

2. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

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

Although position is relatively free in some respects, it is nevertheless an important device, particularly in indicating the relation of pronouns, verbs, and postpositions.

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.

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" (cimá) 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); *kéhi ndzo'te'zi'* "after putting on his moccasins" (NT 34:10); *kéhê góne' 'ado'l'ni'* "he reached into the place where the moccasins had been" (NT 32:22); *ké bi'h djíníl* "he(4) shook it (dust) into his moccasins" (EW 196:24). *ké* "moccasins" in these examples is to be compared with *-ke'* "foot, foot-gear, moccasin, shoe," interpreted as a possessed noun, with *ké* "foot," listed as a "nominal prefix" (5.48.), *-ké'* "track, footprint," a possessed noun, and *-ké'* "following, behind, next to, back of," a postposition (7.79).

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

³ Haile 1943, pp. 71, 73ff.

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

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

4.8. *xwe* < *xo-e* “with, by means of him(4)” and *xol* “with, accompanying him(4)” suggest that *xo-* is the primary pronominal prefix, whatever it may be called. Since *-e* “with instrumental,” *-i'h* “into,” and *-l* “with accompaniment” are postpositions phonetically 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 interpretation 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 conclusion. Such verbs consist of a stem with a “possessive” prefix, the only change in the paradigm being the “possessive,” better considered 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)
 'anábí-ti-n his trail back (YM 207)
 tá.' 'e'e-ti-n trail leads just (so far) (NT 168:3)
 tché'é-ti-n exit, doorway, the way out
 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 than 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
 nanít-ké.' track him
 nasít-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—*bit 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 *'anábí-ti-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
 bi:stsoh (< bi yistsoh) large deer (NT 320:15)
 ti-tse-d (< tin-tsed) ice cream; ice-pounded
 tsij-cdlo-j (< tsin yicdlo-j) bench; wood-it-stands-on-all-fours (NT 276:10),
 'q'q'na' (< 'a-á-n-yi-ni-na') he crawled into a hole (NT 22:23)
 bitsá-jnigij (< bitsá-dji-ni-ni-gij) they (4) cut its paunch (EW 116:3)
 sqcdjo:l (< sq-c-djo:l) Old Age lay (NT 128:13)
 xój'le-tgo 'alé (< xójóni-yi-le-l) may it be beneficial, satisfactory
 xa'o-lyáístsá' (< xa'o-lyá-yístsá') Things-pulled-out (name) was heard
 (NT 144:16)

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

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

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

bibe'attí' didloh his buckle: his with-it toward-each-other-something-is-looped

bibe'etsxis, bibe'tskis his with-it something-is-jerked

cibe'eldq my gun: my with-it something-is-caused-to-explode

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

tlá'h (< tláh-t) Lefty, the-one-who-is-left-handed

'abān, 'abān, 'abānī 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'íni "my mother-in-law; the-particular-one-whom-I-do-not-see" (man-speaking); but do yo'íni "his mother-in-law; the-particular-one-he-does-not-see;" 'actóhí "my weaving; something-I-am-weaving," but 'attóhí

"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:

'*acle*' (stat.) calm, soothing, tranquil, composed

'*acle*' (prog.) changing to calm, tranquil, composed; quieting down

xacle' (stat.) normal, regular, usual, orderly, neat, ready

xacle' (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 -*yé*' a static verb in the form *xó-yé*' "weakening, futile, feeble," but *yé*' is absolute or an adjective in *bił yé*' '*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'ská*, *dí'ská* (< *dí'-yiská*) "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.):

. . . *yiltah* he has a hat like . . ., he is hatted like . . .

cac yinistai' I have a head like a bear

né'édja' *yilke*'*i* owl claw; the-one-that-has-feet-like-an-owl (plant name)

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

bi' (< *bi-i*') (stat.) completely within it

bi-h (< *bi-i-h*) (prog.) into it; moving into it

bi-ta' (stat.) between them

bi-tah (prog.) among them

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

'*anictah* I am among, in the midst of

'*atah* he is in the midst of

'*ana* *Kad da'ani-tah* we are now in the midst of war; these enemies now we-are-amongst

5-5.114. THE NOUN

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' xóló* "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;" *'altí* "bow;" *xwe'eltí* "his(4) bow;" *'awé*-, *'aywé* "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
	<i>'il</i> that which comes free, twig, branch, fuzz, leaf	<i>di'il</i> (stat.) it has long soft hairs
	<i>taj</i> a flip, peck	<i>-taj</i> (pf.) flip, peck
	<i>tó (-to')</i> water	<i>di-to'</i> (stat., pf.) it is watery
	<i>yas, zas</i> snow	<i>-zas</i> (prog., mom., pf.) sprinkle in a line, strew powdery material
	<i>-yol</i> breath	<i>-yol</i> (pf.) sob, weep
	<i>kid</i> hump, ridge, prominence	<i>-kid</i> (pf.) be humped, ridged
	<i>xé-l (-yé-l)</i> load, pack	<i>-yé-l, -l-xé-l</i> (prog.) move load, load moves
	<i>xoc (-yoc)</i> thorn, cactus, splinter	<i>-yoc</i> (prog., mom., pf.) mass becomes thorny
	<i>sái (-zái)</i> sand, gravel, what has crumbled, slid	<i>-sái</i> (pres., pf.) pulverize, granulate
	<i>sá'</i> abandoned place, evidence of previous occupation	<i>-sá'</i> (pf.) be disturbed at someone's absence
	<i>sáq</i> old age	<i>-sáq</i> (pf.) grow mature
	<i>sin (-yi·n)</i> song	<i>-yin</i> (stat.) be holy, <i>-sin</i> (pres., inc., pf.) bless
	<i>tšq'</i> bog	<i>-tšq'</i> (stat.) be boggy
	<i>cé·' (-jé·')</i> saliva, foam	<i>-jé·'</i> (pf.) spit
	<i>djá·d</i> leg	<i>di-djá·d</i> (stat.) be fleet
	<i>djá·di</i> antelope	
	<i>tčl-l</i> falling snow, falling cotton of cottonwood, what flutters in the air	<i>-tčl-l</i> (pf.) snow falls, it is snowing
	<i>tid</i> smoke	<i>-tid</i> (pres., pf.) cause fire to smoke
	<i>dle·c</i> white clay	<i>-dle·c</i> (pres.) smear, rub clay on
	<i>tšé·'</i> night	<i>-tšé·'</i> (inc., pf.) it is night
	<i>tšoh</i> grass	<i>di-tšoh</i> (stat., pf.) be grasslike, spiny, wiry

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

inner angle;" *kos* "cloud;" *kq̄j* "body odor;" *nił* "ax, stone head;" *nq̄* "storage pit, cache;" *gic* "cane."

5.6. These nouns and others, some of which do not often appear as unpossessed forms, have the same phonetic structure in independent and possessed forms: *-da'* "man's sister's son;" *-da'* "lip, bill, beak;" *-de'* "horn, antler, spoon;" *-doh* "muscle;" *-ta'* "father;" *-tah* "pocket, crevice, fold;" *-ni'*, *-nī'* "face;" *-god* "knee, stump;" *-kq̄'* "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
<i>xé-l</i> pack, load	<i>'a-yé-l</i> someone's pack, load
<i>xoc</i> thorn, cactus	<i>bi-yoc</i> its thorn, his cactus
<i>sa-d</i> speech, language	<i>'a-za-d</i> someone's speech
<i>sái</i> sand	<i>bi-zái</i> its sand
<i>sę-s</i> wart	<i>bi-zę-s</i> his wart
<i>si-l</i> steam	<i>bi-zi-l</i> its steam
<i>sq'</i> star	<i>bi-zq'</i> his star, its star
<i>cé'</i> saliva, foam	<i>'a-jé'</i> someone's saliva
<i>le-j</i> dust, soil, dirt	<i>bi-le-j</i> its soil, his soil
<i>lij</i> urine	<i>bi-lij</i> his urine
<i>łj'</i> horse, pet	<i>bi-łj'</i> 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
<i>bé-c</i> flint, metal, knife	<i>bi-bé-j</i> his flint, knife, metal
<i>te-c</i> soot	<i>bi-té-j</i> its soot
<i>xé-l</i> load, pack	<i>bi-yé-l</i> his load
<i>sis</i> belt	<i>bi-zi-z</i> his belt
<i>djó-c</i> vagina	<i>'a-djó-j</i> someone's vagina
<i>łlé-l</i> fire-making apparatus	<i>bi-łlé-l</i> his firedrill
<i>łłó-l</i> rope, cord, string	<i>bi-łłó-l</i> 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
<i>ya'</i> louse	' <i>a-ya'</i> someone's louse
<i>yo'</i> bead, necklace	<i>bi-yo'</i> his necklace
<i>ka'</i> arrow	<i>bi-ka'</i> his arrow, weapon

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

' <i>ása'</i> jar, pot, dish	<i>be'ésa'</i> her jar; <i>tó'ása'</i> water jar (cer.)
<i>tša'</i> basket, bowl	<i>bi-tša'</i> , <i>bi-tša'</i> 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
' <i>il</i> twig, branch, that which is detachable	<i>bi'il</i> its branch, foliage
<i>sis</i> belt	<i>bi-ziz</i> 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
<i>tló-l</i> rope, string, lariat	' <i>aya-sis-tló-l</i> rope of An- gora wool <i>tsi-tló-l</i> hairstring <i>dja-tló-l</i> earstring	' <i>aza-tló-l</i> rein, mouth- rope ' <i>altí-tló-l</i> bowstring <i>bike-tló-l</i> root; its-base- string <i>biké-tló-l</i> hobble, shoe- string; its-foot-string <i>cá bi-tló-l</i> sunray; sun its rope <i>bi-tsi-tló-l</i> his hair- string <i>tcoc-tló-l</i> cinch, sur- cingle; belly-rope <i>bi-tcei</i> his maternal grandfather, grand- child in relation to him
- <i>tcei</i> maternal grand- father, grandchild	<i>bi-tcei</i> his maternal grandfather, grand- child	

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
<i>sin</i> song	<i>bi-sin</i> his song ¹	<i>bi-yi-n</i> his, its song related to a song-group
<i>tsin</i> stick	<i>bi-tsin</i> its stick	<i>bi-tsi-n</i> its handle, framework <i>'aka-tsi-n</i> arrowshaft, arrow-handle
<i>tšin</i> bone	<i>bi-tšin</i> his bone	<i>bi-tši-n</i> his bone, part of skeleton <i>bidja-tši-n</i> bone in mastoid region, its earbone
<i>tcin</i> dirt, filth		<i>bi-tci-n</i> body filth
<i>tcxin</i> expended body substance subject to sorcery		<i>bi-tcxi-n</i> 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
<i>dá'átaq'</i> cornhusk, cigarette paper	<i>'atsi'</i> base	<i>dá'áta-n</i> cornhusk, fodder <i>'álátsi-n</i> someone's wrist; someone's hand-base <i>'aké-tsi-n</i> someone's ankle; someone's foot-base
<i>tcq'</i> human excrement (vulgar)	<i>bitcq'</i> his excrement	<i>'atca-n</i> manure (polite term)
<i>tci-yá'</i> food (gen.)	<i>bike-tq'</i> his prayerstick	<i>tci-yá-n</i> food ready to eat <i>ke-tá-n</i> prayerstick
<i>xasti'</i> man, husband	<i>baxasti'</i> her husband	<i>baxasti-n</i> her husband in relation to her
<i>'asdzq'</i> woman, wife	<i>be'esdzq'</i> his wife	<i>be'esdzá-n</i> his wife in relation to him

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

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 CV' change to type CV' in possessed forms:

Independent noun	Possessed form
<i>tó</i> water	<i>bi-to'</i> its water, spring
<i>tsé</i> stone, rock	<i>bi-tse'</i> 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*:

<i>'tá'</i> forehead	<i>'tsq'</i> rib
<i>'tóg</i> collarbone	<i>'ji'</i> name
<i>'náí</i> older brother	<i>'ji'</i> uttered breath
<i>'ni', -ni'</i> mind	<i>'tct'</i> nose
<i>'ni', -ni'</i> inside of nostril	<i>'tcxq'</i> muzzle
<i>'kai'</i> mother's older sister	<i>'la'</i> finger, hand
<i>'kid</i> protuberance, eminence	<i>'tla'</i> 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," *cila'* "my finger, hand," etc.

5.20-5.113. COMPOUNDING

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

Noun	Compound noun
<i>'ayo'</i> someone's tooth	<i>'a-yo'-ctlah</i> inside of someone's cheek
<i>'atsi'</i> someone's head, hair	<i>'a-tsi'-ya'</i> mane
<i>'atso'</i> someone's tongue	<i>'a-tso'-látah</i> tip of someone's tongue
<i>ka'</i> arrow	<i>'a-ka'-tsi'n</i> arrowshaft
	<i>ka'-bé'c</i> iron weapon point
	<i>ka'-yé'l</i> quiver
<i>'adja'</i> someone's outer ear	<i>'adja'-ti'j</i> earwax
	<i>dja'-tót-l</i> 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.

6-6.38. THE PRONOUN

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 (*-t’l*) or to a load (*-yé’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 <i>cih</i> I	D1 <i>nxih</i> we two	P1 <i>danxih</i> we pl.
2 <i>nih</i> you	D2 <i>nxih</i> you two	P2 <i>danxih</i> you pl.
3 <i>yih</i> he, she, it	D3 <i>yih</i> they two	P3 <i>da·yih</i> they pl.
(3) <i>bih</i> he, she, it	D(3) <i>bih</i> they two	P(3) <i>da·bih</i> they pl.
4 <i>xóh</i> he, she	D4 <i>xóh</i> they two	P4 <i>da·xóh</i> they pl.
i 'ih someone, something	Di 'ih some two	Pi <i>da'ih</i> some pl.

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

² Ibid., pp. 2, 77ff.

who . . ." (NT 138:9); *ci kó* "I here" (NT 34:4); *kad lá ni bé'tínti* "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 *lá* "just, really, absolutely" such a complex would be emphatic: *lá cihí* "I myself;" *lá xóhí* "he(4) himself, they(4) two themselves" (NT 142:19); *lá nxihí* "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 <i>ci</i> ' it is mine	D1 <i>nxi</i> ' it is ours	P1 <i>danxi</i> ' it is ours
2 <i>ni</i> ' it is yours	D2 <i>nxi</i> ' it is yours	P2 <i>danxi</i> ' it is yours
3 <i>yi</i> ' it is his, hers, its	D3 <i>yi</i> ' it is theirs	P3 <i>dayi</i> ' it is theirs
(3) <i>bi</i> ' it is his, hers, its	D(3) <i>bi</i> ' it is theirs	P(3) <i>dabi</i> '-, <i>da-bi</i> ' it is theirs
4 <i>xó</i> ' it is his(4) hers(4)	D4 <i>xó</i> ' it is theirs (4)	P4 <i>daxó</i> '-, <i>da-xó</i> ' it is theirs(4) pl.
i 'i' it is someone's	Di 'i' it belongs to some two	Pi <i>da'i</i> ' it belongs to some of them pl.

Examples of the absolute possessives are: *kad ntsói ndo'le'l* "now your grandson will become your own again; now your-daughter's-child your-own will-become-back" (NT 26:22); *lá bi' nli'go* "what is possessed; just his-own-being."

6.16. POSSESSIVE PRONOMINAL PREFIXES

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

These prefixes are used with nouns to indicate possession: *ci-má* "my mother;" *ni-ká* "your husband;" *bi-ná* "his eye;" *danxi-kéyah* "our country," etc. They are also used with postpositions—

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.

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 *nchí* "I am," the stem is *-lí* "be," the initial *-l-* being unvoiced by preceding *-c-* "I." In *yí:dá* "we two are eating it," the stem is *-yá*, the initial *-y-* being absorbed by *-d-* of *-i-d-* "we two." In *yohsá* "you two are eating it," the stem again is *-yá* but *-y > -s* because of preceding *h* (3.119.).

8.1. Except for the possible change of its initial due to contact with prefixes, the stem remains stable in all persons and numbers. Prefixes, rather than stems, are the conjugated parts of the verb. Since they may be unstable in their relationship to one another, primarily because of position, the prefix paradigms must be carefully analyzed; they are usually regular, once their composition is understood.

Navaho, like other Athabaskan languages, has a series of "classifiers" which indicate cause or agent. Some verbs have no classifier and are referred to as "zero-forms." The other classifiers are: *-d-* agentive, that is, the passive of the zero-form, *-l-* causative, and *-l-* passive causative.

8.2. Many verbs may have any of the four forms, depending upon the meaning. Other stems with modified or specific meanings require one of the classifiers, which are then said to be "thematic." If no classifier is involved, the reference is to the "stem." If there is a classifier, the combination of classifier and stem is called the "stem complex." For example, *-'á* of *sa'á* "round object lies, is in position," is the stem. In the example, *síní-lá* "round object exists placed by you," *-lá* is the stem complex, composed of *-d-'á* (*d- > t* 3.57.). In *sé-l'á* "I have, keep a round object, I-cause-lying-of-round-object," *-l-'á* is the stem complex, and in *síní-l'á* "round object is kept by you," the stem complex is *-l'á*. Since some stem initials are changed

by the preceding classifier, certain phonetic effects of the classifiers must be learned. For instance, *-yol* "wind blows" is a stem, *-dzol* (< *-d-yol*) "be forced by blowing" is a stem complex, as are *-sol* (< *-l-yol*) "blow lightly" and *-lzol* "blow hard."

8.3. Verb forms are of two kinds, static and active. Static verbs, conjugated in one of the three primary perfective forms, or in a specific continuative form, occur only in that form. Such verbs are descriptive of state, condition, existence, number, quality, position, shape, and the like. In certain respects static verbs take the place of adjectives in English. At least one of these ideas, often more than one, is expressed by a monosyllabic stem. In answer to the question "Is there a blanket?" one does not properly say, "there is a blanket" but rather *si-l-tsóz* "fabriclike object is" or *si-ka'd* "object lies spread." There is no subject or pronoun in these verbal utterances; the English subject or pronoun is a part of the Navaho stem *-ka'd*, or the stem-complex *-l-tsóz*. Note, for instance, the difference in the two sentences: *be·ldléi 'axq'h ni·lá* "I folded the blanket" (active verb), and *be·ldléi 'axq'h ni·lágo siltsoz* "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-t* "round object moves," *-nił* "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-t* "one animate lying object moves," and *-djoł* "fluffy, brushy, bunchy mass moves" usually have the causative classifier *t* 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, *yidjoł* "moving of fluffy mass is taking place progressively," *yildjoł* "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.

8.31. 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-'q̄* (< *si-'q̄*) 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-tá* long rigid obj. exists; there-is-condition-of-narrow-elongated-rigidity
- si-til* hair is matted; there-is-condition-of-hair-tangling
- si-té* it is roasted, parched
- si-nih* it is kneaded
- si-níl* 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-ká* there is contained substance; there-is-condition-of-containedness
- si-yic* bow-shaped; there-is-condition-of-bowing
- si-yí* 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-tshih* it exists pinched with fingernails (as corrugated pottery)
- si-tshil* 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-djjj* it is crushed; there-is-condition-of-being-crushed
- ci-djo-l* there is fluffy, bunched, brushy, uneven mass; there-is-condition-of-fluffiness, bunchiness
- si-lá* there is long, narrow flexible object, there is a pair
- si-tlé'* it is viscid, mushy, slimy; there-is-condition-of-viscosity
- si-tli-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-lí one animate obj. lies; there-is-condition-of-one-animate-obj.-lying
si-zí', si-zíh it stands; there-is-standing-position

8.33. Some stems refer to a condition or state perceived:

- si-bin* it is full; there-is-condition-of-fullness
si-doh it is hot; there-is-condition-of-hotness
si-kaz it is cold; there-is-coldness
si-kázi it is cool
si-zili it is lukewarm
si-si' it is numb; there-is-condition-of-numbness
si-sxi' it is paralyzed; it is bitter, resinous, extremely pungent
si-zé' it is tiresome, mild, tepid, boring, monotonous
si-sid he is malicious

One form is general: *si-lí'* "it has become; there-is-condition-of-change; change-has-been-established"

8.34. Static verbs may have *d*, *t*, or *l* forms; changes in the prefixes are formally the same as in the *si*-perfective. If a static verb is causativized with *t* 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:

- dí-tq-d* animate beings are scattered
dí-ti it is emulsified, plasmic
dí-tin it is dense
dí-to' it is very soft
dí-tódi it is fragile, frail, weak, soft, flexible
dí-tó-dí it is very soft
dí-giz it is twisted
dí-kádi spread object is very thin, fabric is thin
díkq it is square
dí-yoj botryoidal
dí-yol rough surfaced, rutted
dí-tsíd it is fibrous, tough, sinewy; it is gummy, viscid (cp. *tsíd* "sinew")
dí-joc they are easily split
ná-'q objects lie one by one in line
ni-bal fabrics hang in a row
ni-dá one by one they sit in a row
ni-tq long, rigid objects lie in line
ni-té-j two by two they (animals) lie in a row

<i>ní-tí</i>	one by one animate objects lie in a row
<i>ní-jo·j</i>	parallel objects lie
<i>ní-za·d</i>	it is far
<i>ní-ca·j</i>	it is wearing out
<i>ní-maz</i>	it is globular, round, spherical
<i>ní-don</i>	it is taut, tight
<i>ní-yiz</i>	it is round and long, cylindrical
<i>ní-tsili</i>	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.

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-*:

<i>ni</i> -pf.	by 1 <i>nic-</i>	(< <i>ni</i> -pf.- <i>ni</i> -compl.- <i>c</i> -1 ag.)
<i>yi</i> -pf.	by 1 <i>yic-</i>	(< <i>yi</i> -prog.- <i>ni</i> -compl.- <i>c</i> -1 ag.)
<i>si</i> -pf.	by 1 <i>sic-</i>	(< <i>si</i> -pf.- <i>ni</i> -compl.- <i>c</i> -1 ag.)
pf.cess.	by 1 <i>yc-</i>	(< <i>yi</i> -prog.- <i>yi</i> -cess.- <i>ni</i> -compl.- <i>c</i> -1 ag.)

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

<i>ni-pf.</i>	1	<i>ni-</i>	(< <i>ni-pf.-c-1 subj.-ní-compl.</i>)
<i>yi-pf.</i>	1	<i>yi-</i>	(< <i>yi-prog.-c-1 subj.-ní-compl.</i>)
<i>si-pf.</i>	1	<i>sé-</i>	(< <i>si-pf.-c-1 subj.-ní-compl.</i>)
<i>pf. cess.</i>	1	<i>yi-</i>	(< <i>yi-prog.-yi-cess.-c-1 subj.-ní-compl.</i>)

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:

<i>cont.</i>	2	<i>ni-</i>	(< <i>yi-cont.-n-2 subj.</i>)
<i>inc.</i>	2	<i>ni-, n̄-</i>	(< <i>ni-start for-n-2 subj.</i>)
<i>inc.</i>	2	<i>di-</i>	(< <i>di-start from-n-2 subj.</i>)

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.-ní-compl.*—and results in a form *sini-* indistinguishable from that of the agentive:

<i>ni-pf.</i>	2	<i>yini-</i>	(< <i>ni-pf.-n-2 subj.-ní-compl.</i>)
<i>yi-pf.</i>	2	<i>yini-</i>	(< <i>yi-prog.-n-2 subj.-ní-compl.</i>)
<i>si-pf.</i>	2	<i>sini-</i>	(< <i>si-pf.-n-2 subj.-ní-compl.</i>)

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:

<i>prog.</i>	3	<i>yi-</i>	
<i>prog.</i>	by 3	<i>yo-</i>	(< <i>yi-prog.-yi-3 ag.</i>)
<i>prog.</i>	3 by 3	<i>yiyo-</i>	(< <i>yi-3 pass. subj.-yi-prog.-yi-3 ag.</i>)

<i>yi</i> -pf.	3	<i>yi</i> -	(< <i>yi</i> -prog.- <i>ni</i> -compl.)
<i>yi</i> -pf.	by 3	<i>yi</i> -	(< <i>yi</i> -prog.- <i>ni</i> -compl.- <i>yi</i> -3 ag.)
<i>yi</i> -pf.	3 by 3	<i>yo</i> -	(< <i>yi</i> -3 pass.subj.- <i>yi</i> -prog.- <i>ni</i> -compl.- <i>yi</i> -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 ² or *n*.

10.10. Indefinite singular and dual subject 'a- of intransitive and transitive active voice: 'a- because of its phonetic composition stands at the beginning of a conjugation. It combines with certain aspective prefixes, particularly those with *n* initial to form a different vowel, for instance, 'a-*ni*-start for > '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:

<i>di</i> -start from inc.	(3) by i	<i>bi</i> ' <i>ti</i> -	(< <i>bi</i> - [3] pass. subj.-'a-i ag.- <i>di</i> -start from)
<i>ni</i> -uniform cont.	(3) by i	<i>bi</i> ' <i>lini</i> -	(< <i>bi</i> - [3] pass.subj.-'adi-i ag.- <i>ni</i> -uniform)
<i>ni</i> -start for inc.	(3) by i	<i>bi</i> ' <i>te</i> -	(< <i>bi</i> - [3] pass.subj.-'adi-i ag.- <i>ni</i> -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.-*ní*-compl.) compared with by D2 of the *si*-perfective, *so'h-* (< *si-ní*-compl.-*oh*-D2 ag.) (cp. 10.55.).

10.15-10.20. OBJECTIVE PREFIXES

10.15. The objective pronoun is prefixed to the conjugated part of the verb complex. The objects are:

- 1 *ci-* me
- 2 *ni-* you
- 3 *yi-* him, her, it
- (3) *bi-* him; her, it
- 4 *xo-* him, her
- i 'a- some, some one, something
- D1, D2 *nixi-*, *nxi-* us

10.16. All except *xo-* of the fourth person and 'a-indefinite have a vowel of the same value in combination so that, instead of the form given in the regular paradigm of the type 3-3, the initial is changed to indicate an object other than the third. For instance, *yiyá* "he is eating it;" *ciyá* "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.

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," *sq'* "it is a star." With a selection of nouns, some monsyllabic, a certain amount of communication can be carried on. With an understanding of demonstratives and postpositions many elementary ideas can be conveyed, that is, utterances or sentences may be constructed. However, though the English speaker may put off his mastery of the verb, there can be no idiomatic or satisfactory communication without verbs. It has been pointed out that nouns are often verb forms without any modification whatsoever.

11.1. The position of the noun in the sentence will be discussed next, but, before taking up the subject, it should be pointed out that once a number of elements have been combined into a complex, the complex functions as a whole, being from then on regarded and treated as the particular "part of speech" for the occasion. For example, a descriptive noun built from a verb is thereafter treated syntactically as a noun, and though it may have a verbal form, its function in the utterance is that of a noun:

dló'ó-yáji "little prairie dog" is a noun-verb compound, but in a sentence behaves like a noun—*dló'óyáji xayí'ci'j* "he poked out a little prairie dog."

bá 'ólta'í "the-one-for-whom-reading-is-caused" but once the combination of verb and postpositional complex has been made and nominalized, the unit "teacher" is treated as a noun in the utterance.

diné baxasti'n do'le'li "the man her husband the-one-who-was-to-be" (NT 312:26) is a complex of two nouns and a verb bound together by a nominalizer; the whole complex is the subject of the sentence, "the man who is to be her husband."

djoł be ndadjinehígí 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 siká there is water, water is contained
má'í yó'elyod coyote ran off
ya' 'ánt 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 néidi-tá he picked up a stick
ná'lostse' néidi-'á he picked up a pipe
le-tsa' yílná-d I licked the plate
'atsí' yiyá he is eating meat
'awé' yicté 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-ní' k' na' 'ayt-llé' lightning knocked the horse over; lightning
horse aside caused-live-obj.-to-fall
bá 'ólta'i nixada'áltcíní neintín the teacher instructs our children; the-
teacher our-children he-instructs-them (YM 210)

11.4. The discussion of pronouns has shown that the position of nominal subject and object in the sentence influences the choice of the pronominal object of the verb. In the examples of 6.24. the object is *yi-*. If the nominal order is object-subject instead of subject-object, the objective pronoun is *bi-*.

11.5. The subject of the passive verb, like the nominal subject of the verb in the active voice, precedes the verb:

xake' xajdi-dlá he(4) removed his(4) moccasins; his(4)-moccasins were-
moved-out-by-him(4) (HC 4:18)
xa-cté-tti'i djo-lyé Talking God was called; Talking-God he(4)-was-
called
tó díde-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 mon-
sters; all monsters they-were-devoured-by-(them) (EW 14:22)
gah dloh nabigá-h cottontails died laughing; cottontails laughter were-
killed-by
djádi diné bi-syí (< bi-si-l-yí) 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 yiniłłí* my father gave it (animal) to me; my-father to-me moved-animate-obj.
cina-łtso-s ná-lne' I dropped my book; my-book I-caused-it-a-small-obj.-to-move-down
nibé:j nabi:cgi:j he was cut by your knife
'awé.' bamq̄ 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:

- tcidi bike' nanilih* 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 bilł' ca yiniłłí 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 *-łčí* "toward the general direction of" in distinction to *-a'* "to the end of . . . , for, on account of . . . , and *-dji'* "to a definite point":

- maq̄' yitčí' 'ání* Coyote spoke thus to them
maq̄' yitčí' xadade:cya:j they shouted at coyote
belagá-na bitčí' yácti' I am speaking to a white man (YM 206)

Postpositions vary greatly in idioms:

- 'adıł yáłti'* he is talking to himself; with-self talking-is-being-caused (YMG 59)
la' diné bil da-nłłí some Navaho approve; some Navaho with-it they-are
'awé.' bamq̄ yil nłłí the baby loves its mother; baby its-mother with-her it-is

12. The discussion of morphology and syntax has brought out the fact that a single category of ideas may be expressed by many or all the grammatical processes. In this section a few divisions of usage will be discussed to show how various processes may combine to denote kindred ideas.

12.1-12.18. TIME AND PLACE

12.1. We have seen that tense, though it may be said to exist—future, present, and past—is nevertheless subordinated to aspect, particularly progression and continuation (8.36-8.39.). Independent words may indicate time:

- tah* interval of time, pause, time lapses
xah when, immediate, general interrogative of time (cp. *-xah* "winter, year passes")
xáh remote time
tsí·l at once, in a hurry
tsí·l in a great hurry, very quickly
'ahbíni, *'ahbíni* morning
tá·xahá soon
tá·'axan, *tá·'xan*, *tá·xan* very soon, near
'átsé, *'átsé* first, before . . .

12.2. Such "words," however, are often modified by postpositions that indicate whether the complex signifies past (*-dǎ'*), present (*-di*), or future (*-gó*). In this respect independent words behave like nouns or other forms:

- 'ahbíni-dǎ'* earlier this morning; this-morning-past
'ahbíni-gó later this morning; this-morning-future
xáǎǎ·dǎ'-di where in all this time past (NT 52:15)
xa·dzi'ǎ'-dǎ' at the time he spoke (EW 100:11)
tá·díněi·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
Kad kodó from now on (YM 237)
'á-lah later; remote-interval (FS 29)
biki-dji' to a point over it; afterward

12.4. Postpositions or enclitics, suffixed to verbs may have temporal as well as locative value:

nánísdzá-djǫ' until I return; I-have-returned-up-to-that-point
'q-dé' *kółé-go* later (I became aware) of it

A word like *'í-dǫ'* "at that time" seems to be a *yi*-perfective verbal form (10.104.), so that *-dǫ'*, which has just been called a "postposition," may be interpreted as a verbal stem. The "adverb" *kasdǫ'* "almost" is also found as *ka sidǫ'*, a *si*-perfective indicating that the verbal quality of *-dǫ'* 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:

nízah at a distance (but not very far)
níza-d at an indefinite distance
nízá-d so far as (farther than *níza-d*)
nílá over there (not very far)
nílé-h over there (farther than *nílá* but still visible)
níléi way over there

12.5a. These "verbal adverbs" or "adverbial verbs," whatever they may be called, may also denote temporal ideas:

níza-d-gó a long time in the future (YM 116)
tá·do·ndó' kó nízahí it wasn't long until . . .
xa·cǫ' nízá-dgó' 'axodo-ljic who knows how long in the future; time will pass who knows how far forward
nízah noxo-lji-jgoh when a short time had passed; a-short-distance time-moved-to-an-end-when (NT 152:26)
da·cǫ' nízah-djǫ' diné ná·s nēididjih (sales) may help the Navaho quite a bit; possibly to-a-distant-point Navaho forward may-move-them-cust. (NT 414:10)
do·zá·gi-dó' it is not at all long (until . . .) (NT 218:23)

12.6. One of the many generalized uses of the stem *-'á-t* "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'to-tá-t until the sun sets again with you (NT 44:22)
tah do· xa'a'a-h-gó the sun has not yet risen (NT 320:26)
tá dah'adi-'q the sun had just come up (NT 388:14)
kwe'é'e-z'q-go the sun being here (NT 36:23)
'alní'i'q, 'alníní'q midday, noon; center of the sky, zenith; round-obj.-has-been-moving-off-as-far-as-the-center
'í'í'q 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)
ya'te:z'q just after noon; round-obj.-has-started-to-move-under

12.8. The following terms indicate dates:

- xo'a'* a date was set (NT 124:2)
be bá xo'a' a time is set for them (children to go to school) (NT 376:1)
xil nínoh'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' áxá ndadjítá'h they(4) agreed upon a date (NT 320:5)
noxo-tánq-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 tsídá 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-łká-l* night will pass
yi-łka'h it is day
yiskq' tomorrow, the next day; night-has-passed
ci-do-łká-l I shall spend the night; night-will-pass-me

12.10. Age is expressed by the stem *-xah* "winter is, it is winter":

- dókwí-c bináxai* how old is he? how-many winters-have-passed-him-in-cycle
ne-znq' 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: *-dq't* "be spring, spring passes;" *-c'ł'* "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-łtsózi bíł da'axi-gq-go ná'axó-ná-d* we fought the Japanese a long time; Japanese with-them together-we-killing a-long-time-passed (YM 151)
xodí-na' there is delay, time passes (WE)
do-xodí-na' quickly, time does not pass
tá-do-ne-xodina'i don't waste any more of my time (NT 394:21)
tó-xodíná'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
diiyoq'i yiló-gi tá-xodí-na'h it takes time to weave a rug
tá-náxodína-hgo every once in a while (NT 384:24)
ná'axó-ná-d it lasted a long time (NT 390:19)

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