Chapter 10 Negation

This chapter describes the structure, meaning, and use of sentences that involve negation.

1. Expressions of Negation

This section lists the words and phrases that can express negation. They are explained and exemplified in the remainder of this chapter, and other issues related to negation are discussed.

Sentences are negated using the frame *doo…da*, which appears around the verb.

(1)  *Gad doo dit’in da.*
       juniper neg 3-dense.N neg
       The juniper is not dense.

(2)  *Naabeehº dúó Dzítłghádí danlínígítí doo hózhó da’ahidiits’a’ da.*
       Navajo and White. Mtn. Apache pl-3-be-ÍGÍÍ neg well pl-recip-3-understand neg
       The Navajos and the White Mountain Apaches cannot understand each other very well.
       (YM 1987:57)

Below are two examples of related expressions:

(3)  *Dít dzít t’ah doo báqw hashisháah da.*
       this mountain still neg 3-alongside 1-go.up.out neg
       I’ve never climbed this mountain. (YM 1987:431)

(4)  *Bidine’έ t’aadoo yóó’ ’iidíi’á’á da.*
       3-people just-neg away 3-3-forsake.P neg
       He did not forsake his people. (cf. YM 1987:25)

Constituents are negated by placing the particle *hanii* after them:

(5)  *Héřii hanii dibé nayiisnii’, Sí́ríí ga’*
       Harry neg sheep 3-3-buy.P  Siri Emph
       It is not Harry who bought the sheep, it was Siri.
Negative indefinite pronouns are formed by suffixing *-da* to a content question word:

(6)  hááida  ‘nobody/anybody’
     háágóóda  ‘to nowhere/anywhere’
     háádéé’da  ‘from nowhere/anywhere’
     ha’át’íida  ‘nothing/anything’

These expressions can only appear within a negative frame or a limited number of other environments:

(7)  Hastiin  doo  háágóóda  oołbås  da.
     man  neg  somewhere -to-da  drive da
     ‘The man is not driving to anywhere.’

The *-f* verbal suffix in the example below takes the place of an independent negative indefinite pronoun. It appears after the verb stem along with any postpositional material present in the free indefinite pronoun:

(8)  Hastiin  doo  oołbåsígóóda.
     man  neg  3-drive.I-f-to-neg
     The man is not driving (to) anywhere.

Other expressions

(9)  Béeso  doo  lá’índi  naash’aá  da.
     money  neg  one  but  3-1-carry  neg
     I haven’t even a single dollar. (YM 1987:351)

One way to form negative imperatives is to use *t’áadoo* followed by an optative verb form:

(10)  T’áadoo  ’ánit’ini!
      just-neg  SUP?-2-do.Opt
      Don’t do that!

Negative generalizations using a fourth person subject are also used to convey directives less directly:

(11)  Doo  ’ájíñí  da.
      neg  indef-3a-do  neg
      One should never say that./Don’t say that!

This chapter surveys these and other negative expressions.
2. Sentence and Clause Negation
2.1 The Negative Frame
2.1.1 The Basics

The most common way to negate a clause is to use a “negative frame,” to place the particle *doo* before the verb and the particle *da* after it:

(12) Bilasáana doo yiyáda.¹
    apple        neg  3-1-eat.I neg
    S/he isn’t eating apples./ S/he doesn’t eat apples.

(13) Doo yichaada.
    neg  3-cry.DI neg
    S/ he is not crying./ S/he doesn’t cry.

This way of expressing negation is similar to the French use of *ne…pas*, although neither *da* nor *doo* is dropped in Navajo the way *ne* often is in French:

(14) Elle ne mange pas de pomme.
    she neg eat.3.pres neg of apple
    She isn’t eating apples.

---
¹ Vowel Lengthening
Note: Like other postverbal enclitics, *da* exerts an influence on the vowel of the verb stem that precedes it. Short vowels are lengthened and high vowels have a falling tone.

(i)a. Kinłánídi nanínáago niítsá.
    Flagstaff-at 2-go.CI-Sub 2-1-see.P
    I saw you walking around in Flagstaff.
    b. T’áadoo niítsáa da.
       Just.neg 2-1-see.P neg
       I didn’t see you.

(ii)a. Perudi hweesh’í
    Peru-at areal-1-see.P
    I have been to Peru.
    b. Japandi doo hweesh’íí da.
       Japan-at neg areal-1-see.P neg
       I have not been to Japan.

(iii)a. Jake baa dzólní.
    Jake 3-with good.character
    Jake has good character.
    b. Jake doo ndi baa dzólníi da.
       Jake neg even 3-with good.character neg.
       Jake does not have good character.
Il ne pleure pas.
he neg cry.3.sg.pres pas
He isn’t crying.

2.1.2 Alternatives to *doo*

Other particles, *t’ah* ‘still, yet’ and *t’áá* ‘just’, are sometimes used in addition to *doo* in the negative frame:

(16) Kwe’é kééhwiit’íníguíí *t’ah doo* ‘altso dziłgóó ’ahii’néeh da.
here 1pl-live.I-ÍGíÍ yet neg all mountain-to 1pl-move.I neg
We who live in this vicinity have not yet all moved to the mountains. (YM 1987:14)

(17) *T’ahdoo* tf’oh ha’ hádiikáah da Toohgójó.
not.yet hay some 1dpl-go.1-pl neg Shiprock-toward
We haven't yet gone after hay to Shiprock. (YM 1987:386)

(18) *T’áadoo* bidine’é yöó’ ’iidíí’áá da.
just-neg 3-people away 3-3-abandon.P neg
S/he did not abandon his/her people. (YM 1987:25)

The meanings of these seem to be just what one would expect from combining negation with *t’ah* and *t’áá*. *T’ah doo*’ means ‘not yet’ or ‘not before’ when it appears with *ít’éé’* as in (16-17) (and it sometimes is glossed as ‘never’). *T’áá* is an intensifying particle that appears in a variety of expressions. *T’áadoo*, then, in some uses, is a more emphatic negator than *doo*. Often constructions with *t’áadoo* commonly translate as ‘without’. These uses are presented in section 10 of this chapter.

2.1.3 Alternatives to *da*

In a negative main clause *da* always appears. In negated subordinate clauses, *da* does not appear if there is a subordinating enclitic attached to the verb. See section 2.3.

2.1.4 Position of *doo*

Reichard (1951:308) claims (although some speakers today do not agree) that, in some cases, the position of phrases before or within the negative frame makes little difference in meaning:

---

2 This is also spelled as a single word: *t’ahdoo*.
3 The tone of the first syllable of *t’áadoo* is falling because of the low tone in *doo*.
(19)  

a.  T’ah doo kintahgóó disháá da. [or dishááh da?]
    yet neg town-to 1-go neg

b.  Kintahgóó t’ah doo disháá da.

c.  Doo kintahgóó t’ah disháá da.
    I have not gone to town yet.

(20)  

a.  Shichidí doo diits’íh da.

b.  Doo shichidí diits’íh da.
    My car won’t start.

Reichard notes that there are cases in which one order is acceptable and the other is not:

(21)  

a.  Ch’iish doo sik’i digháah da.
    cold neg 1-on 3-move neg
    I got a cold, it is not going away.

b.  *Doo ch’iish sik’i digháah da.
    neg cold 1-on 3-move neg

However, some speakers do not accept (19c), (20b).

2.1.5 Position of da

The postverbal negative particle da normally appears immediately after the verb and before other postverbal particles:

(22)  

Doo V da doolee¬.
    neg V  neg future
    I shall not V.

(23)  

T’ah doo kwii nisháah da ŋt’ée’.
    never here 1-xxx neg past
    I had never before been here. (YM 1987:350)

(24)  

’Abhínídáá’ t’áadoo ’ádeeshzhée’ da lá.
    this.morning just.neg reflex-shave.P neg Emph
    I see that I forgot to shave this morning! (YM 1987:27)

In (22), the future particle doolee¬ appears after da, in (23), the past particle ŋt’ée’ does, and in (24) lá, an marker indicating an unexpected discovery appears there.

---

4 Reichard glosses these sentences as ‘I have never been to town’.
2.2 Clause Types Varying by Internal Composition

The negative frame can apply to any predicate in the clause, regardless of what category the predicate belongs to. The examples below illustrate this. In (25a), the predicate is a pronoun, in (b) a noun, in (c) an inflected postposition, in (d) an adjective, in (e) an adverb, and in (f) a verb:

(25)  
   a. Doo ni da.  It is not yours.
   b. Doo ’óola da. It is not gold.
   c. Doo ná da.  It is not for you.
   d. Doo ntsaa da. It is not big.
   e. Doo t’aa ’áhány da. It is not near.
   f. Doo déyáa da. I’m not going. (YM 1987:143)

Verbs of different mode and different aspect are all negated in the same manner. Below are examples of the same basic negative sentence with the verb in differing modes:

(26)  
   Doo shináát ’ádídoonii da.  
   neg 1-view thus-3-say.F neg 
   He won’t speak it that way in front of me./He won’t say that in my presence.

(27)  
   Doo shináá’ t’ádíniid da.  
   neg 1-view thus-3-say.P neg 
   He didn’t speak that way in front of me.

(28)  
   Doo shináá’ t’ádóné’ da.  
   neg 1-view thus-3-say.O neg 
   He shouldn’t speak that way in front of me.

(29)  
   Doo shináá’ t’áhí da.  
   neg 1-view thus-3-say.NI neg 
   He doesn’t speak that way in front of me.

2.3 Clause Types Varying by Use

The same negative frames are used for negation of all clauses regardless of whether they are independent sentences, complement clauses, or modifying clauses. However, when a subordinating enclitic is present, the negative particle da does not appear. This section provides examples of negation in these types of clauses.

2.3.1 Da in subordinate clauses

In negated subordinate clauses, if there is no subordinating enclitic, da appears:
(30) Mary Ján doo deyáhgóó da nízin.
M J neg 3-go.to-Impf neg 3-think
Mary thinks John is not going anywhere.

However, *da* does not normally appear if there is a subordinating enclitic attached to the verb. This generalization holds regardless of whether the subordinate clause is a modifier, a complement, or a constituent in a more complicated construction (e.g. a conditional or a quantification):

(31) Ch’iyán doo vá’át’éhgí niyáago binínaa doo dinlwo’ da.
food neg 3-good-ÍGÍ 3-2-eat-GO 3-because-of neg 2-fast-run neg
Because you eat unhealthy food, you can’t run fast.

In this example, the verb *yá’át’éeé*, in the relative clause, is negated by *doo*, but *da* does not appear because the subordinating enclitic *-ígí* is present. The past counterpart of *-ígí* has two forms, the enclitic *-ēé*, and the independent subordinator *yéé*. Only the enclitic form precludes *da*. In the example below, the enclitic *-ēé* is used, and *da* cannot appear.

(32) ‘Adáádáá’ naadáá’ t’aadoo yik’áñéé k’ad ’índa bi’niik’á.
yesterday corn neg 3-1-grind.P-Past now finally 3-1-grind.P
I’ve now finally started to grind the corn I didn’t grind yesterday. (cf. YM 1987:219)

However, if *yéé* appears instead of *-ēé*, *da* does appear:

(33) ‘Adáádáá’ naadáá’ t’aadoo yik’áá da yéé k’ad ’índa bi’niik’á.
yesterday corn neg 3-1-grind.P-neg Past now finally 3-1-grind.P
I’ve now finally started to grind the corn I didn’t grind yesterday.

When the subordinating enclitic *-go* is attached to a negated clause, there are two possibilities: *da* can precede *-go* (this is normally written as the independent word *dago*, although it is sometimes written as part of the verb), or *-góó* can appear in place of both the negative particle and the usual form of the enclitic (YM 1987d:370):

(34)a. Doo shiyáázhgóó ’ání.
eg 1-son-neg thus-3-say.P
He isn’t my son, even though he says so.

b. Doo shiyáázhdago ’ání.
eg 1-son-neg-GO thus-3-say.P
He isn’t my son, even though he says so.

5 The main verb *dinlwo’* is negated as well in this example. The *da* that appears after it is not in the subordinate clause.
(35)a. Doo 'ákót'éégóó 'ínílaa.
   neg thus-3-be-neg 3-1-make.P
   You didn't make it right. (YM 1987:350)

b. Doo 'ákót'éedago 'ínílaa.
   neg thus-3-be-neg-GO 3-1-make.P
   You didn't make it right. (YM 1987:350)

(36) Jánan doo ha’át’úda yinízinígóó (da+go) shíil bééhózin.
   John neg something 3-3-want-neg 1-with 3-know
   I know that John doesn’t want anything.

(37) Nááfdéshtah nisin út'té' shiíéeso doo hózhó búghah dago
   1-school.Semil 1-want past 1-money neg very 3-fit neg-GO
   biniínaa t’áá bíyó ni’nahwiish’á.
   3-because-of rather 1-hesitant-Cl
   I wanted to go back to school, but since I don't really have enough money I haven't fully
   made up my mind about it. (YM 1987:543)

(38) Na'neeshtshéh doo bééhasín dago biniínaa shimá shá.
   1-warp-with-string neg 3-know.N neg-GO 3-because-of 1-mother 1-for
   niná'níshah
   3-warp-string.R
   I don't know how to warp with string for a loom so my mother does it for me. (YM
   1987:557)

(39) T’áadoo shich’į' na'îlyáa dago biniínaa ŋdiichxq'.
   just-neg 1-to 3-1-pay.P neg-GO 3-because-of 1-be-angry.P
   I really got angry because I didn't get paid, it really annoys me that I didn't get paid. (YM
   1987:617)

(40) Doo nił hóyéé'góó 'iyá nibéégashii danizhóni dooleel.
   neg 2-with 3-lazy-neg only.then 2-cattle 3pl-beautiful future
   If you weren't so lazy you'd have nice cattle. (YM 1987:350)

(41) Doo ’ákót’éégóó ’ínílaa.
   Neg 3-be-neg 3-2-make.P
   You didn’t make it right. (YM 1987:144)

(42) Díí doo ’áhóonoolingóó nahisínífnii’ lá.
   this neg 3-like-neg 3-2-buy.P Emph
   You bought this that doesn’t look right (not the same)!
The only cases in which the initial particle *doo* or *t’áadoo* can negate a clause without *da* appearing are ones in which the relativizing enclitic precludes *da* from appearing: there may be some frozen expressions in section 11 involving *t’áado* that lack *da*.

(43) T’áadoo nisháhí béégashii naa nahóniih.  
just.not 1-arrive.I cattle 2-from 3-2-sell.O  
Don’t make a deal on your cattle before I get there. (YM 1987:716)

(44) Ján t’áadoo yínízinígí shíł bééhózin.  
John just-not 3-3-want-ÍGÎÍ 1-with 3-know.  
I know that John doesn’t want anything.

2.3.2 Complement Clauses

Aside from issues involving whether *da* appears (discussed in the previous section), negation within a complement clause works just like negation in a main clause. The negative frame appears around the verb phrase:

(45) Ján doo Na’nízhoozhidi naashá da díniid.  
John neg Gallup-at 1-walk neg 3-said.P  
John said he is not in Gallup.

(46) Ján k’ad doo bitah honeezgaiígí baa nihíl dahózhó.  
John now neg 3-among areal-3-hot-Comp 3-about 1pl-with 1pl-happy  
We are happy that John is not sick anymore.

(47) Doo t’áá yikáál shíí kwii kééhat’íí doogo bá ’ahóót’í’.  
neg everyone possibly here 3-live.CI-Comp fut-Comp 3-for 3-possible.  
It is not possible for just anyone to live here.

(48) Mary Ján doo ’álhosh da nízin.  
Mary J neg 3-sleep-Impf neg 3-think  
Mary thinks John isn’t asleep.

The part of a complex sentence that is negated by *doo*…*da* is the clause in which these particles appear. The pairs below illustrate a contrast of scope. They differ syntactically on the placement of *da*. The difference in meaning is a matter of which verb is negated:

(49) a. Ján Mary doo chídí neidiyoolnih da yó´ní.  
John Mary neg car 3-2- Fut-buy neg 3-of-3-expect.Imp  
John expects Mary not to buy a car.
b. Ján Mary doo chidí neidiyoo¬nih yó’ní da.  
John Mary neg car 3-2- Fut-buy 3-of-3-expect.Imp neg 
John doesn’t expect Mary to buy a car.

(50) a. Ján doo t’ahgo ch’imádzí’ígí shi’diil’á.  
John neg early 3-wake.R-(neg)-ÍGÍÍ 3-1-bother.NP 
It bothers me that John doesn’t wake up early.

b. Ján nídi’niilwoshígíí doo shi’diil’á da.  
John 3-oversleep-ÍGÍÍ neg 1-bother.NP neg 
It doesn’t bother me that John oversleeps.

(51) a. Ján doo nídi’núshwosh da doo nízin.  
John neg 1-oversleep.I neg fut 1-want.NP 
John doesn’t want to oversleep.

b. Ján doo mósí diyeeshxéél nízin da.  
John neg cat 3-1-kill 3-want.NP neg 
John doesn’t want to kill the cat.

(52) a. Nát’oh doo neidoo¬nihígíí yínálniih.  
tobacco neg 3S-F-buy-(neg)-ÍGÍÍ 3O-remember.I 
He remembers not to buy cigarettes.

b. Nát’oh neidoo¬nihígíí doo yínálniih da.  
tobacco 3S-F-buy-ÍGÍÍ neg 3O-remember.I neg 
He doesn’t remember to buy cigarettes.

For such sentences, the placement of da is crucial in determining meaning. There is an alternative wording for the (b) examples above, in which doo appears immediately before the main verb:

(5553) Ján mósí diyeeshxéél doo nízin da.  
John cat 3-1-kill neg 3-want neg 
John doesn’t want to kill the cat.

(54) Naatsis’áán báqh chídí bee na’adá doo bíhóneedzáa da.  
Navajo.mountain 3-on car 3-with about-go.I neg 3.possible neg 
It’s not possible to go by car on Navajo Mountain.

This placement of doo tends to be dispreferred.

6 The negative particle da does not appear because of -ígíí (see section 2.3.1 of this chapter).
Negative indefinites can appear in complement clauses, and they can incorporate into the verb in the complement clause, just as they can in root clauses:

(55) Mary Jáan doo háágóoda deyá da nízin.
    M J neg anywhere 3-go.to-Impf neg 3-think
    Mary thinks John is not going anywhere.

(56) Mary Jáan doo deyáhígóó da nízin.
    M J neg 3-go.to.Impf-anywhere-neg-GO neg 3-think
    Mary thinks John is not going anywhere.

The verb in (56) contains the incorporated indefinite -í-, along with -góó, which replaces da-go. Below is an affirmative counterpart of the two previous examples:

(57) Mary Jáan háágóóshíįį deyá nízin.
    M J somewhere 3-go.to-Impf 3-think
    Mary thinks John is going somewhere.

(one more example):

(58) Táá 'ałajį dibé t'àadoo yóól' anání'níñí ndíshnììgo 'ádanidéshláá'.
    always sheep just.neg away 3-2-lose 2-1-say-GO 3-1-tire.P
    I'm tired of constantly telling you not to lose the sheep (Lit. I'm tired of you, telling you not to lose the sheep). (YM 1987:7)

Verbs taking clausal complements are negated in the same way as other verbs, normally using the negative frame:

(59) Naatsis'áán bąqh doo chídí bee na'adáago bhóóneedzáa da.
    Navajo.mountain 3-on neg car 3-with about-go-GO 3.possible neg
    It is not possible to go by car on Navajo Mountain. used in (43)

The following example has negation both inside direct quote and in main clause:

(60) “Doo 'ánáádeeshníif da”, níigo doo joodláą da.
    neg indef.again.do neg say-comp-neg-4-believe.N neg
    Don’t believe it if one says, “I won’t do it again.” / Don’t believe it when someone says, I’m sorry.

In the examples below, the main verb is negated; the complement clause would be redundant and so is omitted:
(61)  [She’esdzán doo ‘alchũ da.] Biniinaanii doo nihũt béédahózin da.
       [1-wife neg --- neg] 3-reason.for neg 1pl pl-know neg
       [My wife does not bear any children.] We do not know the reason for it. (YM 1987:243)

The following is also possible in this context:

(62)  Biniinaanii ‘él doo nihũt béédahózin da.
       3-reason.for that neg 1pl pl-know neg
       We do not know the reason for it. (YM 1987:243)

2.3.3 Clausal Modifiers

Clauses that are used to modify other clauses can be negated in the same way that other clauses can. The only difference between how negation is used in a clausal modifier as opposed to a main clause has to do with the interaction between the negative particle *da* and a subordinating enclitic, which was discussed in section 2.3.1:

(63)  Doo ‘ákótéégóó ‘ínilaa.
       neg SUP.right-(neg)-GO 3-2-make.P
       You didn't make it right. (YM 1987:350)

(64)  Shį́jį́jį́’ doo nihee nahalingóó biniinaa t’óó shee ’azgan.
       summer-last neg 1dpl rain-(neg)-GO because all 1-? dry.up
       Last summer my crops burned up (dried up) because we didn't get any rain. (YM 1987:34)

Naturally, *dago* can be substituted for *-góó*:

(65)  Doo yidlohgóó naaltsoos sheinĩ́’á.
       neg 3-smile.Prog-neg.GO book 1-to-3-hand.SRO.Pf
       Without smiling, s/he handed me the book.

(66)  Doo yidloh dago naaltsoos sheinĩ́’á.
       neg 3-smile.Prog neg- GO book 1-to-3-hand.SRO.Pf
       Without smiling, s/he handed me the book.

(67)  Doo bił hozhóogóó naaltsoos sheinĩ́’á.
       3-with happy.N-neg.GO book 1-to-3-hand.SRO.Pf
       Without being happy, s/he handed me the book.

(68)  Doo bił hozhóq dago naaltsoos sheinĩ́’á.
       3-with happy.N neg- GO book 1-to-3-hand.SRO.Pf
       Without being happy, s/he handed me the book.
Below is an example of two -go adverbials coordinated inside a negative frame:

(69)  T’áadoo danitsaago dóló ’áht’áá’ígo  ’ájiila da jini.
      neg pl-3-big,N-GO Conj 3-thin-GO SUP-3-make.Pf neg 4-say
      They say she didn’t make them [tortillas] big and thin.

2.3.4 Relative Clauses

Negation appears freely in relative clauses. Its use in a relative clause is the same as in a main clause with the exception, again, of the interaction between the negative particle da and a subordinating enclitic (discussed in section 2.3.1). Below are examples:

(70)  [Díí naadáá' t'ah doo danit'ánígíí] biniit'aa t'áá kóó shighan.
      this corn still neg 3pl-ripe-neg-ÍGÍÍ 3-support-of just here 1-live
      The fact that my corn has not yet ripened justifies my still living here. (YM 1987:245)

(71)  Bilagáana bizaad doo diists'aígígíi shinifo'.
      white.people 3-language neg 3-1-speak-(neg)-ÍGÍÍ 1-drawback
      My inability to understand English is my drawback. (YM 1987:238)

(72)  Doo da'ííta'ígígí t'áá 'altsojíi' t'áá bídin ndahwiileeh.
      neg pl-4?-go.school-(neg)-ÍGÍÍ in.every.way 4-lacking things
      Those who do not go to school get left out on things. (YM 1987:410)

When the subordinating enclitic is -ígígí, da does not appear in the subordinate clause. [This suggests that da and -ígígí are of the same category; that -go is distinct from -ígígí; but I’m not clear on this yet] See additional examples in section 2.3.1 of this chapter.

Of course, there is no restriction on negation of a main clause verb that has a relative clause argument:

(73)  Díí béésh ntl’izígígíi doo biníká’jóníí  ‘át’ée da.
      this metal hard-ÍGÍÍ neg 3-3-dig.through.Opt 3-be.N neg
      It is impossible to drill through this hard metal. (YM 1987:235)

3 Constituent Negation

3.1 Overview

There is a way to negate a single constituent (phrase) in a sentence without negating the rest of the material in the sentence. To do this, the particle haníi is placed immediately after the constituent to be negated:
(74) Jáñ hanií chidí nayiisni’, Mary ga’.
John hanií car 3-3-buy.P Mary ga’.
It wasn’t John who bought the car, it was Mary.

In general, hanií appears immediately after the phrase that is its focus. This focus tends to appear as the first constituent in the sentence, with hanií in second position, but hanií can appear with constituents of various grammatical functions. The material in the focus is identified by the speaker as inaccurate. Everything in the sentence that is not focused is presupposed (agreed to be true by the speaker). Hanií has a counterpart ga’, which has as its focus that corrects the error focused by hanií.

3.2 Uses of Constituent Negation

Sentences with constituent negation are used when someone wants to agree with most of what has been said, but wishes to challenge some part of it. A sentence like example (74) would be used to correct or contradict an assertion that John bought a certain car. The sentence does not challenge the point that someone bought the car; instead, hanií focuses on the part of the clause that is being disagreed with. In the example below, the speaker agrees that the person referred to roped something, but disagrees with identifying that something as the goat:

(75) Tl’izí hanií yizloh, dibé ga’.
goat hanií 3-3-rope.P sheep ga’
It was not the goat that s/he roped, it was the sheep.

Using hanií in this way to dispute a part of an assertion leads the hearer to expect a correction to be proposed. The particle ga’ can be used to provide the information that the speaker thinks should be substituted into the first sentence to make it accurate. Both hanií and ga’ follow the constituent that is their focus. When hanií is used, the material in the sentence aside from the focus of hanií is usually presupposed; that is, that information is understood to be true by the participants in the conversation before the sentence in which hanií appears is uttered. Notice, that once the denied constituent is replaced, the new focus is immediately followed by the particle ga’, which is a counterpart to hanií and takes the exact slot where hanií would have appeared. The presupposed portion of the hanií sentence need not be repeated when the denial is corrected as shown below. The sentence below is still grammatical; however, it is repetitious:

(76) Tl’izí hanií yizloh, dibé ga’ yizloh.
goat hanií 3-3-rope.P sheep ga’ 3-3-rope.P
It was not the goat that s/he roped, it was the sheep that s/he roped.

Hanií can be used to challenge a part of an assertion, as suggested in the discussion of (74) and (75). It can also be used in an answer to certain yes-no questions:
Q: Ha’át’ísh baa naniná, ‘íhoshísh?
What are you doing, are you sleeping?

A: ’Ashxosh hanii; shináá’ yee’ hanályáfh.
I am not sleeping; I was just resting my eyes.

Q: Náá’ít’óósh, ’ítt’ó yiits’a’?
Are you weaving again? it sounds like you’re weaving.

A: ’Ashtl’ó hanii, ’ashxaał ga’.
I am not weaving, I am drumming.

In the answers in each pair, the focus of hanii is a verb. The form of the question, or the manner in which it is asked, may lead the answerer to think that the hearer incorrectly anticipates an affirmative response. Hanii is used for correcting suspected false expectations that are evident in a question.

False expectations can also be created by something the speaker says. In such cases, hanii can be used in the same sentence to warn the hearer away from having them. In the example below, hanii has the verb ’ahídiigeeh as its focus. The first part of the sentence, a modifying clause (in brackets), raises the possibility that the airplanes might collide. Hanii is used to counteract this expectation:

(79) [Chidí naat’a’í ōléé yót’áahdi ’ách’í’ ’ahinoolchéél]GO
airplane there in-the-sky recip-to 3-run.GO
’ahídiigeeh hanii niizíí’ ñt’éc’ t’óó ’ahuíghah ch’íhi ’neelcháá’.
Two airplanes were running at each other up in the sky and I thought surely they’d collide but they merely passed each other by. (YM 1987:57)

3.3 The category of the negated constituent

Noun phrases, verb phrases, and clausal complements can be focused by hanii. In section 3.2, examples (74) and (75) show that common noun phrases can be negated by hanii, and (77) through (78) show a verb as the focus of hanii. Below, the pronoun shí is its focus:

(80) Shí hanii ’ásht’í, háíshíí’ át’í’!
I didn’t do it, someone else did (I don’t know who).
Below are examples of *hanii* with a relative clause as its focus:

(81) [Carlota naaltsoos iyííta’ígíí] hanii baahoneeni; Warren iyííta’ígíí ga’.
    The book Carlota read isn’t entertaining; the one Warren read is.

(82) [Líí’ lígáiígií] hanii shít nizhóní, ñízhíníígíí ga’.
    I don’t like the white horse, I like the black one.

(83) [Awéé’ álts’úsíígíí] hanii ’ayóó ayá, bimá sání ga’.
    It’s not the little baby that is a big eater, it’s the grandmother.

In examples (84) and (85), *hanii* has a clausal complement as its focus. These examples differ only in that in the first the propositional complement is marked by -ígíí and in the second it is marked by -go. They have the same interpretation:

(84) Jáán [Kii yóó’eelwósíí] hanii yoodlá.
    It’s not Kii running away that John believes.

(85) Jáán [Kii yóó’eelwózgo] hanii yoodlá.
    It’s not Kii running away-GO that John believes.

3.4 The function of the negated constituent and the position of *hanii*

*Hanii* can have a noun phrase as its focus in any syntactic function (subject, object, etc.). Any noun phrase appearing to the left of *hanii* can be its focus and subject to denial. Example (86) is an affirmative sentence that does not contain *hanii*. The other examples each have *hanii* in a different position:

(86) ’Azeé’ilí’ímí shicheii ’ásíjíh likan yits’édíni’á.
    The doctor prohibited my grandfather (maternal) from using sugar.

(87) ’Azeé’ilí’ímí hanii shicheii ’ásíjíh likan yits’édíni’á, hataalíi ga’.
    It is not the doctor who prohibited my grandfather (maternal) from using sugar, it was the medicine man.
It is not my grandfather (maternal) that the doctor prohibited from using sugar; it was my maternal grandmother.

Despite the fact that *hanii* can follow any noun phrase, there is a tendency for it to appear after the first constituent in the sentence.

Finally, *hanii* cannot appear after the final verb in a simple clause:

3.5 Scope issue with modifying clauses

When *hanii* appears inside an embedded clause, there are two complications to take note of. First, *hanii* tends not to be grammatical except immediately following the first phrase of the embedded clause. Second, from that position it can have scope over the entire embedded clause, something not possible in the main clause. The first point is evident in the following two examples:

The only difference between these is the position of *hanii*. The second point is that (91) is actually ambiguous. It can be followed by either (93) or (94).
… Mary ga’ chídí yiytut́chó’go t’áani’ naashá.
Mary ga’ car 3-3-break.down.P-GO afoot 1-walk.CI
… but because Mary wrecked the car that I’m on foot.

Łahgo áhóót’į́jdo ga’ t’áani’ naashá.
another 3-happen.P-GO ga’ afoot 1-walk.CI
I’m on foot because something else happened.

The reading of (91) that becomes clear if (93) is said after it is one in which someone other than
John wrecked the car, and that the speaker is on foot as a consequence. This reading is to be
expected from the fact that hanii immediately follows Jáan. But (91) also can have the reading in
which what hanii negates is the causal connection between the initial modifying clause and the final
main clause.⁷ This is the only reading available for the (slightly awkward) example below:

(95)  (?)Jáan chídí yiytut́chó’go hanii t’áani’ naashá.
John car 3-3-break.down.P-GO hanii afoot 1-walk.CI
It’s not because John wrecked the car that I’m on foot (but for some other reason).

In (95), hanii appears immediately after the modifying clause Jáan chídí yiytut́chó’go. The curiosity
about sentences like (91) is that hanii, in second position in the modifying clause, can have scope
over the entire embedded clause. Below is another set of examples that are like (91-95):

(96)  Jáan hanii bitah honeezgaígíi baa shíni’.
John neg 3-among areal-3-hot-ÍGÍí 3-about 1-worry.I
What I’m worried about is not that John is sick.

(97)  Jáan hanii bitah honeezgaígíi baa shíni’, Mary ga’
John neg 3-among areal-3-hot-ÍGÍí 3-about 1-worry.I Mary ga’
What I’m worried about is not that John is sick; it’s that Mary is.

(98)  Jáan hanii bitah honeezgaígíi baa shíni’, shinaanish ga’.
John neg 3-among areal-3-hot-ÍGÍí 3-about 1-work ga’
What I’m worried about is not that John is sick; it’s my job.

(99)  (?)Jáan bitah honeezgaígíi hanii baa shíni’.
John 3-among areal-3-hot-ÍGÍí neg 3-about 1-worry.I
It’s not that John is sick that I’m worried about.

⁷ Example (91), on this reading, and example (95) do not deny that the modifying clause is true;
they affirm (by presupposition) that the modifying clause is true. What is denied is that the truth
of the modifying clause caused the main clause to be true.
3.6 Other expressions using *hanii*

There are at least two other common expressions in which *hanii* appears that have negative meanings, but are not used to negate constituents. These are discussed in detail in section 10 of this chapter. The first is the frame *doo hanii …da*. In a declarative sentence, the frame is used to indicate that the subject of the sentence learned that a previously held opinion was false:

(100)  Doo hanii doodzas da nisin.
        doo hanii 3-snow.F neg 1-think
        I thought it wasn’t going to snow (but it did). (YM 1987:350)

In an interrogative sentence, the effect is a “why not” question:

(101)  Doo hanii kót’éego ’ánñléeh da?
        doo hanii this.way SUP-2-make.I neg
        Why don’t you make it like this? (YM 1987:350)

The second additional use of *hanii* is in the complex expression *X hanii ’át’í nisingo (Y) bíneesh’áá* (shown with a first person subject, although others are possible, of course), in which *Y* is the direct object, and *X* is another noun phrase. The phrase is glossed ‘*X* hanii 3-be 1-know-GO (Y) 3-1-mistook.Pf’. The details are in section 10, but here is an example:

(102)  Shicheii hanii ’át’í nisingo hastiin biyooch’ídí bíneesh’áá’.
        1-grandfather hanii 3-be.N 1-think.I-GO man 3-lie-i 3-1-mistake.P
        I mistook the liar for my grandfather. (YM 1987:240)

4. Negation and Indefinite Pronouns

This section discusses the interaction between negation and indefinite pronouns.

4.1 *Shíí* and *Da* Indefinites

As discussed in chapter 4, there are three varieties of indefinite pronouns: all are formed with an *h*-question word followed by *-shíí*, *-da*, or *-dashíí*. The *h…da* indefinites are negative polarity items (demonstrated in section 5), grammatical only in clauses that have certain negative properties. Section 5 of this chapter shows exactly what those properties are. The indefinite pronouns in the *h…shíí* pattern are preferred in affirmative sentences.\(^8\)

---

\(^8\) There may indeed be a tendency for speakers to use the *h…shíí* indefinites only in affirmative sentences. However, there are instances of these expressions occurring in other environments. In example (i), a *shíí* indefinite pronoun appears within the negative frame *doo…da*:

(i)  At’ééd  doo  háíshíí  yizts’qsda.
Indefinite pronouns⁹ that contain postpositional enclitics generally can be used wherever other postpositional (enclitic) phrases can. The (a) examples below contain ordinary postpositional phrases; the (b) examples contain a shíí̱ indefinite pronoun in place of it, and the (c) examples have a da indefinite pronoun:

(105) a. Hastiin kingóó oólbaš.  
    man town-to 3-drive.Pg  
    The man is driving to town.

b. Hastiin háágóóshíí̱ oólbaš.  
   man somewhere-to-shíí̱ 3-drive.Pg  
   The man is driving somewhere.

c. Hastiin doo háágóóda oólbašda.  
  man neg somewhere-to-da 3-drive.Pg-da  
  The man is not driving to anywhere.

4.2 Incorporated da Indefinites

Section 4.1 discussed sentences with da indefinite pronouns. Each of these sentences has a different form in which a suffix on the verb appears instead of the free-standing da indefinite pronoun:

---

girl neg someone 3-3-kiss.P -da  
The girl didn’t kiss anyone.

⁹ The examples discussed here contain words that appear in the place of postpositional phrases rather than nouns or noun phrases, so the term pronoun is may be a bit misleading, although it is common to use it this way. Linguists would call these pro-forms. Háá itself is not a pro-form; the enclitic -góó and -déé̱’ cannot appear with pronouns: *shígóó; *yiddéé̱’.
(106) a. Doo háiida at’êéed yizts’osda.
    neg someone-da girl 3-3-kiss.P-da
    No one kissed the girl.

   b. Doo at’êéed yizts’osída.
    neg girl 3-3-kiss.P-í-da
    No one kissed the girl.

(107) a. At’êéed doo háiida yizts’osda.
    girl neg anyone 3-3-kiss.P-da
    The girl didn’t kiss anyone.

   b. At’êéed doo yizts’osída.
    girl neg 3-3-kiss.P-í-da
    The girl didn’t kiss anyone.

In the (b) examples above, -í- appears immediately after the verb stem, and the negative indefinite pronoun does not appear as an independent word. In the analysis of Hale & Platero (2000), the indefinite pronouns have incorporated into (moved inside) the verb and appear there as -í-.

   When a postposition is part of an indefinite pronoun that incorporates, the postposition appears within the verb as well:

(108) a. Hastiin doo háágóóda oołbasda.
    man neg somewhere -to-da 3-drive.I-da
    The man is not driving to anywhere.

   b. Hastiin doo oołbasígóóda.
    man neg 3-drive.I-í-to-da
    The man is not driving to anywhere.

(109) a. Hastiin doo háádèé’d’a oołbasda.
    man neg somewhere -from-da 3-drive.I-da
    The man is not driving from anywhere.

   b. Hastiin doo oołbasídèé’d’a.
    man neg 3-drive.I-í- from-da
    The man is not driving from anywhere.

Note also the contrast between (b) and the following example:

(110) Kingóó doo oołbasída.
    town-to neg 3-drive.I-í-da
    ‘No one is driving to town.’
Hale & Platero (2000) pointed out that the position of *doo* determines whether the incorporated pronoun in interpreted as subject or object. When *doo* appears at the beginning of the clause, the incorporated pronoun is interpreted as the subject; when it appears after a noun phrase, the incorporated pronoun is interpreted as the object:

(111) a. Doó ashkii yiıyítsánídà.  
   neg boy 3-3-see.Pf-í-neg  
   Nobody saw the boy.

   b. Ashkii doó yiıyítsánídà.  
   boy neg 3-3-see.Pf-í-neg  
   The boy did not see anybody.

(112) a. Łééchéą’í doó yishxashídà.  
   dog neg 3-3-bite.Pf-í-neg  
   The dog didn’t bite anything.

   b. Doó Łééchéą’í yishxashídà.  
   neg dog 3-3-bite.Pf-í-neg  
   Nothing bit the dog.

The following examples show that the incorporated pronoun *-í* appears instead of one of the arguments in a clause. Speakers judge examples like the following to have too many arguments in them:

(113) *Ashkii at’ée’d doo yizts’qsídà.  
   boy girl neg 3-3-kiss.P-í-da

(114) *At’ée’d doó háíídà yizts’qsídà.  
   girl neg anyone 3-3-kiss.P-í-da

5. Polarity Sensitivity/Polarity Items

Certain words or expressions are sensitive to whether they appear in the scope of negation. Most expressions are not sensitive to this, but certain ones, Negative Polarity Items (NPIs), are grammatical, with a particular interpretation, only within the scope of negation. Others, Positive Polarity Items, are grammatical only outside it. NPIs are classified on a scale of strength based on how negative an environment must be in order for the NPI to appear in it.

Navajo negative indefinite pronouns are NPIs of a weak variety; there is a negative verbal enclitic that is a stronger type of NPI; and there are two minimizing expressions that are also strong.
5.1 Negative Indefinite Pronouns

[See also chapter 4.] Indefinite pronouns formed of an *h*-question word and the enclitic *da* (such as *háída* ‘nobody/anybody’ and *ha’át’ída* ‘nothing/anything’) are normally preferred inside the negative frame rather than the indefinite pronouns, such as *háishí́́* ‘someone’ and *ha’át’íshí́́* ‘something’, that have the enclitic -*shí́́*:

(115) a. Doo háída  at’éd yizts’qs da.
   neg no.one girl 3-3-kiss.P-neg
   No one kissed the girl.

   b. At’éd doo háída yizts’qs da.
      girl neg noone 3-3-kiss.P-neg
      The girl didn’t kiss anyone.

(116) a. Háishí́́  at’éd yizts’qs.
   someone girl 3-3-kiss.P
   Someone kissed the girl.

   b. At’éd háíshí́́ yizts’qs.
      girl someone 3-3-kiss.P
      The girl kissed someone.

The *h…da* pronouns are unacceptable in simple affirmative sentences:

(117) *Háída  at’éd yizts’qs.
   no.one girl 3-3-kiss.P

However, the *h…shí́́* words are sometimes used inside the negative frame, thus indicating that they are not true positive polarity items:

(118) At’éd doo háíshí́́ yizts’qsda.
   girl neg someone 3-3-kiss.P-neg
   The girl didn’t kiss anyone.

These pronouns are discussed in chapter 4. *Ha’át’ída* has the interpretation of a universal quantification (‘anything’) when it appears within *doo…da*, or a related negative frame. It also can have this interpretation in the scope of the constituent negator *hanii* (119B), in the restriction of a universal quantifier (120), and in certain irrealis contexts such as an embedded question (119A) and the scope of *laanaa* (121), which expresses a wish:
I wonder where John is driving to.

John is not driving anywhere.

John is not driving anywhere.

Every boy who ate anything will wash dishes.

I wish somebody would help me.

Outside the scope of negation or the other kinds of sentences exemplified here, h...da words are either ungrammatical or they have a ‘whatchamacallit’ interpretation. (See discussion of indefinite pronouns in chapter 4). In such environments, há’át’ída no longer has an indefinite interpretation:

a. Don’t eat the whatchamacallit.

b. Don’t eat anything.

If I had that whatchamacallit I would have been married by now.

a. If I had something-- anything-- I would have been married by now.

b. If I had something-- anything-- I would have been married by now.

To form counterparts of (122) and (123) that in English would use the negative polarity item anything, the shíi indefinite can be used:

a. We’re out of the whatchamacallit. (something that I can’t think of the name of)

b. We’re out of it.

There is no such English counterpart of (124). The sentence would be *We’re out of anything.
(125) Há’át’íshíįį wóyąą’ lágo.
   something 2-eat.Opt-í lágo
   Don’t eat anything.
   Or “don’t eat something.”??

(126) Há’át’íshíįį naash’áago k’ad ’ashyééh doo ŋí’ée’.
   something 3-1-carry.about.Imp-COMP now 1-married fut past
   If I had something/anything I would have been married by now.

[[Check when há’át’úda is fully ungrammatical. It may get the whatchamacallit reading just in the scope of a downward entailing operator.]]

Há’át’íshíįį can be used with the verb in (124) with the following result:

(127) Há’át’íshíįį ’ádin.
   something SUP-not.exist
   Something is missing/gone. (the speaker doesn’t know what it is)

The ‘whatchamacallit’ reading is also available when há’át’úda appears in the antecedent clause of a conditional sentence:

(128) Ha’át’úda naash’áago k’ad ’ashyééh doo ŋí’ée’.
   whatchamacallit 3-1-carry.about.Imp-COMP now 1-married fut past
   If I had that whatchamacallit I would have been married by now.
   Or: If I had something I would have been married by now.

5.2 Incorporated Indefinite Pronouns

The incorporated negative indefinite pronoun -í (discussed in section 4.3) is a negative polarity item. It is acceptable within the negative frame:

(129) Doo ashkii yiıyitsáąnída.
   neg boy 3-3-see.Pf-í-neg
   Nobody saw the boy.

It is ungrammatical without a negative frame:

(130) *Ashkii yiıyitsáąnįį.
   boy 3-3-see.Pf-Ń

The distribution of the incorporated pronoun is more restricted than the h...da words discussed in the previous section. The incorporated pronouns can only appear within a negative frame and are
ungrammatical in the scope of constituent negation *hanii* or with universal quantifiers or *laanaa* wishes:

(131) *Yisht’óí* hanii, ’ashxaľ ga’.  
3-1-weave.I-İ hanii SUP-1-drum FOC  
(I’m not weaving anything; I’m drumming.)

(132) *Ashiiké* t’aáá’í nížínígo yiıyíyáqi’í́gí́ ľeets’aa’ tádoogis.  
boys every nothing 3-3-eat.P-İ-COMP dish 3-3-wash.Fut  
Every boy who ate anything will wash dishes.

(133) *Shíká* ’oolyeed laanaa.  
1-for 3-run-İ wish  
(I wish someone would help me.)

Although the incorporated pronoun is ungrammatical outside a negative frame, Hale & Platero (2000) noticed that the argument that incorporates can originate inside a complement clause:

(134) Shízhé’é doo deeshááł nízingóó da.  
1-father neg 1-go.Fut 1-want.N neg  
My father doesn’t want to go anywhere. (Hale & Platero 2000:79)

What is negated in this example is the wanting. The pronoun -í represents the destination argument of the verb *deeshááł* ‘I will go’ in the complement clause.

5.3 A Minimizer: lá’í ndí (< lá’í ‘unity; ndí ‘but’ OR < la’í ‘some’; í ‘anyone’ ndí ‘but’)

Minimizers are negative polarity expressions that add emphasis to negative assertions. English examples are ‘(not) a bit’, ‘(not) in the least’, ‘(not) a red cent’. *Lá’í ndí* is a minimizer that likely consists of the indefinite article *ňa*’ along with the negative enclitic -í, that also serves as the incorporated counterpart of negative indefinite pronouns, and the conjunction *ndí* ‘but’:

(135) Béeso lá’í ndí doo naash’áá da.  
money MIN neg 3-1-carry.about.Imp neg  
I haven’t so much as one dollar. (YM 1987:515)  
(I don’t have any money, not even a dollar.)

(136) Dí chídí bikee’ lá’í ndí doo dits’id da láá.  
this car 3-shoe MIN neg 3-tough.NI neg DISC  
Not a one of these tires is any good. (YM 1987:515)  
None of these tires are durable, not even one.

---

11 This could possibly be the nominalizing enclitic -í, employed here to form *ńa’í* ‘union’. 
Łá’í ndí is a fairly strict negative polarity item that is normally acceptable only within the negative frame. Without negation, Łá’í ndí is ungrammatical:

(137)  *Bëeso Łá’í ndí naash’á.
       money MIN 3-1-carry.about.Imp

(138)  *Dicí chídí bíkee’ Łá’í ndí dits’id lá.
       this car 3-shoe MIN 3-tough.NI DISC

Some languages have negative polarity items that are grammatical in yes-no questions, in the restriction of a universal quantifier, in the antecedent clause of a conditional (English ever and any are examples of such words). However, Łá’í ndí is ungrammatical in these environments:

Yes-No Question:
(139)  *Bëeso Łá’í ndíísh nani’á?
       money MIN-Q 3-2-carry.about.Imp

Universal restriction:
(140)  *Ashiiké t’áálá’í níźínígo (ch’íyáán) Łá’í ndí yiıyíyą’įgíť łeets’aa’ táidoogis.
       boys every (food) MIN 3-3-eat.P-COMP dish 3-3-wash.Fut
       (Every boy who ate even a bite of food will wash dishes.)

Conditional antecedent:
(141)  *Bëeso Łá’í ndí naash’áago k’ad ’ashyéēh doo át’éé’.
       money MIN 3-1-carry.about.Imp-Comp now 1-married fut past
       (If I had so much as a dollar I’d be married now.)

Negative indefinite pronouns are grammatical in the scope of laanaa ‘wish’, but Łá’í ndí needs overt negation in order for it to appear:

(142)  *Bëeso Łá’í ndí naash’á laanaa.
       money MIN 3-2-carry.about.Imp wish
       (I wish I had some money.)
Often substituting the indefinite determiner ła’ for ła’ɪ ndi results in a grammatical counterpart for the sentences above.\(^\text{12}\)

(143)  Cf. Béesoósh lä’ nani’á?

money-Q some 3-2-cary.about.Imp
Do you have any money?

(144)  Cf. Béeso ła’ naash’áago k’ad ’ashyééh doo ńt’éé’.

money some 3-1-cary.about.Imp-Comp now 1-married fut past
If I had some money I would have been married now.


money some 3-2-cary.about.Imp wish
I wish I had some money.

The only environment in which ła’ɪ ndi can appear without being in a negative frame is modifying an argument of the negative verb ’ádin:

(146)  Shibéeso ła’i ndi ’ádin.

1-money MIN SUP-not.exist
I don’t have even one bit of money.

5.4 Another Negative Polarity Item: ndó’ ‘even/ any’

Another negative polarity item that is used for emphasis the particle ndó’. This particle appears immediately following doo in the negative frame (doo…da). Below are several grammatical examples:

\(^{12}\) Note, however, that ła’ is not a positive polarity item. It can appear grammatically in the scope of negation:

(i)  Doo ła’ nisinda.

neg some 1-want.N-neg
I don’t want any.

(ii)  Doo ła’ nisinída.

neg some 1-want.N-ı-neg
I don’t want any one of them.
(147) Chidí bito doo ndó’ holóq da.
car 3-water neg NDÓ’ areal-be.N neg
There’s not even any gasoline.

(148) Béeso doo ndó’ naash’áa da.
money neg NDÓ’ 1-have.? neg
I don’t have any money.

(149) Doo ndó’ daatsaah noolin da.
    neg NDÓ’ 3-sick 3-3-look.N neg
He doesn’t even look sick. (Reichard 1951:310, YM 1987:351)

(150) ’Awéé’ doo ndó’ yidlºoh da.
baby neg NDÓ’ 3-cold neg
The baby is not even cold (much less uncomfortable). (Reichard 1951:310, YM 1987:351)

The question focusing marker -ísh can cliticize onto ndó’, as the example below shows:

(151) Doo ndó’ísh yiyáq da?
    neg NDÓ’-Q 2-eat.? neg
Don’t you eat at all?

In every acceptable example shown above, ndó’ appears within the negative frame doo…da. This particle seems to be unacceptable in any other position. Below is a series of examples that show ndó’ is ungrammatical except in positions where certain other negative polarity items are permitted.

In a yes/no question:

(152) *Ndó’ísh yiyáq?
    (Do you eat at all?)

With the negative existential predicate:

(153) *Chidí bito ndó’ ’ádin.
car 3-water MIN not.exist
(There’s not even any gasoline.)

With the constituent negator hanii:

(154) *Béeso ndó’ hanii naash’á.
money MIN hanii 1-have.? 
(I don’t have any money.)

In the restriction of a universal quantifier:
(155) *Ashiiké t’àálá’í nízingo (ch’iyáán) ndó’ yiýíyaq’ígyí…

In the antecedent of a conditional:

(156) *Béeso ndó’ naash’áago…
    (okay with doo…da)

With wishes:

(157) *Béeso ndó’ naash’á laanaa.
    money MIN hanii 1-have.? wish
    (I wish I had some money.)

With a negative imperative:

(158) *Ndó’ bidoólchíd lágo.
    MIN ..

(159) *T’áado le’é ndó’ bidoólchíd lágo.
    things MIN

From these examples, it is clear that ndó’ is unacceptable except within the negative frame doo…da.

Note: This expression is sometimes used with ndi after ndó’:

(160) Doo ’adlàada dóó doo ’asdzání yaa yinít’ú da doo ndó’ ndi ná’ált’oh da.
    neg 3-drink neg Conj neg woman 3-about 3-bother neg neg NDÓ’ but 3-smoke neg
    He does not drink, he doesn’t bother with women, he doesn’t even smoke.
    (Reichard 1951:310)

(161) Doo ndó’ ndi yidloh da.
    neg NDÓ’ but 3-laugh neg
    He doesn’t even laugh. (YM 1987:351)

6. Negation and Non-Declarative Sentences
6.1 Negative Imperatives

There are five ways to make negative commands or give instructions that have negation inside them. The material in this section is comes from Reichard (1951), slightly reorganized. Young & Morgan (1987) also discuss negative imperatives (pp xxx).
6.1.1 Lágo with optative mode

The first way is to use a verb in the optative mode and add the particle lágo after the verb (Reichard 1951:315; YM 1987:163):

(162) Wóyáá’ lágo.
2-eat.Opt lágo
Don’t eat it. (Reichard 1951:315)

(163) Bee bił hóólme’ lágo.
3-by.means.of 3-with 2-tell,Opt lágo
Don’t tell him/her. (Reichard 1951:315)

(164) Béégashii dá’ák'eojeeh lágo, hazhó'ó baa 'áhólyá.
cattle field-in-3-go.Opt-Pl lágo careful 3-for 2-care
Watch the cattle and don't let them into the field. (YM 1987:513)

(165) Bik’i dóóltaal lágo.
3-on 2-step.Opt lágo
Don’t step on it. (Reichard 1951:315)

(166) Chidí t’áá ’ákwe’é nóó’ááł lágo.
car just there 2-park.Opt lágo
Don’t park there. (Reichard 1951:315)

This combination produces a negative desire when not used with a second person subject:

(167) 'Ooshxáásh lágo.
1-go.to.sleep.Opt lágo
I hope I won’t go to sleep. (Reichard 1951:315)

(168) Yiskáago nahóltáá’ lágo.
tomorrow rain.Opt lágo
I hope it will not rain tomorrow. (Reichard 1951:315)

(169) Díí naayehé yá sidáhi ni’dóleeh lágo.
this trader 2-3-gyp neg
I hope this trader doesn’t gyp you. (YM 1987:163)

(170) Dóola dá’ák’eolyeed lágo díí t'léé’.
bull field-3-go.Opt neg tonight
I hope the bull doesn't get into the field tonight. (YM 1987:513)
6.1.2 Negative generalization with fourth person subject

The second way is to create a generalization using a fourth person subject, and use the negative frame *doo ... da.* Reichard (1951:309) writes that such sentences express “a negative command of general import” or a polite imperative to the person being addressed. The two glosses for each sentence below are intended to indicate these two readings:

(171) Doo ’ájíñí da.
    neg SUP-4-speak neg
    One should never speak that way. / Don’t ever speak that way. (1951:309)

(172) Doo ’ájit’ïi da.
    neg SUP-4-do neg
    One should never do that. / Don’t ever do that. (1951:309)

(173) Doo jicha da.
    neg SUP-4-cry neg
    One should never cry. / Don’t cry. (1951:309)

(174) Doo jichxa da.
    neg SUP-4-scream neg
    One should never scream. / Don’t ever scream. (1951:309)

6.1.3 *T’áadoo* with an imperfective verb

The third kind of negative imperative is to use *t’áado* with a verb in the imperfective mode that has a second person subject, and that has the enclitic -ñ.

(175) T’áadoo ’ádíñíñí!
    just-neg SUP?-2-say
    Don’t say that!

(176) T’áadoo ’ánit’íñí!
    just-neg SUP?-2-do
    Don’t do that!

(177) T’áadoo niyooch’ídí!
    just-neg 2-lying
    Don’t be a liar/Don’t lie!
(178) Táadoon shiníní-nilí!
just-neg 1-at-2-look
Don’t look at me!

6.1.4 T’áá ká

The fourth kind of negative imperative is formed with t’ááká (spelled t’áá ká in Young & Morgan 1987:719) and an optative verb that has a second person subject. Reichard (1951:313) writes, “The combination of particles t’áá and ká seems sometimes to mean ‘carefully, carelessly’, but with a negative it means ‘don’t’.”

(179) T’áá ká bainóht’íní la’.
t’ááká 3-2-bother discover
Don’t bother him/her. / Be careful not to bother him/her. (Reichard 1951:313)

(180) T’áá ká shił yah’oolyeed. [lágo]
t’ááká 1-with 3-in-3-run-in.I
Whatever happens don’t let him/her come to my house. (Reichard 1951:313)

(181) T’áá ká bił ch’óo’ááł. [lágo]
t’ááká 3-with 3-2-divulge.X
Be careful not to divulge your purpose to him. (Reichard 1951:313)

(182) T’áá ká háodziih. [lágo]
t’ááká 2-speak.X
See that you do not speak (e.g., in church). (Reichard 1951:314)

(183) T’áá ká łahego ‘át’éego shich’i’ haohndzih. [lágo]
t’ááká changed 3-be-GO 1-to 2-ask.X
Be careful not to ask anything extraordinary of me. (Reichard 1951:314)

[Elia likes these better with lágo].

6.1.5 Níwe

Finally, the verb?/particle? níwe ‘stop’ can be used in a command.

(184) Níwe!
2-stop.?
Leave it! Stop! Quit it!
6.2 Coordination and Negation

The negative frame *doo…da must have the main predicate of a clause inside it. This section gives examples of sentences that involve both negation and coordination. First, a negative clause can be coordinated with a non-negative clause, and two negative clauses can be coordinated. This is by no means surprising, but there are some interactions to take note of between negation and the conjunction used to coordinate the clauses.

The second point to make is that coordinated noun phrases and postpositional phrases can appear along with a verb inside a negative frame, and again the interpretation of the sentence is affected by the interaction between conjunction and negation.

6.2.1 Negation and Clausal Coordination

[In the examples in this section, the conjunction is in bold type and the negative particles are underlined.]

It is not possible to use one negation frame around two clauses joined by a conjunction:

(186) *Doo gad dit’in léi’ nichixo’i da.
     neg juniper 3-dense neg Conj 3-ugly neg
     (It is not the case that because the juniper is dense it is ugly.)

The example below shows that it is possible to coordinate two negative clauses in which only one has an incorporated negative polarity item:

(187) Bilasáana *doo yiyáda doó doo yidlání da.
     apple neg 3-eat.1-neg Conj neg -drink.1-incorp-neg.
     S/he isn’t eating an apple and isn’t drinking anything.

When clauses are coordinated, it is permissible for either clause to be negated:

(188) Gad doo dit’in da doó nichixo’i.
     juniper neg 3-dense neg Conj 3-ugly
     The juniper is not dense and it is ugly.

(189) Gad dit’in doó nichixo’i da.
     juniper 3-dense neg Conj 3-ugly neg
     The juniper is dense and it is not ugly.
Gad doo dit’in da dō doo nizhóní da.  
juniper neg 3-dense neg Conj neg 3-beautiful neg  
The juniper is not dense and it is not beautiful.

When the conjunction is an enclitic, it cliticizes onto da:

baby 3-suck.P-Conj neg 3-cry.P neg  
Because the baby sucked s/he is not crying.

(192) Doo ditá qa dai’ dit’ódf.  
neg 3-thick neg-Conj 3-fragile  
Because it is not thick it is fragile.

(193) Doo hazhó’ó ‘íyóó’ qa dai’ t’áadoo náníichaad da.  
neg well 1-eat.P neg-Conj just-neg 1-full.P neg  
Because I didn’t eat well, I am not full.

Imperatives can be coordinated. In the example below, the first imperative is positive and the second is negative:

(194) Shíká ‘anáñľwo’ doodaii’ t’áadoo shaa nánjí’íní.  
1-for 2-run.Imp? Conj just-neg 1-? 2-bother.?  
Help me or else don’t bother me. (YM 1987:350)

Below are examples of clausal coordination using a range of conjunctions:

‘áko

(195) Yiskáággo doo nda’anish da ‘áko t’óó hootah deet’áazh, she’esdzáá bił.  
tomorrow neg work neg Conj just visit 1du-go.Fut 1-wife 3-with  
There’s no work tomorrow so my wife and I are just going to go visiting. (YM 1987:348)

(196) Kintahgőó déyá ‘áko doo shaa dínnáálf da.  
town-to 1-go.F Conj neg 1-to 3-go.F neg  
I will be going to town so don’t come over to see me.

(197) Doo ntsaa da ‘áko doo ndaaz da.  
neg 3-big da Conj neg 3-heavy neg  
It is not big so it is not heavy.
doodaii'

(198) 'Adeeshüü doodaii' doo 'adeeshüü da.
I will make/do it, or I won’t.

(199) Doo 'adeeshüü da doodaii' 'adeeshüü.
I will make/do it, or I won’t.

(200) Dztiahgoo deekaigo chi’yáán doo lq’í da doo doodaii’ chidí bitoo’ doo lq’í da doo. mountains-to 1dpl-go.Fut-GO food neg much neg fut Conj gas neg much neg fut If we go to the mountains there won’t be enough food or enough gas.

háálá

(201) Doo háágóó da deeshnéel 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.

(202) Kin Łánídí naanish háálá doo ’áadi shighan da.
Flagstaff 1-work Conj neg there-at 1-live neg
I work in Flagstaff because I don’t live there.

(203) Doo Kin Łánídí naanish da háálá doo ’áadi shighan da.
eg Flagstaff-at 1-work neg Conj neg there-at 1-live neg
I don’t work in Flagstaff because I don’t live there.

léi’

(204) Gad doo dit’in da léi’ nichxqo’í.
juniper neg 3-dense neg Conj 3-ugly
The juniper is not dense and it is ugly.

(205) Ha’asídí nihéehósin léi’ doo nihaa ná’áhodít’jigóó watchman 1dpl-3-know.N Conj neg 1dpl-to 3-pay.attention.NI-neg.GO t’óó nihil ch’ínl’él.
just 1pl-with out-3-sail.P
Inasmuch as the watchman knew us, he paid no attention to us as we sailed out. YM (1987:370)

(206) Doo nahałtin da léi’ tó doo dego ’anool’qäl da.
eg 3-rain neg Conj water neg up 3-go.Prog neg
Because it hasn’t been raining, the water level is not going up.
Kii horse 3-3-rope.SP Conj but neg 3-3-brand.I neg
Kii has roped the horse but is not branding it.

Even though I didn't go to school, I dressed like a schoolgirl. (YM 1987:467)

I've done everything I can do to my hair but it won't curl. (YM 1987:796)

She didn’t make them [tortillas] big and thin, it is said.

This sentence would be true as long as the tortillas were not both big and thin: they could be thin but not big, big but not thin, or neither big nor thin, and the sentence will be true. In the second
sentence of the example below, each of the two modifiers has its own negative frame. The conjunction has scope over each instance of negation:

(214) [Shí ’éí náneeskaadí ’ádaalts’úíšgo dóó dadítqágo ’ádaash’í.]  
1 TOP tortilla 3pl-small.N-GO Conj 3pl-thick.N-GO thus-3pl-1-make.NI  
Diné niidlíngíí ’ákót’éego náneeskaadí ’ádeil’í.  
Navajo 1dpl-be.N-ÍGÍÍ thus-way tortilla thus-3pl-1dpl-make.NI  
dóó ’ayóigo danteelgóó dóó doó ’ayóigo ’ádaalts’úíšgo.  
neg very 3pl-broad.N-neg.GO Conj neg very 3pl-thick.N-neg.GO  
[As for me, I make tortillas small and thick.] That is how we Navajos make our tortillas, not very broad and not very thin.

6.2.3 Negation and Phrasal Coordination

Below is an example of a postposition that has two coordinated noun phrases as its object, all within a negative frame. In the interpretation, negation has wide scope over coordination in the following (meaning, the people making tortillas do not make them with both shortening and butter at the same time):

(215) Nihí ’éli náneeskaadí doó ’ak’ah dóó mandigiya bił ’ádeil’í  da.  
1pl TOP det tortilla neg shortening Conj butter 3-with SUP-1pl-make.NI neg  
We (pl) don’t make tortillas with shortening and butter.  
’Ak’ah têiyá bił ’ádeil’í.  
shortening only 3-with SUP-1dpl-make.NI  
We only make it with shortening.

The interpretation of this is that the conjunction is within the scope of negation; thus it would be true if the subject makes tortillas using shortening but no butter. In the example below, dooddai’i’ ‘or’ is used and it appears along with the second coordinated noun phrase after the verb phrase. The sentence will be true only if the people making tortillas use neither shortening nor butter. Negation has scope over dooddai’i’ even though dooddai’i’ has dislocated to the end of the sentence:

(216) Nihí ’éli náneeskaadí doó ’ak’ah bił ’ádeil’í  da dooddai’i’ mandigiya da.  
1du TOP tortilla neg shortening 3-with SUP-1du-make.NI neg Conj butter etc  
We (plural) do not make tortillas with shortening or such things as butter.

Negation can have coordinated postpositional phrases in its scope, although such sentences are fairly cumbersome:

(217) Jooł doó ’atiin tsé’ naa dóó ’aní’í’ báátis ahíínííhan da.  
ball neg road across Conj fence 3-over 3-2-throw.P neg  
I didn’t throw the ball across the road and/or over the fence.
(218) Jool doo 'atiin tsê'naa doodago 'anêt'i' báátsis 'ahíihan da.  
Ball-Q road across Conj fence 3-over-Q 3-2-throw.P  
I didn’t throw the ball across the road or over the fence.

6.3 Conditionals

6.3.1 “Regular”

(219) Nahaltingo doo deeshááł da.  
rain-GO neg 1.go.F neg  
If it rains I won’t go (leave/come).

(220) Doo nihee nahaltiingô dîkwî da níñáánááhaigo shîj dibáá' 'ânihidooldijîł.  
neg 1dpl-xx rain-neg.GO few years probably thirst-xx 1dpl-destroy.P?  
If we don’t get rain we'll be wiped out by thirst in a few more years. (YM 1987:5)

6.3.2 Counterfactuals  
[see also counterfactuals in ch. 23]

Counterfactuals are a special kind of conditional (if...then) sentence in which the antecedent (if clause) is entailed to be untrue. Navajo counterfactuals are produced by combining the future particle doolee and the past particle nît’ée’:

(221) Hooghandi sêdáago k’ad 'ashshosh doolee nît’ée’ (doo nît’ée’).  
home-di now 1-sleep.DI fut past  
If I had been at home I would have been sleeping by now. (YM 1987:351)

(222) K’ad kintahdi naasháago t’áá ’ídáá’ ’ífyáá’ doolee nît’ée’ (doo nît’ée’).  
now town-at 1-go-Sub just already 1-eat.P fut past  
If I were in town I have eaten already by now. (YM 1987:351)

(223) Siláó ‘idlíjî házhó’ó bíhoole’âgo shîj t’ahdii siláó níshlíjî doolee nît’ée’  
policeman 3-be-way carefully 1-learn.P-Sub probably still policeman 1-be.N fut past  
If I had taken police training more carefully, I'd probably still be a policeman (YM 1987:678)

The alternate future particle doo can usually be substituted for doolee.

Although the antecedent is entailed to be false in these sentences, no expression of negation is responsible for this.

In the following examples, the antecedent doo là’í ’ashláágóó contains its own negative frame. This expression of negation has narrow scope relative to the conditional:
(224)  Doo lą’í ’ashą́ą́goó k’ad ’ánísts’ózí dooleéł níí’eé’ (doo níí’eé’).
    neg much 1-eat-neg-GO now 1-be-think fut past
    If I didn’t eat so much I would have been thin by now.

(225)  Doo nił hóyeé’ góó’ éiyá nibéégashii danizhóní dooleéł. no íít’éé’?
    neg 2-with lazy-neg-GO 2-cattle pl-beautiful future
    If you weren't so lazy you'd have nice cattle. (YM 1987:350)

7 Double Negation

Reichard (1951:309) notes two examples in which “a double negative equals a positive,” as she puts it:

(226)  ?Doo doo bił hózhóó da.
    neg neg 3-with beauty neg
    S/he is not angry. (Reichard 1951:309)

(227)  Doo doo ’ásohodish’ííh da doo.
    neg neg SUP-1-with.hope neg fut
    I shall not be discouraged. (Reichard 1951:309)

Notice that, although doo appears twice, da appears only once.
Notwithstanding these examples, multiple negation is normally quite cumbersome and is likely to result in a sentence that is difficult to understand:

(228)  ?Gad doo doo dit’in da.
    juniper neg neg 3-dense.N neg
    (The juniper is not un-dense.)

(229)  ?Naabehó dóó Dziłgháá’í danlínígíí doo doo hózhó da’ahidiits’a’ da.
    Navajo and White.Mtn.Apache pl-3-be-ÍGÍÍ neg neg well pl-recip-3-understand neg
    (It is not the case that the Navajos and the White Mountain Apaches do not understand each other very well.)

The reason examples (226) and (227) are acceptable is that the meanings of the sentences when they contain only one negative frame is slightly idiomatic. Compare the affirmative examples with those that contain a single negation:

(230)  a.  Bił hózhóó.
    3-with beauty
    S/he is happy.
b. Doo bił hózhǫ̀q da.
   neg 3-with beauty neg
   S/he is angry. (Reichard 1951:309)

(231) a. 'Ásohodish’įįh doo.
   SUP-1-with.hope fut
   I shall have hope.

b. Doo ’ásohodish’įįh da doo.
   neg SUP-1-with.hope neg fut
   I shall be discouraged.

Example (230b) is not a straightforward negation of (230a). Negating (230b) contradicts the idiomatic meaning, rather than being a case of two negations actually canceling each other. Comparing (227) to (231), the multiple occurrences of negation appear not to involve idiomatic meaning.

In conclusion, clauses that have multiple cases of negation tend to be difficult to understand, and are cumbersome at best. Two negatives do not necessarily equal a positive.

8 Time and Negation

There are several ways of expressing the concepts that in English are glossed ‘never’.

t’ah doo … da

(232) Díí dził t’ah doo bąqhashisháah da.
   this mountain just neg 3-alongsid 1-go.up.out.Pf neg
   I’ve never climbed this mountain. (YM 1987:431)

(233) T’áá áléédéé’ ha’át’ée gi da t’ah doo ’ádaah dah hoshisht’aah da.
   I’ve never committed a crime in my life. (YM 1987:458)

(234) 'Óltajíí ’íyáhádafá na chízh yee ’adilohii t’ah doo yiistséeh da ńt’éé’.
   I still had never seen an elephant even at the time I went away to school. (YM 1987:710)

(235) T’ah doo la’ na’nééistséeh da.
   I wonder why I never see him anymore. (YM 1987:710)

---

t’áadoo V da

(236) T’áadoo yee ’akéé’ niníyáhí da.
   t’áadoo yee seconded neg
it was never seconded, it hasn't been seconded. (YM 1987:649)

---

(237) Táá ‘ákwií zhíí doo ts’ídá t’áá le’délt’e’ góne’ nihee hodííthjíh da. 
strike. happy. medium 
Our summer rains never strike a happy medium. (YM 1987:742)

---

Hool’áágó dóo --- da, ‘never’

(238) Hool’áágó dóo ‘ałk’iidijah da daanígho ‘ahada’deest’á.
forever neg 3-gather.to.fight.P? neg pl-3-??.-GO recip-3-make.agreement.Pf
They agreed never to attack one another. (YM 1987:460)

===> Agree ((a,b), Forever(¬attack (a,b)))

---

(239) Ha’át’éégi dóo tó’dìisìgo dóo bighá’jít’séeh da.
never ? blister neg 3-1-prick.? neg 
Never prick a water blister. (YM 1987:707)

táá shíidáq’iid "a long time, never (in negative contexts), old.

(240) Táá shíidáq’iid kwe’é nihíghan.
just long.time here 2pl-live.N 
We’ve lived here for a long time. (YM 1987:722)

(241) T’áá shíidáq’iid shíbégashíí ’ádíin.
just long.time 1-cattl not.exist.N 
I’ve never had any cattle. (YM 1987:722)

9 Negation and Causation

Negation and causation each have scope that has the potential to interact. Causation is often indicated by the clausal conjunction biniiinaa/ yiniinaa. Negation appears twice in the example below:

(242) Ch’iyáán dóo yá’át’éhgíí niyágho biniiinaa dóo dinílwo’ da.
food neg 3-good-(neg)-ÍGíí 2-eat-GO 3-because neg 2.run neg 
Because you eat unhealthy food, you can’t run fast.

Although negation appears twice in this example, once in the first clause and once in the second, the clause that appears before biniiinaa is positive. This is because negation appears inside a relative clause contained within the first clause. The particle da does not appear because the subordinating enclitic is -ígíí. The second clause is negative.
Sentences that are taken to be causative often do not contain *biniinaa*, and so do not directly entail causation. In the following sentence, the first clause is subordinated to the second using the enclitic *-go*. As Schauer noted, *-go* underdetermines the semantic relation that links the interpretations of the two clauses together. Nevertheless, the relation is often taken to be causal, and the following is an example of this:

(243) ‘Ádihodideesht’išh sha’shin nisingo t’áadoo ’atah haasdzii’ da.
refl-1-get.into.trouble.Pf probably 1-want-GO neg … 1-say neg
I didn't say anything because I didn't want to get myself into trouble.
(YM 1987:16)

10 Negative Sentence particles (How to say “no” or answer yes-no questions)

Navajo has two basic negative sentence particles, *nda* and *dooda*, the latter clearly related to the negative frame *doo…da*. The following are used for more emphatic negation:

(244) *nda ga’, daga’, ndagha’, nda yee’, dooda yee’* ‘(emphatically) no’

*Dooda* is sometimes said to be more emphatic than *nda*. However, this may be because it is the only possible negative response to an imperative. *Nda* is not used for these:

(245) Mother: Shiyáázh, álááh ’ílhosh.
1-son there-go 2-sleep.X
Go to sleep, son.

Child: Dooda.
No.

(246) Mother: Łeets’a’ísh táásinígiz?
Dishes-Q 2-wash.Pf
Did you wash the dishes?

No.

(247) Dí bilasáana bitsee’ hólónígíí ’át’é.
this apple 3-tail 3-exist-Rel. 3-be
This is a pear. (Reichard, 307:1951)

Nda, bilasáana ’át’é. / Dooda bilasáana ’át’é.
no apple 3-be.N
No, it is an apple.
If someone asks a negative yes-no question, answering with the affirmative signifies an acknowledgment that the negative declarative sentence corresponding to the question is true. The question below is negative:

(248) Łeets’aa’iṣh t’áadoo tááśinigiz?
dishes-Q just-neg 2-wash.Pf neg
Didn’t you wash the dishes?

Answering with the affirmative ‘aoo’ means the person answering the question did not wash the dishes. If he or she did wash them the response would be:

(249) Ndaga’ tááśegiz.
no 3-1-wash.Pf
No, I washed them.

Here is another example:

(250) Naaltsoosísh t;ahdoo aftsọ yííñftah da?
book-Q just-neg yet 3-2-read.Pf? da
Haven’t you finished the book yet?

‘Aoo’, in response, means that the responder has not yet finished the book. If he or she has finished, the response could be:

(251) Ndaga’ aftsọ yííñftah.
no yet 3-1-read.Pf
No, I’ve finished it already.

Young & Morgan (1987) have the following example:

(252) Díč ḥíi’ biyéél doo neeznédiin béeso bááhilí da nisin.
this horse 3-saddle neg 100 dollars worth neg 1-think.N
I don't think this saddle is worth a hundred dollars.
Niísh ’aldó’ t’áá’ ákwínínínízin.
2-Q also 2-hold.that.opinion
Do you look at it that way?
’aoo’, shí do’ t’áá’ ákwínisin.
yes 1 also 1-hold.that.opinion
Yes, I look at it that way. (YM 1987:79)