini*-; *dini*-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:

prog.	3	*yi*-	
prog.	by 3	*yo*·-	(< *yi*-prog.-*yi*-3 ag.)
prog.	3 by 3	*yiyo*·-	(< *yi*-3 pass. subj.-*yi*-prog.-*yi*-3 ag.)

yi-pf.   3   *yi*-   (< *yi*-prog.-*ni*-compl.)
yi-pf.   by 3   *yi*-   (< *yi*-prog.-*ni*-compl.-*yi*-3 ag.)
yi-pf.   3 by 3   *yo*··   (< *yi*-3 pass.subj.-*yi*-prog.-*ni*-compl.-*yi*-3 ag.)

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 �:- 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 aspectual prefixes, particularly those with *n* initial to form a different vowel, for instance, '*a*-*ni*-start for > '*i*- (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:

di-start from inc. (3) by i *bi'ti*-   (< *bi*- [3] pass. subj.-'*a*-i ag.-*di*-startfrom)
ni-uniform cont. (3) by i *bi'tini*-(< *bi*- [3] pass.subj.-'*adi*-i ag.-*ni*-uniform)
ni-start for inc. (3) by i *bi'te*·· (< *bi*- [3] pass.subj.-'*adi*-i ag.-*ni*-start for)

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, -*oh*-: 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. Fᵣr instance, *yiyą́* "he is eating it;" *ciyą́* "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.

10.21–10.24. Aspective-Inf ectional Prefixes

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*-(*ní*-), *yi*-(*ní*-), and *si*-(*ní*-), and the cessatives *yi*-(*yi*-) inceptive cessative, and *yi*-(*yi-ní*-) 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 *díní*-prolongative and *díní*-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 inceptives 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 parenteses ( ) 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. -*ní-* 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

nańi-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)

ya-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

ká-closely fitted

ká-, *xá*-going after, reaching for (cp. *-ká* 7.77.)

ké·-dwelling, having home at

ki-touching

ki-(< *ki*-touching-*ná*-against) leaning against

ḱé-courtesy, proper treatment of relatives (probably from *ḱi*-security)

ḱi-over

ḱi-sever, apart

ḱi-security

xa-up out (conjugated like *da*-down) 10.85.

xá-, *ká*-after, reaching for, going for (cp. 7.77)

xo-place, space; things (are) 10.116a–10.116t.

si-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.

dzídza-into fire, into danger

tsá-main

tsi-one step away, one step in front

tsi-uncertain, confused

tśá-irritable, cantankerous, cranky, peevish; frightening

tśi-noise, sound of ...

có-acquire

dji-attitude, emotion

tca-shadow, shade

tcá-above rim (?)

tco-, *tci·*-useful

tća-off into restricted zone (less indefinite than *'a*-beyond)

tći-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:

'axé·-(< 'axi-together-ná-back-[ná-]) back in a circle, back completing circle
'alná-(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.
ni-ni-get stuck moving uniformly to end
ni-ni-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 Oñi- with an expressed object or passive subject
'altsá-ni-(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 dahi-di- "hang head downward, be suspended in unusual or unnatural position"
di-di- or dzi-di- "move . . . toward fire, relate to fire"
na-down-yi-momentary "drop, fall"
na-down-'a-beyond-di-cessative "take down from, off . . ."
na-xo- "pertaining to earth, earthly, generally supernatural"
ná-di-, ń-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"
ni-ki-, or ni-xi- (perhaps from ni' "earth"-ki-touch) "edge, referring to earth"
ni-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-ni-(?) with verbs of motion "change position;" with verbs of sitting and lying, "ambush, waylay, lie in ambush"

ké-(< *ki*-security-*ná*-against)*di-*   "greet as a relative"
xa-out-*ná*-back-(*ná-*)   "take out of pawn; take . . .-back-out"
xá-(< *xa*-out-*ná*-up)*di-*   "move . . . up out"

10.30. Locative and temporal adverbs which precede the verb may be ⸱o 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-t̓é* "thus it is;" *yiná·j̓tcid* "he embraced her" (YM 35); *xatsidzį'* "he stood behind him(4)" (NT 186:12).

10.31. 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:

bitčá· '*i·yá*   I have been interceding for him; I-have-been-moving-beyond-in-front-of-him
bitsá nádjilyod   he(4) ran back away from her (cp. *'ákálzis* "he is putting on his belt")
yiyaido·tá·l   it will be taken from him by force; from-him-forcefully-round-obj.-will-be-moved (YM 47)
'ayál'é·l   filtered liquid; something-has-been-caused-to-float-through

10.32. In cases of this type there may be two objects, one of the verb, one of the postposition (prefix). The most outstanding example is *Oí-*(< *O-ná*-against) in which the postposition is contracted with its object, and both may enter into the conjugation as in 10.95g–10.95m.

10.33. A noun may be the subject of a verb as a part of the verb complex:

tį-tse·d   ice cream; ice-pounded
'aze·bé·j   alkaseltzer; medicine-boiling
xój̓ǫ·le·l   there may be benefit
'áhi·ldoh   fog moves; fog-pauses-moving
yisdá·'ą́   I have saved it; safety-there-is-round-obj.
le·-djin   coal; soil-blackened

10.34. A contraction of noun and postposition may serve as a verbal prefix:

dibé ta·yiṅil (*ta·-* < *tó*-water-*i·* into)   sheep have been dipped; sheep water-into-pl.-obj.-have-been-moved
kį·-tsi·l (< *kin-i·*)   Keetseel; house-fragments

10.35–10.64. Principles of Conjugation

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, *nijdo·ga·l* "he(4) will make a trip," or *niséyá* "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·gá·l* "he will go to the end," *nijdo·gá·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-ne·stą́·'* "it galloped about," *ni-nániłį́* "it cust. gallops about" (YM 209), and *ni-nánáltii'* "he is cust. halted, hindered, stopped" (YM 215) (cp. 8.27.).

10.37. Prefixes of the form *ná*- 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 (-*ná*-), an inflectional prefix. They may be compounded with each other: *ná-'álna·d* (cont.) "he is doing better than expected" (YM 151); *ní-ná'álna'* "he cust. does better than expected;" *tá-ná-sgis* (cont.) "I am washing it," *tá-ní-ná-sgis* "I cust. wash it" (YM 87).

10.38. Such forms oblige one to determine whether the vowel is *a* or *i*, *á* or *í*. 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 *t̓*, *kw*, and *γ*, 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-..., 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, yiyi·-, 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 (ná-), and is one of the elements of the combination with si-(ná-)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., 'anéidjigoh "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 'anéidji-customary, and yi-perfective 3 by 3 is dzo·- < dzi-away-yi-3 pass. subj.-yi-pf.-ni-compl.-yi-3 ag. 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:

    xi-repetitive action cont.:
       1 xec-
     1-3 xe·c-
    xi-repetitive action si-pf.:
       3 xe·-
      3-3 xe·z-
    i by 3 'aye·z-
    xi-repetitive action-(ná-)-si-pf.:
       1 xá-
      3 xa·z-

[1] Li 1930a, p. 66

xi-^{r}_epetitive action-si-($ná$-) "harm" cont.:
  ^{2}-3 $yo\cdot$-
xo-^{b}lace cont.:
  3 xa-
xo-($ná$-) "place" cont.:
  3 $xá$-
xo-^{s}i-place harm cont.:
  4 $xodjo\cdot$-

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 -tV as a first person dual:

  $yi\cdot lac$ we two go prog.
  $yi\cdot tic$ we two touch it with foot
  $yi\cdot tol$ 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 -t entries in the dictionary demonstrate.
  In reverse, 'V-'V-CV becomes -'ĊV:

  3-i fut. '$a'to\cdot$- (< 'a-beyond-'a-i-di-fut.-yi-prog.) he will ... something beyond
  (3) by i fut. $bi'to\cdot$- (< 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 '*á*-*di*-reflexive are treated similarly in similar circumstances. Since '*ádi*-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*-'*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'tči*-   ('*a*-beyond; '*a*-i obj.; *dji*-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. Pro nouns of the same rank do not all have the same position; mos prefixes change by contraction, the result depending upon the oth 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 *ni*-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 *dini*-prolongative which become *diní*-with the indefinite pronoun, whereas the future has the form '*ado·*-; by the curious conjugations of *yíni*-reciprocal effect, (-*ní*-) of which enters into the future to result in a form *yídô·*- < *yí*-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 *dăi*- (*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. > *yiyi·*- 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. domi-
                    nates *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 *yi·ni-*. 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 obj.-*yi*-cont.) > *ni-yi-* > *ni·-* 10.100.
inc.   3 *ni*-end-*ni*-start for > *ni·-* 10.99.
inc.   3-3 *ni*-end-(*yi*-3 obj.-*ni*-start for) > *ni-yi-*, or *ni-* 10.99.
ni-pf.   1 *ni*-end-(*ni*-start for-*c*-1 subj.-*ni*-compl.) > *ni-ni-*, *ni·-* 10.99a.
ni-pf.   2 *ni*-end-(*ni*-start for-*n*-2 subj.-*ni*-compl.) > *ni-yini-* > *nini·ni-* or
                    ni·ni- (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.)
ni-pf. 3-3 *yi*-3 obj.-*ni*-end-(*ni*-start for-*ni*-compl.) > *yinini·-* or *yi*-3 obj.-
                    (*ni*-end-*ni*-start for-*ni*-compl.) > *yini·-* (cp. 10.100b. which
                    shows uncertainty about the position of *ni*-end; usually it. pre-
                    cedes the object, but here may occupy the position after *yi*-3 obj.
                    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 obj.-(*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·s-* (*yi*-3 subj. and *yi*- ag. change
                    -*i*- to -*o*-, and *o* changes *y* to *γ*)

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.)
                    > '*adi*-(*si*-*sic*) > '*ádiyéc-*
-*yi*-rep.asp.-*si*-pf.   1 (*si*-pf.-*yi*-rep.asp.)-*c*-1 subj.-*ni-* > *yi*-*c*-*ni-*
                    > -*yé-*

10.59–10.64. *Voicing*

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 (cp. 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-* > *dai·z-* "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-* > *de·z-* "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)
ni-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)
'*á*-thus-*xi*-rep.ac.-*yi*-pf.	3-3 '*á*-thus-*xi*-rep.ac.-*yi*-3 obj.-*yi*-prog.-*ni*-compl. > '*á-xi-yiyi·-* > '*áyi·-*
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 xiyi·-* "he has . . . 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 . . .(WE)
Oi·h xi-change pos.-*si*-pf.	3-3 *Oi·h* into *O xi*-change pos.-(*yi*-3 obj.-*si*-pf.-*ni*-compl.) > *Oi· xiyi·z-*

10.62. Other prefixes may combine so as to voice a prefix initial:

'*a*-beyond-*si*-harm-*ó*-opt.   2 '*a*-beyond-(*si*-harm-*ó*-opt.-*n*-2 subj.) >
                                               '*ayó·*- (with -*zǫ·*' "beat wife")
ǩé-courtesy-*xi*-*yiní*-rec.ef.   3 by 1 *ǩé*-courtesy-(*xi-yi*-3 pass. subj. -*yiní*-
                                               rec. ef.-*c*-1 ag. > *ǩéyóc*- (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, (-*l̥-baˀs*) (inc.) (-*l̥-baꞩ*). 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. -*l̥*-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'fo·'á·l* or *ya· di'do·'á·l* he should be able to start with the stem -*'á·l* 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'fi*- (3.41–3.42.). He is also expected to know that -*a·* 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-²* (< '*a*-theme) ... -'*á·l* "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 then 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....*-tcą́·* (*-tcé·l*) "... 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: *cí 'i·tcą́·* "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'is-) 10.76i.
'a-xi-beyond rep.ac. cont. ('axi·-, 3-3 iyiyi·-) 10.76j.
                      yi-pf. ('ayi··-, 3-3 'i·yi·-) 10.76k.
                      si-pf. ('axe··-, 3-3 'axe·z-) 10.76l.
```

'a-xi-yi-beyond rep.ac. rep.asp. fut. ('idiyo··, 3-3 'i·diyo··) 10.76m.

        cont. ('iyi··, 3-3 'iyiyi··) 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-) 10.76t.

      yi-pf. ('adziyi-) 10.76u.

'a-dzi-yi-beyond away rep.asp. cont. ('adzi·-) 10.76v.

        si-pf. ('adzi·z-) 10.76w.

'ati-ni-(ná-)suffer cont. ('até-) 10.77.

       ni-pf. (by 3 'até·-) 10.77a.

'á-(ná-)static ('á-, 1 'áńc-) 10.78.

'á-(ná-)thus relatively stat. cont. ('áń-, 1 'áńc-) 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. ('ánáz-) 10.80d.

     inc. cess. ('áyi-) 10.80e.

     opt. ('ó··-) 10.80f.

'á-'a-thus beyond inc.cess. ('i'i··-) 10.80g.

       pf. cess. ('i'i··-) 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. ('ádi·s-) 10.81c.

-ó-optative 10.82–10.82b.

    -o··-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 dai·z-) 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··-, de·z-) 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. (*di·*-, 3-3 *yidi·*-) 10.89k.

        si-pf. (*diye·s*-) 10.89l.

-*di-si-*emit un-.... cont. (*diye·*-) 10.89m.

        si-pf. (*diyé·*-) 10.89n.

dí-start against fut. (-*dó·*-) 10.90.

        cont. (*dí*-, 3-3 *yidí*-) 10.90a.

        ni-pf. (*dé·*-, 3-3 *yidé·*-) 10.90b.

        si-pf. (*dê·z*-) 10.90c.

*dí-ni-*prolongative prog. and fut. (*dinó·*-, 3-3 *yidinó·*-) 10.91.

        cont. (*diní*-, 3-3 *yidíni*-) 10.91a.

        si-pf. (*dinê·*-, 3-3 *dinê·z*-) 10.91b.

        inc.cess. (*diní·*-) 10.91c.

        pf.cess. (*diní·*-, 2 *dinini*-) 10.91d.

*dí-si-ni-*prol. un-.... cont. (*dê·z*-, 3-3 *yidê·z*-) 10.91e.

*na-*about, down 10.92.

*ná-*back 10.93.

*ná-*back prog. (*ná·*-, 3-3 *náyo·*-) 10.93a.

    fut. (*nádo·*-, 3-3 *náido·*-) 10.93b.

ná-(*ná-*)back cont. (*ná*-, 3-3 *néi*-) 10.94c.

        ni-pf. (*ná*-, 3-3 *nêini*-) 10.94d.

        yi-pf. (*náyi·*-, 3-3 *náyi·*-, 3 by 3 *náyo·*-) 10.94e.

        si-pf. (*náz*-, 3-3 *náyiz*-, *ná·z*-) 10.94f.

        inc.cess. (*nái·*-, 3-3 *náyi·*-) 10.94g.

        pf.cess. (*nêi·*-) 10.94h.

*ná-*against 10.95.

ná-(*ná-*)against cont. (*ní*-, 3-3 *yini*-) 10.95a.

        ni-pf. (*né·*-, 3-3 *yiné·*-) 10.95b.

        yi-pf. (*ní·*-, 3-3 *yini·*-, by 3 *no·*-) 10.95c.

        si-pf. (*ne·z*-, 3-3 *yine·z*-) 10.95d.

*ná-si-*against un-.... cont. (3-3 *yinó·*-) 10.95e.

*Oń-, Oná-, Oni-*against ... 10.95f.

        prog. (*yé·*-, 3-3 *yiyo·*-) 10.95g.

Oná-(*ná-*)against ... cont. (*yé*-, 3-3 *yé·*-, *yíyi*-, *yi·*-) 10.95h.

        ni-pf. (*yé·*-, 3-3 *yi·ni*-) 10.95i.

        yi-pf. (*yé·*-, 3-3 *yiyiyi·*-, *yi·*-) 10.95j.

        si-pf. (*yé·z*-, 3-3 *yiyiz*-, *yi·z*-) 10.95k.

Oná-(*ná-*)against ... inc.cess. (*yî·*-) 10.95l.

        pf.cess. (*yî·*-) 10.95m.

ná·-(*ná-*)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. (*ní·*-, 3-3 *yiní·*-) 10.98b.

        si-pf. (*ne·z*-, 3-3 *yine·z*-) 10.98c.

        inc.cess. (*ní·*-, 3-3 *yiní·*-) 10.98d.

        pf.cess. (*ní·*-, 3-3 *yiní·*-, 2 *nini*-) 10.98e.

*ni-*start for inc. (*yi*-, 3-3 *yi*-, 3-i '*i*-) 10.99.

        ni-pf. (*ní*-, 3-3 *yiní*-) 10.99a.

ni-(*ná-*)start for cont. (*ná*-, *ni*-, 3-3 *yini*-, by 3 *ne·*-) 10.99b.

*ni-*end cont. (*ni·*-, 2 *ni*-) 10.100.

    ni-pf. (*nini*-, 3-3 *yinini*-, *yini·*-, *ni·ni*-) 10.100b.

*ni-ni-*get stuck cont. (*ne·*-, 3-3 *yine·*-) 10.100c.

yá- with verbs of speaking 10.101.

yi-progressive (*yi*-, *yo·*-, 3-3 *yiyo·*-) 10.102.
yi-continuative (*yi*-, 3-3-3 *yiyi*-) 10.103.
yi-perfective (*yi*-, 3-3 *yiyí·*-) 10.104.
yi-cessative 10.105.

        fut. (*yido·*-, 3-3 *yido·*-) 10.105a.
        inc. (*yi·*-, 3-3 *yiyi·*-) 10.105b.
        pf. (*yi·*-, 3-3 *yiyi·*-) 10.105c.

Repetitive 10.106.

-(*yi*-)rep.asp. fut. (*diyo·*-, 3-3 *yidiyo·*-) 10.106a.
        cont. (*yi·*-, 2-i *'iyí*-) 10.106b.
        yi-pf. (*yé·*-, 3-3 *yiyi·*-) 10.106c.
        si-pf. (*ye·*-, 3-3 *yiye·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.
yi-ni-change cont. (*yo*-) 10.109.
        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. (*yiyini·*-, *yi·ni·*-) 10.110e.
yi-ni-reciprocal effect 10.111.
yi-(ni-) reciprocal effect   fut. (*yidó·*-, 3-3 *yi·dó·*-) 10.111a.
        cont. (*yó*-, 3-3 *yiyó*-) 10.111b.
        yi-pf. (*yó*-, 3-3 *yiyi·*-) 10.111c.
        si-pf. (*yé·*-, 3-3 *yés*-, 3-i *'aŷés*-) 10.111d.
        opt. (*yó·*-) 10.111e.
kó-so far prog. (*kwá·*-) 10.112.
        yi-pf. (by 3 *kó*-) 10.112a.
xá- < *xa-(ná-)* up back   pf.cess. (*xái*-) 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 *xiyi*-, *yiyi*-) 10.114c.
        yi-pf. (*yi·*-, 3-3 *xiyi·*-) 10.114d.
        si-pf. (*xe·*-, 3-3 *xe·z*-) 10.114e.
*xi-(ná-)*repetitive action cont. (*xé*-, 3-3 *yiyi·*-) 10.114f.
        si-pf. (*xa·z*-) 10.114g.
xi-yi-repetitive action fut.cess. (*xido·*-) 10.114h.
        inc.cess. (*xi·*-, *yi·*-, 3-3 *yiyi·*-) 10.114i.
        pf.cess. (*xi·*-, *yi·*-, 3-3 *yiyi·*-) 10.114j.
*xi-(yi-)*repetitive action repetitive aspect fut. (*xidiyo·*-) 10.114k.
xi-change position cont. (*xa·*-, 3-3 *xiyi*-, *yi·*-, *yi*-) 10.115.
        ni-pf. (*xini*-, by 3 *xe·*-) 10.115a.
xi-ni-change position prolongative cont. (*xini*-, 3-3 *yiyi*-) 10.115b.
        si-pf. (by 3 *xé·s*-) 10.115c.
xo-place 10.116.
xo-place prog. (*xo·*-, 4 *xodjo·*-) 10.116a.
      abs. (*xa*-) 10.116b.
      cont. (*xa*-, 1 *xa·c*-) 10.116c.
      ni-pf. (*xoni*-, 2 *xwi·ni*-) 10.116d.
      yi-pf. (*xó·*-) 10.116e.
      si-pf. (*xaz*-, *xa·z*-) 10.116f.
xo-place with "see" cont. (*xo·*-) 10.116g.

*xo-(ná-)*place cont. (*xá-*, 1 *xác-*, by 1 *xac-*) 10.116h.
          si-pf. (*-xáz-*) 10.116i.
*xo-ni-*place start for (*xó-*) 10.116j.
*xo-yi-*place repetitive aspect cont. (*xo·-*) 10.116k.
          si-pf. (*xo·s-*) 10.116l.
*xo-yini-*place reciprocal effect cont. (*-xó-*, 1 *xwi·ni-*) 10.116m.
*xo-xi-(yi-)*place repetitive action repetitive aspect cont. (*xwi·-*) 10.116n.
          si-pf. (*xwi·z-*) 10.116o.
*xo-si-*things harm prog. (*xo·c-*) 10.116p.
          fut. (*xwi·do·-*) 10.116q.
          cont. (*xo·-*, 1 *xo·c-*) 10.116r.
          yi-pf. (*xo·c-*, 1 *xocíc-*) 10.116s.
          si-pf. (*xo·z-*) 10.116t.
si-perfective (*si-*, 3-3 *yiz-*) 10.117.
*-si-(ná-)*perfective (*-náz-*, 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 *yiyi·-*, 1 *sis-*) 10.118c.
          si-pf. (*siz-*, 3-3 *yiyi·z-*) 10.118d.
          opt. (*só-*) 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. (*dzo·-*) 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. (*-tsiz-*) 10.120b.
dji-attitude 10.121.
dji-attitude fut. (*dji·do·-*, 3-3 *yidzi·do·-*) 10.121a.
          cont. (*djó-*, 4 *yidjóc-*) 10.121b.
          yi-pf. (*djó-*, 3-3 *yidjó·-*) 10.121c.
          si-pf. (*dzo·z-*, 4 *dzidzo·z-*, 3-3 *yidzo·z-*) 10.121d.
tco-useful fut. (*tcoido·*, *tci·do·-*, 4 *tcoijdo·-*) 10.122.
tci-out fut. (*tcido·-*, 3-3 *tci·do·-*) 10.123.
tci-(ná-) out cont. (*tcé-*, 3-3 *tciyi-*) 10.123a.
          ni-pf. (*tcini-*, by 3 *tcé-*, by 4 *tcidjé-*) 10.123b.
tci-xi-(ná-) out repetitive action cont. (*tciyi-*, 3-3 *tciyi·-*) 10.123c.
*li-ni-*inherent abs. (*li-*, 4 *djil-*) 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·zą·l* (prog.) "love, affection, care;" '*aditcí* (pres.) "birth;" '*ak̄e'eltcí* (pres.) "writing;" '*actćąh* (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	'*ajdo·-*	('*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	'*adajdo·-*	('*a*-beyond; *da*-pl.; *dji*-4 subj.; *di*-fut.; *yi*-prog.)
i	'*a'to·-* '*a'do·-* }	('*a*-beyond; '*a*-i subj.; *di*-fut.; *yi*-prog.)
1-i	'*a'de·c-* '*a'te·c-* }	('*a*-beyond; '*a*-i obj.; *di*-fut.; *yi*-prog.)
2-i	'*a'di·-* '*a'ti·-* }	('*a*-beyond; '*a*-i obj.; *di*-fut.; *yi*-prog.; *-n*-2 subj.)
3-i	'*a'do·-* '*a'to·-* }	('*a*-beyond; '*a*-i obj. *di*-fut.; *yi*-prog.)
4-i	'*aj'do·-* '*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	'*adaj'do·-* '*adaj'to·-* }	('*a*-beyond; *da*-pl.; *dji*-4 subj.; *di*-fut.; *yi*-prog.)

'*axi·. . . .T* (fut.) repeated . . .ing off takes place, with verbs of carrying, loading

'*áde*- or '*ádi*' ...-*dị·l*   overeat; enjoy-beyond-capacity (YM 48)

'*áya·* ...-*tá·l*   subjugate, subdue one (YM 190)

'*i*- (< '*a*-beyond-*yi*-cess.)....*tsoh*   dye, color yellow

'*i*-(< '*a*-beyond-*si*-harm)...-*l·kạ́·l*   kindle fire with drill; cause disintegration (YM 115)

Oda di-'*a*-beyond....'*á·l*   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*-....'*á·l*   give up in fight, quit, desist from ... (YM 3)

10.76b.   '*a*-beyond continuative

... 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·c*-	('*a*-beyond; *yi*-cont.; -*c*-1 subj.)
2	'*ani*-	('*a*-beyond; *yi*-cont.; -*n*-2 subj.)
3	'*i·*-	('*a*-beyond; *yi*-cont.)
4	'*adji·*-	('*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	'*adai·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	'*adadji*-	('*a*-beyond; *da*-pl.; *dji*-4 subj.; *yi*-cont.)
3-3	'*ayi*-	('*a*-beyond; *yi*-3 obj.; *yi*-cont.)
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*-,'*e'e*-	('*a*-beyond; '*a*-i obj.; *yi*-cont.)
4-i	'*a'dji*- '*a'tci*- }	('*a*-beyond; '*a*-i obj.; *dji*-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.)
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*-	('*a*-beyond; *da*-pl.; '*a*-i obj.; *yi*-cont.)
P4-i	'*ada'tci*-	('*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·tal* (mom.) (-*l·tal*)   round obj. moves forcefully, kick

-*nih* (mom.) (-*nih*)   milk, do with the hand

-*ni·l* (inc.) (-nil)   burrow (YM 169)

-*yó·l* (pres.) (-*yol*)   take a breath, inhale (YM 234)

-*yeh* (pres.) (-*yeh*)   mate (WE)

-zǫ́·s (pres.) (-zǫ́·s) tear fabric

-si·h (inc.) (-sih) cause hafted obj. to move, practice archery (YM 181)

-tci·l (inc.) (-tci·l) snowstorm is passing

-lij (pres.) (-lic) urinate

-dla·d (inc.) (-dlal) rip, tear

-dló·h (pres.) (-dloh) laugh

'a-beyond-'a-i...-'a·h (inc.) (-'á·l) sun moves; some-round-obj.-starts off

'a-beyond-'a-i...-l-'į́ (pres.) (-l-'į̇·l) imitate act; cause-some-doing-beyond

'a-beyond-'a-i...-l-né· (pres.) (-l-né·l) imitate accomplishment, happening; some-change-beyond-is-caused

'áde...-dą́ (pres.) (-dį̇·l) overeat; eat-beyond-self-capacity (YM 48)

'áya·...-ta·h (pres.) (-ta·l) subjugate, subdue one; self-under round-obj.-is-moved-beyond (YM 190)

na·...-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.) (-'al) lose fabriclike obj., move fabric out of sight

yó·...-l-de·l (inc.) (-l-dil) throw ropelike obj. off, lose ropelike obj.

Okidji' xadah ...-l-ne' (inc.) (-l-ni·l) bomb once; cause-round-obj.-to-move-forcefully-down-over-toward ... (YM 165)

Okidji' xadah ...-l-ni·l (inc.) (-l-nil) bomb; cause-several-obj.-to-move-forcefully-down-over-toward ... (YM 165)   .

O-tcą́·'...-γá·h (inc.) (-gá·l) one acts as intermediary for ..., one intercedes for ...; one-goes-off-protecting ...

tci-out-'a-beyond-ni-(< ni-start for-[ná-])...-l-di·h (inc.) (-l-di·l) 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.; -i·d-D1 subj.)
3-3	'ayi·-	('a-beyond; yi-3 obj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)
by 3	'e·-	('a-beyond; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.; -yi-3 ag.)
3 by 3	'ayo·-	('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'i·-	('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; yi-prog.; -c-1 subj.; -ni-compl.)
2-i	'i'i·ni-	('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; yi-prog.; -n-2 subj.; -ni-compl.)
3-i	'i'i·-	('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)
4-i	'i'tci·-	('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; dji-4 subj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.)
D1-i	'i'i·d-	('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; yi-prog.; -ni-compl.; -i·d-D1 subj.)
D2-i	'o'o·-	('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; yi-prog.; -oh-D2 subj.; -ni-compl.)

i by 1   *'e'e·c-*   (*'a*-beyond; *'a-i* subj.; *yi*-prog.; *-ni*-compl.; *-c-*1 ag.)
i by 2   *'i'i·ni-*   (*'a*-beyond; *'a-i* subj.; *yi*-prog.; *-ni*-compl.; *-n-*2 ag.)
i by 3   *'o'o·-*   (*'a*-beyond; *'a-i* subj.; *yi*-prog.; *-ni*-compl.; *-yi-*3 ag.)

     The plurals of this conjugation, being repetitive, take *si*-perfective (10.117.).

-l·'a' (*-l·'a·l*)   substitute, send on errand
-mąs (*-mąs*)   weave diamond pattern
-mal (*-mal*)   gulp noisily, bolt food (YM 143)
-l·tá·l (*-l·tal*)   move small obj. forcefully, kick
-nil (*-nil*)   burrow, dig hole (YM 168)
-yá (*-gá·l*)   one person moves off
-kai (*-kah*)   pl. persons move off
-kal (mom. pf.) (*-kal*)   hit, rap, knock with solid obj. (as hammer)
-ka·l (*-kal*)   drive nail
-l·γod (*-l·γol*)   one person runs
-zǫ·' (*-zą·l*)   beat wife (YM 234)
-zǫ·z (*-zǫ·s*)   tear fabric
-si' (*-sih*)   cause hafted obj. to move, practice archery (YM 181)
-tci·l (*-tci·l*)   snowstorm passes
-lo' (*-loh*)   pull string tight, taut
-dlá·d (*-dlal*)   rip, tear (YM 52)
-dlo' (*-dloh*)   laugh (YM 54)
-dlo' (*-dloh*)   be pulled tight; cheat
-tlij (*-tlic*)   animate obj. falls, moves swiftly

'a-beyond.*'a·*i . . .*-l·ya·* (*-l·né·l*)   imitate by doing, do as . . . does
'áde . . . *-dą·'* (*-dį·l*)   overeat; eat beyond self-capacity (YM 48)
'áya· . . .*-tą́* (*-tá·l*)   subjugate, subdue one (YM 190)
'áya· . . .*-nil* (*-nil*)   subjugate, subdue several (YM 167)
nahdji' Oi- . . .*-l·'e·z* (*-l·'is*)   push aside with foot; aside-to-a-point move-foot-against . . .
yah- . . .*-T* (pf.)   bring in, carry into inclosure
yah- . . .*-na'* (*-nah*)   crawl into enclosure
yó·- . . .*-T* (pf.)   move . . . out of sight, lose . . .
yó·- . . .*-'ah* (*-'al*)   fabriclike obj. moves off, lose fabriclike obj.
yó·- . . .*-na'* (*-nah*)   crawl out of sight
Okidji' xadah . . .*-l·ne'* (*-l·ni·l*)   drop bomb on it; round-obj.-moves-down-over-it (YM 165)
Okidji' xadah . . .*-nil* (*-nil*)   drop bombs on it; move-several-obj.-down-over-it (YM 165)
Otčą· . . .*-yá* (*-gá·l*)   act as intermediary

10.76d.   *'a*-beyond optative

may . . . move . . . beyond

The two following paradigms show the diversity of forms, particularly of contraction, for *'a*-beyond-*ó*-optative:

1	*'uyo·c-*	*'o·-*
2	*'ayǒ·-*	*'ǒi·-*
3	*'ayó·-*	*'o·-*
4	*'adjó·-*	*'adjó-*
4-i	*'a'tčó-*	*'a'tčó-*
D1-i	*'o'o·d-*	*'o'o·d-*
D2-i	*'o'o·h-*	*'o'o·h-*
(3) by i	*'abi'to·-*	*'abi'to·-*

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·l (pres.) (-bal)   hang curtain
    -bǫ·' (pf.) (-bį·l)   win at gambling (YM 28)
    -ya' (opt.) (-gá·l)   one person goes
    -yó·l (inc.) (-yol)   blow off (YM 233)
    -ká·h (pres.) (-kah)   make sandpainting
    -γeh (pres.) (-γeh)   marry, mate (YM 79)
    -l-dji·d (inc.) (-l-dji·l)   move carrying on back (YMG 106)
    -dlǫ·' (pf.) (-dlą·l)   believe (YM 52)
    -tci·l (prog., inc.)   stop snowing (YM 36)
    -tci·h (inc.) (-tcih)   breeze stops blowing (YM 40)

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- < 'a-beyond-yi-cessative to the regular future forms (10.87.) In contrast with 'a-yi- > 'i·- are the forms with the indefinite object in which the contraction is 'a-beyond-('a-i obj.-yi-cess.)-di- > ('a-'i)-di- > 'i'idi- > 'i'di- or 'i'ti-. These forms are identical with those of 'a-beyond-xi-repetitive action future, although the forms other than those with indefinite object have 'i- instead of 'i·-.

    1-i 'i'te·c-   ('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; yi-cess.; di-fut.; yi-prog.; -c-1 subj.)
    2-i 'i'ti·-   ('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; yi-cess.; di-fut.; yi-prog.; -n-2 subj.)
    3-i 'i'to·-   ('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; yi-cess.; di-fut.; yi-prog.)
    4-i 'ij'to·-   ('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; yi-cess.; dji-4 subj.; di-fut.; yi-prog.)

    -l-xoc ('a-i is thematic)   sleep, go to sleep (YM 99)
    Oki . . .-l-tci·l (3 only)   have nightmare (YM 36)
    1   ciki'i·do·ltci·l   I will have nightmare
    Okidji' xadah . . .-l-ni·l   drop a bomb on (YM 165)
    ²láke 'adah . . .-l-ni·l   round obj. falls from hand

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 'adji·-   ('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
    ²á-. . .-l-xoc (cust.) (-l-xoc)   sleep, go to sleep cust.
    ·láke 'adah . . .-l-ne' (-l-ni·l)   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.)

-l-xa·j (-l-xoc)   sleep, go to sleep (YM 99 has si-pf.)
-l-tci·' (-l-tcih)   dye red, redden
O-....-la·h (-lé·l)   imitate, do as ... does
      (3) by 4 bi'tci·la·h   he is imitated by 4
⁻láke 'adah ...-l-ne' (-l-ni·l)   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-beyond-yi-repetitive aspect that differentiate it from 'a-indefinite pronoun-yi-repetitive aspect continuative (10.106b.) are:

    2 'ini-   ('a-beyond, yi-cont.; -yi-rep.asp.; -n-2 subj.)
    3-3 'iyi-   ('a-beyond; yi-3 obj.; yi-cont.; -yi-rep.asp.)

-l-ta·l (inc.) (-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 'ayé-, 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'iyini-   ('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; si-pf.; -yi-rep. asp.; -n-2 subj.;
            -ni-compl.)
    3-i 'i'i·s-   ('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; si-pf.; -yi-rep. asp.; -ni-compl.;
            -l-caus.)
    4-i 'a'tci·s-   ('a-beyond; 'a-i obj.; dji-4 subj.; si-pf.; -yi- rep. asp.;
            -ni-compl.; -l-caus.)
    D1-i 'i'iyi·d-   ('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'tći·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-gąj (*-l-gąc*)   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 *'iyiyi·-*   (*'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·yi·-*   (*'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'tći·-*   (*'a*-beyond; *'a*-i obj.; *xi*-rep.ac.; *dji*-4 subj.; *yi*-prog.;
               -ni-compl.)

-l-xan (*-l-xą·l*)   move, jerk, throw ... obj.   (YM 92)

'a-theme...*-nil* (*-nil*)   dig, burrow, bore hole (YM 92)

xa-....*-łą* (*-łá·l*)   round obj. is rep. moved out

xa-....*-l-ą* (*-l-'á·l*)   round obj. is rep. caused to move out

O-tćį' ...*-tah* (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:

P1-i	*'ida'si·d-*	(*'a*-beyond; *xi*-rep.ac.; *da*-pl.; *'a*-i obj.; *si*-pf.; *-ni-* compl.; *-i·d*-D1 subj.)
P2-i	*'ida'so·-*	(*'a*-beyond; *xi*-rep.ac.; *da*-pl.; *'a*-i obj.; *si*-pf.; *-oh*-D2 subj.; *-ni*-compl.)
P3-i	*'ida'ye·s-*	(*'a*-beyond; *xi*-rep.ac.; *da*-pl.; *'a*-i obj.; *si*-pf.; *-ni-* compl.)

-T (pf.) . . . rep. moves
-l-tsxas (*-l-tsxis*)　switch, whip; jerk ropelike obj.
-l-tłi·d (*-l-tłil*)　throw plural objects (YM 93)

10.76m. *'a-xi-yi*-beyond repeated action repeated aspect future

　　repeated . . . ing will take place beyond repeatedly
　　. . . will repeatedly . . . beyond repeatedly
　　. . . will repeatedly . . . 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	*'i·diyo·-*	(*'a*-beyond; *xi*-rep. ac.; *yi*-3 obj.; *di*-fut.; *yi*-prog.; *-yi*-rep. asp.)
1-i	*'idi'ye·c-*	(*'a*-beyond; *xi*-rep. ac.; *di*-fut.; *'a*-i obj.; *yi*-prog.; *-yi*-rep. asp.)
3-i	*'i·di'yo·-*	(*'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	*'i'tči·-*	(*'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.).

-l-ḱą·l kindle fire with drill; cause disintegration (YM 115)
ki-sever. . .-*'al* loosen, untie hair (YM 16)

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.)

-l-ḱą·h (pres.) (*-l-ḱą·l*) kindle fire with drill, cause disintegration (YM 115)
Oi-(< *O-ná*-against). . . .-*ńih* (*-ńi·l*) lightning strikes . . . (YM 165)
    3 *bó'o·ńih* lightning struck him
Oi-(< *O-ná*-against)*ná*-cust. . . . .-*ńih* (cust.) (*-ńi·l*) ; lightning strikes cust. (YM 165)
tá·-(< *ta*-among-*ná*-back). . . .-*l-dé·h* (inc.) (*-l-dah*) assembly is adjourning breaking up
tá-ni-(< *ná*-back)*ná*-cust. . . . .-*l-dah* (cust.) (*-l-dah*) assembly cust. adjourns (YM 44)

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·síni-*	(*'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.)

-l-bą́ (*-l-bį·l*) win at gambling

Oi-(< *O-ná*-against). . . .-*ńi'* (*-ńi·l*) lightning strikes. . .(YM 165)
tá·-(< *ta*-among-*ná*-back). . . .-*l-de'* (*-l-dah*) meeting breaks up (YM 44)

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-:*

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-bį·h (inc.) (*-l-bį·l*)   win at gambling (YM 28)

Oa· (> *Oa-*)....*-bį·h* (*-bį·l*)   lose at gambling (YM 28)

tá··-(< *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	*'ayi-*	('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	*'ayoh-*	('a-beyond; *si*-un-; *-yi*-rep.asp.; *-oh-*D2 subj.)

-zą́ (pres.) (*-zą·l*)   beat wife (YM 234)

ná-....*-zą́·h* (cust.) (*-zą·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*-cont₂)

-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	*'adayidji··-*	('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-ni·l*)   throw one round obj.
-go' (*-goh*)   ram, tackle (YM 89)

-ka·l (-kal)   slap; move surface away
-l-xaj (-l-xac)   bite; move away biting
-l-xa·l (-l-xal)   club; move club away; move away clubbing
-si' (-sih)   hurl sharp obj.; throw hafted obj.
-djih (-djih)   claw
-tłį·h (-tłį·l)   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 '*adji·c*-   ('*a*-beyond; *dzi*-away; *yi*-cont.; -*yi*-rep. asp.; -*c*-1 subj.)
2 '*adił*-   ('*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 '*adziń*-   ('*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.; -*ní*-compl.)
4 '*azdzi·z*-   ('*a*-beyond; *dzi*-away; *dji*-4 subj.; *si*-pf.; -*yi*-rep. asp.; -*ní*-compl.)
P3-3 '*adadzi·s*-   ('*a*-beyond; *da*-pl.; *dzi*-away; *yi*-3 obj.; *si*-pf.; -*yi*-rep. asp.; -*ní*-compl.; -*l*-caus.)

-*T* (pf.)   move ...
-*to* (-*toh*)   shoot arrow
-*l-gqj* (-*l-gqc*)   shoot witch obj.

10.77.   '*atí-ni-(ná-*) suffer continuative

> ... suffers for ...
> ... puts forth great effort for ...

'*atí*-suffering, when prefixed to the inceptive *ni*-start for (*ná*-) has the following forms:

1 '*atic*-   ('*atí*-suffer; *ni*-start for; [*ná*-]; -*c*-1 ag.)
2 '*atiní*-   ('*atí*-suffer; *ni*-start for; [*ná*-]; -*n*-2 ag.)
3 '*até*-   ('*atí*-suffer; *ni*-start for; [*ná*-])
4 '*atidji*-   ('*atí*-suffer; *dji*-4 ag.; *ni*-start for; [*ná*-])
D1 '*atí·d*-   ('*atí*-suffer; *ni*-start for; [*ná*-]; -*i·d*-D1 ag.)
D2 '*atto·h*-   ('*atí*-suffer; *ni*-start for; [*ná*-]; -*oh*-D2 ag.)

-l-'į (pres.) (*-l-'į·l*)   desecrate, cause injury to (NT 432:10)

-l-'į·h (*-l-'į·l*)   mistreat (Ad 1/49:9)

Oa . . . .tį (pres.) (*-tį·l*)   put forth great effort for, suffer for . . .'s benefit (YM 162)

10.77a.   *'atí-*suffer, *ni-(ná-)* perfective

     . . . has put forth effort for . . .
     . . . has suffered for . . .

*'atí-*suffer with *ni-(ná-)* perfective (10.99c.) has the prefixes in order *'atí-ni-(ná-)* with *(ná-)* taking the place of *-ní-*completive, the general effect of *'atí-* being to lengthen the familiar prefixes.

by 1	*'atí·c-*	(*'atí-*suffering; *ni-*pf.; [*ná-*] *-c-*1 ag.)
by 2	*'atí·ni-*	(*'atí-*suffering; *ni-*pf.; [*ná-*]; *-n-*2 ag.)
by 3	*'até·-*	(*'atí-*suffering; *ni-*pf.; [*ná-*])
by 4	*'atidjí·-*	(*'atí-*suffering; *djí-*4 ag.; *ni-*pf.; [*ná-*])
by D1	*'atí·d-*	(*'atí-*suffering; *ni-*pf.; [*ná-*]; *-i·d-*D1 ag.)
by D2	*'atio·h-*	(*'atí-*suffering; *ni-*pf.; [*ná-*]; *-oh-*D2 ag.)

-l-'į·' (*-l-'į·l*)   mistreat

Oá . . . .tį·d (*-tį·l*)   exert great effort, suffer for . . . (YM 162)

10.78.   *'á-(ná-)* static

The following paradigm is used with absolute stems. Some have a continuative form, others are perfectives.

1	*'áńc-*	(*'á-* ?; [*ná-*]; *-c-*1 subj.)
2	*'áń-*	(*'á-* ?; [*ná-*]; *-n-*2 subj.)
3	*'á-*	(*'á-* ?; [*ná-*])
4	*'ádjí-*	(*'á-* ?; *djí-*4 subj.; [*ná-*])
i	*'i'í-*	(*'á-* ?; *'a-*i subj.; [*ná*]) (rare)
D1	*'áni·d-*	(*'á-* ?; [*ná-*]; *-i·d-*D1 subj.)
D2	*'ánóh-*	(*'á-* ?; [*ná-*]; *-oh-*D2 subj.)
3-3	*'i·-, 'i-*	(*'á-* ?; *yi-*3 obj.; [*ná-*])
P3	*'áda·-*	(*'á-* ?; *da-*pl.; [ná-])
P4	*'ádadjí-*	(*'á-* ?; *da-*pl.; *djí-*4 subj.; [*ná-*])

-din   be lacking, wanting

-l-tą'i   be thin, shallow

-té   be an object

-tí, -tį   be a person

do· tsi·d . . . .té·-dah   be firstrate, hard to beat, rival (YM 221)

do· yá-. . . .cǫ·-dah   be no good, worthless, wicked

tá· . . . .té   (P only) all are

tá· . . . .l-tsoh   (P only) . . . are all . . .

tá· . . . .la   (P only) both do, all do

     D1 *'áni·dla*   we both

     D2 *'ánóhla*   you both

10.79.   *'á-(ná-)* thus relatively static continuative

     . . . is . . .er than . . .

Prefix *'á-*thus to the regular *ná-*against continuative (10.95a) with the following results:

1	'áⁿc-	('á-thus; [ná-]; -c-1 subj.)
2	'áníⁿ-	('á-thus; [ná-]; -n-2 subj.)
3	'áⁿ-	('á-thus; [ná-])
4	'ájni-	('á-thus; dji-4 subj.; [ná-])
i	'áni-	('á-thus; 'a-i subj.; [ná-])
D1	'áni·d-	('á-thus; [ná-]; -i·d-D1 subj.)
D2	'ánóh-	('á-thus; [ná-]; -oh-D2 subj.)
P1	'ádani·d-	('á-thus; da-pl.; [ná-]; -i·d-D1 subj.)
P2	'ádanoh-	('á-thus; da-pl.; [ná-]; -oh-D2 subj.)
P3	'ádani-	('á-thus; da-pl.; [ná-]) (?)
P4	'ájdani-	('á-thus; dji-4 subj.; da-pl.; [ná-]) (?)

-l-dá·s weigh more than, be heavier
-l-di·l be larger than (YM 47)
-l-té·l be wider, broader than
   'áxoⁿlté·l (stat.) place is relatively wide
-l-né·z be taller, deeper than
-zá·d 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-tsózi 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·-, 'í·-	('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.)

-'i·l do
-l-'i·l cause doing
-l-di·l get rid of, cause to dwindle, destroy, become worse (YM 48)
   do· 'ó·di·l he hasn't a chance to live FH
-li·l be done
-né·l happen, change
-l-né·l create, construct; change-is-caused
-ni say, tell; report thus (in exact words)
-lé·l, -li·l make, construct

10.80a.   'á-thus future

> ... will ... thus
> ... will ... it thus
> ... will cause ...ing thus
> ... will cause ...ing ... thus

Prefix 'á-thus to the regular forms of the future (10.87.) and note:

  4 'ájdo·-   ('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.)
  -'i̧·l   do
  -l-'i̧·l   cause doing
  -l-di̧·l   get rid of, cause to dwindle, destroy, become worse (YM 48)
  -łi̧·l   be done
  -né·l, -ni·l   change, happen
  -l-né·l, -l-ni·l   create, change; change-is-caused
  -ni   tell, say; report thus (in exact words)
  -lé·l, -li·l   make, construct

  'a-thus-na·-again...-dlé·l, -dli·l   make, construct again, make another
  'á-thus-ná·-again-di-...-dlé·l, -dli·l   create, compose again, another

10.80b.   'á-(ná-)thus continuative

> ...ing thus is taking place
> ... is ...ing thus
> ... is ...ing ... thus

  1 'ác-, 'éc-   ('á-thus; [ná-]; -c-1 subj.)
  2 'áń-, 'ini-   ('á-thus; [ná-]; -n-2 subj.)
  3 'á-   ('á-thus; [ná-])
  4 'ádji-   ('á-thus; dji-4 subj.; [ná-])
  i 'ȩ́'ȩ́.   ('á-thus; 'a-i subj.; [ná-])
  D1 'i̧·d-   ('á-thus; [ná-]; -i·d-D1 subj.)
  D2 'áh-, 'óh-   ('á-thus; [ná-]; -oh-D2 subj.)

Plural: prefix 'á- to regular da-pl. continuative 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'łi-   ('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.)

  -'i̧ (pres.) (-'i̧·l)   do, act
  -l-'i̧ (pres.) (-l-'i̧·l)   cause doing, acting
  -l-di̧·h (pres.) (-l-di̧·l)   destroy, disappear; cause to be wanting, lacking
  -łé (mom.) (-łé·l)   be, a thing is
  -łi (abs.)   person is
  -łi̧ (pres.) (-łi̧·l)   be done
  -né·h (pres.) (-né·l, -ni·l)   happen, change
  -l-né·h (pres.) (-l-né·l, -l-ni·l)   make, do; change is caused

-lé·h (pres.) (*-lé·l, -li·l*)   make, construct, compose
-le' (mom.) (*-lé·l, -li·l*)   make, construct
-dlé·h (pres.) (*-dlé·l, -dli·l*)   be made, be done to

*I '*a-theme....*tcé·h* (pres.) (*-tcé·l*) (3 only)   be left out, be insufficient
  for...
  1 *cé'étce·h*   I was omitted (in distribution) (YM 34)
  4 *xó'étce·h*   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·-, 'í·-*	(*'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'i·-*	(*'á-*thus; *'a-*i subj.; *yi*-prog.; *-ni-*compl.)
D1	*'i·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	*'áyi-, 'í·-*	(*'á-*thus; *yi-*3 obj.; *yi*-prog.; *-ni-*compl.)
by 1	*'ác-*	(*'á-*thus; *yi*-prog.; *-ni-*compl.; *-c-*1 ag.)
by 3	*'é·-* *'áyi·-* }	(*'á-*thus; *yi*-prog.; *-ni-*compl.; *-yi-*3 ag.)
by 4	*'ádji·-*	(*'á-*thus; *dji-*4 ag.; *yi*-prog.; *-ni-*compl.)
3 by 1	*'á·c-, 'í·c-*	(*'á-*thus; *yi-*3 subj.; *yi*-prog.; *-ni-*compl.; *-c-*1 ag.)
i by D1	*'i't·d-*	(*'á-*thus; *'a-*i subj.; *yi*-prog.; *-ni-*compl.; *-i·d-*D1 ag.)
i by D2	*'ó'o·h-*	(*'á-*thus; *'a-*i subj.; *yi*-prog.; *-ni-*compl.; *-oh-*D2 ag.)

-l·'į·' (*-l-'į·l*)   make, do
-l-dį·d (*-l-dį·l*)   disappear, become scarce
-lį·d (*-l-lį·l*)   do, be done
-l-ya· (*-l-né·l, -l-ni·l*)   be made, constructed
-dza· (*-né·l, -ni·l*)   be made, done, constructed
-la· (*-lé·l, -li·l*)   be made, done, constructed, created
-lá (*-lé·l*)   cohabit

*I '*a-theme....*tcá·'* (*-tcé·l*) (3 only) be left out in distribution
tcą·' ... -ni' (*-ni*)   be constipated (YM 31)
tcé·h ....l-'į·' (*-l-'į·l*)   look in vain, try to find
tcé·h ....l-'į·d (*-l-'į·l*)   try in vain; fail at doing
tcé·h ....lį·d (*-lį·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'tis*·   ('*á*-thus; *bi*-[3] subj.; '*adi*-i ag.; *si*-pf.; [*ná*-])

    -*dį·d* (-*dį·l*)   disappear
      (3) by i '*ábi'tisdį·d* riddance
    -*l*-*dį·d* (-*l*-*dį·d*)   destroy; cause to disappear

10.80e.   '*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 '*áyi*-   ('*á*-thus; *yi*-cess.; [*ná*-])
    4 '*ádji·*·   ('*á*-thus; *dji*-4 subj.; *yi*-cess.; [*ná*-])
 (3) by i '*ábi'ti*-   ('*á*-thus; *bi*-[3] subj.; '*adi*-i ag.; *yi*-cess.; [*ná*-])

    -*l*-'*į·h* (inc.cess.) (-*l*-'*į·l*)   do, make completely
    -*l*-'*į·h* (inc.cess.) (-*l*-'*į·l*)   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 -$\dot{V}$-*ó*-inflective prefix > -*ó*·-; the conjugation has *ʼ* 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 '*ádjo*·-   ('*á*-thus; *dji*-4 subj.; -*ó*-opt.; [*ná*-])
   D1 '*ó·d*-   ('*á*-thus; -*ó*-opt.; [*ná*-]; -*i·d*-D1 subj.)
   D2 '*ó·h*-   ('*á*-thus; -*ó*-opt.; [*ná*-]; -*oh*-D2 subj.)

    -*dį·h* (-*dį·l*)   disappear (YM 47)
    -*l*-*ne*' (-*l*-*né·l*, -*l*-*ni·l*)   do
    -*l*-*né·h* (-*l*-*né·l*, -*l*-*ni·l*)   do, make

    Oi-(< *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*'*ini*-   ('*á*-thus; '*a*-beyond; *yi*-cont.; -*yi*-cess.; -*n*-2 subj.)
    3 '*i*'*i*·-   ('*á*-thus; '*a*-beyond; *yi*-cont.; -*yi*-cess.)

    4 *'i'tći·-*   (*'á*-thus; *'a*-beyond; *dji*-4 subj.; *yi*-cont.; *-yi*-cess.)

D1 *'i'i·d-*   (*'á*-thus; *'a*-beyond; *yi*-cont.; *-yi*-cess.; *-i·d*-D1 subj.)

D2 *'ó'o·h-*   (*'á*-thus; *'a*-beyond; *yi*-cont.; *-yi*-cess.; *-óh-*D2 subj.)

-'į·h (inc.cess.) (*-'į·l*)   make, do

yó·'....l-'į·h (inc.cess.) (*·l-'į·l*)   bury, lay to rest; put out of sight
    (NT 430:8)

10.80h.   *'á-'a*-thus beyond perfective cessative

    ... has paused ...ing thus beyond
    ... has paused ...ing ... thus beyond

When *'á*-thus is prefixed to the *'a*-beyond perfective cessative forms (10.76g.) the following changes take place:

    1 *'i'i·-*   (*'á*-thus; *'a*-beyond; *yi*-prog.; *-c*-1 subj.; *-yi*-cess.)

    2 *'i'i·ni-*   (*'á*-thus; *'a*-beyond; *yi*-prog.; *-n*-2 subj.; *-yi*-cess.)

    3 *'i'i·-*   (*'á*-thus; *'a*-beyond; *yi*-prog.; *-yi*-cess.)

    4 *'i'tći·-*   (*'á*-thus; *'a*-beyond; *dji*-4 subj.; *yi*-prog.; *-yi*-cess.)

D1 *'i'i·d-*   (*'á*-thus; *'a*-beyond; *yi*-prog.; *-yi*-cess.; *-i·d*-D1 subj.)

D2 *'ó'o·-*   (*'á*-thus; *'a*-beyond; *yi*-prog.; *-oh*-D2 subj.; *-yi*-cess.)

by 1 *'i'i·c-*   (*'á*-thus; *'a*-beyond; *yi*-prog.; *-yi*-cess.; *-c*-1 ag.)

-l-ya· (*-l-né·l, -l-ni·l*)   make

-la· (*-lé·l, -li·l*)   construct, make

10.80i.   *'á-yíní*-thus reciprocal effect continuative

    ...ing with reciprocal effect is taking place
    ... is ...ing having reciprocal effect
    ... is ...ing ... having reciprocal effect

Prefix *'á*-thus to regular continuative forms of *yíní*-reciprocal effect (10.111b.) and note:

    by 1 *'ó·c-, 'i·ńc-*   (*'á*-thus; *yi*-rec.ef.; *-ní*-rec.ef.; *-c*-1 ag.)

    by 2 *'i·ni-*   (*'á*-thus; *yi*-rec.ef.; *-ní*-rec.ef.; *-n*-2 ag.)

    by D1 *'á·ni·d-*   (*'á*-thus; *yi*-rec.ef.; *-ní*-rec.ef.; *-i·d*-D1 ag.)

    by D2 *'i·nóh-*   (*'á*-thus; *yi*-rec.ef.; *-ní*-rec.ef.; *-oh*-D2 ag.)

    1 by 2 *'áci·ni-*   (*'á*-thus; *ci*-1 subj.; *yi*-rec.ef.; *-ní*-rec.ef.; *-n*-2 ag.)

    2 by 1 *'ánóc-*   (*'á*-thus; *ni*-2 subj.; *yi*-rec.ef.; *-ní*-rec.ef.; *-c*-1 ag.)

2 by P1 *'ádani·ni·d-*   (*'á*-thus; *da*-pl.; *ni*-2 subj.; *yi*-rec.ef.; *-ní*-rec.ef.; *-i·d*-
                D1 ag.)

3 by P1 *'áděiní·d-*   (*'á*-thus; *da*-pl.; *yi*-3 subj.; *yi*-rec.ef.; *-ní*-rec.ef.; *-i·d*-D
                ag.)

-sin (pres.) (*-sį·l*)   maintain, retain position; keep from ... (YM 182)

'ayói ...ní ((pres.) (*-níl*)   love, have always in mind (YM 153)

'ayá·di ...ní (pres.) (*-níl*)   love, regard as favorite (EW 108:12)

10.81.   *'á-, 'ádi*-reflexive

The reflexive prefix *'á-* or *'ádi-* may be used like other objectiv (possessive) prefixes with a postposition, in which case it is writt as an independent word.

As verbal prefix the phonetic character and position of *'á-* do n allow it to combine with all prefixes and it may therefore have t glide prefix *-di-* in combined forms. The glide syllable persists e

ıf ᴠᴛʜᴇᴿ ᴘʳᴼfᵢₓₒₛ 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-yí-ní*-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 *yí-ní*-reciprocal effect continuative (10.111b.) and note:

by 1	'*ádi·níc-*	('*ádi*-self; *yi*-rec.ef.; *-ni*-rec.ef.; *-c*-1 ag.)
by 2	'*ádi·ní-*	('*ádi*-self; *yi*-rec.ef.; *-ni*-rec.ef.; *-n*-2 ag.)
by 3	'*ádó-*	('*ádi*-self; *yi*-rec.ef.; *-ni*-rec.ef.; *-yi*-3 ag.)
by 4	'*ájdó-*	('*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-'*a*-theme....*-l-zin* (pres.) (*-l-zi̧·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	'*ádiyi-*	('*ádi*-self; *si*-harm; *yi*-cont.; *-n*-2 ag.)
by 3	'*ádi·-*	('*ádi*-self; *si*-harm; *yi*-cont.; *-yi*-3 ag.)
by 4	'*ájdi·-*	('*á*-self; *dji*-4 ag.; *si*-harm; *yi*-cont.)

> *-l-γé* (pres.) (*-l-γé·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	'*ádiyéc-*	('*ádi*-self; *si*-harm; *si*-pf.; *-ni*-compl.; *-c*-1 ag.)
by 2	'*ádiyiní-*	('*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	'*ájdi·s-*	('*á*-self; *dji*-4 ag.; *si*-harm; *si*-pf.; *-ni*-compl.)

> *-l-γi̧* (*-l-γé·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-baṣ* (prog.), *-l-baṣ* is to be interpreted as an optative stem complex with form like the progressive.

The simplest optative is of the type Có- (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 *-o-*. 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 contra-distinction 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-*; *díni-*prol.-*ó-* > *dínó-*; *ni-*uniform-*ó-* > *nó-*; *ni-*start for-*ó-* > *nó-*; *yi-*prog.-*ó-* > *γó-*: *yi-*cont.-*ó-* > *γó-*; *xi-*rep.ac.-*ó-* > *xó-*; *xo-*place-*ó-* > *xó-*; *si-*harm-*ó-* > *só-* (*yó-*); *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. > *γo·-*; *yi-*cont-*ó-yi-*rep.asp. > *γo·-*; *si-*harm-*ó-yi-*rep.asp. > *so·-* (*yo·-*); *li-*inherent-*ó-yi-*rep.asp. > *lo·-*.

10.82a. Some prefixes with vowel *-i-* with optative and an inflectional prefix result in a long *o* with falling tone, *-ô·*——*Oí-*against . . .*-ó-(ná-)* > *Oô·-*; *yí-ni-*rec.ef.*-ó-* > *γô·-*; *tćí-*out-*ó-(ná-)* > *tćô·-*; *tćí-ó-yi-*rep.asp. > *tćô·-*.

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. —*ati-*suffer-*ó-(ná-)* > *'atîo·-*; *'altšá-*away from one another*-ó-(ná-)* > *'altšâo·-*; *'á-*thus-*ó-(ná-)* > *'ô·-*; *'á-*thus-*ná-*back-*ó-(ná-)* > *'ánâo·-*; *ná-*back-*ó-(ná-)* > *nâo·-*.

10.82b. 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, *-ô·*——*'á-*thus-*xo-*things-*ó-(ná-)* > *'áxô·-*.

If the vowel of the prefix preceding *-ó-*optative is *-ó-* and an inflective prefix follows the optative, the result is *-ô·*——*kó-*thus-*ó-yi-*cess. > *kô·-*.

In other words, *-ó-*optative dominates *o* or *ó* as it does preceding *i* or *í*.

10.82c.   *-o·-*optative type form

The forms of the *-o·-*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	*-o·c-*	(*-ó-*opt.; infl.; *-c-*1 subj.)
2	*-ŏ·-*	(*-ó-*opt.; infl.; *-n-*2 subj.)
3	*-o·-*	(*-ó-*opt.; infl.)
4	*-dji-*. . .*-o·-*	(*dji-*4 subj.; *-ó-*opt.; infl.)
i	*'a-*. . . .*-o·-*	(*'a-*i subj.; *-ó-*opt.; infl.)
D1	*-o·d-*	(*-ó-*opt.; infl.; *-i·d-*D1 subj.)
D2	*-o·h-*	(*-ó-*opt.; infl.; *-oh-*D2 subj.)
3-3	*yi-*. . . .*-o·-*	(*yi-*3 obj.; *-ó-*opt.; infl.)
(3) by i	*bito·-*	(*bi-*[3] subj.; *'adi-*i ag.; *-ó-*opt.; infl.)

10.82d.   *-ó-*optative type form

1	*-óc-*	(*-ó-*opt.; *-c-*1 subj.)
2	*-ó·-*	(*-ó-*opt.; *-n-*2 subj.)
3	*-ó-*	(*-ó-*opt.)
4	*-djó-* / *dji-*. . .*-ó-*	(*dji-*4 subj.; *-ó-*opt.)
i	*-ó-* / *'a-*. . . .*-ó-*	(*'a-*i subj.; *-ó-*opt.)
D1	*-o·d-*	(*-ó-*opt.; *-i·d-*D1 subj.)
D2	*-o·h-*	(*-ó-*opt.; *-oh-*D2 subj.)
3-3	*yó-* / *yi-*. . .*-ó-.*	(*yi-*3 obj.; *-ó-*opt.)

Plural: prefix *da-*pl. to regular dual forms and note:

P3-3	*dayó-* / *dayi·-*. . .*-ó-* / *dei·-*. . . .*-ó-*	(*da-*pl.; *yi-*3 obj.; *-ó-*opt.)
by 3	*yiyó-* / *yi-*. . .*-ó-*	(*-ó-*opt.; *-yi-*3 ag.)

10.83. *bí-(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.

<div align="center">

da-plural progressive

</div>

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	*dadjo·-*	(*da*-pl.; *dji*-4 subj.; *yi*-prog.)
Pi	*da'o·-*	(*da*-pl.; *'a*-i subj.; *yi*-prog.)
P3-3	*dayo·-*	(*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	*dah-*	(*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-* }	(*da*-pl.; *yi*-3 obj.; *yi*-cont.)
P4-i	*da'tći-*	(*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.

<div align="center">

da-down continuative

</div>

...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.)

(3) by i *dabi'ti-*   (*da*-down; *bi*- [3] subj.; *'adi*-i ag.; *yi*-cont.)

-*yá·h* (inc.) (*-gá·l*)   one person gets down, dismounts

10.85a.   *da*-down *yi*-perfective

...ing down has been taking place
... has been ...ing down
... has been ...ing ... down

1	*dá·-*	(*da*-down; *yi*-prog.; *-c*-1 subj.; *-ní*-compl.)
2	*déini-*	(*da*-down; *yi*-prog.; *-n*-2 subj.; *-ní*-compl.)
3	*dá·-*	(*da*-down; *yi*-prog.; *-ní*-compl.)
4	*dadji·-*	(*da*-down; *dji*-4 subj.; *yi*-prog.; *-ní*-compl.)
D1	*dei·d-*	(*da*-down; *yi*-prog.; *-ní*-compl.; *-i·d*-D1 subj.)
D2	*dao·-*	(*da*-down; *yi*-prog.; *-oh*-D2 subj.; *-ní*-compl.)
3-3	*dayi·-*	(*da*-down; *yi*-3 obj.; *yi*-prog.; *-ní*-compl.)
by 1	*da·c-*	(*da*-down; *yi*-prog.; *-ní*-compl.; *-c*-1 ag.)
by 3	*da·-*	(*da*-down; *yi*-prog.; *-ní*-compl.; *-yi*-3 ag.)
by 4	*dadji-*	(*da*-down; *dji*-4 ag.; *yi*-prog.; *-ní*-compl.)
(3) by i	*dabi'to·-*	(*da*-down; *bi*-[3] subj.; *'adi*-i ag.; *yi*-prog.; *-ní*-compl.)

-*yá* (*-gá·l*)   one person goes down

'*a·*-beyond....*-tlij* (*-tlic*)   one person falls

O-....*-yá* (*-gá·l*)   one person goes down off ...; dismounts

xa-....*-l-te'* (*-l-te·l*)   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.; *-ní*-compl.)
3-3	*dai·z-* } *dei·z-* }	(*da*-down; *yi*-3 obj.; *si*-pf.; *-ní*-compl.)
4-i	*da'tciz-* } *da'tsiz-* }	(*da*-down; *'a*-i obj.; *dji*-4 subj.; *si*-pf.; *-ní*-compl.)
P4-i	*dada'tciz-* } *dada'tsiz-* }	{ (*da*-pl.; *da*-down; *'a*-i obj.; *dji*-4 subj.; *si*-pf.; *-ní*-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, *díní*-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

-*tsá* (pf.) (*-tsq·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-kaj*, *-l-ka·j* (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	*de·c-*	(*di*-fut.; *yi*-prog.; -*c*-1 subj.)
2	*di·-*	(*di*-fut.; *yi*-prog.; -*n*-2 subj.)
3	*do·-*	(*di*-fut.; *yi*-prog.)
4	*djido·-*	(*dji*-4 subj.; *di*-fut.; *yi*-prog.)
i	*'ado·-*	('*a*-i subj.; *di*-fut.; *yi*-prog.)
D1	*di·d-*	(*di*-fut.; *yi*-prog.; -*i·d*-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 obj.; *di*-fut.; *yi*-prog.)
P3-3	*dayido·-* } *deido·-*	(*da*-pl.; *yi*-3 obj.; *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	*bi'to·-*	(*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 *dido·-*); in
taking the present rather than the inceptive stem of the continua-
tive, and in requiring *yi*-perfective (progressive). *di*-emit may be
prefixed to *di*-start from inceptive, in which case the latter is con-
jugated, 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 there-
fore 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	*dajdi-*	(*da*-pl.; *dji*-4 subj.; *di*-start from)
3-3	*yidi-*	(*yi*-3 obj.; *di*-start from)
P3-3	*dɹidi-*	(*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'tcidi-*	(*da*-pl.; '*a*-i obj.; *dji*-4 subj.; *di*-start from)
(3) by i	*bi'ti-*	(*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-....-tci·d (*-tcil*) release from hand, let ... go (YM 35)

'axi-together...-*l-ka·l* (*-l-kal*) chop, split wood; cause chopping apart to start (YM 113)

biyá·h ...-*l-te·h* (*-l-té·l*) harness one horse to wagon; cause-live-obj.-to-move-in-front-attached-to-it (YM 35)

biyá·h ...-*ni·l* (*-nil*) harness horses to wagon; cause-several-obj.-to-move-in-front-attached-to-it

niki-edge-*da*-pl.-'*a*-theme...-*l-tsį'* (*-l-tsį·l*) sprinkle of rain, rain in large splotches (YM 228)

3 *nikide'tiltsį'* it is raining in splotches

dzi-away...-*l-don* (*-l-dǫ·l*) shoot with gun

dzi-away...-*l-tó·h* (*-l-toh*) shoot arrow

dzi-away...*dji·h* (*-djih*) claw

Ol dzi-away...-'*á·d* (*-'al*) hit with fabriclike 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.; -*ni*-compl.; -*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	*de·c-*	(*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 *ci'to·-*   (*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
-l-dzid (abs.)   be putrid, rotten
-jé·'   spit
-tċic (mom. pf.) (*-tċic*)   be rough (YM 42)
-lid (*-lil*)   smoke, cause smoking (*di*- with this verb means "fire")

'á-self....*l-de·'* (*-l-dah*)   clean self
'á-self....*l-jó·'* (*-l-joh*)   brush, comb self, comb hair
'á-self....*tċi·j* (*-tċic*)   be bored; self-is-rasped
'i-(< *'á*-self-*ná*-against)....*tq̨·'* (*-tq̨·l*)   eat close to the bone
'i-(< *'a*-i-*ná*-against)*'a*-i....*sol* (*-sol*)   whistle; cause-blowing-some-thing-against-something (YM 184)

O....*tcid* (*-tcil*)   release, let ... go (YM 35)
Oi-(< *O*-*ná*-against)....*l-tǫ'* (*-l-tǫ·l*)   break brittle obj. (as dish)
Oi-(< *O*-*ná*-against)....*-l-ti'* (*-l-tih*)   lay rope against ...
Oi-(< *O*-*ná*-against)....*li·d* (*-lil*)   scorch, brown in pan (as food, fat)
dah-....*kq·d* (*-kq·l*)   be cramped in body (FH)
dé·-(< *di*-fire-*ná·*-again)....*l-djé·'* (*-l-djah*)   build fire again (YMG 75)
... *di*-....*ná·d* (*-nal*)   have feeling of ...
ṅ-....*tó·d* (*-tol*)   become ragged, tattered (YM 205)
niki-edge-*da*-pl.....*l-tsi'* (*-l-tsį·l*)   rain splotches, there is a sprinkle of big raindrops (YM 228)
yó·-²a-beyond....*'q̨* (*·'á·l*)   quit, give up ... (YM 3)
xa-out...*l-tcid* (*-l-tcil*)   do hand-trembling (FH)

10.88c.   *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·-* ⎫
  de·z- ⎭   (*di*-start from; *si*-pf.; *ni*-compl.)
4 *djide·-* ⎫
  dzide·z- ⎭   (*dji*-4 subj.; *di*-start from; *si*-pf.; *ni*-compl.)
i *'ade·-* ⎫
  'ade·z- ⎭   (*'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 *'ade·z-*   (*'a*-i obj.; *di*-start from; *si*-pf.; *ni*-compl.)
4-i *'azde·-* ⎫
    'azde·z- ⎭   (*'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.)

P2-i	*da'ŧo·-*	(*da*-pl.; *'a*-i obj.; *di*-start from; *si*-pf.; -*oh*-D2)
P3-i	*da'ŧe·-*	(*da*-pl.; *'a*-i obj.; *di*-start from; *si*-pf.; -*ni*-compl.)
P4-i	*da'azde·-* ⎱	⎰(*da*-pl.; *'a*-i obj.; *dji*-4 subj.; *di*-start from; *si*-pf.;
	da'azde·z- ⎰	⎱-*ni*-compl.)
by 1	*dic-* ⎱	
	dec- ⎰	(*di*-start from; *si*-pf.; -*ni*-compl.; -*c*-1 ag.)
by 3	*de·s-*	(*di*-start from; *si*-pf.; -*ni*-compl.; -*yi*-3 ag.)
by D1	*de·d-*	(*di*-start from; *si*-pf.; -*ni*-compl.; -*i·d*-D1 ag.)
by D2	*diso·h-*	(*di*-start from; *si*-pf.; -*ni*-compl.; -*oh*-D2 ag.)
3 by 3	*yide·s-*	(*yi*-3 subj.; *di*-start from; *si*-pf.; -*ni*-compl.; -*yi*-3 ag.)
(3) by i	*bi'ŧe·s-*	(*bi*-[3] subj.; *'a*-i ag.; *di*-start from; *si*-pf.; -*ni*-compl.)

-*'á·j* (-*'ac*)   two persons go
-*ba·'* (-*bah*)   go to war, go raiding
-*de·'* (*dah*) (-*dah*)   group moves in order
-*yá* (-*gá·l*)   one person goes
        3 *de·yá*   he has started to go
-*yʉ́·'* (-*yʉ́·l*)   eat (gen.)
-*go'* (-*goh*)   plunge
-*kai* (-*kah*) pl.   persons go
-*kid* (-*kil*)   be humped, rounded
-*si'* (-*sih*)   move hafted obj.
-*l-jah* (-*l-jah*)   be curved, forked, pronged

Oa· . . . .*'ʉ́* (-*'á·l*)   give round obj. to . . ., come to agreement with . . .
biyʉ́·h . . . .*l-tʉ́·'* (-*l-té·l*)   harness horse to wagon
biyʉ́·h . . . -*nil* (-*nil*)   harness horses to wagon
dá-in front. . . .*l-tłin* (-*l-tłʉ·l*)   dam is clogged, dam up
na-down-*xi*-rep.ac. . . . .*l-tćʉ́·l* (-*l-tćʉl*)   drop, drip (YM 39)
ni' xi- . . . .*ná·'* (-*ńah*)   earth quakes (FH)
ɹá-after. . . .-*yá* (-*gá·l*)   one person starts after
ɹá·-(< *xa*-out-*ná*-back)*xi*- . . . .-*ne·z* (-*nes*)   make into a long roll (NT
     404:23)
xi-rep.ac. . . . .-*T* (pf.) start . . .ing rep.; start loading . . .

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.)

-*tłah* (-*tłil*)   stun, render powerless (BS)

'i-(< *'á*-self-*ná*-against)-*ni*-(< *ná*-cust.)-[2](< *'a*-theme). . . .-*l-'ʉ·h* (cust.)
     (-*l-'ʉ·l*)   make something of oneself (YM 160)
Oi-(< *O-ná*-against). . . .-*l-ka·l* (-*l-kal*)   support with determination;
     stand behind . . .
Oi-(< *O-ná*-against). . . .-*tsé·h* (-*tsih*)   point sticklike obj. at definite point
     (as on a chart) (FH cp. YM 227)
Oi-(< *O-ná*-against). . . .-*l-dje·h* (-*l-djah*)   solder, weld, glue to . . .; cause
     to adhere to . . . (YM 105)

Oi-(< *O-ná*-against)-*ṅ*-(< *ná*-)cust.....*tsih* (*-tsih*)   point sticklike obj. at definite point cust. (FH)

dah-forth... *T* (inc.cess.)   start forward

dah-forth-*ṅ*-(< *ná*-)cust.... *T* (cust.)   start forward cust.

na-about...*-l-ka·l* (*-l-kal*)   play shinny; hit hard obj. about

ná-up... *T* (inc.cess.)   pick ... up

ni-end...*-l-dje·h* (*-l-djah*)   lay fuel, make a fire (WE)

ṅ-(< *ná*-against)....*-l-tsin* (*-l-tśį·l*)   give a punch (YM 224)

ni-(< *ná*-against)*ná*-cust.....*-l-tśį·h* (*-l-tśį·l*)   punch cust. (YM 146, 224)

ni-(< *ná*-cust.)*ná*-up-*yi*-change pos.....*-ta'* (*-tal*)   jump up from sitting or reclining position (YM 185)

Oki-....*-l-tci·d* (*-l-tcil*)   put thumbprint on (YM 35)

Oki-²(< *'a*-beyond)....*-dla·d* (*-dlal*)   sun shines on.... (YM 52)

Oki-*ṅ*-(< *ná*-cust.)....*-l-tci'* (*-l-tcil*)   put thumbprint on cust. (YM 35)

Oki-*ṅ*-(< *ná*-cust.)-²(< *'a*-beyond)....*-dla'* (*-dlal*)   sun cust. shines on... (YM 52)

Oki-*ná*-cust.-*xo*-....*-'á·h* (*-'á·l*)   accuse ... cust. (YM 2)

Oki-*xo*-things...*-'a·h* (*-'á·l*)   accuse ... (YM 2)

    4 *bikixojdi·'a·h*   he(4) is accusing him

xa-out-*ni*-(< *ná*-cust.)*ná*-back....*-tị·h* (*-tị·l*)   dress cust.

Ozá ki-(< *ki*-over-*ná*-against)....*-ni·h* (*-nih*)   strangle with hands (YM 157)

    3-3 *yizá ki·di·ni·h*   he is strangling him with hands

Ozá ki-(< *ki*-over-*ná*-against)....*-le·h* (*-loh*)   strangle with rope (YM 137)

Ozá ki-(< *ki*-over-*ná*-against)-*ṅ*-(< *ná*-cust.)....*-ṅih* (*-ṅih*)   strangle with hands cust. (YM 157)

Ozá ki-(< *ki*-over-*ná*-against)-*ṅ*-(< *ná*-cust.)....*-dloh* (*-dloh*)   strangle with rope cust. (YM 137)

10.88e.   *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.)

-tcé·' (*-tcah*)   yawn (YM 38)

-tlah (*-tlil*)   stop, stun, render powerless, paralyze (BS)

'axi-(< *'axi*-together-*ná*-against) ...*-tća·l* (abs.)   colors run

'alná-opposite-*Oi*-(< *O-ná*-against)...*-'á* (abs.)   have a branch, projection on each side (usually of corn) (NT 182:3)

'i-(< *'á*-self-*ná*-against)-²(< *'a*-theme)...*-ya·* (*-né·l*)   make self ..., make something of oneself (YM 160)

Oi-(< *O-ná*-against)....*-l-'á* (abs.)   projection at particular point of ... (YM 11)

Oi-(< *O-ná*-against)....*-l-djé·'* (*-l-djah*)   solder, weld, glue; cause to adhere (YM 105, HM)

Oi-(< *O-ná*-against)....*-tća·l* (abs.)   solid, liquid absorbs taste

dah-forth....*-yá* (*-gá·l*)   one starts off (YM 64)

ti-suffering...*-l-ya·* (*-l-né·l*, *-l-ni·l*)   be wounded (YM 160)

niki-....*-yá* (*-gá·l*)   one person learns to walk (as baby) (YM 63)

Oki-over....*-l-tcid* (*-l-tcil*)   put thumbmark on ... (YM 35)

Oḳi-over-²(< *'a*-beyond)....-*dlá·d* (-*dlal*)   sun shines on ... (YM 52)
Oḳi-over-*xo*-things...-*'ą́* (-*'á·l*)   accuse
xa-out-*ná·*-again....-*dza·h* (-*né·l*, -*ńi·l*)   dress again
Ozá ḳi-(< *ḳi*-over-*ná*-against)....-*ni·'* (-*nih*)   strangle with hands
    (YM 157)
Ozá ḳi-(< *ḳi*-over-*ná*-against)....-*lo'* (-*loh*)   strangle with rope (YM 137)
ná-...*T* (pf.)   pick ... up
    3-1 *nácidi·łtįh*   he picked me up (EW 116:24)

10.88f.   *di-yi*-start from repetitive aspect continuative

> ...ing starts from repeatedly
> ... repeatedly starts ...ing from
> ... repeatedly starts ...ing ... from

di-start from with *yi*-repetitive aspect continuative becomes *di·*-
and has forms like *yi*-repetitive aspect continuative with *d* instead
of *y* initial (10.106b.). Note:

4	*djidi·*-	(*dji*-4 subj.; *di*-start from; -*yi*-rep.asp.)
i	*'adi·*-	(*'a*-i subj.; *di*-start from; -*yi*-rep.asp.)
Pi	*da'ti·*-	(*da*-pl.; *'a*-i subj.; *di*-start from; -*yi*-rep.asp.)
4-i	*'ajdi·*-	(*'a*-i obj.; *dji*-4 subj.; *di*-start from; -*yi*-rep.asp.)
D2-i	*'adiyoh*-	(*'a*-i obj.; *di*-start from; -*yi*-rep.asp.; -*oh*-D2 subj.)
P1-i	*da'tiyi·d*-	(*da*-pl.; *'a*-i obj.; *di*-start from; -*yi*-rep.asp.; -*i·d*-D1 subj.)
P2-i	*da'tiyoh*-	(*da*-pl.; *'a*-i obj.; *di*-start from; -*yi*-rep.asp.; -*oh*-D2 subj.)
P3-i	*da'ti·*-	(*da*-pl.; *'a*-i obj.; *di*-start from; -*yi*-rep.asp.)
P4-i	*daj'ti·*-	(*da*-pl.; *dji*-4 subj.; *'a*-i obj.; *di*-start from; -*yi*-rep.asp.)

-*'a·c* (inc.) (-*'ac*)   two persons go
-*dá·* (inc.) (-*dá·l*)   one person goes
-*l-dǫ·* (pres.) (-*dǫ·l*)   explode
-*goh* (mom.) (-*goh*)   plunge, bump, hit falling
-*ka·h* (inc.) (-*kah*)   plural persons go
-*γá·h* (inc.) (-*gá·l*)   one person goes
-*l-γe·d* (inc.) (-*l-γol*)   one runs
-*l-xį* (mom.) (-*l-xį·l*)   cause melting
-*tśa'* (mom.) (-*tśį·l*)   hear
-*lid* (pres.) (-*lil*)   smoke; cause smoking

di-....-*l-tłá·d* (inc.) (-*l-tlil*)   light, kindle, cause to flame
Oḳi-over *'a*-beyond....-*dlá·d* (pres.) (-*dlal*)   sun shines on ... (YM 52)
xi-rep.ac.....-*T* (inc.)   repeatedly start ...ing repeatedly
xi-rep.ac.....-*γá·h* (inc.) (-*gá·l*)   one person goes
xi-rep.ac.....-*l-tśį·h* (inc.) (-*l-tśį·l*)   sound
xi-rep.ac.....-*tłi·d* (inc.) (-*tłil*)   move separate obj. forcefully; separate
    obj. fall
xi-rep.ac.-*z*-(< *dzi*-away)....-*tą́·c* (inc.) (-*tąc*)   flip away
xi-rep.ac.-*z*-(< *dzi*-away)....-*ka·d* (inc.) (-*kal*)   slap away
xo-place....-*l-tį·h* (inc.) (-*l-tį·l*)   rain

10.88g.   *di-yi*-start from repetitive aspect *si*-perfective

> repeated starting from ...ing took place
> ...ing has repeatedly started ...ing from
> ... has repeatedly started ...ing ... from

Prefix *di*-start from to regular *si*-perfective forms of -*yi*-repetitive
aspect with *d* instead of *y* initial (10.106d.). Note:

> 2 *di·ni-*
>   *diyíni-* } (*di*-start from; *si*-pf.; *-n*-2 subj.; *-yi*-rep.asp.; *-ni*-compl.)
>
> 4 *djidi·z-*
>   *dzidi·z-* } (*dji*-4 subj.; *di*-start from; *si*-pf.; *-yi*-rep.asp.; *-ni*-compl.)
>
> 3-3 *yidi·z-*   (*yi*-3 obj.; *di*-start from; *si*-pf.; *-yi*-rep.asp.; *-ni*-compl.)
>
> by 1 *diyéc-*   (*di*-start from; *si*-pf.; *-yi*-rep.asp.; *-ni*-compl.; *-c*-1 ag.)
>
> by 3 *di·s-*   (*di*-start from; *si*-pf.; *-yi*-rep.asp.; *-ni*-compl.; *-yi*-3 ag.)

-*bij* (-*bic*) braid
-*yá* (-*gá·l*) one person goes
-*goh* (-*goh*) bump, plunge, hit falling
-*l-yod* (-*l-yol*) one person runs
-*dzá* (-*dá·l*) one person goes
-*dzį·z* (-*dzį·s*) be tugged at, jerked
      D1 by 3 *nixidi·sdzį·z* we were jerked (in **car**)

xi-rep.ac.....-*tsą́·'* (-*tsį·l*) hear
xi-rep.ac.....-*l-tsą́·'* (-*l-tsį·l*) sound; cause to **hear** (YM 222)
xo-place....-*l-tą́·'* (-*l-tį·l*) rain
xo-place....-*l-xá·l* (-*l-xal*) club a place

10.89.   *dini-* get stuck static

        ... is stuck

dini-be stuck is a compound prefix treated like *ni*-absolute (10.97.), the difference being that in the third persons *di-* absorbs -*ni*- to form the following. Otherwise *di*- is prefixed to the static prefixes:

> 3 *di-*   (*di-ni-*)
> 4 *djidi-*   (*dji*-4 subj.; *di-ni*-be stuck)
> i *'adi-*   ('*a*-i subj.; *di-ni*-be stuck)
> 3-3 *yidi-*   (*yi*-3 obj.; *di-ni*-be stuck)

-*ni·h* (stat.) (-*nih*) hurt, be sore, injured (YM 158)
-*giz* (stat.) (-*gis*) be crooked, twisted (YM 86)
-*yin* (stat.) (-*yį·l*) be holy, supernatural
     blu blu be· 'ejdiyin sound blu blu makes one holy (JS)
-*l-yo'* (-*l-yol*) be fleet (YM 84)
-*l-zin* (-*l-zį·l*) be held sacred
-*dzin* (-*dzį·l*) be sacrilegious
-*tsiz* (-*tsis*) shake, quiver, tremble from nervousness, fright
-*djá·d* (stat.) be fleet
-*djo·l* (-*djol*) be ballike, round; stocky, "chunky" (WM)
-*tlé·'* (stat.) be wet
-*tlid* (stat.) (-*tlil*) tremble from weakness, be overpowered

'*á*-thus-*xo*-things....-*l-tsi·d* (abs.) be normal (FH)
Oe· xo-....-*l-tsi·d* (abs.) subsist on it (YM 221)
Oi·h ni-end....-*l-yo'* (mom.) (-*l-yol*) get stuck **running** into ... (FH, WM)
dah-....-*tsiz* shiver from cold (YM 230)
tá·lah ...-*l-téhé* be alone
ni-....-*l-ye·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.   *dini-*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:

<div style="text-align:center">

4 *djidini*-   (*dji*-4 subj.; *di-ni*-get stuck)

3-3 *yidini*-   (*yi*-3 obj.; *di-ni*-get stuck)

</div>

-*T* (mom., pres.)   get stuck ...ing

-*l-bah* (pres.) (-*l-bah*)   be grayish

-*bį·h* (pres.) (-*bį·l*)   pl. animate obj. sit

-*l-gah* (pres.) (-*l-gah*)   be whitish, cream-colored

-*gic* (pres.) (-*gic*)   rub, be rubbed with (NT 418:20)

-*γic* (pres.) (-*γic*)   rumple, rub washing, shred inner bark (NT 278:22)

-*l-γo'* (mom.) (-*l-γol*)   one person is a fast runner, one is fleet

-*l-tsoh* (pres.) (-*l-tsoh*)   be yellowish, orange-colored (YM 231)

-*l-jin* (pres.) (-*l-jį·l*)   be blackish, dark brown (YM 106)

-*djá·d* (pres.)   be fleet, swift

-*l-tci·h* (pres.) (-*l-tcih*)   be pink, reddish; vegetation is dried, brownish (NT 50:19)

'*a*-beyond....-*l-γo'* (mom.) (-*l-γol*)   be stuck (as car in mud, sand) (YM 84)

'*ati*-suffer....-*dle·h* (pres.) (-*dle·l*)   be overcome with joy, cry incoherently with joy

Oi·h '*a*-beyond....-*l-ye·d* (pres.) (-*l-γol*)   one is stuck while running; car is stuck in ... (YM 84)

tći-out-*ná*-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

<div style="text-align:center">

uniform ...ing has halted

... has got stuck ...ing uniformly

</div>

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

-*γi·j* (*γic*)   rumple

'*a*-beyond....-*l-γod* (-*l-γol*)   one gets stuck running (WM)

'*q*· ....-*l-ni·'* (-*l-nih*)   get hand stuck in hole (WM)

Oi·h ....-*l-γod* (-*l-γol*)   car got stuck in ... (YMG 65)

Oi·h '*a*-theme...-*yą́·'* (-*γį·l*)   infect, eat into ...

yah'a-beyond....-*dzá* (-*dá·l*)   one person goes in and stays

tći-out-*xo*-things....-*l-ne'* (-*l-nih*)   blunder while speaking (YM 155)

10.89c.   *di-ni*-get stuck inceptive

<div style="text-align:center">

... got stuck on the way

</div>

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:

<pre>
    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 djide··   (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·h-   (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 i bi'te··   (bi-[3] subj.; 'a-i ag.; di-ni-get stuck; ni-start for)
</pre>

Oa· ....-*T* (inc.)　hand... to ...

Oa· ....-'*á·h* (inc.) (-'*á·l*)　let it go, cancel debt, forgive, assign ... to ..., turn ... over to..., come to an agreement about ... (FH)

Oa· '*a*-theme....-'*a·h* (inc.) (-'*á·l*)　permit ... to ...

'*ạ·* ....-*tị·h* (inc.) (-*tị·l*)　open door and be unable to close it

'*ạ·* ....-*ni·l* (inc.) (-*nil*)　take down bars of fence and be unable to get them back

'*ạ·* ...-*lé·h* (inc.) (-*lé·l*)　open wire gate, or pair of doors or windows and be unable to close them

Oe· Oá· ...-'*a·h* (inc.) (-'*á·l*)　give paper permit to ... (FH)

Oda '*a*-beyond-*di*-get stuck-'*a*-theme-*ni*-start for ...-'*a·h* (inc.)(-'*á·l*) cork or lid is stuck in ...

tó· Oa· ....-'*a·h* (inc.) (-'*á·l*)　give in to ... in fight (YM3)

tó· Oa· '*á*-self...-*ta·h* (inc.) (-*tá·l*)　give self up in fight (YM 3)

na·nic Oa· ....-'*a·h* (inc.) (-'*á·l*)　hire

ni-end...-*l*-'*é·s* (inc.) (-*l*-'*is*)　take a step, step off distance (YM 104)

ni-end...-*ta·h* (inc.) (-*tá·l*)　save ...

ni-end...-*l*-*ni·h* (inc.) (-*l*-*nih*)　place hands (WM)

niki-edge....-*l*-'*é·s* (inc.) (-*l*-'*is*)　step down onto surface

ntsi-....-*ge·h* (inc.) (-*goh*)　kneel (YM 89)

Oya di-get stuck-'*a*-theme-*ni*-start for ...-*ta·h* (-*tá·l*)　make ...

xa-O-....-*l*-'*ị·h* (inc.) (-*l*-'*ị·l*)　uncover deception, be caught in the act of ... (YM 102)

Odjá·tah ...-*l*-*ta·l* (inc.) (-*l*-*tal*)　trip with the foot

tći-out...-*l*-*dló·h* (inc.) (-*l*-*dloh*)　start to smile (FH)

tći-out-*ná*-back-'*a*-theme....-*l*-*dla·d* (inc.) (-*l*-*dlal*)　sun breaks out of clouds (YM 52)

Ol '*axa*-(< '*axa*·-for each other) *di*-get stuck-'*a*-theme-*ni*-start for ...-*ta·h* (inc.) (-*tá·l*)　make agreement, treaty (YM 190) ·

10.89d.　　　*di-ni*-get stuck starting for *ni*-perfective

<blockquote>
...ing has been stuck
...ing has got stuck ...ing to goal
</blockquote>

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:

<pre>
    2 di·ni·   (di-ni-get stuck; ni-pf.; -n-2 subj.; -ni-compl.)
    4 djidini·   (dji-4 subj.; di-ni-get stuck; ni-pf.; -ni-compl.)
  3-3 yidini·   (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.)
</pre>

-*l*-*ni·*' (-*l*-*nih*)　have hands in position (FH)

Oa· ...-*'ą́* (-*'á·l*) permit ... to ..., turn over to ..., forget or cancel debt, decide in ...'s favor, call it even (YM 3, FH)

   3-3 *yeidiná'ą́* he cancelled his debt (FH)

Oa· ni-(< *ná*-back)....-*T* (pf.) give ... back to ...

'ád·a· ...-*tą́* (-*tá·l*) adopt child (YMG 89)

'ą· ...*T* (pf.) open ... (YM 28)

Oda di-stuck-*'a*-theme....-*'ą́* (-*'á·l*) lid, cork is stuck (is in and won't come out)

Odá· ...-*T* (pf.) put lid, cork, obj. in opening

tó· Oa· 'á-self...-*tą́* (-*tá·l*) give (self) up to in fight (YM 191)

n-(< *na*-about)....-*l*-*tcid* (-*l*-*tcil*) move hand quickly, do hand trembling (cer.)

na·nic Oa·....-*'ą́* (-*'á·l*) hire (YM 3)

ni-end....-*l*-*'e·z* (-*l*-*'is*) take a step, step off distance (YM 104)

niná 'á-self....-*tą́* (-*tá·l*) risk life for ... (YM 192)

niki-....-*l*-*'e·z* (-*l*-*'is*) step down onto surface (YMG 89, YM 104)

ni-....-*'ą́* (-*'á·l*) decide on ...

Oγa di-get stuck-*'a*-theme....-*tą́* (-*tá·l*) force ... to give in (YM 191)

Odjá·tah ...-*l*-*tá·l* (-*l*-*tal*) trip ... with foot (YM 186)

tćé·-(< *tći*-out-*ná*-back)*di*-get stuck-*'a*-theme....-*l*-*dlá·d* (-*l*-*dlal*) sun breaks out of clouds (YM 52)

tći-out....-*l*-*dlo'* (-*l*-*dloh*) baby smiles the first time (YM 54)

Ol 'axa-(< *'ax*-together-*a·* for)*di*-get stuck-*'a*-theme....-*tą́* (-*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 *dinéc*-   (*di*-get stuck; *ni*-uni.; *si*-pf.; -*ni*-compl.; -c-1 ag.)
by 2 *díyini*-   (*di*-get stuck; *ni*-uni.; *si*-pf.; -*ni*-compl.; -n-2 ag.)
by 3 *yidine·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.)

-*tį̇·'* (-*tį̇·l*) be stolen

-*l*-*γį* (-*l*-*γé·l*) be responsible for a killing

'atí-suffering...-*dlį̇·'* (-*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*-*γal*) be beaten up, beat up ...

xa-out....-*dzí·'* (-*dzih*) 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 (10.105b, 10.105c.) if they mean that the color is from outside the subject, for example, *'aγa·' yi·tcxí·h* "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:

> *di·tcxi·h*   it is becoming red (as flower, or vegetation browning from maturity)
> *dini·tcxi·h*   it is becoming rusty (from elements)
> *di·tsoh*   it is becoming yellow (as flower, vegetation)
> *dini·tsoh*   it is being scorched (by fire, iron)
> *dini·tló·h*   it (rope) is slackening; coming to a point of stability
> *dini·tłi·c*   it is getting wet
> *dini·łtłi·c*   he is dampening, soaking it

10.89g.   *dini*-get stuck inceptive cessative

The inceptive cessative forms of *di-ni*-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:

> 3 *dini·-*   (*di*-get stuck; *ni*-uni.; *yi*-cess.)
> 4 *djidini·-*   (*dji*-4 subj.; *di*-get stuck; *ni*-uni.; *yi*-cess.)
> 3-3 *yidini·-*   (*yi*-3 obj.; *di*-get stuck; *ni*-uni.; *yi*-cess.)
>
> *-l-tsxoh (-l-tsxoh)*   scorch
> *-l-tló·h (-l-tló·l)*   loosen, slacken (YM 217)
> *-l-tłi·c (-l-tłic)*   dampen, soak (YM 212)
>
> *ná-*cust.....*-l-tló·h* (cust.) (*-l-tló·l*)   loosen, slacken cust. (YM 217)
> *ṅ-*....*-tcxi·h (-tcxih)*   rust (YM 34)

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-*:

> 2 *dinini·*   (*di-ni*-get stuck; *yi*-prog.; *-n*-2 subj.; *-yi*-cess.)
> 3-3 *yidini·-*   (*yi*-3 obj.; *di-ni*-get stuck; *yi*-prog.; *-yi*-cess.)
> (3) by i *bi'łini·-*   (*bi-* [3] subj.; *'a-i* ag.; *di-ni*-get stuck; *yi*-prog.; *-yi*-cess.)
>
> *-l-tsxoi (-l-tsxoh)*   scorch
> *-l-tló·' (-l-tló·l)*   loosen, slacken (YM 217)
> *-l-tłi·j (-l-tłic)*   dye light blue (the wrong shade)
>
> *ṅ-*....*-tcxi·' (-tcxih)*   rust (YM 52)

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; th· order—*di-ni*-end-*ni*-perfective—shows that *di-* is pre-paradigmati⸤ The resulting forms are as if *di-* were prefixed to the *ni*-perfectiv of *ni*-end-*ni*-perfective (10.100b.), the following differences bein due to position of the prefixes:

> by 4 *-jdine·-*   (*dji*-4 ag.; *di*-get stuck; *ni*-end; *ni*-pf.; *-ni*-compl.)
> 3 by 3 *-yidine·-*   (*yi*-3 subj.; *di*-get stuck; *ni*-end; *-ni*-compl.; *-yi*-3 ag.)

Oa· ni-end ....-*dzá* (-*dá·l*)   one person is stuck doing ...
'*q·* ...*T* (pf.)   get stuck in opening

ni-end....-*tá·j* (-*tac*)   two persons are stuck
ni-end....-*kai* (-*kah*)   pl. persons are stuck
ni-end....-*dzá* (-*dá·l*)   one person is stuck
ni-end....-*l-dló·j* (-*l-dloc*)   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-*⎫ *diyi-* ⎬	(*di*-start; *si*-harm; *yi*-cont.; -*n*-2 subj.)
3	*di·-*	(*di*-start; *si*-harm; *yi*-cont.)
4	*djidi·-*	(*dji*-4 subj.; *di*-start; *si*-harm; *yi*-cont.)
D1	*diyi·d-*	(*di*-start; *si*-harm; *yi*-cont.; -*i·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-*ń*-(< *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·'a·c* (pres.) (-*l·'ac*)   two persons loiter
na-about-'*á*-self-*xo*-place....-*kaih* (pres.) (-*kah*)   pl. persons loiter
ni-(< *na*-about)*ná*-cust.-'*á*-self-*xo*-place....-*dla·h* (cust.) (-*dlá·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-*	(*di*-start; *si*-un-; *si*-pf.; -*ni*-compl.; -*c*-1 ag.)
by 2	*diyini-*	(*di*-start; *si*-un-; *si*-pf.; -*ni*-compl.; -*n*-2 ag.)
by 3	*diye·s-*	(*di*-start; *si*-un-; *si*-pf.; -*ni*-compl.; -*yi*-3 ag.)
by D1	*diye·d-*	(*di*-start; *si*-un-; *si*-pf.; -*ni*-compl.; -*i·d*-D1 ag.)
by D2	*diyo·h-*	(*di*-start; *si*-un-; *si*-pf.; -*ni*-compl.; -*oh*-D2 ag.)

'ádi-self....*l-γį* (-*l-γé·l*)   commit suicide; kill self (YM 78)

na-about-*'á*-self-*xo*-place....*l-'á·j* (-*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.   -*di-si*-emit un-... continuative

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'țiye·-*

ná-xi-...*T* (inc.) turn ... over (YM 8)

ná-xi-....*l-γal* (mom.) (-*l-γal*)   roll over (YM 76)

ná-xi-....*l-tśi·d* (inc.) (-*l-tśil*)   capsize (YM 225)

ná-xi-....*djįc* (inc.) (-*djįc*)   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-tśi'* (cust.) (-*l-tśil*)   capsize cust. (YM 225)

ní-ná-xi-...*djįc* (cust.) (-*djįc*)   turn body over cust. (YM 107)

10.89n.   -*di-si*-emit un- ... *si*-perfective

The elements that enter into the conjugation of the type *ná-xi-di-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	*-déc-*

by 3   -de·s-
by 4   -ǰde·s-⎫
       -zde·- ⎭
(3) by i   -bi'ťiye·-

Oa· n·-....*-dzá* (-*dá·l*)   one person lay in ambush (NT 98:5)
ná-back-*ná-xi*-....*T* (pf.)   turn ... back to original position (WM, FH)
ná-xi-...*T* (pf.)   turn ... over
ná-xi-....*-l-yal* (-*l-yal*)   person turns, rolls over
xá·-(< *xa*-out-*ná*-back)*xi·*-....*-ne·z* (-*nes*)   be a long roll (NT 404:23)

10.90.   *di*-start against future

... will start ...ing against
... will start ...ing ... against
... will start ...ing ... against ...

The prefix *di*- seems to be a compound, perhaps of *di*-start from-*ná*-against. The inflective (*ná*-) affects the future forms as follows:

1	-dê·c-	(*di*-fut.; [*ná*-]; *yi*-prog.; -*c*-1 subj.)
2	-dí·-	(*di*-fut.; [*ná*]; *yi*-prog.; -*n*-2 subj.)
3	-dó·-	(*di*-fut.; [*ná*-]; *yi*-prog.)
4	-ǰdó·-	(*dji*-4 subj.; *di*-fut.; [*ná*-]; *yi*-prog.)
D1	-di·d-	(*di*-fut.; (*ná*-]; *yi*-prog.; -*i·d*-D1 subj.)
D2	-dó·h-	(*di*-fut.; [*ná*-]; *yi*-prog.; -*oh*-D2 subj.)
3-3	-yidó·-	(*yi*-3 obj.; *di*-fut.; [*ná*-]; *yi*-prog.)

Oa· ṅ·-....*-ťį·l*   report, discuss about ..., take action for ..., annoy, bother, molest (YM 202)
'*ád*-self-*a· ṅ·*-....*-ťį·l*   become bashful, devote oneself to   completely
Oí-(< *O-ná*-against)....*-kil*   ask ... about ..., ask ... to let ... have ... (FH)
     3-3   *yí·dó·kil*   he will ask him about it
     3-i   *bí'í·dó·kil*   he will ask him about something
di·-....*-'į·l*   look at, look (YMG 99)
na-about-*'í*-(< *'a-i-ná*-against)....*-l-kil*   inquire about, ask questions about ... (YM 119)
yí-rec.ef.....*-kil*   ask, beg ... for, request ... (YM 119)
yí-doubtful destination....*-l-tsį·l*   listen to ... (YM 222)
xá-dí·-....*-'į·l*   look for (YM 100)

10.90a.   *di*-start against continuative

...ing against is starting
... is starting to ... against
... is starting to ... it against
... is starting to ... it against ...

di·- seems to be composed of *di*-start from and an inflective prefix, probably (*ná*-) against. I shall analyze these forms on this basis although the meaning is very doubtful.

1	-díc-	(*di*-start; [*ná*-]; -*c*-1 subj.)
2	-dí-	(*di*-start; [*ná*-]; -*n*-2 subj.)
3	-dí-	(*di*-start; [*ná*-])
4	-djidí-	(*dji*-4 subj.; *di*-start; [*ná*-])
i	'adí-	('*a*-i subj.; *di*-start; [*ná*-])
D1	-di·d-	(*di*-start; [*ná*-]; -*i·d*-D1 subj.)

D2	*-dóh-*	(*di*-start; [*ná-*]; *-oh*-D2 subj.)
3-3	*yidi-*	(*yi*-3 obj.; *di*-start; [*ná-*])
by D1	*-de·d-*	(*di*-start; [*ná-*]; *-i·d*-D1 ag.)
(3) by i	*-bi'ti-*	(*bi*-[3] subj.; *'a-i* ag.; *di*-start; [*ná-*])

*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 *bidajdilid* they(4) are fat

Otah ń-(< *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-*ń*-'*a*-theme...*-'a·h* (inc.) (*-'á·l*)   permit, allow, yield to, bow to

yá-....*-l-té·h* (inc.) (*-l-tih*)   start to speak up (FH)

xá-....*-ńé·h* (pres.) (*-ńé·l*)   dress

*li-*²(< ²*a*-beyond)....*-l-tci* (pres.) (*-l-tci·l*)   beat about the bush, lick ...'s boots, flatter to get something (YM 36)
   4 *lij'tiltci* 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:

1	*dé·-*	(*di*-start; *ni*-pf.; *-c*-1 subj.; [*ná-*])
2	*di·ni-*	(*di*-start; *ni*-pf.; *-n*-2 subj.; [*ná-*])
3	*dé·-*	(*di*-start; *ni*-pf.; [*ná-*])
4	*djidé·-*	(*dji*-4 subj.; *di*-start; *ni*-pf.; [*ná-*])
D1	*di·d-* } *dé·d-*	(*di*-start; *ni*-pf.; [*ná-*]; *-i·d*-D1 subj.)
D2	*dó·-*	(*di*-start; *ni*-pf.; *-oh*-D2 subj.; [*ná-*])
3-3	*yidé·-*	(*yi*-3 obj.; *di*-start; *ni*-pf.; [*ná-*])
by 1	*dé·c-*	(*di*-start; *ni*-pf.; [*ná-*]; *-c*-1 ag.)
(3) by i	*bi'té·-*	(*bi*-[3] subj.; '*a-i* ag.; *di*-start; *ni*-pf.; [*ná-*])

-'i̧' (*-'i̧·l*)   look for (YM 100; EW 90:11)

-l-γé·d (*-l-γol*)   dig with implement

-l-xi̧' (*-l-xi̧·l*)   melt

-dji' (*-dji·l*)   name is mentioned (FH)

Oi-(< *O-ná*-against)....*-ti'* (*-tih*)   concern ... (YM 199)

Oi-(< *O-ná*-against)....*-tcid* (*-tcil*)   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-tǫ'* (*-l-tǫ·l*)   be smooth, slippery; slip

xa-out....*-bi̧·d* (*-bi̧·l*)   fill, get full (YM 28)

xa-out....*-l-bi̧·d* (*-l-bi̧·l*)   fill, cause filling up (YM 28)

xa-na-....*-l-dá·z* (*-l-das*)   overcome ... (BS)

xá-....*-'i̧'* (*-'i̧·l*)   look for ... (YM 100)

Ozé· ....*-'ą̧* (*-'á·l*)   hang round object around ...'s neck (EW 110:5)

Otsá-irritiable-'*i*-(< '*a-i-ná*-against)....*-dji'* (*-dji·l*)   speak war language, speak irritably against ... (EW 152:18)

10.90c.   *dí*-start against *si*-perfective

... has started to ... against

dí-start against has *si-(ná-)* perfective, the order being *di-si-(ná-)* and resulting as follows:

1 *dé-*	(*di*-start; *si*-pf.; -*c*-1 subj.; -[*ná*-])
2 *díni-*	(*di*-start; *si*-pf.; -*n*-2 subj.; [*ná*-])
3 *dê·z-*	(*di*-start; *si*-pf.; [*ná*-])
4 *dzidê·z-*	(*dji*-4 subj.; *di*-start; *si*-pf.; [*ná*-])
D1 *dê·d-*	(*di*-start; *si*-pf.; [*ná*-]; -*i·d*-D1 subj.)
3-3 *yidê·z-*	(*yi*-3 obj.; *di*-start; *si*-pf.; [*ná*-])
by 1 *déc-*	(*di*-start; *si*-pf.; [*ná*-]; -*c*-1 ag.)

-*l*-'*á* (abs.)   hold ... horizontal (YM 11)
-*ĺį·*' (-*ĺį·l*)   be seen, be visible
Oi-(< *O-ná*-against) ....-*l-ni·*' (-*l-nih*)   feel, rub with fingers, examine by feeling (YM 156)
ná·-again....-*dzá* (-*dá·l*)   one person starts again
Oke ....-*l-γiz* (-*l-γis*)   be startled on account of ... (YM 80)
ḱi-(< *ḱi*-over-*ná*-against)....-*l-jo·j* (-*l-joc*)   sit with legs extended
dzi-away....-*l·'e·z* (-*l·'is*)   leap after and miss
tsi-uncertain....-*γiz* (-*γis*)   be startled, frightened (FH)

10.91.   *dí-ní*-prolongative

The prolongative is a compound prefix, each of whose parts, *dí*- and *ní*- 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 *díní*-; WM inserts it between the prefixes with forms of the type *diní*-.

The prolongative is here treated like the pattern of other compound prefixes: *dí*- is considered the prefix of motion or action, *ní*- is the corresponding inflective.

WM frequently gives *ni*-uniform for the continuative, for which he has *díní*-future, but doubtless this is inconsistent. I have found *díní*- as the prolongative continuative of many verbs, although it is obvious that it and *ni*-uniform have almost the same meaning.

dí-ní- prolongative progressive and future

...ing will be prolonged
... will ... prolongatively
... will ... it prolongatively

1 *dinê·c-*	(*di-ní*-prol.; *yi*-prog.; -*c*-1 subj.)
2 *díni·-*	(*di-ní*-prol.; *yi*-prog.; -*n*-2 subj.)
3 *dinó·-*	(*di-ní*-prol.; *yi*-prog.)
4 *djidinó·-* / *dijnó·-*	(*dji*-4 subj.; *di-ní*-prol.; *yi*-prog.)
i *'adinó·-* / *dinó·-*	('*a*-i subj.; *di-ní*-prol.; *yi*-prog.)

D1 *diní·d-* (*di-ní-*prol.; *yi-*prog.; *-i·d-*D1 subj.)
D2 *dinó·h-* (*di-ní-*prol.; *yi-*prog.; *-oh-*D2 subj.)

Plural: prefix *da-*pl. to dual forms.

3-3 *yidinó·-* (*yi-*3 obj.; *di-ní-*prol.; *yi-*prog.)
1-i *'adinê·c-*⎱ ('*a-*i obj.; *di-ní-*prol.; *yi-*prog.; *-c-*1 subj.)
    diñê·c-⎰
2-i *'adiní·-*⎱ ('*a-*i obj.; *di-ní-*prol.; *yi-*prog.; *-n-*2 subj.)
    diñí·-⎰
3-i *'adinó·-* ('*a-*i obj.; *di-ní-*prol.; *yi-*prog.)
    diñó·-
4-i *'adijnó·-*⎱ ('*a-*i obj.; *di-*prol.; *dji-*4 subj.; *-ní-*prol.; *yi-*prog.)
    dijñó·-⎰
P4-i *daj'ñnó·-*⎱ (*da-*pl. '*a-*i obj.; *dji-*4 subj; *di-ní-*prol.; *yi-*prog.)
    dajdiñó·-⎰
(3) by i *bi'ñnó·-* (*bi-* [3] subj.; '*a-*i ag.; *di-ní-*prol.; *yi-*prog.)

10.91a. *dí-ní-*prolongative continuative

...ing is taking place prolongatively
... is ...ing prolongatively
... is ...ing ... prolongatively

1 *dinic-* (*di-ní-*prol.; *-c-*1 subj.)
2 *dini-* (*di-ní-*prol.; *-n-*2 subj.)
3 *diní-* (*di-ní-*prol.)
4 *djidiní-*⎱ (*dji-*4 subj.; *di-ní-*prol.)
  dijñi-⎰
i *'adiní-*⎱ ('*a-*i subj.; *di-ní-*prol.)
  diñí-⎰
D1 *diní·d-* (*di-ní-*prol.; *-i·d-*D1 subj.)
D2 *dinóh-* (*di-ní-*prol.; *-oh-*D2 subj.)

Plural: prefix *da-*pl. to regular dual forms and note:

P4 *dajdiní-* (*da-*pl.; *dji-*4 subj.; *di-ní-*prol.)
3-3 *yidiní-* (*yi-*3 obj.; *di-ní-*prol.)
P3-3 *dayidiní-* (*da-*pl.; *yi-*3 obj.; *di-ní-*prol.)
4-i *'ajdiní-*⎱ ('*a-*i obj.; *dji-*4 subj.; *di-ní-*prol.)
  djidiñí-⎰
P4-i *daj'ñni-*⎱ (*da-*pl.; '*a-*i obj.; *dji-*4 subj.; *di-ní-*prol.)
  dajdiñí-⎰
by 3 *dê·-* (*di-ní-*prol.; *-yi-*3 ag.)
(3) by i *bi'ñni-* (*bi-* [3] subj.; '*a-*i ag.; *di-ní-*prol.)

Oa· ñ-(< *ná-*cust.)....*-l-'q·h* (cust.) (*-l-'q·l*) water cust. seeks its level
Oi-(< *O-ná-*against)....*l-tci·d* (pres.) (*-l-tcil*) barely touch; hand is
    caused to move against... (FH)
ñ-....*-l-'i̧·h* (inc.) (*-'i̧·l*) hide (YM 101)
    3-3 *nêidiniĺ'i̧·h* he is hiding it
*ná-*cust....*-yo'* (cust.) (*-yoł*) 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...*-gé·c* (inc.) (*-gic*) epidemic is starting
*Ol na-*about-'*axi-*(< '*axi-*together-*ná-*against)*di-*prol.*-z-*(< *dzi-*away)
    *ni-*prol.....*-l-tśin* (pres.) (*-l-tśi̧·l*) box with ...

10.91b.   *di-ní*-prolongative *si*-perfective

> prolongative . . .ing has taken place
> . . . has . . .ed prolongatively
> . . . has . . .ed . . . prolongatively

In the *si*-perfective the order of prefixes is *di-si-ní-* with the following results:

1	*díni-* *diné-* }	(*di*-prol.; *si*-pf.; -*c*-1 subj.; -*ní*-prol.)
2	*di·ni-* *diníni-* }	(*di*-prol.; *si*-pf.; -*n*-2 subj.; -*ní*-prol.)
3	*dinê·-*	(*di*-prol.; *si*-pf.; -*ní*-prol.)
4	*dzidinê·-* *dzidinê·z-* *dizdinê·z-* }	(*dji*-4 subj.; *di*-prol.; *si*-pf.; -*ní*-prol.)
i	*'adínê·-* *diñé·-* }	('*a*-i subj.; *di*-prol.; *si*-pf.; -*ní*-prol.)
D1	*díni·d-* *dínê·d-* }	(*di*-prol.; *si*-pf.; -*ní*-prol.; -*i·d*-D1 subj.)
D2	*dinó·-* *disinó·-* }	(*di*-prol.; *si*-pf.; -*oh*-D2 subj.; -*ní*-prol.)
3-3	*dinê·z-*	(*di*-prol.; *yi*-3 obj.; *si*-pf.; -*ní*-prol.)
3-i	*'adinê·z-* *dizdiñê·z-* }	('*a*-i obj.; *di*-prol.; *si*-pf.; -*ní*-prol.)
P4-i	*daj'tinê·z-*	(*da*-pl.; '*a*-i obj.; *dji*-4 subj.; *di*-prol.; *si*-pf.; -*ní*-prol.)
by 1	*dinéc-*	(*di*-prol.; *si*-pf.; -*ní*-prol.; -*c*-1 ag.)
by 3	*yidinê·s-*	(*di*-prol.; *si*-pf.; -*ní*-prol.; -*yi*-3 ag.)
(3) by i	*bi'tinê·s-* *bidiñê·s-* }	(*bi*- [3] subj.; '*a*-i ag.; *di*-prol.; *si*-pf.; -*ní*-prol.)

Oí-(< *O-ná*-against). . . .-*l-γęc* (-*l-γęc*)   think one sees. . .
ń-. . . .-*l·'į·'* (-*l·'į·l*)   hide (YM 102)
ń-. . . .-*t'á·j* (-*tac*)   two persons become exhausted while moving prol.
ń-. . . .-*gą·'* (-*gą·l*)   be disgusted with killings
ń-. . . .-*kai* (-*kah*)   pl. persons become exhausted while going
ń-. . . .-*dzá* (-*dá·l*)   one person becomes exhausted while going
xa-. . . .-*tą·'* (-*ta·l*)   search, hunt for . . . (YM 184)
xa-xo-. . . .-'*ą* (-'*ah*)   distract, lead one on

10.91c.   *di-ní*-prolongative inceptive cessative

> start to pause in prolonged . . .ing
> . . . starts to pause . . .ing prolongatively
> . . . starts to pause . . .ing . . . prolongatively

Prefix *di-ní*-prolongative to regular forms of the inceptive cessative (10.105b.) with the following results:

1	*díni·c-*	(*di-ní*-prol.; -*yi*-cess.; -*c*-1 subj.)
2	*díni·-*	(*di-ní*-prol.; -*yi*-cess.; -*n*-2 subj.)
3	*díni·-*	(*di-ní*-prol.; -*yi*-cess.)
4	*díjni·-*	(*di*-prol.; *dji*-4 subj.; -*ní*-prol.; -*yi*-cess.)
D1	*díni·d-*	(*di-ní*-prol.; -*yi*-cess.; -*i·d*-D1 subj.)
D2	*dinó·h-*	(*di-ní*-prol.; -*yi*-cess.; -*oh*-D2 subj.)

'*axi-*(< '*axi*-together-*ná*-against). . . .-*są* (-*sé·l*)   adhesion (medical); it is caused to grow together (YM 14)

dah-ná-cust.-*xo*-place....*-l-tca'* (cust.) (*-l-tcal*) cust. loosen, spade ground (YM 32)

da-(< *dah*-)*xo*-place....*-l-tcá·d* (inc.) (*-l-tcal*) loosen ground, spade (YM 32)

O-ní-(< *ná*-cust.)....*-tá·h* (cust.) (*-tá·l*) lean head against cust. (YM 191)

10.91d.   *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	*dini·-*	(*di-ní*-prol.; *-c*-1 subj.; *-yi*-cess.)
2	*diníni-*	(*di-ní*-prol.; *-n*-2 subj.; *-yi*-cess.)
D2	*dinó·-*	(*di-ní*-prol.; *-oh*-D2 subj.; *-yi*-cess.)
by 1	*dini·c-*	(*di-ní*-prol.; *-yi*-cess.; *-c*-1 ag.)
by D2	*dinó·h-*	(*di-ní*-prol.; *-yi*-cess.; *-oh*-D2 ag.)

Oi-(< *O-ná*-against)....*-l-'ą́* (*-l-'á·l*) hold head against ...

dah-....*-l-γa·j* (*-l-γac*) fry bread, make sopaipillas

da-(< *dah*-)*xo*-....*-l-tca·d* (*-l-tcal*) loosen ground, spade (YM 32)

ń-....*-tą́* (*-tá·l*) pause in making speech (YM 190)

10.91e.   *di-si-ní*-prolongatively un-... continuative

> 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	*dini-*	(*di*-prol.; *si*-un-; *-ní*-prol.; *-n*-2 subj.)
3	*dê·z-*	(*di*-prol.; *si*-un-; *-ní*-prol.)
4	*dzidê·z-*	(*dji*-4 subj.; *di*-prol.; *si*-un-; *-ní*-prol.)
D1	*dê·d-*	(*di*-prol.; *si*-un-; *-ní*-prol.; *-i·d*-D1 subj.)
D2	*disó·h-* ⎫ *dó·h-* ⎭	(*di*-prol.; *si*-un-; *-ní*-prol.; *-oh*-D2 subj.)

Plural: prefix *da*-pl. to dual forms and note:

P4	*dazdê·z-*	(*da*-pl.; *dji*-4 subj.; *di*-prol.; *si*-un-; *-ní*-prol.)
3-3	*yidê·z-*	(*yi*-3 obj.; *di*-prol.; *si*-un-; *-ní*-prol.)

-*'į'* (-*'į·l*) look; have eyes open; test the truth (FH)

-*tcah* (-*tcah*) hold mouth open, make ... open mouth (YM 38, FH)

'axa-....*-l-dją'* (pres.) (*-l-djq*) be in position with legs drawn up (YM 105, FH)

'áxo-....*-l-zé·'* (pres.) (*-l-zih*) be motionless (YM 240, FH)

ntsi-....*-go'* (pres.) (*-goh*) be in kneeling position, kneel (YM 89)

kal ...*-l-ja'* (pres.) (*-l-jah*) have weapon cocked, be ever ready

Ozá ḱi- (< *ḱi*-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.

<div align="center">Stems used with na-about continuative:</div>

-*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
-*kai* (pres.) (*-kah*) · plural persons go on a trip; pl. persons move about
-*yáh* (pres.) (*-ga·l*)　one person goes on a trip; one person moves about
-*l-tcid* (pres.) (*-l-tcil*)　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)

<div align="center">Stems used with na-down continuative:</div>

-*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-tį·l*)　drop (as rain, hail, dust)
-*l-le'* (inc.) (*-l-le·l*)　drop sticklike obj.
-*nil* (mom.) (*-nil*)　sprinkle water (YM 168)
-*ke·s* (inc.) (*-kes*)　stick falls (YM 122)
-*yá·h* (inc.) (*-gá·l*)　one person moves down
-*l-xę́·c* (inc.) (*-l-xęc*)　viscid substance falls

<div align="center">Stems used with na-down-yi-perfective (10.85a.):</div>

-*'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)
-*dé·l* (*-dil*)　ropelike obj. darts downward (YM 49)
-*l-dé·l* (*-l-dil*)　drop ropelike obj.
-*nil* (*-nil*)　drop several obj. (YM 168)
-*yá* (*-gá·l*)　one person goes, walks down
-*kę́·z* (*-kes*)　slender, stiff obj. falls
-*l-xę·j* (*-l-xęc*)　viscid substance, mass falls

-l-tśid (*-l-tśil*)   bulky obj. falls
-l-djo·l (*-l-djol*)   brushy, fluffy substance falls

Stems used with *na*-about-*si*-perfective (10.85b.):

-l-te' (*-l-te·l*)   carry sticklike obj.; sticklike-obj.-is-caused-to-move-about
-nil (*-nil*)   sprinkle; small objects move about (YM 168)
-l-dją' (*-l-dją'*)   move about stamping feet
-l-tcid (*-l-tcil*)   gesture, do "motion-in-the-hand" (cer.); cause-hand-to move-about
-tćą·' (*-tćą·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 *ni*-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 *-* initial (10.80.). Note:

4 *ńdjo·-*	(*ná*-back; *dji*-4 subj.; *yi*-prog.)	
i *ná'o·-*	(*ná*-back; *'a*-i subj.; *yi*-prog.)	
D1 *nêi·d-*	(*ná*-back; *yi*-prog.; *-i·d*-D1 subj.)	

Plural. Regular forms of the type *ná-da-*, or *ń-da-* exist for the plural although repetitive forms are preferred. Note:

P3-3 *ńdayo·-*	(*ná*-back; *da*-pl.; *yi*-3 obj.; *yi*-prog.)
3 by 3 *ná·yo·-*	(*ná*-back; *yi*-3 subj.; *yi*-prog.; *-yi*-3 ag.)
i by 4 *ná'tćo·-*	(*ná*-back; *'a*-i subj.; *dji*-4 ag.; *yi*-prog.)

    na·-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 *ń-*(< *ná-*) back to regular future forms (10.87.) and note:

3-3 *ndído··* }
　　 néido·· } 　(*ná*-back; *yi*-3 obj.; *di*-fut.; *yi*-prog.)

3 by 3 *ndído··* }
　　　 néido·· } 　(*ná*-back; *yi*-3 subj.; *di*-fut.; *yi*-prog.; *-yi*-3 ag.)

-zǫ·s　turn inside out

O-ni-(< *ná-*in arc)....*tcil*　embrace, put arms around (YM 35)
Otsá 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.).

1	*nác-*	(*ná*-back; [*ná-*]; *-c*-1 subj.)
2	*náni-*	(*ná*-back; [*ná-*]; *-n*-2 subj.)
3	*ná-*	(*ná*-back; [*ná-*])
4	*ńdji-*	(*ná*-back; *dji*-4 subj.; [*ná-*])
i	*ná'á-*	(*ná*-back; *'a*-i subj.; [*ná-*])
D1	*néi·d-*	(*ná*-back; [*ná-*]; *-i·d*-D1 subj.)
D2	*náh-, nóh-*	(*ná*-back; [*ná-*]; *-oh*-D2 subj.)

Plural: Prefix *ń-*(< *ná-*)-*da-* to the regular dual forms; note that (*ná-*) does not enter into the plurals.

3-3 *náyi-* }
　　 nái- } 　(*ná*-back; *yi*-3 obj.; [*ná-*])
　　 néi- }

3 by 1	*nánéc-*	(*ná*-back; *yi*-3 subj.; [*ná-*]; *-c*-1 ag.)
3 by 3	*néi·-*	(*ná*-back; *yi*-3 subj.; [*ná-*]; *-yi*-3 ag.)
3 by 4	*ńdji-*	(*ná*-back; *yi*-3 subj.; *dji*-4 ag.; [*ná-*])
(3) by i	*nábi'ti-*	(*ná*-back; *bi*-[3] subj.; *'adi*-i ag.; [*ná-*])
P3 by 3	*ńdayi-*	(*ná*-back; *da*-pl.; *yi*-3 subj.; [*ná-*]; *-yi*-3 ag.)
1-i	*ná'ác-*	(*ná*-back; *'a*-i obj.; [*ná-*]; *-c*-1 subj.)
2-i	*ná'i-*	(*ná*-back; *'a*-i obj.; [*ná-*]; *-n*-2 subj.)
3-i	*ná'á-*	(*ná*-back; *'a*-i obj.; [*ná-*])
4-i	*ná'tci-*	(*ná*-back; *'a*-i obj.; *dji*-4 subj.; [*ná-*])
D1-i	*ná'i·d-*	(*ná*-back; *'a*-i obj.; [*ná-*]; *-i·d*-D1 subj.)

D2-i *ná'áh-* }
　　 ná'óh- } 　(*ná*-back; *'a*-i obj.; [*ná-*]; *-oh*-D2 subj.)

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 ...*-ta·h* (inc.) (*-tá·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)
'á-thus...*-l-zi̧·h* (pres.) (*-l-zi̧·l*) cease, discontinue (YM 243)
Oé·-(< *O-ná*-against-*ná*-back)....*-l-ni̧·h* (pres.) (*-l-ni̧l*) remember, recall
Oé·-(< *O-ná*-against-*ná*-back)....*-l-dzid* (pres.) (*-l-dzí·l*) fear, be afraid of ...
náxi-....*-l-tsa·d* (pres.) (*-l-tsil*) turn around in sitting position
ná·-again...-*T* (mom., inc.) move ... back again (YMG 72)
ni-(< *na*-about)....*-be·h* (pres.) (*-be·l*) person bathes, swims
Oki-....*-l-tci̧·h* (pres.) (*-l-tci̧·l*) take semen sample; masturbate (YM 36)
ki-ná·-....*-dá·h* (inc.) (*-dá·l*) one person moves straight ahead again
xa-....*-l-yi̧·h* (pres.) (*l-yi̧h*) rest, recover breath
    2 *xá·nílyi̧·h* you are resting
    4 *xá·djílyi̧·h* he(4) is resting
Otsá ....*-l-ta·l* (inc.) (*-l-tal*) round obj. glances off, ricochets (YM 186)
Otsá·-(< *tsá*-away-*ná*-back)-(*ná*-)....*-l-te'* (pres.) (*-l-le·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:

2	*náini-* ⎫	
	náyini- ⎭	(*ná*-back; *ni*-pf.; *-n-2* subj.; [*ná*-])
3	*ná-*	(*ná*-back; *ni*-pf.; [*ná*-])
4	*ńdji-*	(*ná*-back; *dji*-4 subj.; *ni*-pf.; [*ná*-])
i	*ná'á-*	(*ná*-back; *'a*-i subj.; *ni*-pf.; [*ná*-])
3-3	*nêini-*	(*ná*-back; *yi*-3 obj.; *ni*-pf.; [*ná*-])
by 1	*nántc-*	(*ná*-back; *ni*-pf.; [*ná*-]; *-c-1* ag.)
i by 1	*náńic-*	(*ná*-back; *'a*-i subj.; *ni*-pf.; [*ná*-]; *-c-1* ag.)
i by 2	*ná'íni-*	(*ná*-back; *'a*-i subj.; *ni*-pf.; [*ná*-]; *-n-2* ag.)
i by 3	*ná'i-*	(*ná*-back; *'a*-i subj.; *ni*-pf.; [*ná*-]; *-yi-3* ag.)
i by 4	*ná'tci-*	(*ná*-back; *'a*-i subj.; *dji*-4 ag.; *ni*-pf.; [*ná*-])

'axé·-(< *'axi*-together-*ná*-back)....*-dzáh* (*-dá·l*) one person returns in a circle
'áká-(< *'á*-self-*ká*-fitted)....*-l-zas* (mom.pf.) (*-l-zas*) gird oneself, have belt on (YM 243)
'áká-(< *'á*-self-*ká*-fitted)....*-l-za·z* (*-l-zas*) gird oneself, have belt on (YM 243)
dá-....*-dzáh* (*-dá·l*) one person returns ahead
ti̧' *'a*-beyond-....*-l-ta·l* (*-l-tal*) small obj. bounces back
    3 *ti̧'* *'aná·lta·l* he (Coyote) bounced back like a small round obj.
ná·-again...-*T* (pf.) move ... back again
ná·-again...-*dá̧'* (*-di̧·l*) eat again
niké·-(< *niki-ná*-back)....*-dzáh* (*-dá·l*) one person returns home
xo-ná-cycle-*ná·*-again....-*xai* (*-xah*) years pass again (BS)
Otsá ....*-l-tá·l* (*-l-tal*) round obj. ricochets, glances off ... (YM 186)
Otsá· (< *O-tsá-ná*-back)....*-l-te'* (*-l-le·l*) discharge from job "fire ... (YM 198)
tcé·-(< *tci*-out-*ná*-back)....*-da·n* (*-dą·l*) spring returns
tcé·-(< *tci*-out-*ná*-back)....*-l-te'* (*-l-le·l*) release..., let ... go (YM

tćé·-(< *tći*-out-*ná*-back)....*-sid* (*-sil*)   waken (YM 183)
　　　D1 *tćé·ni·lzid*   we two are waking
tćé·-(< *tći*-out-*ná*-back)....*-cį* (*-ci·l*)   summer returns (YM 178)
tćé·-(< *tći*-out-*ná*-back)....*-l-dzid* (*-l-dzil*)   wake up
　　　3 *tćé·náldzid*   he woke up

10.94b.　　　*ná-*(*ná-*) back *yi-*perfective

> ...ing back has been taking place
> ... has been ...ing back
> ... has been ...ing ... back

Prefix *ná-*back (or *ń-*) to regular forms of *yi-*perfective (10.104.). In the forms which seem not to change (*ná-*) takes the place of *-ni-*completive, but in the following forms *yi-* < *yi-*prog.-*ná-* is saturated and the vowels are lenghthened:

D1	*nêi·d-*	(*ná-*back; *yi-*prog.; [*ná-*]; *-i·d-*D1 subj.)
D2	*náo·-*	(*ná-*back; *yi-*prog.; *-oh-*D2 subj.; [*ná-*])
3-3	*náyi·-*	(*ná-*back; *yi-*3 obj.; *yi-*prog.; [*ná-*])
by 1	*ná·c-*	(*ná-*back; *yi-*prog.; [*ná-*]; *-c-*1 ag.)
by 3	*ná·-*	(*ná-*back; *yi-*prog.; [*ná-*]; *-yi-*3 ag.)
by 4	*ńdjo·-*	(*ná-*back; *dji-*4 ag.; *yi-*prog.; [*ná-*])
by D2	*náo·h-*	(*ná-*back; *yi-*prog.; [*ná-*]; *-oh-*D2 ag.)

　*'a-*beyond....*-dzáh* (*-dá·l*)   one person goes back beyond
　'axi·h ...*-lą́* (*-lá·l*)   shuffle cards; put small obj. back into together (YM 191)
　'alná·-....*-T* (pf.)   carry back and forth
　*'á-*thus....*-l-ya·* (*-l-né·l*)   reconstruct
　'é·' bi·-...*dzá* (*-dá·l*)   one person gets dressed (YM 71)
　yah'a-....*-T* (pf.)   go back into enclosure
　*Oká·' 'ada-*down-*ná·-*again-....*-dzáh* (*-dá·l*)   one person dismounts; one goes back down again off ...
　xa-....*-l-γį·'* (*-l-γįh*)   take a rest, get breath back
　*xa-*out-*ná·-*again....*-dzi·'* (*-dzih*)   speak out again (NT 130:11)
　xo-ń-(< *ná-*cycle)-*ná·-*again....*-xai* (*-xah*)   again years pass
　*Otćą́·hdji' 'a-*beyond...*-T* (pf.)   carry ... back in, replace ... with

10.94c.　　　*ná-*(*ná-*)back *si-*perfective

> there has been ...ing back
> ... has ...ed back
> ... has ...ed ... back

Prefix *ná-*back to the forms of *si-*(*ná-*) perfective (10.117a.) the order of prefixes being *ná-*back-*si-*pf.-(*ná-*), that is, (*ná-*) takes the place of *-ni-*completive and has certain effects that differ from it. Note:

3-3	*ná·z-, náyiz-,* *néiz-*	(*ná-*back; *yi-*3 obj.; *si-*pf.; [*ná-*])
1-i	*ná'sé-*	(*ná-*back; *'a-*i obj.; *si-*pf.; *-c-*1 subj.; [*ná-*])
2-i	*ná'síni-*	(*ná-*back; *'a-*i obj.; *si-*pf.; *-n-*3 subj.; [*ná-*])
3-i	*ná'áz-*	(*ná-*back; *'a-*i obj.; *si-*pf.; [*ná-*])
4-i	*ná'tśiz-*	(*ná-*back; *'a-*i obj.; *dji-*4 subj.; *si-*pf.; [*ná-*])
D1-i	*ná'si·d-*	(*ná-*back; *'a-*i obj.; *si-*pf.; [*ná-*]; *-i·d-*D1 subj.)
D2-i	*ná'so·-*	(*ná-*back; *'a-*i obj.; *si-*pf.; *-oh-*D2 subj.; [*ná-*])

P3-3	*ńda·z-*	(*ná*-back; *da*-pl.; *yi*-3 obj.; *si*-pf.; [*ná*-])
by 1	*násis-*	(*ná*-back; *si*-pf.; [*ná*-]; *-c*-1 ag.)
by 4	*nádzis-*	(*ná*-back; *dji*-4 ag.; *si*-pf.; [*ná*-])
3 by 3	*nêinás-*	(*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	*nábi'ƚis-*	(*ná*-back; *bi*-[3] subj.; *'adi*-i ag.; *si*-pf.; [*ná*-]

Plural: forms of the type *ná-dasi·d-* or *ńdasi·d-*

-*'ah* (-*'ah*)	skin, butcher
-*bq·s* (-*bqs*)	lie in a circle
-*l-tas* (-*l-tas*)	spin fine, make spiral
-*l-ƚih* (-*l-ƚih*)	arrange in circular line (YM 198)
-*l-ƚoh* (-*l-ƚoh*)	smoke tobacco, puff
-*giz* (-*gis*)	turn, twist (as valve, faucet)
-*kaƚ* (-*kaƚ*)	sew
-*l-zi'* (-*l-zih*)	cut with pliers
-*dzáh* (-*dá·l*)	one person makes a revolution
-*dzih* (-*dzih*)	pour
-*l-tlé·'* (-*l-tloh*)	moisten, dampen (YM 217)
-*l-tlé·'* (-*l-tloh*)	become wet (YM 217)
'alná-....T (pf.)	... obj. exchange positions (YM 8)
2 *'alnái·ni-*...	
3 *'alnái·z-*	
-*'á-*thus...-*l-zi̧·d* (-*l-zi̧·l*)	cease, discontinue (YM 243)
ná·-....ka·d (-*kaƚ*)	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 *yiḱásji'*	it is fitted to him
i *'áḱásji'*	it is fitted to someone
xá·-(< *xa-*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·-> nâi·-* or *nêi·-* to which the subjective pronouns are added. The exceptions are:

4 *nádji·-* } *ńdji·-*	(*ná*-back; *dji*-4 subj.; *yi*-cont.; *-yi*-cess.)
3-3 *náyi·-*	(*ná*-back; *yi*-3 obj.; *yi*-cont.; *-yi*-cess.)
(3) by i *nábi'ƚi·-*	(*ná*-back; *bi*-[3] subj.; *'adi*-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-ji̧·h* (cust.) (-*l-ji̧·l*)	blacken, dye black (YM 178)
-*ci̧·h* (cust.) (-*ci̧·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
*'ati-*suffering....-*l-'i̧·h* (cust.) (-*l-'i̧·l*)	injure, punish; suffering-is-caused-to-be-done (YM 133)

'*á*-thus-*ni*-($<$ *ná*-back)....-*l*-'*i̧*·*h* (cust.) (-*l*-'*i̧*·*l*)   repair (YM 129)
'*ákó*-thus....-*l*-'*i̧*·*h* (cust.) (-*l*-'*i̧*·*l*)   make, do correctly (YM 129)
Oá '*acdja*' ....-*l*-'*i̧*·*h* (cust.) (-*l*-'*i̧*·*l*)   give ... another chance
   bá '*acdja*' *ná*'*i*-*l*'*i̧*·*h*   he is given another chance (YM 132)
ya-....-*l*-*tal* (-*l*-*tal*)   dash off (YM 187)
   3 *yaná*·*ltal*   he is dashing off
ya-tilt....-*dzi*' (-*dzil*)   pour (YM 240)
Oki-....-*dá*·*h* (-*dá*·*l*)   one stops over ... while returning; one finds ...
   while returning
Oki-....-*l*-*tci*·*h* (-*l*-*tci*·*l*)   have nightmare (YM 36)

10.94e.   *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 *nêi*·-   (*ná*-back; *yi*-prog.; -*c*-1 subj.; -*yi*-cess.)
> 2 *nêini*-   (*ná*-back; *yi*-prog.; -*n*-2 subj.; -*yi*-cess.)

Oká·' ...-*yá* (-*gá*·*l*)   one person dismounted; moved off ...

10.95.   *ná*- or *ni*-against

It is impossible to determine the exact character of *ná*-(*ná*-) against, which may be *ni*-(*ni*-), 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 $>$ *bí*- and *bí*- 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 *ni*-)against is conjugated like *di*-start against (10.90a.) with *n* instead of *d* initial, very few changes taking place because of the instability of *n*. Note:

     2 *nini-*   (*ná*-against; [*ná*-] against; -*n*-2 subj.)
     3 *náni-*   (*ná*-against; [*ná*-] against)
     3-3 *ndini-*   (*ná*-against; *yi*-3 obj.; [*ná*-] against)
   by 3 *né-*   (*ná*-against; [*ná*-] against; -*yi*-3 ag.)

-l-ị (pres.) (*-l-'ị·l*)   test the truth (WM, FH)
-ṅih (mom.) (*-ṅih*)   give the wink to, wink to someone to prevent his saying something
-tse·l (pres.) (*-tsil*)   pound
-tci·h (inc.) (*-tci·l*)   bear down on, bear children

'a-theme....*'ị* (pres.) (*-'ị·l*)   be able to see (YM 101)
'axi-together....*l-'ị* (pres.) (*-l-'ị·l*)   look at each other (EW 78:26)
Oi-(< *O-ná*-against)....*'á·h* (inc.) (*-'á·l*)   dip bread in stew, soup; move-round-obj.-against-it
Oi-(< *O-ná*-against)....*t'á·h* (inc.) (*-tah*)   try; practice shooting at target (FH)
Oi-(< *O-ná*-against)....*-l-kal* (mom.) (*-l-kal*)   chop off
Oi-(<*O-ná*-against)....*yil* (mom.) (*-yil*)   push
Oi-(< *O-ná*-against)....*-djih* (mom.) (*-djih*)   rub with sand
Oi-(< *O-ná*-against)....*tłoh* (mom.) (*-tłó·l*)   tie ... to...
na-about-*Oi*-(< *O-ná*-against)....*ta·h* (inc.) (*-tah*)   try, make an attempt against ... (YM 185)
ná-against...*tal* (mom.) (*-tal*)   kick against (YM 196)
ná-against...*kad* (pres.) (*-kal*)   caress, pet
ná-against...*yas* (mom.) (*-yas*)   scratch with claws (YM 77)
ná-....*yil* (mom.), *-yil* (pres.) (*-yil*)   rub, feel, massage, press against, treat by rubbing (FH)
ná-....*-l-xal* (mom.) (*-l-xal*)   club, strike with clublike obj.
ná-....*-so·l* (inc.) (*-sol*)   blow ... (FH)
ná-against-*'a*-beyond....*yil* (mom.) (*-yil*)   give a push
ké-(< *ki*-security-*ná*-against)....*dzin* (pres.) (*-dzị·l*)   have courteous attitude
ké·-(< *ki*-over-*ná*-against)....*-l-dọ·h* (inc.) (*-l-dọ·l*)   smooth
ki-(< *ki*-sever-*ná*-against)...*tọ·h* (mom.) (*-tọ·l*)   break, fracture (YM 218)
ki-(< *ki*-sever-*ná*-against)-(*ná-*)....*-l-dla·d* (pres.) (*-l-dlal*)   tear apart (YM 52)
tci-out...*yó·d* (inc.) (*-yol*)   drive several out
Ol na-about-*'axi-*(< *'axi*-together-*ná*-against)-*z-*(< *dzi*-away)... *-l-tśin* (pres.) (*-l-tśị·l*)   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-'ạ·h* (*-l-'ạ·l*)   be inefficient, inadequate; unable to afford ... (YM 10)
     Odá ná-cust.....*-l-ni·h* (*-l-ni·l*)   desire to possess, covet (YM 159)
     na-about-*Oi-*(< *O-ná*-against)*ná*-cust.....*tah* (*-tah*)   try (YM 185)
     ná-....*-l-'ị·h* (*-l-'ị·l*)   look at, see
     ná-cust.....*'ị·h* (*-'ị·l*)   steal (YM 101)
     ná-'axi-....*-l-'ị·h* (*-l-'ị·l*)   look at each other
     ni-(< *na*-about)*ná*-cust.....*ta·h* (*-t'á·l*)   orate (YM 190)
     ni-(< *ná*-against)*ná*-cust.....*tal* (*-tal*)   kick again and again (YM 186)
     ni-(< *ná*-against)*ná*-cust.....*yas* (*-yas*)   claw at (YM 77)
     ni-(< *ná*-cust.) (*ná-*)...*-l-tśị·h* (*-l-tśị·l*)   punch, pommel (YM 224)
     yah'a-ná-cust.....*-l-nih* (*-l-ni·l*)   stick head in and jerk it back (YM 166)

ḱi·(< ḱi· ꞏ⌣·ꞏ꞊ nꞏ꞊ against)nꞏt·(< nꞏ꞊ꞏcust.)....-l-dǫꞏh (-l-dǫ·l)   straighten
    hard substance (IJAL 12:11)

ḱi-(< ḱi-over-ná-against)ná-cust.-'a-i-(ná-)....-l-tcǫ·h (-l-tcǫ·l)   erase

Oḱi-(< ḱi-over-ná-against)ná-cust.-'a-i-(ná-)...-tci' (-tcil)   fumble
    amongst, fumble over (YM 41)

xa-out-ná-cust.....-l-tca' (-l-tcal)   card wool; cause-to-swell-out (YM 33)

tći-out-ná-cust.....-l-tcéꞏh (-l-tcé·l)   drive it out, one chases another
    (YM 33)

10.95b.   ná-against ni-perfective

> ...ing against has happened
> ... has arrived ...ing against
> ... has arrived ...ing ... against

The prefix *ná*-against is conjugated in the *ni*-perfective exactly
like *di*-start against *ni*-perfective (10.90b.) with *n* instead of *d*
initial.

-'a·' (-'ah)   deceive, fool (FH)
-l-'ị·' (-l-'ị·l)   look at
-γil (-γil)   push, poke, nudge, touch

'axi-together....-l-'ị·' (-l-'ị·l)   look at each other (YM 101)
'á-thus....-l-ťe (abs.)   be numerous (YM)
Oi-(< O-ná-against)-'a·i....-l-'qꞏd (-l-'q·l)   measure (YM 10)
Oi-(< O-ná-against)-'a·i...-l-'qꞏd (-l-'q·l)   measure up to..., be ade-
    quate to..., be able to afford... (YM 10)
Oi-(< O-ná-against)...-γil (-γil)   touch, shove (with purpose of waken-
    ing ...) (FH)
Oi-(< O-ná-against)....-dlị·d (-dlị·l)   be interested in (YM 54)
xa-....-l-xǫ·j (-l-xǫc)   irrigate

10.95c.   ná-against yi-perfective

> there has been ...ing against
> ... has been ...ing against
> ... has been ...ing ... against

ná-against, when prefixed to *yi*-perfective (10.104.) has the same
forms as *ni*-uniform *yi*-perfective (10.98b.) with the following ex-
ceptions. Obviously the analysis is different:

D1 nị·d-   (ná-against; yi-prog.; [ná-]; -i·d-D1 subj.)
D2 nó·-   (ná-against; yi-prog.; -oh-D2 subj.; [ná-])
by 1 néc-   (ná-against; yi-prog.; [ná-]; -c-1 ag.)
(3) by i bi'ťino·-   (bi- [3] subj.; 'adi-i ag.; ná-against; yi-prog.; [ná-])

-'a·' (-'ah)   deceive (YM 13, YMG 88, FH)
-ła·' (-łah)   be deceived

'a-beyond....-l-γil (-l-γil)   doze (YM 89)
    4 'ajno·lγil   he(4) dozed
    i 'ino·lγil   someone dozed
'axi-together....-tị·' (-tị·l)   see each other (EW 78:26)
'á-thus....-l-nin (abs.)   be nice, fine, beautiful (NT 168:22)
Oé·....-l-ti' (-l-ti')   keep at ..., stay with it, persist at ...
    3 yê·ni·lti'   he kept at it
Oi-(< O-ná-against)....-l-'e·z (-l-'is)   push foot against
Odá....-l-ni·d (-l-ni·l)   desire uncontrollably (YM 59)

yah'a-....-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-tca·d* (*-l-tcal*)   card wool; cause swelling out (YM 33)
Oza· ....-łą́ (*-łá·l*)   kiss (YM 89, 191)

10.95d.   *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	*-níni-*	(*si*-pf.; *-n*-2 subj.; [*ná-*] against)
3	*-ne·z-*	(*si*-pf.; [*ná-*] against)
4	*-jne·z-*⎫ *-zne·z-*⎭	(*dji*-4 subj.; *si*-pf.; [*ná-*] against)
D1	*-ne·d-*⎫ *-ni·d-*⎭	(*si*-pf.; [*ná-*] against; *-i·d*-D1 subj.)
D2	*-no·-*⎫ *sinó-*⎭	(*si*-pf.; *-oh*-D2 subj. [*ná-*] against;)
3-3	*-ine·z-*	(*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)
Oi-(< *O-ná*-against)....*-łą́·'* (*-tah*)   try (YM 185)
Oi-(< *O-ná*-against)....*-l-tłah* (*-l-tłah*)   hinder, delay, prevent
Oi-(< *O-ná*-against)*ná-O*-....*-l-łą́·'* (*-l-łį·l*)   instruct... in it; teach it
    to ... (YM 209)
ná-against....*-tá·l* (*-tal*)   kick; move round obj. (foot) against (YM 186)
ná-against....*-l-xa·l* (*-l-xal*)   club...; cause clubbing against
ná-against....*-sol* (*-sol*)   blow against (FH)
        D1 *náne·lzol*   we two blew against
ná-against-²(< *'a*-theme)....*-l-ya·l* (*-l-yal*)   eat too much meat (FH)

10.95e.   *ná-si*-against un-... continuative

un-....ing is taking place
... is un-....ing ...

ná-against prefixed to *si*-un- continuative (cp. 10.118a.) results in the following forms:

1	*nóc-*	(*ná*-against; *si*-un-; [*ná-*]; *-c*-1 subj.)
2	*níni-*	(*ná*-against; *si*-un-; [*ná-*]; *-n*-2 subj.)
3	*nó-*	(*ná*-against; *si*-un-; [*ná-*])
4	*djinó-*⎫ *djini-*⎭	(*dji*-4 subj.; *ná*-against; *si*-un-; [*ná-*])
D1	*ni·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	*bidiñó-*	(*bi*- [3] subj.; *'adi*-i ag.; *ná*-against; *si*-un-; [*ná*-])

-*'á·h* (pres.) (-*'ah*)   deceive (YM 13)

Oí-(< *O-ná*-against)....-*l-'a·h* (pres.) (-*l-'ah*)   mistake, fail to distinguish, falter (WM, FH)

Oí-(< *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-....-*ñah* (mom.) (-*ñah*)   become untied without agency

10.95f.   *Oń-, Oná-, Oní*-against ..., apart from ...

Since -*ń*-, -*ná*-, or -*ni*- as a form of the postposition "against" assimilates 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-ná*-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·-* ⎫ *bí·-* ⎭	(*bi*- [3] obj.; *ná*-against; *yi*-prog.; -*n*-2 subj.)
3	*yé·-*	(*yi*-3 obj.; *ná*-against; *yi*-prog.)
4	*bídjo·-*	(*bi*- [3] obj.; *ná*-against; *dji*-4 subj.; *yi*-prog.)
i	*bó'o·-*	(*bi*- [3] obj.; *ná*-against; *'a*-i subj.; *yi*-prog.)
D1	*bi·d-*	(*bi*- [3] obj.; *ná*-against; *yi*-prog.; -*i·d*-D1 subj.)
D2	*bé·h-* ⎫ *bó·h-* ⎭	(*bi*- [3] obj.; *ná*-against; *yi*-prog.; -*oh*-D2 subj.)

Plural: prefix *bi-da*- 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	*·yiyo·-*	(*yi*-3 obj.; *ná*-against; *yi*-3 obj.; *yi*-prog.)
P3-3	*yidayo·-*	(*yi*-3 obj.; *ná*-against; *da*-pl.; *yi*-3 obj.; *yi*-prog.)
(3) by i	*bí'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
-*ñah*   rub body against
-*ñih*   hurt

-gil   be pushed (YM 79)
-t-kah   track, overtake by tracking
-l-kal   chip off
-l-γal   eat off bone, eat like an animal
-γil   push
-l-γil   pushing is caused
      D2 *bé·sil*   you two are pushing against it
-dzil   be pushed
-tšah   eat mushy substance
-joh   brush, comb
-dji·l   be called by name
-djol   brushy, fluffy substance moves
-lic   cause squirting, urinate
-tłó·l   tie to . . .
xa- . . . *-cic*   poke eyes out; cause long pointed obj. to move against . . .

10.95h.   *Oná-(ná-)*against . . . continuative

> there is . . .ing against . . .
> . . . is . . .ing against
> . . . is . . .ing against . . .

1	*béc-*	(*bi-* [3] obj.; *ná-*against; [*ná-*]; *-c-*1 subj.)
2	*bíni-*	(*bi-* [3] obj.; *ná-*against; [*ná-*]; *-n-*2 subj.)
3	*yé-*	(*yi-*3 obj.; *ná-*against; [*ná-*])
4	*bídji-*	(*bi-* [3] obj.; *ná-*against; *dji-*4 subj.; [*ná-*])
i	*bé'é-*	(*bi-* [3] obj.; *ná-*against; *'a-*i subj.; [*ná-*])
D1	*bi·d-*	(*bi-* [3] obj.; *ná-*against; [*ná-*]; *-i·d-*D1 subj.)
D2	*béh-* ⎫ *bóh-* ⎭	(*bi-* [3] obj.; *ná-*against; [*ná-*]; *-oh-*D2 subj.)

Plural: prefix *bi-da-* to regular continuative 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 postposition *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."

3-3 against 3	*yé·-, yí·-* ⎫ *yíyi-* ⎭	(*yi-*3 obj.; *ná-*against; *yi-*3 obj.; [*ná-*])
1 against i	*'inác-*	(*'a-*i obj.; *ná-*against; [*ná-*]; *-c-*1 subj.)
2 against i	*'é·ni-*	(*'a-*i obj.; *ná-*against; [*ná-*]; *-n-*2 subj.)
3 against i	*'íyi-* ⎫ *'i·-* ⎭	(*'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	*'óh-*	(*'a-*i obj.; *ná-*against; [*ná-*]; *-oh-*D2 subj.)

Plural against i: prefix *'é·-*(< *'a-*i obj.-*ná-*against) to regular *da-*pl. continuatives (10.84a.).

1-i against i	*'é'éc-*	(*'a-*i obj.; *ná-*against; *'a-*i obj.; [*ná-*]; *-c-*1 subj.)
2-i against i	*'í'i-*	(*'a-*i obj.; *ná-*against; *'a-*i obj.; [*ná-*]; *-n-*2 subj.)
3-i against i	*'é'é-*	(*'a-*i obj.; *ná-*against; *'a-*i obj.; [*ná-*])
4-i against i	*'í'tči-*	(*'a-*i obj.; *ná-*against; *'a-*i obj.; *dji-*4 subj.; [*ná-*])
D1-i against i	*'í'i·d-*	(*'a-*i obj.; *ná-*against; *'a-*i obj.; [*ná-*]; *-i·d-*D1 subj.)
D2-i against i	*'ó'óh-*	(*'a-*i obj.; *ná-*against; *'a-*i obj.; [*ná-*]; *-oh-*D2 subj.)

-'á·h (inc.) (-'á·l)   dip bread in liquid, "dunk"
-l-'į (pres.) (-l-'į·l)   imitate; do as ... does (FH)
-l-tą́·c (inc.) (-l-tąc)   shoot at (NT 46:26)
-l-ne' (cust.) (-l-nil)   chip, chip off ... (YM 163)
-ńa' (pres.) (-ńah)   rub back against it
-l-ka·l (pres.) (-l-kal)   chip, chip off ...
-djih (pres.) (-djih)   rub granular substance against (NT 250:11)
-l-djol (mom.) (-l-djol)   rub brushy substance against ...
-l-tċi·l (pres.) (-l-tċil)   flake, peel off, drop off
-lij (pres.) (-lic)   squirt against ..., urinate (YM 135)
-l-tłóh (mom.) (-l-tłó·l)   tie ... to ...
-l-tłó·h (inc.) (-l-tłó·l)   tie... to ...
na-about... -γil (pres.) (-γil)   push about (YM 79)
na-about... dzil (pres.) (-dzil)   be pushed about
na-about... lah (pres.) (-la·l)   destroy; cause ceremony against
ná-... -γil (pres.) (-γil)   rub ... (FH)

10.95i.   *O-ná-(ná-)* against ... *ni*-perfective

...ing against ... has been completed
... has completed ...ing against ...
... has completed ...ing ... against ...

Prefix *bí-*(< *bi-*[3] obj.-*ná*-against) to regular *ni*-perfective forms (10.99a.) with the following results:

1	bíní-	(bi-[3] obj.; -ná-against; ni-pf.; -c-1 subj.; [ná-])
2	bi·ni-	(bi-[3] obj.; -ná-against; ni-pf.; -n-2 subj.; [ná-])
3	yé·-	(yi-3 obj.; -ná-against; ni-pf.; [ná-])
4	bíjní-	(bi-[3] obj.; -ná-against; dji-4 subj.; ni-pf.; [ná])
3-3	yi·ni-	(yi-3 obj.; -ná-against; yi-3 obj.; ni-pf.; [ná-])
(3) by i	bi'te·-	(bi-[3] obj.; -ná-against; 'adi-i ag.; ni-pf.; [ná-])
by 3 against (3)	bé·-	(bi-[3] obj.; -ná-against; ni-pf.; [ná-]; -yi-3 ag.)

-l-ka·l (-l-kal)   chop off ...
ni-end... -gil (-gil)   be pushed so far, be pushed to end (YM 79)
ni-end... -γil (-γil)   push so far; push to end (YM 79)

10.95j.   *O-ná-(ná-)*against ... *yi*-perfective

there has been ...ing against ...
... has been ...ing against ...
... has been ...ing ... against ...

1	bé·-	(bi-[3] obj.; ná-against; yi-prog.; -c-1 subj.; [ná-])
2	bi·ni-	
	bí·-	(bi-[3] obj.; ná-against; yi-prog.; -n-2 subj.; [ná-])
	bé·-	
3	yé·-	(yi-3 obj.; ná-against; yi-prog.; [ná-])
4	bídjí·-	(bi-[3] obj.; ná-against; dji-4 subj.; yi-prog.; [ná-])
i	bé'é-	(bi-[3] obj.; ná-against; 'a-i subj.; yi-prog.; [ná-])
D1	bi·d-	(bi-[3] obj.; ná-against; yi-prog.; [ná-]; -i·d-D1 subj.)
D2	bó·-	(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; dji-4 ag.; yi-prog.; [ná-])
by D2	bé·h-	(bi-[3] obj.; ná-against; yi-prog.; [ná-]; -oh-D2 ag.)
3 by 3	yiyo·-	(yi-3 obj.; ná-against; yi-subj.; yi-prog.; [ná-]; -yi-3 ag.)
i by 3	'é·-	('a-i obj.; ná-against; yi-prog.; [ná-]; -yi-3 ag.)

P3 by 3 *yídayo·-*   (*yi*-3 obj.; *ná*-against; *da*-pl.; *yi*-3 subj.; *ýi*-prog.; [*ná*-];
                    -*yi*-3 ag.)
3-3 against 3 *yi·-*⎫
              yíyiyi·-⎭ (*yi*-3 obj.; *ná*-against; *yi*-3 obj.; *yi·* prog.; [*ná*-])

-'*q·d* (-'*q·l*)   be confined, enclosed, contained
-'*ą́* (-'*á·l*)   dip ... against, "dunk"
-*l-ne*' (-*l-ni·l*)   chip, chip off by pounding
-*ñi*' (-*ñih*)   be hurt
-*ka·l* (-*kal*)   chop, chop off by knocking
-*yą·d* (stat.)   parts of confining surface have been covered (AB)
-*tśé·*' (-*tśah*)   eat mushy, viscid substance
-*jo·*' (-*joh*)   comb, brush
-*ci·j* (-*cic*)   poke against
-*dja·*' (-*djih*)   rub with sand, granular substance
-*djo·l* (-*djol*)   rub with brushy substance
-*tcį·d* (stat.)   be slightly, noticeably stronger (after great weakness)
-*l-tćil* (-*l-tćil*)   flake, peel off (as skin, paint)

xa-....*l-ne*' (-*l-ni·l*)   punch out, pound out (NT 426:10)
xa-....*ci·j* (-*cic*)   poke out ...
       4-i against 3 *xabi'tći·ci·j*   he(4) poked out (his eyes) (EW 78:14)

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-*   ('*a*-i obj.; -*ná*-against; *si*-pf.; [*ná*-])
     3 against 3 *yé·z-*   (*yi*-3 obj.; -*ná*-against; *si*-pf.; [*ná*-])
   3-3 against 3 *yíyíz-*⎫
                 yi·z-⎭ (*yi*-3 obj.; -*ná*-against; *yi*-3 obj.; *si*-pf.; [*ná*-])
 by 3 against 3 *bíyis-*   (*bi*-[3] obj.; -*ná*-against; *si*-pf.; [*ná*-]; -*yi*-3 ag.)
 by i against 3 *bi'ťis-*   (*bi*-[3] obj.; -*ná*-against; '*adi*-i ag.; *si*-pf.; [*ná*-])

-*l-dá* (-*l-da·l*)   watch, take care of ..., guard; cause-sitting-against...
-*yil* (-*yil*)   push
-*tśą́·*' (-*tśį·l*)   be heard; sound against ... (YM 222)
-*lij* (-*lic*)   squirt against, urinate (YM 135)
-*l-tłǫ́* (-*l-tłó·l*)   tie ... to ...
na-about....*dį·d* (-*dį·l*)   dwindle, diminish, be destroyed (NT 342:6)
na-about....-*sá* (-*sa·l*)   destroy; cause evil against here and there, cause
       ceremony against ... (YM 139)
ná-....-*yil* (-*yil*)   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 *bí-*(< *bi-*(3) obj.-*ná-*against) to regular inceptive cessative
forms (10.105b.) with the following results:

1	*bí·c-*	(*bi*-[3] obj.; -*ná*-against; *yi*-cont.; *yi*-cess.; -*c*-1 subj.)
2	*bí·-*	(*bi*-[3] obj.; -*ná*-against; *yi*-cont.; *yi*-cess.; -*n*-2 subj.)
3	*yí·-*	(*yi*-3 obj.; -*ná*-against; *yi*-cont.; *yi*-cess.)
4	*bídji·-*	(*bi*-[3] obj.; -*ná*-against; *dji*-4 subj.; *yi*-cont.; *yi*-cess.)
D1	*bí·d-*	(*bi*-[3] obj.; -*ná*-against; *yi*-cont.; *yi*-cess.; -*i·d*-D1 subj.)
D2	*bóh-*	(*bi*-[3] obj.; -*ná*-against; *yi*-cont.; *yi*-cess.; -*oh*-D2 subj.)

-*T* (inc. cess.)   move ... alongside, move ... up the side of ...

-'*a·c* (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.) (-*kah*)   pl. persons go up alongside

-*yá·h* (inc. cess.) (-*yah*)   series of events takes place

-*yá·h* (inc. cess.) (-*gá·l*)   one person goes uphill

  1   *bí·cá·h*   I go uphill

  2   *bí·ná·h* ⎫ *bí·yá·h* ⎬   you go uphill (NT 132:2)

Oi-(< *O-ná*-against) *n̄*-(< *ná*-cust.)....-*tac* (cust.) (-*tac*)   two persons go 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 (10.95l.) except:

1	*bí·-*	(*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·'* (-*tah*)   affect by seepage; disintegrate by ...ing alongside

-*ta'* (-*tah*)   fly uphill, fly alongside up

-*tą́* (-*tá·l*)   one is added to ... (YM 7)

-*n̄il* (-*n̄il*)   pl. obj. are added to ... (YME 1)

-*yá* (-*gá·l*)   one person goes uphill

-*kai* (-*kah*)   pl. persons go uphill

-*ya'* (-*yah*)   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 *di*-start against-*ni*-perfective with *n* instead of *d* initial (10.90b.) and the following forms are distinctive:

4	*ná·jni-*	(*ná·*-again; *dji*-4 subj.; *ni*-pf.; [*ná-*])
4-i	*ná·jñi-*	(*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·nác-*	(*ná·*-again; *yi*-3 subj.; *yi*-prog.; [*ná-*]; *-c*-1 ag.)
3 by D2	*ná·ná·h-*	(*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·'tćo·-*	(*ná·*-again; *'a*-i subj.; *dji*-4 ag.; *yi*-prog.; [*ná-*])

-*dą́·'* (-*dį́·l*) eat (gen.)
-*dlą́·'* (-*dlį́·l*) drink

ná·-again...-*T* (pf.) move ... back again
niki-ń-(< *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
tći-out-*ná·*-again....-*łá·j* (-*łac*) two persons start out again
tći-out-*ná·*-again....-*kai* (-*kah*) pl. persons start out again
tći-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
-*te·l* be wide
-*l-łé·* (dual and pl. only) be ... in number
-*ne·z, -né·z* be long, tall, deep
-*γé·'* be healthy
-*tsa·h* be enlarging
-*tsoh* be large
-*l-tśil* be firm, stubborn, resistant
-*jóni* be nice, pretty, good, satisfactory
-*tcxó·'i* be ugly, filthy, worn, out of order, ruined

-*lį*   be (belong to)
-*tłah*   be clumsy, awkward, handicapped
-*tłiz*   be hard
'*a*-....-*tah*   be among (YMG 26)
        3 '*atah*   he is amongst them
Oa· ....-*tcį'* (-*tcį·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	*nic*-	(*ni*-uni.; -*c*-1 subj.)
2	*ni*-	(*ni*-uni.; -*n*-2 subj.)
3	*ni*-	(*ni*-uni.)
4	*djini*-	(*dji*-4 subj.; *ni*-uni.)
i	'*ani*-	('*a*-i subj.; *ni*-uni.)
D1	*ni·d*-	(*ni*-uni.; -*i·d*-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.)

-*té·h* (mom.) (-*té·l*)   one animate obj. is lying
-*ní* (pres.) (-*né·l*)   pl. are dying (YM 218)
-*ke'* (pres.) (-*ke·l*)   cool to normal (YM 117)

'*a*-beyond....-*dzin* (pres.) (-*dzį·l*)   be cursed, witched
Oa· ....-*l*-'*į·h* (inc.) (-*l*-'*į·l*)   slip . . . to . . . (YM 102)
Oa· '*a*-beyond....-*dah* (pres.) (-*dah*)   fall into . . .'s power (YM 45)
'*á*-self-*ki*-over....-*l*-*tcé·h* (pres.) (-*l*-*tcé·l*)   drive (attacker) off (YM 33)
na-about....-*tin* (pres.) (-*tį·l*)   instruct, teach, coach (YM 209)
na-about....-*tá* (pres.) (-*tá·l*)   orate, make speech (YM 190)
na-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*-*tca·d* (pres.) (-*l*-*tcal*)   card wool (YM 33)
xo-....-*tłah* (-*tłil*)   place is difficult
Oza ....-*ta·h* (-*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 *yi*-perfective (10.88b.) with *n* instead of *d* initial.

'*a*-beyond. . . .*-tłi·j* (*-tłic*)   squirm off
ni-end. . . .*-l-tłi·j* (*-l-tłic*)   squirm to end
ni-end. . .*-yá* (*-gá·l*)   one has given up (but will go on) (FH)
ni-end-*xo*-things-. . . .*-yq·d* (*-yq·l*)   be smartest, most intelligent, wisest
        2 *nixwi·niyq·d*   you are the most intelligent
        D1 *nixoni·dzq·d*   we are the most intelligent
tái-out-*ni*-end. . . .*-yo·d* (*-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*-uni.; *si*-pf.; *-ni*-compl.)
    D2 *no·-* ⎱
       sino·- ⎰   (*ni*-uni.; *si*-pf.; *-oh*-D2 subj.; *-ni*-compl.)
    3-3 *yine·z-*   (*yi*-3 obj.; *ni*-uni.; *si*-pf.; *-ni*-compl.)
    (3) by i *bi'łine·s-*   (*bi*-[3] subj.; '*adi*-i ag.; *ni*-uni.; *si*-pf.; *-ni*-compl.)

-T (pf.) . . . uniformly
-'ą (*-'q·l*)   measure up to, increase in volume
-'į·' (*-'į·l*)   steal, do surreptitiously (YM 93)
-dá (*-da·l*)   one person sits, stays, is at home
-dá· (*-da*)   dance Girl's Dance
-doi (*-doh*)   be warm, hot
-té·j (*-tic*)   two animate obj. lie
-łį·' (*-łį·l*)   be hidden, stolen, done surreptitiously
-l-yol (*-l-yol*)   bloat
-gai (*-gah*)   be very hot, feverish
-giį (*-gic*)   cut with blade
-ké (*-ke·l*)   two sit, stay, dwell
-l-káz, -l-ká·z (*-l-kas*)   make cold, cool
-l-ke' (*-l-ke·l*)   cool to normal
-l-kį (*-l-kį*)   clot, curdle
-tsiz (*-tsis*)   absorb; extinguish light
-l-tłah (*-l-tłah*)   prevent, hinder, cause difficulty (YMG 93)
na-about. . . .*-tą·'* (*-tį·l*)   instruct, coach (YM 209)
na-about. . . .*-l-tą·'* (*-l-tį·l*)   gallop about (YM 209)
na-about. . . .*-l-tłi·j* (*-l-tłic*)   squirm about (FH)
xa-out. . . .*-tą·'* (*-ta·l*)   search for, hunt for . . . (YM 184)
xo-place. . . .*-gai* (*-gah*) (3 only) weather is very hot
tsistła . . .*-l-tcą·'* (*-l-tcé·l*)   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 *djini·-*   (*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
-ḱá·s (*-ḱas*)   become cold
-tcá·d (*-tcal*)   swell (YM 32)

Oa· 'á-self-*ná*-cust.-*xo*-things. . . .*-dẓį·h* (cust.) (*-dẓį·l*)   be, become aware
     of . . .
ná-cust. . . .*-l-doh* (cust.) (*-l-doh*)   heat cust.
ná-cust. . . .*-dẓį·h* (cust.) (*-dẓį·l*)   want, desire, feel like . . .
     bil náni·dẓį·h   he feels sleepy; he desires sleep
     dloh náni·dẓį·h   he feels like laughing
ná-. . . .*-tcá·d* (inc.cess.) (*-tcal*)   be satiated, have enough to eat (YM 32)
     4 *nájni·tcá·d*   he(4) has enough to eat
ná-cust.-*xo*-place. . . .*-l-doh* (cust.) (*-l-doh*)   cust. heat space
ni-(< *ná*-cust.)*ná*-. . . .*-tca'* (cust.) (*-tcal*)   have enough to eat cust.
     4 *ninájni·tca'*   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-tsǫ́·s* (inc.cess.) (*-l-tsǫs*)   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 *djini·-*   (*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.)

-doi (*-doh*)   become hot, warm
-l-yol (*-l-yol*)   inflate, bloat, deflate
-l-yo·l (*-l-yol*)   inflate, bloat, deflate
-gai (*-gah*)   become very hot, feverish; whiten
-giṇ (*-gic*)   cut with blade
-ḱa·z (*-ḱas*)   become cold, cool off

'a-beyond-*ná·*-again-*'a*-theme. . . .*-'a·l* (*-'al*)   chew again
Oa· 'a-thus-*xo*-things. . . .*-zį·'* (*-zį·l*)   be, become aware of . . . (YM 243)
'á-ki-. . . .*-l-tcą́·'* (*-l-tcé·l*)   drive off attacker

ki-(< *ki*-touching-*ná*-against).... -*có·j* (-*coc*)   lay parallel obj. side by side (YM 180)

     3-3 *ki·ni·có·j*   he laid parallel obj. side by side

ké-.....-*dzį·'* (-*dzį·l*)   have attitude of courtesy to relatives

10.99.   *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-i	*'anic*-	('*a*-i obj.; *ni*-start for; -*c*-1 subj.)
2-i	*'ani*-	('*a*-i obj.; *ni*-start for; -*n*-2 subj.)
3-i	*'i*-	('*a*-i obj.; *ni*-start for)
4-i	*'adji*-	('*a*-i obj.; *dji*-4 subj.; *ni*-start for)
(3) by i	*bi'te·*-	(*bi*-[3] subj.; *'adi*-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

-*l-de·l* (-*l-dil*)   eat berries

-*le·c* (-*lic*)   blacken with soot, apply soot

-*to·d* (-*tol*)   suck on

-*né·l* (-*nah*)   crawl

-*gé·d* (-*gol*)   be dug with implement

-*ya·l* (-*yal*)   roll eye

-*djį·* (-*djį·l*)   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)

tćé·-(< *tći*-out-*ná*-back)-*'a*-theme....-*dzi·d* (inc.) (-*dzil*)   waken, wake up

Ol tći-out....-*'a·h* (inc.) (-*'á·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	*nĭ-*	(*ni*-start for; *-c*-1 subj.; *-nĭ*-compl.)
2	*yĭnĭ-*	(*ni*-start for; *-n*-2 subj.; *-nĭ*-compl.)
3	*nĭ-*	(*ni*-start for; *-nĭ*-compl.)
4	*djĭnĭ-*	(*dji*-4 subj.; *ni*-start for; *-nĭ*-compl.)
i	*'anĭ-*	(*'a*-i subj.; *ni*-start for; *-nĭ*-compl.)
D1	*nĭ·d-*	(*ni*-start for; *-nĭ*-compl.; *-i·d*-D1 subj.)
D2	*no·-*	(*ni*-start for; *-oh*-D2 subj.; *-nĭ*-compl.)

Plural: Prefix *da-*pl. to dual forms.

3-3	*yĭnĭ-*	(*yi*-3 obj.; *ni*-start for; *-nĭ*-compl.)
2-i	*'ĭ·nĭ-*	(*'a*-i obj.; *ni*-start for; *-n*-2 subj.; *-nĭ*-compl.)
4-i	*'ajnĭ-*	(*'a*-i obj.; *dji*-4 subj.; *ni*-start for; *-nĭ*-compl.)

Plurals with indefinite object are of the type P3-i *danĭ-*.

by 1	*nĭc·*	(*ni*-start for; *-nĭ*-compl.; *-c*-1 ag.)
by 3	*yĭ·*	(*ni*-start for; *-nĭ*-compl.; *-yi*-3 ag.)
by 4	*djĭ·*	(*dji*-4 ag.; *ni*-start for; *-nĭ*-compl.)
by i	*'ĭ-*	(*'a*-i ag.; *ni*-start for; *-nĭ*-compl.)
by D2	*no·h-*	(*ni*-start for; *-nĭ*-compl.; *-oh*-D2 ag.)
(3) by i	*bi'te·-*	(*bi*-[3] subj.; *'adi*-i ag.; *ni*-start for; *-nĭ*-compl.)
i by 1	*'anĭc·*	(*'a*-i subj.; *ni*-start for; *-nĭ*-compl.; *-c*-1 ag.)
i by 2	*'ĭnĭ·*	(*'a*-i subj.; *ni*-start for; *-nĭ*-compl.; *-n*-2 ag.)
i by 3	*'ĭ·-*	(*'a*-i subj.; *ni*-start for; *-nĭ*-compl.; *-yi*-3 ag.)
i by 4	*'adjĭ·*	(*'a*-i subj.; *dji*-4 ag.; *ni*-start for; *-nĭ*-compl.)
i by D2	*'ano·h-*	(*'a*-i subj.; *ni*-start for; *-nĭ*-compl.; *-oh*-D2 ag.)

-T (pf.)   arrive . . .ing, bring . . ., finish . . .ing
-bá·z (*-bạs*)   hooplike, wheellike obj. moves, rolls
-l-bá·z (*-l-bạs*)   drive wagon, car; cause hooplike obj. to move, roll
-má·z (*-mạs*)   sphere moves, rolls
-dạ́·' (*-dị·l*)   eat (gen.)
-łi' (*-łih*)   extend in a line
-ña' (*-ñah*)   crawl (YMG 87)
-gĭŋ (*-gic*)   cut with blade
-γa·l (*-γal*)   roll eye
-dzá (*-dá·l*)   one person goes
-dzid (*-dzil*)   wake up
-l-djạ' (*-l-djạh*)   move stamping feet
-tci·l (*-tci·l*)   snow falls
-ló·z (*-ló·s*)   lead one animal by rope
-łiz (*-łis*)   harden

*'a-ná-xo-*things. . . .*-ję·d* (*-ję·l*)   be healthy
Oa· *'a-*theme. . . .*-T* (pf.)   lend . . . to . . . (YM 6)
*Oa· tsi-*uncertain. . . .*-ké·z* (*-kos*)   grasp, comprehend thoughts
ki-. . . .*-l-łi'* (*-l-łih*)   persist, keep at . . . (YM 200)
Oki-(< *ki-*over-*ná-*against)²(< *'a-*theme). . . .*-tcid* (*-tcil*)   fumble, feel amongst (YM 41)
*Otsá di-*emit-*'a-*theme. . . .*-li·d* (*-lil*)   be bright, shiny; glitter with reflected light (YM 31)
*Otsá xo-*things. . . .*-ję·d* (*-ję·l*)   be in good health, spirits
*tci-*out. . . .*-T'* (pf.)   carry . . . out
      2 *tci·ni-*
      3-3 *tci·ni-*
*tci-*out. . . .*-'áh* (abs.)   arm is sticking out
*tci-*out. . . .*-tsǫ́·d* (*-tsol*)   lean out (of window, car) (YM 215)

tčí-out....-*có·d* (-*col*)   drag out fabriclike obj. (WM)

tčí-out....-*tlij* (-*tlic*)   person falls out (of window, car) (YM 215)

tčí-out-'*a*-beyond....-*l-dį·d* (-*l-dį·l*)   fight for survival (YM 48)

tčí-out-*xo*-things...-'*ą́* (-'*á·l*)   speak out, tell, divulge things

Ol tčí-out....-'*ą́* (-'*á·l*)   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	*níc-*	(*ni*-start for; [*ná-*]; -*c*-1 subj.)
2	(*ni-*)*ní-*	(*ni*-start for; [*ná-*]; -*n*-2 subj.)
3	*ná-, ni-*	(*ni*-start for; [*ná-*])
4	*dji-*	(*dji*-4 subj.; *ni*-start for; [*ná-*])
i	*'á-*	('*a*-i subj.; *ni*-start for; [*ná-*])
D1	*ni·d-*	(*ni*-start for; [*ná-*]; -*i·d*-D1 subj.)
D2	*nó·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	*dji·-*	(*yi*-3 subj.; *dji*-4 ag.; *ni*-start for; [*ná-*])
(3) by i	*bi'íe·-*	(*bi*-[3] subj.; '*adi*-i ag.; *ni*-start for; [*ná-*])

Oí-(< *O-ná*-against)*ná*-cust....-'*ą·h* (-'*ą·l*)   measure up to ... (YM 10)

Oí-(< *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....-*dį·h* (inc.) (-*dį·l*)   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.) (-*gá·l*)   one person finds, comes upon ...

tčé·-(< *tčí*-out-*ná*-back)....-*dzi·d* (inc.) (-*dzil*)   wake up

     3   *tčénádzi·d*   he is starting to wake up

     P3   *tčé·da·dzi·d*   they are starting to wake up

     3-3   *tčé·yinidzi·d*   he is waking him up

tčí-out...-*T* (inc.)   start ...ing ... out, ... is starting to move out

tčí-out....-*l-bq·s* (inc.) (-*l-bqs*)   start to drive wagon, car out

tčí-out-'*a*-theme....-*l-ba·l* (inc.) (-*l-bal*)   hang curtainlike obj. out; pull ... by force (as by hair, clothes)

tčí-out-'*a*-theme....-*l-dį·h* (inc.) (-*l-dį·l*)   survive but weakening, fight for survival

tčí-out-*ná*-cust....-*l-ni·h* (cust.) (-*l-ni·l*)   stick head out and jerk back (YM 164)

tčí-out-*ná·*-again....-*dá·h* (inc.) (-*dá·l*)   one person starts out again

Ol tčí-out....-'*a·h* (inc.) (-'*á·l*)   start to communicate ..., tell... (YM 5)

Ol tčí-out-*ná·*-again....-'*a·h* (inc.) (-'*á·l*)   start to speak out again, communicate ... with ..., tell ... to ... (WE)

10.100.   *ni*-end continuative

> 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*-continuative 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 continuative

> . . .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	*nni·d-*	(*ni*-end; *ni*-start for; -*i·d*-D1 subj.)
D2	*nnoh-*	(*ni*-end; *ni*-start for; -*oh*-D2 subj.)
3-3	*ni·-* / *niyi-*	(*ni*-end; *yi*-3 obj.; *ni*-start for)
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	*nini-*	(*ni*-end; 'a-i obj.; *ni*-start for; -*n*-2 subj.)
3-i	*ni'i-*	(*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.) (-*ñah*) crawl
-*ge·h* (inc.) (-*goh*)   flow so far and stop; irrigate so far; plunge
-*yá·h* (inc.) (-*gá·l*) one person arrives
-*l·tlá·d* (inc.) (-*l·tlil*) stop, halt (YM 215)
'*axa-*. . .-*zi·d* (inc.) (-*zil*) rake together (YM 240)

Oa· ....*ńé·h* (inc.) (*-ńah*)   crawl up on game, stalk (YM 148)
ni-end-*'a*-beyond....*gé·c* (inc.) (*-gic*)   aim ... (FH)
tći-....*ḷ̣·h* (inc.) (*-ḷ̣·l*)   dodge ..., slip out of (situation)
tći-....*só·d* (inc.) (*-sol*)   drive several out
tći-out-*ná·*-again-....*yó·d* (inc.) (*-yol*)   drive several out again
tći-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-* }	(*ni*-end; *ni*-start for; *-n*-2 subj.; *-ni*-compl.)
4	*nijni-* *djinini-* }	(*ni*-end; *dji*-4 subj.; *ni*-start for; *-ni*-compl.)
3-3	*yinini-* *yini··-* *ni·ni-* }	(*yi*-3 obj.; *ni*-end; *ni*-start for; *-ni*-compl.)
P3-3	*ndayini-* *dayinini-* }	(*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	*ni'i·ni-*	(*ni*-end; *'a*-i obj.; *ni*-start for; *-n*-2 subj.; *-ni*-compl.)
3-i	*nińi-*	(*ni*-end; *'a*-i obj.; *ni*-start for; *-ni*-compl.)
by 1	*ninic-*	(*ni*-end; *ni*-start for; *-ni*-compl.; *-c*-1 ag.)
by 3	*nini-* *ni··-* *ne··-* }	(*ni*-end; *ni*-start for; *-ni*-compl.; *-yi*-3 ag.)
4 by 3	*djine··-*	(*dji*-4 subj.; *ni*-end; *ni*-start for; *-ni*-compl.; *-yi*-3 ag.)

-T (pf.)   set, place, put ... down
-'ą́ (abs.)   lie coiled
-l-bą́·z (*-l-bąs*)   park car, bring wagon to stop (YM 23)
-l-tá·z (*-l-tas*)   cut fine, delicately (WE)
-ńą́ (*-ńę·l*)   move camp
-ńa' (*-ńah*)   crawl
-yá (*-gá·l*)   one person goes
-ge·d (*-gol*)   dig with implement
-go' (*-goh*)   plunge, irrigate (YM 89)
-l-ke' (*-l-ke·l*)   cool to normal
-są́ (*-sé·l*)   mature, grow up (YM 175)
     D1 *ninini·lzą́*   we are growing, have grown up
-dzáh (*-dá·l*)   one person goes
-ja·j (*-jac*)   erode, wear away (YM 236)
-có·j (*-coc*)   lay parallel obj. (YM 179)
-l-tcą́' (*-l-tcį·l*)   follow scent
-l-tlah (*-l-tlil*)   stop, hinder, halt (YMG 89, YM 215)

'axa-together....*zi·d* (*-zil*)   rake together
'axi-....*l-tcą́'* (*-l-tcé·l*)   chase each other (YM 84)
'axi-(< *'axi*-together-*ná*-against)....*l-'ą́* (*-l-'ą·l*)   balance, be eq[ua]l
    volume (YM 14)

Oa· ....*-l-'į·'* (*-l-'į·l*)   slip ... to ... (YM 102)
Oa· ....*-ńa'* (*-ńah*)   crawl up on ... (game after stalking) (YM 148)
ná-back-*'axi*-together....*-l-tcá·'* (*-l-tcé·l*)   two run back together
ná-xi-home-*'a*-theme....*-l-tcá·'* (*-l-tcé·l*)   two return home together
tćí-out....*-łį·'* (*-łį·l*)   dodge out
tćí-out....*-l-ne'* (*-l-ni·l*)   stick head out and jerk back (YM 164)
tćí-out....*-yo·d* (*-yol*)   drive several out
tćí-out....*-tcá·'* (*-tcé·l*)   drive one out
tćí-out....*-łį* (abs.)   flow out

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 i *bi'ťine·-*

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)....*-dlį* (pres.) (*-dlį·l*)   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.....*-dlį·h* (cust.) (*-dlį·l*)   be interested in ...
    cust. (YM 54)
na-about-*'a*-beyond....*-cé·h* (inc.) (*-cah*)   string warp
      D1 *nańi·ljé·h*
xa-out-*'a*-beyond....*-l-né·h* (*-l-nah*)   wear out ...ing
dzi-away....*-sol* (inc.) (*-sol*)   blow on
tćí-out....*-l-ne'* (*-l-ni·l*)   stick head out and jerk it back (YM 164)
tćí-out....*-yó·d* (inc.) (*-yol*)   drive several to end (away from corral after
    leaving gate) (FH)
tćí-....*-l-tcé·h* (*-l-tcé·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* in-
stead of ꞌ 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 *yái·d-*   (*yá-*; *yi-*prog.; *-ni-*compl.; *-i·d-*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 . . . moving along . . .ing
. . . is . . .ing . . . along
. . . 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	*yic*-	(*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	*γo·h*-	(*yi*-prog.; -*oh*-D2 subj.)
P1	*dai·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	*dadjo·*-	(*da*-pl.; *dji*-4 subj.; *yi*-prog.)
Pi	*da'o·*-	(*da*-pl.; '*a*-i subj.; *yi*-prog.)
1-2	*ne·c*-	(*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·c*-	('*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'tčo·*-	(*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'to·*-	(*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	*γoh-*	(*yi*-cont.; -*oh*-D2 subj.)
P1	*dai·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	*dadji-*	(*da*-pl.; *dji*-4 subj.; *yi*-cont.)
Pi	*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	*yiyi-*	(*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	*'adji-*	('*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 D2 by 3 }	*nixi-*	(*nixi*-D1, D2 subj.; *yi*-cont.; -*yi*-3 ag.)

A short list of stems used with *yi*-continuative follows; note that they are verbs of *action* rather than verbs of *motion*.

-bé·j (pres.) (-*bic*)   boil,
-l-bé·j (pres.) (-*l-bic*)   cause boiling
-bij (pres.) (-*bic*)   braid, twill
-diz (pres.) (-*dis*)   spin, twist one element on another
-yǫ́h (pres.) (-*γį·l*) (irregular see 8.97.) eat (gen.)
-giz (pres.) (-*gis*)   turn, twist as pivot, screw
-l-γal (mom.) (-*l-γal*)   animal eats meat; tear meat from bone
-γį·h (mom., inc.) (-*γį·l*) (irregular see 8.97.)   eat (gen.)
-l-jic (pres.) (-*l-jic*)   dance

-*tcah* (pres.) (-*tcah*)   cry, weep

-*l-tcin* (pres.) (-*l-tcị·l*)   give off odor, have odor, smell

-*l-tcí* (pres.) (-*l-tci·l*)   cause bearing down, pressing; give birth to, be born, originate

-*l-tcoj* (pres.) (-*l-tcoc*)   eat herblike substance (as grass, hay, greens)

-*l-tcọ·h* (mom., inc.) (-*l-tcọ·l*)   spoil, ruin, mar, wreck, disfigure

-*tcxah* (pres.) (-*tcxah*)   scream

-*l-tćal* (pres.) (-*l-tćal*)   lap up

-*tćid* (pres.) (-*tćil*)   move hand quickly, scratch with hand, paw

-*le·h* (pres.) (-*le·l*)   become, change

-*dló·h* (pres.) (-*dloh*)   laugh

-*dló·h* (pres.) (-*dló·l*)   animate obj. becomes very cold, freezes, dies of cold

-*tłóh* (pres.) (-*tłó·l*)   weave, tie, intertwine

10.104.   *yi*-perfective

     ... has been ...ing

     ... has been causing ...ing

     ... has been causing ... to ...

     ... has been ...ing ...

     ... has been causing ... to ... it

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.

1	*yi-*	(*yi*-prog.; -*c*-1 subj.; -*ni*-compl.)
2	*yinị-*	(*yi*-prog.; -*n*-2 subj.; -*ni*-compl.)
3	*yi-*	(*yi*-prog.; -*ni*-compl.)
4	*djị·-*	(*dji*-4 subj.; *yi*-prog.; -*ni*-compl.)
i	*'i·-*	('*a*-i subj.; *yi*-prog.; -*ni*-compl.)
D1	*yi·d-*	(*yi*-prog.; -*ni*-compl.; -*i·d*-D1 subj.)
D2	*yo·-*	(*yi*-prog.; -*oh*-D2 subj. -*ni*-compl.;)
P1	*dai·d-*	(*da*-pl.; *yi*-prog.; -*ni*-compl.; -*i·d*-D1 subj.)
P2	*dao·-*	(*da*-pl.; *yi*-prog.; -*oh*-D2 subj.; -*ni*-compl.)
P3	*dayi-*	(*da*-pl.; *yi*-prog.; -*ni*-compl.)
3-3	*yiyị·-*	(*yi*-3 obj.; *yi*-prog.; -*ni*-compl.)
i-3	*'ayị·-*	('*a*-i subj.; *yi*-3 obj.; *yi*-prog.; -*ni*-compl.)
1-i	*'i·-*	('*a*-i obj.; *yi*-prog.; -*c*-1 subj.; -*ni*-compl.)
2-i	*'i·nị-*	('*a*-i obj.; *yi*-prog.; -*n*-2 subj.; -*ni*-compl.)
3-i	*'i·-*	('*a*-i obj.; *yi*-prog.; -*ni*-compl.)
4-i	*'adjị·-*	('*a*-i obj.; *dji*-4 subj.; *yi*-prog.; -*ni*-compl.)
D1-i	*'i·d-*	('*a*-i obj.; *yi*-prog.; -*ni*-compl.; -*i·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	*daiyi-*	(*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	*yi·nị-*	(*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	*djo·-*	(*dji*-4 subj.; *yi*-prog.; -*ni*-compl.; -*yi*-3 ag.)
(3) by 3	*bo·-*	(*bi*-[3] subj.; *yi*-prog.; -*ni*-compl.; -*yi*-3 ag.)

(3) by i	$bi'\acute{t}o\cdot\cdot$	$(bi$-[3] subj.; $'adi$-i ag.; yi-prog.; $-ni$-compl.)
3 by D2	$\gamma o\cdot h\cdot$	$(yi$-3 subj.; yi-prog.; $-ni$-compl.; $-oh$-D2 ag.)
1 by 3	$co\cdot\cdot$	$(ci$-1 subj.; yi-prog.; $-ni$-compl.; $-yi$-3 ag.)
2 by 3	$no\cdot\cdot$	$(ni$-2 subj.; yi-prog.; $-ni$-compl.; $-yi$-3 ag.)
3 by 4	$djo\cdot\cdot$	$(dji$-4 ag.; yi-3 subj.; yi-prog.; $-ni$-compl.)
4 by 3	$xo\cdot\cdot$	$(xo$-4 subj.; yi-prog.; $-ni$-compl.; $-yi$-3 ag.)
D1 by 3 D2 by 3 }	$nxo\cdot\cdot$	$(nxi$-D1, D2 subj.; yi-prog.; $-ni$-compl.; $-yi$-3 ag.)
i by 1	$'e\cdot c\cdot$	$('a$-i subj.; yi-prog.; $-ni$-compl.; $-c$-1 ag.)
i by 3	$'o\cdot\cdot$	$('a$-i subj.; yi-prog.; $-ni$-compl.; $-yi$-3 ag.)
i by 4	$'adjo\cdot\cdot$	$('a$-i subj.; dji-4 ag.; yi-prog.; $-ni$-compl.)
i by D2	$'o\cdot h\cdot$	$('a$-i subj.; yi-prog.; $-ni$-compl.; $-oh$-D2 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

$-l$-$b\acute{q}\cdot z$ ($-l$-bqs) drive wagon, car; roll hooplike obj.; cause hooplike, wheellike obj. to roll

$-l$-$b\acute{e}\cdot j$ ($-l$-bic) boil ...; cause to boil

$-b\acute{f}$' ($-be\cdot l$) pick berries, fruit

$-d\acute{q}\cdot$' ($-d\acute{f}\cdot l$) be eaten (gen.)

$-de\cdot$' ($-dah$) clean

$-d\acute{e}\cdot l$ ($-dil$) eat berries, pollen

$-\acute{n}a$' ($-\acute{n}ah$) crawl

$-y\acute{q}\cdot$' ($-\gamma\acute{f}\cdot l$) (irregular see 8.97.) eat (gen.)

$-yol$ ($-yol$) breathe, blow

$-ge\cdot d$ ($-gol$) dig with implement

$-l$-$\acute{k}az$ ($-l$-$\acute{k}as$) make cold

$-\acute{k}a\cdot z$ ($-\acute{k}as$) straighten stiff obj.

$-\gamma az$ ($-\gamma as$) mark with teeth, tear with teeth

$-\gamma aj$ ($-\gamma ac$) nibble

$-l$-γal ($-l$-γal) animal eats; tear meat from bone

$-l$-$\gamma a\cdot l$ ($-l$-γal) club, hit with club

$-\gamma\acute{a}\cdot d$ ($-\gamma al$) shake flexible container

$-l$-$xa\cdot l$ ($-l$-xal) club; cause clublike obj. to move

$-l$-zol ($-l$-zol) blow hard

$-dz\acute{t}$' ($-dzih$) be left, remain

$-tse\cdot d$ ($-tsil$) pound, beat with hammerlike obj.; hammer

$'a$-theme...$-dl\acute{q}\cdot$' ($-dl\acute{f}\cdot l$) drink, be a drinker (YM 54)

$'\acute{a}$-self-$\acute{k}i$-...$-l$-$tc\acute{q}\cdot$' ($-l$-$tc\acute{i}\cdot l$) masturbate self (YM 37)

    by 1 $'\acute{a}\acute{k}e\cdot ctc\acute{q}\cdot$'

    by 2 $'\acute{a}\acute{k}i\cdot niltc\acute{q}\cdot$'

di-...$-l$-$dl\acute{q}\cdot$' ($-dl\acute{f}\cdot l$) be drunk, be made to drink

$\acute{k}e$-($<$ $\acute{k}i$-sever)-$'a$-theme...$-'ah$ ($-'al$) take hair down (YM 16)

xa-...$-'\acute{q}$ ($-'\acute{a}\cdot l$) pull one tooth, take one ... out (as dollar from bank, pocket)

    1 $xdi'\acute{q}$ I pulled one tooth

    2 $xan\acute{a}'\acute{q}$ you pulled one

    3-3 $x\acute{a}i\cdot'\acute{q}$ he pulled one

xa-...$-nil$ ($-nil$) pull several teeth; take pl. obj. out

xa-out-$'a$-theme...$-l$-$x\acute{q}\cdot$' ($-l$-$x\acute{q}\cdot l$) snore

tci-out-$n\acute{a}\cdot$-again-xo-things...$-t\acute{q}$ ($-t\acute{a}\cdot l$) speak out again (BS)

10.105.   *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:

    i '*i·do·*-   ('*a*-i subj.; *yi*-cess.; *di*-fut.; *yi*-prog.)
    3-3 *yi·do·*-   (*yi*-3 obj.; *yi*-cess.; *di*-fut.; *yi*-prog.)

'*i*-(< '*a*-beyond-*yi*-cess.)....*l-γoc*   be put to sleep
nêi-....-l-gah   rub white on, whiten
nêi-....-l-tsoh   rub yellow on, make yellow
nêi-....-l-jį·l   rub black on
nêi-....-l-tcih   rub red on
nêi-....-l-tłic   rub blue on
dah-....tcih   flash red (YM 34)
*ya-*tilt...-*l-tal*   dash off, start running fast (YM 187)
*ya-*tilt...-*zil*   pour (YM 187)
Okidji xadah 'i'i-(< '*a*-beyond-'*a*-i-*yi*-cess.)....*l-ni·l*   drop one bomb on (YM 165)
Oki·-(< *ki*-over-*yi*-cess.)....-*zil*   cover by raking over ... (YM 240)
Ozá ki·-(< *ki*-over-*ná*-against)*di-*....-*nih*   choke, strangle with hands (YM 157)

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.

    1 *yi·c*-   (*yi*-cont.; *yi*-cess.; -*c*-1 subj.)
    2 *yi·*-   (*yi*-cont.; *yi*-cess.; -*n*-2 subj.)
    3 *yi·*-   (*yi*-cont.; *yi*-cess.)
    4 *dji·*-   (*dji*-4 subj.; *yi*-cont.; *yi*-cess.)
    i '*i·*-   ('*a*-i subj.; *yi*-cont.; *yi*-cess.)

D1 *yi·d-*　　(*yi*-cont.; *yi*-cess.; -*i·d*-D1 subj.)
D2 *γo·h-*　　(*yi*-cont.; *yi*-cess.; -*oh*-D2 subj.)

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 *yiyi·-*　　(*yi*-3 obj.; *yi*-cont.; *yi*-cess.)
P3-3 *yide·-*　　(*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 *'adji·-*　　('*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-γá·c* (-*l-γac*)　bite
-*l-γi·j* (-*l-γic*)　crouch
-*zoh* (-*zoh*)　mark, scratch (YM 244)
-*l-tsé·h* (-*l-tsé·l*) (cess. only)　see　(YM 219)
-*cȼ·h* (-*cȼ·l*)　dye black (YM 178)
-*djȼ* (-*djȼ·l*)　move black; black obj. (speck) moves
-*l-tci·h* (-*l-tcih*)　redden, dye red

'*ati*-suffering-*ná*-cust. . . . .-*l-'i·h* (cust.) (-*l-'i·l*)　injure, harm (YM 133)
'*á*-thus-*ná*-back-*xo*-things. . .-*tȼ·h* (cust.) (-*tȼ·l*)　quit, back out cust
　(YM 202)
'*á*-thus-*ni*-(< *ná*-back)*ná*-cust. . . . .-*l-'i·h* (cust.) (-*l-'i·l*)　repair (YM 129)
'*ákó ná*-cust. . . . .-*l-'i·h* (cust.) (-*l-'i·l*)　make it correctly (YM 129)
Oá 'acdja' ná'a-theme. . . .-*l-'i·h* (inc. cess.) (-*l-'i·l*)　give . . . a chance
　(YM 132)
Ota· ń-(< *ná*-cust.). . . .-*l-nih* (cust.) (-*l-nih*)　there is an epidemic (YM
　158)
ná-cust. . . . .-*l-na·h* (cust.) (-*l-na·l*)　generate electricity (YM 145)
ná-cust. . . . .-*dzoh* (cust.) (-*dzoh*)　mark, scratch (YM 244)
ya-tilt. . . .-*zi·d* (inc. cess.) (-*zil*)　pour (YM 240)
ya-tilt. . . .-*l-ta·l* (-*l-tal*)　start off running fast, dash off (YM 187)
ki-(< *ki*-touching-*ná*-against)*ni*-end. . . .-*có·c* (inc.cess.) (-*coc*)　lay par
　allel 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 *nêi·sdis*　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.

1 *yi·*   (*yi*-prog.; -*c*-1 subj.; *yi*-cess.)
2 *yini-*   (*yi*-prog.; -*n*-2 subj.; *yi*-cess.)
2-i *'ini-*   ('*a*-i obj.; *yi*-prog.; -*n*-2 subj.; *yi*-cess.)
3-3 *yi·yi-*   (*yi*-3 obj.; *yi*-prog.; *yi*-cess.)
by 1 *yi·c-*   (*yi*-prog.; *yi*-cess.; -*c*-1 ag.)

-*dis* (-*dis*)   spin, twist spirally
-*ną́* (-*nę·l*)   move camp
-*gai* (-*gah*)   whiten
-*ge·d* (-*gol*)   dig with implement, shovel dirt
-*gij* (-*gic*)   slice, cut with blade
-*kad* (-*kal*)   sew
-*l-ko'* (-*l-ko·l*) smooth
-*l-ya·j* (-*l-yac*) bite
-*l-ye·j* (*l-yic*)   stoop over, crouch
-*l-tsą́* (-*l-tsé·l*) see (YM 219)
-*djį·'* (-*djį·l*)   be black, move as black line, speck
-*tcį·h* (abs.) know how to ... (YM 36)
-*l-dlą́·'* (-*l-dlį·l*) make ... drink, make ... drunk; cause to drink

dah-·...-tci·' (-*tcih*) flash red (YM 34)
*ya-*tilt...-*l-tá·l* (-*l-tal*) dash off running, start running fast (YM 187)
        2 *yeiniltá·l* you have dashed off
        3 *ya·ltá·l*   he has dashed off
*ya-*tilt...-*zi·d* (-*zil*) pour (YM 240)
*Oki-*over...-*zi·d* (-*zil*) cover by raking over... (YM 240)
        2 *biki·nisi·d* you have covered it by raking ...over it
Oki-·...-l-tcį (-*l-tci·l*) 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 *yí*-*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	*djidiyo·-*	(*dji*-4 subj.; *di*-fut.; *yi*-prog.; *-yi*-rep.asp.)
3-3	*yidiyo·-*	(*yi*-3 obj.; *di*-fut.; *yi*-prog.; *-yi*-rep.asp.)
(3) 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*-(< *dzi*-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. . . .*-l-ni·l*   cut with ax into regular sized pieces
ni-end-*xo*-place. . . .*-l-dlal*   plow (YM 52)
nł-. . . .*-jih*   saw wood
xa-out. . . .*-tsxis*   jerk, whip
xa-out-*ná·*-again-*z*-(< *dzi*-away). . . .*-sih*   pointed obj. moves out away swiftly again
xa-xo-. . . .*-l-tȷ́·l*   rain
xi-rep.ac. . . . .*-ni·l*   pound vigorously
xi-rep.ac.-*z*-(< *dzi*-away). . . .*-tqc*   flip away
xi-rep.ac.-*z*-(< *dzi*-away). . . .*-l-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.)
(3) 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'tiyo·*	(*ci*-1 subj.; *'adi*-i ag.; *yi*-prog.; *-yi*-rep.asp.; *-ni*-compl.)
3 by 1 *yi·c-*	(*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 *yiyi·-*	(*yi*-3 subj.; *yi*-prog.; *-yi*-rep.asp.; *-ni*-compl.; *-yi*-3 ag.)
3 by 4 *dji·-*	(*yi*-3 subj.; *dji*-4 ag.; *yi*-prog.; *-yi*-rep.asp.; *-ni*-compl.)

-l-ka·l (*-l-kal*)   nail; cause solid obj. to hit . . . rep.
-tse·d (*-tsil*)   pound, hit with hammer, mallet
-l-dlǫ́·' (*-dlį·l*)   be made drunk

'a-beyond. . . .*-zą́·'* (*-zą·l*)   beat spouse (YM 234)
'á-thus. . . .*la·* (*-lé·l*)   do, make, build, construct . . . rep.
'á-thus. . . .*l-ya·* (*-l-né·l*)   make, construct, build . . .
Oi· *'i-*($<$ *'a*-beyond-*xi*-rep.ac.). . . .*sǫ́·'* (*-sį·l*)   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 *dzi·-* *dzi·z-*	(*dji*-4 subj.; *si*-pf.; *-yi*-rep.asp.; *-ni*-compl.)
i *'iyé-*	(*'a*-i subj.; *si*-pf.; *-yi*-rep.asp.; *-ni*-compl.)
P4 *dadzi·-*	(*da*-pl.; *dji*-4 subj.; *si*-pf.; *-yi*-rep.asp.; *-ni*-compl.)
Pi *dayi·-*	(*da*-pl.; *'a*-i subj.; *si*-pf.; *-yi*-rep.asp.; *-ni*-compl.)
3-3 *yiye·z-*	(*yi*-3 obj.; *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 *-'į·l* "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, or irregular conjugation (cp. YM 100-1).

1 *yic-*
2 *yini-*
3 *yo-*
4 *djo·-*
D1 *yi·d-*

D2 *γoh-*
1-2 *ne·c-*
1-4 *xwe·c-*
1-i *'e·c-*
1-D1 *nxe·c-*
2-1 *cí·nt-*
2-4 *xwí·ni-*
2-i *'í·ṅ-*
2-D1 *nxi·ni-*
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 *xwi·d-*
D1-D2 *nxi·d-*
D1-i *'i·d-*
D2-1 *co·h-*
D2-4 *xo·h-*
D2-D1 *nxo·h-*
D2-i *'o·h-*

-*'į* (pres.) (-*'į·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 yiltsi·'   he has a head like a bear
djan yinictčah   I have a hat like John's

yiltsǫ́   she is pregnant (-*tsǫ́* 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:

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
1 & yinic\text{-} \\
  & \gamma oc\text{-} \\
2 & yini\text{-} \\
  & \gamma o\text{-} \\
3 & yo\text{-}, \gamma o\text{-} \\
4 & djo\text{-} \\
D1 & yini\cdot d\text{-} \\
   & \gamma o\cdot d\text{-} \\
D2 & yinoh\text{-} \\
   & \gamma o\cdot h\text{-} \\
\end{array}
$$

3 by 1 *γo·c-*
3 by 3 *γo·-*
3 by 4 *djo·-*

-l-γé (pres.) *(-l-γe·l)* be called, be named ...
-dlǫ́ (pres.) *(-dlį̇·l)* believe

Oi·' ....*-'a·h* (pres.) *(-'á·l)* (3 only) be discontented, have change of temper
    1 *ci·' γo·'a·h* I am discontented
tco-useful....*-'į́* (pres.) *(-'į·l)* be useful
tco-useful....*-l-'į́* (pres.) *(-l-'į·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:

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
3 & yo\cdot z\text{-} \\
4 & dzo\cdot z\text{-} \\
  & djiyo\cdot z\text{-} \\
i & 'o\cdot z\text{-} \\
D1 & yiso\cdot d\text{-} \\
   & yisi\cdot d\text{-} \\
D2 & yiso\cdot\text{-} \\
3\text{-}3 & yiyo\cdot z\text{-} \\
\text{by } D2 & yiso\cdot h\text{-} \\
3 \text{ by } 3 & \gamma o\cdot s\text{-} \\
   & yo\cdot s\text{-} \\
(3) \text{ by } i & bi'\ell o\cdot s\text{-} \\
\end{array}
$$

-l-ye' *(-l-ye·l)* be called, have the name ... (NT 369:27)
-l-tčį·' *(-l-tči)* winnow (FH)
-dlǫ·d *(-dlǫ·l)* believe (YM 51, 92; FH)

Oa· ... *-bǫ́* *(-bį·l)* (3 only) lose at gambling (YM 28)
    1 *cao·bǫ́* I lost to ... at gambling
Oa· ....*-l-bǫ́* *(-l-bį·l)* win at gambling (YM 28)
    1 *ba· yisélbǫ́* I won it from him
Oa· ....*-nah* *(-nah)* forget about (YM 147)
'á·-(< *'á-*thus-*si*-harm)....*-tį·d* *(-tį·l)* quit, back out, surrender (YM 202)
Oé· xo-things....*-sį·d* *(-sį·l)* know things (YM 175) .
Oi-(< *O-ná-*against)*xo*-things....*-sǫ'* *(-sǫh)* miss..., find ... gon (YM 175)
    3-3 *yixo·sǫ'* he found him gone
    D1 *bixosi·lzǫ'* we found him gone
ta-....*-ni·'* *(-nih)* mix (as dough, mortar) (YM 156)
ti' xwi·-(< *xo*-things-*si*-harm)....*-ni·'* *(-nih)* suffer, get hurt (YM 158)

ná-....-*kan* (-*ka·l*)   beg, request (YMG 92)
      3 by 1 *néisiskan*   I begged him
ná-....-*γá·j* (-*γac*)   eat, tear, wear away (NT 78:1)
Oγá ...-*yá* (-*gá·l*)   pass ... moving; miss ... while passing (FH)
cói··, cói-(< *có·si*-harm)....-*l-ťe'* (-*l-ťé·l*)   acquire (YM 197)
      1 *cóisélťe', cói·sélťe'*   I acquired it
tcoi-useful...-*l-'į·d* (-*l-'į·l*)   be useful, use (YM 103)
      1 *tcoisél'į·d*   I used it
      3 *tco·z'į·d*   it is useful
      3-3 *tco·s'į·d*   he used it
ḱé-(< *ḱi*-sever-*ná*-against)....-*ńa'* (-*ńah*)   become untied (FH)
      3 *ḱéo·sńa'*   it got untied

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 *ní*-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.

<div align="center">

yí-ní-doubtful destination continuative

</div>

> ... moves trying to get to target
> ... tries to get ... to target

    1 *yínic*-
    2 *yíni*-
    3 *yí*-
    4 *dji*-
    i *'í*-
    D1 *yíni·d*-
    D2 *yinóh*-
    3-3 *yí··*-
    1-i *'í·níc*-

2-i *'í·ní-*
4-i *'ádjí-*
D1-i *'í·ní·d-*
D2-i *'ínóh-*

-l-tś́ĭ·h (inc.) (*-l-tśĭ·l*)   listen to ... (WM)
-lĭ (abs.)   set a high value on, put a high price on ... (WM)

*Oí·(< bi-ná-*against*-yi-)ní-....-γah* (abs.)   be able to do it, be proportionate to..., match ...
     3 *bĭ·γah, yĭ·γah*
     4 *bídjĭ·γah*

10.110a.   *yĭ-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 *yĭ-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 *-yĭ·-*
     4 *-djĭ·-*
     i *-'ĭ·-*
     1-i *-'ĭ·nĭs-*
     2-i *-'ĭ·ní-*
     3-i *-'ĭ·-*
     4-i *-'ĭčĭ·-*

*ná-*cust....*-l-tśĭ·h* (cust.) (*-l-tśĭ·l*)   hear; sounds tries to move to ... cust.
     (YM 222)

10.110b.   *yĭ-ní-*doubtful destination *ni-*perfective

     ... has ...ed to doubtful destination
     ... has tried to ... to destination

The prefix combination *yĭ-ní-*doubtful destination combines with *ni-*perfective prefixes (10.99a.) to lengthen *ní-*perfectives:

     1 *yíní·-*
     2 *yĭ·nínĭ̊*
     3 *yíní·-*
     4 *yíjní·-*
     3-3 *yĭ·ní·-*

-l-ne' (*-l-ni·l*)   throw round obj.
-l-xa·l (*-l-xal*)   throw club, stick
-l-xan (*-l-xą̂·l*)   throw obj. (gen.)
-lo' (*-loh*)   throw loop, lasso

10.110c.   *yĭ-ní-*doubtful destination *si-*perfective

     ... has tried to ... to destination

The combination of *yĭ-ní-*doubtful destination with *si-*perfective has the order *yĭ-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-, yisini-*
    3 *yiyi·s-*
    4 *dji·s-*
  D1 *yisi·d-, yi sint·d-*
  D2 *yisó·-, yisinó·-*
   1-i *'i·sis-*
   2-i *'i·sini-*
   3-i *'i·s-*
   4-i *'adji·s-, 'adzi·s-*
  D1-i *'i·si·d-*
  D2-i *'i·só·-*
 -l-tsą·' (*-l-tsį·l*)   hear; sound tries to move (YM 222, FH)

10.110d. *yi-ni*-doubtful destination inceptive cessative

The cessative affects *yi-ni*-doubtful destination by combining with *-ni-* to result in a falling tone; *yi-ni-yi*-cess. > *yini·-*:

    1 *yini·c-*
    2 *yini·-*
    3 *yini·-*
    4 *yijni·-*
 -l-tah (inc. cess.) (*-l-tah*)   count
 -l-tó·h (inc. cess.) (*-l-toh*)   shoot arrow
 -l-ne' (inc. cess.) (*-l-ni·l*)   throw one small obj.
 -l-xa·l (inc. cess.) (*-l-xal*)   throw club, stick
 -le·h (inc. cess.) (*-loh*)   throw loop, lasso

10.110e. *yi-ni*-doubtful destination perfective cessative

      ... has paused ...ing to doubtful destination

The cessative perfective of *yi-ni*-doubtful destination has the following forms.

    1 *yini·-*
    2 *yinini·-* ⎫
      yi·nini- ⎭
    3 *yiyini·-* ⎫
      yi·ni·- ⎭
    4 *yijni·-*
  D1 *yini·d-*
  D2 *yinó·-*
 -l-ta' (*-l-tah*)   count
 -l-toh (*-l-toh*)   shoot arrow
 -l-ne' (*-l-ni·l*)   throw one small obj. (YM 163)
 -l-xa·l (*-l-xal*)   throw club, stick
 -lo' (*-loh*)   throw loop, lasso

10.111.   *yi-ni*-reciprocal effect

yi-ni- is a prefix combination which I refer to as "reciprocal effect" (abbreviated "rec.ef."). It is not to be confused with *yi-*

< *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-ni*-reciprocal effect is the -*ó*- of the third persons — *yó*-, *djó*-, and '*ó*-.

Although *yíni*-reciprocal effect may seem formally to be related to *di-ni*-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, -*ni*- combines with it to result in *yídé·c*-, in comparison with *dínê·c*-. '*a*-indefinite pronoun combines with *yi*- to form '*i·*- whereas '*a*- has the position between *di*- and *ni*- of the prolongative — '*i·dé·c*- compared with *dínê·c*-.

The prefix complex *yi-ni*- 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*-(*ni*-) 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.-(*ni*-)*yi*-prog. and the results of the contractions may be described as those of *di*-start against future (10.90.), (*ni*-) having the same effects in this conjugation as (*ná*-) in that. Note:

3-3	*yi·dó·*-	(*yi*-rec.ef.; *yi*-3 obj.; *di*-fut.; [*ni*-]; *yi*-prog.)
1-i	'*i·dê·c*-	('*a*-i obj.; *yi*-rec.ef.; *di*-fut.; [*ni*-]; *yi*-prog.; -*c*-1 subj.)
4-i	'*i·jdó·*-	('*a*-i obj.; *yi*-rec.ef.; *dji*-4 subj.; *di*-fut.; [*ni*-]; *yi*-prog.)
(3) by i	*bidi'tó·*-	(*bi*-[3] subj.; '*adi*-i ag.; *yi*-rec.ef.; *di*-fut.; [*ni*-]; *yi*-prog.)

-*be·l*   pick berries, small fruit
-*l-tah*   read, count, go to school
-*ji·l*   call by name, give name to (YM 236)
-*tsil*   chop, pound
-*tśį·l*   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*-(*ni*-) reciprocal effect continuative

> . . . ing is having reciprocal effect
> . . . is . . .ing with reciprocal effect
> . . . is . . .ing . . . with reciprocal effect

1	*yínic*-	(*yi*-rec.ef.; [*ni*-]; -*c*-1 subj.)
2	*yíni*-	(*yi*-rec.ef.; [*ni*-]; -*n*-2 subj.)
3	*yó*-	(*yi*-rec.ef.; [*ni*-])
4	*djó*-	(*dji*-4 subj.; *yi*-rec.ef.; [*ni*-])

i	'ó-	('a-i subj.; yi-rec.ef.; [ni-])
D1	yint·d-	(yi-rec.ef.; [ni-]; -i·d-D1 subj.)
D2	yinóh-	(yi-rec.ef.; [ni-]; -oh-D2 subj.)
P1	déint·d-	(da-pl.; yi-rec.ef.; [ni-]; -i·d-D1 subj.)
P2	déinóh-	(da-pl.; yi-rec.ef.; [ni-]; -oh-D2 subj.)
3-3	yiyó-	(yi-3 subj.; yi-rec.ef.; [ni-])
1-i	'í·nic-	('a-i obj.; yi-rec.ef.; [ni-]; -c-1 subj.)
2-i	'í·ni- ⎫ 'í·nni- ⎬	('a-i obj.; yi-rec.ef.; [ni-]; -n-2 subj.)
3-i	'ayó-	('a-i obj.; yi-rec.ef.; [ni-])
4-i	'ádjó- ⎫ 'idjó- ⎬	('a-i obj.; dji-4 subj.; yi-rec.ef.; [ni-])
D1-i	'í·ni·d-	('a-i obj.; yi-rec.ef.; [ni-]; -i·d-D1 subj.)
D2-i	'í·nóh-	('a-i obj.; yi-rec.ef.; [ni-]; -oh-D2 subj.)
3 by 1	γóc-	(yi-3 subj.; yi-rec.ef.; [ni-]; -c-1 ag.)
3 by 3	γó-	(yi-3 subj.; yi-rec.ef.; [ni-]; -yi-3 ag.)
3 by 4	djiyó-	(yi-3 subj.; dji-4 ag.; yi-rec.ef.; [ni-])
(3) by i	bi'tó-	(bi-[3] subj.; 'adi-i ag.; yi-rec.ef.; [ni-])

-bé (pres.) (-be·l)   pick berries, small fruit (YM 25 -bé·)
-l-don (mom., pres.) (-dǫ·l)   shoot gun at target
-l-dǫ· (mom., pres.) (-l-dǫ·l)   hold taut, cause tautness
-l-ta' (pres.) (-l-tah)   read, count, go to school (YM 185)
-tą́ (pres.) (defective)   hold by attachment (YM 188, FH)
-l-ne' (pres.) (-l-ni·l)   throw round obj. at, hammer on, hit with hammer
-ní' (pres.) (-ni·l)   have regard for, esteem greatly, show affection for
-ki' (mom.), -ke·d (pres.) (-kil)   ask question expecting an answer
-l-xa·l (pres.) (-l-xal)   throw club at target
-sih (mom.) (-sih)   throw point obj. (as spear) at target
-dzi (mom.) (-dzih)   scold, speak to, utter
-tsa' (mom.), -tsah (pres.) (-tsah)   move while holding ... in teeth
-tsi' (pres.) (-tsih)   hold in fingertips (YM 222)
-tsin (pres.) (-tsį·l)   dig for, dig after
-jih (pres.) (-ji·l)   call by name, use ...'s name
-dji·h (pres.) (-djih)   claw at, grasp with claws, nails (YM 106 -dji')
-dji (pres.) (-dji·l)   be called by name (YM 236)
-leh (pres.) (-lé·l)   throw rope at, rope an animal
-l-tle·h (pres.) (-l-tloh)   throw viscid substance at

'a beyond limit 'a-beyond....li (pres.) (-li·l)   depend on, rely upon (YM 134)
'á-thus...-sin (pres.) (-sį·l)   maintain, take care of, keep in order (YM 182)
Oí-(< O-ná-against)....-l-tą́ (pres.) (defective verb)   hold ... against ...
Oí-·(< O-ná-against-yi-rec.ef.)ni-rec.ef.....l-ni·h (inc.) (-l-nih)   accuse of flirting with spouse (YM 150)
        by 3 yó·lni·h
Oí-(< O-ná-against) ná-·....-ke·d (inc.) (-kil)   ask for another
        3-1 cíná·yóke·d   he is asking me for another, he is asking me again (WE)
Ota· ....-jih (pres.) (-ji·l)   call roll (YM 134)
na-about....li (pres.) (-li·l)   expect ... (YM 134)
        1-3 ndinicli   I am expecting him
        1-2 nani·nicli   I am expecting you
        3-3 nayóli   he is expecting him
ná-cust....-be·h (cust.) (-be·l)   pick berries cust. (YM 25)
        1 néinicbe·h   I cust. pick berries
        2 néinibe·h   you cust. pick berries

ná-cust.....*-ji·h* (cust.) (*-ji·l*)   call by name cust., mention name cust. (YM 236)

ké-(< *ki*-security-*yi*-rec.ef.)*ni*-rec.ef.....*-ni* (pres.) (*-ni·l*)   be friendly, intimate; treat ... as though he were a relative (YM 153, FH)

    1 by 2 *kéci·nini*   I consider you to be a relative
    2 by 1 *kénócni*   you consider me to be a relative
    3 by 1 *kéyócni*   he considers me to be a relative

Odjéi Oi·(< *O-ná*-against-*yi*-rec.ef.) *ni*-rec.ef.....*-l-tą́* (pres.)   hug, embrace (YM 188)

    3-3 *yi·yóltą́*   he is embracing me

10.111c.   *yi-(ni-)* 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.; [*ni*-])
2	*yi·ni-*	(*yi*-rec.ef.; *yi*-prog.; -*n*-2 subj.; [*ni*-])
3	*yó-*	(*yi*-rec.ef.; *yi*-prog.; [*ni*-])
4	*djó·-*	(*dji*-4 subj.; *yi*-rec.ef.; *yi*-prog.; [*ni*-])
i	*'i·-*	('*a*- i subj.; *yi*-rec.ef.; *yi*-prog.; [*ni*-])
D1	*yi·d-* *yini·d-*	(*yi*-rec.ef.; *yi*-prog.; [*ni*-]; -*i·d*-D1 subj.)
D2	*yó·-* *yinó·-*	(*yi*-rec.ef.; *yi*-prog.; -*oh*-D2 subj.; [*ni*-])
3-3	*yiyi·-*	(*yi*-3 obj.; *yi*-rec.ef.; *yi*-prog.; [*ni*-])
3-i	*'á-*	('*a*-i obj.; *yi*-rec.ef.; *yi*-prog.; [*ni*-])
3 by D2	*yó·h-*	(*yi*-3 subj.; *yi*-rec.ef.; *yi*-prog.; [*ni*-]; -*oh*-D2 ag.)
(3) by i	*bi'tó·-*	(*bi*-[3] subj.; '*adi*-i ag.; *yi*-rec.ef.; *yi*-prog.; [*ni*-])
i by 3	*'é·-*	('*a*-i subj.; *yi*-rec.ef.; *yi*-prog.; [*ni*-]; -*yi*-3 ag.)

-*'a·l* (-*'al*)   chew
-*bị̆'* (-*be·l*)   pick berries, small fruit
-*l-ta'* (-*l-tah*)   count, read, go to school (YM 188)
-*tą'* (-*tą́* pres.) (defective)   have hold of, hold by attachment (YM 188)
-*l-ne'* (-*l-ni·l*)   hammer
-*ni'* (-*ni·l*)   be affectionate
-*gic* (mom.pf.) (-*gic*)   cut with blade
-*l-ka·l* (-*l-kal*)   chip, chop off ...
-*ke·d* (-*kil*)   ask expecting an answer
-*dzih* (-*dzih*)   scold
-*tso·d* (-*tsol*)   grasp
-*tśi'* (-*tśih*)   hold with nails
-*tśin* (-*tśị̆·l*)   dig for, dig after
-*ji'* (-*ji·l*)   call by name
-*dji'* (-*djih*)   grasp with claws
-*dji'* (-*dji·l*)   be called by name (YM 236; NT 254:20)
-*dlą́·'* (-*dlị̆·l*)   drink

'axi-together....*-l-tą'* (-*l-tah*)   all, sum is ... (YM 14)
Oi-(< *O-ná*-against)....*-l-don* (-*l-dǫ·l*)   shoot at target
Oi-(< *O-ná*-against)....*-l-ta'* (-*l-tah*)   count
Oi-(< *O-ná*-against)....*-l-tą'* (-*l-tą́* pres.)   hold ... **against** ... (WM)
Oi-(< *O-ná*-against)....*-tsa'* (-*tsah*)   hold in teeth
Oi-(< *O-ná*-against) ....*-tśi'* (-*tśih*)   hold with nails
Ota· ....*-ji'* (-*ji·l*)   call roll (YM 236)

10.111d.   *yí-(ní-)*reciprocal effect *si*-perfective

there has been . . .ing with reciprocal effect
. . . has . . .ed having reciprocal effect
. . . has . . .ed . . . having reciprocal effect

1	*yé·*	(*yí*-rec.ef.; *si*-pf.; *-c*-1 subj.; [*ní*-])
2	*yíní·*	(*yí*-rec.ef.; *si*-pf.; *-n*-2 subj.; [*ní*-])
3	*yé·*	(*yí*-rec.ef.; *si*-pf.; [*ní*-])
3-3	*yés·*	(*yi*-3 obj.; *yí*-rec.ef.; *si*-pf.; [*ní*-])
3-i	*'ayés·*	('*a*-i obj.; *yí*-rec.ef.; *si*-pf.; [*ní*-])
by 1	*yéc·*	(*yí*-rec.ef.; *si*-pf.; [*ní*-]; *-c*-1 ag.)
by 3	*yós·*	(*yí*-rec.ef.; *si*-pf.; [*ní*-]; *-yi*-3 ag.)
3 by 3	*yíyós·*	(*yi*-3 subj.; *yí*-rec.ef.; *si*-pf.; [*ní*-]; *-yi*-3 ag.)
-ní·d (*-ní·l*)		be affectionate, be loved
-dji' (*-dji·l*)		be called by name

10.111e.   *yí-(ní-)* reciprocal effect optative

may (let). . . have reciprocal effect . . .ing

The prefix complex *yí-(ní-)* reciprocal effect conforms to the optative rule of 10.82c., but since *yí-* and (*ní-*) 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 [*ní*-]) $>$ -*ó·*- (10.82a.):

1	*γó·c·*	(*yí*-rec.ef.; -*ó*-opt.; [*ní*-]; *-c*-1 subj.)
2	*γó·*	(*yí*-rec.ef.; -*ó*-opt.; [*ní*-]; *-n*-2 subj.)
3	*yó·*	(*yí*-rec.ef.; -*ó*-opt.; [*ní*-])
4	*djó·*	(*dji*-4 subj.; *yí*-rec.ef.; -*ó*-opt.; [*ní*-])
D1	*γó·d·*	(*yí*-rec.ef.; -*ó*-opt.; [*ní*-]; *-i·d*-D1 subj.)
D2	*γó·h·*	(*yí*-rec.ef.; -*ó*-opt.; [*ní*-]; *-oh*-D2 subj.)
1-i	*'ó·c·*	('*a*-i obj.; *yí*-rec.ef.; -*ó*-opt.; [*ní*-]; *-c*-1 subj.)
2-i	*'ó·*	('*a*-i obj.; *yí*-rec.ef.; -*ó*-opt.; [*ní*-]; *-n*-2 subj.)
3-i	*'ó·*	('*a*-i obj.; *yí*-rec.ef.; -*ó*-opt.; [*ní*-])
4-i	*'adjó·*	('*a*-i obj.; *dji*-4 subj.; *yí*-rec.ef.; -*ó*-opt.; [*ní*-])
(3) by i	*bi'tó·*	(*bi*-[3] subj.; *'adi*-i ag.; *yí*-rec.ef.; -*ó*-opt.; [*ní*-])

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	*kwá·c·*	(*kó*-so far; *yi*-prog.; *-c*-1 subj.)
2	*kwá·*	(*kó*-so far; *yi*-prog.; *-n*-2 subj.)
3	*kwá·*	(*kó*-so far; *yi*-prog.)
4	*kódjo·*	(*kó*-so far; *dji*-4 subj.; *yi*-prog.)
D1	*kwi·d·*	(*kó*-so far; *yi*-prog.; *-i·d*-D1 subj.)
D2	*kwá·h·*	(*kó*-so far; *yi*-prog.; *-oh*-D2 subj.)

'q· . . . .né·l   increase in size, expand; spread legs apart; make an opening so far (YM 162)

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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	*kós-*	(*kó-*so far; *yi-*prog.; *-ni-*compl.; *-c-*1 ag.)
by 2	*kwi·ni*	(*kó-*so far; *yi-*prog.; *-ni-*compl.; *-n-*2 ag.)
by 3	*kó-*	(*kó-*so far; *yi-*prog.; *-ni-*compl.; *-yi-*3 ag.)
by 4	*kódji··*	(*kó-*so far; *dji-*4 ag.; *yi-*prog.; *-ni-*compl.)
by D1	*kwi·d-*	(*kó-*so far; *yi-*prog.; *-ni-*compl.; *-i·d-*D1 ag.)
by D2	*kó·h-*	(*kó-*so far; *yi-*prog.; *-ni-*compl.; *-oh-*D2 ag.)

>'*q·* ...*-dza·* (*-ńé·l*) increase in size so far, expand; spread legs apart: make opening so far (YM 162)

10.113.   *xá-* < *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-(ná-yi)-yi-* > (*xa-ná-*)*yi-* > *xá-yi-* > *xái-*. 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	*xái-*	(*xa-*out; *ná-*back; *yi-*prog.; *-c-*1 subj.; *yi-*cess.)
2	*xáini·*	(*xa-*out; *ná-*back; *yi-*prog.; *-n-*2 subj.; *yi-*cess.)
3	*xái-*	(*xa-*out; *ná-*back; *yi-*prog.; *yi-*cess.)
4	*xádji··*	(*xa-*out; *ná-*back; *dji-*4 subj.; *yi-*prog.; *yi-*cess.)
D1	*xái·d-*	(*xa-*out; *ná-*back; *yi-*prog.; *yi-*cess.; *-i·d-*D1 subj.)
D2	*xáo··*	(*xa-*out; *ná-*back; *yi-*prog.; *-oh-*D2 subj.; *yi-*cess.)

>*nahdji'* ...*-'á·j* (*-'ac*) two persons back up, go off the trail
>*nahdji'* ...*-yá* (*-gá·l*) 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 which 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 *ń-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 *xá*- 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·-*	(*xi*-rep.ac.; *dji*-4 subj.; *yi*-prog.)
3-3	*yiyo·-*	
	xiyo·-	(*xi*-rep.ac.; *yi*-3 obj.; *yi*-prog.)
	xi·yo·-	
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.)
i by 3 *'ido·-* ('a-i subj.; *xi*-rep.ac.; *di*-fut.; *yi*-prog.; -*yi*-3 ag.)

-*na·l* come to life, live through a change (as plant transplanted)
-*ńa·l* person moves (FH)

'a-beyond. . . *T* (fut.) unload, carry . . . beyond rep. (YM 56)
'a-xi·-. . . .*l-kal* cut wood in random sizes
na-about. . . .*te·l* hop about (YM 198)
ná-back. . . .*ńa·l* revive, return to life (YM 145)
    by 3 *náxi·do·ńa·l* he will return to life
ni-end. . . .*l-ni·l* chop wood
xo-place. . . .*l-γal* wriggle on stomach (YM 76)
tči-out. . . .*l-tlil* throw out one obj. after another (EW 49)
Otči' '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.)
4 *xidji-*⎫
  dji·- ⎭ (*xi*-rep.ac.; *dji*-4 subj.; *yi*-cont.)
i *'ayi·-, 'i·-* ('a-i subj.; *xi*-rep.ac.; *yi*-cont.)
D1 *xi·d-* (*xi*-rep.ac.; *yi*-cont.; -*i·d*-D1 subj.)
D2 *xoh-* (*xi*-rep.ac.; *yi*-cont.; -*oh*-D2 subj.)

Plural: prefix *da*-pl. to dual forms.

3-3 *xiyi·-*⎫
    yiyi·-⎭ (*xi*-rep.ac.; *yi*-3 obj.; *yi*-cont.)
1-i *'i·c-* ('a-i obj.; *xi*-rep.ac.; *yi*-cont.; -*c*-1 subj.)
2-i *'iγi-* ('a-i obj.; *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.) (-*mal*) gulp noisily, without chewing (YM 143)
-*l-ta·l* (inc.) (-*l-tal*) kick; move round obj. forcefully
-*γá·h* (inc.) (-*gá·l*) one person goes
-*l-γod* (inc.) (-*l-γol*) rigid obj. sways
-*l-xá·c* (inc.) (-*l-xac*) bite, gnaw
-*có·h* (inc.) (-*coh*) brush, comb
-*tse·l* (inc.) (-*tsil*) pound, chop
-*tsxá·s* (inc.) (-*tsxis*) whip, switch; jerk ropelike obj.;
-*tči·c* (pres.) (-*tčic*) file
-*tló·h* (inc.) (-*tló·l*) tie, weave, knit

'a-beyond. . . .*l-xan* (inc.) (-*l-xą́·l*) throw . . . ; slam door (YM 92)
'a-theme-*ná*-cust.. . . .*mal* (cust.) (-*mal*) gulp noisily (YM 143)
'axi-together. . . .*le·h* (inc.) (-*loh*) catch, trap one after another (YM 13(
    3-3 *'axi·yile·h* he is snaring them one after another
Oa·. . . .*tlóh* (pres.) (-*tló·l*) tie . . . to . . (as horse to a post)
na-about. . . .*te'* (mom.) (-*té·l*) hop about like a stick (YM 198)

       1 *naxacťe'*   I am hopping about
       3 *naxaťe'*   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....*-ńáh* (pres.) (*-ńa·l*)   move body rep.; heart beats
na-about....*-yáh* (pres.) (*-gá·l*)   person moves about in position
na-about....*-tca'* (pres.) (*-tcah*)   hop about
ni-end....*-tih* (inc.) (*-tih*)   break up (as a box) (YM 206)
ni-end....*-l-ne'* (pres.) (*-l-ni·l*)   cut in regular size (as wood, cornstalks, squash for drying)
ni-end....*-ńi·l* (inc.) (*-ńil*)   chop wood
ni-end....*-l-gé·c* (inc.) (*-l-gic*)   slice
ni-....*-si·h* (inc.) (*-sih*)   make mistakes
       3 *niyi·si·h*   he is making mistakes
      D1 *nxi·lzi·h*   we are making mistakes
yó·'ó-(< *'á-*thus)....*-l-'ị·h* (pres.) (*-l-'ị·l*)   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-ta·l* (inc.) (*-l-tal*)   kick, move small obj. out forcefully
xa-out....*-tsxis* (mom.) (*-tsxis*)   switch, whip, jerk ropelike obj.
xa-out....*-l-tśọ·d* (inc.) (*-l-tśọl*)   pull out one after another (as weeds) (YM 226)
Otco' xa-out....*-ni·l* (inc.) (*-nil*)   castrate; take genitals out one after another (YM 166)

10.114d.   *xi*-repetitive action *yi*-perfective

      there has been repeated ...ing
      ... has been ...ing repeatedly
      ... has been ...ing ... repeatedly

xi-repetitive action has the same forms as *ni*-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·-*	(*xi*-rep.ac.; *yi*-prog.; *-ni*-compl.)
4 *dji·-*	(*xi*-rep.ac.; *dji*-4 subj.; *yi*-prog.; *-ni*-compl.)
3-3 *xiyi·-*	(*xi*-rep.ac.; *yi*-3 obj.; *yi*-prog.; *-ni*-compl.)
by 1 *-xe·c-*	(*xi*-rep.ac.; *yi*-prog.; *-ni*-compl.; *-c*-1 ag.)
by 3 *-xo·-*	(*xi*-rep.ac.; *yi*-prog.; *-ni*-compl.; *-yi*-3 ag.)
by 4 *-xidjo·-*	(*xi*-rep.ac.; *dji*-4 ag.; *yi*-prog.; *-ni*-compl.)

-yá (*-gá·l*)   one person goes up
-djih (*-djih*)   rub sand on ...

'a-....*-tah* (*-tal*) (pass.)   jump, dart, bounce up (YM 187)
Oi· ....*-T* (pf.)   move ... into ..., load ... (as wagon, truck)
Oi-(< *O-ná-*against)....*-'ạ* (*-'á·l*)   add to it one at a time
Oi-(< *O-ná-*against)....*-nil* (*-nil*)   add to it several at a time
tá-....*-ló·z* (*-ló·s*)   lead animal to water
ni-end....*-l-ne'* (*-l-ni·l*)   chop wood in even lengths
ni-end....*-ji·'* (*-ji·l*)   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:

4 *dzi·-* ⎫	
xidzi·- ⎬	(*xi*-rep.ac.; *dji*-4 subj.; *si*-pf.; *-ni*-compl.)
dzi·z- ⎪	
xidzi·z- ⎭	
3-3 *xiɣi·z-*	(*xi*-rep.ac.; *yi*-3 obj.; *si*-pf.; *-ni*-compl.)
by 1 *xec-, xic-*	(*xi*-rep.ac.; *si*-pf.; *-ni*-compl.; *-c*-1 ag.)
by 3 *xi·s-*	(*xi*-rep.ac.; *si*-pf.; *-ni*-compl.; *-yi*-3 ag.)
3 by 3 *xe·c-*	(*xi*-rep.ac.; *yi*-3 subj.; *si*-pf.; *-ni*-compl.; *-yi*-3 ag.)
(3) by i *bi'ti·s-*	(*bi*-[3] subj.; *'adi*-i ag.; *xi*-rep.ac.; *si*-pf.; *-ni*-compl.)
i by 1 *'axec-*	(*'a*-i subj.; *xi*-rep.ac.; *si*-pf.; *-ni*-compl.; *-c*-1 ag.)
i by 3 *'aye·s-*	(*'a*-i subj.; *xi*-rep.ac.; *si*-pf.; *-ni*-compl.; *-yi*-3 ag.)
i by D2 *'ayo·h-*	(*'a*-i subj.; *xi*-rep.ac.; *si*-pf.; *-ni*-compl.; *-oh*-D1 ag.)
i by P2 *da'xo·h-*	(*da*-pl.; *'a*-i subj.; *xi*-rep.ac.; *si*-pf.; *-ni*- compl.; *-oh*-D2 ag.)
i by P3 *da'xe·s-*	(*da*-pl.; *'a*-i subj.; *xi*-rep.ac.; *si*-pf.; *-ni*- compl.; *-yi*-3 ag.)

-T (pf.)   move. . . , load . . .
-mal (*-mal*)   gulp, swallow noisily (YM 143)
-l-tá·l (*-l-tal*)   kick; move-round-obj.-forcefully
-l-yod (*-l-yol*)   one person runs
-l-xaj (*-l-xac*)   bite, nibble, gnaw
-tsé·l (*-tsil*)   pound
-tsxas (*-tsxis*)   switch, whip, jerk ropelike obj.
-djé·' (*-djah*)   pl. run
-l-tcǫ·' (*-l-tcé·l*)   two run; one chases the other

'a-beyond. . . *-T* (pf.)   move . . . beyond; load . . .
'axi-together. . . *-lo'* (*-loh*)   trap, snare one after another (YM 136)
         3-3 *'axiyi·zlo'*   he has snared them one after another
Oi-(< *O-ná*-against). . . *-l-tłǫ́* (*-l-tłó·l*)   tie . . . to . . . (YM 215)
na-about. . . *-te'* (*-te·l*)   hop about; move-about-sticklike (YM 146)
ná-circle. . . *-l-tsa·d* (*-l-tsil*)   turn about while sitting (YM 228)
ni-end. . . *-T* (pf.)   unload; carry . . . rep. to end
ni-end. . . *-ti'* (*-tih*)   break up (as box) (YM 206)
ni-end. . . *-ji·'* (*-ji·l*)   saw wood
ni-(< *na*-down). . . *-lá* (*-lé·l*)   pay; lay long flexible obj. down (WM)
xa-out. . . *-T* (pf.)   move . . . out
xa-out. . . *-l-tsǫ́·d* (*-l-tsol*)   pull out one after another (as weeds) (YM 226)
tci-out. . . *-'á·j* (*-'ac*)   two persons go out
tci-out. . . *-yá* (*-gá·l*)   one person goes out

10.114f.   *xi*-(*ná*-) repetitive 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-* ⎫ -*xíc-* ⎭	(*xi*-rep.ac.; [*ná*-]; -*c*-1 subj.)
2	-*xi-*	(*xi*-rep.ac.; [*ná*-]; -*n*-2 subj.)
3	-*xé-* ⎫ -*xí-* ⎭	(*xi*-rep.ac.; [*ná*-])
4	-*xidji-* ⎫ -*dji·-* ⎭	(*xi*-rep.ac.; *dji*-4 subj.; [*ná*-])
D1	-*xí-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*-*xá̧·h* (cust.)　(-*l*-*xá̧·l*)　throw ..., slam door (YM 92)

'ayíyá ...*té·* (pres.) (-*té·l*)　lay a spell with words (NT 318:6)

'a·ri-together-*ná*-cust.....*dloh* (cust.) (-*dloh*)　snare, trap one after another (YM 136)

'axi-(< *'axi*-together-*ná*-against)*ná*-cust.....*l*-*tłó·h* (cust.) (-*l*-*tłó·l*)　tie together (YM 214)

ná-.....*T* (inc.)　turn ... over

ná-circle...-*yá·h* (inc.) (-*gá·l*)　one person turns around standing

　　　1 *náxácá·h*　I am turning around standing

　　　4 *ńdji·yá·h*　he(4) is turning around standing

ná-cust.....*tcah* (cust.) (-*tcah*)　hop cust. (YM 32)

　　　1 *náxáctcah*　I cust. hop

　　　3 *náxátcah*　he cust. hops

　　　4 *náxidjitcah*　he(4) cust. hops

n-(< *ni*-end)*ná*-cust.....*dá·h* (cust.) (-*dá·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.....*ńah* (cust.) (-*ńa·l*)　move body cust.

ni-(< *na*-down)*ná*-cust.....*l*-*nih* (cust.) (-*l*-*nih*)　trade, exchange cust. (YM 158)

　　　1 *nináxácnih*　I cust. trade

ni-(< *ná*-circle)*ná*-cust.....*l*-*tsi'* (cust.) (-*l*-*tsil*)　turn cust. while sitting

　　　1 *nináxástsi'*　I cust. turn while sitting

　　　3 *nináxáltsi'*　he cust. turns while sitting

xa-out-*ná*-cust.....*l*-*tśǫ'* (cust.) (-*l*-*tśǫl*)　pull out one after another (as weeds) (YM 226)

Otco' xa-out-*ná*-cust.....*ńil*) (cust.) (-*ńil*)　castrate (YM 166)

tći-out...-*T* (inc.)　move ... out rep.

Otći' 'a-beyond-*ná*-up...-*ta'* (mom.) (-*tal*)　dart, spring up at ...

10.114g.　　　*xi*-(*ná*-) repetitive action *si*-perfective

xi-repetitive action combines with *si*-(*ná*-) (10.117a.) perfective in the order *xi*-*si*-(*ná*-) with the following results:

1	*xá·-*	(*xi*-rep.ac.; *si*-pf.; -*c*-1 subj.; [*ná*-])
2	*xíni·*	(*xi*-rep.ac.; *si*-pf.; -*n*-2 subj.; [*ná*-])
3	*xa·z-*	(*xi*-rep.ac.; *si*-pf.; [*ná*-])
4	*dzi·z-*	(*xi*-rep.ac.; *dji*-4 subj.; *si*-pf.; [*ná*-])

D1 *xa·d-* }
　　xisi·d- } 　　(*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 *dzi·s-* 　　　(*xi*-rep.ac.; *dji*-3 ag.; *si*-pf.; [*ná-*])

Oa· na-down....*ni·'* (-*nih*) 　sell to..., buy... (FH)

na-down....-*l-ni·'* (-*l-nih*) 　trade, exchange, buy, sell (YM 158)

na-xi-(< *xi-ná*-against)....*tą́* (abs.) 　pl. persons are seated

ni' ná-....-*ńą·'* (-*ńa·l*) 　there has been an earthquake

n-(< *ni*-end)-*ná*-back....-*dzá* (-*dá·l*) 　one person returns home

10.114h.　　*xi*-repetitive action future cessative

repeated ...ing will pause
... will pause ...ing repeatedly
... will pause ...ing ... repeatedly

Prefix *xi·*- < *xi*-repetitive action-*yi*-cessative to the regular future forms (10.87.).

10.114i.　　*xi*-repetitive action inceptive cessative

repeated ...ing is starting to pause
... repeatedly ...ing starts to pause
... repeatedly ...ing ... starts to pause

xi-repetitive action inceptive cessative is like *yi*-inceptive cessative with *x* instead of *y* initial (10.105b.). Note:

3 *xi·-*, *yi·-* 　　(*xi*-rep.ac.; *yi*-cont.; *yi*-cess.)

4 *xidji·-* }
　　dji·yi·- } 　(*xi*-rep.ac.; *dji*-4 subj.; *yi*-cont.; *yi*-cess.)

3-3 *yiyi·-* 　　(*xi*-rep.ac.; *yi*-3 obj.; *yi*-cont.; *yi*-cess.)

(3) by i *bi'ti·-* 　　(*bi*-[3] subj.; '*adi*-i ag.; *xi*-rep.ac.; *yi*-cont.;

-*l-na·h* (inc. cess.) (-*l-na·l*) 　generate electricity (YM 145)

Oi-(< *O-ná*-against)...*T* (inc. cess.) 　add ... one at a time

ni-(< *ná*-cust.)*ná*-back....-*ńa·h* (inc.cess.) (-*ńa·l*) 　revive cust. (YM 145)

10.114j.　　*xi*-repetitive action perfective cessative

repeated ...ing has paused
... has paused ...ing repeatedly
... has paused ...ing ... repeatedly

The conjugation of *xi*-repetitive action perfective cessative is the same as that of perfective cessative (10.105c.) with *x* instead of *y* initial. Note:

2 *xi·ni-* 　　(*xi*-rep.ac.; *yi*-prog.; -*n*-2 subj.; *yi*-cess.;)

3 *yi·-*, *xi·-* 　　(*xi*-rep.ac.; *yi*-prog.; *yi*-cess.)

3-3 *yiyi·-* 　　(*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...-*ńa'* (-*ńa·l*) 　revive, generate electricity (YM 145)

yá·-(< *yá*-up in air-*ná*-up)....-*l-xan* (-*l-xą́·l*) 　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	*xidiyi·-*	(*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.; *dji-*4 subj.; *di-*fut.; *yi-*rep.asp.; *yi-*prog.)
3-3	*yidiyo·-*	(*xi-*rep.ac.; *yi-*3 obj.; *di-*fut.; *yi-*rep.asp.; *yi-*prog.)
3-i	*xidiyo·-*	(*xi-*rep.ac.; *di-*fut.; *'a-*i obj.; *yi-*rep.asp.; *yi-*prog.)

Plural: forms of the type D1 *daxíni·d-* (10.115b.) are preferred to the regular *xi-(yi-)* forms which may occasionally be used.

-T (fut.)   move ...
-l-tạc   lip, peck, jerk round obj.
-ni·l   pound with hammer, mallet
-kal   slap
-l-xal   club
-l-xạ́·l   throw ... ; slam
-l-xạ́·l   snore
-sih   move sharp obj. forcefully, throw spear
-l-tlil   throw ropelike obj.

*'axi-*together.... *-loh*   catch, snare one after another (YM 136)
*Oa· ni-*end.... *-tac*   two waylay ..., two lie in ambush (YM 43)
'i·-(< *'a-*beyond-*xi-*rep.ac.)... *T* (fut.)   carry ... beyond, unload (YM 6)
Oí-(< *O-ná-*against).... *-l-tló·l*   tie ... to ... (YM 214)
*na-*down.... *-l-nih*   trade, exchange (YM 158)
*ná-*back.... *-ña·l*   revive, return to life (YM 145)
ni-.... *-tih*   break up (as box) (YM 206)
Otco' xa-.... *-ni·l*   castrate; take genitals out one after another (YM 166)
        4 *xaxijdiyo·ni·l*   he(4) will castrate it
     3-3 *xaidiyo·ni·l*   he will castrate it

10.115.   *xi-*change position continuative

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."

1 *xec-*
2 *xini-*}
  xi- }
3 *xe·-*
4 *xidje·-* }
  xidjiye·- }
  xidji- }

```
       i  'axe·-
   D1  xi·d-    ⎫
       xini·d- ⎬
   D2  xoh-     ⎫
       xinoh-  ⎬
   3-3  xiyi-   ⎫
        yi··    ⎬
        yi-     ⎭
```

-nạ·h (pres.) (-nạ·l) be alive, come to life, live
    3 xi·nạ·h he is alive (FH)
    4 xidji·nạ·h he(4) is alive (FH)
-tcé·h (inc.) (-tcah) hop (YM 32)
Oa· ni-end...-dá·h (inc.) (-dá·l) one person lies in ambush, waylays ...
Oa· ni-end...ta·c (inc.) (-tac) two lie in ambush, waylay ...
Oa· ni-end-ná-cust.....-dá·h (cust.) (-dá·l) one person cust. lies in ambush, waylays ...
Oa· ni-end-ná-cust.....-tac (cust.) (-tac) two cust. lie in ambush, waylay ...
O'é·' bi·h ...-γá·h (inc.) (-gá·l) put clothes on
Oi· ....-l-ne' (inc.) (-l-ni·l) put a small round obj. into ...
tá· si-na-.....-ná (inc.) (-na·l) spare life (NT 358:8)
niki-....-dá·h (inc.) (-dá·l) one person lays down bets

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.

```
   2   xi·ni-      (xi-; ni-pf.; -n-2 subj.; -ni-compl.)
   4   xidje··     (xi-; dji-4 subj.; ni-pf.; -ni-compl.)
  P4   daxijni-    (da-pl.; xi-; dji-4 subj.; ni-pf.; -ni-compl.)
by 2   xi·ni-      (xi-; ni-pf.; -ni-compl.; -n-2 ag.)
by 3   xe··        (xi-; ni-pf.; -ni-compl.; -yi-3 ag.)
```

-T (stat.) be in series
-dá (stat.) persons sit in rows
-dọ' (-dọ·l) jerk elastic obj.
-l-tsxas (-l-tsxis) jerk rope, switch, whip
-tca' (-tcah) hop (YM 32)
-lá (-lé·l) form a line (NT 190:6)

'a-beyond....-l-xan (-l-xạ́·l) throw ... away (NT 66:15)
Oa· ni-....-tá·j (-tac) two persons lie in ambush; waylay ... (YM 43)
Oa· ni-....-kai (-kah) pl. persons lie in ambush; waylay ...
Oa· ni-....-dzá (-dá·l) one person lies in ambush; waylays ...
ni-(< na-down)....-dzá (-dá·l) one lays bets
ń-ná-back....-dé·l (-dil) dart back down (EW 92:11)

10.115b.   xi-ni-change position prolongative continuative

xi-ni- is treated like dí-ní-prolongative continuative (10.91a.) with x instead of d initial. Note:

```
   4   djiyi-      (dji-4 subj.; xi-ni-)
  3-3  yiyi-       (yi-3 obj.; xi-ni-)
```

Plural: prefix *da*-pl. to dual forms (*daxíní·d-*).

-l-tli·d (inc.) (*-l-tlil*)   throw pl. obj.

10.115c.   *xí-ní*-change position prolongative *si*-perfective

xí-ní- change position prolongative is treated like *dí-ní*-prolongative *si*-perfective (10.91b.) with *x* instead of *d* initial. Note:

by 3	*xê·s-*	(*xí*-change pos.prol.; *si*-pf.; [*ní*-]; -*yi*-3 ag.)
by 4	*djí·s-*	(*xí*-change pos.prol.; *djí*-4 ag.; *si*-pf.; [*ní*-])
by D2	*xinóh-*	(*xí*-change pos.prol.; *si*-pf.; [*ní*-]; -*oh*-D2 ag.)
by D4	*xidjí·s-*	(*xí*-change pos.prol.; *djí*-4 ag.; *si*-pf.; [*ní*-])

Oa· ....-*dá* (abs.)	one lies (sits) in wait for... (YM 43)
Oa· ....-*tą́* (abs.)	pl. lie (sit) in wait for... (YM 43)
Oa· ....-*ké* (abs.)	two lie (sit) in wait for... (YM 43)

ná·....-*tą́* (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	*xó·-*	(*xo*-place; *yi*-prog.; -*n*-2 subj.)
3	*xo·-*	(*xo*-place; *yi*-prog.)
4	*xodjo·-*	(*xo*-place; *djí*-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	*xac-*	(*xo*-place; *ni*-abs.; -*c*-1 subj.)
2	*xoni-*	(*xo*-place; *ni*-abs.; -*n*-2 subj.)
3	*xa-*	(*xo*-place; *ni*-abs.)
4	*xodji-*	(*xo*-place; *dji*-4 subj.; *ni*-abs.)
D1	*xoni·d-*	(*xo*-place; *ni*-abs.; -*i·d*-D1 subj.)
D2	*xonoh-*	(*xo*-place; *ni*-abs.; -*oh*-D2 subj.)

-yáji small place
-l-dzis slightly hollow, washed out place
-tsoh large place
-tśi·d nice, pleasant place (YM 221)
-l-tcin have odor, it smells
-l-tśa·' bowllike place (deeper hollow than *-l-dzis*)

'a-....*-yói* excellent, good at, adequate (YM 234)
tó 'a-....*-yói* much, many, "lots of..."

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	*xa·c-*	(*xo*-things; *yi*-cont.; -*c*-1 subj.)
2	*xó-*	(*xo*-things; *yi*-cont.; -*n*-2 subj.)
3	*xa-*	(*xo*-things; *yi*-cont.)
4	*xodji-*	(*xo*-things; *dji*-4 subj.; *yi*-cont.)
D1	*xwi·d-*	(*xo*-things; *yi*-cont.; -*i·d*-D1 subj.)
D2	*xoh-*	(*xo*-things; *yi*-cont.; -*oh*-D2 subj.)
by 1	*xac-*	(*xo*-things; *yi*-cont.;-*c*-1 ag.)
by 3	*xo-*	(*xo*-things; *yi*-cont.; -*yi*-3 ag.)
t by i	*xo'ti-*	(*xo*-things; *'adi*-i ag.; *yi*-cont.)

-l-bị·' (mom., pres.) (*-l-bị·l*) build hogan (YM 27)
-l-dé·h (pres.) (*-l-dah*) clean, clear place
-ta·l (pres.) (*-tal*) sing, perform ceremony
-łá (pres.) (*-łá·l*) plan
-le·h (pres.) (*-le·l*) come into existence (YM 125)

'á-thus...*-l-'ị·h* (mom.) (*-l-'ị·l*) do things
'á-thus...*-l-yą́h* (pres.) (*-l-yą·l*) take care of things
Oá na-about...-'*áh* (pres.) (*-'á·l*) plan for, govern
Oá ...*-l-tcị·h* (mom.) (*-l-tcị·l*) make angry, cause trouble (YM 37)
Oe· ...*-le·h* (pres.) (*-le·l*) (3 only) have, come into possession of (YM 126)
Oe· Ol ...*-ni'* (pres.) (*-nih*) tell about, communicate things
na-about...*-l-tị·h* (mom.) *-l-tị·h* (pres.) (*-l-tị·l*) rain sporadically
na-about...*-co·h* (pres.) (*-coh*) sweep place here and there (YM 179)
na-about...*la·h* (mom., pres.) (*-la·l*) have ceremony in progress
na-about...*le'* (mom.) (*-le·l*) appear, roam, move about (YM 127)
n-(< *na*-about)*-da*-pl.....*-l-tin* (pres.) (*-l-tị·l*) there are rains here and there
ná-cycle-*'a*-beyond...*na·d* (inc.) (*-nal*) long time passes (YM 151)
ni-(< *ná*-cycle)*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:

2 *xwi·ni-*   (*xo*-place; *ni*-pf.; *-n*-2 subj.; *-ni*-compl.)

-te·l (stat.)   be wide, broad, gradually widening
-zi·d (*-zil*)   grope one's way (YM 240)
-tśa·' (stat.)   be bowllike

'alḱi ...-ḱǫ (*-ḱá·l*)   terraces lie, there are terraces
'alḱi da-...-ka·d (*-kal*)   there are broad terraces
Oa· 'á-...-sin (*-sį·l*)   be aware of (YM 243)
'á-...-l-té·l (abs.)   be relatively wide (YM 14)
*Oe· ni-*end...-*'ǫ* (*-'á·l*)   enforce law
*ni-*end...-*'ǫ* (*-'á·l*)   make decision, law, decide
niki-...-l-tǫ (*-l-tį·l*)   rain
lahgo ...-ti' (*-tih*)   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 *xó·-*.

1	*xó·-*	(*xo*-place; *yi*-prog.; *-c*-1 subj.; *-ni*-compl.)
2	*xwi·ni-*	(*xo*-place; *yi*-prog.; *-n*-2 subj.; *-ni*-compl.)
3	*xó·-*	(*xo*-place; *yi*-prog.; *-ni*-compl.)
4	*xodji·-*	(*xo*-place; *dji*-4 subj.; *yi*-prog.; *-ni*-compl.)
D1	*xwi·d-*	(*xo*-place; *yi*-prog.; *-ni*-compl.; *-i·d*-D1 subj.)
D2	*xo·-*	(*xo*-place; *yi*-prog.; *-oh*-D2 subj.; *-ni*-compl.)
by 1	*xwe·c-*	(*xo*-place; *yi*-prog.; *-ni*-compl.; *-c*-1 ag.)
by 3	*xo·-*	(*xo*-place; *yi*-prog.; *-ni*-compl.; *-yi*-3 ag.)
by 4	*xodjo·-*	(*xo*-place; *dji*-4 ag.; *yi*-prog.; *-ni*-compl.)
by i	*xo'to·-*	(*xo*-place; *'adi*-i ag.; *yi*-prog.; *-ni*-compl.)
by D2	*xo·h-*	(*xo*-place; *yi*-prog.; *-ni*-compl.; *-oh*-D2 ag.)

-l-'á (abs.)   extend, project
-l-'in (stat.)   early light; things are visible
-tah (stat.)   be in town; be amongst places
-tá·l (*-ta·l*)   sing, perform ceremony
-te·l (stat.)   broad, wide
-yǫ·d (*-yǫ·l*)   be wise, thoughtful, intelligent, careful
    D1 *xwi·dzǫ*
-l-ji·j (*-l-jic*)   time passes
-dzǫ (abs.)   be hollow, tubular
-l-dzis (abs.)   low, shallow place
-tśa·' (abs.)   hollowed, bowllike plain
-djį' (*-djį·l*)   be black, blackened
-tcxon (abs.)   smell bad

-tłis (*-tłis*)   harden (WM)

'*a*-beyond....*-l*-'*á* (abs.)   records are left

'*a*-beyond....*-te·l* (abs.)   wide, broad

'*akó* ...*-dza·* (*-ńe·l*)   things took such a course

Oa· '*a*-....*-dzá̧* (abs.)   deep hole that does not belong (as from stick in flesh)

'*á*-thus....*-din* (stat.) (*-di̧·l*)   be wanting, missing, non-existent

      '*áxó·din*   there is no such thing

'*á*-thus....*-łé* (*-łé·l*)   things are thus

'*á*-thus....*-la·* (*-le·l*)   do, create, construct

      '*áxo·la·*   place is prepared

'*á*-thus....*-dza·* (*-ńe·l*)   be done to, happen

'*á*-thus....*-dzi·l* (abs.)   be strong

Oá ...*-l-tci̧*', *-l-tci̧·d* (*-l-tci̧·l*)   cause trouble for ..., irritate ..., make ... angry (YM 37)

'*ádil* (< '*ádi*-self-*l*-with) ...*-l-bé·j* (abs.)   be in hot water, be embroiled

Oe· Ol ...*-l-ni*' (*-l-nih*)   relate, report, give information about

Oi·' ...*-dzá̧* (abs.)   be hollow, tubular (YM 27)

na-about....*-l-tá̧·*' (*-l-tí̧·l*)   rain here and there

ná-'*a*-beyond....*-ná·d* (*-nal*)   there was maximum accomplishment; many things happened; long time passed (YM 151)

ni' earth ...*-djí̧*' (*-djí̧·l*)   night came on; earth became dark

xa-out...*-ta·h* (*-tal*)   pop up with an idea, dart up like a snake

tsi-xa-....*-sá* (*-sá·l*)   disturb the peace (YM 139)

Otci̧' '*a*-beyond....*-ti*' (*-tih*)   there is a route to ...

Oγá ...*-dzá̧* (abs.)   there is a leak, hole through a thin obj. (FH)

xa-out...*-te·l* (abs.)   place widens out

xa-out...*-ge·d* (*-gol*)   dig hole

xa-out...*-tśa·*' (abs.)   bowllike place (deeper than *-l-dzis*) (FH)

tó· '*a*-beyond....*-yói* (abs.)   increase in number, quantity; become much, many (YM 234)

tci-out....*-ti*' (*-tih*)   trail leads out (WE; EW 90:3)

Ol ...*-γé·*' (abs.)   be lazy

Ol Oé· ...*-zin* (*-zi̧·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	*xwi·ni-*	(*xo*-place; *si*-pf.; *-n*-2 subj.; *-ni*-compl.)
3-3	*xaz-* } *xa·z-* }	(*xo*-place; *yi*-3 obj.; *si*-pf.; *-ni*-compl.)
by 3	*xos-*	(*xo*-place; *si*-pf.; *-ni*-compl.; *-yi*-3 ag.)

-l-T (pf.)   keep, have ...; cause ... to be in place

      xaz'á̧   it is the rule, law

-l-bi̧' (*-l-bi̧·l*)   build hogan (YM 27, FH)

-ni·' (*-nil*)   desire in vain

-gąc (*-gąc*)   shoot witch obj.

-ka·d (*-kal*)   be flat, spready place

-l-tcá̧·' (*-l-tci̧·l*)   smell, odor is given off

-li̧' (*-le·l*)   become

-tłic (stat.)   be muddy

'*a*-beyond-*ná·*-again....*-l-je·*' (*-l-jah*)   go hunting again
     P3 '*aná·daxɔcje·*'   they went hunting again
Oa· sa·d ....*-lį́·*' (*-le·l*)   complain about things (YM 141)
Oe· 'ádi-(< '*ádi*-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)
ni-(< *na*-about)*da*-pl.....*-l-tį́·*' (*-l-tį́·l*)   there have been rains
yá-good....*-yį́·*' (*-yq·l*)   watch over, care for
xa-out...*-łi*' (*-łih*)   trail extends out of canyon
Ol xa-out...*-dja·*' (*-djih*)   jerk out (as sack of flour)
     nixil xadaxacdja·'   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 *xodjo·-*
     D1 *xwi·d-*
     D2 *xo·h-*

·'į (pres.) (*-'į·l*)   know the place
-l-'į·h (inc.) (*-l-'į·l*)   early light, pre-dawn

Oá ....'*į* (pres.) (*-'į·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 *-xác-*   (-*xo*-place; [*ná-*]; -*c*-1 subj.)
     2 *-xó-, xoń-* (-*xo*-place; [*ná-*]; -*n*-2 subj.)
     3 *-xá-*   (-*xo*-place; [*ná-*])
     4 *-xodjí-*   (-*xo*-place; *dji*-4 subj.; [*ná-*])
     D1 *-xwi·d-*   (-*xo*-place; [*ná-*]; -*i·d*-D1 subj.)
     D2 *-xóh-*   (-*xo*-place; [*ná-*]; -*oh*-D2 subj.)
     by 1 *-xac-*   (-*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-yą́* (pres.) (*-l-yq·l*)   be careful, watchful, shrewd, wary
'*á*-thus....*-din* (pres.) (*-dį·l*)   indefinite things are lacking
'*á*-thus....*-lį́* (pres.) (*-łį·l*)   behave, do things thus
'*á*-thus....*-ne·h* (pres.) (*-ne·l, -né·l, -ni·l*)   do thus
'*á*-thus....*-l-yą́* (pres.) (*-l-yq·l*)   care for, watch over; be wise, sensible
'*á*-thus....*-tcį́* (pres.) (*-tcį·l*)   be angry (YM 3)
Oá ná-cust.....*-tcį́*' (cust.) (*-tcį·l*)   become angry at ... cust.
Oé· ....*-sin* (pres.) (*-sį·l*)   know, be acquainted with ...
Oé· ....*-dzid* (pres.) (*-dzil*)   be dangerous
     cé·xádzid   I am dangerous

Oi-. . . .-są̇·h (inc.) (*-sąh*) miss absent person (YM 175)
n-(< *ni*-end)*ná*-back. . . .*-dá·h* (inc.) (*-dá·l*) one person returns home
ná-cust. . . . *-bį̇·h* (cust.) (*-bį̇·l*) build hogan (YM 27)
ná-cust. . . . *-zi'* (cust.) (*-zil*) 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.) (*-dlic*) paint (FH)
*ná·-*again . . . *-dle·h* (pres.) (*-dle·l*) become again
ni-(< *na*-about)*ná*-cust. . . . .*-'a·h* (cust.) (*-'á·l*) plan (YM 9)
ni-(< *ná*-cust.)*ná*-back. . . .*-dle·h* (cust.) (*-dle·l*) revert cust.
Ol 'á-thus. . . .*-tį̇* (*-tį̇·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 *-xáz-*   (*xo*-place; *si*-pf.; [*ná-*])
by 3 *-xás-*   (*xo*-place; *si*-pf.; [*ná-*])

'a-beyond-*ná*-circle. . . .*-dzoh* (*-dzoh*) encircle, bound with line
ná-back. . . .*-dlį̇·'* (*-dle·l*) things have become green; get new . . .
    cike·' náxásdlį̇·' I got new shoes
ké-(< *ki*-over-*ná*-against). . . .*-don* (stat.) road is straight, place is level
ké-(< *ki*-security-*ná*-back). . . .*-dlį̇·'* (*-dle·l*) peace has returned (YM 117)
ké·-(< *ki*-over-*ná*-against-*ná*-back). . . .*-dǫ·d* (*-dǫ·l*) level off, smooth
    road, place
Oki-. . . .*-'ah* (*-'ah*) blame (YM 13)

10.116j.   *xo-ni*-start for place continuative

      . . . is starting for place

xo-place may be prefixed to the regular forms of *ni*-start for (10.99.) and note:

   3 *xó-* (*xo*-place; *ni*-start for)

-l·'in (stat.) daylight is starting
-l-bį̇· (pres.) (*-l-bį̇·l*) build hogan
-yą̇ (pres.) (*-yą̇·l*) be intelligent, wise, careful, thoughtful (YM 81)
    1 *xonisą̇*
    D1 *xoni·dzą̇*
    D2 *xonohsą̇*
-γé·' (stat.) weak, feeble, weakening
-dzą̇ (stat.) there is wisdom
-jóni (stat.) satisfactory, beautiful, happy, good, healthful, content
-jǫ́ (stat.) be happy, successful, enjoyable, satisfied, content
-dji (stat.) be named, called
-lǫ́ (stat.) be available; there is, there are
-tłiz (stat.) ground is hard

Oa· . . .*-yą̇* (pres.) (*-yą̇·l*) be careful with . . ., have a care for
Oa· 'á-thus. . . .*-l-yą̇* (pres.) (*-l-yą̇·l*) manage one's own affairs
Oa· . . . .*-tcį̇'* (*-tcį̇·l*) be stingy with land (YM 35)
Oa· sa·d . . .*-lǫ́* (stat.) complain; there are words on account of . . .
    (YM 141)
'á-self. . . .*-dzi·l* (stat.) have energy, be energetic (YM 14)
Oe· Oá . . .*-l-'a·h* (inc.) (*-l-'á·l*) give paper permit to . . ., with. . . there
    is permission for . . .'s benefit (FH)

ná-cust.. ⋮ ..-*dlǫ́*   people are at a place, there are always some (FH)
Oꞏke· ....-*l*-'*ı̨* (pres.) (-*l*-'*ı̨*·*l*)   obey, do according to ... (YM 101)

10.116k.   *xo-yi*-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	*xoꞏcꞏ*	(*xo*-place; *yi*-cont.; *yi*-rep.asp.; -*c*-1 subj.)
2	*xoꞏꞏ*	(*xo*-plaçe; *yi*-cont.; *yi*-rep.asp.; -*n*-2 subj.)
3	*xoꞏꞏ*	(*xo*-place; *yi*-cont.; *yi*-rep.asp.)
4	*xodjiꞏꞏ*	(*xo*-place; *yi*-cont.; *dji*-4 subj.; *yi*-rep.asp.)
D1	*xwiꞏdꞏ*	(*xo*-place; *yi*-cont.; *yi*-rep.asp.; -*i*·*d*-D1 subj.)
D2	*xoꞏhꞏ*	(*xo*-place; *yi*-cont.; *yi*-rep.asp.; -*oh*-D2 subj.)

-*l*-'*ı̨*·*h* (mom., inc.) (-*l*-'*ı̨*·*l*)   early light arrives

'*a*-beyond....-*l*-*γé* (pres.) (-*l*-*γé*·*l*)   place beyond is called
'*á*-thus....-*l*́*į* (pres.) (-*l*́*į*·*l*)   guide
'*á*-thus-*ná*-cust.....-*l*-'*ı̨*·*h* (cust.) (-*l*-'*ı̨*·*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)....-*la*·*h* (pres.) (-*lá*·*l*)   be ordained
ná-cust.....-*l*-'*ı̨*·*h* (cust.) (-*l*-'*ı̨*·*l*)   daylight cust. returns (YM 101)
Otči' *da*-suspended....-*tsé*·*h* (inc.) (-*tsih*)   point at with stick (as pointer)
Ol tči-out....-*l*-'*ı̨*·*h* (mom.) (-*l*-'*ı̨*·*l*)   help out ...
Ol tči-out-*ná*-cust.....-*l*-'*ı̨*·*h* (cust.) (-*l*-'*ı̨*·*l*)   help out cust.

10.116l.   *xo-yi*-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	*xoꞏs*-	(*xo*-place; *si*-pf.; -*yi*-rep.asp.; -*ni*-compl.; -*yi*-3 ag.)
by 4	*xodjoꞏs*-	(*xo*-place; *dji*-4 ag.; *si*-pf.; -*yi*-rep.asp.; -*ni*-)

-*l*-'*ı̨*·*d* (-*l*-'*ı̨*·*l*)   become fully daylight; seeing is caused
-*l*-*ní*·' (-*l*-*nih*)   be dependable
-*l*-*γé* (-*l*-*γé*·*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-yi-ní*-place reciprocal effect continuative

> things are . . .ing with reciprocal effect
> . . . is . . .ing things with reciprocal effect

xo-place combines with *yi-ni*- reciprocal effect to result in the following forms. They should be compared with *xíni*- (10.115b.):

1	-*xwiꞏnic*-	(-*xo*-things; *yi*-rec.ef.; [*ni*-]; -*c*-1 subj.)
2	-*xwiꞏni*-	(-*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.; [*ní*-])
D1	-*xwiꞏnı̨·d*-	(-*xo*-things; *yi*-rec.ef.; [*ni*-]; -*i*·*d*-D1 subj.)
D2	-*xwiꞏnáh*-	(-*xo*-things; *yi*-rec.ef.; [*ni*-]; -*oh*-D2 subj.)

-*dji* (pres.) (-*dji*·*l*)   be named, called, have a name
'*á*-thus...-*sin* (pres.) (-*sı̨*·*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:

2	*xwi·yi-*	(*xo*-place; *xi*-rep.ac.; *yi*-cont.; -*yi*-rep.asp.; -*n*-2 subj.)
4	*xodji·-*	(*xo*-place; *xi*-rep.ac.; *dji*-4 subj.; *yi*-cont.; -*yi*-rep.asp.)

-*T* (inc.) . . . moves in place
-*l-ti̧·h* (inc.) (-*l-ti̧·l*)   start to rain

na-about. . .-*ńáh* (pres.) (-*ńa·i̧*)   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. . . .-*ńah* (pres.) (-*ńa·l*)   universal things move (AB)
xa-out. . .-*ićid* (pres.) (-*ićil*)   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 . . . repeatedly in place

Prefix *xwi*- < *xo*-place-*xi*-repetitive action to regular *yi*-repetitive aspect-*si*-perfective forms (10.106d.) and note:

2	*xwi·ni-*	(*xo*-place; *xi*-rep.ac.; *si*-pf.; -*yi*-rep.asp. -*n*-2 subj.; -*ni*-compl.)
3	*xwi·z-*	(*xo*-place; *xi*-rep.ac.; *si*-pf.; -*yi*-rep.asp.; -*ni*-compl.)
4	*xodzi·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.)

ni-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	*xodjo·-*	(*xo*-things; *dji*-4 subj.; *si*-harm; *yi*-prog.)
D1	*xwi·d-*	(*xo*-things; *si*-harm; *yi*-prog.; -*i·d*-D1 subj.)
D2	*xo·h-*	(*xo*-things; *si*-harm; *yi*-prog.; -*oh*-D2 subj.)

Oićah . . .-*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.).

-l-γé·l   place will be called, named (YM 78)   ·

Oa· 'aya-tilt....*li·l*   be suspicious of ... (YM 133)
ti' ....-nih   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.; *-n-*2 subj.)
    4 *xodjo·-*   (*xo*-things; *dji*-4 subj.; *si*-harm; *yi*-cont.)
    D1 *xwi·d-*   (*xo*-things; *si*-harm; *yi*-cont.; *-i·d*-D1 subj.)

Oa· 'aya-tilt....*l-ni* (pres.) (*-l-ni·l*)   be suspicious of... (YM 133)
Oa· 'aya-tilt....*li* (pres.) (*-li·l*)   be suspicious of ... (YM 133)
Oa· 'aya-tilt-*ná*-cust.....*l-ni·h* (cust.) (*-l-ni·l*)   suspect cust.
Oa· 'aya-tilt-*ná*-cust.....*dli·h* (cust.) (*-dli·l*)   suspect cust.
'á-thus....*tį·h* (inc.) (*-tį·l*)   do things thus (FH)
'á-thus-*ná*-cust.....*tį·h* (cust.) (*-tį·l*)   quit, back out cust. (YM 202)
*Oi-(O-ná-*against)*ná*-cust.....*sqh* (cust.) (*-sq·l*)   miss, find ... gone
    D1 *bináxwi·lzqh*   we miss him; we came and found him gone
ti' ....-ni·h (pres.) (*-nih*)   suffer (YM 158)
ti' ná-cust.....*ñih* (cust.) (*-ñih*)   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 *xoci·c-*   (*xo*-things; *si*-harm; *yi*-prog.; *-c-*1 subj.; *-ni*-compl.)
    2 *xoci·ni-*   (*xo*-things; *si*-harm; *yi*-prog.; *-n-*2 subj.; *-ni*-compl.)
    3 *xo·c-*   (*xo*-things; *si*-harm; *yi*-prog.; *-ni*-compl.)
    4 *xodjic-* ⎱
       xodji·- ⎰   (*xo*-things; *dji*-4 subj.; *si*-harm; *yi*-prog.; *-ni*-compl.)
    D1 *xoci·d-*   (*xo*-things; *si*-harm; *yi*-prog.; *-ni*-compl.; *-i·d*-D1 subj.)
    D2 *xoco·-*   (*xo*-things; *si*-harm; *yi*-prog.; *-oh*-D2 subj.; *-ni*-compl.)

Plural: Prefix *da*-pl. to dual forms.

Otċa ....-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 3	*xo·s-*	(*xo*-things; *si*-harm; *si*-pf.; *-ni*-compl.; *-yi*-3 ag.)
by D2	*xo·h-* *xoso·h-* }	(*xo*-things; *si*-harm; *si*-pf.; *-ni*-compl.; *-oh*-D2 ag.)

Oa·· 'aya-tilt....*li·'* (*-li·l*)   suspect ... (YM 133)
Oe·· 'ádi-(< *'ádi*-self-*ná*-against)....*l-ni·'* (*-l-ni·l*)   exploit ...
Oi·-(< *O-ná*-against)....*sá'* (*-sah*)   miss, find ... gone (YM 175)
ti' ....-ni·' (*-nih*)   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 ex-
ample, *di*-start from with *si*-perfective indicates that the start has
been completed.

1	*sé-*	(*si*-pf.; *-c*-1 subj.; *-ni*-compl.)
2	*sini-*	(*si*-pf.; *-n*-2 subj.; *-ni*-compl.)
3	*si-*	(*si*-pf.; *-ni*-compl.)
4	*dzi-* *dziz-* }	(*dji*-4 subj.; *si*-pf.; *-ni*-compl.)
i	*'az-*	(*'a*-i subj. *si*-pf.; *-ni*-compl.)
D1	*si·d-*	(*si*-pf.; *-ni*-compl.; *-i·d*-D1 subj.)
D2	*so·-*	(*si*-pf.; *-oh*-D2 subj.; *-ni*-compl.)

Plural: prefix *da*-pl.   to dual forms and note:

P3	*da·z-*	(*da*-pl.; *si*-pf.; *-ni*-compl.)
3-3	*yiz-*	(*yi*-3 obj.; *si*-pf.; *-ni*-compl.)
by 1	*sis-*	(*si*-pf.; *-ni*-compl.; *-c*-1 ag.)
by 3	*yis-*	(*si*-pf.; *-ni*-compl.; *-yi*-3 ag.)
by 4	*dzis-*	(*dji*-4 ag.; *si*-pf.; *-ni*-compl.)
by D2	*so·h-*	(*si*-pf.; *-ni*-compl.; *-oh*-D2 ag.)
by P3	*dais-*	(*da*-pl.; *si*-pf.; *-ni*-compl.; *-yi*-3 ag.)
(3) by i	*bi'tis-*	(*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.
-'į·d (*-'į·l*)   nauseate, disgust ... (YM 102)
-ła' (*-łá·l*)   substitute
-l-tcį (*-tci·l*)   give birth to
-zį̄, -zį' (*-zį·l*)   stand

'a-beyond....*lij* (*-lic*)   urinate (YM 135)
'altsá da-....*dzoh* (*-dzoh*)   mass is divided into more than two parts
'axá· da-....*ti* (*-łih*)   forfeit
Oa· ...-ti' (abs.) (3 only)   be careful of, respectful of ... (YM 207)
          by 1 *ba· sisti'*   I am respectful of it, him
          by 3 *ya· yisti'*   he is respectful of him, it
da-....*gan*   be dry, dessicated
da-....*tsá* (*-tsa·l*)   one person is very ill, one person dies
          3 *da·ztsá*   one person, animal died
dah-suspended....*-T* (stat.)   be up on, suspended

ná-back....-*ʐǫ́·z* (-*ʐǫ́·s*)   turn fabric inside out
ná-xi-....-*tsa·d* (-*tsil*)   turn while sitting (YM 228)
ni-(< *na*-about) *'a*-beyond....-*l-bą́·z* (-*l-bqs*)   take a trip on wheels (as by wagon, car, train) (YM 23)
n-da-....-*l-k̇aj* (abs.)   be cramped from sitting (YM 23)
      1 *ndacick̇aj*   I am cramped from sitting
      3 *nda·ck̇aj*   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	-*sé*-	(*si*-pf.; -*c*-1 subj.; [*ná*-])
2	-*siní*-	(*si*-pf.; -*n*-2 subj.; [*ná*-])
3	-*náz*-	(*si*-pf.; [*ná*-])
4	-*dzí*- ⎫ -*dzíz*- ⎭	(*dji*-4 subj.; *si*-pf.; [*ná*-])
i	-*'áz*-	(*'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	-*yinás*-	(*si*-pf.; [*ná*-]; -*yi*-3 ag.)

'alná-....-*T* (pf.)   exchange positions (YM 8)
      2 *'alnáini·T*
      3 *'alnáiz·T*
'áda· ná-....-*tį·d* (-*tį·l*)   devote oneself to completely, "be all wrapped up in ..."
Oé·- ...-*l-nį·* (-*l-nįh*)   remember ...
Oé·- ...-*l-kwi·* (-*l-ko*)   vomit
Oé·- ...-*l-dzi·d* (-*l-dzi·l*)   be frightened, shy away from ...
ná-circle...-*lį* (abs.)   flow around
ná-against-*'a*-theme....-*l-dį·d* (-*l-dį·l*)   have exactly the right amount, plenty but none to spare (FH)
      4 *ná'tšisdį·d* he(4) has the proper amount
ná·-again-*'a*-beyond....-*dlic* (-*dlic*)   urinate again (WE)
O-ni-....-*k̇ai* (abs.)   straddle (YM 115)
-k̇á ...-*ti'* (-*tih*)   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	*sós-*	(*si*-harm; *yi*-prog.; -*c*-1 subj.)
2	*si-* *si*-(WM) }	(*si*-harm; *yi*-prog.; -*n*-2 subj.)
3	*so·-*	(*si*-harm; *yi*-prog.)
4	*djiyo·-*	(*dji*-4 subj.; *si*-harm; *yi*-prog.)
i	*'iyo·-*	('a-i subj.; *si*-harm; *yi*-prog.)
D1	*si·d-*	(*si*-harm; *yi*-prog.; -*i·d*-D1 subj.)
D2	*so·h-*	(*si*-harm; *yi*-prog.; -*oh*-D2 subj.)
3-3	*yiyo·-*	(*yi*-3 obj.; *si*-harm; *yi*-prog.)
1-i	*'iye·c-*	('a-i obj.; *si*-harm; *yi*-prog.; -*c*-1 subj.)
2-i	*'iyi·-*	('a-i obj.; *si*-harm; *yi*-prog.; -*n*-2 subj.)
3-i	*'iyo·-*	('a-i obj.; *si*-harm; *yi*-prog.)

-*nę́·l*   kill many
-*l-xé·l*   kill one
-*l-tsį́·l*   there is threatening sound
       so·ltsį́·l   evil (witch) sound moves (EW 310:20)
na-about-'*a*-theme....*l-ni·h*   epidemic spreads
na-about-'*á*-thus-*xo*-....-*dlá·l*   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 unassimilated. 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	*diyo·-*	(*di*-fut.; *si*-harm; *yi*-prog.)
3-3	*yidiyo·-* *yido·z-* }	(*yi*-3 obj.; *di*-fut.; *si*-harm; *yi*-prog.)

-*nę́·l*   kill many
-*l-xé·l*   kill one
-*dlá·l*   believe

'*á*-self....-*l-γé·l*   commit suicide; kill self
       by 4 '*ájdiyo·lγé·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·l*   one person loiters
ki-sever-'*i*-(< '*a*-beyond-*si*-harm)....-'*al*   untie, loosen hair
Otčá ....-'*į·l*   prevent..., obstruct... (FH)
       3-3 *yitčąido·z'į·l*   he will put it in his way
Otčį' *na*-about-*xo*-things....-*ńa·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	*dzis-* } *dji·-* }	(*dji*-4 subj.; *si*-harm; *yi*-cont.)
D1	*si·d-*	(*si*-harm; *yi*-cont.; *-i·d*-D1 subj.)
D2	*so·h-*	(*si*-harm; *yi*-cont.; *-oh*-D2 subj.)
3-3	*yiyi·-*	(*yi*-3 obj.; *si*-harm; *yi*-cont.)
3-4	*xas-* } *xac-* } *xwi·-* }	(*xo*-4 obj.; *si*-harm; *yi*-cont.)
3-i	*’i·-*	(’*a*-i obj.; *si*-harm; *yi*-cont.)
4-i	*’adji·-*	(’*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
-t́á·d (inc.) (*-t́al*)   untie
-nih (pres.) (*-nih*)   milk
-gis (mom.) (*-gis*)   unscrew
-l-γé (mom., pres.) (*-l-γé·l*)   one is killed
-l-xé (mom., pres.) (*-l-xé·l*)   kill one

Oa· . . . -bį·h (pres.) (*-bį·l*)   lose at gambling (YM 28)
     D1-i *’i·ni·bį·h*   we are losing at gambling
     D2-i *’i·nohbį·h*   you are losing at gambling
*Oa· ná-*cust. . . . *-bį·h* (cust.) (*-bį·l*)   lose at gambling cust.
dah-suspended . . . *-T* (mom.)   set . . . up on (as shelf); fasten . . . t(
     (YM 8)
     2 *dasi-, dahi-*
     3 *dasi-, dahi-, dahyi-*
dah-forth . . . *-’a·c* (inc.) (*-’ac*)   two persons are prevented from going
dah-forth . . . *-γá·h* (inc.) (*-gá·l*)   one person is prevented from going
dah-forth . . . *-ká·h* (inc.) (*-kah*)   pl. persons are prevented from going
xa- . . . *-ńé·h* (inc.) (*-ńah*)   crawl up to watch . . . (Ad 1/49:9)
*Otčah xa-*out . . . *-ké* (pres.) (*-ke·l*)   scold, exert authority with harsl
     words (YM 114)
     2 *bitčah xaciniké*   you are scolding him
     3 *yitčah xa·cké*   he is scolding him
*Otč̦’ na-*about-*xwi·-*(< *xo-*things-*si*-harm) . . . *-ńá* (pres.) (*-ńa·l*) (3 only
     have trouble (YM 146)
*Otč̦’ ni-(na-*about)*ná-*cust.-*xwi·-*(< *xo-*things-*si*-harm) . . . *-ńa·h* (*-ńa·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-*ni*-completive gives rise t(
some of the most intricate contractions of the language. The form(

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).

1	*si-, sé-*	(*si*-harm; *si*-pf.; -*c*-1 subj.; -*ni*-compl.)
2	*sini-* *yini-*	(*si*-harm; *si*-pf.; -*n*-2 subj.; -*ni*-compl.)
3	*siz-, cij-*	(*si*-harm; *si*-pf.; -*ni*-compl.)
4	*dziz-* *djij-* *dzi·z-* *yidzo·z-*	(*dji*-4 subj.; *si*-harm; *si*-pf.; -*ni*-compl.)
i	*’ase·-*	(*’a*-i subj.; *si*-harm; *si*-pf.; -*ni*-compl.)
3-3	*yiyi·z-*	(*yi*-3 obj.; *si*-harm; *si*-pf.; -*ni*-compl.)
1-i	*’asé·-*	(*’a*-i obj.; *si*-harm; *si*-pf.; -*c*-1 subj.; -*ni*-compl.)
2-i	*’asi·ni-*	(*’a*-i obj.; *si*-harm; *si*-pf.; -*n*-2 subj.; -*ni*-compl.)
3-i	*’a·z-*	(*’a*-i obj.; *si*-harm; *si*-pf.; -*ni*-compl.)
by 1	*sic-* *sis-*	(*si*-harm; *si*-pf.; -*ni*-compl.; -*c*-1 ag.)
by 2	*sini-* *yini-*	(*si*-harm; *si*-pf.; -*ni*-compl.; -*n*-2 ag.)
by 3	*si·-*	(*si*-harm; *si*-pf.; -*ni*-compl.; -*yi*-3 ag.)
3 by 1	*yisis-*	(*yi*-3 subj.; *si*-harm; *si*-pf.; -*ni*-compl.; -*c*-1 ag.)
3 by 2	*yisini-* *yiyini-*	(*yi*-3 subj.; *si*-harm; *si*-pf.; -*ni*-compl.; -*n*-2 ag.)
3 by 3	*γo·s-* *yo·s-*	(*yi*-3 subj.; *si*-harm; *si*-pf.; -*ni*-compl.; -*yi*-3 ag.)
3 by 4	*dzo·s-* *djo·s-*	(*yi*-3 subj.; *dji*-4 ag.; *si*-harm; *si*-pf.; -*ni*-compl.)
3 by D1	*yisi·d-*	(*yi*-3 subj.; *si*-harm; *si*-pf.; -*ni*-compl.; -*i·d*-D1 ag.)
3 by D2	*yiso·h-*	(*yi*-3 subj.; *si*-harm; *si*-pf.; -*ni*-compl.; -*oh*-D2 ag.)
(3) by i	*bi’ľo·s-*	(*bi*-[3] subj.; *’adi*-i ag.; *si*-harm; *si*-pf.; -*ni*-compl.)

-*l-γe’* (-*l-γe·l*)	be called, have the name (NT 306:5)
-*l-γé·l* (-*l-γé·l*)	quiet down, become quiet, calm (as weather)
-*l-γį́* (-*l-γé·l*)	one is killed
-*l-xį́* (-*l-xé·l*)	kill one
-*zį’* (abs.)	slander, gossip
-*dza·* (-*ńe·l*)	happen, come to be ...
-*l-tśil* (-*l-tśil*)	break, shatter (as glass) (FH)

tá·....ńil (-*ńil*)   take apart (Ad 12/48:5)

Otćį’ na-about-*xwi·*-(< *xo*-things-*si*-harm)....*ńá* (-*ńa·l*)   have trouble (YM 146)

10.118e.   *si*-harm optative

The combination of *si*-harm with -*ó*-optative has the pattern of *dó*- (10.82d.) with *s* or *y* instead of *d* initial. Note:

4	*djiyó·-*	(*dji*-4 subj.; *si*-harm; -*ó*-opt.)
3-3	*yiyó·-*	(*yi*-3 obj.; *si*-harm; -*ó*-opt.)
(3) by 1	*bi’ľiyó·-*	(*bi*-[3] subj.; *’adi*-i ag.; *si*-harm; -*ó*-opt.)

’ádi-self....*l-γé·l* (-*l-γé·l*)   commit suicide; kill-self (YM 78)

3 *’ádiyólγé·l*   may he commit suicide

4 *’ádijyólγé·l*   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·*....*-zą́·'* (*-zą·l*)   beat wife, spouse (YM 234)
>   1 *'ayósą́·'*   may I beat my wife
>   2 *'ayó·zą́*   may you beat your wife
>   D1 *'ayo·dzą́·'*   may we beat our wives

10.118f.   *si*-(*ná*-) harm continuative

    1 *-sinác-*   (*si*-harm; [*ná*-]; *-c*-1 ag.)
    2 *-sini-*   (*si*-harm; [*ná*-]; *-n*-2 ag.)
    3 *-se·-*   (*si*-harm; [*ná*-])
    4 *-se·dji-*   (*si*-harm; *ná*-; *dji*-4 ag.; [*ná*-])

    D1 *-si·d-* }
       -siní·d- }   (*si*-harm; [*ná*-]; *-i·d*-D1 ag.)
    D2 *-so·h-* }
       -sinó·h- }   (*si*-harm; [*ná*-]; *-oh*-D2 ag.)

> *n*-(< *na*-about)....*-dá* (pres.) (*-dá·l*)   one is panicky (about making a speech, betting, etc.) (FH)
> *n*-(<*na*-about)....*-t'a·c* (pres.) (*-t'ac*)   two are panicky
> *n*-(< *na*-about)....*-kaih* (pres.) (*-kah*)   pl. are panicky

10.118g.   *-si*-(*ná*-) harm *ni*-perfective

    1 *-sinác-*
    2 *-si·ni-*
    3 *-se·-*
    4 *-sidzi-*
    D1 *-si·ne·d-*
    D2 *-si·noh-*
    3-3 *-yise·-* }
        -yiye·- }

> *n*-(< *na*-about)....*-t'á·j* (*-t'ac*)   two are panicky
> *n*-(< *na*-about)....*-kai* (*-kah*)   pl. are panicky
> *n*-(< *na*-about)....*-dzá* (*-dá·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-* }
      γo·c- }   (*si*-un-; *yi-ni*-change; *-c*-1 subj.)
    2 *yo·-, γo·-* }
      yi·ni-   }   (*si*-un-; *yi-ni*-change; *-n*-2 subj.)
    3 *yo·-*   (*si*-un-; *yi-ni*-change)
    4 *djo·-*   (*dji*-4 subj.; *si*-un-; *yi-ni*-change)
    i *'o·-*   (*'a*-i subj.; *si*-un-; *yi-ni*-change)
    D1 *yo·d-*   (*si*-un-; *yi-ni*-change; *-i·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	*'adjo·-*	(*'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'to·-*	(*bi*-[3] subj.; *'ad*-i ag.; *si*-un-; *yi-ni*-change)

-kạ·h (pres.) (*-kạ·l*)   plead, beg (NT 260:16; 262:2)
*-γ*ạ́ (pres.) (*-γ*ạ́·*l*)   kill many one by one (NT 274:25)
-l-tći· (pres.) (*-l-tći*)   winnow, sift (FH)
-tći·d (abs.)   avoid
-l-tći·d (abs.)   be envious, envy ... (YM 42)
       2 *yiniltći·d*   you are envious (FH)
-dlạ́ (pres.) (*-dlạ·l*)   believe (YM 51)

Oa· ...-*nah* (pres.) (*-nah*)   forget about ... (YM 147)
Oa· ná-cust....-*bị·h* (cust.) (*-bị·l*) (3 only)   lose cust. at gambling
     (YM 28)
       ca· náo·bị·h   I cust. lose at gambling
Oa· ná-cust.-*'a*-theme...-*l-bị·h* (cust.) (*-l-bi·l*)   cust. win from ... at
     gambling (YM 28)
Oa· ná-cust....-*ñah* (cust.) (*-ñah*) cust. forget about ... (YM 147)
ta· ...-*nih* (pres.) (*-nih*)   mix (as dough, mortar) (YM 156)
ta·-ná-cust....-*ñih* (cust.) (*-ñih*)   mix (as dough, cement) (YM 156)
ná-back...-*'á·d* (inc.) (*-'al*)   untie knot, pull out slipknot, unravel
ná-back...-*tá·d* (inc.) (*-tal*)   unfold, unroll fabric (YM 186)
ná-back...-*tʼah* (inc.) (*-tʼal*)   untie something tied to something (as horse
     tied to hitching rack)
ná-....-*tcọ·h* (pres.) (*-tcọ·l*)   destroy, ruin (WM)
ni-(< *ná*-cust.)*ná*-back...-*'a'* (cust.) (*-'al*)   untie cust.
ni-(< *ná*-cust.)*ná*-back...-*ta'* (cust.) (*-tal*)   unroll, unfold fabric cust.
     (YM 186)
có-ná-cust....-*tʼe·h* (cust.) (*-tʼé·l*)   acquire (YM 197)
tco-ná-cust....-*l-'ị·h* (cust.) (*-l-'ị·l*)   sue (YM 103)

10.119.   *dzi*-away progressive

     ...ing away is taking place progressively
     ... is ...ing away progressively
     ... is ...ing ... away progressively

The conjugation of *dzi*-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-* ⎫ *dze·s-* ⎭	(*dzi*-away; *yi*-prog.; -*c*-1 subj.)
2	*dzi·-*	(*dzi*-away; *yi*-prog.; -*n*-2 subj.)
3	*dzo·-*	(*dzi*-away; *yi*-prog.)
4	*djidzo·-* ⎫ *dzidzo·-* ⎭	(*dji*-4 subj.; *dzi*-away; *yi*-prog.)
i	*'udzo·-*	(*'a*-i subj.; *dzi*-away; *yi*-prog.)
D1	*dzi·d-*	(*dzi*-away; *yi*-prog.; -*i·d*-D1 subj.)
D2	*dzo·h-*	(*dzi*-away; *yi*-prog.; -*oh*-D2 subj.)

Plural: Prefix *da*-pl. to the dual forms, and note the order with the indefinite pronoun:

Pl-i *dzida'i·d-*   (*dzi*-away; *da*-pl.; '*a*-i obj.; *yi*-prog.; -*i·d*-D1 subj.)

- *T* (prog.)
-*l·gic*   lightning
-*kal*   slap
-*i·xal*   club, beat with club, stick
-*djih*   claw

10.119a.   *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.

10.119b.   *dzi*-away *ni*-perfective

dzi-away differs from *di*-start from in having a *ni*-perfective of the type *dzi-ni*-perfective-*ní*-completive > *dzí*-. 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.

10.119c.   *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; *dji*-4 subj.; *yi*-prog.; -*ni*-compl.)
(3) by i *bi'tšo·-*   (*bi*-[3] subj.; '*adi*-i ag.; *dzi*-away; *yi*-prog.; -*ni*-compl.)

10.120.   *tsí*-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 *tsé·s-*   (*tsi*-uncertain; *yi*-prog.; -*c*-1 subj.)
2 *tsé·-*   (*tsi*-uncertain; *yi*-prog.; -*n*-2 subj.)
3 *tsé·-*   (*tsi*-uncertain; *yi*-prog.)
4 *tsidjo·-*   (*tsi*-uncertain; *dji*-4 subj.; *yi*-prog.)
D1 *tsi·d-*   (*tsi*-uncertain; *yi*-prog.; -*i·d*-D1 subj.)
D2 *tsé·h-*   (*tsi*-uncertain; *yi*-prog.; -*oh*-D2 subj.)

Plural: prefix *tsi-da-* to regular duals, or preferably use *tsi-yíni*-reciprocal effect continuative plurals (10.111b.).

. . .-*la·l*   move along seeking safety

n-(< *na*-about). . . .-*kos*   think about, consider in thought

10.120a.   *tsí*-(*ná*-)uncertain continuative

> . . . is . . . ing in a confused way

*-tsí-(ná-)*continuative has the same forms as *tćí-(ná-)*out (10.123a.) with *ts* instead of *tć* initial.

*Oa· na-*about . . . *-ke·s* (pres.) (*-kos*) think about . . ., consider . . .

10.120b.   *tsí-(ná-)*uncertain *si-*perfective

. . . has been uncertain about . . .

Prefix *tsí-* to regular forms of *si-(ná-)*perfective (10.117a.) and note:

    3 *-tsiz-*   (*tsí-*uncertain; *si-*pf.; [*ná-*])
    4 *-tsídzíz-*   (*tsí-*uncertain; *dji-*4 subj.; *si-*pf.; [*ná-*])

*Oa· na-*about . . . *-ké·z* (*-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·de·c-* ⎫
       dzi·de·c- ⎭   (*dji-*att.; *si-*harm; *di-*fut.; *yi-*prog.; *-c-*1 subj.)
    2 *dji·dí·-* ⎫
       dzi·dí·- ⎭   (*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 *djidji·do·-* ⎫
       dzi·jdo·- ⎬   (*dji-*att.; *si-*harm; *dji-*4 subj.; *di-*fut.; *yi-*prog.)
       dzi·zdo·- ⎭
   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·-*   (*yi-*3 obj.; *dji-*att.; *si-*harm; *di-*fut.; *yi-*prog.)

. . . *-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 *djí·nic-* and *dzí·ní·d-*continuative and *yi-*perfective suggest that some speakers consider the compound of a nature corresponding with *dzi-yí-ní-*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 *djóc-*
        djí·nic- }   (*dji*-att.; *si*-harm; *yi*-cont.; *-c*-1 subj.)

     2 *dzí-*
        dzí·ni- }   (*dji*-att.; *si*-harm; *yi*-cont.; *-n*-2 subj.)

     3 *djó-, dzó-*
        djo·- } (*dji*-att.; *si*-harm; *yi*-cont.)

     4 *yidjóc-*
        djí·nic- }   (*dji*-att.; *si*-harm; *dji*-4 subj.; *yi*-cont.)

   D1 *dzi·d-*
        dzí·ni·d- }   (*dji*-att.; *si*-harm; *yi*-cont.; *-i·d*-D1 subj.)

   D2 *dzóh-*
        djinóh- }   (*dji*-att.; *si*-harm; *yi*-cont.; *-oh*-D2 subj.)

  by 4 *yidji-*   (*dji*-att.; *si*-harm; *dji*-4 ag.; *yi*-cont.)

-ba' (mom.) *-ba·h* (pres.) (*-ba·l*)   aid through pity, be generous (YM 21)

-lá (pres.) (*-la·l*)   come to hate, dislike (YM 138); abandon because of hate (AB)

-dlá (pres.) (*-dla·l*)   be hated (YM 138)

Oa· . . .-líh (pres.) (*-li·l*)   trust, be able to call on ... (YM 34)

Oa· 'aya-tilt-*xo-. . . .-li·h* (mom., inc.) (*-li·l*)   be suspicious of ... (EW 114:19)

Oa· ná·-again. . . .*-líh* (pres.) (*-li·l*)   be able to call on another

Oa· nêi-(< *ná*-cust.-*si*-harm). . . .*-dli·h* (cust.) (*-dli·l*)   opponent has someone to call on (YM 134, FH)

'áda· 'a-beyond. . . .*-dlíh* (pres.) (*-dli·l*)   throw the bluff, bluff ...

tá· Ol ná·-again. . . .*-l·'i̯·h* (mom.) (*-l·'i̯·l*)   be in the same "fix," "chickens come home to roost"

tó· . . . .-lá (pres.) (*-la·l*)   really hate, despise

10.121c.   *dji*-attitude *yi*-perfective

        ... has had ... attitude

     1 *djó-*   (*dji*-att.; *si*-harm; *yi*-prog.; *-c*-1 subj.; *-ni*-compl.)

     2 *dzí·ni-*   (*dji*-att.; *si*-harm; *yi*-prog.; *-n*-2 subj.; *-ni*-compl.)

     3 *dzó-*
        djó- }   (*dji*-att.; *si*-harm; *yi*-prog.; *-ni*-compl.)

     4 *yidjó-*   (*dji*-att.; *si*-harm; *dji*-4 subj.; *yi*-prog.; *-ni*-compl.)

   D1 *dzí·ni·d-*   (*dji*-att.; *si*-harm; *yi*-prog.; *-ni*-compl.; *-i·d*-D1 subj.)

   D2 *dzí·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· . . .-li·' (*-li·l*)   trust, have confidence in ... (YM 134)

Oa· 'a-theme . . .-*li·'* (*-li·l*)   be dependable (YM 134)

tá· Ona· . . . .-l-ya' (*-l-ne·l*)   have the same trouble; don't laugh you may have the same difficulties; "chickens come home to roost" (FH)

10.121d.   *dji*-attitude *si*-perfective

Prefix *dji·-* or *di·-* to regular forms of *si*-perfective (10.117.) and note:

     3 *dzo·z-*   (*dji*-att.; *si*-harm; *si*-pf.; *-ni*-compl.)

     4 *dzidzo·z-*
        dzidjo·z- }   (*dji*-att.; *si*-harm; *dji*-4 subj.; *si*-pf.; *-ni*-compl.)
        djidjo·s-

D1   *dzi·si·d-*
      di·si·d- }   (*dji*-att.; *si*-harm; *si*-pf.; -*ni*-compl.; -*i·d*-D1 subj.)

D2   *dziso·*-   (*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'ło·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)
-*l-ni·'* (-*l-ni·l*)   trust
-*łá·'* (-*la·l*)   hate, abandon (YM 138)
-*dlá·'* (-*dla·l*)   be hated (YM 138)

Oa· ...-*li·'* (-*li·l*)   trust, depend upon ..., count on ... for help, expect help from ... (YM 134)
Oe· Oa· ...-*ba'* (-*ba·l*)   treat ... to ... (YM 21)
    ... *be· ba' dji·séba'*   I treated him to ... (YM 21)
na-about-'*a*-theme...-*lí·'* (-*li·l*)   trust

10.122.   *tco*-useful future

       ... will be useful
       ... will be used

The prefix *tcoi*-, sometimes *tci*- or *tci·*- seems to be a compound, possibly of *tco-yi-ni*- (10.109.). To form the future prefix *tcoi*- or *tci·*- to regular forms of the future (10.87.) and note:

4   *tcoijdo·*-
   tci·jdo·- }   (*tci*-useful; *si*-harm; *dji*-4 subj.; *di*-fut; *yi*-prog.)

(3) by i   *tcobidi'ło·*-   (*tco*-useful; *bi*-[3] subj.; *di*-fut.; *'adi*-i ag.; *yi*-prog.)

-*'į·l*   be useful (YM 102)
-*l-'į·l*   be used

10.123.   *tći*-out future

       ...ing out will take place
       ...will ... out
       ... will move ... out

Prefix *tći*-out to regular future forms (10.87.) and note:

4   *tćijdo·*-   (*tći*-out; *dji*-4 subj.; *di*-fut.; *yi*-prog.)
3-3   *tći·do·*-   (*tći*-out; *yi*-3 obj.; *di*-fut.; *yi*-prog.)

-*'á·l*   divulge, make known facts, knowledge (YM 5)
-*l-bąs*   roll wagon, car out, drive out (YM 22)
-*dił*   dart, move out suddenly
-*xah*   winter comes (YM 93)
-*cį·l*   summer begins (YM 178)

tćé·-(< *tći*-out-*ná*-back)....-*dą·l*   spring returns
tćé·-(< *tći*-out-*ná*-back)....-*te·l*   free one person, release (as from jail)
tćé·-(< *tći*-out-*ná*-back)....-*ńil*   pl. persons are freed, released (as from jail)
         3   *tćineido·ńil*   they will be freed
       (3) by i   *tćé·bidi'ło·ńil*   they will be freed by someone
tći-out-·(< '*a*-beyond) ....-*l-dį·l*   keep fighting to survive, survive (YM 48)
tći-out-·(< '*a*-beyond) ....-*l-bal*   hang curtain out
tći-out-·(< '*a*-beyond) ....-*l-dil*   dart out beyond

tći-out-*di*-emit. . . .*tśǫl*   lean out

tći-out-*di*-. . . .-*l-dloh*   baby smiles first time (YM 54, FH)

tći-out-*di*-start. . . .*tlic*   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 continuative

. . .ing out is starting
. . . is starting to . . . out
. . . is starting to . . . it out

The prefix combination *tći*-out-(*ná*-) results in the following:

1	*tćéc*-	(*tći*-out; [*ná*-]; -*c*-1 subj.)
2	*tćini*-	(*tći*-out; [*ná*-]; -*n*-2 subj.)
3	*tćé*-	(*tći*-out; [*ná*-])
4	*tćidji*-	(*tći*-out; *dji*-4 subj.; [*ná*-])
i	*tćé'é*-	(*tći*-out; '*a*-i subj.; [*ná*-])
D1	*tćî·d*-	(*tći*-out; [*ná*-]; -*i·d*-D1 subj.)
D2	*tćó·h*-	(*tći*-out; [*ná*-]; -*oh*-D2 subj.)
P4	*tćidadji*-	(*tći*-out; *da*-pl.; *dji*-4 subj.; [*ná*-])
3-3	*tćiyi*-	(*tći*-out; *yi*-3 obj.; [*ná*-])
P3-3	*tćidayi*-	(*tći*-out; *da*-pl.; *yi*-3 obj.; [*ná*-])
1-i	*tćé'éc*-	(*tći*-out; '*a*-i obj.; [*ná*-]; -*c*-1 subj.)
2-i	*tći'i*-	(*tći*-out; '*a*-i obj.; [*ná*-]; -*n*-2 subj.)
3-i	*tćé'é*-	(*tći*-out; '*a*-i obj.; [*ná*-])
4-i	*tći'tći*-	(*tći*-out; '*a*-i obj.; *dji*-4 subj.; [*ná*-])
(3) by i	*tćibi'łe·*-	(*tći*-out; *bi*-[3] subj.; '*adi*-i ag.; [*ná*-])

-*T* (inc.)   . . . out

-'*a·h* (inc.) (-'*á·l*)   divulge information

-*l-bq·s* (inc.) (-*l-bqs*)   drive out wagon, car

-*l-de·l* (inc.), -*l-dil* (mom.) (-*l-dil*)   dart out, move out suddenly

-*ła·h* (inc.) (-*łá·l*)   information is divulged

-*gé·c* (inc.) (-*gic*)   cut off with blade

-*γá·h* (inc.) (-*gá·l*)   one person goes straight ahead

-*xá·h* (inc.) (-*xah*)   winter starts

-*tśǫ·d* (inc.) (-*tśǫl*)   lean out (YM 226)

-*cį·h* (inc.) (-*cį·l*)   summer starts (YM 178)

-*dla·d* (pres.) (-*dla·l*)   rope is tearing

-*tli·c* (inc.) (-*tlic*)   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·ni*-	(*tći*-out; *ni*-pf.; -*n*-2 subj.; -*ni*-compl.)
by 3	*tćé*-	(*tći*-out; *ni*-pf.; -*ni*-compl.; -*yi*-3 ag.)
by 4	*tćidjé*-	(*tći*-out; *dji*-4 ag.; *ni*-pf.; -*ni*-compl.)

-*T* (pf.)   move . . . out

-'*á* (abs.)   arm is sticking out

-*djé·'* (-*djah*)   pl. persons run out

10.123c.   *tčí-xi-(ná-)* out repeated action continuative

> ... is ...ing out repeatedly
> ... is ...ing ... out repeatedly

Prefix *tčí*-out to regular *xi-(ná-)* repeated action continuative forms (10.114f.) and note:

1	*tčixéc-*	(*tčí*-out; *xi*-rep.ac.; [*ná*-]; -*c*-1 subj.)
3	*tčiyi·-*	(*tčí*-out; *xi*-rep.ac.; [*ná*-]) (FH)
4	*tčidji·-*	(*tčí*-out; *dji*-4 subj.; *xi*-rep.ac.; [*ná*-])
3-3	*tčiyi·-*	(*tčí*-out; *yi*-3 obj.; *xi*-rep.ac.; [*ná*-])

-*T* (inc.)   take ... out one at a time, carry ... out one at a time
-'*a·c* (inc.) (-'*ac*)   two persons go out one at a time, two go out repeatedly
-*ká·h* (inc.) (-*kah*)   pl. persons go out one at a time, pl. persons go out repeatedly
-*γá·h* (inc.) (-*gá·l*)   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-* *lidji-*	(*li*-nat.; *dji*-4 subj.; *ni*-abs.)
i	'*al-* '*al-*	('*a*-i subj.; *li*-nat.; *ni*-abs.)

-*gai*   be white
-*kan*   be sweet, savory, tasty
-*kon*   be inflammable
-*kol*   be rough, folded
-*tsoi*   be yellow
-*jin*   be black
-*tčí·'*   be red

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," *sǫ'* "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:

dlǫ'ǫ-yáji "little prairie dog" is a noun-verb compound, but in a sentence behaves like a noun—*dlǫ'ǫyáji xayi·ci·j* "he poked out a little prairie dog."

bá 'ólta'i "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· ndadjinehígi· 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:

tó sikǫ́   there is water, water is contained
mą'į̇· yó·'elyod   coyote ran off
ya·' 'ání   louse said
kin cijó·d   there was a large masonry house
xasti·n yistin   the man is frozen.

The objective noun may stand alone before the verb. The pronominal 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 nêidi·tǫ́   he picked up a stick
ná'ťostse' nêidi·'ǫ́   he picked up a pipe
le·tša·' yílná·d   I licked the plate
'atsį' yiyǫ́   he is eating meat
'awé·' yictcį́   she bore a baby

11.3. If the nominal subject and object are mentioned, the subject may stand first, the object next, and the verb after the object, the order being subject-object-verb:

'i·ni' lį̇'· na· 'ayį·łťe'   lightning knocked the horse over; lightning horse aside caused-live-obj.-to-fall
bá 'ólta'í nixada'áłtcíní neintin   the teacher instructs our children; theteacher 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:

xake·' xajdi·dlá   he(4) removed his(4) moccasins; his(4)-moccasins were-moved-out-by-him(4) (HC 4:18)
xa·ctéé·lti'í djo·lyé   Talking God was called; Talking-God he(4)-was-called
tó dide·cgol   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·yé·' dabo·ldé·l   (earth people) all were devoured by the monsters; all monsters they-were-devoured-by-(them) (EW 14:22)
gah dloh nabigǫ́·h   cottontails died laughing; cottontails laughter were-killed-by
djádí diné bi·syį (< bi·si·l·yį)   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:

> *cijé'é ca· yiniltį́*   my father gave it (animal) to me; my-father to-me moved-animate-obj.
>
> *cina·ltso·s ná·lne'*   I dropped my book; my-book I-caused-it-a-small-obj.-to-move-down
>
> *nibé·j nabi·cgij*   he was cut by your knife
>
> *'awé·' bamá 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:

> *tcidí bike·' naṅilih*   the tire is wobbling; car its-foot is-moving-about-indefinitely
>
> *diné baxasti·n do·le·l*   the man is to be her husband; man her-husband will-become
>
> *cijé'é bilį·' ca· yiniltį́*   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 *-tčį'* "toward the general direction of" in distinction to *-a·* "to the end of . . ., for, on account of . . ., and *-djį'* "to a definite point":

> *mą'į· bitčį' 'ani*   Coyote spoke thus to them
>
> *mą'į· yitčį' xadade·cya·j*   they shouted at coyote
>
> *belagá·na· bitčį yácti'*   I am speaking to a white man (YM 206)

Postpositions vary greatly in idioms:

> *'ádil yálti'*   he is talking to himself; with-self talking-is-being-caused (YMG 59)
>
> *la' diné bil da·nlį*   some Navaho approve; some Navaho with-it they-are
>
> *'awé·' bamá yil nlį*   the baby loves its mother; baby its-mother with-her it-is

11.11. Actually in Navaho, as in English, the verbs of speaking are idiomatic in meaning and structure. Comparable with "tell" in English is *ní* which may take a direct object: *xalní* "she told him(4); she-causes-telling-him(4)." If the meaning is "communicate with him," the form is *be· xol ní* "by-means-of-it with-him(4) she-says." Compare also *bijdiní* "he is being told by her(4);" *bidí·ní·d* "he was told by her;" and *bidjiní tcaxalxe·l* "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")
> *tsé-djį' niniyá* I went up to the rock; rock-to-a-point end-I-arrived-at
> *tsédá·'-dji' ni·ña'* 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:

> *mq'į· yitčį' xade·cya·j* he (first third person) shouted at coyote (second third person); in this example *yi-* refers to coyote.
> *mq'į· bitčį' djiní* he(4) said to coyote; coyote toward-him he(4)-says. *bi-* here refers to coyote, the only third person, because the subject is the fourth person (*dji-*).

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
> *citcidi cil náxidé·ltsid* my car overturned while I was in it; my-car with (accompaniment)-me was-caused-to-turn-over
> *'é·' bq·h sénih* I wrung out the clothes; clothes along-them I-did-with-my-hand (YM 155)
> *'altčį' sénih* I squeezed them together; toward-each-other-reciprocally I-did-with-my-hands
> *sizá bq·h yilná·d* I licked by lips; my-mouth along-it I-licked (YM 150)
> *tcidi bi·h niná·h* get into the car; car into-it you-go
> *cila' altčį' 'áde·cli·l* I'll clench my fist; my-fingers toward-each-other I-shall-do-thus (YM 130)
> *cijé'é lį·' ca· yiñltį* 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:

> *dé·lyé·d bidilę̄· xani·' be·jni·yac* 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' xaxa·snilídó· 'e·cdlá̧·'* I took a drink from the well; well-from something-was-drunk-by-me
>
> *xasti·n gā·ni bayangó· ni·lbá̧·z* we drove to Hastin Gani's home; Mr. Arm his-home-toward rolling-to-end-was-caused-by-us
>
> *naxasdzá·n biká·' 'i·ná xá·ti'* life began on the earth, earth on-it life strung-out (YM 200)
>
> *na·be·hó bikéyah biká·dó· xaci'to·dzil* I was forced off the Navaho reservation; Navaho their-land from-on-it out-against-me-force-was-exerted-by-someone (YM 60)
>
> *cikéyah biká·'dó· tó dide·cgol* I'll drain the water off my land; my-land from-on-it water will-be-dug-by-me (YM 90)
>
> *bibé·j ca· ayi·lge·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:

> *tá· bi téiyá yé·xosin* he is the only one who knows him; just he alone he-knows-him (YM 198)
>
> *ci be· 'áda· xodicni* 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· nil xodicni* 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:

> *... djini djiń 'átsé xasti·n ...* (in quotes) First Man said it is said; quotation he(4)-said it-is-said First Man (EW 84:5)
>
> *ńltsą́ 'acki· kóná·náti̧·l lá be'ekid na·yái* 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)
>
> *koci̧· ka·' 'áyi·la· 'ayê·hi·* here arrows were made by the husband; here-probably arrows were-made (by)-the-particular-one-who-married (WE)

cí 'ade·gǫ·j ní djiní mą'ị· I am the one who stuffs sausage coyote said they say; I some-entrails-are-stuffed he-says they-say coyote (WE)

'asdzáni tó ya·yi·zi' 'ade·'ę́· biyi'dį́į' the woman pours water into the gourd; the-woman water she-pours-it gourd-aforementioned in-it-toward-a-definite-point

náltłah dibé bikah be· it (baby) is rubbed with tallow; it-is-rubbed-with-salve sheep its-fat with-it (NT 280:21)

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 *kǫ́·*, or the combinations into which *tá·* "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:

di· na·ltso·s yó·'ani'á·h take this book away; this book move-round-obj.-out-of-sight

di· bá·h nimą́ bitčį' di'a·h take this bread to your mother; this bread your-mother toward-her start-from-moving-round-obj.

'ei· góliji yó·'anłte·h take that skunk away; that-near-you skunk cause-live-obj.-to-move-out-of-sight

'ei· tózis cá naní'a·h take that jar down for me; that-near-you water-sack for-my-benefit move-round-obj.-down

'éi tséjin la' 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:

yiską́·gó· si·ké we two shall be home tomorrow; tomorrow-future we-two-are-at-home(sit) (stat.)

'ake·dgo dibéyáji dane·skah leh in fall the lambs are usually fat; being-fall sheep-young they-are-fat (stat.) customarily (YM 141)

'a·dicį· bil ńnáxiñdé·l there perhaps it glided with them; there-at-probably with-them long-flexible-obj.-moved-back

kad dį·gi ba·txị· 'o·lde·' now at the four places where the group attacked him; now four-in-place to-him-attacking group-moved-off

tá·ci·dą́·'di kǫ' 'ádin for a long time there had been no fire; absolutely-past-at fire there-was-none

lą'idi na·lyéhé bá xo·yangó· nséyá 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·djį̄' 'a·dę̄·' yah'aná·dzá　then he went inside again; toward-a-point-there from-there he-came-back-in

tśidá tá· 'i·γisi· ye· yisną̄· 'áxo·la·　by high pressure she must have been seduced; inevitably (must) exceedingly by-means-of-him slave she-was-made

'aké·dę̄·' nahdę̄·' 'á·dę̄·' 'a·dę̄·' daxi·zį̄· bi'ło·ńi·d　each was told to stand a short distance from the next one; the-next-one aside-from from-there-remote from-there-near-you on-it-they-stand-rep. they-were-told

djó kó xó·łį̄·d　so this is what happened (YM 160)

biḱidji' xadah 'i'i·ńil　we dropped bombs on it; over-it-to-a-point down-in-space we-moved-some-pl.-obj.-beyond (YM 164)

tłé·'go tłó·di nicté·h leh　I usually sleep outdoors; night-being outside-at I-animate-obj.-lie customarily (YM 214)

'áko lá 'áxodjini· leh　that is the proper way for a person to speak (EW 120:11)

'a·dó· 'a·dę̄·' bi·h niná·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:

cijé'é xi·ná xą̄·hdą̄·'　when my father was alive; my-father he-was-living when-past

ci 'ácla·yę̄· 'áłé· 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·ctéé·łti'i 'á·di xwélyod　Talking God overtook him(4); Talking God there-remote-at he(4)-was-run-up-to

xala' 'ałą̄·dji' nlí·ni　her(4) oldest brother; her-brother ahead the-one-who-is (WE)

tcidí tą̄·djigo ná·bąs　car is rolling backward (no one is in it); car backward-toward-point-being is-rolling-back

tcidí tą̄·djigo ná·lbąs　back the car; car reversing-toward cause-to-roll-back

tcidí tą̄·djigo nná·ńlbą̄·s　turn the car around; car reversing-toward cause-rolling-back-to-end-again

tcidí tą̄·djigo bił ná·dá·l　the car is going backward; car backward-toward-a-point-being with-him it-is-moving-back (YM 195)

dibéyáji ḱad xaxałi·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:

le·j xá·djicį̄· tó bił 'adaxa·z'é·l　time after time the water washed away the soil; soil somewhere-probably water with-it it-repeatedly-floated-beyond (FS 25)

ce· nikixoniłtą̄　it started to rain on me; by-means-of-me causing-long-streaks-arrived-in-place-touching-the-earth (YM 208)

Mary yolγé na·ltso·s bitéį̄' 'ácle·h　I am writing to Mary; Mary she-is-called letter toward-her I-am-doing-thus

dził bitéį̄' 'ayó· 'ániza·d　it is far to the mountain; mountain to-it very it-is-relatively-far (YM 26)

tó be· 'atsinltłic daxi·lna·h　we generate electricity by means of water; water by-means-of-it lightning we-cause-to-move (live) (YM 145)

biḱéh bitéį̄' ni'te·clé·l　I'll pay him for it; its-value toward-him I-shall-lay-something-down (YM 128)

11.26–11.54. SYNTACTIC ELEMENTS

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	*ńté·'*, *ńté·'*	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

ye·h verifiable in the past, but no longer verifiable, although possibly still existent; with future, "wish"

ye·ni·' verifiable in the past, but no longer existent (probably compounded of *ye·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 *ńté·'* "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.)

    lá   present evidential but unexplained, convincing but surprising, un-
        expected, I wonder
    lą· 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 some-
times 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:

-ę· ($>$*-nę·* after stems with nasalized vowel; *-yę·* after a stem with
an open syllable) "was, dead, gone, the one previously referred to,
the one known, indeed":

cádi-yę· my deceased older sister
'áko gah neistse·d-ę· then the aforementioned cottontails he had killed
tséh-ę· ni·tcxi·' the stones mentioned became very red (EW 102:17)
tséh-ę·-cį· surely it must have been a rock (BS)
dadiltli'-ę· it caught fire indeed (EW 104:12)
nátoh-ę· tobacco (in his possession) (EW 104:9)

11.31a. *-ę·* may assimilate to the preceding vowel:

camą́h-ą· my late mother
xalah-á·-ni' his(4) late sister (WE)
naxáidja·'-ą· put it into your mouths (EW 104:10)
tśa·'-ą· yi·' yiyi·giz he cleaned out the basket (EW 104:25)
tóh-ą· (not *tóh-ǫ·*) the aforementioned water (FS 30–1).

This example is very interesting in that it suggests that *tó*, the
independent noun for "water" may be equivalent to *tá-* the prefix
form (5.43.).

11.31b. Affixed to a future verb *-ę·* means "wish, it will be indeed, may it be indeed, mind you it will, ought":

naxodo·ltį·l-ę· I hope it will rain
bį·h dido·lxé·l-ę· I wish he would kill a deer (FS 31)
'ę· mind you! note this! you may notice!
yah'ado·gá·l-ę· he ought to enter (EW 190, n. 69)
yá'atéh-ę· may it be well, good! (a common greeting)

11.32. *-ę·ni'* seems to be used interchangeably with *-ę·*; it is per-
haps a compound of two particles each meaning "past, gone, the
one referred to" (cp. 5.32.):

xalį·'ê·ni' his(4) previously mentioned pet (turkey) (NT 28:13)

xadja·γi'djį̨' *xol xo·lne'ȩ·nį'* *'átį* it was the one who spoke to him(4) from (its place) in his(4) ear; in-his(4)-ear-direction with-him(4) things-were-reported it-was-a-person (NT 28:2)

xol náxálnihê·ni' the one previously mentioned who cust. reported to him (NT 30:21)

biké ndá'á·ni' xêida the one sacrificed (whose scalp is secured) for the War Ceremony may be anyone; war-ceremony aforementioned who-ever-amongst

tá·cǫ· bi'i·l tá· bǫ·h kad 'ê·ni' bǫ·h na·ldạ·s luckily it (shade) had boughs on it almost falling off; luckily its-branches just on-it now-ob-viously off-it (they)-fall-down (NT 50:10)

náke·ctcǫ·'iyê·ni' Dirty Eyes aforementioned (WE)

. *bilakéiyê·ni'* her brothers that were, those who had been her brothers (WE)

11.33. *do·le·l*, often shortened to *do·* it will be, it is decreed: The full form *do·le·l* is the regular third person future of the verb *-le·l* "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'a·h (inc.cess.) *do·* they will go to school, learn something

biza·d bínarictin (pres.) *do·le·l* I shall teach language (YM 209)

bitčá· sínzį· (stat.) *do·* as protection you will stand before them (NT 74:18)

xóle·h (pres.) *do·* you will come into being (EW 100:25)

11.34. *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?

11.35. *ni'* experienced by speaker in the past, possibly still exist-ent, as I recall, the deceased. Compare *ni'* and *ńtę·'*, which means "used to be but is no longer" (cp. FS 23):

cijé'é ni' ye· cil xo·lne' ni' my late father told me about it (FS 23)

kóxo·té·dá·' kohgo de·sdoi ni' at this time last year it was hot I recall (FS 23)

sitsili tah 'ahbinigo kintahgó· dahdi·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)

11.36. *ńtę·*, *ńtę·'* it used to be but is no longer, past, deceased. This word makes any preceding statement irrevocably past, as *do·le·l*

makes it future. If used after a noun it means "gone, no longer existent, deceased." Like *do le t̓*, it is very free (cp. 11.33.):

> *n̓t̓ę̓· tá· do·dah*　not yet, it was to have... but has not yet come to pass
> *n̓t̓ę̓· t̓ó· do·dah*　unfortunately it did not happen
> *xodiye·sxé·l kón̓igo n̓t̓ę̓·'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·c'a·h* (inc.cess.) *n̓t̓ę̓·'*　I have learned something

11.37. *ye·'* present and verifiable in the vicinity of speaker and listener, truly, very, appropriate, propitious, voluntarily (AB, FH, cp. FS 29):

> *'áltsi·si· ye·'*　he is very small, he is certainly small (FS 29)
> *cí ye·' 'ádicni*　I am really the one who says it (FS 29)
> *'ei· ye·' cí*　Hey! That's mine!
> *di· ye·' 'a·dę́·'*　this one is really from over there (NT 64:3)
> *do·da ye·' 'azlį́·'*　it was really hopeless; no really something-became (FS 30)
> *kǫ' ye·'*　it is really a fire, there is a fire (FH)
> *kǫ́· ye·'*　right here
> *xái ye·'*　who is it actually？(FH)
> *xa·'í ye·'*　which one, let's see now ... (YM 92)
> *xá·gó· ye·'*　everything is ready; it's all right to start (FH)
> *xái·dí ye·' 'êih*　who will volunteer？who will risk it？
> *kwi· ye·'*　here of his own accord (AB)
> *k̓ad-e·'*　now is the proper time (FS 30, FH)
> *da· ye·' xó·t̓į·d*　exactly what has happened？(AB)

11.38. *yę̂·*, *yę̂·h* verifiable in the past, but no longer verifiable, though possibly still existent, aforementioned, past, deceased; with future, "wish." "*yę̂·h* is a little stronger than *yę̂·ni'* but there isn't much difference" (FH):

> *xái yę̂·*　who was it？(FH)
> *kǫ' yę̂·*　there was a fire (and something happened to it), there must have been a fire (cp. *kǫ' n̓t̓ę̓·'* "there was no longer a fire, there had been a fire" [FH])
> *xáhgócį· t̓ó· yę̂· xol xó·yé·go*　obviously he(4) was in great fear (EW 114:18)
> *do· yę̂· xac̓ejdit̓e·hda*　he(4) surely did not rest (EW 116:2)
> *xa·dzi'ę·dą́·'*　at the time he spoke (EW 100:11)
> *naxodo·ltį·lę̂·*　I certainly wish it would rain (YMG 108)
> *bé·so ce· xodo·le·lę̂·*　I wish I would get money; money with-me things-will-happen-wish (YMG 108)
> *de·sdoi ná·xodo·dlé·lę̂·*　I wish it would get warm again; it-has-started-to-be-warm again-things-will-become-wish (YMG 108)

11.38a. *yę̂·* sometimes functions as a nominalizer; possibly it is past compared with *-i·*, *-i*, and *-igi·* (5.23–5.30.):

> *dadiltli'ę̂·*　(crystal) that was lighted (EW 104:12)
> *'azdext̓o yę̂·*　the place from which he shot arrow
> *bé·c 'é·'ę̂· 'al'ą be· xazdi·dza*　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· dzizkéhǫ·gi at the very place where they two had sat

ni'ǫ· biyi' xodi·stsá·' noise was heard within the earth; earth-obviously in-it there-were-sounds (EW 110:13)

11.39. *yǫ́·ni',* see *-ǫ́·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·lni yi·la' whatever you may do, don't ...

tsidá tá·ká ná'óxodilzi·d yi·la' don't waste time (NT 44:7)

tá·ká bikidǒ·ya' yi·la' be sure to look for it under any circumstances (NT 26:3)

tá·ká yosi· xi·la' (< *yosi·h yi·la'*) be careful not to make a mistake (EW 108:4)

lį·' tógó· di·ló·s ba· yo·ni xi·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):

kótê· ga' diné bikéyahdi that's the way it is in the Navaho country (AB, cp. *kótê· ye·'* "this is the way it is right here")

'éi ga' tó· xailká·hgo this one (wife) cust. ground corn (NT 30:20)

'ei ga' 'éi da·tį· lá they surely those must be the ones (NT 224:7)

tá· ga' 'a·ni· nixí'eywé·' yisdêi·lte·h lá true it is obvious (that) our baby will be successfully raised; truly-it-is-evident our-baby is-caused-to-lie-safely truly (NT 39:20)

tá· ga' 'a·ni· tá·lá'i ni·dlį lá 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. *djó* therefore, consequently, as is known. *djó* is an untranslatable introductory word that refers back to what has been said or thought (FS 14).

11.45. *tcé·h* in vain, try to ... (and fail) (see also 11.83, 11.84):

tcé·h de·yá he is tired (gen.); in-vain he-started-to-go

tcé·h 'ál'i·nthic 'áté· it is impossible; in-vain is-it-done-thus it-is-thus

tcé·tci·yá·n watermelon; in-vain one-eats-something

tcé· xata dê·z'į·' in-vain she looked among them

tcé·h nio (< *ni·go*) saying in vain

tcé· ná'o·skan 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)

'asdzą́ la' silį·' lá 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)

ce'é·' la' tó· ba· yáńsin   I don't know why I am ashamed of my clothes;
my-clothes I-don't-know-why on-account-of-them I-am-embar-
rassed (FS 18)

tćé·h la' ńdi·c'a·h   I don't see why I can't lift it; in-vain unexplainably
I-am-lifting-round-obj. (FS 18)

tćé·h la' ba· ntséske·s   I don't know why I can't make up my mind; in-
vain unexplainably I-am-thinking-it-over (FS 18)

do· la' bé·xózinda   it is difficult to know (NT 38:10)

11.46a. *tó· la'* apparently, it looks so but probably isn't. This
complex is sometimes used with *naxalin* "it resembles, looks like":

di· ké tó· la' 'áltśi·si naxalin   this shoe *looks* too small; this shoe appar-
ently is-small it-resembles (FS 29)

di· bé·so tó· la' be'elya· naxalin   this dollar *looks* like a counterfeit; this
dollar apparently counterfeit it-resembles (FS 29)

tó· la' biyó de·sǩa·z   it *seems* a bit cold; apparently quite it-has-become-
cold (FS 29)

11.47. *la·na·* wish it would ... (and it may), desire that ... (cp.
la·na· "desire" [noun]):

'ákó yinicyé la·na·   I wish that were my name (FS 18)

do· 'ákó yinicyê·dah la·na·   I wish that were not my name (FS 18)

di· dzil bą·hgó· cac nda·kai la·na·   I wish bears lived on this mountain
(FS 18)

kó xóne' la·na· nsin ńtę·'   I was hoping this would happen; thus things-
happen wish I-want past (YM 160)

kwi·cį̂ na·dą́·' kijdóle·l la·na·   here probably may corn be planted
(NT 28:7)

... ci·' la·na·   I wish ... were mine (FS 18)

dinéǩe· yácti' la·na·(pres.)   I wish I could speak Navaho

la' biná·xodjo·l'á·l la·na·   some more (than others) want to learn it

11.48. *lá* enters into many combinations 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 têiya mą'į· yi·ltsá 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 (FS 23)

ditcin cińi·lxį   "I am hungry," says A. B replies, *cidó' lá* "Why! I am
too!" (FS 15)

ciká naxadlá lá   I found the ceremony was being held for my benefit
(FS 13)

di· tsé 'été lá   this is a *rock* (I thought it was something else) (FS 15)

11.48a. When *lá* follows a sentence, it may refer to the entire
statement preceding:

djó tá· bé·xózini 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 (FS 15)

tá· 'a·ni· cibé·so tó· 'axayói ndi tá· do· bini·yéhéda 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
(FS 15)

11.49. *ládá̧·'* 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· naxaltin ládá̧·' de·cá·l*   if it does not rain I will go (FS 16)
> *naxaltin ládá̧·' do· de·cá·lda*   if it rains I shall not go (FS 16)
> *tá·do·le'é bini·na· nétlah ládá̧·' do· 'á·di de·cá·lda*   if I am detained by any-
> thing I shall not get there; anything because-of-it I-am-detained if
> not there-remote-at I-shall-go-negative (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·ztsá̧·' lágo bikíniyá*   the sheep was dead before I found it
> (FS 16)
> *tcidí kadȩ́·' yitcxo·h lágo naxálni·'*   the car was almost falling to pieces
> before I bought it (FS 17)
> *lį̧·' tá·' yiskǫ·go dado·tsa·l lágo bi'tí·lid*   I branded the horse three days
> before it died; horse three days-being it-will-die before I-branded-it
> (FS 17)
> *ne·znǫ́ yiskǫ·go na'akai do·le·l lágo xata·li birli·tsá*   ten days before the
> ceremony the singer got sick; ten days-being dance-at-night-chant
> it-will-be before singer got-sick (FS 16)
> *ké·'dilyé·h lágo*   it was usually planted I noticed (NT 338:15)
> *na·ki ńté·' lágo*   before that he had two wives; two (wives) having been
> before (NT 30:19)

11.51. *lá djiní* let's pretend, it is said to be:

> *cac ni·dlį̧·' lá djiní*   let's pretend (play) we are bears (FS 17)
> *kin góne' si·ké lá djiní*   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):

> *'adinidi·n le'*   let there be light (YMG 19)
> *tó dilxil la' sél'ǫ· le'*   I wish I had some whiskey: water dark some there-
> is-round-obj. would-that (YMG 19)
> *nikida'tiltsį̧'go yicdloc 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* (cp. *li* 11.54.)

> *'e'e'á·hgodah 'á·di le*   they customarily arrive there about sunset; sunset
> being-about there-remote-at cust. (NT 312:4)
> *'ake·dgo dibéyáji dane·skah* (stat.) *leh*   in fall lambs are usually
> (YM 141)
> *tlé·'go tló·di nicté·h* (inc.) *leh*   I usually sleep outside; night-being ou·
> in-place I-lie-down (inc.) usually (YM 214)
> *'áko lá 'áxodjini·* (pres.) *leh*   that is the proper way for a person to s¡
> so truly one(4)-says-things-thus usually (EW 120:11)
> *sidá·* (stat.) *leh*   he cust. sits, stays (NT 266.11)

'áko γódahgo dasa'ą́· (stat.) *le·* so on top it cust. rests (NT 404:17)
di·ńíle (pres.) we cust. say
tá· xa'áťi·dah ya· na·γá·le'ígi· (< *na·γah le*) *ndi tó· ndá·gó·hdah ʈ́·' bil no·lťʈ·leh* (< *no·lťʈ·l leh*) why does he keep going about to dances and galloping on horseback ?

11.54. *ʈí, lé* is hardly to be differentiated from *leh* "customarily" (11.53.):

tó· ńdaxa·ztą́ ʈí (DD) (*lé* FH) they just stayed home; merely they-cust.-stay cust.
tó· sédá ʈí I just stay home; merely I-sit cust. (DD)
kadaxidiká·hác 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, *dí· belasâ·na bitse' xólónigi·* "this is a pear," one might say, *ndah belasâ·na* "no, it is an apple." There are various modifications of these negatives, made by combinations of elements which have already been discussed:

do·dahíh (do·dǎi) 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· cí-dah it isn't I
do· ci'í-dah it isn't mine
do· 'ákwe'é-dah it isn't so, it's wrong
do· 'ákwi·-dah it is not exactly so, not absolutely correct
do· bihí-dah it does not belong to anyone (cp. *do· bi'í-dah* "it isn't his)
do· 'êi-dah not that one, it's the wrong one

The following attributes are found primarily in the negative:

do· 'ahsoxodé·'ʈ-dah conditions are unbearable, hopeless (EW 106:18)
do· 'áťéhí-dah it is as one might expect, harmless, without fault
do· 'oc unsheltered, uncared for, less evident than a shadow
do· Ol yá'áťê·-dah ... does not like it (cp. *Ol yá'áťé* "... likes it")
do· yá'ácxǫ·-dah it is emphatically not all right; it is awful (WE)
do· Ol xǫ́jǫ̂·-dah ... is angry (cp. *do· do· Ol xǫ́jǫ̂·-dah* "... is not angry")
do· bí·ą·-dah it is dying out
do· bí·γą·-dah he is becoming sad

do· bi·tcį·-dah   he is becoming weak

do· bi·tcxį·-dah   he is becoming very weak, his life hangs by a thread

do· bî·γah-dah, do· bî·γah   it is not enough, it doesn't fit

do· de·ni·-dah   it is dull, blunt (equivalent to *biẖą· yija·j* "its edge is wearing away" (cp. *de·ni* "it is sharp")

do· tcoxó·'į·-dah   it is inevitable, things are beyond help, hopeless

do· bixóne̊·dzą·-dah   it is impossible (FS 14)

do· tśi-dah   he is very weak

do· tśi·d 'áłêi 'áłé   it is not normal, it is intolerable (WE)

do· tśi·d 'áłê·-dah   it is not to be scorned, ignored; not normal it-is-thus

do· tśidá bidzi·l-dah   he is very weak indeed; not absolutely his-strength (weaker than *do· tśidah*) (FH)

do· 'ákóxo·łê·-dah   things are abnormal

do· la' lahgo 'áłê·-dah   they are the same; not one otherwise it-is-thus (WE)

-dah is sometimes omitted, in which case one has to judge by context whether *do·* is negative or future (11.33.):

do·'i·γá·c, do·'i·γá·c-dah, do·'i·lγá·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·nisin-dah   I do not want; I-do-not-want-something

do· łá· 'ádzǎi-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· niką' xodo·le·l-dah   you will never have a husband; not your-husband things-will-be

do· naxoniłi'-dah   there was no way to get down; no-place-strung-out-down

do· na·γáhi-dah   there is no one at home; there-is-no-one-going-about

do· nsin-dah   I want nothing; I-do-not-want

do· nsini-dah   I don't want anything; there-is-not-that-which-I-want

do· xayói-dah   he is not very capable, he has little power

do· xadá·hdji· yáda·ti'-dah   they dared not speak; not-toward-in-front-of-him(4) they-speak

do· ci di·nitį'-dah   you are not my concern, I am not concerned about you; not I you-are-bothered (YM 199)

do· xaltcini-dah   undefined natural smell; that-which-does-not-give-off-odor

do· xołį·-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)

łah do· kintahó· dicá·h-dah, or *kintahó· łah do· dicá·h-dah*, or *do· kintahó· łah dicá·h-dah*   I have never been to town (FH)

citcidi do· di·tśį·h-dah or *do· citcidi di·tśį·h-dah*   my car won't start; my-car does-not-make-a-sound (FH, YM 222)

ci do· 'ácłį·-dah or *do· ci 'icłį·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 yílku·z do· siki diyá·h-dah*, but not *do· ci·h yílka·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· 'ádjini·-dah*   one should never speak thus; don't ever speak that way
> *do· 'ádjiłi·-dah*   one should never do that, don't ever do it
> *do· djitca-dah*   one should never cry, don't cry
> *do· djitcxa-dah*   one should never scream, never scream

11.60. The negative frame *do·... 'áłê·-dah* with an optative verb form designates "cannot, be unable to ...," literally, "may ... be it-is-not-thus":

> *do· dóca' 'áłê·-dah*   I cannot go; not may-I-go it-is-thus (YMG 107)
> *do· 'o·cxá·c 'áłê·-dah*   I cannot go to sleep; not may-I-go-to-sleep it-is-thus (YMG 107)
> *do· binátšá·' dósá·l 'áłê·-dah*   no one can pass him unseen: not cust.-away-from-him may-he-sail it-is-thus (EW 112:20)
> *tcidí do· do·stšį' 'áłê·-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·γáh-i-dah*   no one is at home; not one-who-goes-about
> *do· danitin-i-dah*   don't look; not one-who-looks (WE)
> *do· xalnį·yi-dah*   undefined taste (as cabbage): not that-which-is-tasted
> *do· xaltcin-i-dah*   undefined smell; not that-which-gives-off-odor
> *do· lá xáni·łá·j-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· bil xǫjǫ·-dah*   he is not angry (cp. *do· bil xǫjǫ·-dah* "he is angry; with-him there-is-no-satisfaction" (AB)
> *do· do· 'ásoxodic'į·hda do·*   I shall not be discouraged; not not-I-am-without-hope it-will-be

11.63. *do· łá· kad...-dah* means "don't want to...":

> *do· łá· kad silá·go séłį·'-dah*   I don't want to be a soldier; not really now being-a-soldier I-become-negative (FS 6)
> *do· łá· kad 'ákǫ· nséyá-dah*   I don't want to go there; not really now there-remote I-have-travelled-about-negative (FH 6)
> *do· łá· kad na· ni'ą-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· ndi ...-dah,* and *do· ndó' ndi ...-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· ndi yidló·h-dah* the baby is not even cold (much less uncomfortable) (FS 5)
>
> *do· 'adlá̧·dahdó· do· 'asdzáni ya· yiníʧ̧'-dah do· ndó' ndi ná·átoh-dah* he does not drink, he doesn't bother with women, he doesn't even smoke (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· ciyá·ɉ-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· ńza·d-gó·* not far forward (YM 15)
>
> *'ei do· tcǫxo·'ʂ·gó·* or *'ei do· tcǫxo·'ʂ-dah* they were very mean, powerful (FH)
>
> *do· ya· nda·kdi-gó·* when they have nothing to do in the future (NT 16:10)
>
> *do· bitčɉ' ni·-gó·* he couldn't talk to them (NT 40:2)
>
> *do· bitsǫ· 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· dincńi* I really hate you (EW 94:7, FH)
>
> *do· 'ɉ·yá̧·'-gó·*(or *do· 'i·yá̧·'-dá̧·') *do· dahdide·cá·l-dah* I shall not start before (unless, until) I have eaten (YMG 17, FH)
>
> *'éi kéyah do· biká·' 'aniʧ̧·-gó· bini·na·* or *'éi kéyah do· biká·' 'aniʧ̧·-da·bini·na·* because things do not mature on that land (FS 10, FH)
>
> *do· ce· nikixoniʧ̧·-gó·-cʂ· tá· kwe'é na·cá·go ce· xodi·na' do·le·l ńt·* 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 (YMG 17)
>
> *do· ye· naxa'tido·'á·l-gó·* or *do· ye· naxa'tido·'á·l-dah* it will be a pretext for him (EW 108:4); he is not going to permit you (FH)
>
> *'ai ye·' diné do· da·tči·d-gó· ké·xatɉ* those evil people live there (∴ 200:19)

11.66. The frame *do· yé·* ...*-í* seems to indicate a threat, lucky that, it is a good thing that... not ..." (possibly *yé·* n· "threat"):

> *do· yé· ni·ltsán-í* it's a good thing that I did not see you, you are ∙ I did not see you (cp. *ni' tčóxasni tá· do· niltsǫ·-dah* which h· same meaning [FH])
>
> *do· yé· ciná·l 'ádinin-í* it is a good thing you did not say that i· presence, you better not let me hear you say that (FS 7); I ∙ had been there when you said that (FH)
>
> *do· yé· ca· yániʧti'go ndisétsá̧'-í* it is a good thing I did not hea· talking about me; not about-me when-you-were-talking I-di· hear-you (FS 6)

ca· náńt̨į djini do· yé· 'i·dǫ́·' 'ákwe'é 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· .rani· kót̨ê·go 'ánilê·h-dah   why not make it this way (YM 95)
do· .xani· ni' 'aldó' nl̨į·' biki dah'íni·l-dah   why don't you saddle your horse too (YM 95)

11.68. *do·cą' . . . lá* see to it that . . ., make sure that . . ., take care that . . ., be determined that . . . not:

do·cą' gah t̨á·gé·d nácdá·h lá   I am determined not to return without a cottontail
do·cą' 'ákó ná·nácńé·h lá   I am determined not to do that again (FS 6)
do·cą' ni·lxac lá   I'll see that it does not bite you (FS 6)

11.69. The frame *do·cą' lêi' . . .lá* is similar to *do·cą' . . . lá*:

do·cą' lêi' 'awá·lya yah'aniná·h lá   I am determined that you shall not go to jail (FS 6)
do·cą' lêi' t̨â· do· 'awá·lya yah'aniná·h lá   I'll see to it that you go to jail (FS 6)
do·cą' lêi' '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' 'ayói· 'át̨ê· 'át̨ê·-dah   it is a terrible thing, it is shocking
do·ládó' 'ayói 'íńt̨ê·-da lá samá   you're a fine one surely (to be) my mother (NT 116:4)
do·ládó' tsińa 'i·lá·-dah   it is certainly destructive, it is a wrong that destroys (WE)
do·ládó' yówé· 'áńt̨ê·-dah lą xasti·n   you are a man despicable beyond words (WE)
do·ládó' t̨ó· 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·lt̨ê·-dah   there is nothing like it (coyote call) (NT 212:7)

11.71. The frame *do· . . . le' 'át̨ê·gó·* means "proof against, withstand":

do· xa'át̨i·dah yiníkâo·ya' le' 'át̨ê·gó· bidzi·lgo tsin ne·lká·lgo 'áyi·la·   he made the stockade so strong that nothing could get through
cińba·l do· t̨ó· binikâo·ge·h le' 'át̨ê·gó· 'i·cla·   I made my tent waterproof, so strong water could not leak through it (FS 19)

11.72. The negative frame *t̨â· 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 . . .":

tá· do· baxaťa·d·i it is not hidden, misleading; absolutely it-is-not-the-one-that-is-deceptive-about-things (AB)

tá· do· xili·djįh·i it was not absolutely dark, before night came (WE)

tá· do· 'ádínin·i don't say that; don't be-the-one-who-speaks-thus (WE)

tá· do· 'ácidinín·i don't say that to me

tá· do· cidíťáh·i don't eat me out of house and home; don't be-the-one-who-gnaws-me (AB)

tá· do· citčą·h sinízin·i don't stand in my way; absolutely not obstructing-me-the-one-who-stands (YMG 55)

tá· do· xaj'·le·l'į́·i she(4) did not look out; absolutely not she(4)-is-the-one-who-looks-out

tá· do· ce· naninéh·i don't hurt me; don't make me cry, don't tease me; absolutely not with-me the-one-who-teases (YM 153)

tá· do· kǫ 'ádį·h·i the fire had not even gone out; not even fire was-the-one-that-was-disappearing

tá· do· naxiñán·i sinizį stand still; absolutely not you-are-the-one-who-moves-about you-are-standing (YMG 55)

11.73. The frame *tá· do· ...-i* is also used in complex sentences to indicate a temporal clause "before ...":

tá· do· nádáh·i before he comes back, ... (YMG 48)

tá· do· dasi·ltséhé 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 tá· do· bi· yicáhi kídoťolgo 'áťį· lá 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 *tá· do· ...i-dah*:

tá· do· be· dóca'·i-dah I have no means by which to go; absolutely not by-means-of-it that-which-I-may-go (YMG 107)

tá· do· be· xodóťéh-i-dah no transportation is available; absolutely not that-by-means-of-which-there-should-be-travelling (YM 199)

tá· do· yi·ltsán-i-dah I saw no one (cp. *tá· do· yi·ltsáni* ... "I didn't get to see ...," and *tá· do· yi·tsą·-dah* "I did not get to see" used without another clause [FH])

tá· do· na· xatsid-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)

tá· do· nixidé·lnin-dah do· (-nin < ní-i-) absolutely nothing will affect us (EW 80:14)

tsídá tá· do· be· boxóné·dzáń-dah (-dzáń < -dzą·i) really there is no way to get at it; absolutely not it-is-possible (EW 112:25)

tsídá tá· do· bidi·stsą'·i-dah actually he could not be heard (EW 96:12)

tá· 'a·ni cibê·so ťó· 'axayói ndi tá· do· bini·yéh-é-dah lá 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 *tá· do· ...-i-go*:

tá· do· ntca·-i-go ťéiyá 'ákǫ́· nil de·c'ac I'll take you only on condition that you do not cry (FS 26)

tá· do· ráí·dah bil xólne'-i-go ťéiyá dí· lį̀·' na· de·cté·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 *t̓â· do· . . .-i-gó·* :

> *tśidá t̓á· do· bita'-i-gó· kóťê·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)
>
> *t̓á· do· djóyą̨'-i-gó·*   it was nothing one would want to eat (NT 48:17)

11.77. The negative *t̓â· do· . . .-dah* seems to be more emphatic than *do· . . .-dah*, less emphatic than *t̓â· do· . . .-i*:

> *t̓á· do· bino·lnin-dah*   nothing can be compared with it (WE)
>
> *'ei k̓ad t̓á· do· 'áťêhi-dah do·le·l*   these effects must not be lasting; these now harmless must be (EW 80:2)
>
> *t̓á· do· xodi·na'-dah*   it was not very long; absolutely not time-had-passed (cp. *t̓a· do· xodi·na'-i* "it was not even long")
>
> *tah t̓á· do· tśik̓e-dah*   it is not yet suitable, satisfactory, convenient; still absolutely not suitable
>
> *t̓á· do· yá'áťê·dah*   it wasn't right
>
> *t̓á· do· 'i·lta'-dah*   I did not go to school
>
> *t̓á· do· 'ódį·h 'ádza·-dah*   not decreasing; absolutely not it-disappeared it-became (EW 104:15, cp. *nê·lťe' do· 'ó·dįh 'idza·-dah* "the amount did not become less" [EW 104:24])
>
> *t̓á· do· yili·djî·-dah*   it was not quite dark (FH) (cp. *do· xili·djî·-dah* "before night came . . ., before it was absolutely dark")
>
> *t̓á· do· dinosin-da*   you two keep nothing holy (NT 120:26)
>
> *t̓á· do· be· tci·ni'in-da*   you are no use to anyone (NT 16:8)
>
> *t̓á· do· xak̓i de·yá·-da*   he (turkey) never gave up looking for him(4) (NT 26:24)
>
> *t̓á· do· yi·tsą̨·-dah*   I did not get to see it (FH)

11.78. *t̓â· do· ndó' . . .-i* seems to be a very emphatic negative:

> *t̓á· do· ndó' kónizah-i*   it was no time at all

11.79. The frames *t̓â· do· . . .-gó·* and *t̓â· do· . . .-gô·go* seem to mean "unless":

> *t̓á· do· naxó·ltą̨·-gó·go cina·dą̨·' 'altso dado·gá·l*   unless it rains my corn will all dry up (FS 26)
>
> *t̓â· do· lą̨'i yidza·z-gó·go dą̨·go tśil do· ńdaxodo·dle·ldah*   unless it has snowed a lot the plants will not come up in spring (FS 26)
>
> *t̓á· do· 'aze·' 'ál'į·gó· diniyá·-gó·go djéi 'ádį·h yêigo ndinó·lxé·l*   unless you go to the hospital your tuberculosis will become really serious (FS 26)

11.80. The combination of particles *t̓á·* and *k̓á* 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:

> *t̓á·k̓á bainóht̓in-i· la'* (*lá* FH)   don't bother him, be careful not to bother him (EW 108:13)
>
> *t̓á·k̓á cil yah'o·lye·d*   whatever happens don't let him come in to my house
>
> *t̓á·k̓á la' cil yah'o·lye·d*   don't let anyone come in to my house (as when ceremony is in progress) (FH)
>
> *t̓á·k̓á bil tćó·'á·l*   be careful not to divulge your purpose to him (EW 96:11)

tá·ká xáo·dzi·h   see that you do not speak (in church) (FS 28)

tá·ká lahgo 'áťê·go citčį' xaohdzih   be careful not to ask anything extra-ordinary of me (EW 104:19)

tá·ká sitsą́·h (< *citćą·h*) *sínizíni· lá*   don't stand in my way (FH)

tá·ká 'ádiníni· lá   don't mention anything, don't talk, don't make any noise (FH)

tá·ká cidiťą́hi· lá   don't eat me out of house and home (**FH**)

tá·ká 'ó·yą́   don't eat (NT 30:23)

tá·ká bikidǒ·ya' yi·la'   be sure to look for it (NT 26:3)

tšidá tá·ká ná'óxodílzi·d yi·la'   don't waste time (NT 44:7)

11.81. The following examples have *tá·ká* with a negative:

tá·káhí diné do· daohdlą́·-dah   none of you believed this man (even though he was right) (NT 168:19, FH) (cp. *tá· xani· diné do· daohdlą́·dah* "you did not believe the man but he was right," and *tá· xani· diné daohdlą́* "you believed the man but you should not have [FH])

tá·ká yosi· 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·c ya· dido·lxil-dah   should there be destruction (obscurity) because he would not keep quiet (FH)

11.81a. *tá·cį· do· . . .-i* what is more . . . not:

tá·cį· do· yójǫ́ yita·l-i   what is more it was not properly chewed

11.82. A free particle, *tčé·h, tčé·* may stand before a statement, causing it to mean ". . . in vain, try to . . . and fail" (see also 11.45.):

tčé· déyá   I am tired (gen.); in-vain I-started-to-go

tčé· bidjini·-goh   futilely she(4) said to him . . .

tčé· xata dê·z'į'   in vain she looked among them

11.83. *tčé·* "in vain" before a negative statement means "try not to . . .":

tčé· do· ba· ná'áxojdilį́'·-gó·   he tried (in vain) to be unconcerned about it. This sentence has three negatives: *tčé·* "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· tčé· do· 'i·znizin-gó·   he tried to resist: just-in-vain he(4)-did-not-wish-evil

11.84. If *tčé·* stands within the negative frame it means "not in vain," therefore, "succeed in . . .":

'akǫ xa·'i lá do· tčé· ntsizníkê·z-dah   exactly how he(4) tried to think

do· tčé· 'áxo'ťo·l'į·-dah   not in vain was something being done to him(4)

xa·'i lá do· tčé· yiká 'á·ťi-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)

cí xani· ťéiyá belagá·na biza·d cil bé·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**)

cá̜·' xani· 'al'a̜ dine'é da·nlínigi· xani· 'atá bitsi·' ba̜· 'adaz'áh leh they
  think that all Indians wear feathers in their hair; recall-that
  contrary-to-fact different tribes those-which-are contrary-to-fact
  feathers their-hair extraneous-to-it they-stand-up cust. (DD)

di· djí xani· naxodo·ltí·l 'ilí̜· (or *xwi·ndzin*) *ńté̜·'* it looked as if it would
  rain today (but it didn't)

tá· xani· 'ádídji' 'ilí̜· ńté̜·' it seemed to be the end (but it wasn't)
  (FS 13)

tá· xani· diné do· daohdlá̜·dah you did not believe the man, but he was
  right (FH)

tá· xani· diné daohdlá̜ you believed the man but you should not have
  (FH)

tsidá ko xani· ni·dzí̜·' I thought this would be a good place (but it
  wasn't) (NT 234:22)

tá· xani· 'a·ní nsin I thought it was just the opposite of what it was (as
  I thought tire was flat but it wasn't) (WM)

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 ...":

γóγá̜·' lágo don't eat it (YMG 54)
'o·cxá·c lágo I hope I won't go to sleep (YMG 107)
yiká̜·go naxóltá̜·' lágo I hope it will not rain tomorrow (YMG 107)
be· bil xó·lne' lágo don't tell him (YMG 54)
be· nǎo·ne' lágo don't hurt him (YMG 54)
biki dó·lta·l lágo don't step on it (YMG 54)
ciyólxé·l lágo I hope I won't be killed (YMG 53)
tcidi tá· 'ákwe'é nǒ'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," *xá-* "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 in-
terrogative pronominal significance; and there are also a few in-
terrogative prefixes or introductory elements. These have been in-
cluded 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 con-
structions are given first, later, the more complicated complexes
that take on idiomatic meanings are discussed (11.101–11.118.).

11.89. *-cạ'*, sometimes abbreviated to *-c*, is suffixed to short forms. If the form is a noun plus *-cạ'* or *-c*, the suffix means "where is ... ?" *-c* abbreviated from *-cạ'* should not be confused with *-íc* 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 *-íc* or *-c* is not used with *-cạ'*, or *-c*, its short form (cp. 7.93, FS 14, 24.):

> *ninạ-cạ'*   where is your mother ? (cp. *nimạ·c* [< *nimạ-íc*] "is it your
>   mother ?")
> *djan-cạ'*   where is John ? (cp. *djan-íc*   "is it John ?")
> *diné-cạ'*   where is the man ?

11.89a. *-cạ'* like most interrogatives, is often used in combination with other interrogative elements:

> *díkwí·-cạ'* or *dókwî·-cạ' nináxai*   how old are you ? how many-is-it
>   winters-have-passed-you ?
> *diné-cạ' xa· γolγé*   what is that man near you called ? the-man-question
>   what-near-you he-is-called (YM 92)
> *ńlêidi-cạ' xa· xałį́*   what is going on over there ? over-there-at-question
>   what-near-you things-are-being-done (YM 161)
> *xa'í-cạ'*   whatever it is (NT 30:12)
> *xada-cạ' de·cni·l*   I wonder what will happen to me; what-of-various-
>   possibilities-question I-shall-become (YM 161)
> *di·-cạ' xáidi bih*   whose is this ? to whom does this belong ? (cp. *di·dic*
>   *xái bih*   meaning and usage exactly the same FH)
> *di·-cạ' xái (xáidí) bilį·'*   whose horse is this ? this-question who-remote
>   his-horse (YM 94)
> *xáidí-cạ'* or *xáidic*   which one ? (YM 94)
> *xáidí-cạ' nińzin*   which one do you want ? (YM 94)
> *xái-cạ' 'ánłį*   who are you ? (YM 94, 160)
> *xái-cạ' nimạ́*   who is your mother (NT 52:7)
> *xáida-cạ'*   which of those possible ?
> *xá·di-cạ' ńłíjtcį (< ni'adijtcį)*   where were you born ? what-remote-
>   place-at-question your-birth
> *xa·-cạ' 'íłé 'átsé 'é· de·tį·'*   how about guessing first ? (NT 66:23)
> *xá·dji'-c ninisbạ́·s*   how far is it to where I park ? where-to-a-point-
>   question I-cause-rolling-to-the-end (FH)
> *xá·dẹ́'-c*   from where ? where-from-question (cp. *xá·dẹ́·'* "where did he
>   come from ?" There is no detectable difference in meaning, one
>   interrogative may suffice [FH])

11.90. *-íc*, *-c* is an interrogative enclitic attached to the first word of an utterance. It differs from *-c*, the short form of *-cạ'* in its phonetic effects. The high tone of the vowel of *-íc* 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 *-í-* and remains the same.

When the vowel of the word to which *-íc* 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:

di·c (< *di·-ic*)   this one ?

ditcin-ic *ńlį*   are you hungry ? (This is a translation from English. *ditcin-ic ni·lxé·* "is hunger killing you ?" is a more classical Navaho form).

dinétsoh-ic yinilyé   is your name *dinétsoh* ?

'adą́·dą́·'-ác do· kinlánigó· niniyá·dah   didn't you go to Flagstaff yesterday ? yesterday-question not to-Flagstaff you-went-negative

dŏ·c nil yá'áłé·dah   don't you like it ?

ni·c (< *ni-ic*) *na·be·hó ńlį*   are you a Navaho ? (FH)

ndă·c (< *nda-ic*)   it is, isn't it ? (FH)

diné·c (< *diné-ic*) *ńlį*   are you the man ? (cp. *diné-cą'* "where is the man ?")

łá·c 'a·ní   really ? really-question it-is-true

kintahgó·c (< *-gó·-ic*) *cil dá'á·c*   are you going to town with me ? town-to-question with-me you-two-are-starting-to-go (cp. 7.33.)

cih-ic cí dane·ł'ą́   can they measure up to me ? I-is-it I they-measure-up-to (WE)

na·kai biza·d-ic nil bé·xózin   do you know Spanish ? Mexican its-word-question you-know

ńná'iłłó·c (*-łó·c* < *-ło-ic*)   do you want to smoke again ?

bé·xońsin-ic   do you know him ?

tśidih-ic łá· do· xáxodiyinigidah   is that not a special place where holy things are performed ? specifically-question is-it-not-a-holy-place-at (FH)

tsina·bąs-ic yolyé tcidi ga' yolyé   is a wagon called an automobile ? wagon-question it-is-called auto actually is called (HM)

tó·c xǫlǫ́ or *da' tó·c xǫlǫ́* (*tó·c* < *tó-ic*)   is there any water ?

tó·gó·c (< *tó·gó·-ic*) *díníyá*   are you going to the well (spring, water supply) ?

be· nini'į·'ic or *bĕ·c nini'į·'*   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 *-ic* may erve as the test of the word (4.35.). Examples show that *łá·* "absolutely, just," *da'* interrogative, *do·* "not," are words:

ni da'ác   is it a fact ?

dŏ·c bini·yé nanná·-da   why don't you find out ? not-interrogative because-of-it you-are-going-about (NT 110:2)

dŏ·c nil yá'áłé·dah   don't you like it ?

łá·c kółé   is this right ? should it be this way ? absolutely-question so-it-is

łá·c 'akółé   is that right ? absolutely-question something-so-it-is

łá·c 'ákółé   was that right ? absolutely-question thus-so-it-is

11.91. *da'* may be used with *-ic* to form an interrogative frame— he pattern is like that of *do· ...-dah* negative, the first element eing independent, the second an enclitic. *da'* may introduce a |uestion and may be used without the enclitic. It is often the first lement of an utterance, but may stand before the second word, robably 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' di·   is it this one ?

da' łá·c   is it really ... ? (NT 56:20)

da' ni·c   is it you ? (same as *ni·c* "is it you ?") (NT 168:14)

da' łtci·'   de·z'ái·c   de·cá·l   nzin   does Red Point think I am going?
  question Red-Point-question I-shall-go he-thinks
da' łtci·'   de·z'ái·c   do·gá·l   nińzin   do you think Red Point wants to go?
  question Red-Point-question he-will-go do-you-think
da' diné ńlį or *da' diné·c ńlį*   are you a man? (FH)
da' tco'į   is this useful, good for anything? (FH)
da' cidinitša'-íc   do you hear me? question you-hear-me-question
da' yiskǫ́·gó·c sińdá do·   will you be home tomorrow? question tomorrow-
  question you-sit it-will-be
da' ńłé   how are you? query you-are-it (FH)
da' ńłį   what are you doing? query you-are-doing-it (FH)
da' tó xǫ́lǫ́ or *da' tó·c xǫ́lǫ́*   is there any water? (cp. *tó·c xǫ́lǫ́* with the
  same meaning)
da' do·ne'é ńlį   what clan do you belong to? question clan you-are (you-
  belong-to) (FH)
ni da'ác   is that a fact? for-a-fact question-question

11.92. The frame *dó' . . . -íc łi* is an indirect question of uncertainty,
wonder, apparent probability; "see if it is, maybe it is, will be":

naↄↄijo·jigó· dó'diniyá·c łi   could it be you are going to Gallup? do you
  happen to be going to Gallup? (FS 7)
nda·z dó'íc łi   could it be heavy? I wonder if it is heavy (FS 7)
bê·so dó' ne· 'ádin-íc łi   could it be you are out of money? you aren't
  broke are you? (FS 7)
cikéi dó'íc łi   you could be one of my relatives (FS 7)
tłó·dó· diní'į·' kos dó'óc łi   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, who-
ever, 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·*
(cp. 7.2.) in the phrase *da·cą' 'áłé* "of course" (FS 4):

da·-tši   perhaps, maybe
da·-tši·d   possibly a little better than normal
da· dacą' xo·łé   how is it there? (NT 206:26)
da· ye·' xó·łį·d   exactly what happened? what is the matter?
da· dadaohłindah   whatever you plural do (NT 178:27)

11.94. *cį·* "possibly, probably" seems to be an independent
particle in some instances, in others, it is appended to a combination
of elements:

cį· ndi   (in context) possible but (AB)
yiskǫ́·gó· naxodo·łį́·l cį·   it will probably rain tomorrow, it may rain
  tomorrow (FS 24)
xá·djį-cį·   somewhere; time after time probably (YM 92, FS 25)
xá·di-cį·   wherever it may be; where-remote-place-possibly
xái-cį·   someone; who-remote-possibly
xáhgó·-cį· or *xá·gó·-cį·*   it is awful, terrible, extreme
di· tó xá·dji'-cį· ndo·goh   this water will flow (as far as) somewhere;
  this water to-whatever-point possibly it-will-plunge (YM 92)

xa·cį· ne·lǫ́·' ná·xdi·dǫ́·' many years ago; what-possibly there-is-number again-winters-ago (FS 25)

kǫ́· xa·-cį· nlé·h you might do something about it (FH, EW 78:13)

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 *-cą'*, 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:

da·lá yiłé, da·lêiłé (or *xa· lá yiłé*) exactly how is it? what color is it? how is he (patient)? (AB)

dókwi· lá nináxai how old may you be? (FS 16)

xa· lá 'áníné·h what are you trying to do? (YM 60)

xa· lá 'áxáne·h what is happening? Very common as a greeting, "hello!"; it also has a connotation of sympathy (YM 161)

xa· lá 'áxo·dza· what has happened? Also a common greeting, with the connotation of surprise (YM 161)

xa· lá 'í·nidza· what happened to you? what did you do? wonder you-have-done-something (YM 160)

xa· lá yinidza· what happened to you? I wonder it-happened-to-you (YM 160)

xa· lá yiłé, xa· lêiłé what is the matter with it? I wonder what is the matter with it (of something that is wrong)

xa· lêiłê·go (< *lá yiłé*) how did it happen to be wrong? I wonder what went wrong with it (AB)

xa'áłi· lá xádini'į·' what in the world are you looking for? (FS 16)

xa· lá yiné·h or *xa· lêiné·h* what may be happening to him? I wonder what he is doing (YM 161)

xái lá 'áńłį who are you? I wonder who you may be (less blunt than *xáicą'*) (FS 16)

xá·di lá 'ádei·łį where can we plural be? where in the world are we? (FS 16)

xá·di lá ńdińlłį' wherever did you find it (baby)? (NT 38:18)

xá·gó· lá díniyá where are you going, if I may ask? (AB)

xá·dji' lá how far, just where to if I may ask? (FH, FS 15)

xá·djigo lá yá'áłé· lá ni he said, "I wonder which direction is best;" where-toward-a-point-being wonder place-it-is-good wonder he-says (FS 12)

xa'áłê·go lá I wonder how ... (used if conditions are contrary to expectations) (AB)

xa· lá łá· 'êiyá ... ni' now let's see ... (used in an attempt to recall something momentarily forgotten (FS 12)

xa· lá łá· 'êiyá yinilyê· ni' now let's see! what is your name?

xa· lá łá· 'êiyá yiłê· ni' now let's see, how was it? how did it look? (FS 12)

xa· lá łá· 'eiyá dji·ł'į·h ni' now let's see! what does one do (next)? (of a step in a process) (FS 12)

11.96. *xa· lá yé· ... yé·* don't dare to .... The second *yé·* may be used or omitted, and the fourth person is required even if the threat or admonition is given to the second person (cp. 11.66.):

xa·h lá yé· 'i·djilxac (yé·)   don't dare bite! (FH, FS 12)
xa·h lá yé· 'adji·lxoc (yé·)   don't dare go to sleep! (FS 12)
xa·h lá yé· tćidjíyá·h (yé·)   don't you dare come out! (FS 12)

11.97. *lą́* finality, decision. *lą́* may enter into interrogative or indirect pronominal complexes:

xa·hcį· lą́   let's undertake it whatever the consequences
xá·di lą́   wherever possible

11.98–11.100. *Interrogatives with "Be"*

11.98. Many independent elements, bound prefixes, and other elements are combined with *-té* "be" to form interrogative or indefinite pronominal complexes:

deité (< da·-yité)   is it possible? how is it? (FH)
di·c da·yité, di·c deité   exactly what is wrong with this? how is it that ... ?
da·cįté (< da·cį· yité)   I don't know exactly (FH, NT 142:7,8)
xaité (< xa yité)   how is he? (FH)
xa ńté   how are you? (FH)
citcidi da·cį· yité cá nínił'į   see what is the matter with my car (Ad 12/48:5)
da· lêité·go (< da· lá yité·-go) tćé·h yácti'   exactly why does no one answer me; how-is-it-that in-vain I-speak (WE)
da· lêité· lá tó· 'átį   I wonder if it is just pretending; why-is-it evidently merely doing-thus (EW 114:18)
da· lá xo·té   how is it that ... ? (WE)
xa· lêité·go (< lá yité-goh), xa· la yité   why is it that ... ? (admittedly something is wrong)
xa·c yité lijin la'   what's the matter that it is black? (I did not expect it to be black) (AB)
xa·cą' yité   what's wrong with it? (it is all right) (AB)
xa·cą' yité·go   being as it is, what's to be done about it? (AB)
nitcidicą' xaité·go (< xa-yi-té·go) dilyo'   how fast is your car? your-car-question how-is-it it-runs (YM 17)
'éicą' 'éi xa· yité·goh   what's the matter with this? how can this be? (AB)
nmą́cą' xa· yité   how is your mother (who has been ill)?

xaitégocą' (< xa-yi-), xai·tégocą' (< xa·-yi·)   how, why?
xaité·gocą' 'ál'į   how is it done?
xaité·gocą' do· citćį' yáńlti'dah   why do you not speak to me? (YM 94)

'áté   it is thus
da·cą' 'áté 'áltsé 'iyą́   of course, go ahead and eat first; exactly-question it-is-thus first you-eat-something (FS 4)
da·cą' 'áté de·ska·z ndó   of course, I'm cold (why wouldn't I be?) (FS 4)
xa'átédę·' lá yiná·l   where do you come from? (NT 52:5)
xasti·ncį· 'íté (< 'áté)   whatever kind of man he may be (NT 34:17)
xa'átégo   some way or other, (in) whatever way (NT 34:22)
xa'áté·gocą'   how? why? in what way? (AB)
xa'áté·gi   where specifically (practically the same as *xá·di*) (YM 93)
xa'áté·gidah   wherever (YM 93)
xa'áté·gicą' (or xa'áté·gic) ni·ni'ą́   exactly where did you leave the round object? (YM 93)

xa'á'tê·go (or xa'áti·c bini·na·) tá· sáhó· siṅdá   why do you live alone ?
　　(FH)
xa'áté·gocq' do·le·l   why should it be ?
xa'áté·gocq' nlį   why is it flowing ? (FH)
xa'áté'dę̇·'cq'   where in the world from (AB)
xa'áté·gocq' niṅzin   how (why) do you want it ? (FH)
xa'áté·gocį·   how possibly (I can't understand how or why)
xa'áté·gocį· tċil 'ádin   I don't understand why there is no grass (YM 93)
xa'átégo lá yidą́   how is it eaten ? (NT 30:10)

11.99. *xa'áti·*, *xa'áti·h* often seems to mean the same as *xa'áté*. Usage however seems to show that *xa'áti·* 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'áté* is followed by a postposition designating an exact place or motion, or by *-go* "what things being thus," whereas *xa'áti* is followed by the indefinite enclitics; it often means "how, why":

xa'áti·h   what is it ? how (I didn't hear) ? (AB)
xa'áti·c   what is it ? (cp. *xa'áté·c* "where is it ?" FH)
xa'áti· 'áté   what is it ? (NT 16:16)
xa'áti· ye· 'áṅtį   who are you ? (NT 52:5)
xa'áti· 'iłį   who is he ? (NT 64:25)
xa'áti·dah   whatever; how-amongst (if there is such a thing)
xa'áti·-cį· yiyi·yą́·'   he ate something (possibly there was something to
　　eat) (YM 94)
xa'áti·c bike· 'i·ni·dza·   how did you get that way ? how according-to-it
　　it-happened-to-you (YM 160)
xa'áti·c bq·h   why ? for what reason ? (AB)
xa'áti·cq' bini·na·   why, for what particular reason (AB)
xa'áti·cq' bini·yé   what for ? for what purpose (AB)
xa'áti·c bini·yé yiníyá   why have you come ? (AB)
xa'áti·c biká yiníyá   what did you come for, after ? (AB)
xa'áti·c bini·yé diníyá   why did you start out ? why are you going ? (AB)
xa'áti·cq'   what is it ? (YM 94)
xa'áti·cq' bini·yé 'áṅtį   why did you do it ? (YM 94)
xa'áti·cq' niṅzin   what do you want (YM 94)
xa'áti·c dine'é ne'esdzá·n   what is your wife's clan ? (FH)
xa'áti·c ne'esdzá·n ya· na·yáh   what does your wife do ? (FH)
xa'áti·c bé·xásinic   how should I know ? what do I know ? (FH)
xa'áti·cq' 'áté   what is it (inanimate obj.) ?
xa'áti·cq' 'átį   what is it (animate obj.) ?
xa'áti·cq' (xa'áti·c) ṅlį   who are you ?
xa'áti 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· 'adlą́·dá·c (< 'adlą́-dah-ic) leh   it isn't good to drink, is it ? not
　　absolutely something-to-drink-not-question cust.
do· nátohdǎ·c (< -dah-ic) leh   it isn't good to smoke, is it ? not smoke-
　　negative-question cust. (FH)
do· na·ťodǎ·c (< -ťod-dah-ic)   it isn't flexible is it ? not it-is-flexible-not-
　　question (FH)

'adą̀·dą́·c do· nańijo·jigó· nsiniyá·dah   didn't you go to Gallup yester-
   day ? yesterday-question not toward-Gallup you-went-about-not
   (FS 14)

tá· do· naxinâni sinizį́   stand still; absolutely not you-move-about you-
   stand (YMG 55)

tá· do· ńltčigo sińdáhi ni·h do·lǩas   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· nádáhi 'i·'i·'ą·go bini·na· 'i·yą́·'   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· cą·h nini'i nil ni·go cil xolne'   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 dis-
cussed 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:

ńléi be'eǩih xaljį̀·djį lá sitin (< sitį̀-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·hó 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)

ńlê·di xol 'áltsé·dą́·' xol ba·txį̀' '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'adjo·kaih   three white
   men and three white women came in. 'aldó' is an independent
   word, probably composed of 'al-reciprocal and -dó' "also."

dá·dilkal 'ą· '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·ldléi néiséltahdó· 'i·lxá·j   I unrolled my blanket and went to sleep;
   my-blanket I-caused-untying-and I-went-to-sleep (YM 186)

'awé·' xazlį́·'dó· biǩidji' la' ná·xásdlį·'   a baby was born and afterward
   another was born; baby became-and afterward one-again-became
   (YM 125)

naxaltindó· ǩos '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

ɫdó· is used; in that statement the men and women were not ecessarily together):

> *'áko 'ei 'átsé xasti·n 'átsé 'esdzʠ· bil ɫá·yisi· bil bé·xózin ɫá· 'ákó do·ni·lgo* thus First Man and First Woman well understood what was to happen; thus this first-man first-woman with-him very-well understood just-how it-will-happen (EW 90:5)
>
> *bil yigá·l* he is going on horseback, he is riding; with-him it-is-going (FH)
>
> *lʠ·' cil dinó·ltʠ·l* I'll gallop on horseback; horse with-me will-straighten-out-prol. (YM 209)
>
> *le·j xá·dji·cʠ· tó bil 'adaxa·z'é·l* time after time the water washed the soil away; soil some where water with-it rep.-washed-off (FS 25)
>
> *diné bil ninídjé·'* the people surrounded him; people with-him plural-persons-moved-to-end (WE)
>
> *ɫé·tcą·'i bil nanicka·d* I am herding with my dog; dog with-it I-am-spreading-something-about (YM 29)
>
> *le·j xol dayikʠdó·* soil with him (coyote's flesh) they ground also (WE) (In this example both *-l* and *-dó·* are used.)

11.103a. The word *'índa, 'inda* "and, furthermore, moreover" seems to have the same function as *-dó·* "also." It connects nouns as well as clauses (cp. 7.47.):

> *gá·gi 'inda tąji· 'inda xazéitsósi· 'inda né'écdja·' 'axídji·kai* crow and turkey and chipmunk and owl had come together (NT 16:1)
>
> *'atsinlɫicka·' xatso'olyaɫka·' cábitɫó·lɫa·' ná·tsi·lidɫa·' 'inda be·cxal néidi·la·hʠ·* 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·dʠ·' nácdói·tsoh 'inda gini 'ei·di xą· xá·dayi·sɫil* 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 *-ígí·* "that which, the one who, the place where" to almost any form (cp. 5.30.):

> *di· 'acki· 'áltsi·sigi· tó kóniyánidjʠ' 'i·lxá·c* this little boy is taking a nap; this boy the-one-who-is-little merely is-going-to-sleep (Ad 12/48:5)
>
> *bilʠ·' da·ztsánígí· 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
>
> *ɫá· 'ácidíníní gí· 'áde·cni·l* I'll do whatever you say; just that-which-you-tell-me I-will-do-thus (YM 160)
>
> *'ei gá·gi 'áté·yigí· 'iɫáo (< 'iɫá'·go) ya· naxasni'* that crow that-was-the-one-who flying-off to-him explained-things (EW 92:22)
>
> *'adʠ·dʠ·' ɫá· do· nicinilnicígí· ba· 'ákó nsin* 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 n Navaho without a subordinating element:

da' cil di·'acic ninzin do you want to go with me ? question with-me you-singular-two-will-go-question you-want

da' djanic de·cá·l nzin does John want to go with me ? question John-question he-will-go you-think

ntčị' xade·sdzih nsin I want to speak to you; toward-you I-shall-speak-out I-want

kó xóne' la·na· nsin ńtę̌·' I was hoping this would happen; thus things-happen it-would-be I-want past (YM 160)

citcidi ninzin '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' ninzingo cinátoh bizis biyi'dę̌·' la' xanitị·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; the following do not contain these modifications, there is more than one clause without a subordinating element:

naxasdzá·n biká·' tłoh be· xodo·tłij náxásdlị̌·' the earth has become green again; earth-woman on-it grass by-its-means place-is-green place-has-become-back (YM 126)

ríhgó·cị· bi·' djijté·j 'altso ńdji·tłoh surprisingly enough the two lying inside completely finished the smoke; my! in-it they(4)-two-lay all they-smoked-it (EW 104:15)

'ilxoc lêi' nitčị' yácti' oddly enough you are asleep (while) I am talking to you; you-are-asleep surprisingly to-you I-am-talking (YM 129)

xáni' 'iyildin tá· xóté xa· na·yá 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

ńtę̌·', *ńtę̌·'* 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.):

mạ'į· yi·ltsą́ nsin ńtę̌·' (or *ndi*) *tó· cil 'ádza· 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)

bil dé'á·j ńtę̌·' (*ndi*) *tó· 'á·xosistị·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·ckil nsin ńtę̌·' tó bitčị' yitị·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)

kintahgó· di·kah nsin ńtę̌·' (*ndi*) *'axoni·ltą́* I wished we would go to town but it rained; town-to we-started-out I-want but it-rained (YMG 47)

be· 'o·dle·hé be· góliji· séloh ńtę̌·' 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'ticle·h ńtę̌·' ya· 'áxoni·zị̌·' 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·lne' ńtę̌·' (*ndi*) *'asdzáni la' biná·l 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)

ciye' 'ayói 'anócni· ńté·' tćé·h 'áni·l'į·d   my son! I loved you greatly but I could do nothing with you (NT 46:29)

lą'i ye· nacine·ztą̇·' ńt̨́·' 'altso cil 'alta·náskii   he taught me so much that I got confused; many-things with-them he-instructed-me but all with-me got-mixed-up (YM 110)

bê·so la' ca'ło·nil nsingo li'ťictci· ńt̨́·' bil bé·xo·zin   he understood that I was beating about the bush to borrow money; money some he-will-lend-me I-wanting I-beat-about-the-bush but he-understood-it (YM 36)

11.107. The most common subordinating enclitic is *-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·hdji-go cikéyah, or *'e'e'a·hdji cikéyahgo*   my land is on the west side; west-side-being my-land-is or west-side my-land-being (YM 106, FH)

'ana·'-go tidide·cni·l ca'cin nsin   I think I may be wounded in the war; enemy-being I-shall-be-injured perhaps I-think (YM 160)

tsin biya·dji-go sédá   I am sitting under a tree; tree under-it-side-being I-am-sitting (YM 31)

do·įǫ·-go ndizni·ťih   he staggered considerably; not-controlled-being he-moved-in-a-line (EW 110:6, 9)

ciyanidó· cáda'á·hdji-go citcei· biyan   my grandfather's house is south of mine; that-which-is-my-home-from south-side-being my-grandfather his-house (YM 176)

ťá· 'áni·di-go Alaska bitči̇' 'axó·ťi'-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)

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:

yiskǫ̇·-go kwe'é na·cá·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)

'i·nicta'-go ba· cil xone·ni   I enjoy reading; reading-being for-it with-me there-is-amusement (YM 165)

bitsénil xǫlǫ̇·-go sitį̇   holding his stone ax he lay; his-stone-ax having a-live-obj.-lay (NT 128:14)

do·dah tćé· bidjini·-go   saying "no" to him in vain; no in-vain she(4)-saying-to-him (WE)

ci xo·sni·'-go ba'áltcini 'olta'dji· ni·ninil   taking my advice he put his children in school; I having-advised-him his-children school-toward-a-point he-moved-several-obj.-to-the-end (Ad 12/48:5)

bitsi·zis bitłó·l ko yę· 'ánltsxázi kadę̇· kéło·d-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)

damį̇·-go ťá· ni' xá·djidah na·cá·-go cil yá'áťé·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)

ńjóni-go na'akai-go ba· cił xoné·ni·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·jǫ··go xodi·na'·go 'a·dę·' náne·sdzį·d   it was considerably longer
when from there he slid back; considerably time-having-passed
from-there he-arrived-back-and-squatted (WE)

tsidi· bitčį' 'anáxita'·go ni·łtsą́   I saw you darting at the bird; bird to-
ward-it you-rep.-darting I-saw-you (YM 187)

niba' sédá·-go 'ádaxodéclxá·'   I got bored waiting for you; awaiting-you
I-sitting got-bored (YM 143)

tsidá bi 'ádano·lninê·ni 'ákójno·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)

ca· ná'a·h bidicni·-go nłisiskan   I begged him to give it to me; "to-me
give-round-obj." I-saying-to-him I-begged (YM 110)

tá· 'áladji' dibé tá· do· yó·'anániřili ndicni·-go 'adandéclxá·'   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 binésą́   I brought up the orphaned boy; boy his-
relatives being-lacking I-raised-him (YM 176)

'ei gá·gi 'áltcíni na·'a·c-go yiyi·łtsą́ lá   those crows saw the two children
going about; those crows children two-going-about they-saw-them
to-be-sure (EW 92:18)

nixisilá·-go bikéyah yá'atída-łį·-go la' 'áda·din silį·'   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)

bitsą́·dji' déc'į·-go bi·yah tčíniyá   I looking the other way passed him;
in-a-direction-away-from-him I-looking moving-alongside-him I-
went-out (YM 31)

ńzá·dgó· déyá·-go citčį' 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·łį·d   I was in town when it happened; in-town
when-I-was-going-about it-happened (YM 161)

biyandi yiniyá·-go yó·'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· djiniyá·-go xol xwe·cne'   as soon as he came I told him; just when-
he(4)-arrived with-him(4) I-reported-things (YMG 17)

djiniyá·-go xol xode·cnih   I'll tell him(4) when he comes; when-he-has-
arrived with-him I-will-communicate (YMG 17)

bé·c 'ałtsó·zi kinidlá·d-go cikidji' 'axo·tah   when the wire broke it sprang
at me; iron narrow when-it-broke toward-me it-sprang (YM 187)

'awé·' ta·h yigo'-go niná'á diničƚ̨·-go bitč̨' ta·h yicyod　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" (cp. 11.73.):

'á·di ni·ƚá·j-go 'inda 'udi·dƚ·l　as soon as we arrive there we shall eat; there-remote-at when-we-two-have-arrived then we-shall-eat (YM 1)

xodicni·-go 'inda yá'áťé·　when I say so then it will be the right time; when-I-say-things then it-is-good

ťá· 'i·dą̨·' xol xwe·cne'go 'inda yiniyá　I had already told him when you arrived; already with-him I-having-reported-things then you'-arrived (YMG 47)

xa'áťi· da·ni· do·le·l 'áko-go 'inda bé·xodo·zį·l　whatever they say will be final; whatever they-say it-will-be so-being then it-will-be-known

ťá·ká tčénâo·si·d 'alnirii'ą̨·-go 'inda　don't waken him until noon; don't waken-him when-it-is-noon then (YMG 107)

tcij 'axidi·nitka·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 kéya nixil dahsa'ánigi·ya·ńil'é·l　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 bininidlƚ·-go lą'i ná·xilbį·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'į·'-go·cą' xa· xodo·ni·l　what if he finds out about me? what-if-he-finds-out-about-me-question what (more remote) will-happen (FS 24)

ťá· ńléidę̨·' xwe'esdzá·n 'atidjil'į·-go xo·lji·j 'eibą· xwe'esdzá·n ǩasdę̨·' xwi·sxinigi· ťá· biǩixodo·ljici·' 'áťé　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 tčé· (tčé· ...-go) to indicate "futility, lack of accomplishment, mean to ..., but do not ...":

tčé· nzin-go　he meant to; in-vain he-wanting

kin 'altso 'áde·cli·l tčé· nisin-go ťó· bil ná·s xode·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 'áťé or -go xaz'ą́ with the future tense means "can, be able to, may ...:"

dí· tsé dahdide·c'á·l-go '*áłé* (or *xaz'ą́*) I can lift this stone; this stone I-shall-be-moving-round-obj.-up-subordination it-is-thus (FS 11)

nikeh dide·cdle·l-go '*áłé* (or *xaz'ą́*) I can beat you (in a fight); according-to-you it-being-done-by-me-in-fut.-subordination it-is-thus (FS 11)

naxodo·łtį·l-go '*áłé* (or *xaz'ą́*) it is surely going to rain, it may rain; it-will-rain-subordination it-is-thus (FS 11)

11.109. *-goda* '*áłé* expresses possibility; it seems to be less certain than *-go* '*áłé*; this combination is equivalent to *ca'cin nsin* "I think maybe":

cijé'é '*áłį·-goda* '*áłé nsin* I thought it might be my father; my-father possibly-being it-is-thus I-think (FS 12)

kintahgó· de·cá·l-goda '*áłé* I may go to town (FS 12)

dí· tsé dahdide·c'á·l-goda '*áłé* (or *xaz'ą́*) I am going to lift this stone

11.110. *ndi* is a contradictory word, "but, even, although, though":

łá· '*áko ndi* even then (he was under the spell) (NT 232:18)

'*alkidą́·' nxíni' daxazlį·' ndi* even though long ago we became sensible; long-ago our-minds became although (NT 294:18)

xajó·go ńłči' ndi łá· do· bidi·tša'í so quietly even wind could not hear him (EW 96:11)

sikis kingó· bil dé'á·j bini·yé cákáníyá xą· ndi citcei cil xaxodiné·sne' 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-grand-father with-me reported-things-prol. (YM 155)

'*ákǫ́· ntčį' de·cá·l ńłę·' ndi cina·nic xǫ́lǫ·go bini·na· łá· 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· ńłę·' ndi łá· do· xakinicáhi łó· nánisdzá all day I looked for him but since I could 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":

bê·so łá'i ndi do· na·c'a·dah I haven't even a dollar; dollar one even not-I-am-carrying-a-round-obj. (FS 21)

belagá·na biza·d łá'i ndi do· nêi'á·dah he doesn't know a word of English; white-man his-word one even not he-carries-round-obj. (FS 18)

11.111. Two words form a frame: '*ają́ ... ndi* "even though ... nevertheless":

'*ają́ cibê·so xǫ́lǫ́ ndi łá· 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)

'*ają́ 'ayóigo niyol ndi cil yá'áxo·łé·h łó nte·l bi·yahgi lêi'* 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

'ajǫ́ xasistih ndi 'ayó· 'e·c'į́   even though ageing I can see well (YM 20)
'ajǫ́ ńza·dji' ndi 'altcin   even though it is far off he can smell it
dį·' 'į·yisi dayójį 'ajǫ́ xastǫ́·h ndi   four main poles are mentioned although there are six (NT 108:11)

11.112–11.118. *Cause*

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.

-bǫ·   is suffixed to demonstrative pronouns:

di·-bǫ·   for this reason, because of this (NT 294:11)
'ei-bǫ·   because of that
'ái-bǫ· 'éi-bǫ·   for that (remote) reason
'átah 'índa 'axil xodi·lnih k̇ad tsididi·ndji' yintc̣į́ 'éibǫ·   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-am-bothered-by that's-why (FS 29)
ɾái ńlé· tłohdah dantcǫ́'igi· nyǫ́·go 'ái niyi' xǫ́lǫ́·go 'áibǫ· (or bini·na·, xá·lá, bc· 'éłé, but not bini·yé) do· dinilyo'dah   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 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:

tcaxalxe·łgo bini·na· xwe·siłgo tc̣iníyá   I groped my way because of the darkness; it-being-dark its-reason groping-for-things I-went-out (YM 240)
tcaxalxe·łgo bini·na· do· xo·t̄į·dah   there is no visibility because of darkness; it-being-dark its-reason things-cannot-be-seen (YM 30)
do· 'osoxodo·bé·įgó· 'ánixi'ł̣į·d 'áłtcíni da'ółta'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)
'áłtcíni tcé·h bi'łiński·go 'éi bini·na· ńdadi·tcǫ'   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)
tcidí bik̇i 'ida·zgo bini·na· bike·' de·sdǫ·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)
łó 'axayói 'į·yǫ́·go bini·na· siziz dini·łtłó·'   I loosened my belt because I ate a lot; much I-having-eaten that-is-why my-belt I-loosened-it (YM 217)
'awé·' ba· nanictłahgo bini·na· do· na·cnįcdah   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)
'ayó· 'ani'į·hgo bini·na· 'awá·lya sidá   he is in jail for stealing; much stealing because-of-it in-jail he-sits (YM 201)

ciná·k̓e dídí·n bini·na· do· yic'f·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· 'ínítf·dahgo bini·na· 'atíni·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 *lêi*'). Other ways to express the clause to which *bini·na·* refers are: *do· 'ákwi· 'áńt̓ê·go* and *do· 'ákwi· 'áńt̓ê·dah 'ei*.

'asdzání bini·na·ni· báiltsá· 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'át̓ê·gocá*') (FH)

11.114. *-ni·γé* has a possessive pronominal prefix; it seems to indicate a cause which has no implied opposition:

ciγan góne' bi·dolká·l bini·γé badíńl̓í·á 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·t̓o·ljihgó· bini·γé 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·l bini·γé na·stsǫ·d I am craning my neck in order to see properly; properly I-will-see because-of-it I-am-stretching-about (YM 226)

tcidi neilbǫ·s do·le·l bini·γé 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)

djan bilí·' ca'to·lté·l bini·γé 'ábidicni 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·γé nanná·ni· that which you are seeking; the-particular-thing-because-of-which-you-are-going-about (NT 110:7,10)

t̓á· 'a·ni· cibê·so t̓ó· 'axayói ndi t̓á· do· bini·γéhédah 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· 'ét̓é* "because conditions are such that ...":

dibéyáji t̓ah ndi 'áda·ltsi·si t̓á· do· naxaltini yicí 'éi be· 'ét̓é (or *'éibǫ·* 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' de·sk̓a·z kǫ' 'ádin 'éi be· 'ét̓é, or *kin góne' de·sk̓a·z kǫ' '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·t̓ê·go, or *yá'áxo·t̓ê·go bini·na·*, or *yá'áxo·t̓ê·go be· 'ét̓é* (but not *yá'áxo·t̓e·go bini·γé*) because it is a nice place (FH)

xá·ládah t̓á·xahi nikénísdzá 'é·bǫ· because-for-one-reason I am going home in a short time (FH)

xá·lá na·'áct̓í 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)

do· ńde·cdá·ldah xá·lá do· cil yá'áxo·t̬ê·hdah, or *do· ńde·cdá·ldah do· cil yá'áxo·t̬ê·go bini·na·* I am not going (coming) back because I do not like the place (YM 92)

11.117. Compare the following:

xá di· bini·γé 'ánt̬į why do you do this ? what-remote this because-of-it you-do-thus

xá·lá na· 'áct̬į because I am doing it for you; because on-your-account I-am-doing-thus

ná 'áct̬į I am doing thus for your benefit

xádi bini·na· 'ánt̬į why are you doing thus ? what-remote because-of-it you-are-doing-thus

xá· lá· ńt̬į what are you doing ?

11.118. *lêi'* may be equivalent to *-go bini·na·* of the frame *do· . . . ·dah-go bini·na·,* or to *'éibǫ·, bini·γé, xá·lá,* but not to *bini·na·* or *be· 'ét̬é* "not . . . because":

citcidi bike·' yá'áda·t̬é·h lêi' na·kai bikéyagó· be· de·cá·l ni·zį·' 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)

do· citah xwi·ńá·dah lêi' cibe·éldǫ·h t̬éé·h dahdi·t̬į·h because I was weak I could not lift my gun; not my-body moves-negative because my-gun in-vain I-(tried-to)-lift (FS 20). *do· citah xwi·ńá·dah 'éibǫ·* and *do· citah xwi·ńá·dahgo bini·na·* are interchangeable forms, but *do· citah xwi·ńá·dah bini·γé* and *xá·lá do· citah xwiń·á.dah* are not (FH).

'ajá 'ayóigo niyol ndi cil yá'áxo·t̬é·h tó nte·l bí·γahgi 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)

ló·' xaxadle·higi· 'ayó· yi·ctcį·h lêi' bá na·cnicigi· do· t̬á· cidin ló·' xa'al-'e·l-gó· na·γá·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). *'éibǫ·, be· 'ét̬é,* or *xá·lá* may be substituted for *lêi',* but not *bini·na·* or *bini·γé* (FH). *t̬á· do·* may be used instead of *do· t̬á·* 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:

ŧah   interval of time, pause, time lapses
xah   when, immediate, general interrogative of time (cp. *-xah* "winter, year passes")
xáh   remote time
tsį·l   at once, in a hurry
tsxį·l   in a great hurry, very quickly
'ahbíní, 'ahbíñ   morning
ŧá· xah á   soon
ŧá· 'axan, ŧá·'xan, ŧá·xan   very soon, near
'átsé, 'áltsé   first, before . . .

12.2. Such "words," however, are often modified by postpositions that indicate whether the complex signifies past (*-dą́·*), present (*-di*), or future (*-gó·*). In this respect independent words behave like nouns or other forms:

'ahbíñ-dą́·   earlier this morning; this-morning-past
'ahbíñ-gó·   later this morning; this-morning-future
xádą́·-dą́·-di   where in all this time past (NT 52:15)
xa·dzí'į·-dą́·   at the time he spoke (EW 100:11)
ŧá· dinêi·ji'-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
ŧad kodó·   from now on (YM 237)
'á-ŧah   later; remote-interval (FS 29)
biŧi-dji'   to a point over it; afterward

12.4. Postpositions or enclitics, suffixed to verbs may have temporal as well as locative value:

nánisdzá·-djį'　until I return; I-have-returned-up-to-that-point
'ǫ·dę́·' kółê·go　later (I became aware) of it

A word like *'i·dą́·'* "at that time" seems to be a *yi*-perfective verbal form (10.104.), so that *-dą́·'*, which has just been called a "postposition," may be interpreted as a verbal stem. The "adverb" *kasdą́·'* "almost" is also found as *ka sidą́·'*, a *si*-perfective indicating that the verbal quality of *-dą́·'* 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:

ńzah　at a distance (but not very far)
ńza·d　at an indefinite distance
ńzá·d　so far as (farther than *ńza·d*)
ńlá·　over there (not very far)
ńlé·h　over there (farther than *ńlá·* but still visible)
ńlêi　way over there

12.5a. These "verbal adverbs" or "adverbial verbs," whatever they may be called, may also denote temporal ideas:

ńza·d-gó·　a long time in the future (YM 116)
łá· do· ndó' kó nizahi　it wasn't long until . . .
xa·cį́ ńzá·dgó· 'axodo·ljic　who knows how long in the future; time will pass who knows how far forward
ńzah noxo·lji·jgoh　when a short time had passed; a-short-distance time-moved-to-an-end-when (NT 152:26)
da·cį́· ńzah-dji' diné ná·s nêididjih (sales)　may help the Navaho quite a bit; possibly to-a-distant-point Navaho forward may-move-them-cust. (NT 414:10)
do· zâ·-gi-dó'　it is not at all long (until . . .) (NT 218:23)

12.6. One of the many generalized uses of the stem *-'á·l* "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:

xa'a'a·h　east; round-obj.-is-starting-out-beyond
cá dá'á·h　south; sun-starts-moving
'e'e'a·h　west; some-round-obj.-is-starting-beyond

12.7. Temporal forms are constructed on the same stem:

ne· 'ná·'ło·łá·l　until the sun sets again with you (NT 44:22)
łah do· xa'a'a·h-gó·　the sun has not yet risen (NT 320:26)
łá· dah'adi·'ą́　the sun had just come up (NT 388:14)
kwe'é 'e·z'ą́-go　the sun being here (NT 36:23)
'alni'í'ą́, 'alnińi'ą́　midday, noon; center of the sky, zenith; round-obj.-has-been-moving-off-as-far-as-the-center
'į'į'ą́　sunset; some-round-obj.-has-moved-off
be· 'e'e'a·h　she spent days there; with-her some-round-obj.-moves-off (NT 90:29)
ųa·'łe·z'ą́　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)
xil ninoh'a·h   you two set a date (NT 262:23; 324:2)
xil bá ndja'á·h   they(4) set a date for it (chant) (NT 234:3)
xiligi· 'axá ndadjilá·h   they(4) agreed upon a date (NT 320:5)
noxo·táné·dji'   until the date set (NT 276:18; 310:29; 362:27)
xo·l'á·gó·   for all time, forever (NT 232:11)

Compare the following examples with those above:

'éi tšidá be· noxo·l'á·go   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·lká·l   night will pass
yi·lka·h   it is day
yiskǫ́   tomorrow, the next day; night-has-passed
ci·do·lká·l   I shall spend the night; night-will-pass-me

12.10. Age is expressed by the stem *-xah* "winter is, it is winter":

dókwi·c bináxai   how old is he? how-many winters-have-passed-him-in-cycle
ne·znǫ́· 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·xá·h* "I am spending the year; year-starts-passing-me."

Comparable stems for other seasons are treated as verbs of motion: *·dą·l* "be spring, spring passes;" *-cį·l* "be summer, summer passes, moves."

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·lišózi bil da'axi·gǫ·go ná'axó·ná·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
diyoǫi yitłó·gi tá· xodi·na·h   it takes time to weave a rug
tá· náxodiłna·hgo   every once in a while (NT 384:24)
ná'axó·ná·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):

'axé·'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":

nde·zid month; cycle has been completed (AB, RP)
ndizid month is passing
náxidizi·d months pass in succession
yá yi·zi·d he is wasting time; for-him time-is-passing
na'áxodilzid 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:

tóoxo·lji·j as time went on (NT 74:26)
djo·l be· ndadjinéhigi· 'alni·'gó· xo·ljic the ballgame is half over; the ballgame middle-toward time-moves (YM 237)
kad kodó· de·ska·zgo xodido·ljic from now on the weather will be cold; now here·from having-started-to-be-cold time-will-move (YM 237)
dą·go tá· niyolgo 'axodo·ljic spring is a period of continual winds; spring-being just blowing time-starts-to-move-beyond
tá· do· xodina'i de·ska·z bil yó·'axodo·ljic cold weather will soon be over; soon cold with-it time-will-pass-on (YM 238)
'a·ke·go 'ayó· ndaxaltingo 'anáxáljic fall is a period of frequent rains; fall-being much repeated-rain-being time-passes-cust. (YM 238)
tá· nléidę·' xwe'esdzá·n 'atidjil'į·go xo·lji·j he(4) has been mistreating his(4) wife for years; just from-over-there his(4)-wife doing-injury years-passed (Ad 1/49:9)
na·be·hó nda·ba·hgo naxacji·j there was a time when the Navaho were raiders; Navaho going-about-raiding time-has-moved-about (YM 237)
tsidácį· xa· 'inaxa·lji·cgo the exact time (was not known) (NT 366:8)

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
tahán·e·' wait! it will happen!
'akon·e·' there! you will see!

12.15. The suffix *-i·'* has meaning only in a context:

yah'i·ydi·' ne·zdá after coming in he sat down (FS 14)
xaya· xayiká·n-i·' biya· niyiniką after having set it down before him(4) he set it down before him (self) (WE)
bitcidi tá· yo·snil-i·' tóé·h 'axi·h néi·ni·l after taking his car apart he was unable to put it together again (Ad 12/48:6)
yikide·jé·'-i·' ye· náxonnihgo xa· ndi·dzá 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· dasi·ltséhé 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 tá· do· bi· yicáhi kido·tolgo 'átį· lá* 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·znái·gi· tá· do· yas bi·h ndadzisna'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 sentences several processes are combined to express time:

> *'acdla' ná·xáidą·' na·be·hó bidibé da·lq'igo nixo·lji·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)
>
> *'a·djį' tó· náxodo·ñago* at that point when only a short time had passed (NT 52:24)
>
> *da·ñcạ' ñzá·dẹ·' 'adé·jtci·dẹ·' kad 'á·dẹ·cị· bijį' 'ida·lne'go xodide·cji·j* 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)
>
> *kóñigo ñté·'e·'* thus it will have been said (NT 30:21)
>
> *ni'itci·djį' 'axo·lji·jgocị·* the time of childbirth having come (NT 36:17)
>
> *'éi yẹ·ni' 'á·djį' 'i·lká·hgo* when that (remote future) time arrives (NT 324:6)
>
> *'a·ke·djį' be· noxo·táñẹ·djį' 'axo·lji·jgo* the time having been set for it (ceremony) in the fall having arrived (NT 276:18)
>
> *da·cị· ñzahdjį' diné ná·s néididjih* (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 postpositions with explicit locative connotations. Initial bound orms 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 ogether as in the example *kọ'keh noxoñltį* "he put him in the fire-lace; 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, erbal prefixes, and demonstratives, whose meanings can often ardly be differentiated. Idiomatic Navaho cannot be achieved ithout 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 *tlǎ·h*, Charlie Mitchell, Slim Curley, and others.[1] The following sentences illustrate the expression of "thus, so":

'*inda nátotse' bitse' djó k̇ad kogo· kótê·go na·ctćą·'go kótê·go 'akon*   then the tobacco pipe (stone) is so constructed thus being fashioned (decorated) thus being so it is (BS)

tśidá 'ákólya· djó 'akon   exactly thus it is made so it is (BS)

... *lą́ 'akogo 'ai· 'ei 'akwi· djó 'okon dê·stį·'*   (offerings) were to be sure so that this here so it was observed (BS)

'*ákogo sǫ'tso 'ei di· xani·yé*   consequently Big Stars these this one on his(4) account (BS)

tá· 'áihigi· 'ai·di 'akon gini tá· 'ai 'akon 'áni·go   just the one that was that very one so prairiehawk just that way so speaking thus (making his sound) (BS)

tá· 'ái di· gini djó 'okon di·di nácdói bilgo 'a·dó· 'ai ginihigi· 'áni·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

'*akó· tcij 'áda·têi· tá·do·le'é tá· kódigi nxá biná·ná·l*   from now on firewood everything necessary for our sake do for her (WE)

'*áko do· 'êidi di·di di·ṅini·dgo 'éi tá· 'áté 'asinisi·h do· ṅté·'*   if so not that (but) this you had said those just so it is (blessings) you would have missed (NT 220:17)

'*êidi 'á·di kótê·go sidá· le ṅléi xo·tį·dę́·'*   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: *-gá·l* "one person goes," *-'ac* "two persons go," *-kah* "plural persons go;" *-l-ɣol* "one runs," *-l-tcé·l* "two run," *-djah* "plural run;" *-da·l* "one sits," *-ké* "two sit," *-tą́* "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 ɼammatically. They seem to be in different morphological and emantic 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, *nił de·c'ac* "you will go with me; with-you I-shall-go-as-one-of-two" (cp. *di·łac* "we two will go"); *xoł ni'á·j* "he led him(4); with-him he-arrived-as-one-of-two;" but *xoł 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
-*l-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·l*   a pair of objects moves, move a pair, one of a pair
-*loh*   loop one . . .,
-*ló·s*   lead one on a string, lead one . . . (cp. YMG 44)

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 -*jah* "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'ǫ́* "round object is in position" may have a plural *na·z'ǫ́* "there are round objects here and there" (YM 7-8); *sizį* "he is standing," *na·zį* "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 ;em -'*q·l* has to do with measuring, of volume or length, as well as f extent or mass. The compounds of this stem are very interesting, ır instance, *nê·l'ǫ́* "maximum number, quantity, amount;" *bínil'ǫ́* he measures up to it." Another stem -*lq·l* (-*lq·l*), conjugated in the lural only, expresses a large number or quantity (cp. *nê·l'ǫ́·di* "how ıany times [NT 396:13]; *nê·lą́ yiskạ́* "many days" [NT 78:18]). he expression *tó· 'axayói·* "many, a large number, large amount, lot" (YM 208) is very common.

12.28–12.60. VERBS

12.28–12.43. *Type 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 ince the dictionary planned is not available, these verbs will be xemplified with their fundamental compounds. Forms of these ıdispensable verbs will be discussed for each one in order. We have ɛen that the static forms are descriptive; they indicate the presence r state of an object when often in English a noun with "is" or "are" ʔould be used. Although a generalized meaning can be arrived at ɔr each one, it is far from comprehensive or literal. Like all cate- ;ories, the inclusion of an object, material, or substance may depend ın the point of view and cannot always be predicted. Therefore a ist of objects, either named or implied, in any usage of the stem ʔill 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 ʔe given. The nouns will be followed by formulas for the prefix com- ʔounds with the meanings that apply to the several stems, and they n turn will be followed by formulas that apply to the specific stem ınder discussion with its particular meaning.

The most generalized of these stems, the one entering into the argest number of compounds, and forming the most abstract mean- ngs is -'*á·l* "one round or convenient object is, moves." The ʔormulas for compounds with this stem establish the pattern for ıucceeding stems, but since -'*á·l* refers to only one object as com- ʔared with plural objects, substance, material, etc., some of the ʔundamental formulas will appear first with other stems.

12.29.

-'*á·l*	-'*áh*	-'*áh*	-'*á·h*	-'*ǫ́*	*ʂa'ǫ́*	round, convenient obj. lies, is;
(opt.) -'*a·h*		-'*a·h*	-'*ǫ́·'*			moves
-'*á·h*						

Nouns used with -'*á·l*: bandoleer (EW 110:14), barrel, bottle, bowl, bread, candy and cigarettes in package (compactness empha-

sized), hat, house (*kin* and *xo·γan*), 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 dé'áni (< *dé'ǫ́-i*)   halter; that-round-obj.-that-lies over-the-face
'azé·' sa'áni (< *si-'ǫ́-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'ǫ́   rule, code, regulation, law (spec.)
be· xaz'ǫ́·ni· (< *xaz'ǫ́-i·*)   the law, government (gen.)
tó bitčá·' 'az'ǫ́   structure in a channel to check water
-tcį·čah 'az'ǫ́   adenoid; round-obj.-lies-along-nasal-fold
ná'álkadgo xála' bǫ·h na·z'ánigi·   thimble; that-which-lies-on-one's(4)-finger-(for)-cust.-sewing (YME 90)
xaz'ǫ́   fact, rule, law
xwi·yis'ǫ́   laws frequently made
tsi·-'á·l   pillow; head-support (AB)
tlé xona·'ái·, tlé 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 movement 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-xi-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)
'alná·-(ná-) ... *T* (inc., *ni*-pf.) carry ... back and forth (YM 8)
*'altǫ́á 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.
'altšá 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 ń-(< ná-*back)*di-*start from cess....-*T* (inc. cess., pf. cess.) fetch ... for ..., bring ... for benefit of ... (cp. *ńdi*-cess....*T* "pick up")
*Oǫ· dah-*suspended-*si*-pf....-*T* (stat.) ... is fastened, pinned on ... (EW 192:22)
*'ǫ· di-ni-*get stuck starting for...*T* (inc. *ni*-pf.) open door
*Oǫ·h ni-*end-*ni-*start for...-*T* (inc., *ni*-pf.) pawn ..., put ... in pawn
'i'i- (< *'a-beyond-'a-i-xi-rep.ac.)yi*-rep.....-*T* (cont., *yi*-pf.,) load or unload ... one by one
Oi- (< *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-di-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)

da(h)-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)

Odá·h díni-prol.....-*T* (fut., cont., *si*-pf.) cork, cover put lid on, cork in; move ... meeting ...

Odá·h ni-start for ...-*T* (inc., *ni*-pf.) meet ... while carrying ...

di-start from...-*T* (inc., *si*-pf.) (fut. *di-di-*) take ..., start moving ... (YM 5)

di-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)

t'ó· sikisgo Oa· ni-start for...-*T* (inc., *ni*-pf.) give ... to ... expecting no return; just friendship-being give ... (RH)

na-about...-*T* (pres., *si*-pf.) carry ... about (YM 6); have ..., own ... (not necessarily with one); play shinny

na-down-'*a*-beyond-*di*-start from cess....-*T* (inc.cess., pf.cess.) (fut. *ndi'ti-*) take ... down off (as off shelf, peg, branch)

na· aside '*a*-beyond...-*T* (inc., *yi*-pf.) knock ... over (YM 78)

n̄-(< *ná*-up)*di*-start from cess....-*T* (inc.cess., pf.cess.) (fut. *n̄-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-*díni*-prol.....-*T* (inc., *si*-pf.) (fut. *xa-di-díni-*) carry ... too far (YM 8)

xacte ni-end-*ni*-start for ...-*T* (inc., *ni*-pf.) put ... away, store..., preserve ... (YM 5)

xá-(< *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

dziltsá-ni-start for-(*ná-*)...-*T* (inc., *ni*-pf.) take ... out, off fire, water. With *-yé·l* "catch large quantities of fish" (YM 7)

-*lák̇e·* ....-*T'* (inc.cess., pf.cess.) hand ... to ..., move... to place
in ...'s hand

Oł 'alta· ná-circle....-*T* (inc., *si*-[*ná*-]pf.) mix ... With -*ka·d* "spread"
the meaning is "trees have interlocking crowns" (SCE)

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

'alní-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' t́ido·*-)
be mid-morning (YM 1)

ya· 'a-i-*di*-start from...-*'á·l* (fut., inc., *si*-pf.) (fut. *ya· 'adidi*-) 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.....-*'á·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 be-
ginning 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:

Oa-(< *O-a·*) *di*-emit-*'a*-i-*ni*-get stuck...-*'a·h* (inc., *ni*-pf.) (fut. *Oa-di-'t́i*-)
permit ... to ... (YM 3)

'ayó·' Oíní si-pf.....-*'q́* (stat.) be irritable, cranky, irascible (YM 3)

Oa· di-ni-get stuck...-*'a·h* (inc., *ni*-pf.) (fut. *Oa· di-di*-) forgive ...,
turn ... over to..., cancel obligation (YM 2)

Oá si-harm-*xo*-things-*si*-pf.....-*'q́* (stat.) there's a chance for ..., ...
has a chance (FH)

Oq́· da-misfortune-*xo*-things-*si*-pf.....-*'q́* (stat.) be ill, sick, afflicted
(YM 9, YME 78)

Oi·' yini-?...-*'a·h* (pres.) be discontented

Oí-(< *O-ná*-against)*'a*-i-(*ná*-) against... -*'áh* (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

t́ó· Oa· di-ni-get stuck...-*'a·h* (inc., *ni*-pf.) give in in a fight (YM 3)

na·nic 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)

ya-tilt-*yi*-cess.....-*'a·h* (inc.cess., pf.cess.) empty round obj.; tilt round
obj.

yó·'a-di-start from...-*'a·h* (inc., *yi*-pf.) (fut. *yó·'adi-di*-) give up...,
quit ... (YM 3)

Okéyah Oa· xa-out...-*'a·h* (inc., *si*-pf.) take ...'s land away from ...
(YM 3)

Oki dini-get stuck ...-*'á·h* (inc., *ni*-pf.) take off lid, take cork out;
with *'á*-self "take off, put on hat" (YM 2)

Oḱi- xo-di-cess....-'*a·h* (inc.cess., pf.cess.) (fut. *Oḱi di-di*-)   accuse ...

xani' di-start from ...-'*á·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....'*ą* (*si*-pf.)   set holy things in motion

xo-things-*di*-emit...-'*á·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)

Otśá dini-get stuck....-'*a·h* (inc., *ni*-pf.) (fut. *Otśá di-di*-)   prohibit ... from ...ing (YM 3)

tḉi-out-*da*-....-'*ą·l* (fut., pres., *si*-pf.)   put into words, speak out (NT 148:3)

tḉi-ni-start for-(*ná*-)....-'*a·h* (inc., *ni*-pf.)   explain (WE)

tḉi-out-*ni*-end-*ni*-(*ná*-)...-l-'*ą* (pf.)   stick one's head out (and keep it out)

tḉi-out-*xo*-things-*yi*-rep.asp.....-'*a·h* (inc., *si*-pf.)   tell a story, say (the same thing), predict (NT 148:20, 25)

Ol tḉi-da-xo-things-*yi*-rep.asp.....-'*a·h* (inc., *si*-pf.)   tell to..., say to ... (NT 182:21)

Ol tḉi-ni-start for-(*ná*-)...-'*a·h* (inc., *ni*-pf.)   answer ..., inform ..., tell to ...

12.30.

-*té·l*	-*té·h*	-*té*	-*te·h*	-*tḉ*	*si-tḉ*	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)

'ayá'ádiyo·lté·l   bragging, self-assertion

'átcḭ·cłah 'aztḭ   adenoid; something-living-lies-in-nasal-fold

biḱá·' dah'anitéhi   bed, bedstead; that-on-which-someone-lies (YME 7)

dahitḭhi   hummingbird

di·yi' siti·ni·   babyboard, cradleboard; this-particular-one-in-which-it-lies (NT 280:3)

le· 'elte·h   interment; something-is-caused-to-lie-in-ground (YME 46)

Verbs compounded with -*té·l*:

Oi· si-pf.....-*tḭ* (stat.)   have ... garment on; be completely devoted to ..., be all wrapped up in ...; in-it-one-lies

tó dah-ni-uni.-*si*-pf.....-*tḭ*   water rushes forth (pf.) (NT 106:18)

na·ltso·s Oḱi ni-end....-*te·h* (inc., *ni*-pf.)   take ...'s picture (YM 189)

ni-end-*ni*-inc..:..-*l-te·h* (inc., *ni*-pf.)   promise ... to; put-down-a-live-obj. (NT 376:22)

le·h ...-*l-te·h* (pres., *yi*-pf.)   inter, bury a corpse (YM 189)

12.31.

-*tḭ·l*	-*tḭ·h*	-*tin*	-*tḭ·h*	-*tą*	*si-tą*	long, slender, rigid, obj. is,
(opt.)	-*tḭh*	-*tḭ·h*		-*tą·'*		moves

Nouns used with forms of -*tḭ·l*: basket, cornear, dipper, gun, log, offering, one cigarette, prayerstick, snow crust, stick.

Nouns compounded with -*tḭ·l*:

'átá sitáni headband; that-stiff-obj.-lies-(on)-forehead
'aze·' bidá·ditį·h aspergill (cer.)
'azé·' dé·táni horse collar; stiff-obj.-which-hangs-against-neck (YME 18)
'álná dah'aztǫ́ cross; one-stiff-obj.-lies-across
'ádah sitá·n upper loom beam
'ása·' ditáni Dutch oven (YME 28)
'átsǫ́· xa·tį·h removal of one rib (AB 33)
'á·h sitá·n lower loom beam
be· 'ǫ· ńdítįhi key: that-long-obj.-by-means-of-which-there-is-opening (YME 47)
dahyi·tǫ́ (YME 21), *dahsitǫ́* (RT) crescent moon, first quarter
Odá·h góna· dahsitánigi· yoke; the-long-obj.-that-lies-in-front-hanging-around
dá· dítį stiff door, gate, bar: long-obj.-lies-in-front
dá· ńdítįhi wooden gate; long-obj.-that-lies-against-in-front (YME 36)
tá 'ástá·n extension of mask, tableta; some-long-obj.-that-lies-(on)-forehead
tó bidá· dítįhi small water gate; long-obj.-that-lies-in-front-of-water
ńdi·tį brush (cer.)
yádíltá·n sky prayersticks (cer.)
Oga·n bita' sitáni humerus; long-obj.-that-lies-between-arm-(parts) (YME 44)
tse·ḱi nástáni· ground squirrel (YME 83)
tsé nátáni· petrified wood
tsin sitǫ́ measure of length, yard, mile; stick lies (YME 55)
tsi·' détá·n spear (YME 82)
Otsi·yastá·n neck ligament
Odjá·d bita' sitá·n thigh bone, femur; it-lies-between-leg-(parts) (YME 33, 90)
łį·' biza·stá·n old-fashioned bridle bit; long-obj.-lies-(in)-horse's-mouth (FF)
Ol dahnátįhi pin; that-which-cust.-lies-suspended-with . . .

The following compounds are type forms not included among compounds of -*'á·l*:

Oa· di-. . . .-tį·l (inc., *si*-pf.) take warp off warpframe
'ǫ· dini-get stuck. . . .-*T* (especially with -*tį·l*, -*kal*, -*djah*, and -*lé·l*) (cont., *ni*-pf.) open door (YM 208)
dá· 'a-beyond-*di-ni*-get stuck. . . -*T* (AB), *dá·di-'a-ni*-get stuck. . . *T* (YM 113, YME 17) close door

The following compounds have been found with -*tį·l* only:

Oḱa' Oḱal di-emit. . . -*tį·l* (fut., pres., *yi*-pf.) aim arrow, place notch of arrow to bowstring (NT 152:25)
Otčį' ḱal xi-rep.ac. . . . .-*tį·l* (fut., cont., *yi*-pf.) be ever ready, have arrow aimed toward . . .
Otčį' Ol ḱal xi-rep.ac. . . . .-*tį·l* (fut., cont., *yi*-pf.) (obj. of -*l* is English subject) have it in for . . ., be prepared for opposition
Ol dah-suspended. . . .-*l-tį·l* (fut., pres., *si*-pf.) pin, pin together, pin up

12.32.

-*nil*	-*nil*	-*ni·l*	-*ni·l*	-*nil*	*si-nil*	there are separate objects, pl.
		(opt.)				obj. move
-*ńil*	-*ńil*	-*ńi·l*	-*ńi·l*	-*ńil*	*yis-ńil*	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*:

'*atańínil*   alternation; pl.-obj.-are-between (YME 3)

'*ak̑anínili·*   meal sprinklers in Fire Dance version of chants (cer.); the-particular-ones-who-sprinkle-meal

'*ak̑i dahińíli, 'ak̑i daheńíli*   saddle blanket; those-which-hang-down-on-something

'*azé·' dé·nili* (YME 40), '*azé·' dé·nili tsinigi·* (FF) hames: those-which-lie-against-neck

'*adjánil*   fringe, tassels; pl.-obj.-are-(along)-legs

'*atl̑e·yah dahsinili*   singletree, whiffletree; those-which-lie-suspended-in under-bottom (YME 79)

'*é·' bil dahnazniligi·*   manufactured buttons; those-which-lie-suspended-here-and-there-(on)-garment

'*i·' sinil*   heald sticks (YME 41)

bą· dahsinil   ornamental tassels; those-which-lie-suspended-on-border (FF)

bé·c sinil   Winslow, Arizona; flints-lie (YME 98)

tó neinili·   Water Sprinkler (god) (NT 174:24)

tó bitc̣ą· tsin sinili   irrigation gate; the-pieces-of-wood-that-lie-obstructing-water

naxa·snil   feast given by man after "fooling around" with girl

niba·l sinil   camp; tents-are (YME 11)

nák̑e· sinili   eye glasses, spectacles; those-which-lie-in-eye-place (YME 82)

yah'i'i·ni·li·   policeman, sheriff;   the-particular-one-who-rep.-moves-them-into-(jail) (YME 65)

yisdá 'i·ni·li·   savior;   the-particular-one-who-moves-pl.-(persons-to)-safety (YME 75)

yi· sinil   weaving sheds; pl.-obj.-lie-in

tsé'ak̑i sinil   stone weights (FF)

tsé xaxani·ligi·   quarry; the-place-out-of-which-stones-are-moved

Odjéi dicdjo·l bidane·zniligi·   ventricle of heart (FF)

Otcoctl̑ó·l bąs sinil, or *Otcoctl̑ó·l 'á· sinil*   ring of saddle cinch (FF)

The following have been found only with -*nil* of the type verbs:

'*alk̑i ná*-up-*di*-start from....-*ni·l* (inc., *si*-pf.)   dig tunnels one above the other (EW 114:6)

Oa· di-start from....-*ni·l* (inc., *si*-pf.)   take warp from warpframe

'*á*-self-*ya·*-under '*a*-beyond....-*ńi·l* (inc., *yi*-pf.)   subjugate them·(YM 167) (also with -*tá·l* "subjugate one" YM 190)

Oq·h ni-end-*ni*-start for....-*ni·l* (inc., *ni*-pf.)   put pl. obj. on (bandoleers, bracelets) (NT 270:6, EW 196:25)

'*i·'i*-(< '*a*-beyond-*xi*-rep.ac.-'*a*-i)....-*ni·l* (inc., *yi*-pf.)   dig, bore hole, burrow (YM 169)

dahi-di-emit....-*ni·l* (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)

Onáká '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.-*xo*-place....*ni·l* (inc., *yi*-pf.)   put persons in jail

Oki dah-suspended-*'a*-theme...*ni·l* (pres., *si*-pf.)   saddle horse; suspend-pl.-obj.-on ... (YM 169)

xa-out-*'a*-beyond....*ni·l* (inc., *yi*-pf., *si*-pf.)   dig out (EW 114:6, 192:24)

lid Oé·-(< *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 daxoṅka·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 γó'ą̇·ka·d   rubble spillway

naniilka·di   sheepherder; one-who-causes-spreading-here-and there

náne·ska·di   tortilla, Navaho bread; that-which-is-spread-evenly-in-circle (YME 92, NT 78:29)

ni'nó·lka·d   altar spread (cer.)

xoc sika·di·   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)

tsį sika·d   foliage of fallen tree: tree lies-spread

Odje·kal   deafness, ... is deaf; ...'s ears-are-covered

le·j be· xaxalka·di or *le·j be· xa·lka·di*   spade, shovel; that-by-means-of-which-soil-is-spread-in-place (YME 78)

tła·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)

Oa· 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-spreading-about-uniformly (YM 113)

ná-against-*di*-cess.....-*ka·d* (inc.cess., pf.cess.) (fut. *ń-di-di*-)   slap (cp. YM 111)

ná-back-*díní*-prol.....*-l-kal* (inc., *si*-pf.)   herd animals back (YM 112)
ni-uniform....*-l-kal* (prog.)   herd animals
xi-dzi-away-*di*-cess.....*-ka·d* (inc.cess., pf.cess.)   slap, box (as ears)
dzi-ni-start for... *-ka·d* (inc., *ni*-pf.)   slap ...
tsistła dini-prol.....*-l-kal* (fut.)   push pl. into corner, "stump them"
    (also with *-l-tcé·l*) (YM 33-4, 113)
tsistła ni-uniform....*-l-ka·d* (pres., *si*-pf.)   corner, "stump pl. persons"
    (YM 113)
tći-out-*dini*-prol.....*-l-ka·d* (inc., *ni*-pf.)   herd animals out (cp. YM 112)

12.34.

-ká·l	*-ká·h*	*-káh*	*-ká·h*	*-ką́*	*si-ką́*	contained substance is,
(opt.)						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*:

'ałḱi xonḱą́   terraced irrigation
'ása·' tó be· na·káhi   bucket, pail; that-in-which-water-is-carried
    (YME 12)
tó dahsiḱą́   Water-vessel-hangs (place name)
tó dahsiḱáni   small reservoir
tó siḱą́   pond, pool
yáγá xóḱą́   skyhole (myth.)

12.35.

-γé·l	*-γé·h*	*-γé·h*	*-γe·h*	*-γį́*	*si-γį́*	load is, moves; packed or consolidated material is, moves
(opt.)						

Nouns used with *-γé·l*: entrails, load, nasal mucus
Nouns compounded with *-γé·l*:

'aze·' na·γéhi   herbalist; one-who-possesses-(organized-knowledge-of)-
    medicine
dilγéhé   Pleiades (constellation)
dilγįhi   lead (metal) (YME 49)
tó dahsiγį́   large body of water, large reservoir
tó siγį́   water in natural confines
na·lγéhi   load, pack, property, goods, merchandise
na·lγéhé bá xo·γan   store; house-for-benefit-of-property
na·lγéhé γá sidáhi   trader, storekeeper, clerk; one-who-remains-in-
    charge-of-goods
na·ltso·s nei·γéhé   mail carrier; one-who-rep.-carries-letters-about
zé· dé·γini   cape
zé· dé·lγé   necktie, medicine collar (cer.)
tsásḱeh biḱá·' dahna·zγínigi·   mattress; that-load-which-lies-here-and-
    there-on-bed (YME 54)
le·j 'aḱi siγini   sandbag, weight (FF)
lij be· dahsiγínigi·   bladder (YME 9)
lį́' na'aγéhi   saddle horse (YME 74)

12.36.

-tsos	*-tsos*	*-tso·s*	*-tsó·s*	*-tso·z*	*si-l-tso·z*	fabriclike obj. is,
			(opt.)	*-tsó·z*	*si-l-tsó·z*	moves

Nouns used with *-tsos*: any substance in bag, sack, or paper container; book, fabric, garment, paper, skirt

Nouns compounded with *-tsos*:

'i·ctčid xacte' nináltsó·s   suspension of uterus (AB 32)
dahnayizi· bike· diltsó·si   pouch of bandoleer (FF)
Oté·l siltsó·z   apron; fabric-is-(on)-abdomen (YME 4)
tó siltsó·z   water lies spread (as after a rain)
na·ltso·s   book, letter, paper, ticket, certificate, permit (YME 10)
na·ltso·s bikági, or *na·ltso·s biḱésti'i*   book cover
na·ltso·s dahnayol   corrugated paper (DD)
zé· dê·ltso·z   scarf (YME 58)
t̷e·tso·z   Kotex (YME 48)
t̷e·stso·z   man's breechcloth (YME 11)

Verbs compounded with *-tsos*:

ya-down-*dini*-get stuck. . . .*-l-tsó·s* (cont.)   sew blanket down while weaving it
. . . *xa*-out-*di*-cess. . . . .*-l-tsó·s* (inc.cess., pf.cess.)   take off garment (as shirt or dress)

12.37.

-joc	*-joc*	*-jo·c*	*-jó·c*	*-jo·j*	*ci-jo·j*	parallel obj. lie, move; make
			(opt.)			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
naṅijo·j, or *naṅijo·ji*   bridge, span; Gallup, New Mexico
ná·se· tśin 'alḱini·jo·j   longitudinal fracture (AB 35)

Verbs compounded with *-joc*:

'a-beyond-*ná·*-again-*xo*-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.
ḱi-(< *ḱi*-over-*ná*-against)*di*-emit-(*ná·*-)against. . . *-jo·c* (pres., *si*-pf.)   stretch out, extend legs (in sitting position) (YM 239)

12.38.

-jol	*-jo'*	*-jo·d*	*-jo·d*	*-jó·d*	*ci-jó·d*	there is bulky obj., bulky obj.
			(opt.)			moves
-col	*-co'*	*-co·d*	*-co·d*	*-có·d*	*yi-có·d*	drag, move bulky obj. over
			(opt.)			surface

Nouns compounded with *-joł*:

> *'ałi na·ljo·di*　harrow; that-which-is-caused-to-drag-about-over-something (YME 41)
> *'é·' na·ljo·di·*　gown (worn by priests and choir singers)
> *'é·' na·co·di·*　minister, priest; one-who-drags-garment
> *tsin na·ljo·di·*　sled (YME 79)

Verbs compounded with *-joł*:

> *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-joł* (inc., *yi*-pf.)　weather clears off

12.39.

-djah	*-djah*	*-dje·h*	*-djé·h*	*-djé·'*	*ci-djé·'*	pl. obj. are, lie, move
	(opt.)	*-dje·h*				(cp. *-djah* pl. persons move, run)

Nouns used with *-djah*: branches, cord (refers to strands), firewood

Nouns compounded with *-djah*:

> *'atči ńdidildjé·'*　fire for ceremonial sweatbath
> *'atči' dé·dildjah*　fire-making with drill (cer.)
> *bizé·' nda'adjah*　meal-sprinkling of sandpainting rite (cer.); pl.-obj.-are-placed-on-its-mouth-here-and-there
> *dido·ldjé·'*　fire-making
> *kécdjé·'*　hidden ball, moccasin game (FF)
> *tsé da·cdjé·'*　lower millstone (YME 55)

Verbs compounded with *-djah*:

> *di*-burn-*di*-start from. . . .*l-dje·h* (pres., *yi*-pf.) (fut. *di-di-di-*)　make, lay, build fire (YM 105, EW 102:12)
> *ni*-end-*ni*-start for. . . .*l-djé·h* (inc., *ni*-pf.)　warp is strung

12.40.

-djih	*-djih*	*-dja·h*	*-djá·h*	*-dja·'*	*ci-dja·'*	granular mass is,
	(opt.)					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·tą́· be· da'adja·h*　the songs with which prayersticks are charged (cer.) (AB)

dabiyi·n 'axą́· dadidja·hgo songs arranged in orderly groups
dajndja·'á góne' sleeping cars; the-room-in-which-people-lie-down (DD)
ci-dja·' song set
sin bą·h dahcidja·'i branch songs (cer.)
sin bina· ńdja·'i· branch songs (cer.)

Verbs compounded with -*djih*:

'álah ná-...-dja·' (*si*-pf.) people assemble
Oi-(< 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...-djá·h (inc., *si*-pf.) jerk people out like sacks of flour (pun)

12.41.

-*djol*	-*djol*	-*djo·l*	-*djo·l*	-*djo·l*	*ci-djo·l*	fluffy, bunchy, non-compact substance is, moves; move as fluffy mass; become steam, vapor; vaporize
			-*djó·l* (opt.)			

Nouns used with -*djol*: brush, cloud, hay, smoke, tangled cord, wool.

Nouns compounded with -*djol*:

'adá·dildjoli herbs used to seal prayersticks (cer.)
tó bitčą́· 'ajdjo·li brush diversion (irrigation)
tócdje·h bidádińdjo·l herbs used as stopper of water vessel
nidjol yarn being wound into a ball
Onį·' bé·ldjoli powderpuff; that-which-is-caused-to-fluff-against-face
yas dah'o·djo·l snowdrift
Ozol dahdidjo·l Adam's apple; larynx
látah 'adidjo·li flax (YME 34)
ládjic bilátah dadidjo·ligí· boxing glove (FF)
tɫoh be· na·ldjo·li· pitchfork; the-particular-one-by-means-of-which-hay-is-moved-about (YME 41)

Verbs compounded with -*djoɫ*:

dah-'a-di-cess.....-djó·l (inc.cess., pf.cess.) steam up, steam becomes visible
di-ni-get stuck...-djo·l (stat.pf.) be round like a ball, stocky, "chunky" (YM 108)
xa-out-'a-beyond...-djo·l (inc., *yi*-pf.) (smoke) moves out, rises (NT 424:18)

12.42

-*lé·l* (opt.)	-*le*	-*lé*	-*lé·*	-*lá*	*si-lá*	long, flexible obj. is, moves; pair is, moves
		-*lé·*	-*lé*			

Nouns used with -*lé·l*: belt, cable, death (EW 208:9), feather, ɫiredrill (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 Oγi' silái·   internal organs of chest and abdomen; the-particular-ones-that-lie-ropelike-within

Odjá·d 'alki dahsilá·go   indifference, unconcern, sulkiness, lack of cooperation; one-leg-hangs-ropelike-over-the-other (WE)

Verbs compounded with -lé·l:

'axq·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)

na-xi-....lá (ni-pf.) (pollen)   encircled his mouth (cer.) (EW 208:4)

ná·'a-di-cess.....lé·l (fut., inc.cess., pf.cess.)   accept an offering, pick up ... (NT 176:9)

xo-ná-circle....lá (si-pf.)   move prayerstick sunwise (NT 186:11)

12.43.

| -tloh | -tloh | -tle·h | -tlé·h | -tlé·' | si-tlé·' | be amorphous, mushy, |
| | | (opt.) -tle·h | | | | slimy, damp, indeterminate; mushy, indeterminate substance moves |

Nouns used with -tloh: mush, nasal mucus, old hat or wornout obj., pitch.

Nouns compounded with -tloh:

'aze·' 'étlohi   liniment (YM 51, AB 22)

'azé·' xaxatle·h   trench mouth; there-is-slimy-condition-of-mouth (AB 34)

'o·ldjé·' biná'ástlé·'   moon halo (YME 72)

na'atle·h   impetigo contagioso; it-is-slimy (AB 19)

ná'áltle·h   humidification (YME 44)

tsé'éstlé·'   spinach

djóxona·'éi biná'ástlé·'   sun halo (YME 72)

Verb compounded with -tloh:

Oné'éctil xa-ni-....tlé·h (inc., ni-pf.)   blow nose; nasal mucus-starts-to-move-out

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:

	Stems of force (F)				Type stems (T)
	drop	fall	hit with	throw	
Fabriclike obj.	-'al ⎫ -tsos ⎭	-'al ⎫ -nah ⎭	-'al		-tsos
Group of obj.	-dah	-l-dah			-djah
Granular mass		-das			-djah
Long, slender, flexible obj.		-dil		-l-dil	-lé·l
Long, slender, rigid obj.	-te·l	-te·l			-tḷ·l
Small, round obj.		-ni·l		-l-ni·l	-'á·l
Person, large animal		-goh		-l-goh	
Spread obj.		-kal		-l-kal	-kal
Contained substance		-γas			-ká·l
Pouchlike obj.		-γal			
General				⎰-l-γá·l ⎱-l-xá·l	
Clublike obj.		-l-xal	-l-xal	-l-xá·l	-l-xal
Volume of liquid		-l-xec			
Move of own weight	-l-tsil	-l-tsil			
Bunchy substance	-l-djol	-djol	-l-djol	-l-djol	-djol
Animate obj.		-tlic			-té·l
Mushy substance	-tloh	-tloh	-l-tloh		-tloh
Plural obj.	-nil	⎰-nil ⎱-tlil	-l-tlil	-l-tlil	-nil
Twisting obj.		-kǫs			

The prefix compounds for these stems are:

'a-beyond....-l-F   throw...
'adah down 'a-beyond....-F ... falls
na-down....-F   drop ...
-láke· xa-out....-F   ... falls from hand

Forms with some of the stems:

Oa· díni-prol....-dah (fut., inc.cess., pf.cess.)   garment slips off ... (NT 160:7)

Oą· ni-end-ni-start for....-dah (fut., inc. ni-pf.)   garments fall into place on ... (NT 160:8)

Oą· xa-....-l-dah (fut., inc., ni-pf.)   fasten side strings to loom (in setting up warp on loom)

12.45–12.46a. *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

principal parts. 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:

-'ac	-'ac	-'a·c	-'a·c (opt.)	-'á·j	two persons go; two motions take place; there are two developments
- łac	-łac	-ła·c	-ła·c (opt.)	-łá·j	
-gá·l / -ga·l	-γá·h	-γáh	-γá·h	-yá	-ya' (opt.) — one person goes
-dá·l	-dá·h	-dáh	-dá·h	-dzá	-dza' (opt.)
-kah	-kah	-kai	-ká·h (opt.)	-kai	pl. persons go, move
-dah	-dah	-de·h	-dé·h (opt.)	-de·'	persons or objects move as an orderly group
-l-dah	-dah	-dé·h	-dé·h (opt.)	-de·'	clean, clear, wipe off; remove pl. obj. from

Nouns compounded with the above stems are:

Ol na·'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 *Ol ná'ac* "two persons cust. go about," a form that means "a man and woman are going together, are having a sexual relationship")

'axe· na·γái· assistant to chanter (cer.); with-each-other one-who-goes-about

'aze·' xá·γái· herbalist; one-who-goes-for-medicine

'áni·d na·γái· newly born infant; one-who-recently-moves-about

Oá xályá·hi· absentee; the-particular-one-who-went-for ...'s benefit (YME 1)

łá· bini' biłełgo 'atah niyáhigi· volunteer; the-one-who-went-amongst-just-according-to-his-own-will (YME 96)

naxayáh profession; one-person-goes-about-(for)-things (YME 67)

naxayáh sodizin religion; one-person-goes-about prayer

na·lni·h yil na·γái· disease carrier; one-who-goes-about-with-disease (YME 14)

ká na·γái· sick person; one-who-goes-about-ill (AB 30)

xa'a'a·h biya·dé·' na·γái· easterner; one-from-down-under-the-east-goes-about (YME 28)

cáda'á·h biya·dé·' na·γái· southerner; one-from-under-the-south-goes-about (YME 81)

cá ni·γá·h solstice; sun-pauses-at-end

djic xáɣái·   intermediary who arranges ceremony; one-who-goes-after-medicine-bundle

tƈa· na·ɣáhi   tourist; one-who-goes-about-in-restricted-territory (YME 92)

tƈé·h diɣáhi·   turtle; the-particular-one-who-starts-going-in-vain

Ol náxodiɣá·h   dizziness; things-move-in-a-circle-with ... (YM 103, YME 26)

'atah 'ídzá   entry; he-came-in-amongst (YME 29)

'áƙí 'ídzá   discovery (YME 25)

Oa· ni'i·ye·dzá   ambush, ambuscade (YME 3)

na'é'ésdzá   destruction (YME 24)

yah'o'o·dzá   entry; someone-has-gone-in (YME 29)

xa'asdzá   ascent, ascension (YME 4)

xa'da'o·dzá   descent (YME 24)

za·nil bini·yé náxidi·dzá   meal-gathering (cer.)

tsin be· na'adáhi   crutch; the-stick-with-which-there-is-walking-about (YME 22)

tcaxalxe·l ná·dzá   last quarter of moon; darkness-has-returned

tƈa· na'adá·h   tour: going-about-in-restricted-area (YME 92)

tƈé·h 'ade·sdzá   fatigue; futile starting-to-go-beyond (YME 32)

'axeká·hi·   dance troupe, dance units in a group

'i'i·ká·h   dance units one after another

'i·ká·h   sandpainting, sandpainting figures

na'akai   Night Dance dancers

na·kai   Mexican, rover

lị·' 'alɣada·kah   horse race; horses run-away-from-one-another

'ana· ba· na'alde·h   war

'alƙi de·zde·'   war

ba· dá·'ƭi·lde·'   survival (of custom): from-it group-moved-away-in-front (AB)

be· 'aɣáńildéhi   sieve; that-by-means-of-which-(particles)-move-through (YME 78)

be· na'alde·h   means of travel, conveyance; by-means-of-it-group-travels (NT 156:12)

be· xá·da'aldáhigi·   stairway; that-by-means-of-which-there-is-cust.-ascending (YME 83)

naxoƙe· na·lde·hi·   earth beings (animal and human): groups-that-move-about-earth-space

ɣóda na·lde·h   birds (cer.), those who inhabit the atmosphere

xoc bé·ldé·hi·   cactus cleaner (plant name)

tcq·' be· yildéhi   toilet paper; that-by-means-of-which-excrement-is-cleaned (YME 92)

tƈil be· yildéhi   mattock; that-by-means-of-which-herbs-are-cleared (YME 54)

Compounds of stems for "go":

*Oa· 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)

*Oa· ni-*start for....-"go" (inc., *ni-*pf.)   visit ...; start-to-go-to...

*Oa· ni-*end-cess.....*-dá·h* (inc.cess.; pf.cess.)   one attacks ... (EW 116:2)

Oi-(< *O·ná-*against) cess.....-"go" (inc.cess., pf.cess.) join ..., become one of a party (YM 67)

*Oq·h ni-*end-*ni-*start for....-"go" (inc., *ni-*pf.)   be physically tired of ... (YM 66)

dah-na-about....-*γáh* (pres., *yi*-pf.)   heart beats fast (EW 114:9)

dahi-....-*γá·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-di-start against....-"go" (fut. *tá-di-di-*....-*gá·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, invalided (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 ..

Okékedjį̈' 'a-beyond...-"go" (inc., *yi*-pf.)   replace, take ...'s place (YM 68)

Oké·' dah-forth-*di*-cess....-"go" (inc.cess., pf.cess.)   start tracking

OKe· 'q· 'axé-(< *'axi*-together-*ná*-against)....-*dá·h* (inc., *si-*[*ná-*] pf.) bypass, go around ... (YM 43)

Oki di-start from...-"go" (inc., *si*-pf.)   quit, give up, stop doing ... (YM 63)

Oki xo-things-*di*-start from...-"go" (inc., *si*-pf.)   sing, perform ceremony over ...

OKi-(< *Ki*-over-*ná*-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....-*gá·l* (fut., pres., *yi*-pf.) (3 only)   things begin on earth, originate (YM 62)

Otśá ni-start for....-"go" (inc., *ni*-pf.)   separate from... (YM 66)

Otśá ná-back-*ni-*(*ná-*)....-*dá·l* (fut., inc., *si*-pf.)   divorce ... (YM 71)

Otćą·h na-about-*'a*-theme....-*da·l* (fut., pres., *si*-pf.)   be protected (YM 69)

tćé·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 ...
·   (WE)

Ol ná-xo-di-start from...-*gá·l* (fut., inc., *si*-pf.)   be dizzy; with ... things-start-to-move-in-circle (YM 72)

łį·' 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 (EW 246, n.9)

'alki 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)

'á-self-*ki*-over *ni-di*-emit....-*dáh* (pres.)   try to live as best one can

'é·' Oe· xá-(< *xa*-out-*ná*-back) *di*-cess....-*dá·h* (inc.cess., pf.cess.)   put on clothes (EW 112:19)

'é·' Oi· 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-di-ni-get stuck....*dá·h* (inc., *yi*-pf.)   go in and stay

Oya· 'a-beyond-*dini*-prol.....*dah* (fut., inc., *si*-pf.)   come under ...'s power (YM 45)

Oγá díni-prol....*-l-dah* (fut., cont., *si*-pf.)   sift ..., strain ...; cause-pl.-obj.-to-move-through ... (YM 45)

Oγá ni-end-*ni*-start for...*-l-dá·h* (inc., *ni*-pf.)   sift, strain ... (YM 45)

12.46a.

-l-γol	*-γo'*	*-γe·d*	*-γe·d* (opt.)	*-γod*	one person runs (cp. *-γol* "hoe, long stiff obj. sways")
-l-tcé·l	*-tcé·h*	*-tcé·l*	*-tcé·h* (opt.)	*-tcǫ́·'* / *-tcą'* (mom.)	} two run, one chases another
-djah	*-djah*	*-dje·h* / *-djé·'* }	*-dje·h*	*-djá·'*	pl. obj. are; pl. run

Nouns based on the stems for "run":

'axé·djólye·di   baseball game (YME 6)

'axé·djólye·di ńdajdilkal   baseball

'axil ká'aná'alyo'   cooperation; running-after-cust.-with-each-other (YME 19)

'áká 'e'elye·d   help, aid, assistance; someone-runs-by beyond-after-something (YME 42)

be· xadah dahń'ti·lyo'i·   parachute; the-particular-one-with-which-there is-moving-down-off (YME 62)

tóγol   Taos, New Mexico; Running Water (YME 89)

na·lyodi   runner; one-who-runs(ran)-about

kǫ' bitis dacdilyo'   fire jumping rite (cer.); they(4)-jump-over-fire

xata·li· yiká 'anályo'i   assistant to chanter; one-who-runs-after-singer

sǫ' bidi·lye·d   shooting star

tsé na·lyoli·   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· di-cess.....*-l-γol* (fut.cess., inc.cess., pf.cess.)   beat ... in race, ... runs from ... (YM 82)

-ká 'a-beyond-*ná*-cust. -*'a*-theme...-"run" (cust., *yi*-pf.)   help ...; run-beyond-after ... (YM 83-4)

Okǫ́· di-emit....-"run" (pres., *yi*-pf.)   collide with ..., bump into..., run against ...

Oki-cess....-"run" (fut.cess., inc.cess., pf.cess.)   attack ...; pause-running-over ... (YM 84)

-ni' tćá·-(< *tća·*-into unknown space-*ná*-back)*'a*-beyond... *-l-γol* (fut., inc., *yi*-pf.)   lose ...'s mind, memory, forget; ...'s mind runs-into-foreign-territory (SCE)

Ol 'alki-cess....-"run" (inc.cess., pf.cess.)   attack, fight with ... (YM 85)

Ol dah'a-di-cess.....*-l-γol* (fut.cess., inc.cess., pf.cess.)   ride in car

lį́·' Ol na-about....*-l-γoł* (fut., pres., *si*-pf.)   ride horseback; horse-runs-about-with ...

Oi·yah tći-out-*ni*-start for-(*ná*-)....*-l-yo'* (mom., *ni*-pf.)   one passes ..., both obj. are running (YM 82)

Oi·yah tći-out-*ni*-start for-(*ná*-)...*-djah* (mom., *ni*-pf.)   pl. persons pass ..., all are running (YM 82)

Oi·yah tći-out-*xi·'a*-beyond-*ni*-uni....*-l-tcé·h* (cont., *ni*-[*ná*-] pf.)   two running pass ... running (YM 82)

Oi·yahgó·, instead of *Oi·yah*, 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-né·ł* and *-lé·ł* is very close, if indeed they are not alternants.

-'į́·ł	-'į·h	-'į́	-'į·h	-'į·d	do, make; mimic
				-'į́ (mom.)	action, imitate doing
				-'į́' (opt.)	
-łį́·ł	-łį·h	-łį́	-łį·h	-łį·d	be made, be done to;
				-łį́' (opt.)	be mimicked, imitated
-né·ł -ni·ł -ni·ł	-ne' (opt.)	-né·h	-né·h -ni·h	-ya·	do, accomplish
-ńé·ł -ńi·ł -ńí·ł	-ńe' (opt.)	-ńé·h	-ńe·h	-dza·	be done to, be made
-lé·ł -li·ł -li·ł	-le' (opt.)	-lé·h		-la·	make, construct, do, create
-dlé·ł -dli·ł -dli·ł	-dle' (opt.)	-dlé·h		-dla·	be made, constructed, created

Nouns based on stems for "make":

'até'él'į   punishment (YME 67)

'até'él'ł·ni·   harm (YME 41)

'atixo·dza·   sad occurrence

'ati'o·li·li·   cause of illness

'aka kǫ' be· 'iłį·higi·   wick; that-oil-with-which-it-is-done-thus

'aze· 'i·ł'íni   physician, doctor; one-who-makes-medicine

'asdzą́· do· ba· ńdjiłį·da   continence (FF)

'atsi·łá· tó 'álné·h   baptism; water-is-put-(on)-forehead (YME 6)

'á 'áxwi·nłį   kindness (YME 48)

'áná'álné·h   reconstruction (YME 70)

'áńłįh   witchcraft (EW 142:2)

'ákółi·ni·   anyone who does so

'átsé tco·'į·hi·   firstaid; the-particular-useful-(thing)-that-does-first (YME 34)

'á·xáłį   behavior; things-done-thus

'áxo·t̨į guidance (YME 39)

'áxo·dza·hígi· occurrence (YME 59)

'áxó·t̨į·dígi· occurrence (YME 59)

'ál'į production of goods (YME 66)

'ą· 'é'édza· expansion (YME 31)

'e'et̨į mimicry

'e'el'į imitation, copy

'e'el'į·gi photography (YME 64)

'e'el'i·ni· photographer (YME 64)

'e'elya· photograph (YME 64)

'o·ldjé·' lahgo 'áná·ṅi·l phase of moon (YME 64)

bá·h bil 'ál'ini yeast (YME 100)

bá·h 'ál'į·gi· bakery (YME 6)

bą·hági 'áxát̨į misbehavior, crime (YME 55)

be· 'é·xáni·h bini·yé 'ályáigi· monument (YME 56)

bé·c bitči·yą· 'ál'ini stove; iron-(in)-which-food-is-prepared

bé·c łgai 'i·l'ini silversmith

biye·t̨į·'i· clarification (YME 16)

bil 'é'él'ini baking powder (YME 6)

wá·cindo·ndi be· xaz'á·ni· 'ádeil'inígi· Congress; those-make-laws-at-Washington (YME 18)

wá·cindo·ndi 'atah be· xaz'á·ni· 'i·l'inígi· congressman; the-one-amongst-whom-laws-are-made-at-Washington (YME 18)

diné daniné·hígi· xacłe deile'i undertaker (YME 94)

dil 'álné·h Wasserman test; blood-is-done-to (AB 36)

do· 'ak̨exól'į·da disobedience; things-are-not-done-according-to-something (YME 25)

do· bil ntsixáke·sigi· 'áxo·dza· accident; that-which-was-not-thought-of-happened (YME 1)

tł'i·lya· wound (YME 99)

tł'o·li·li· one who gets sick

tá· 'ákóné·hé 'ałêi· need, necessity (YME 58)

tá· 'i·cdjáni 'é'élné·h clarification (YME 16)

tá·dole'é'áda·l'į·gi factory; place-where-anything-pl.-are-made (YME 31)

tó· Ol 'át̨į imagination; merely with... it-is-done-thus (YME 44)

tó· be'elya· copy; merely it-is-imitated (YM 132)

nahdji· kó'élya· riddance; to-a-point-aside-so-(far) it-was done-thus (YME 72)

na·ltso·s biká·' 'e'elyáigi· picture; the-paper-on-which-imitation-is-made (YME 64)

na·lni· 'áyo·li·li· cause of epidemic

xacłe dayile'é carpenter

xacłe xodiṅé·h preparation; things-are-made-ready (YME 66)

zábą·h 'al'į·h lipstick, salve; mouth-border-is-made

sa·d ná·nálahdę·' sa·d be· 'áṅda·lne translation; from-another-language-words-are-cust.-made-with-them (YME 92)

Ojé'é 'i·l'ini stepfather; one-who-acts-(as)-father

djóxona·'éi 'i·l'ini watchmaker (YME 96)

tči·yą 'al'ini góne' kitchen; room-in-which-food-is-prepared

tco·'į usefulness (YME 95)

tco·l'į use (YME 95)

tčé·h 'é'él'į failure; in-vain there-is-imitation (YME 32)

la' yil'į yolyêi· success; the-particular-one-that-is-called-accomplishment (YME 86)

la' yilyái·gi· accomplishment (YME 1)

lahao 'é'éṅé·h 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 -'į·l:

'atí-ni-(ná-)....l-'įh (pres., ni-[ná-] pf.)   do harm to..., desecrate (EW 80:12)

Oá 'acdja' ná·-again-'a-beyond....l-'įh (pres., yi-pf.)   give another chance to... (YM 133)

'á-thus-O-(ná-)....l-'į·h (cont., yi-pf.)   do thus to ...

'á-thus-ná·-again-xo-things-(ná-)....l-'į·' (pres.)   do holy things again

'á-xo-di-....l-'įh (pres.)   pretend to do thus (NT 32:36)

Oe· 'a-theme....l'įh (pres.)   copy, take picture of, imitate; imitate doing ... (YM 103, 132, FH)

'į-(< 'á-self-ná-against)di-start against....l-'į (pres.)   do for ...'s self (NT 42:12)

tí-'ádi-self cess.....l-'į·h (inc.cess., pf.cess.)   hurt oneself (YM 160)

ťá· Ol na-xo-'a-beyond....l-'į·h (inc., yi-pf.)   lay belongings with ... (as corpse), bury with (FH, NT 430:28)

yó·'a-out of sight....l-'į·h (inc., yi-pf.)   bury corpse (NT 432:19)

kó-so-(ná-)....l-'įh (pres.)   do thus to ... (NT 48:26)

xacťe 'á-thus-ná-back-di-cess.....l-'į·h (inc.cess., pf.cess.)   get ready (YM 162)

xacťé ni-start for....l-'į·h (inc., ni-pf.)   do a good job

tcoi- or tci·-(tco-use-si-harm)....l-'įh (pres., si-pf.)   use, be of service (YM 102)

tčé·h 'á-thus-(ná-)....l-'įh (pres., yi-pf.)   try to do, do in vain

tčé·h 'á-thus-O-(ná-)....l-'į·h (inc., ni-pf.)   do to ... in vain (NT 100:10)

Otčį' kó-so-yi-rep.asp.....l-'įh (pres.)   make motions toward ... (NT 208:17)

le' 'a-i-di-start against....l-'įh (pres.)   count on ..., depend upon ...

dloh xa-out-xi-rep.ac.-ni-rep.asp.....l-'į·h (inc.)   chuckle; laughter-breaks-out (YM 100)

Compounds with -ťį·l:

Oa· 'ati-xo-things....ťįh (pres., yi-pf.)   treat ... with respect (NT 86:18)

The two paradigms Oa· ná-(ná-)against...-ťįh (pres.) and Oa· yi-ni-(ná)...-ťįh (pres.) seem to be identical in meaning. WM and FH consider the first person yinicťįh 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....ťįh (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-)...ťįh (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-)....ťįh (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)

Oa· xwi·-(< *xo-*things-*yi-*)*ni-*....*tįh* (pres., *si-*pf.)   discuss, talk over, agree about things, have a trial (NT 292:4)

*Oá 'ati-*suffering-(*ná-*)....*tįh* (pres., *yi-*pf.)   suffer for …'s benefit, devote oneself to … completely (YM 162; AB)

*'á-*thus....*tįh* (pres.)   behave, be extremely …, be very…

*Oá 'á-*thus-*xo-*things-(*ná-*)....*tįh* (pres.)   be kind, congenial, sympathetic to …

'áda· (< *'ád-*self-*a·* for)*ná-di-*start against.ʹ.. -*tį·l*   be bashful (AB)

'ákó-(*ná-*)....*tįh* (pres., *yi-*pf.)   behave, act so (NT 340:15)

*'á-*thus-*xo-*things…*tįh* (fut., pres., *yi-*pf.)   things happen, things go on (NT 264:25)

'á-(< *'á-*thus-*ná-*back)-*xo-*things cess.....*tį·h* (inc.cess., pf.cess.)   back out of …, give up …, quit … (YM 202)

Oe· Oa· ń-....*tįh* (pres.)   criticize … (EW 78:20)

*tó· 'á-*thus-(*ná-*)....*tįh* (pres.)   "just fool around" (YM 160)

*tó· Ol 'á-*thus-(*ná-*)....*tįh* (pres.)   imagine, merely with … it is done thus (YM 162)

xalá Oa· xwi·-(< *xo-yi-*)*ni-*(*ná-*)....*tįh* (pres.)   be hospitable

*xo-*things…*tįh* (pres., *yi-*pf.)   things happen (YM 161-2; NT 136:1, 360:25)

Ol ké-(< *ki-ná-*against)*ná-*cust.-*di-*cess.....*tį·h* (cust.)   get even with … (as a favor or in revenge) (YM 162)

Compounds with -*né·l* (-*ni·l*, -*ní·l*):

'ati-(*ná-*)....*l-né·h* (inc.cess., pf.cess.)   be seriously injured, insulted (AB)

*'á-*thus-(*ná-*)....*né·h* (inc.cess., pf.cess.)   act, do thus, make (YM 160)

*'á-*thus-*ná-*back-(*ná-*)....*l-né·h* (inc.cess., pf.cess.)   reconstruct (BS)

'ákó-(*ná-*)....*l-né·h* (inc., *ni-*pf.)   make so (BS)

*'á-*thus-*xo-*place....*l-ne'* (mom., pf.cess.)   establish …

*'á-*thus-*xo-*things-(*ná-*)....*né·h* (inc.cess., pf.cess.)   happen, things become, universe becomes

*dei 'á-*thus-(*ná-*)....*né·h* (pres., *yi-*pf.)   raise, head, look up (YM 160)

*do· la' xo-*things....*né·h* (inc.cess., pf.cess.)   be unable to accomplish

*ti-*suffering-*di-*cess.....*l-né·h* (inc.cess., pf.cess.)   be wounded (YM 160)

*tó· Ol 'á-*thus-(*ná-*)....*né·h* (inc.cess., pf.cess.)   imagine (YM 162)

kó-(*ná-*)....*né·h* (pres.)   do so, act in such a way (NT 186:20)

xa-di-....*l-né·h* (cont.)   complete

*xacté· 'á-*thus-(*ná-*)....*l-né·h* (inc.cess., pf.cess.)   get ready, prepare

la' ....*né·h* (cont.)   accomplish, be able to …

*lahgo 'á-*thus-*xo-*things-(*ná-*)....*né·h* (pres.)   things (as weather) change (YM 161)

Compounds with -*lé·l* (-*li·l*, -*lí·l*):

'ati-(*ná-*)....*lé·h* (pres.)   injure, punish (YM 133)

*'ati-'a-*theme-(*ná-*)....*lé·h* (pres.)   be injurious, harmful (YM 133)

*'á-*thus-*O-*(*ná-*)....*lé·h* (pres., *yi-*pf.)   do thus to …

*'altčį' 'á-*thus-(*ná-*)....*lé·h* (pres.)   close …, clench fist, push together in a pile, fold … (YM 130)

*Oá 'acdja' 'a-*theme....*lé·h* (pres.)   give … a chance, opportunity (YM 132)

*Oá 'q· 'á-*thus-*xo-*place-(*ná-*)....*lé·h* (pres.)   open a way for …

*'á-*thus-*xo-*place-(*ná-*)....*lé·h* (pres.)   clear a space (YM 131)

*'ákó-*thus-(*ná-*)....*lé·h* (pres.)   make … so, do it right, correctly (YM 129)

'álah   'á-thus-(*ná*-)....*-léh* (pres.) gather, bundle them together, assemble (YM 131)

'q·   'á-thus-(*ná*-)....*-léh* (pres.)   open ... (YM 131)

Oe·   'a-i....*-léh* (pres.)   imitate, take picture (YM 132)

Oe·   xa-xo-di-cess....*-léh* (inc.cess., pf.cess.)   dress... with ..., fix ... up with ..., paint evenly with (NT 264:4)

Oi·'   xé·l   'á-thus-(*ná*-)....*-léh* (inc.cess., pf.cess.)   pack into ... (as wagon, car) (YM 130)

bizdilidgo   'á-thus-(*ná*-)....*-léh* (inc.cess., pf.cess.)   shine ..., make ... shiny (YM 130)

dei   'á-thus-(*ná*-)....*-léh* (inc.cess., pf.cess.)   lift, raise ... (YM 130; NT 158:16)

tá·   'i·cdjáni   'á-thus-(*ná*-)....*-léh* (pres.)   make it clear, clarify..., leave no doubt about it (YM 130)

tá·   Ol   xasihgo   'á-thus-(*ná*-)....*-léh* (inc.cess., pf.cess.)   encourage (YM 130)

nahdjį̇'   kó-(*ná*-)....*-léh* (inc.cess., pf.cess.)   push ... aside (as curtain) (NT 178:3)

ni-end-*'a*-i-*ni*-start for....*-léh* (inc., *ni*-pf.)   leave ... (FH)

ni-end-*'i*-(< *'a*-i-*ná*-against)*'a*-i-(*ná*-)....*-léh* (inc.cess., pf.cess.)   halt stop (YM 132)

ya·   'á-thus-(*ná*-)....*-léh* (pres.)   bend down with ... (YM 161)

yêigo   'á-thus-(*ná*-)....*-léh* (inc.cess., pf.cess.)   get worse, worsen (YM 160)

-ká   'á-thus-*'a*-i-(*ná*-)....*-léh* (inc.cess., pf.cess.)   order ... (as from catalogue) (YM 136)

sodizin   'á-thus-(*ná*-)....*-léh* (pres.)   perform prayer rite

Otčį̇'   'á-thus-(*ná*-)....*-léh* (pres., *yi*-pf.)   write to ...

Otčį̇'   Oná·kis   'á-thus-(*ná*-)....*-léh* (pres., *yi*-pf.)   wink at ...; toward ... ...'s eye does-thus (YM 133)

Olá·hdi   'a-theme....*-li·l* (fut., pres., *yi*-pf.)   do more than ...

la'   ...-léh (pres.)   be successful, accomplish, succeed at ... (YM 130)

lahgo   'á-thus-(*ná*-)....*-léh* (pres.)   change, alter (appearance, character) (YM 130, 160)

Ol   γé·'   'á-thus-*xo*-things-(*ná*-)....*-léh* (pres.)   bluff, scare ... out of it (YM 131)

12.48–12.53. *Verbs of Being and Becoming*

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, *-té·l*, 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 *-té·l*, usually the *'á*-static or present:

'ayói 'ité (< *'áté*)   it is superior, fine, excellent

'q·   'áté   it is open

mą'į̇·   'áté   it is a *coyote* (when one thought it was something else) (FS 15)

do·   'átéhidah   something harmless, normal, just as is to be expected

tá· 'a·ní· 'átéi·   truth; the-particular-thing-that-is-true

yá'áté·h   good, pleasing, agreeable

'éi bil xaodjé·' 'áté   these are your siblings; these with-them you-were-born they-are (EW 96:20)

xaité (< *xa-yité*)   how is he ?

xanté   how are you ?

do· bitɕįdji ni'ókẹs 'áté·da   he never gets a break; not toward-him-side twisting-it-is (Ad 1/49:1)

tśidá tá· 'áté·gi   the exact conditions (EW 106:2)

tśidá Oe·lté . . . is absolute (NT 210:1)

da·cą' 'áté, xacą' 'áté   of course (FS 4, 17)

do· tcọ·l 'áté·go   it is repulsive (FS 6)

lahgo 'áté·go   otherwise; being-changed

12.49. -*tí*, -*tį* probably static, refers to specific persons:

diné 'ití (< *'átí*)   he is a man, an Indian, a Navaho

xa'átí 'ití   who is he ?

xasti·n S 'átį   he is Mr. S.

dja·'abaní 'asdzą̀·' 'átį   it is Bat Woman (EW 120:3).   Compare *xa'átí 'ité* what is he ? *diné 'até* he is a Navaho

12.50. -*lį* probably with thematic static *ni*-, seems to mean "be" in the sense of "belong to, be of . . .":

'iní' nlt·ni· (< *ni-lį-i·*)   determination; that-particular-thing-that-is-someone's-mind (YME 24)

yada·ni· nlį'į   his mother-in-law; the-one-that-is-her-son-in-law (man speaking when he does not avoid his mother-in-law)

yidin nlį   he craves it (YM 125)

da·nę́'ę ba· 'álah 'ilį   celebration; games for-them crowd is-thus

danlinigi· (< *da-n-lį-igi·*)   those-who-belong-to . . .

yil nlį   they agree, they are congenial, loving, sympathetic, loyal, "all wrapped up in each other"

na·be·hó la' ni' danlį   the Navaho are unprogressive (YM 124)

yisda nlį   he is out of breath

xwi· nlį   he is satisfied

cí nih nclį·go (< *ni-c-lį-go*) *'éih . . . ńłę·'*   if I were you

12.50a. *'ilį* (probably < *'á*-thus-*ni*-abs.-*lį*) is probably a form of -*lį*; it means "be worth, be valuable, have value":

'ilį   it is valuable, high-priced; it is left to fate

bil 'ilį   he is tolerant; with-him there-is-value

do· 'ilį·da   it is cheap, worthless (YM 127)

do· bą́·h 'ilinida   it is of no value, worthless (YM 127)

dókwi·cą' bą́·h 'ilį   how much is it worth ? (YM 127)

12.51. *xǫ́lǫ́* be available; things-are. The stem -*lǫ́* may be derived from -*lį*-be-*go*-subordinating suffix.

ntcij xǫ́lǫ́   you have wood; your firewood there-is, your-firewood is-available

Oe· xólónigi·   possession, possessor; that-which-is-. . . .'s-means-of (YME 66)

tá· do·le'é le·yi' daxólónigi·   mineral; whatever-things-in-the-earth-may-be (YME 55)

Oa· sa·d xǫ́lǫ́   make a complaint (YM 141)

diné náxódló·ni· (< *náxó-d-lǫ́·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 *-dį·l*:

-dį·l	—	*-dį·h*	—	*-dį·d*	*'ádin*	be nothing, wanting lacking; disappear, die; destroy, use up; dwindle, become extinct
		(opt.)				

Compounds built on *-dį·l*:

'ábi'tisdį·d   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

ką 'ádini·   unmarried woman, widow

'é'ésdį·d   riddance, disappearance; something-has-disappeared (YME 72)

bé·gaci· 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)

djéi 'ádį·h   tuberculosis; lungs-are-disappearing (YME 93)

tcin 'q·h 'ádin   cleanliness; there-is-no-dirt-on . . . (YME 16)

tćinildį·dígi·   survivor (YME 87)

bilį·' 'ádin   his horse is gone; his-horse is missing

lį·' be· 'édin   he has no horse; horse with-him is-none

cibê·so 'ádin   I have no money; my-money is-lacking

12.53.

-le·l	*-le·h*	*-leh*	*-le·h*	*-lį·'*	*si-lį·'*	become, change, evolve, develop, happen, occur
-le' (opt.)						
-le·l	*-le·h*	*-leh*	*-le·h*	*-lį·'*		cause change, development, cause to happen
-le' (opt.)						
-dle·l	*-dle·h*	*-dleh*	*-dle·h*	*-dlį·'*		be changed, developed, evolved
-dle' (opt.)						

Nouns compounded with *-le·l*:

xis bi· xazlį·'   pus in sac; pus-has-become-in-place (AB 2)

Ozé·' xazlį·'   demise, decease; throat, (breath)has-become (YME 23)

Ol 'ana·' xazlį·'   declaration of war; with . . . things-have-become-hostile (YME 23)

Verbs compounded with *-le·l*:

'a-. . . .-le·l (fut., pres., *si*-pf.) (3 only)   event occurs (YM 126)

'a-si-pf. . . . *-lį·'* (*si*-pf.)   accept offering (NT 178:5)

'awé·' xazlį·'   baby was born (YM 125)

'ana· xo-. . . .-le·l (fut., pres., *si*-pf.)   war breaks out (YM 125)

Oa· sa·d xo-. . . .-le·l (fut., pres., *si*-pf.)   complain about . . . (YM 127)

'álah . . .-le·l (fut., pres., *si*-pf.)   assemble, crowd becomes (NT 178:22)

Oe· 'atah . . .-le·l (fut., pres., *si*-pf.)   become involved in . . . ; with . . . amongst it-becomes (YM 124)

Oe· xo-. . . .-le·l (fut., pres., *si*-pf.)   come into possession of . . . ; with . . . things-become (YM 126)

bą́·h 'a-si-pf. . . . *-lį·'* (*si*-pf.)   it costs . . .

be· lą́ 'a-si-pf. . . . *-lį·'* (*si*-pf.)   come to agreement (YM 127)

Ode (or *Odi*) *'áné·lá·'   si-*pf.... *-lį·'* (*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)

Ołe xo-....-le·l (fut., pres., *si-*pf.)   follow ...'s instructions; according-to ... things-happen

Oγidįį' ...-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....*-lį·'* (*si-*pf.)   become satisfied, be satisfied, satiated

*Ozé·' xo-si-*pf....*-lį·'* (*si-*pf.)   ... died; ...'s breath became-supernatural (YM 126)

Ol γé·' xo-....-le·l (fut., pres., *si-*pf.)   scare ..., bluff ... out (YM 126)

lá'i si-....-lį·' (*si-*pf.)   become united; one-became (YM 125)

Nouns compounded with *-dle·l*:

'atah 'asdlį·'   involvement; amongst it-has-become (YME 46)

'atah 'idlį·'   membership (YME 54)

'ałe xode·sdlį·'   conquest, defeat (YME 18)

'asdzą· nádle·hé   Changing Woman; the-woman-who-cust.-changes

dałá ni·dlį·'   all relatives of clan-group

tó Oq·h nádle·higi·   sweat, perspiration; the-water-that-cust.-appears-on-surface-of ...

nádle·h   transvestite, berdache; it(person)-changes

yá'áté·h ná'ádle·h   recovery; good-becomes-again (YME 70)

yá'áté·h ná'o·dle·l   convalescence; good is-becoming-back-prog. (YME 19)

xacłic tsé nádle·hé   concrete; the-mud-that-changes-(to)-stone (YME 18)

tsói nádle·hé   Changing Grandchild (myth.)

tčikę́· cac nádle·hé   Changing Bear Maiden (myth.)

Verbs compounded with *-dle·l*:

*'ati di-dini-*prol...*-dle·l* (fut., pres., *si-*pf.)   be overcome with joy, talk incoherently because of joy (YM 53)

'ati ni-(< *ná-*)*di-ni-*get stuck...*-dle·h* (pres., *si-*pf.)   sob from grief (NT 170:7)

*'a.xil ni-*stat....*-dlį·'* (stat.)   be lovers; become-together

*'ałkis ni-*stat....*-dlį·'* (stat.)   be lovers; be-on-each-other's-side

'áłah ná-'á-(< *'a-[ná-]*)back...*-dlc·l* (fut., cont., *si-*pf.)   assemble, get together in crowd

*łá-łį·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·h* (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)

*-ni' ná-*back-*xo-*things...*-dle·l* (fut., pres., *si-*pf.)   regain consciousness; ...'s mind is-changed-back (YM 53)

yá'áłé·h ná-(*ná-*)back...*-dle·h* (pres., *si-*pf.)   get well; well be-changed-back (YM 126)

Ołeh di-....-dle·l (fut., pres., *si-*pf.)   overcome, defeat; according-to ... change-is-emitted (YM 53)

12.54–12.60. *Verbs of Communication*

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 *-tį·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'* (opt.)	*-té·h*	*-ti'*	speak, converse, talk, discuss, debate, make a speech; put a spell on with words

Nouns compounded with *-tih*:

> *ˀawé·ké yálti'i* Walapai Indians; those-who-speak-(like)-babies
> *bé·c bi· yáti'igi·* telephone: the-metal-into-which-there-is-speaking (FF)
> *tádidį· be· ʾayáxidi·té·higi·* pollen prayer (cer.); that-pollen-with-which-there-is-frequent-speaking
> *ke·tá·n yálti'* talking prayerstick (cer.)
> *xa·ctćé·ltihi, xa·ctćé·éltihi* Talking God (myth.)

Verbs compounded with *-tih*:

> *ʾa-i-di-*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)
> *ʾádil 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)
> *dinékʼe·djį' Otćį' 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· xatśi·(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)
> *Otćį' 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.

| -nih | -nih | -ne' (opt.) | } | — | -ne' | relate, explain, narrate, describe, tell a story, |
| -n̜ih | -n̜i·h | -ni'
-n̜i' | } | | ·n̜i'
-n̜i' | communicate things with |

Nouns based on -nih:

'ʌlḱidą·' 'áda· xo-tį·dígi· bá xane'igi· history of what was done in the
   past (FH)
'ʌlḱidą·' xane'ígi· history of what was said in the past (FH)
bé·c xalni'i 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 'áda·t̜é 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)
'áda· 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
   238:3)
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
   238:4)
Ota' xo-things. . . .-l-nih (fut., pres., yi-pf.) interpret for . . . (YM 154)
t̜á· xat̜i·dgo 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
-n̜i·l | } | -ni·h | -ni
-nih
-n̜i | } | -ni·h
-ni·h
(opt.) | -ni·d | say to, tell |

Note that compounds with -ni·l take the present stem -n̜i (> nín-)
even though some speakers insist that the stem is -ni·l, not -n̜i·l.

Nouns based on -ni·l:

bé·c 'ánínigi· bell; the-metal-that-speaks-thus
t̜á·lá'i ná'ánigo individual; the-only-one-who-cust.-speaks-thus (cp.
   YME 45)
tó· t̜ćiná'ánínigi· suggestion; that-which-is-merely-spoken-out-thus
cí ní·ni· claimant; the-particular-one-who-says-"I" (YME 16)
tłi·c 'ánínigi· rattlesnake; the-snake-that-speaks (YME 69)

Verbs compounded with -*ni·l*:

Oa· na-xo-si-harm....-*ni* (pres.) (with -*gó·* fut. enclitic) predict; say-things-about... (NT 148:3)

'*á*-(*ná*-)thus....-*ni·l* (fut., pres.) speak thus (when exact words are quoted); mention ... to ...; have the sound ... (YM 165)

'*á*-thus-*di*-emit-(*ná*-)....-*ni·l* (fut., pres.) speak thus (FH)

'*á*-thus-*O-di*-(*ná*-)...-*l-ni* (pres.) ask ..., get permission from... (NT 264:20, FH)

'*á·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 ...

Oi-(< *O-ná*-against)*xo*-things....-*l-ni·h* (inc.) have the say about ..., be the authority for ... (NT 168:28)

di-emit....-*ni̧* (pres.) start saying

-*ká* '*á*-thus-*di*-emit-(*ná*-)....-*ni* (pres.) call attention to ... (YM 165; EW 104:1)

Ol '*axil 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*	-'*áh* ⎫	-'*áh* ⎫	-'*á·h* ⎫	-'*ą́*	*sa'ą́*	round obj. is, moves;
(opt.)	-'*a·h* ⎬	-'*a·h* ⎠	-'*a·h* ⎠	-'*ą́·*'		divulge, communicate
	-'*á·h* ⎭					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· 'axaz'ánigi· lesson; that-by-means-of-which-things-are-learned (FH)

biké 'ixwi·do·'á·li· tuition; that-particular-value-which-will-be-for-learning (YME 93)

bixo·'ą́·'i· knowledge; particular-things-learned (YME 48)

bóxo·c'a·higi· my lesson (FH)

Compounds with -'*á·l* referring to learning and teaching:

Oi-(< *O-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)

Ot-(< *O-ná*-)*xo*-things-*yi*-cess.....-*l-'á·l* (fut., inc.cess., pf.cess.) learn, be in training, train

I xo-yi-cess.....-'*á·l* (fut., inc.cess., pf.cess.) (3 only) ... teaches (WM)

Oe· Ol tći-out....-'*á·l* (fut., inc., *ni*-pf.) call ...'s attention to ... (FH)

tći-out....-'*á·l* (fut., pres., *si*-pf.) put into words, speak out (NT 148:3)

Ol tći-out-*ná-yi*-cess.....-'*á·l* (fut., inc.cess., pf.cess.) speak out to ..., put into words for ... (NT 204:4)

Ol tći-xo-things....-'*á·l* (fut.) tell ..., communicate knowledge with ... (NT 42:5)

12.59.

	-tah	*-tah*	*-ta'*	—	*-ta'*	do in series, count, read,
			(opt.)			practice, teach, learn

Nouns compounded with *-tah*:

'atśo·s yita'   pulse; blood-vessel-is-counted
'ólta'   school, education, counting
'ólta'i, or *'óltahigi·*   pupil, student; one-who-reads
bá'ólta'i   teacher; one-for-whose-benefit-there-is-practice
yê·go 'óltah   college; very, extreme schooling
na·ltso·s yólta'i   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
Otéį' yini-rec.ef.....*-l-tah* (fut., pres., *yi*-pf.)   read ... to ...

12.60. The stem *-tį·l* "instruct, guide, coach, demonstrate" is probably the same as *-tį·l* "move long, slender, rigid object" (12.31.), the idea being that the instruction is in a continuous line.

	-tį·l	—	*-tin*	*-tį·h*	*-tą·'*	instruct, guide, coach,
	-tį·h			(opt.)		show, demonstrate

Nouns compounded with *-tį·l* referring to instruction:

'akidi·tį·h   understanding, comprehension (YME 18)
'aki'ti·tį·h   investigation
'asdzą·' nanitinigi·   woman teacher; the-woman-who-instructs
'é·de·tį·hi·   diagnostician, seer, diviner
nanitin   instruction, teaching, advice
nanitini   teacher; one-who-instructs (YME 90)

Verbs compounded with *-tį·l*:

Oé· di-....*-tį·l* (fut., pres., *si*-pf.)   guess (NT 216:17, 218:2, 220:15)
Oi-(< *O-ná-*)*O-díni-*prol.....*-l-tį·l* (fut., cont., *si*-pf.)   teach ... (as a process), instruct ... (obj.) in ... (obj. of *-i-*) (FS 9; YM 210; NT 222:11, 234:11)
Oi-(< *O-ná-*)*na-'a-*theme-*ni-*uni.....*-l-tį·l* (fut., pres., *si*-pf.)   instruct in ..., demonstrate ...
Oi-(< *O-ná-*)*na-O-díni-*get stuck....*-l-tį·l* (fut., pres., *si*-pf.)   instruct ... in ... (NT 170:1)
*na-O-'a-ni-*uni.....*-tį·l* (fut., pres., *si*-pf.)   show to ..., teach by showing
*Oki-'a-*theme-*di-*cess.....*-tį·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.[1] 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 *γoh*-D2 continuative to either *dah-* or *daoh-* might distinguish the momentaneous from the other continuatives.[2] 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·h* (pres.) or *-la·h* (past) "do, make," and it seems as if the two were confused (cp. 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

[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'eťa'* < *bi'aťa'* "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*, *dicní*, and *dicnį* "I say" are common (3.51, and Reichard 1945, p. 164). Obviously e of *be'eťa'* 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 for saying *ai*, more usual at Ganado, for *ei*. Since they noticed the slight 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'áťé* "why" is an interrogative form derived from *-ťé* "be." Usually when *-go* is affixed the form is *xa'áťégo* or *xa'áťé·go*. The stem vowel $é$ sometimes becomes $á$ in the contraction: *xa'áťáo* or *xa'áťéo* < *xa'áťé-go* (NT 32:15, Ph 28). Similarly, *ťá· 'ákóťé* "it is exactly so, it is correct, it is the same;" which usually combines as *ťá· 'ákóťé·go*, sometimes becomes *á· 'ákóťáo* (NT 230:4).

13.8. This sort of change is not confined to *é*, as exemplified by the stem *-tí* "it is done to, made" : *tó· 'ódatǫ́* < *tó· 'ádatį̂-go* or *tó· 'ádatį̂·go* "they just do it thus" (NT 434:9); *tá· 'átéhê̜·gi 'itâo* (< *'átį̂-go*) "making everything just as it was" (NT 22:31). In *tó· 'ódatǫ·* (probably *tó· 'ódatǫ́·*) *į* is lost in favor of *o* of *-go*, but its effect is apparent in the nasal quality and length of *ǫ·*. No explanation of *á* in *'itâo* from *'átį̂·go* 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 *nô* "saying" (NT 20:25) from *nio* < *ni·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*, *í*—may be reduced to *n* or *ń*, 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-* > *ní-* 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 > CVC̨, 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 *-ó*-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:

prog.   D2 *'á·h-* or *'ó·h-* < *'á*-thus-*yi*-prog.-*oh*-D2 subj. 10.80.
cont.   D2 *náh-* or *nóh-* < *ná*-back-(*ná-*)*oh*-D2 subj. 10.94c.
cont.   D2–i *ná'áh-* or *ná'óh-* < *ná*-back-*'a*-i obj.-(*ná-*)*oh*-D2 subj. 10.94c.
prog.   D2 *bé·h-* or *bó·h-* < *bi*-(3)obj.-*ná*-against-*yi*-prog.-*oh*-D2 subj. 10.95g.
cont.   D2 *béh-* or *bóh-* < *bi*-(3) obj.-*ná*-against-(*ná-*)-*oh*-D2 subj. 10.95h.

13.15. These examples show that either *á* or *o* may-dominate; either indicating its identity by initial, tone, or quantity. For instance, *'á·h-* shows the influence of *-oh-* by its length. *'óh-* or *'ó·h-* shows the influence of *'á-* by initial ·, tone or tone and length. Compared with other alternant forms of the same order are:

prog.   2 *'á·-* or *'í·-* < *'á*-thus-*yi*-prog.-*n*-2 subj. 10.80.
cont.   1 *'ác-* or *'éc-* < *'á*-thus-(*ná-*)c-1 subj. 10.80b.
cont.   2 *'áṅ-* or *'iní-* < *'á*-thus-(*ná-*)back-*n*-2 subj. 10.80b.
cont.   3-3 *'í·-* or *'iyi-* < *'á*-thus-*yi*-3 obj.-(*ná-*)back 10.80b.
yi-pf.   1 *'á·-* or *'í·-* < *'á*-thus-*yi*-prog.-*c*-1 subj.-*ni*-compl. 10.80c.
yi-pf.   3-3 *'áyi-* or *'í·-* < *'á*-thus-*yi*-3 obj.-*yi*-prog.-*ni*-compl. 10.80c.
yi-pf.   by 3 *'áyí·-* or *'é·-* < *'á*-thus-*yi*-prog.-*ni*-compl.-*yi*-3 ag. 10.80c.
yi-pf.3 by 1 *'á·c-* or *'i·c-* < *'á*-thus-*yi*-3 subj.-*yi*-prog.-*ni*-compl.- c-1 ag. 10.80c.
cont.   by 1 *'ó·c-* or *'i·ńc-* < *'á*-thus-*yi*-rec.ef.-*ni*-rec.ef.-c-1 ag. 10.80i.

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;

ni-pf.   2 *náini-* or *náyini-* < *ná*-back-*ni*-pf.-*n*-2 subj.-*ni*-compl. 10.94d.
si-pf.   3-3 *ná·z-* or *náyiz-* or *néiz-* < *ná*-back-*yi*-3 obj.-*si*-pf.-(*ná-*) 10.94f.
cont.   3-3 *yé·-* or *yi·-* or *yiyi-* < *yi*-3 obj. of "against"-*ná*-against-*yi*-3 obj. of stem-(*ná-*)against 10.95h.

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, *Oí-*(*ná-*)

against, *yí-ní*-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 *xoi*- and *xwi·*- < *xo*-things-*yi*-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-yahgó·* or *γwí·-yahgó·* "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· xaxa·- lka·dí* or *le·j be· xa·lka·dí* "shovel, spade, that-by-means-of-which-soil-is-spread-out-in-place" (YME 78); *tcaxalxe·l* or *tca·lxe·l* "darkness;" *tłoh be· naxaldjo·li·* or *tłoh be· na·ldjo·li·* "pitchfork, that-by-means-of-which-hay-is-spread-about-in-space;" *xatso'olγa·l* or *xatso·lγa·l* "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.): *tádídí·n* or *xádídí·n* "pollen;" *to·cdódi·* or *xo·cdódi·* "poorwill;" *tókǫ'í* or *xókǫ'í* "lantern, that-which-is-water-fire;" *tińlái* or *xińlái* "Gila monster;" *kǫ'niłe* or *xoniłe* "fireplace;" *kone·cgic* or *xone·cgic* "poker;" *bikétsoh* or *bixétsoh* "his great toe;" *bikéyah* or *bixéyah*

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"country, his, their land;" *'ą· bináká·* or' *ą· bináxá·* "put it in (paperbag);" *bíkádáyá* or *bíxádéyá* "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 aspiration of the stop: *bį·hádi·lja < bį·h kádi·ljah* "let us hunt deer" (NT 32:4); *nahǫ́ (< nahkǫ́·) sidá* "she sat there at the side" (NT 248:3).

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 *-ł-x-* initial (*-ł-γ- > -łx-* 3.80.), but two stems *-xęs* "itch;" and *-xah* "winter, year passes," are not of this type. *-xęs* "itch" is an aspirated alternant of *-kęs* "itch." I have found no form of the stem *-xah* of the type *-kah*, 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:

> *'asinísi·híc* (DD) or *'asinísi·γíc* (FH)   are you making a mistake ? (*-si·h* cont.)
> *xá·hgó·cį·* or *xá·hó·cį·'* (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 *tcayí* or *tcái*   crybaby (5.23, 5.26, 5.27.)
> *tséhę́·* or *tséyę́·*   surely it must have been a rock (11.31.)
> *nahgó·* or *nahó·* (EW 90:21)   toward the side
> *xá·hgó·* or *xá·hó·*   when in the future

13.26. These forms show that the aspiration problem is related to the instability of *y*, *g*, *γ*, and zero—in *tséyę́·* and *tcayí*, *tsé* 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 ꞏ when final;[3] *łó·'ó· tcínłye·d (< łó·'gó·)* "go outside!" In the example *tcidí bitŏ·gí (< bito·'ígí)* "gasoline" the same process has operated in respect to the stem with glottal stop final (*-to·'* "liquid") as happens when *h* is a final and contracts with a following suffix with vowel initial,

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[3] Reichard 1945 p. 165

tcăi < *tcahí* "crybaby;" *tlă·h* < *tlahí* "lefty" (5.27.). Here then as in verb stems *h* seems to be the "light" syllable final paired with ⁼ 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: *cikê·'hdínída·l* "sit behind me (on horse)" (NT 388:9) interpreted by WM as *ciké dahdíni·da·l*, and *lĭ·'hdi·lyis* < *lĭ· dahdi·lyis* "they start off on horseback" (NT 298:20).

13.27. The change from voiced *g* and *γ* to ⁼ 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:

prog.	3-3	*xi·yo·*· or *xi·yo·*· or *yiyo·*· < *xi*-rep.ac.-*yi*-3 obj.-*yi*-prog. 10.114a.
cont.	1	*xec*- or *xic*- < *xi*-rep.ac.-*yi*-cont.-*c*-1 subj. 10.114c.
cont.	4	*xidji*- or *dji·*· < *xi*-rep.ac.-*dji*-4 subj.-*yi*-cont. 10.114c.
cont.	i	*'ayi·*- or *'i·*· < *'a*-i subj.-*xi*-rep.ac.-*yi*-cont. 10.114c.

cont.	3-3	*xiyi·-* or *yiyi·-* $<$ *xi*-rep.ac.-*yi*-3 obj.-*yi*-cont. 10.114c.
si-pf.	4	*xidzi·z-* or *dzi·z-* $<$ *xi*-rep.ac.-*dji*-4 subj.-*si*-pf.-*ni*-compl. 10.114e.
si-pf.	by 1	*xec-* or *xic-* $<$ *xi*-rep.ac.-*si*-pf.-*ni*-compl.-*c*-1 ag. 10.114e.
inc.cess.	3	*xi·-* or *yi·-* $<$ *xi*-rep.ac.-*yi*-cont.-*yi*-cess. 10.114h.
inc.cess.	4	*xidji·-* or *dji·yi·-* $<$ *xi*-rep.ac.-*dji*-4 subj.-*yi*-cont.-*yi*-cess. 10.114i.
pf.cess.	3	*xi·-* or *yi·-* $<$ *xi*-rep.ac.-*yi*-prog.-*yi*-cess. 10.114j.

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 has not been incontrovertibly settled, and either form is accepted.

13.33. Variants with *xo*-place are involved with *ni-* and *si*-prefixes (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:

	Navaho	Chiricahua
prog.	*yi-*	*ho-*
cont.	*yi-*	*hi-*
yi-pf.	*yi-(ni-)*	*ho-*
out	*xa-*	*ha-*
place	*xo-*	*go-*

13.35. Time and again in this grammar the discussion of necessity has 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 "inflectional" 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.)

[4] Hoijer 1946c

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:

'atí or *'atį̃*   suffering, sorrow, misfortune
-dji' or *-djį̃'*   postposition "to a particular point"
ńté·' or *ńtę̃·'*   past
kingi or *kįgi*   at, in the house
bitcé'éti·n "his doorway;" *bitcé'étį·gi*   "at his doorway" (NT 272:1)
'ak̓idahnástą́ or *'ak̓idahnástá·n*   Upper-mountain-ridge (cer. place name)
tá· 'altso or *tá· 'altsǫ* or *tá· 'altsoní* "everything"
-nah or *-nq*, possibly *-nqh*   move intermittently, swallow.
-ni·l or *-nį̃·l*   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:

prog.	2	*bé·-* or *bi·-* $<$ *bi*-3 obj.-*ná*-against-*yi*-prog.-*n*-2 subj. 10.95g
prog.	D2	*bé·h-* or *bó·h-* $<$ *bi*-3 obj.-*ná*-against-*yi*-prog.-*oh*-D2 subj. 10.95g.
cont.	D2	*béh-* or *bóh-* $<$ *bi*-3 obj.-*ná*-against-(*ná*-)-*oh*-D2 subj. 10.95h.
cont.	3-3	*yé·-* or *yiyi-* or *yi·-* $<$ *yi*-3 obj.-*ná*-against-*yi*-3 obj.-(*ná*-) (the first obj. is the obj. of *-ná*-against, the second is the obj. of the stem) 10.95h.
cont.	3-i	*'iyi-* or *'i·-* $<$ *'a*-i obj.-*ná*-against-(*ná*-) 10.95h.
yi-pf.	2	*bé·-* or *bi·ni-* or *bí·-* $<$ *bi*-3 obj.-*ná*-against-*yi*-prog.-*n*-2 subj.-(*ná*-) ([*ná*-] is used instead of *-ni*-compl.) 10.95j.
cont.	1	*-xéc-* or *-xíc-* $<$ *xi*-rep.ac.-(*ná*)c-1 subj. 10.114f.
cont.	3	*-xé-* or *-xi·-* $<$ *xi*-rep.ac.-(*ná*-) 10.114f.)

13.39. In this set of variants the doubt about vowels in the second persons represents the conflict between *ná*- and *ni*-. If the prefix is considered to be *ná*- the resulting contraction is *bé·*-, if it is *ni*-, the result is *bí·*-. The difference in the dual second person is due to choice of dominance of *bí*- 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 (cp. 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:

cont.	3	*ná-* or *ni·* $<$ *ni*-start for-(*ná*-)back 10.99b.
cont.	3-3	*ni·* or *niyi-* $<$ *ni*-end-*yi*-3 obj.-*ni*-start for 10.100a.
ni-pf.	1	*nini·* or *ni·-* $<$ *ni*-end-*ni*-start for-*c*-1 subj.-*ni*-compl. 10.100b.

ni-pf.   2 *nini·ni-* or *ni·ni-* < *ni*-end-*ni*-start for-*n*-2 subj.-*ni*-compl. 10.100b.

ni-pf.   3-3 *yinini-* or *yini·-* or *ni·ni-* < *yi*-3 obj.-*ni*-end-*ni*-start for -*ni*-compl. 10.100b.

ni-pf.   by 3 *nini-*, *ni·-* or *ne·-* < *ni*-end-*ni*-start for-*ni*-compl.-*yi*-3 ag. 10.100b.

13.41. The next examples illustrate the function of position and the several possibilities of combination:

pf.cess.   2 *yinini·-* or *yi·nini-* < *yi*-doubtful destination-*yi*-prog.- (*ni-*)*n*-2 subj.-*yi*-cess. 10.105c.

pf.cess.   3 *yiyini·-* or *yi·ni·-* < *yi*-doubtful destination-*yi*-prog.- (*ni-*) *yi*-cess. 10.105c.

cont.   2-i *'i·ni-* or *'i·nini-* < *'a*-i obj.-*yi*-rec.ef.-(*ni-*)-*n*-2 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 *yi·d-* < *yi*-doubtful destination-*yi*-prog.-*i·d*-D1 subj.-(*ni-*). 10.111c.

yi-pf.   D2 *yinó·-* or *yó·-* < *yi*-doubtful destination-*yi*-prog.-*oh*-D2 subj.-(*ni-*) 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 *-ó-*:

cont.	1	*yinic-* or *γoc-*	10.109.
cont.	2	*yini-* or *γo-*	10.109.
cont.	3·	*yo-* or *γo-*	10.109.
cont.	D1	*yini·d-* or *γo·d-*	10.109.
cont.	D2	*yinoh-* or *γo·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," *biγi·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 *-tśi·s* and *-tśi·h* "body": *do· sitśi·sdah* "I have no strength, my-body-is-not;" *ni·'dó' bitśi·h dilxili* "your body is also the one that is too dark" (NT 134:5). Informants tolerate both forms, *-tśi·s* and *-tśi·h*, 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.:

si-pf.	3-3	*náyiz-* or *néiz-* or *ná·z-* < *ná*-back-*yi*-3 obj.-*si*-pf.-(*ná*-) 10.94f.
si-pf.	3-3	*yíyiz-* or *yi·z-* < *yi*-3 obj.-*ná*-against-*si*-pf.-(*ná*-) 10.95k.
yi-pf.	4	*xodjíc-* or *xodji·-* < *xo*-things-*si*-harm-*yi*-prog.-*ni*-compl. 10.116s.
si-pf. by D2		*xoso·h-* or *xo·h-* < *xo*-things-*si*-harm-*si*-pf.-*ni*-*oh*-D2 ag. 10.116t
fut.	3-3	*yídiyo·-* or *yído·z-* < *yi*-3 obj.-*di*-fut.-*si*-harm-*yi*-prog. 10.118b.
cont.	D1	*-si·d-* or *-sini·d-* < *-si*-harm-(*ná*-)*i·d*-D1 subj. 10.118f.
cont.	D2	*-so·h-* or *-sinóh-* < *-si*-harm-(*ná*-)*oh*-D2 subj. 10.118f.
cont.	2	*dzí-* or *dzi·ni-* < *dji*-att.-*si*-harm-*yi*-cont.-*n*-2 subj. 10.121b.
cont.	D1	*dzi·d-* or *dzi·ni·d-* < *dji*-att.-*si*-harm-*yi*-cont.-*i·d*-D1 subj. 10.121b.

13.47. From these examples we may conclude that *si*-perfective usually persists as *s* or *z*, but *si*-harm may persist, may become *y*, may or may not absorb (*ná*-) or *-ni*-. Except for the future all these examples are concerned with a relationship between *n* and *s*, or *s* and *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:

si-pf.	D1	*-ne·d-* or *ni·d-* < *-si*-pf.-(*ná*-)*i·d*-D1 subj. 10.95d.
cont.	4	*djinó-* or *djini-* < *dji*-4 subj.-*ná*-against-*si*-harm-(*ná*-) 10.95e.
cont.	by 3	*nó-* or *ni-* < *ná*-against-*si*-harm-(*ná*-)*yi*-3 ag. 10.95e.
si-pf.	D1	*xisi·d-* or *xa·d-* < *xi*-rep.ac.-*si*-pf.-(*ná*-)*i·d*-D1 subj. 10.114g.
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:

cont.	1	*sis-* or *cis-* < *si*-harm-*yi*-cont.-*c*-1 subj. 10.118c.
cont.	4	*dzis-* or *dji-* < *dji*-4 subj.-*si*-harm-*yi*-cont. 10.118c.
cont.	3-4	*xas-* or *xac-* or *xwi·-* < *xo*-4 obj.-*si*-harm-*yi*-cont. 10.118c.
si-pf.	3	*siz-* or *cij-* < *si*-harm-*si*-pf.-*ni*-compl. 10.118d.
si-pf.	4	*dziz-* or *djij-* or *dzi·z-* or *yidzo·s-* < *dji*-4 subj.-*si*-harm-*si*-pf.-*ni*- 10.118d.
prog.	4	*djidzo·-* or *dzidzo·-* < *dji*-4 subj.-*dzi*-away-*yi*-prog. 10.119.
fut.	1	*dji·de·c-* or *dzi·de·c-* < *dji*-att.-*si*-harm-*di*-fut.-*yi*-prog.-*c*-1 subj. 10.121a.
cont.	3	*djó-* or *dzó-* or *djo·-* < *dji*-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 progressive 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 complete 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 *yini*- < *si*-harm-*si*-pf.-*n*-2 subj.-*ni*-compl. 10.118d.
si-pf.	by 2 *sini*- or *yini*- < *si*-harm-*si*-pf.-*ni*-compl.-*n*-2 ag. 10.118d.
yi-pf.	3 *dzó*- or *djó*- < *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 combination 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 comparison 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 uninterruptedly 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*, *tš* 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:

prog.	4	*djidinó·-* < *dji*-4 subj.-*di*-prol.-*ni*-prol.-*yi*-prog. 10.91.
		or *dijnó·-* < *di*-prol.-*dji*-4 subj.-*ni*-prol.-*yi*-prog. 10.91.
prog.	i	*'adinó·-* < *'a*-i subj.-*di*-prol.-*ni*-prol.-*yi*-prog. 10.91.
		or *dinó·-* < *di*-prol.-*'a*-i subj.-*ni*-prol.-*yi*-prog. 10.91.
prog.	P4-i	*daj'tinó·-* < *da*-pl.-*dji*-4 subj.-*'a*-i obj.-*di*-prol.-*ni*-prol.-*yi*-prog. 10.91.
		or *dajdinó·-* < *da*-pl.-*dji*-4 subj.-*di*-prol.-*'a*-i obj.-*ni*-prol.-*yi*-prog. 10.91.
si-pf.	1	*díni-* or *díné-* < *di*-prol.-*si*-pf.-*c*-1 subj.-*ni*-compl. 10.91b.
si-pf.	4	*dzidiné·z-* < *dji*-4 subj.-*di*-prol.-*ni*-prol.-*si*-pf.-*ni*-compl. 10.91b.
		or *dizdiné·z-* < *di*-prol.-*dji*-4 subj.-*ni*-prol.-*si*-pf.-*ni*-compl. 10.91b.
cont.	D2	*disó·h-* or *dó·h-* < *di*-prol.-*si*-harm-*ni*-prol.-*oh*-D1 subj. 10.91e.
si-pf.	D2	*-sino·-* or *-no·-* < *si*-pf.-*oh*-D2 subj.-(*ná*-)against 10.95d.
		or *-no·-* < *ná*-against-*si*-pf.-*oh*-D3 subj.-(*ná*-)against 10.95d.
ni-pf.	4	*djinini-* < *dji*-4 subj.-*ni*-end-*ni*-pf.-*ni*-compl. 10.100b.
		or *nijni-* < *ni*-end-*dji*-4 subj.-*ni*-pf.-*ni*-compl. 10.100b.
ni-pf.	3-3	*yinini-* or *yini·-* < *yi*-3 obj.-*ni*-end-*ni*-pf.-*ni*-compl. 10.100b.
		or *ni·ni-* < *ni*-end-*yi*-3 obj.-*ni*-pf.-*ni*-compl. 10.100b.
ni-pf.	P3-3	*dayinini-* < *da*-pl.-*yi*-3 obj.-*ni*-end-*ni*-pf.-*ni*-compl. 10.100b
		or *ndayini-* < *ni*-end-*da*-pl.-*yi*-3 obj.-*ni*-pf.-*ni*-compl. 10.100b.
abs.	4	*djil-* or *djil-* or *lidji-* < *dji*-4 subj.-*li*-inherent-*ni*-abs. 10.124

[5] Li 1930, 1933

ANALYZED TEXT

ła' łá· bita'igó· ndjiyą́·[1] ńłê·go[2] xaxane'[3]

Nancy Woodman, Lukachukai, Arizona
from *'ádaxo·niłígi·* April 1, 1949

ciya· xazlį́·'dę́·'[4]

łah 'ánístsí·sígo[5] cimą́[6] ńłé·[2] 'ádin[7] djiní.[8] łâ· do· yi·łtsą́·dó·[9] łâ· do· ba· 'áxoni·zį́·'da[10] łah cį́· 'awé·' nicłį̂·go[11] cimą́[6] 'ádin.[7] cijé'é;[12] łêiyá xółǫ́[13] cimą́sánído' xǫ́lǫ́.[14] ńléi[15] cimą́ 'ádin silį́·'dó·cį́·[16] xá'áłê·gocį́·[17] ciya· xazlį́·'[4] xóla.

1 *łá· bita'igó· ndjiyą́·* "orphan": *łá·* "absolutely;" *bi*-3 obj. of postposition *-ta'* "between" (6.16, 7.49.); *-i*-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·ł* "one person walks, goes" (8.96.), the stem is lengthened before *ńłê·go*. The compound means "one who is in the position of merely going about between them." Interestingly enough, Nancy nasalizes *-yá* before *ńłê·'* which Morgan, the transcriber and editor, usually writes thus. Often, however, it is *ńłę́·'* and probably was so pronounced by Nancy, or it may be that *-yá* < *-yą́* under the influence of following *n* (3.26, 3.37.). In this form *-yą́·* might be confused with *-yáh* (pres.) or *-yą́·h* (cust.) of *-yą́·ł* "kill pl.," but could not be so interpreted (cp. YM 68, 72, 75).

2 *ńłê·'go* "past" (11.36.): *ńłê·'* "past;" *-go-* subordinating enclitic (7.69.)

3 *xaxane'* "her story": *xa*-4 poss. (6.16.); *xane'* "story"

4 *ciya· xazlį́·'dę́·'* "from my childhood": *ci*-1 poss.; *-ya·* postposition "under" (6.16, 7.64.); *xaz-* < *xo*-things-*si*-3 pf. (10.116f.); *-lį́'* pf. item of *-le·ł* "become" (12.53.); *-dę́·'* postposition "from" (7.43.); hence "things have become from under me"

5 *'ánístsí·sígo* "I being small": *'á*-(*ná*-)static (10.78.), *-c*-1 subj. > *-s-* before *tś* (3.32.); *-tsí·sí* verb stem "be small;" *-go* subordinating enclitic

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One-who-used-to-go-about-between-them[1] being-past[2] her(4)-story[3]

From-the-time-things-happened-under-me[4]

Still I-being-small[5] my-mother-deceased[6] was-wanting[7] they-say.[8] I-did-not-see-her[9] I-do-not-remember-about-it.[10] Still-probably a-baby I-being[11] my-mother[6] was-gone.[7] My-father[12] only was[13] my-mother-old-also was.[14] When my-mother was-gone from-when-it-became[16] however[17] I-grew-up[4] I-don't-know.

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6 *ci-mą́* "my mother": *ci-*1 poss. (6.16.); *-mą́* "mother"

7 *'ádin* "be nothing, be dead": *'á-*3 static (10.78.); *-din* static stem of *-dį·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 *tâ· do· yi·ltsą́·dó·* "I never saw her": *tâ· do· ...-í* negative frame (11.73.); possibly Nancy used *-dó·* for *-gó·* in which case the frame is *tâ· do· ...-i-gó·* (11.76.). *yi·l-tsą́* 1 pf. cess. of *-l-tsé·l* "see" (10.105c.); *-tsą́·* may result from *-tsą́-i*, or *-tsą́* may be lengthened before *-dó·* (3.36.). If *-dó·* is not *-gó·* as suggested, it may be the enclitic *-dó·* "and" (7.46.)

10 *tâ· do· ba· 'áxoni·zį̂·da* "I do not remember her at all": *tâ· do· ...-da* negative frame (11.77.); *ba·* < *ba-*3 obj.-*a·* postposition "about" (6.16, 7.18.); *'á-*thus-*xo*-things-*ni-*uni.-pf. cess. (10.105c.); *-zį́* > *-zį̂·* before *-da* pf. or static of *-zį·l* "have attitude toward, be aware of"; hence, "there-is-no-awareness-of-things-about-it" (3.34–3.35.)

11 *nclį̂·go* "I being": *nc-* < *ni-*abs.-*c*-1 subj.; *-lį́* "be" > *-lį̂·* 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 *xólǫ́* "it is," here "was living" (12.51.)

dí· t̃â·do·le'é ba· 'áxoni·zí·'dó·[10] *k̃asdą́·' t̃á· 'altso bé·da·cni·h.*[18]
tšidá xodjo·bá'igo[19] *yicá·l*[20] *lágo ba· 'áxoni·zí·'*[10]. *išidá t̃á·'i·yisí· t̃á·*
'áxo·dza·gó·[21] *n̄léi*[15] *le·ctči·htah naxalindi*[22] *nisédzil*[23] *lágo ba· 'áxoni·-*
zí·'.[10] *'á·dó·*[24] *'atíci't̃il'į̃·di*[25] *n̄léi tšidá t̃á·'altso be· 'atíci't̃o·l'į̃·d*[26] *xáicį́·*[27]
t̃á· bil xa't̃o·ltcidcį́·[28] *be· tšidá t̃á·'altso be· 'átíci't̃il'į̃·*[29] *lágo ba· 'áxoni·-*
zí·'.[10] *t̃á· bíxólní·hgó· n̄léi*[15] *t̃á· tčé'éti·ngó·da*[30] *tsé'ya· cicdjo·lgo*[31]
naci·lka'[32] *n̄t̃é·'.*[2] *be· 'adínô·tê·li·*[33] *ndi do· be· ca· 'áxáyą́·gó·.*[34]

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14 *cimą́sánídó·* "my maternal grandmother also": *ci*-1 poss. -*mą́*
"mother;" -*sání* "old;" -*dó·* "also" (6.16, 7.46.)

15 *n̄léi* demonstrative adverb here with temporal meaning "when,
at the time when" (12.5, 12.5a.)

16 *cimą́ 'ádin silį̃·'dó·cį́·* "however (it may have been) from the time
when my mother died": *cimą́ 'ádin* see notes 6,7; *si·lį̃·'* 3 *si*-pf.
(10.117.); -*lį̃·'* static stem of -*le·l* "become" (12.53.); -*dó·* postposition
"from, from the time"; *cį́·* "probably" (7.48, 11.94.)

17 *xá'át̃ê·gocį́·* "however it was, how" (11.94, 11.98a.)

18 *bé·da·cni·h* "I remember": *bé·* is probably thematic but may
come from *bi*-3 obj.-*n̄*-against-*ná*-back; *da·c*- < *da*-misfortune-*yi*-
cont.-*c*-1 subj. (10.95a.); -*ni·h* (or -*n̄h*) pres. stem of -*ni l* (or -*n̄l*) "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.)

21 *t̃á· 'áxo·dza·gó·* "absolutely it was, conditions kept being, things
happened so": *t̃á·* "just;" *'á*-thus-*xo*-things-*yi*-prog.-*ní*-compl.
10.116e.); -*dza·* pf. stem of -*ne·l* "be done to" (12.47.); -*gó·* post-
position "indefinitely forward," here "future" (7.75.)

22 *le·ctči·htah naxalindi* "as if in a place among the ashes": *le·ctči·h*
ashes;" -*tah* postposition "among" (7.50.); *naxa*- < *na*-*xo*-ground-
i-abs.- (10.116b.); -*lin* static stem "be like, resemble;" -*di* post-
position "at, in place" (7.44.)

23 *nisédzil* "I was pushed": *ni*-end-*ci*-1 subj.-*ná*-against (3.32,
10.95h.); -*dzil* pres. stem of -*dzil* "be pushed"

These anything-at-all I-was-aware-of[19] almost everything I-remember-(as)[18] being-absolutely-pitiful[19] I-go-about[20] ever-since I-can-remember-about-it.[10] Absolutely awful just-as-it-happened[21] from-then[15] ashes-amongst the-place-being-like[22] I-was-pushed-about[23] ever-since I-remember.[10] From-then-on[24] I-was-mistreated-there[25] then absolutely all with-it I-was-mistreated[26] whatever[27] what-was-probably-at-hand with-it[28] absolutely everything with-it I-was-mistreated[29] ever-since I-remember.[10] Just any-old-place then[15] just at-the-doorway-for-example[30] face-down in-a-huddle[31] I-spent-the-nights[32] past.[2] Bedding[33] even was-not-provided-for-me.[34]

24 *'á·dó·* "and then, then, from then on": *'á-*demonstrative $>$ *'á·*-before *-dó·* postposition "from" (3.37, 7.1, 7.48.)

25 *'atíci'ťil'į̇·di*: "at the place where I was mistreated": *'ati-*suffering-*ci-*1 subj.-*'adi-*i ag.-*l-*pass. caus. (10.77.); *-'į̇* pres. stem of *-'į̇·l* "do" $>$ *-'į̇·* before *-di* postposition "in place" (3.35, 7.44.)

26 *be· 'atíci'ťo·l'į̇·d* "by means of it (everything) I was mistreated": *bi-*3 obj.-*e·* postposition "by means of" (6.16, 7.24.); *'ati-*suffering-*ci-*1 subj.-*'adi-*i ag.-*yi-*prog.-*ní-*compl.-*l-*pass. caus. (10.104.); *-'į̇·d* pf. stem of *-'į̇·l* "do" (12.47.)

27 *xáicį̇·* "whatever (remote) possible": *xá-*interrogative "remote;" *-í* nominalizing suffix; *cį̇·* "possibly" (5.25, 7.2, 11.94.)

28 *ťá· bił xa'ťo·ltcidcį̇·* "absolutely (whatever) was at hand": *ťá·* "absolutely;" *bi-*3 obj.-*ł* "with (accompaniment)" (6.16, 7.103.); *xa'ťo·l-* $<$ *xa-*out-*'adi-*i ag.-*yi-*prog.-*ní-*compl.-*l-*pass. caus. (10.104.); *-tcid* pf. stem of *-tcil* "move hand;" *cį̇·* "possibly" (11.94.)

29 See notes 25, 26

30 *ťá· tćé'éti·ngó·da* "just at the doorway for example": *ťá·* "just;" *tćé'éti·n* "doorway;" *-gó·* postposition "in position" (7.75.); *-da(h)* postposition "for example" (7.38.)

31 *cicdjo·lgo* "I being curled up, huddling": *cic-* $<$ *si-*pf.-*ní-* compl. *-c-*1 ag. (10.117.); *-djo·l* static stem of *-djoł* "bunchy substance lies" (12.41.); *-go* subordinating suffix (7.69.)

32 *naci·lka'* "I spent nights here and there": *na-*about-*ci-*1 obj.-*yi-*cont.-*yi-*rep.asp. (10.106b.); *-l-ka'* mom. stem of *-l-ká·l* "night passes" (cp. notes 49, 55)

33 *be· 'adínô·tê·li·* "bedding": *be·* $<$ *bi-*3 obj.-*e·* postposition "by

ťá· 'áko ndi naníckaˑd.[35] *cimą́*[6] *n̓t̓é·'*[2] *bitłízi*[36] *ťá· xǫlǫ́·go*[37] *yąˑh*[3ᵉ] *'ádin*[7] *lá. 'áko 'éi ťah yidzi·hígi·*[39] *biké·' naˑcá.*[40] *cike·' ndi ťá·gé·d dibé biké·' naˑcá.*[40] *ci'é·' ndi 'aḱá·n dabizisígi·*[41] *ťá· 'áxo·dza·gi*[42] *'áda·lya·go*[13] *ndaxa·zťó·dgo*[44] *ciḱi dahnda·ťa·go*[45] *naníckaˑd.*[35] *sitsi·' ndi xá·h-gó·cį· tśi·lzéi bił ḱída·z'â·go*[46] *naˑcá.*[40] *ya·' ndi ḱad cidaní·lxį̃·go.*[47] *ḱóťé·go tśidá ťá· 'ałtsoni biḱe· ti'xo·cnî·hgo*[48] *cí·níłḱá.*[49] *'áko ndi ťá· 'áko ndi cilį́·' xǫlǫ́.*[50]

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means of" (6.16, 7.24.); *'adínô·-* < *'a*-i subj.-*díní*-prol.-*yi*-prog. (10.91.); *-té·l* "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· 'áxáyą́·gó·* "it was not provided for me": *do· ...-gó·* 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-*xo*-things-(*ná*-)cont. (10.116h.); *-yą́* > *-yą́·*. before *-gó·* pres. stem of *-yąˑl* "provide for, care for" (3.37, and cp. note 9)

35 *naníckaˑd* "I am herding": *na-n̓ic-* < *na*-about-'*a*-theme-*ni*-uni. *-c*-1 subj. (10.98a.); *-kaˑd* pres. stem of *-kal* "spread" (12.33.)

36 *bitłízi* "her goats": *bi*-3 poss. (6.16.); *tłízi* "goat"

37 *ťá· xǫlǫ́·go* "just being": *ťá·* "just;" *xǫlǫ́* "there were" (12.51.); *-go* subordinating enclitic (7.69, and cp. note 13)

38 *yąˑh* "beside her, extraneous to her": *yi*-3 obj. differentiated from 3 subj. (in this case *bitłízi*); *-ąˑh* postposition "extraneous to" (6.16, 7.22.)

39 *yidzi·hígi·* "those that survived": *yi*-cont. (10.103.); *-dzi·h* pres. stem of *-dzih* "breathe;" *-ígi·* nominalizing suffix "the one that" (5.30.)

40 *biké·' naˑcá* "I followed them about": *bi*-3 obj.- *ké·'* postposition "behind, following" (6.16, 7.79.); *naˑcá* < *na*-about-*yi*-cont.-*c*-1 subj.-*yá(h)* pres. stem of *-gá·l* "one person goes" (8.96, 10.92, 12.46.)

41 *'aḱá·n dabizisígi·* "those that were flour sacks": *'aḱá·n* "flour;" *dabi*-P3 poss. (6.16.); *-zis* "sack;" *-ígi·* nominalizing suffix "the one that" (5.30.)

42 *ťá· 'áxo·dza·gi* "just wherever it happened to be": *ťá·* "just;" *'áxo·dza·* see note 21; *-gi* postposition "in place" (7.66.)

43 *'áda·lya·go* "they being made": *áda·-* < *'á*-thus-*da*-pl.-*yi*-prog.-

So-it-was nevertheless I-went-herding.[35] My-mother[6] deceased[2] her-goats[36] just-being[37] possessed-by-her[38] she-died[7] surely. So these-that-were-still-alive[39] I-went-about-after.[40] My shoes even without sheep I-followed-about.[40] My-clothes even those-that-were-flour-sacks[41] just whatever-happened-to-be[42] being-made[43] being-ragged[44] flapping-about-on-me[45] I-went-herding.[35] My-hair even awful burrs sticking-up-on-it[46] I-went-about.[40] Lice even now killed-me.[47] It-being-so absolutely everything on-account-of-it I-suffering[48] days-passed-me.[49] So nevertheless it-was-so even my-stock there-was.[50]

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ni-compl. (10.90c.); *-l-ya·* pf. stem of *-l-né·l* "do, make" (12.47.); *-go* subordinating enclitic (7.69.)

44 *ndaxa·ztó·dgo* "they being ragged": *n-da-xa·z-* < *na*-about-*da*-pl.-*xo*-place-*si*-pf.-*ní*-compl.(10.116.); *-tó·d* pf. stem of *-tol* "fabric wears out, disintegrates;" *-go* subordinating enclitic (7.69.)

45 *ciki dahnda·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.); *-ta'* mom. stem of *-tal* "one obj. slips over another"

46 *bil kida·z'â·go* "being on it": *bi*-3 obj.-*l* "with (accompanying)" (6.16, 7.103.); *kida·z-* < *ki*-on-*ná*-up-*da*-unfortunately-*si*-pf.-*ní*-compl. (10.85b.); *-'â·* < *-'á* before *-go* absolute stem "project, stand up" (3.35.); *-go* subordinating enclitic (7.69.)

47 *cidani·lxî·go* "they (lice) killed me": *cidani·-* < *ci*-1 obj.-*da*-pl.-*'a*-theme-*ni*-*si*-harm-*yi*-cess. (6.20, 10.98e.); *-l-xî·* < *-l-xí* "cause killing one;" *-go* subordinating enclitic (7.69.)

48 *bike· ti'xo·cni·hgo* "I suffering on account of these things": *bi*-3 obj.-*ke·* 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 *cí·nilką́* "I spent my days": *cí·ni-* < *ci*-1 obj.-*yi*-prog.-*yi*-rep. asp.-*ni*-compl.; *-l-ką́* pf. stem of *-l-ká·l* "night passes" (cp. notes 32, 55)

50 *cilį·' xǫ́lǫ́* "there was my stock, I had my stock": *ci*-1 poss.-*lį·'* "pet, stock, domesticated animal" (6.16.); *xǫ́lǫ́* "there were" (12.51, and cp. notes 13, 37.)

lah xa'áťê·gocí·[51] *'asési·hgo*[52] *cimą́ cik̆i 'o·sxaldó·*[53] *ťâ· do· ca'íltsódí*[54]
na·k̆i da·tśí yiską́,[55] *níwohdji'*[56] *da·tśí ťá· do· 'acání*[57] *ťó· tl̆izí bik̆é·'*
tádícá·h.[58] *tl̆izíyáji*[59] *la' ťó· bá ná'i·stso'go*[60] *'éi ťá· 'ál̆ahdji' cik̆é·'*
tádíyá·hdó·[61] *tl̆é·go*[62] *ťá· cit̆ah nté·h.*[63] *'éi 'ahbínigo*[64] *bá ná·'i·de·stsol*[65]
nsingo[66] *tl̆ó·gó·*[67] *dahdi·ltį́*[68] *ńté·' ťá·'â·dji'*[69] *bil̆ na·'adi·lxa·l*[70] *lá.*

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51 *xa·áťê·gicí·* "something or other": *xa-* interrogative "what;"
·áťé · *·áťê·* before *-gi* "it is thus;" *-gi* may be the nominalizing suffix
(shortened *-i·*) with *-g-* glide consonant (3.35, 3.39.), or it may be the
postposition *-gi* "place;" *-cí·* interrogative "probably" (11.98a.)

52 *'asési·hgo* "when I had done something wrong": *'asé-* < *'a-i*
obj.-*si-*pf.-*c-1* subj.-*ní-*compl. (10.117.); *-si·h* pf. stem of *-sih* "make
a mistake, do wrong;" *-go* subordinating enclitic (7.69.)

53 *cik̆i'o·sxa·ldó·* "she clubbed me and"; *ci-1* obj.-*k̆i* postposition
"on" (6.16, 7.84.); *'o·s-* < *'a-*beyond-*si-*un-*si-*pf.-*ní-*compl. (10.76q.);
-l-xa·l pf. stem of *-l-xal* "move clublike obj.;" *-dó·* "also, and"
(7.46, 12.44.)

54 *ťâ· do· ca'íltsódí* "she gave me nothing to eat": *ťâ· do· ...-í*
negative frame (11.72.); *ca-* < *ca·* < *ci-1* obj.-*a·* postposition "to,
toward" (6.16, 7.18.); *'í-* < *'a-i* obj.-*ni-*start for (10.99.); *-l-tsód-* <
-l-tsó·d inc. stem of *-l-tsol* "provide food" (cp. notes 60, 65)

55 *yiską́* "day, night passed": *yis-* < *yi-si-*pf.-*ní-*compl.-*l-*caus.
(10.117.); *-l-ką́* pf. stem of *-l-ká·l* "night passes" (cp. notes 32, 49)

56 *níwohdji'* "longer, to a point beyond": *níwoh* "beyond, farther;"
-dji' postposition "to a point" (7.95.)

57 *ťâ· do· 'acání* "I had not eaten"; *ťâ· do· ...-í* negative frame
11.72.); *'acání* < *'a-i* obj.-*c-1* subj.-*yą́* (> *yán* before *í*) pres. stem of
γį́·l "eat (gen.)" (8.97.)

8 *bik̆é· tádícá·h* "behind them I cust. went amongst": *bi-3* obj.-
:é·' postposition "following" (6.16, 7.19.); *tádícá·h* < *ta-*among-
*á-*cust.-*di-*start from-(*ná-*)-*c-1* subj.-*γá·h* cust. stem of *-gá·l* "one
erson goes" (10.94a, cp. note 61)

i9 *tl̆izíyáji* "kid": *tl̆izí* "goat;" *-yáji* "small, young"

0 *bá ná'i·stso'go* "which I had rep. fed": *bá* < *bi-3* obj.-*á* post-
osition "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[51] when-I-had-done-wrong[52] my-mother beat-me-and[53] she-did-not-give-me-something-to-eat[54] two days[55] perhaps, longer[56] perhaps I-did-not-eat[57] only goats after-them I-wandered.[58] Goat-small[59] one merely I-having-fed-it.[60] This-one always after-me-went-about-and[61] being-night[62] just my-arms it-lay.[63] That morning[64] for-it I-again-will-provide-something-to-eat[65] I-wanting[66] outside-toward[67] I-start-carrying-it[68] past. Right-there[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.); *tádi·* < *ta*-among-*ná*-cust.-*di*-start from-(*ná*-) (8.96, 10.94a, 12.46, cp. note 58)

62 *tłé·'go* "at night, when it was night": *tłé·'* "night" > *tłé·* 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": *'ahbíni* "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-'*a*-i obj.-*yi*-cess.-*di*-fut.-*yi*-prog.-*c*-1 subj. (> *s* before *ts*)-*l*-*tsol* fut. stem "provide food" (10.87, cp. 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 *tłó·gó·* "toward outside": *tłó·'* "outside;" -*gó·* postposition "toward" (7.75.)

68 *dahdi·łtí·* "I started carrying it": *dah-di·*- < *dah*-forth-*di*-start from-*c*-1 subj.; *yi*-cess. (10.88e, 10.105c.); -*l-tí* (> -*l-tí·* before *tłé·'*) pf. stem of -*l-té·l* "move animate obj." (12.30, cp. note 63)

69 *tá· 'â·dji'* "in that direction": *tá·* "absolutely;" '*á*-there, demonstrative bound form > '*â·*- before -*dji'* postposition "to a point, in the direction of" (7.1, 7.95.)

70 *bił na·'adí·łxa·l* "with it (in my arms) I fell": *bi*-3 obj.-*ł* post-

xonibạ·hdji'[71] *ditcincʄ· biǩe· na·'i·go'.*[72] *'ʄ·dą́·' na·dą́·' ǂêiyá 'ayá naxalingo da·dą́·*[73] *ńǂé·'. 'áko 'éi tóctci·n xan'inigi·*[74] *la' ca'ádadji·la·-go*[75] *'éi yicdlą́·'go*[76] *'inda biki·n ǂciníyá·dó·*[77] *'a'i·ǂtso·d.*[78]

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position "with (accompanying)" (6.16, 7.103.); *na·* "tipping over;" *'adi·-* < *'a-*beyond-*di*-start from-*yi*-prog.-*c*-1 subj.-*ni*-compl.(10.88b.); *-l-xa·l* pf. stem of *-l-xal* "stick falls" (12.44.)

71 *xonibạ·hdji'* "near the fireplace": *xo*-place-*ni*-uni.-*bạ·h* "border" (or perhaps *xoni-* > *kǫ'* < *kxon-*); *-dji'* postposition "in the direction of, at a point" (7.95.)

72 *biǩe· na·'i·go'* "because of it (hunger) I collapsed": *bi*-3 obj.-*ǩe·* postposition "on account of" (6.16, 7.82.); *na·* "tipping;" *'i·-* < *'a-*beyond-*yi*-prog.-*c*-1 subj.-*ni*-compl. (10.76c, 10.104.); *-go'* pf. of *-goh* "person falls" (12.44.)

73 *'ayá naxalingo da·dą́·* "being the main thing was eaten by them": *'ayá* "main, favorite;" *naxalin* "resemble, seem" (see note 22); *-go* subordinating enclitic (7.69.); *da·dą́·* < *da-*pl.-*yi*-cont.-*dą́* (> *-dą́·* before *ńǂé·'*) pres. stem of *-dį́·ǂ* "be eaten" (10.84a.)

74 *tóctci·n xan'inigi·* "gruel which had milk (in it)": *tóctci·n* "thin gruel;" *xa-* < *xo*-place-*yi*-cont.; *-n'i* pres. stem of *-n'i* "be milked;"

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 mistreated 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-drank-it[76] then sustained I-went-out-and[77] I-fed-it.[78]

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probably -*n̨i̧* since it becomes -*nin* with -*igí·* 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* < *ci-*1 poss.-*á* postposition "for benefit of" (6.16, 7.20.); *'ádadji·-* < *'á*-thus-*da*-pl.-*dji*-4 ag.-*yi*-prog.-*yi*-cess. (10.105c.); -*la·* pf. stem of -*lé·l* (-*li·l*) "make" (12.47.)

76 *yicdlá̧·go* "I having drunk it"; *yic-* < *yi*-prog.-*ní*-compl.-*c*-1 ag. (10.104.); -*dlá̧·* pf. stem of -*dlį́·l* "drink;" -*go* subordinating enclitic (7.69.)

77 *tćíníyá·dó·* "I went out and": *tćíní-* < *tćí*-out-*ni*-start for-*ní*-compl. (10.99a.); -*yá* pf. stem of -*gá·l* "one person goes;" -*dó·* enclitic "and" (7.84, 12.46.)

78 *'a'i·ltso·d* "I fed it": *'a-* < *'a·* < *'a-i* obj.-*a·* postposition "to, for" (6.16, 7.18.); *'i·-* < *'a-i* obj.-*yi*-prog.-*yi*-cess.; -*l-tso·d* pf. stem of -*l-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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