Negative

1. too naaghAh dA too wisini tA (negative)
2. I came back without having killed a deer.
   (I went hunting, but I came back without
   even having seen a deer.)
3. I don't want money, I want land... Etc.
   I told them, they said yes. I answered, it
   doesn't work, it doesn't work. I said, why
4. I thought it was going to rain, but it didn't.
5. Some have cattle, others don't.
6. 'er teelag Doo. Doo
dai?"
7. If it rains tomorrow, I'll stay, but if
   it doesn't, why — i.e., why never *teelagoo.
8. too doubt, deny, refuse
9. It wasn't John but Bill who came.

shì hanìi nìidìitì? In. Jàñà nàbìdidìittì? in
"diidì liif lu'n, V. liit?"

hàratì' bìiniyì, shìchì'ah bì'kìdìmìtà'llì. shì hanìi tàshtì? tòò tàng ni tà 'àntì?'

hàratì' bìnìài'yì' sìhchì'ì yìgì'ìtìcì.
j. hanìi nàtì? tèè bìll 'àtì?'
kii bi'che, hadees bi' ni'am mi'tee, t'aafoo yittance nanistza.

bee-so too ni'am ka keyah te'ii ta' ni'min.

bee-so hanii ni'min. keyadho t'eejya ta' ni'min.

ha'at’iiish tii'ii 'hadinnii'pp.'

'tii' hanii hadesh'pp' re'iiye;
telii hadesh'pp'.

ch'ee'h dinig'agoosh bini'maa doo ch'ii' yani'tti? cta.

ch'ee'h deyih hanii,
diching'ee? de'ii mi'iti.

't'aa doot sha? foob. lla'ay, its out
Dee shii doo ta a waamida kii ti'ee hee yineez? 'igi'?

"It's not true that..."

Taash laami kii ti'ee

Aav yineez? 'igi'?

So it true?

Dee shii oo 'abotee da kiis'aaami b'iraad t'o b'eechizin (shii'inniyingi'. "It's not true what they say; namely, that I spoke Hapi."

Doo nakhooott'tiit da la

Nahakin yik'aaago. It's not likely that it goes tomorrow.)
t'oo too yishkáap xeliceeet
Title da la' malalin. (I
doubt that it goes & rain
tomorrow.)

T'oo too yishkáap Juan
Doqát da la' malalin.
(T doubt that I will come tom.)

T'oo too Juan bi'ih yiyiixii da
la' malalin. (I doubt that I hitled
a tree yesterday.)

A ti'da? t'áadoo J. bi'ih
yiyiixii da la' malalin. U (little
yiyiixii da la' malalin. U (little
he was expected to kill the kitten)

J. yooch'ii? yiyiixii? t'áadoo
Chid' ne? la miniyii. J. called
lawn & Color the car.)
jich'ìd la chiti boó
mèii' da jinnejig. y

j. bi'ká' nîpès ñéet 2 'nìnnim
ndi yoo ta ska'shin.

j. bi'kì' nîcepìa n'íle'
t'aañoo sho'sette' ta.
'E went to J. but I didn't find
him.'

díjjì shî' jàan boó sidàa da.
'I doubt if J. is home today.'
'sêîyee' kintätìggo 'rìya
t'òó boó yîskâaga na'aho'ba
da boó mabalùn. 'I doubt
that there will be a rodeo tomorrow.
Harat a shìy, jò t'òó nahooda jìjìf mabalùn.
√ t'oq naghai tii? doe ni't doolgot ta la nalalin.

t'oq doe ḡi'i naghai tii

doolgot ta la nalalin. 'i doubt that stall horse can buck?

dine t'aayi hadilwo?
dizga?i nee fooda.

"adaadaa" nahodoof tilt nii vin nit'ee' t'aayi doe da. "I thought it was going to rain but it didn't?

naghai beegashii yaa'h t'aayi doe wooshlote da. 'there's nobody for me to rope that calf with.'

\( \text{\textbullet} \)
Jaun "aadó? dgo gátigi
doó biit aánni? da. John refused
tó cóm?"

náal'tsoos díi t'áadoo noosh'átigi
da. "There's no place for me to
put this book."

nííoót'íí ní laqo. (Don't let
you'd better not
lay him.)

t'áadoo t'hoót be k'osghéešída
"There's nothing for me to cut this rope
with."

lí náal'tsoos t'áadoo
bíkáa? dahwosh'átí da. There's
mostly for me to put these books on.

kíin t'áadoo taa? bií? shíghání da le?
"There's no house for me to live in."
b. yóóch't'oo't ṭāađoo ṭa' bee
wáach't'ooł ṭa'. 'There's no
rope for me to rope that calf
with.'

tó ṭāađoo ṭa' wéeshk'áaz ṭa'
'more no water for me to drink.'

I. shii ṭāađoo to ṭa'
yódłáa ṭa. 'There's no water for
I. to drink.'

haldáa ḏoo bógadalii ṭa'
maaglán ṭa. 'There's no cattle
walking around on the plains.'

naglán bógadalii yáash ṭāađoo
( ṭa') yóólóó ṭa. 'There's no one to
rope that calf.'
5. "I don't have any calves to rope?"

6. "I didn't rope any calves?"

Mark Q's

10. "I came back without having found my rope," — i.e., with def obj.

11. "No sheep have died. "No men can beat me

"Nothing bit me. "No men bought any horses,

etc., etc." "John didn't rope any calves"

12. "This one didn't hit me, that one did!"

13. John didn't shoot this deer, he shot it.

John didn't shoot this deer, he shot a bear.
Negative earth

T'āadoo nisēyahi gōo da.
'I didn't go anywhere.'

Too nāśidīttśiim'i da.
'No one bit me.'

T'āadoo tēsha'gōo da.
'There's no place for me to go.'

T'āadoo tawēe' bishkashī da.
'Nothing bit this baby.'

Dine t'āadoo nāśidīttśiim'i da.
'Nobody bit this man.'

T'āadoo rashkii rashkii baa nīttsoolī da.
'No one gave this boy any candy.'

Rashkii t'āadoo baa nīlāhī da.
'I didn't give this boy anything.'
"No one gone me any thing.

"No one went anywhere.

"I don't work anywhere.

"I didn't buy any horse.

"I won't go any where tomorrow.

"I'm not going to speak to any one.

"If I don't speak to anyone, I'll not learn any more."
Passage

di' dibé datooghat biniiyé
(di'soolyéét. Not sleep

daseelyí.

with he killed & have a fast)
was killed?


dii tii' nay'gí biniiyé
doolsheet. My horse well be
brooken to ride.


dii bikasaanaa to datooldít
biniiyé ná hi doodlah. "New
apples will be picked to eat"
sikís tii' yihíinaa ttižgo
by, bisxi. "My hero was killed when he fell off
the horse."

dii tsín kín bee ŋádooldníit
biniiyé k'ádooldníit. This tree will be

cut down to make a house?"
sik'is
dine yichi' yaatootika biniiye
yak 'ato hoom. My bro' will be brought
not to speak to the people.
sik'is da zdajigaadé bi' d'isiiye. My
lone was killed in the war.

deenast'saa' dzii t'ii chini
'ahigaad nit'ee? deenast'saa
bi' d'isiiye. I can t'alligaat
mees fifty. Tii t'ana got
busted.

animal   deenast'saa' bi' d'isiiye
human   deenast'saa' seesyi

dine doo nadaadzi'ozh i'ahigaad nit'ee

nach doo'tsoh sha' d'isiiye.

\{dine bi' d'isiiye\}
dine doo nashdoitsok rahigaa nit'ee? nashdoitsok dziisxé.

bilagaanaa doo naakai rahigaa nit'ee’’ bilagaanaa bidii’kii.

bilagaanaa doo naakai rahigaa nit'ee’’ yigii’kii. (Ambiguous)

bilagaanaa naakai yichi’ ninigago náyidiítts’ín. (The b. can —
6. hit m.)

’’ náyidiítts’ín. (letter hit forms)’’

dine’ pasdza’i beeso yaa yinimilg
bidinina dahíisht’ó yaa yiníttscoor
(also return)

also volunteered

dine’ pasdza’i beeso yaa yinimilgo
dahíisht’ó baa yiníttscoor.
Phonologicalization

díñe ᵐasdzání bëëso yaa yinínílgo yare, ál? 1996

habit

he took her?

absolutely confused!!

— yiyi, she took him??

— birtís'ós. she kissed him,

— birtís'ós.

díñe ᵐasdzání bëëso yaa yinínílgo yirtís'ós.

and she

— birtís'ós. she kissed him,

díñe ᵐasdzání bëëso yaa yinínílgo yirtís'ós. 

chidi yih yiyítíi i

yahsidítíi toó

chidi yih yiyítíi

díñe ᵐasdzání bëëso yaa yinínílgo yirtís'ós.

chidi yih birtíí

cf. chidi tse bëë bih yiníltáak

NOTE

volunteer
casdnani dine nabitti nga diti kaad. (The man picked up the woman and she slapped him.)
dine casdnani nga diti nga diti kaad.

dine sawe yitzoxh nitee bik'ee haa-chah.
(The man ticked the baby of made it cry.)
dine sawe yitzoxh nitee giyah kodesxir.
(--- frighten it.

dine sawe yitzoxh nitee bik'ee dah diliwod.
ran away from him,
dine 'awee' yitxoch nit'e
bish'ash. 'The man tickled
the baby and lifted him.

'dine 'awee? yitxoch doo'
yirts'o. 'The man
 tickled the baby and lifted it.'

'rasdzani
'dine 'awee? neyidiitt'iy doo
bikaa 'adam, yikaa?
dah yisti. 'The man picked
up the baby and laid it on the table.'

'rasdzani dine na'idiitt'iy doo-
bikaa 'adam, yikaa? dah bisti.

'The woman was picked
up the woman and laid her
on the table.'
'rashkii rat'eed yich'i'=
'ni'diilwo d'oo yit dezdeel' (The boy closed the gate and caught her.)

'rat'eed 'rashkii bich'i'=
nidiiwo d'oo bit dezdeel.

---

'rashkii rat'eed yit dezdeel' d'oo birtat. (The boy caught the girl & she bischel him.)

Volunteered also:

'rat'eed rashkii bit dezdeel' yirtat. (The girl that the boy caught bischel him.)
rat'eed rashkii bit deeza'ed
for chid'i yih biitt'e'.
1 The book caught the girl to
put her in the car."

rashkii rat'eed yih deeza'ed
for chid'i yih yiyyitt'e'.

rat'eed rashkii chid'i yih
biitt'e'ee yichi' baa khoochijd.

The book put the girl in the
car and she got mad at him.

rashkii rat'eed chid'i yih
yiyyitt'e'ee bichi' baa khoochijd.
The man put the woman in the car & took her to the hospital.

The bull horned the horse & this horse kicked the bull.

The bull horned the horse & killed it.
The dog attacked the snake and killed it.
Pronounalization Note: *Pronounalization Structure*

-ma?ii doo teécha? ma?ii niteé?


*'--- yi’iisiyi*

?a- is introduced by pronounalization when left most is compound structure.

--- ma?ii yi’iisiyi ‘someone killed the coyote — i.e., not fog.’

 rashkii fóo rat’ee’d yi’iash niteé?

 rashkii ?ants’os. ‘The boy and girl were walking along and the boy kissed her.’

--- rashkii bi?dirt’os. ‘The boy was kissed by the girl.’
Yellowstone, 7th Aug. 1877.

Fii' doo dzaane'ez sii' nit'ee' fii' tza'tat. (The horse and the mule were standing there, and the horse kicked the mule.)

Fii' bi'di'tza'tat. (The horse was kicked by the mule.)

...dzaane'ez tza'tat. (The mule kicked the horse.)

Kegizhi doo drit'gha'i?

'ahiga' ni'tee' drit'gha'i?

'ii'isx. (A Papago and an Apache were fighting and the Apache killed him.)
The mule was a birtagho  and its hoofs were blackened and barred.