Navajo Coordination

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1 Overview

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

(1) Shi¬ naa’aash bi¬ tooh ſ¬ ln¬ígíí biih yiit’áázh dóó dah ’adiilkóó’ ’ákó
   1-cousin 3-with river 3-flow-rel 3-in 1dpl-go.P Conj off 1dpl-swim.P Conj
   ši¬ naa’aash t’áá ni¬zaa¬dgóó s¬íts’ázh¬nîl¬kóó’ ’áádollóó hod¬ùn¬a’ go¬ tó na¬ná¬zá¬l¬i¬í player just far¬toward 1¬from¬4¬swim.P Conj after¬a¬while water¬bend
   lé¬í’ gi bi¬ nîl¬kóó’.
   indef¬gi 3¬1¬swim¬up¬P

My cousin and I got into the river and the current started carrying us along so he swam a long ways away from me, but after awhile I caught up with him at a bend in the river. (v. YM 1987:240)1

(2) ‘At’édéd lé¬í’ d¬óó bimá d¬óó bimá sá¬ní d¬óó biche¬i¬i n¬d¬a’l¬kíd¬góó
girl indef Conj 3¬mother Conj 3¬grandmother Conj 3¬grandfather movies¬to
   na¬as¬kai.
   3¬3¬go¬pl¬P

A girl, her mother, her grandmother, and her grandfather went to the movies.

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1 Glosses: Hyphens in the glosses indicate morpheme boundaries; periods are used when more than one word or symbol is needed to gloss a single morpheme. Pronominal agreement morphemes inside the verb are glossed 1, 2, 3, or 4, indicating person; the order of the glosses corresponds to the order in which the morphemes appear:
   object of postposition – postposition – plural – direct object – subject –stem.aspect
The glosses of the verb modes are F for future, I for imperfective, NI for neuter imperfective, NP for neuter perfective, O for Optative, P for perfective, Pg for progressive, U for usitative.
Q indicates a question focusing enclitic; -GO and –ÍGÍÍ are subordinating enclitics and are not given an English gloss. We also use dpl for duo-plural, FUT for future particle, inch for inchoative, INDEF for indefinite determiner, NOM for nominalizer, pass for simple passive, PAST for past particle, and SUP for suppressed argument (due to the ’a¬- prefix).
Example (1) shows four clauses being coordinated; (2) has four noun phrases being coordinated. Notice that the verb in (2) contains a plural marker. This indicates that the singular noun phrases count as a plural when coordinated.

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

### 2 Coordination vs. Subordination

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

(3)  
Beéso la’ sha’dooniñ nízingo béeso bá hoothandi naaghaná.  
Money some 1-borrow.F 3-expect.I-GO money 3-for house-at 3-walk.I  
He/she is at the bank expecting to borrow some money.

(4)  
’Ashkii bi’éé’ hazhó’ó ’aytiishchid dóó ’ólta’ góne’ yah ’ífyá.  
boy 3-shirt nicely 3-3-tuck.P Conj school areal-in 3-in 3-go.P  
The boy tucked his shirttail in nicely and went into the classroom. (YM 1987:3)

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

There is a third way of connecting clauses within a single sentence that is like subordination and coordination. It involves placing the first clause inside a frame of two particles and following this with the second clause. In the example below, this frame consists of *’azhį…ndį*: 
Even though I was hungry this morning I did not eat.

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

### 3 Conjoining clauses

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

#### 3.1 *dóó* and/and then

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

(6) 'Íffta’ dóó ’iiłhaazh.
1-read.P Conj 1-sleep.P
I read and I went to sleep.

(7) Yáált’ dóó hataał.
3-talk.I Conj 3-sing.I
It talks and sings. (e.g., as in describing a doll).

(8) Yah ’úuyáá dóó dah neezdá.
3-in 3-enter.P Conj up 3-sit.P
S/he came in and sat down.

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2 Note: Examples like (6) and (8) in this section strongly suggest that the event described in the first clause occurs before the event described in the second clause. This has lead some scholars to assign the gloss ‘and then’ to *dóó*. 
Because arguments of verbs are normally optional in Navajo, two clauses being conjoined may look fairly different. It is possible to conjoin a clause consisting of a verb and its arguments with one in which the verb stands by itself:

(11) Bijíh séhíj dóó hoozhángóó náníftí.
    deer 1-kill.SP Conj house-to rever-3-1-carry.P.AnO
    I killed a deer and then carried it back home. (YM 1987:23)

(12) 'Ashkii bi’ée’ hazhó’ó ’ayíyiishchid dóó ’ólta’ góne’ yah ’iiyá.
    boy 3-shirt nicely 3-3-tuck.P Conj school areal-in 3-in 3-go.P
    The boy tucked his shirttail in nicely and went into the classroom. (YM 1987:3)

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

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

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

3.2 ‘áá dóó  and then

’Áá dóó can be used as a clausal coordinator as in (14) through (16), meaning roughly ‘and then’:

(14) Ch’iyáán ’iíshłaa ’áá dóó da’iidáá’.
    Food 1-make.P Conj 1Pl-eat.P
    I cooked and then we ate. (YM 1987:1)

The other examples in this section do not have this interpretation because the clauses describe states rather than events. See section 5.3 for more information on time and coordination.
Last night the sheep got out of the corral and the sound they made disappeared over there around the point of the ridge. (YM 1987:73)

The people moved back from Fort Sumner to Fort Defiance where sheep were distributed among them after which they separated and each group went its own way. (YM 1987:103)

Stative (neuter) verbs cannot be coordinated with ‘áádóó’.

*Nizhóní ‘áádóó ’ílí.
3-pretty.NI Conj 3-expensive.NI
It is pretty and then expensive.

*Dichxosh ‘áádóó nîchxon.
3-shaggy.NI Conj 3-smelly.NI
(It is shaggy and smelly.)

*Bił hózhó ‘áádóó ’oolzhízh.
3-with areal-happy.NI Conj 3-dance.P
(S/he was happy and then s/he danced.)

*Doo bił hózhó da ’áádóó yicha.
neg 3-with areal-happy.NI neg Conj 3-cry.P
(S/he was unhappy and then s/he cried.)

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

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3 The order of stative verbs does not make a difference with ’áádóó. The following counterpart of (6) is still ungrammatical, but it would be perfectly grammatical with -go instead of ’áádóó:
Right dislocation is possible with ‘áádóó’ when postpositional phrases are coordinated:

(21) Jooł ‘atiiñ tsé’naa ‘ahíflhan ‘áádóó ‘anít’i’ báátis.
      ball road across 3-1-throw.P Conj fence 3-over
      I threw the ball across the road and over the fence.

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

(22) ‘Áádóó díkwíí shíí náánéískáago ‘índa líí’ biñ dah diiñeé’.
      Conj several probably days.later only.then horse 3-with off 3-depart.P
      And then several days later they set off on horseback. (YM 1987:9)

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

3.3 ‘áko  so, so that, so then

The particle ‘áko’ can be used to combine two clauses in the structure [S₁ ‘áko S₂]. ‘Áko’ can also be used along with other particles (see section 3.3.3).

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

3.3.1 “Normal” cases

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

(i) *’Oolzhízh ‘áádóó biñ hózhó.
     3-dance.P Conj 3-with areal-happy.NI
     (S/he danced and then s/he was happy.)

(ii) ’Oolzhízhgo biñ hózhó.
     3-dance.P-GO 3-with areal-happy.NI
     S/he danced and then s/he was happy.
(23) Ntsaa ˈako ndaaz.
3-big.NI Conj 3-heavy.NI
It is big so it is heavy

(24) Ditá ˈako ntl’iz.
3-thick.NI Conj 3-sturdy.NI
It is thick so it is sturdy.

The examples above contain stative predicates in each of the conjoined clauses. In each case the interpretation is ‘Because of $S_1$, $S_2$’. The same interpretation holds for the following examples:

(25) Deesk’aaz náhásdlí’ ˈako bee honeezdooʃ há’náágiz.
cold areal-be.P Conj 3-by-means-of areal-warm-Nom 1-for 3-turn.P
It has gotten cold again so I had the heater turned back on for me.

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

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

3.3.2 Imperatives

In a sentence of the form $[S_1 ˈako S_2]$, where one of the clauses is interpreted as an imperative, and the other is in the future mode (or has a future interpretation for some other reason, like having a future adverb), things are a little different from the cases seen in section 3.3.1. When an imperative is involved, the order of the two clauses does not matter. The resulting interpretation is ‘Because of $S_1$, $S_{IMP}$’

(27) Sédáa doo ˈako díínáːl.
1-sit.NP FUT Conj 2-come.F
I’ll be staying home so come (over).

(28) Dííloh ˈako bídi’doodlít.
3-2-rope.F Conj 3-3-will-brand.F
Rope it so that it can be branded.

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

(29) $\text{čeets'aa' bii' tâádaagisí } \text{čeets'aa' biih ninîf' áko taidoogis.}$
$\text{dishwasher dishes 3-in 2-put.I.PIÓ Conj 3-3-wash.F}$
Put the dishes in the dishwasher so that it can wash them.

(30) $\text{čeets'aa' taidoogis áko čeets'aa' bii' tâádaagisí biih ninîf.}$
$\text{Dishes 3-3-wash.F Conj dishwasher 3-in 3-2-put.I.PIÓ}$
The dishwasher can do the dishes so put them (the dishes) in (the dishwasher).

Below are additional examples with imperative interpretations:

(31) $\text{bikáá'adání bikáá' čeets'aa' ninîfí } \text{áko da'diidîí.}$
$\text{table 3-on dish 3-2-put.I Conj 1-Pl-eat.F}$
Set the table (with dishes) so we can eat.

(32) $\text{'Eii tóshjeeh náníxéés } \text{áko láhdeé' díneesh'îí.}$
$\text{that barrel 3-2-turn.I Conj other-side 3-1.look.F}$
Turn that barrel around so I can look at the other side.

(33) $\text{dámóogo álah 'aleeh } \text{áko áádi nihaadíínaáí.}$
Sunday 3-gather 3-be Conj there-at 1dpl-to-2-arrive.F
There is a meeting on Sunday so come see us there.

(34) $\text{díí bikáá' dah 'asdáhí dit'o dóó yilzhólí } \text{áko bikáá' dah nídaah.}$
$\text{this 3-on up one-sit-Nom 3-furry.NI and 3-soft.NP Conj 3-on up 2-sit.I}$
This chair is furry and soft so sit in it.

3.3.3 $áko$ with other particles

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

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

(35)  \[\text{Chizh \ 'a'\text{-}hidd\text{-}kaa\-'ako \ 'inda \ nich\-'i \ ni\text{-}deesh\text{-}le\text{-}}\text{t.}\]
      \[\text{firewood some 3-2-chop.I Conj 2-to 1-pay.F}\]
      I’ll pay you when you chop some wood (and not before). (YM 1987:77)

(36)  \[\text{Á\-'altsé naaltsos\-'iish\-'aad \ 'ako \ 'inda \ yiit\-'ash \ doo.}\]
      \[\text{first paper 3-3-mail.P Conj 1-dpl-go.F FUT}\]
      Let me mail a letter; only then can we go.

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

(37)  \[\text{Łéech\text{-}q\-'i \ ba\-'nifts\-'ód \ 'ako \ 'inda \ dib\-'e \ bik\-'e\text{'} \ bi\-'dít\text{-}nih.}\]
      \[\text{dog 3-for-2-feed.I Conj sheep 3-after 3-2-send.F}\]
      Feed the dog then send it off after the sheep.

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

The conjunction ’áko ’inda is also used with fourth person generalizations about behavior:

(38)  \[\text{Hooghan \ ál\-'ihgo \ 'áltsé \ da\-\text{jii\-dlish} \ 'áko \ 'inda \ biih \ jin\-'é\text{h}.}\]
      \[\text{house 3-make.U-GO first Pl-3-4-bless.U Conj 3-into 4-move.U}\]
      When a house is built first it must be blessed [with cornmeal and pollen dabbed in an area in each four directions of the home] then one can move in. (see YM 1987:303)

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

3.3.3.2  ’áko ndi  even so, even then

Used as a conjunction by itself, ndi works like the English conjunction but. Ndi can also be combined with ’áko, having the approximate meaning ‘but even then’:
(39) Dí chidí ’ayóo dilwo’ ha’ní ’áko ndi doo baa jiúnìshhí da.
     This car very 3-fast.NI 3-say.NI Conj neg 3-about 4-1-rely.NI neg
     They say this car is fast but even so I don’t have any expectation for it.

3.3.3.3 ’áko shíí then maybe/then probably

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

(40) Shik’is biñ ’ilyeed ’áko shíí da’diidíí.
     1-friend 3-with 3-drive.I Conj 1-Pl-eat.F
     My friend is coming (by car); maybe we’ll eat then (when s/he gets here).

(41) Jáan bá da’diidíí ’áko shíí nihaadoogáát.
     John 3-for 1-Pl-eat.F Conj 1-Pl-to-3-go.F
     Let’s have a dinner for John then maybe he will come see us.

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

(42) Shizhè’e naalnisdéé’ nádzáago ’áko shíí nda’alkidígóó nihidoo’ish
     1-father 3-work.I-from return.P-COMP Conj probably movies-to 3-1PL.take.F
     When my father returns from work, he will maybe then take us to the movies.

3.3.3.4 ’áko shíí ’inda then only

The conjunction complex ’áko shíí ’inda indicates the meaning ‘Only if/after S₁ is true, will S₂ be true’. The order of the clauses is significant:

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

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

(44) Diyogí niníft’qogo ’áko shíí ’inda shibééso t’áá hólóq doo.
     rug 3-1-weave.P-GO Conj 1-money just 3-exist.NI FUT
     I may have some money only when I finish weaving the rug.
3.4 doodago or

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

(45) Bini' ñídeeshtah doodago ’éiyá yóó’ ’adeeshwoł. 
let 1-go.school.F Conj only away 1-off-run.F 
Let me go to school or else I’ll run away.

(46) Díí ’éétsoh ’ádánaháñnih doodago ’ádánahideeshnih. 
this coat reflex.3-2-buy.I Conj reflex.3-1-buy.F 
Buy this coat for yourself or else I’ll buy it for myself.

(47) Nimá sáñih bá ’atoo nídínúñldoh doodago háadida bił ’adííyíìí. 
2-grandmother (mat.) 3-for stew revers.heat.F Conj somewhere 3-with 2-eat.F 
Reheat the stew for your (maternal) grandmother or else eat with her somewhere (in a restaurant).

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

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

The following examples have coordinated noun phrases:

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

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

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

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

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

(51) Shíká ’änáníl’wo’ doodaii’ t’áadoo shaa nánít’íiní.  
Help me or else don’t bother me! (YM 1987:350)

(52) Náá’íídéeshtah nisin doodaii’ t’óó siláogóó deeshááñ.  
I want to either go to school again or enter the armed forces. (YM 1987:350)

(53) Bítsh ’äníñígo ’ánít’í doodaii’ daats’í t’aá nííniík’eh ’ánít’í?  
Did he tell you to do it or did you do it of your own free will and accord? (YM 1987:714)

Doodaii’ can be used with adjectives (neuter verbs):

(54) Òízhínígíí doodaii’ ñígaaígíí shaa ní’aah.  
Give me either the black one or the white one. (YM 1987:350)

It can coordinate noun phrases in any syntactic function:

(55) ’Äk’idää’ t’oh naadää’ dant’ííhgo ñíí’ doodaii’ béegashii da há hada’al’és íít’éé’.  
Long ago when the wheat ripened it was stomped out by horses or such things as cattle. (YM 1987:402)

(56) Hastiínísh ashkii doodaii’ léécháqí daats’í neiniíché?  
Is the man chasing the boy or the dog?

(57) Bií’ sítléé doodaii’ bááh likaní daats’í nínízin?  
Do you possibly want pie or cake?
(58) Bá’ólt’a’ísh Jáan doodaii’ Mary yich’į’ haadzii’?
   teacher John Conj Mary 3-to 3-talk.P
   Did the teacher talk to Jáan or Mary?

(59) Háidígii nínízin bii’ sitlé’e doodaii’ bááh likaní daats’į?
   which-NOM 3-2-want.NI pie Conj cake possibly
   Which do you want, pie or cake?

(60) Ŗéechągį’’ doodaii’ ma’ii daats’į dibé baa naajeeh.
   dog or coyote possibly sheep 3-at neg 3-about.chase.I neg
   Either a dog or possibly a coyote is chasing the sheep around.

In (55), the noun phrases being coordinated are in the function of subject; in (56) and (57), they are
objects, in (58), they are oblique arguments (i.e., objects of postpositions that serve as arguments
of the verb), and in (59) they are adjuncts.
   In many cases, doodaii’ and the noun phrase that follows it can be moved to a position after
the verb, leaving the other noun phrase in front of the verb:

(61) ‘I’į’ąągo dah díníilghaazh ’ádíiléé’ doodaii’ náneeskaadí.
   evening fry.bread SUP-2-make.F Conj tortilla
   This evening either make fry bread or tortilla.

Doodaii’ can also be used with temporal adverbs:

(62) Yiskáągo daats’į doodaii’ naakiískáągo daats’į dah dideesháát.
   tomorrow perhaps Conj two-days-GO perhaps out 1-leave.F
   I’ll start out in one or two days. (YM 1987:350)

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

(63) “Bee dah ní’diidlohi” diníigo ha’át’íshą’ ’tááldíñí
   “3-by.means.of up SUP-3-lift.U-NOM” 2-say.NI-GO what-about SUP-2-mean.I
   --tł’óót daats’į doodaii’ tááldíñí neítkidígi’í daats’į ’tááldíñí.
   --rope possibly Conj indef-weigh.NI 3-3-measure-NOM possibly 3-1-mean.I
   What do you mean when you say “bee dah ní’diidlohi” -- do you mean a hangman’s rope
   perhaps, or do you mean a scale for weighing? (YM 1987:2)
Sometimes *doodaii'* is used after a clause bearing the complementizer *-go* and before another clause:

(64)  [Naat’áanii yáát’éego t’áadoo le’é yinít’ügo doo ’ákóó yiniiyé ’ádił niidáah da.]
leader 3-good.NI-GO something 3-3-bother.I-GO neg there 3-reason reflex-with 3-tire.I neg
t’óó naaltsoos ’ákóó ’ílf’ügo *doodaii*’ béésh da yee halne’go ta’ yiyil’iۏh.
just letter there 3-3-make.U-GO Conj telephone INDEF 3-3-make.U

[T’óó naaltsoos ’ákóó ’ílf’ügo *doodaii*’ béésh da yee halne’go ta’ yiyil’iۏh.
just letter there 3-3-make.U-GO Conj telephone INDEF 3-3-make.U

A good leader does not tire himself out running around here and there whenever something comes up.] He writes a letter or makes a telephone call to take care of it. (YM 1987:649)

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

**3.6 háálá for, because**

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

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

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

(65)  Kin Łánídi naashnish háálá ’áadi shaghan.
Flagstaff 1-work.I Conj there 1-house
I work in Flagstaff because I live there.

(66)  Doo háágóó da deeshnééł da háálá kwe’é shikéyah.
neg somewhere-to neg 1-move.F neg Conj here 1-land
I will not go (move) anywhere else because my land is here.

(67)  Doo ádziishdáał da háálá kwii doo shit yá’áhoot’éeh da.
neg back-1-go.F neg Conj here neg 1-with areal-like.NI neg
I won’t come back because I don’t like it here. (YM1987:427)
(68) Łįį́ lizhinígíí' nayiisnií' háálá ’éí bił nizhóní.
   horse black.N-NOM 3-3-buy.P Conj det 3-with 3-beautiful.NI
   S/he bought the black horse because it is beautiful to him/her.

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

(70) Łįį́ dilwo’ háálá néiltihí ’át’e.
   Horse 3-fast.NI Conj race-Nom 3-be.NI
   The horse is fast because it is a race horse.

The following are additional examples with háálá sentence constructions.

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

(72) Naalyéhé yá sidáhí doo shił nilṹ da háálá t’aábí sızínígí t’éiyá́ ’ádaa nitsékees.
   trader neg 1-with 3-be.NI neg Conj just-self 3-stand.NP-at only reflex-3-think.I
   I don’t like the trader because he thinks only of himself.

(73) Níleí lééchq’a’í binászid háálá t’aáá ’ako náshidiil’įįh.
   that dog 3-1-afraid.of.I Conj always 1-3-bark.U
   I am afraid of that dog because it always barks at me.

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

(75) She’esdzáán doo shich’į́’ bił náhodooldiį́h da lágo háálá gohwééh t’aádoo
   1-wife neg 1-at 3-with become.angry.O neg hope Conj coffee just-neg
   naháhnií’ da lá.³
   3-1-buy.P neg EMPH
   I hope my wife doesn’t get mad at me; I didn’t buy the coffee. (YM 1987:541)

---
³ The entire expression *doo shich’į́’ bił náhodooldiį́h da*, which includes the negative frame, means ‘S/he will become angry with me’. The verb does not seem to occur outside the negative frame, nor can the verb’s meaning be separated from negation. YMM (1992:141) notes that the meaning of the prefix complex *náhodiį́-* is uncertain.
Finally note that the following is ungrammatical. The clause followed by  háálá cannot appear after the other clause:

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

The meanings of háálá and biniinaa (and its alternate form, yiniinaa) both are about causes and effect, but they differ with respect to how their meaning is put together with the clauses in sentences. In [S₁ háálá S₂], S₁ is the effect and S₂ is the cause. The opposite is the case with [S₁- go biniinaa S₂]. In such sentences, S₁ is the cause and S₂ is the effect:

(77) 'Adáádáág' 'ayóo deesdoig go biniinaa shibéégashii 'altso
    yesterday very 3-hot.NP-GO because my-cattle all
    taah yikai.
    into-water 3-get.P-into

Because it was so hot yesterday, my cattle all got into the water.’ (YM 1987:795)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>biniinaa</th>
<th>‘because’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[S₁- go biniinaa S₂]</td>
<td>‘Because of S₁, S₂’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>connects a modifier with a main clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Right dislocation is not possible</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.7 -ii’ and, and thereupon

The enclitic -ii’ combines clauses according to the pattern [S-ii’ S]. Examples are Naaltsoos ‘áyiilaa’i’ ‘ayí’ah ‘S/he wrote a letter and mailed it’ and Tsinyaagi jineeztíi’jii’ ‘ajílghaazh ‘S/he lay down under a tree and went to sleep’.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-ii’</th>
<th>‘and, and thereupon’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[S₁-ii’ S₂]</td>
<td>‘S₁ and S₂’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Connects clauses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Right dislocation is sometimes possible</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(78) T’óó tá’ádeesgizii ‘iiyáä’.
    just 3-reflex-wash.P-Conj 3-eat.P
    S/he just washed up and ate.

(79) ‘Ííft’óódii’ ‘iiílghaazh.
    3-suck.P-Conj 3-sleep.P
    S/he (the baby) sucked and went to sleep.
(80) Shicheii shił yah ífyá’í’ neezdá.
1-grandfather 1-with 3-in 3-enter.P-Conj 3-sit.P
My grandfather (maternal) came in on me and sat down. (YM 1987:474)

(81) T’édáá’ t’óó yóó’ ‘iijéé’ii’ Ndáá’ góó nishújéé’.
Last.night just away 1-Pl-run.P-Conj Enemy.Way.dance-to 1-Pl-run.P
Last night we ran away and went to the Enemy Way dance.

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

(82) %Ntsaaií’ ndaat.
3-big.NI-Conj 3-heavy.NI
It is big and heavy.

(83) %Níneezí’ átt’áá’.í.
3-long.NI-Conj 3-thin.NI
It is long and thin.

(84) %Dit’íí’ nít’íz.
3-thick.NI-Conj 3-stiff.NI
It is thick and stiff.

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

(85) Na’ashxazhií’ bináá’ dahižhín.
3-sleep.P 3-eye up 3-black.NI
Having slept, s/he has her eyes open.

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

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

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

(86) Nání’níkaadgo ’ífyá’í’ tá’déegsizíí’.
3-3-herd.P-GO 3-eat.P 3-reflex-wash.P-Conj
When he herded (the sheep) back, he ate, after washing himself.
Awée’ t’ááshoq ʼiiłghaazh ʼift’óódi’.  
baby just-luck 3-sleep.P 3-suck.P-Conj  
The baby luckily went to sleep, after suckling.

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

(88) Ch’éeh déyáago tsinyaagi nítįį* ʼiiłhaazh.  
In-vain.1-go.P-Comp tree-under-at 1-lie.NP-Conj 1-sleep.P  
When I got tired I lay down under a tree and went to sleep. (YM 1987:474)

(89) Ch’éeh déyáago tsinyaagi nítįį go ʼiiłhaazh.  
In-vain.1-go.P-Comp tree-under-at 1-lie.NP-Conj 1-sleep.P  
When I got tired I lay down under a tree and went to sleep.

(90) Ch’éeh déyáago tsinyaagi nítįį dóó ʼiiłhaazh.  
In-vain.1-go.P-Comp tree-under-at 1-lie.NP-Conj 1-sleep.P  
When I got tired I lay down under a tree and went to sleep. (YM 1987:474)

(91) ’Abíígo gohwééh ʼáyiil’įįhíi’ tl’óó’góó ch’élwo’ naaltsoos biniiyé.  
Morning coffee 3-3-make.U-Conj outside-to out-3-run.U paper 3-for  
In the morning he makes coffee and runs out to get the newspaper.

(92) ’Abíígo gohwééh ʼáyiil’įįggo tl’óó’góó ch’élwo’ naaltsoos biniiyé.  
Morning coffee 3-3-make.U-Conj outside-to out-3-run.U paper 3-for  
In the morning he makes coffee and runs out to get the newspaper.

(93) ’Abíígo gohwééh ʼáyiil’įįh dóó tl’óó’góó ch’élwo’ naaltsoos biniiyé.  
Morning coffee 3-3-make.U-Conj outside-to out-3-run.U paper 3-for  
In the morning he makes coffee and runs out to get the newspaper.

3.8 ’índa  
and only then

The particle ’índa is normally used to attach a temporal adverbial to a clause. This adverbial may consist of a temporal adverb, or it may be a clause subordinated by the enclitic -go (S₁-go ’índa S₂). In such cases, S₁ identifies the reference time of S₂. The particle also appears with ’áko (see section 3.3.3). With either an adverb or an adverbial clause, the sentence will mean that only after the reference time indicated by the adverbial will the event described in the main clause occur. The particle ’índa also appears with ’áko (see section 3.3.3).
Example (94) contains a subordinate clause before ñnda; (95) has a temporal adverb in that position.

(94) Neezdágo 'ñnda yiyútsa.
3-sit.P-GO only.then 3-3-see.P
Only when s/he sat down did s/he see it.

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

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

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

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

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

(96) Kii ́lí’ yízhloh léi’ yídiiúd.
Kii horse 3-3-rope.P Conj 3-3-brand.I
Kii has roped the horse and is branding it.

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

(98) Shízhé’e nádzáá léi’ níhił yah ’iýá.
1-father 3-return.P Conj 1Pl-with 3-into 3-come.P
My father had returned and came in on us.
(99) Doo nahał'tin da léí’ tó yaa ’anool’ąqął.
    neg rain.P neg Conj water down 3-go-down.Pg
    Because it hasn’t been raining, the water level is going down

(100) Naak’a’atąhí ditąał léí’ nitł’iz.
    fabric 3-thick.NI Conj 3-stiff.NI
    Because the fabric is thick it is stiff.

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

As is often the case with coordinated clauses in Navajo, when léí’ is used there is often an implicature that the event or condition described in the first clause brought about the event or condition described in the second:

(102) Siláá bibe’eldqoł ’aháínínil léí’ t’áá ’ał’ąqą sinil.
    policeman 3-gun 3-3-disassemble.P Conj just apart-3-lie.PI.P
    The policeman had taken his gun apart as a result they are lying in separate pieces. (YM 1987:24)

(103) Dзìłghąmiddi nahóółtąą léí’ tsékoohdéé’ tó ch’ííń’go’.
    mountain-top-at 3-rain.P Conj rock-in-from water out-3-rush.P
    It rained up in the mountain as a result the water rushed out from the canyon.

The particle léí’ is also used to mark a noun phrase as indefinite.

3.10 ndi but

The conjunction ndi functions very much like the English word but. The structure [S₁ ndi S₂] indicates that both S₁ and S₂ are true, but it further indicates that, given the claim that S₁ is true, there is something surprising about S₂ being true. Ndi is used only to conjoin clauses, not other constituents:

---

6 Naturally this is not the case with hááłá, which entails that the condition described in the second clause caused that which is described in the first.
(104) T’áá ’ashání ’asháq ndi sitší’ yéę ’áádiįįł.
   Just SUP-1-eat.I-İ SUP-1-eat.I Conj 1-flesh PAST 3-dwindle.Pg
   I eat and eat but I keep right on losing weight. (YM 1987:11)

(105) Ch’iyáán t’óó ’ahayóí ndi tó ’ádin.
   food many Conj water none.NI
   There’s lots of food but no water. (Young and Morgan, 1987:605)

(106) ’Áchíní ’ólta’ yaa daneesánígíí t’óó ’ahayóí hólóq ndi ’ólta’ bá ’ádin.
   children school 3-to 3Pl-grow.P-Nom many 4-exist.NI Conj school 3-for none.NI
   There are many school age children, but there are no schools for them. (YM 1987:87)

(107) Hastiin Tsii’agodí doo naa’aanii nlįį da ndi ’ayóó ’ádíhóníįįh.
   Mr. Shorthair neg boss 3-be.NI neg Conj very 3-bossy.NI
   Mr. Shorthair is not the boss, but he’s very bossy. (YM 1987:16)

(108) Nizhóní ndi ’ilįį.
   3-pretty.NI Conj 3-expensive.NI
   It is pretty but it’s expensive.

(109) Mary bidibé yázhí naaki ndi Daniel ’cí diįį’.
   Mary 3.sheep little two Conj. Daniel as.for four
   Mary has two lambs but Daniel has four.

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

(110) *Mary ndi Jáán lées’çhaq’í yinoofchééł.
   Mary Conj John horse 3-3-chase.Pg
   (Mary and even John are chasing the horse.)

(111) *Asdzání hastiin ndi tíí ’yiíltssá
   woman man Conj horse 3-3-see.P
   (The woman saw the man and even the horse.)

(112) *Jooł ’atiiin tsé’ naa ndi ’anít’í’ báátis ’ahííhan.
   ball road across Conj fence 3-over 3-1-throw.P
   (I threw the ball across the road but even over the fence.)

Right dislocation is possible with ndi. The following examples are grammatical:
(113) Sitsį yéę ’áádíįįj t’áá ’ashání ’asháąą ndí.
(I keep right on losing weight but I eat and eat.)

(114) Hastiin Tsii’agodi’ ayóó ’ádíhólíní́h doo naat’áanií nlíí da ndí.
Mr. Shorthair very SUP-3-bossy.NI neg boss 3-be.NI neg Conj
Mr. Shorthair is very bossy, but he is not the boss.

Ndí sometimes appears at the beginning of a sentence in a discourse to show a contrast with the preceeding sentence.

[See also ’áko ndí, section 3.3.3.2]

3.11 Ńút’éé’ past

[The particle Ńút’éé’ is also spelled and pronounced nńút’éé’, nńút’éé’, and nńút’éé’.]

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

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

(115) ’Adą́ądáą́ ná’íiyéláá’ Ńút’éé’ ŋádasdo.
Yesterday SUP-1-pick.P PAST 1-become.sore.P
I picked pinyon yesterday and I got sore (physically) as a result.

(116) Hastiin łééčhaq’í biíltííą́ Ńút’éé’ nábiidiil’in.
man dog 3-3-see.P PAST 3-3-bark.I
When the dog saw the man it started barking at him.

[ Ńút’éé’
past
[S₁-ńút’éé’ S₂] ‘S₁[past] and S₂’ connects clauses]
When I put my hand into the jar I discovered that there was an apple inside. (YM 1987:678)

My mother had made an outfit for me but it didn’t fit me.

This blanket was pretty but it is flammable.

The man was handsome but he is very hairy.

John saw me as a result he turned around and took off.

I was thinking about a quick trip to town but I didn’t return until very late.

I wanted to go to town but discovered the car was not (parked) there!

My dog saw Ray but it didn’t bark (at him).
Other uses of ā́t’ée’

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

(126)  ‘Ahhínídá’á jáádk’ehdí ḟí’ shít ˈahéhiniltíįh ā́t’ée’.
        this.morning race.track-at horse 1-with around-3-run.I PAST
This morning I rode the horse at a gallop around and around the race track. (YM 1987:49)

(127)  ‘Ólta’ góé’ yah ˈaheejée’go shíį́ shimá ʧéèh háníhidéez’íį ā́t’ée’.
        school areal-in 3-into 1pl-run.P-GO probably 1-mother in.vain out-3-look.  PAST
When we went (ran) into the classroom my mother probably looked all over for us. (YM 1987:66)

(128)  Siláo nishíį ā́t’ée’.
        police 1-be.NI PAST
I was (used to be) a policeman. (YM 1987:678)

Nhé’é can also appear at the beginning of a clause in a discourse to indicate that after the event described in the preceding sentence was completed, the next event occurred:

(129)  Shíí ḷé’ ch’íňyáá léi’ kóó sidá.
        sun-in out-3-go.P LÉL’ here 3-sit.NP
He came out into the sunlight and sat there.

Nhé’é éí Na’ashó’ii Dich’íshii, Li’ni’ ch’ééh biilhéego ch’ééh ˈábíl’įįd lá.
NĪT’ÉÉ TOP Horned Toad Lightning in.vain 3-3-kill.I-GO in.vain 3-3-do.P emph
Then, Lightning tried in vain to kill Horned Toad. (Whitewater 1984:35)

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

(130)  Shimá sání nít’éé’ yee shit hoolne’.
        1-mother old PAST 3-of 1-with 3-tell.P
My late grandmother (mat.) told me about it. (YM 1987:678)
3.12 yéędáá’ past

Yéędáá’ is a particle that, like ňt’éé, can be used to subordinate a clause and entails that the clause it subordinates was true in the past relative to the time the sentence is uttered. Unlike ňt’éé, yéędáá’ cannot appear at the end of a main clause:

(131) *’Ashkii bichidí yichó’ yéędáá’.
     boy 3-vehicle 3-ruin.P PAST
     (When the boy’s car broke down.)

(132) Bichidí yichó’ yéędáá’ ’ashkii t’àani’ nálwod.
     3-vehicle 3-ruin.P PAST boy afoot 3-return.P
     The boy returned on foot when his car broke down.

(133) Diné bikéyah bikáa’gi ndahonidzood yéędáá’ Naatsis’àán hoolyéégóó
     Navajo 3-country 3-on-at pl-areal-3-flee.I PAST Navajo.Mtn areal-called.NI-to
     niha’áýchíní bi’ ’adahineet’íí’.
     1pl- children 3-with sup-pl-1dp-sneak.off.P
     At the time people were on the run in Navajoland, fleeing in small groups, we sneaked
     away with our children one group after another, to Navajo Mountain. (YM 1987:9)

The interpretation of clauses bearing yéędáá’ suggests that they are subordinate to the clause that follows.

4 Coordinating Phrases and Words

4.1 Noun Phrases and Nouns

4.1.1 Common Nouns

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

(134) ’Alk’íágá Naabeehó bikéyah bikáa’gi ch’il dóó tó bee ’áda’aziin ňt’éé’ jini.
     formerly Navajo 3-country 3-top-in grass Conj water 3-with plentiful.NI past 4-say
     It is said that formerly water and grass were plentiful in the Navajo country. (YM 1987:10)

(135) Naalyéhé vá sidáhi dóó be’ esdzáá’ ts’íída’ ’álaháájí’ ná’át’ohgo nát’oh yee ’ádi’niigá.
     trader       Conj 3-wife very constant 3-smoke.I-GO cigarette 3-with refl-3-kill.I
     The trader and his wife are killing themselves, constantly smoking cigarettes. (YM
     1987:17)
The coordinated noun phrase in the example below functions as the object of the incorporated postposition -ghá:

(136) K’aa’ léi’ naaltsoos dóó chidí bikee’ yigháníjíl.
     arrow INDEF paper Conj car 3-shoe 3-through-3-stuck.P
     The arrow went through a (piece of) paper and a tire.

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

(137) ’ashkii dóó ’at’ééd yazhí
     boy Conj girl little
     the boy and the little girl
     *the little boy and the little girl

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

(138) ’ashkii dóó ’at’ééd léi’
     boy Conj girl INDEF
     the boy and a girl
     a boy and a girl

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

(139) ’ashkii dóó ’at’ééd yazhí léi’
     boy Conj girl little INDEF
     the boy and a little girl
     a boy and a little girl
     *the little boy and a little girl
     *a little boy and a little girl

In the following example, two clauses nominalized with the enclitic -ígíí are coordinated with doodaii’.

Note that the second constituent in the coordinate structure includes the question enclitic -shí:
(140) Hádígísh ni nił tikan, náneeskaadí ’ak’ah bił ’ályaáígíí doodaii’
which-Q you 2-to sweet, tortilla lard 3-with 3-make(pass).P-NOM Conj
mandígíya bił ’ályaáígíísh?
butter 3-with 3-make(pass).P-NOM-Q
Which do you like, tortillas made with lard or those made with butter?

4.1.2 Coordinating noun phrases of different person/Coordinating pronouns

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

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

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

In normal circumstances, however, I would be slightly less precise and simply say ’Asdzání nihíihtsá, ‘The woman saw us’.

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

4.1.2.1 Object positions

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

(142) ’Asdzání shíihtsá dóó niihtsá.
woman 1-3-see.P Conj 2-3-see.P
The woman saw me and saw you.
Third person noun phrases (that do not consist of pronouns) can be coordinated in the normal preverbal position in which direct objects appear:

(143) 'Asdzání shiiłtsá dóó łįį' yiyiitłsá.
    woman 1-3-see.P Conj 3-3-see.P
The woman saw me and saw the horse.

(144) Bá’óltă’įsh Jáan dóó Mary yich’į haadziį’?
    teacher-Q John Conj Mary 3-to 3-talk.P
Did the teacher talk to John and Mary?

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

(146) Lillie dóó Helen ‘ałah ‘ałeeχgóó deesh’ąązh.
    Lillie Conj Helen conference-to 3dpl-go.F
Lillie and Helen will go to the conference.

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

(147) ‘Asdzání shįį dóó ni nihiiłtsá.
    woman me Conj you 1dpl-3-see.P
The woman saw you and me.

(148) ‘Asdzání ni dóó shįį nihiiłtsá.
    woman you Conj me dpl-3-see.P
The woman saw you and me.

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

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

Alternatively, the conjoined pronouns can appear at the beginning of the clause:
(150) Shídóó ni ´asdzání niiiltsá.
   I Conj you woman 1dpl-see.P
   The woman saw you and me.

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

4.1.2.2 Subject positions

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

(151) Shídóó ni ´álah ´aleehgóó diit´ash.
   I and you meeting-to 1dpl-go.F
   You and I should go to the conference.

(152) Shídóó shizhéé ´aheenílnééz.
   now 1-father recip-1dpl-tall.NI
   My father and I are equally tall. (YM 1987:52)7

(153) Ni dóó nimá ´aheenólzhóní.
   you Conj 2-mother recip-2du-pretty.NI
   You and your mother are equally pretty. (YM 1987:54)

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

(154) Shí shigaan dóó ni nigaan t´áá ´aheenílnééz.
   me 1-arm Conj you 2-arm just recip-3-long.NI
   My arms and your arms are the same length. (YM 1987:52)

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7 This proposition can be expressed without coordination as follows:
(i) K´ad shizhéé´ biit ´aheenílnééz.
   now 1-father 3-with recip-1-tall.NI
   I’m as tall as my father now. (YM 1987:52)
4.1.2.3 Ordering of person in coordinate structures

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

(157) a. ’Asdzání shiíitsá dóó niíltá.
   woman 2-3-see.P Conj 1-3-see.P
   The woman saw me and saw you.

   b. ’Asdzání niíltá dóó shiíitsá.
   woman 2-3-see.P Conj 1-3-see.P
   The woman saw you and saw me.

(158) a. ’Asdzání níííílntsá shí dóó ni.
   woman 1dpl-see.P I Conj you
   The woman saw us, you and me.

   b. ’Asdzání níííílntsá ní dóó shí.
   woman 1dpl-3-see.P you Conj me
   The woman saw us you and me.

(159) a. Shí dóó ’éí ’áyóo ’alk’í niídli.
   1 Conj that very friend 1du-be.NI
   S/he and I are good friends.

   b. ’Éí dóó shí ’áyóo ’alk’í niídli.
   that Conj 1very friend 1du-be.NI
   S/he and I are good friends.
(160) a.  Ni dóó hó bá’ólta’ísh nihich’i’ haadzíi’?
2 and 4  teacher-Q 2dpl-to 3-talk.P
Did the woman talk to you and that one (him)?

b.  Hó dóó ni bá’ólta’ísh nihich’i’ haadzíi’?
4 and 2 teacher-Q 1dpl-to 3-talk.P
Did the woman talk to you and that one (him)?

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

(161)  ’Asdzání shiiltsá dóó ñiñ’ yiyiišsá.
woman 1-3-see.P Conj 3-3-see.P
The woman saw me and (then) saw the horse.

(162)  ’Asdzání ñiñ’ yiyiišsá dóó shiiltsá.
woman 2-3-see.P Conj 1-3-see.P
The woman saw the horse and (then) me.

4.2 Postpositional Phrases, Enclitic Phrases, and Postpositions
4.2.1 The Basics

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

(163)  Jooł ’atiin tsé’naa dóó ’anit’i’ báátics ’ahííhan.
ball road across Conj fence 3-over 3-1-throw.P
I threw the ball across the road and over the fence.

(164)  Jooł ’anit’i’ báátics dóó atiin tsé’naa ’ahííhan.
ball fence 3-over Conj road across 3-1-throw.P
I threw the ball over the fence and across the road.

(165)  Tsédáají’ doodago dził bigháa’ii’ísh nííní’na’?
cliff-to Conj mountain 3-on-to-Q 1-crawl.NP
Did you crawl to the edge of the cliff or to the top of the mountain?
The PPs in these sentences describe the path followed by the ball. The order of the PPs makes a difference, as the interpretations of (163) and (164) show.

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

(167) Ts¢’áándéé’ dóó tsédáajji’ ninish’na’.
cave-from Conj cliff-to 1-crawl.P
I crawled out of the cave and to the edge of the cliff.

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

(168) Tsédáajji’ dóó dził bigháa’jjí’ ninish’na’.
cliff-to Conj mountain 3-on-to 1-crawl.P
I crawled to the edge of the cliff and to the top of the mountain.

(169) Ts¢’áándéé’ dóó tsédáajji’ dóó dził bigháa’jjí’ ninish’na’.
cave Conj cliff-to Conj mountain 3-on-to 1-crawl.P
I crawled out of the cave, to the edge of the cliff, and to the top of the mountain.

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

(170) K’aa’’ aní’á biyaa dóó báátis’ ayiist’oh.
arrow bridge 3-under Conj 3-across 3-3-shot.P
S/he shot arrows over the bridge and under it.

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

In each of these cases, ’aní’á (the bridge) serves as the object of the postposition. [It may be that this is a case of control like what happens when two clauses are coordinated.] In the examples below, the postposition biyaa is coordinated with bikáá’góó, which consists of the postposition bikáá’ followed by the postpositional enclitic -góó.
4.2.2 Additional issues with Coordination and Postpositions
4.2.2.1 Coordinating postpositional phrases with postpositional enclitic phrases

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

(174) Nástáán tsé’áándéé’ ch’ínímaáž.
    log rock cave-from out-3-roll.P
    The log rolled out of the cave.

(175) Nástáán tsé yik’i ch’ínímaáž.
    log rock 3-over out-3-roll.P
    The log rolled out over the rock.

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

(176) *Nástáán tsé yik’i dóó tsé’áándéé’ ch’ínímaáž.
    log rock 3-over Conj cave-from out-3-roll.P
    (The log rolled out of the cave and over the rock.)

(177) *Nástáán tsé’áándéé’ dóó tsé yik’i ch’ínímaáž.
    log cave 3-over Conj rock out-3-roll.P
    (The log rolled out of the cave and over the rock.)

The conclusion is that nouns carrying postpositional enclitics cannot be coordinated with postpositional phrases containing free postpositions.
However, enclitic phrases that are constructed of a postpositional phrase and an enclitic can be coordinated with postpositional phrases:

(178) Chidí naat’a’í hooghan yikáá’góó dóó dzil yáah ch’ínisaal.
    Airplane house 3-over-along Conj mountain-over 3-alongside out-3-float.P
    The airplane flew over the house and along the mountain.

(179) K’aa’ ’atiinji’ dóó tsé’naa ’ayiist’oh.
    Arrow road-up.to Conj across 3-3-shoot.P
    S/he shot arrows up to the road and across it.

(180) Nástáán tsé yikáá’góó dóó tsékooh góyaa ch’ínímááž
    log rock 3-over-along Conj canyon areal-in out-3-roll.P
    The log rolled over the rock and off into the canyon.

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

4.2.2.2 Cases with incorporated postpositions

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

(181) Chidí bikee’ shikee’ yik’imááž ’áádóó níke’e’ yik’imááž.
    car 3-shoe 1-shoe 3-over-3-roll.P Conj 2-shoe 3-over-3-roll.P
    The tire rolled over my shoe and then it rolled over your shoe.

(182) *Chidí bikee’ shikee’ yik’i dóó níke’e’ yik’imááž.
    car 3-shoe 1-shoe 3-over Conj 2-shoe 3-over-3-roll.P
    (The tire rolled over my shoe and your shoe.)

8 The postpositional phrase tsékooh góyaa is interesting in that the postposition -yaa carries the areal agreement marker gó- rather than a third person pronominal marker.
Instead, the two noun phrases can be coordinated and taken as the object of the incorporated postposition:

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

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

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

5 Additional issues

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

5.1 Coordination of clausal complements

Clausal complements can be coordinated using dóó:

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

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

5.2 Must coordinates be of the same category?

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

(186) *Ashkii dóó ’anít’í’ báátis
boy Conj fence 3-over
(≈the boy and over the fence)
However, it is difficult to imagine a predicate that would have such a constituent as an argument. The verb (baa) neiséyeel (dream) can have either an nominal or clausal complement, as the following two examples show:

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

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

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

(189) Niyoltsoh dódó chidí naat’a’í naashta’go baa neiséyeel.
    hurricane Conj airplane 3-1-fly.I-GO Conj 3-about 1-dream.P
    I dreamed about flying a plane and a hurricane.9

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

(190) Niyoltsoh ’áádóó tó yílqadgo baa ntséskees.
    hurricane Conj water 3-rise.P-GO 3-about 1-think.I
    I’m thinking about the hurricane and water rising.

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

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

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9 The sentence is less good if the order of the coordinated constituents is reversed:

(i) 'Chidí naat’a’í naashta’go ’áádóó níyoltsoh baa neiséyeel.
    airplane 3-1-fly.I-GO Conj hurricane 3-about 1-dream.P
    I dreamed about flying a plane and a hurricane.
Examples like these suggest that a clause subordinated by the enclitic -go can serve as a noun phrase.

5.3 Multiple conjunctions

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

(193) T’óó ha’íí’áńgo ŋdiish’na’  dóó tá’ádéstigiz  ’áádóó bik’idji’
Merely dawn up-1-crawl.P Conj reflex-1-wash.P Conj 3-on-after
kintahgöö shiık  dah ’adilwod.
town-to 1-with off 1-drive.P
I got up at dawn and washed myself and then afterward I started out for town. (YM 1987:23)

(194) Denny bijh yiyiisxį́ dóó néís’ah ’áádóó hooghhangóó néígį.
Denny deer 3-3-kill.P Conj 3-3-butcher.P Conj house-to rever.3-3-haul.LPB.P
Denny killed a deer and butchered it and afterward hauled it back home.

(195) Łeets’aa’ táádíįgis dóó nahodííshoh ’áádóó lééčhą’í  ba’díítsot, t’áá shqoqdí.
dish 3-2-wash.F Conj areal-1-sweep.F Conj dog 3-to 3-2-feed.F please
Wash the dishes and sweep the floor and afterward feed the dog, please.

(196) Mary bilįį’ naaki dóó Daniel ’éí bilééčhą’í dįį’  ’áádóó Charlie ’éí bíchidí táá’.
Mary 3.horse two Conj Daniel as-for 3-dog four Conj Charlie as-for 3-car three
Mary has two horses and Daniel has four dogs and Charlie has three cars.

Below, dóó appears twice, conjoining clauses each time:

(197) Dlqą’ la háál’éél dóó didíįįléé’ dóó bi’niizeez  áł’éé’  ’ahó’niiltá.
prairie.dog some 3-out-float.P Conj 1-start-fire.P Conj inch-3-1-singe.P PAST areal-rain.P
I drowned out some prairie dogs, built a fire and started to singe them when it started to rain. (YM 1987:218)

(198) ’Idáá’ dóó bik’įį’ ch’iniiit’áázh dóó hooghán bíńiit’éézh sitsilí bit.
1dpl-eat.P Conj 3-after out-1dpl-go.P Conj house 3-against-1dpl-recline.P 1-brother 3-with
We ate and afterward we went outside and I lay down with my little brother, leaning against the hogan. (YM 1987:244)
In the example below, *dóó* is used once to coordinate clauses, and once to coordinate two noun phrases that function as the object of the verb in each clause:

\[(199) \text{É́f biniinaa nazhnílkaad dóó baa áhojilyáago ál’í dibé dóó tl’ízi.}\]
\this 3-because 3-4-herd.I Conj 3-for sup-4-care.I-GO 3-be/do sheep Conj goat
\Because of this*, you herd and care for your sheep and goats. (Sisco 1974:3)
\[*because you need the wool for weaving]*

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

\[(200) \text{É́f biniinaa dibé dóó tl’ízi nazhnílkaad dóó baa áhojilyáago ál’í.}\]
\this 3-because 3-4-herd.I Conj 3-for sup-4-care.I-GO 3-be/do sheep Conj goat
\Because of this, you herd and care for your sheep and goats.

5.4 Time and Coordination

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

\[(201) \text{Jeanie ’íiyáá’ dóó bist’e’ ’áyiilaa.}\]
\Jeanie sup-3-eat.P Conj 3-lunch 3-3-make.P
\Jeanie ate and made her lunch (e.g., to take to work).

\[(202) \text{Ján yah ’íiyáá dóó dah neezdah.}\]
\John 3.in 3-enter Conj up 3-sit.P
\John came in and sat down (on a chair).

\[(203) \text{T’óó ha’íí’ánígo ńdiish’na’ dóó tá’ádésgiz.}\]
\Merely sunrise up-1-crawl.P Conj reflex-1-wash.P
\I got up at dawn and washed myself. (YM 1987:23)

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

When the clauses contain only stative predicates, as in (9), (10), and (13) in section 3.1 and the example below, there is no entailment of temporal sequencing:
Mary bidibé yázhí naaki dóó Daniel ’éí bilééchág’í díí’.
Mary 3-sheep little two Conj Daniel as-for 3-dog four
Mary has two lambs and Daniel has four puppies.

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

Yáltí’ dóó hataał.
3-talk.I Conj 3-sing.I
It talks and sings (e.g., as in describing a doll).

### 5.5 Coordination and the animacy hierarchy

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

'(206) ’Asdzání hastiin dóó híí’ yiyiiltsá.
woman man Conj horse 3-3-see.P
The woman saw the man and the horse.

(207) Hastiin ashkii dóó híí’ yinooch¢¢¬.
man boy Conj dog 3-3-chase.Pg
The man is chasing the boy and the dog.

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

(208) *’Asdzání híí’ dóó hastiin yiyiiltsá
woman horse Conj man 3-3-see.P

(209) *Hastiin leé’chág’í dóó ashkii yinooch¢¢¬.
man dog Conj boy 3-3-chase.Pg

Thus, (208) is ungrammatical because hastiin outranks híí’.

The sentences below are in the direct voice and have a coordinate noun phrase as subject:
(210) Hastiin dóó líí' 'asdzání yiyíitsá
    man Conj horse woman pl-3-3-see.P
The man and the horse saw the woman.

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

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

(212) ?Has tiin dóó líí' 'asdzání biíitsá.
    man Conj horse woman 3b-3-see.P
    The woman saw the man and the horse.

(213) ?Ashkii dóó léé'cháa'í hastiin binoołchélé.
    boy Conj dog man 3b-3-chase.Pg
    The man is chasing the boy and the dog.

6 Conclusion

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

References


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