Chapter 15  Coordination

Coordination is used to combine two or more constituents into a single constituent. Constituents like *Jáan dóó Mary* 'John and Mary' or *Ííltá dóó *ilghaazh* 'I read and I went to sleep' are typical examples.

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)  Shił naa’aash bił tooh ŋlínígíi 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
  shił naa’aash t’áí nízaadgóó  sits’ážhnilkóó’ ’áádóó hodíína’ go tó naanáljį
  1-cousin just far-toward 1-from-4-swim.P Conj after-a-while water-bend
  léi’ gi bi’nílkóó’.
  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)

(2)  ’Atééd léi’ dóó bimá dóó bimá sání dóó bicheii nda’alkidígóó
  girl indef Conj 3-mother Conj 3-grandmother Conj 3-grandfather movies-to
  naaskai.
  3-3-go.pl.P
A girl, her mother, her grandmother, and her grandfather went to the movies.

Example (1) shows four clauses being coordinated; (2) has four noun singular 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 chapter 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 matters of analysis that will not be of interest to some readers. The section below draws a distinction between coordination and subordination and may be skipped without loss of continuity.

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)  Béeso ſa’ sha’dooníí nízingo béeso bá hooghandi naaghá.
      Money some 1- borrow.F 3-want-Comp money 3-for house-at 3-walk.CI
      He/she is at the bank expecting to borrow some money.

(4)  ’Ashkii bi’ée hahzó’ó ayíyishchid dóó ’ólta’ góne’ yah ’íyá.
      boy 3-shirt nicely 3-3-tuck.P Conj. school areal-in 3-in 3-go.P
      The boy tucked his shirt tail 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 chapter. See chapter 14 on Clausal Modifiers for a discussion of subordination. This chapter 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 ‘azhá…ndi:

(5)  ’Azhá dichin nisin ndi ’abínídágá’ t’áadoo ’íyá’ da.
      Even though I was hungry this morning I did not eat.

Ndì is a conjunction which, when used by itself, has approximately the meaning and usage of the English *but*. [(5) still has the meaning of ‘but’ but with greater emphasis, I guess; so this could be conjunction with ‘azhá as an adverb. Need a better example.]

1 See also Ch. 14 on Relative Clauses, and Ch. 9 on Clausal Complements.
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 (1) through (5), 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 (1) and (2), a postposition followed by a verb in (3), and two adjectives (neuter verbs) as in (4) and (5). There is no need for the internal structures of the two clauses to match in any way:

(1) ’Íílt’a dóó ’iitghaazh.
    1-read.P Conj 1-sleep.P
    I read and I went to sleep.

(2) Yááti’ dóó hataaľ.
    3-talk.CI Conj 3-sing.CI
    It talks and sings (as in describing a doll, perhaps).

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

(4) Nizhóní dóó ’íí.
    3-prettý Conj 3-expensive
    It is pretty and expensive (as in describing a car, perhaps).

(5) Ntsaa dóó ndaaz.
    3-big Conj 3-heavy
    It is big and heavy (as in describing a box, boulder, etc.).

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:
Bigh selhi doo hoonghangoo naa'itii. 
deer 1-kill.SP Conj house-to rever-3-1-carry.NP.AnO  
I killed a deer and then carried it back home. (YM 1987:23)

'Askkii bi'ee' hazh'oo' aayyiishchid doo' olt'a' gone' yah' iyay. 
boy 3-shirt nicely 3-3-tuck.P Conj school into 3-xx 3-go.P  
The boy tucked his shirt tail in nicely and went into the classroom. (YM 1987:3)

I killed a deer and then carried it back home. (YM 1987:23)

[See section x for a discussion of how arguments are identified in such sentences.]

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

Koob bihii bitiin doo' nili tsekooh goyaa yoo' abitiin. 
here deer trail and over.there canyon down.into P 3-lost.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 in the canyon.)

In addition to clauses, doo' can be used to coordinate noun phrases, postpositional phrases, enclitic phrases, and postpositions. See section 4 of this chapter for discussion.

Note: Examples like (1) and (3) 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 doo'. 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.

3.2 'aatoo 'and then'

'Aatoo can be used as a clausal coordinator as in (1) through (3), meaning roughly 'and then':

(1) Chiyaan' iishlaa' aatoo da'iidag'.  
Food 1-make.P Conj 1Pl-eat.P  
I cooked and then we ate. (YM 1987:1)

(2) Tl'eeedag' dibee ch'inijee' yiists'a' aatoo nili tsedeex'iihi  
last-night sheep out-3-escape.P 3-sound.P Conj merely over-there rock out-3-jut.P  
bizanaah gone' ahosoolts'aag'.  
3-behind areal-in SUP-areal-disappear-sound.P  
Last night the sheep got out of the corral and the sound they made disappeared over there around the point of the ridge. (YM 1987:8)
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:

(4) *Nizhóní 'áádóó 'ííí.  
3.pretty Conj 3.expensive  
It is pretty and then expensive.

(5) *Dichxosh'áádóó 'níchxon.  
3.shaggy Conj 3.smelly  
(It is shaggy and smelly.)

(6) *Bił hózhó 'áádóó 'oolzhízh.  
3.with areal-happy Conj 3.dance.P  
(S/he was happy and then s/he was dancing.)

(7) *Doo bił hózhó da 'áádóó yicha.  
neg 3.with areal-happy 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. [See Note]

Right dislocation is possible with 'áádóó when postpositional phrases are coordinated:

(8) Joot 'atiin tsé'naa 'ahííhan 'áádóó 'ánít'i' báátíis.  
ball road across 3-1-throw.Pf 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 (9).
Conj several probably days later Conj 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.

Note

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’:

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

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:

(1) Ntsaa ‘áko ndaaz.
   3-big Conj 3-heavy
   It is big so it is heavy

(2) Ditá ‘áko ntl’iz.
   3-thick Conj 3-sturdy
   It is thick so it is sturdy.

‘áko so, so that

[S₁ ‘áko S₂] ‘Because of S₁, S₂’

conjoins clauses
The examples above contain stative predicates in each of the conjoined clauses. In each case the interpretation is ‘Because of S₁, S₂’. The same interpretation holds for the following examples:

(3) Deesk’aaz náhásdílíí ’áko bee honeezdooí shá hánáágiz.
3-cold iter-3-be.P Conj 3-by-means-of areal-warm-Nom 1-for iter-turn.P
It has gotten cold again so I had the heater turned back on for me.

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

Example (3) contains two perfective verbs; (4) contains conjoined statives followed by an imperfective.

3.3.2 Imperatives

In a sentence of the form [S₁ ’áko S₂], 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 x.1. When an imperative is involved, the order of the two clauses does not matter. The interpretation is ‘Because of S₁, S₂IMP’, where S₂IMP represents whichever clause was the imperative:

(5) Sédáadoo ’áko díínááł.
1-sit-fut Conj 2-come.F
I’ll be staying home so come (over).

(6) Dílooh ’áko bídi’doodlíł.
3-2-rope.F Conj 3-3-will-brand.F
Rope it so that it can be branded.

The interpretation of (5) is ‘Because of S₁, S₂’, where S₂ means ‘you come over’. The interpretation of (6) is ‘Because of S₂, S₁’, 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 ninííít is the verb with the imperative interpretation, but in (7) it appears in the first clause and in (8) it appears in the second.

(7) Łeets’aa’ bii’ táádaagisí łeets’aa’ biih ninííít ’áko táidoogis.
dishwasher dishes 3-in 2-put.F.PLO Conj 3-3-wash.F

Or, ‘Because S₁ is true, make S₂ true’.
Put the dishes in the dishwasher so that it can wash them.

(8) Łeets’aa’ táidoogis ’áko łeets’aa’ bii’ táádaagisí biih ninííł. Dishes 3-3-wash.F Conj dishwasher 3-in 3-2-put.F.PIO
The dishwasher can do the dishes so put them (the dishes) in (the dishwasher).

Below are additional examples with imperative interpretations:

(9) Bikáá’adání bikáá’ łeets’aa’ ninínííł ’áko da’diidiííł. table 3-on dish 3-2-set Conj 1-Pl-eat.F
Set the table (with dishes) so we can eat.

(10) ’Eii tôshjeeh nánííhis ’áko ḥahdée’ dínéesh’iííł. that barrel 3-2-turn Conj other-side 3-1.look.F
Turn that barrel around so I can look at the other side. (Young and Morgan, 1987:23)

(11) Damóogo ’álah ’aleeh ’áko ’áadi nihaadínááñ. Sunday 3-gather 3-be Conj there 1-Pl-to-2-arrive.F
There is a meeting on Sunday so come see us there.

(12) Díí bikáá’ dah ’asdáhí dii’ o dóó yilzhólí ’áko bikáá’ dah nídaah. This 3-on up one-sit-Nom 3-furry and 3-soft Conj 3-on up 2-sit
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 [S₁ ’áko ’inda S₂] indicates that the condition described in S₁ must occur before the condition described in S₂ can happen:

(13) Chizh ḡa’ ’ahídflkaał ’ako ’inda nich’į’ n’deeshlééł. Firewood some 2-chop Conj 2-to 1-pay.F
I’ll pay you when you chop some wood (and not before). (YM 1987:77)

(22) ’Áltse naaltsoos ’iish’áád ’áko ’inda yiit’ash doo.
First paper 3-3-throw.P Conj 1-dpl-go.F future
Let me mail a letter; only then can we go.

(23) Chizh la ’ahidíkaalt ’áko ’índa nich’i’ n’deeshléél.
Firewood some 3-2-chop.P Conj then 2-to 1-pay.F
I’ll pay you when you chop some wood (and not before), I won’t pay you until you
chop some wood. (YM 1987:77)

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

(14) Łéécháq’í ba’nîltswóód ’áko ’índa dibé bikéé’ bi’dílnih.
dog 3-for-2-feed 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 ’índa is also used with fourth person generalizations about behavior:

(15) Hooghan ’álljíhgø ’áltse da jiídlish ’áko ’índa biih jínééh.
house 3-make-Comp first Pl-3-4-bless Conj 3-into 4-move.I
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 Young and

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 (13),
clause order is significant. (14) 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.

3.3.3.3 ’áko ndí even so, even then

Used as a conjunction by itself, ndí works like the English conjunction but. Ndí can also
be combined with ’áko, having the approximate meaning ‘but even then’:

(16) Díí chídí ’ayóó dilwo’ ha’ní ’áko ndí doo baa jiíníshltí da.
This car very 3-fast 3-say.P Conj neg 3-about 4-1-rely.P neg
They say this car is fast but even so I don’t have any expectation for it.

3.3.3.4 ’áko shíí, then maybe/ then probably

Alone, shíí indicates probability. It can be used after ’áko as part of a conjunction complex:
(17) Shik 'is bił 'ílyeed 'áko shiį da'diidįį.  
1-friend 3-with 3-drive Conj 1-Pl-eat.F  
My friend is coming (by car); maybe we’ll eat then (when s/he gets here).

(18) Jáán bá da’diidįį 'áko shiį nihaadoogáál.  
John 3-for 1-Pl-eat.F Conj 1-Pl-to-will-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:

(19) Shizhè’é naalnishdeę́ę́ ’áko shiį nda’alkídígóó nihidoo’ish  
1-father 3-work-from REV-come.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.

3.3.3.5 ’áko shiį ’inda, then only

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

(20) ’Áłah ’aleehgo ch’iyáán ’ádadiilińiįł ’áko shių ’inda diné ndahidookah.  
Meeting-Comp 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:

(21) Diyogį ninít’óqgo ’áko shiį ’inda shibéeso t’áá hółqó doo.  
Rug 3-1-weave.P-Comp Conj 1-money just 3-exist future.  
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:

(1) Bini’ iideeshtah doodago ’éiyá yóó’ ’adeeshwoł.  
let will-1-school Conj only away 1-off-run.P  
Let me go to school or else I’ll run away.

(2) Díí ’éétsoh ’ádánaháalnií doodago ’ádánahideeshníí.  
this coat reflex.3-2-buy.CI Conj reflex.3-1-future-buy.F
Buy this coat for yourself or else I’ll buy it for myself.

(3) Nimá sání bá ’ato’ nídínífdoh doodago háadida bit ’adíyïíñ.  
2-grandmother (mat.) 3-for stew revers.heat-F Conj somewhere 3-with 2-eat.F  
Reheat the stew for your grandmother or else eat with her somewhere (in a restaurant).

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

(4) Nizhóníísh doodago nichxóg’ísh?  
3-prettY Q Conj 3-ugly-Q  
Is it pretty or is it ugly?

The following examples have coordinated noun phrases:

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

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

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 of this chapter 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:

(1) Shíká ’anáníwo’ doodaii’ t’áadoo shaa nánít’íní.  
1-after 3-run.Iter Conj just-neg 1-to 2-1-bother.I  
Help me or else don't bother me! (YM 1987:350)

(2) Náá’ífdéeshtah nisin doodaii’ t’óó sîlágóó deesháát.  
Again-1-read.F 1-want.N Conj merely army-to 1-go.F
I want to either go to school again or enter the armed forces. (YM 1987:350)

(3) Bísh ’áníñíígo ’ánít’í doodaii’ daats’í t’áá níniik’eh ’ánít’í?
3-Q 1-3-say.P-GO 2-do.P Conj possibly just 2-2-will 2-do.P
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):

(4) Łizhiní güíí doodaii’ ligaaígíí shaa ní’aaah.
Black-NOM Conj white-NOM 1-to 2-give.I
Give me either the black one or the white one. (YM 1987:350)

It can coordinate noun phrases in any syntactic function:

(5) ’Alk’idáá’ t’oh naadáá’ dant’ííhgo lííf’ doodaii’ béégashii da há nada’af’ée’s nítt’ée’.
long-past grass corn 3-ripe-GO horse Conj cow such-as 4-for out-Pl-3-stomp Past
Long ago when the wheat ripened it was stomped out by horses or such things as
cattle. (YM 1987:402)

(6) Hastiinish ashkii doodaii’ łaééchá’í daats’í neiniłché?
Man-Q boy Conj dog possibly about-3-3-chase.I
Is the man chasing the boy or the dog?

(7) Bii’ sitl’é doodaii’ bááh likaní daats’í nínzín?
pie Conj cake possibly 3-2-want
Do you possibly want pie or cake?

(8) Bá’ólta’úsh Ján doodaii’ Mary yich’í haadzíí’?
teacher John Conj Mary 3-to 3-talk.P
Did the teacher talk to Jáan or Mary?

(9) Háldigíí nínzín bii’ sitl’é doodaii’ bááh likaní daats’í?
which-NOM 3-2-want pie Conj cake possibly
Which do you want, pie or cake?

(10) *Łéécháq’aí’ doodaii’ ma’ii daats’í dibé doo baa naajeeh da.
dog or coyote possibly sheep 3-about.chase.I
Either a dog or possibly a coyote is chasing the sheep around.

In (5), the noun phrases being coordinated are in the function of subject; in (6) and (7), they
are objects, in (8), they are oblique arguments (i.e., objects of postpositions that serve as
arguments of the verb), and in (9) 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:

(11)  ’I’ii’áago dah dínílghaazh ’ádíílééł doodaii’ náneeskaadí.
   evening     fry bread Indef. 2-make.F Conj. tortilla
   This evening either make fry bread or tortilla.

[See section xxx for further discussion.]

*Doodaii*’ can also be used with temporal adverbs:

(12)  Yiskáago daats’í doodaii’ naakiiskáago daats’í dah dideeshááł.  
   tomorrow perhaps Conj two-days-GO perhaps out 1-start.F  
   I’ll start out in one or two days. (YM 1987:350)

When *doodaii*’ is used, *daats’í* ‘possibly’ often appears as well, as shown in (3) and (6). The uncertainty conveyed by *daats’í* justifies the use of the disjunction *doodaii*’. *Daats’í* can appear with both phrases that are being coordinated. Here, the phrases being coordinated are noun phrases:

(13)  “Bee dah ň’diidlohi” dinígo ha’át’íshá”’ ááléhóshí   
   “3-by.means.of up SUP-3-lift-NOM” 2-say-Comp what-about SUP-2-mean   
   --t’óól daats’í doodaii’ “ázníldáás neilkidígíí daats’í ’ááldini.   
   --rope possibly Conj indef-weigh 3-3-measure-NOM possibly 3-1-mean.P  
   What do you mean when you say “bee dah ň’diidlohi” -- do you mean a hangman’s rope perhaps, or do you mean a scale for weighing? (YM 1987:2)

Note: Sometimes *doodaii*’ is used after a clause bearing the complementizer *-go* and before another clause:

(14)  [Naat’áanii yá’át’éego t’áadoo le’é yínít’íygo doo ’ákóó yiniiyé ’ádíí niídáah da.]  
   T’óó naaltsoos ’ákóó ’íííígo *doodaii*’ béesh da yee halne’go ła’ yíyiil’íjh.  
   [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 (11), *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 but clearly indicates a causal relationship between the two clauses. [note that others (-go, nít’é’ at least suggest causality in some cases, but that this is pragmatic]

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’qág háálá doo nahaltin da ‘The water level is going down because there is no rain’. [Note]

The combined clauses consist of a verb as in (1) and (2), a postposition followed by a verb as in (3) and (4), and adjectives (neuter verbs) as the main predicate as in (5) and (6).

(1) Kin Łáníidi naashnish háálá ’áadi shaghan.
Flagstaff 1-work Conj there 1-live.NI
I work in Flagstaff because I live there.

(2) Doo háágóó da deeshnéeł 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.

(3) Doo ndiishdáał da háálá kwii doo shif yá’áhoot’éeñ da.
eg back-1-go.F neg Conj here neg 1-with areal-like neg
I won’t come back because I don’t like it here. (Young and Morgan, 1987:427)

(4) Łíf’ fízhinígí’ nayiisníi’ háálá ’éí bít nízhóní.
horse black-Nom 3-3-buy.P Conj det 3-with 3-beautiful
S/he bought the black horse because it is beautiful to him/her.

(5) Bikáa’asdáhí ndaaz háálá nineez.
3-top one-sit.Nom 3-heavy Conj 3-long
The sofa is heavy because it is long.

(6) Łíf’ dílwo’ háálá néíltihí’ át’é.
Horse 3-fast 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.

(7) Be’eldífildáhinsínígóó doo ná’asbqas da háálá shif ’ayóó ’ánízáád.
Albuquerque-to neg 1-drive neg Conj 1-with very 3-far
I don’t drive to Albuquerque because it is too far in my estimation.
(8) Naalyéhé yá sidáhí doo shił niljí da háálá t’áábí sizínígí t’éiyá  ’ádaanitsékees.
Trader neg 1-with 3-be neg Conj just-self 3-stand-at only reflex-3-think
I don't like the trader because he thinks only of himself. (YM 1987:24)

(9) Nílí lééchqá’í binászid háálá t’áá ’áko náshidii’ííh.
that dog 3-1-afraid-of Conj always 1-3-bark.R
I am afraid of that dog because it always barks at me.

(10) Tsinyaagi dínéeshtéél háálá ch’ééh déyá.
tree-under-at 1-lie.F Conj in-vain 1-go.F
I am going to lie down under the tree because I am tired.

(11) She’esdzáán doo shich’i’ bił náhodooldííh da lágo háálá gohwééh t’áadoo
1-wife neg 1-at 3-with angry.P neg hope Conj coffee just-neg
naháníí’ da lá.
3-1-buy.P neg EMPH
I hope my wife doesn't get mad at me because I didn't buy the coffee.

Finally note that the following is ungrammatical. The clause followed by háálá cannot
appear after the other clause:

(12) *’Áadi shaghan, Kin Łánídi naashnish háálá.
there 1-live.NI Flagstaff 1-work Conj
(I work in Flagstaff because I live there.)

Note
The meanings of háálá and biniinaa 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. Also, note the syntactic difference, that
the subordinator -go must appear with biniinaa, but not with háálá. [See xx for a full
discussion of biniinaa with examples.]

3.7 -ii’, ‘and, and thereupon’

The enclitic -ii’ combines clauses according to the pattern [S₁ -ii’ S₂]. Examples are Naaltsoos
’áyílaaii’ ’ayí’ah ‘S/he wrote a letter and mailed it’ and Tsinyaagi jíneeżtįįį’ ’ajílghaažh
‘S/he lay down under a tree and went to sleep’.

The enclitic -ii’ can be used with non-stative clauses (as in exx. (1-4)).
(1) T’óó tá’ádeesgizii’ ‘ífyáá’.
   just 3-reflex-wash.P-Conj 3-eat.P
   S/he just washed up and ate.

(2) ’Ífft’óódii’ ‘iiłghaażh.
   3-suck.P-Conj 3-sleep.P
   S/he (the baby) sucked and went to sleep.

(3) Shicheii shił yah ífyáii’ 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)

(4) Tl’éedáa’ t’óó yóó’ ‘iiójii’ Ndáá’góó nishiijéé’.
   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:

(5) %Ntsaaii’ ndaaz.
   3-big-Conj 3-heavy
   It is big and heavy.

(6) %Nineezii’ ’ált’áá’í.
   3-long-Conj 3-thin
   It is long and thin.

(7) %Ditáii’ nitł’iz.
   3-thick-Conj 3-stiff
   It is thick and stiff.

However, speakers that reject (5-7) tend to accept the following, which has the neuter color term as the predicate of the second clause:

(8) Na’ashxazhii’ bináá’ dah tłizhin.
   SUP-sleep.P 3-eye up 3-black.N
   Having slept, s/he has her eyes open.

[Note: (5), (6), and (7) are all 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’:

(8) Náni’nílkaadgo ‘íyáág’ tá’ádeesgizii’.
3-3-herd.P-GO 3-eat.P 3-reflex-wash.P-Conj
When he herded (the sheep) back, he ate, after washing himself.

(9) Àwée’ t’aáshqáq ’íiltghaazh ’íilt’óódií’.
baby just-luck 3-suck.P-Conj 3-sleep.P
The baby luckily went to sleep, after suckling.

**Note A**
-ii’ may combine statives as demonstrated with (4), (5), and (6) above but may not combine simple nouns as in (10) and (11), or simple postpositions as in (12) and (13):

(10) *Dibéíi’ tl’ízi.
sheep-Conj goat

(11) *Hastóóií’ Sáanií.
men-Conj women

(12) *Chíd biyaaií’ bikáá’.
car 3-under-Conj 3-top

(13) *Tó Nteel báqiíí’ bii’.
ocean 3-along (beach) 3-in

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

(14) Ch’ééh déyáago tsinyaagi nítįį’ ’iiłhaazh.
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. (Young and Morgan, 1987:474)

(15) Ch’ééh déyáago tsinyaagi nítįggo ’iiłhaazh.
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.
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. (Young and Morgan, 1987:474)

(17) ’Abínígo gohwéeh ’áyiil’iihii’ tl’óó’góó’ ch’élwo’ naaltsoos biniiyé.
Morning coffee 3-3-make.P-Conj outside-to out-3-run.P paper 3-for
In the morning he makes coffee and runs out to get the newspaper.

(18) ’Abínígo gohwéeh ’áyiil’iihó tl’óó’góó’ ch’élwo’ naaltsoos biniiyé.
Morning coffee 3-3-make.P-Conj outside-to out-3-run.P paper 3-for
In the morning he makes coffee and runs out to get the newspaper.

(19) ’Abínígo gohwéeh ’áyiil’iihó dóó tl’óó’góó’ ch’élwo’ naaltsoos biniiyé.
Morning coffee 3-3-make.P-Conj outside-to out-3-run.P paper 3-for
In the morning he makes coffee and runs out to get the newspaper.

With many stative predicates, all three conjunctions can be used (as is the case with examples (5) through (7)). However, there is a contrast with the following examples:

(20) *Chídí litsoi’ii’ ’ált’s’ísí.
car yellow -ii’ little
(The car is yellow and little)

(21) Chídí litsoi’go ’ált’s’ísí.
car yellow-go little
The car is yellow and little.

(22) Chídí litsoi’dóó ’ált’s’ísí.
car yellow dóó little
The car is yellow and little.

(23) *Diyogí nizhóníi’ ’ílí.
rug beautiful -ii’ expensive.
(The rug is beautiful and expensive.)

(24) Diyogí nizhónígo ’ílí.
rug beautiful-go expensive.
(The rug is beautiful and expensive.)

(25) Diyogí nizhóní dóó ’ílí.
rug beautiful dóó expensive.
(The rug is beautiful and expensive.)
In these cases, -go and dóó can be used grammatically, but -ii’ cannot. It is not clear why this is. If -ii’ has the same meaning as -go, (20) and (23) should be okay. I think some people will say they’re grammatical. They just sound strange to me.

**Note C**

With stative predicates, the order sometimes makes a difference in grammaticality:

(26) Ntaaii’ ndaaz.
3-big-Conj 3-heavy
It is big and heavy./ It is heavy because it is big.

(27) *Ndaazii’ ntsaa.
3-big-ii’ 3-heavy
(It is heavy and big.) /(#It is big because it is heavy.)

(28) *Ndaazgo ntsaa.
3-big-go 3-heavy
(It is heavy and big.) /(#It is big because it is heavy.)

(29) *Ndaaz dóó ntsaa.
3-big dóó 3-heavy
(It is heavy and big.) /(#It is big because it is heavy.)

(27-29) may would sound strange if the sentences mean that the first conjunct caused the second to be true in each case.

**3.8 ‘inda ‘and only then’**

The particle ’inda 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 ’inda S₂). In such cases, S₁ identifies the reference time of S₂. The particle also appears with ‘áko (see section 3.3.3 of this chapter). 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 ’inda also appears with ‘áko (see section 3.3.3 of this chapter).

Example (1) contains a subordinate clause before ’inda; (2) has a temporal adverb in that position.

(1) Neezdáago ’inda yiyííntsá.
3-sit.P-Comp only.then 3-3-see.P

---

‘inda

‘and only then’

[S₁-go ’inda S₂] ‘S₂ only after S₁’

[Adv ’inda S] ‘S only after Adv’

connects temporal adverb to main clause

Right dislocation is not possible
Only when s/he sat down did s/he see it.

(2) 'Adágágá’ 'índa chidí naana’í nisélbágz.
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)

'Índa is not a conjunction. It is mentioned briefly here because its meaning is related to the meaning of clausal coordination. For a full discussion of 'índa, see chapter 14 (Modification).

3.9 léi’ ‘because’, ‘inasmuch as’ or ‘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. yizloh léi’ yídiíhíg ‘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 (1) and (2), a postposition followed by a verb as in (3) and (4), and it may subordinate two adjectives (neuter verbs) as in (5) and (6).

(1) Kii lífi’ yizloh léi’ yídiíhíg.
Kii horse 3-3-rope.SP Conj 3-3-brand.I
Kii has roped the horse and is branding it.

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

(3) Shizhé’é nádzááh léi’ nihít yah ’íiyá.
1-father 3-return.P Conj 1Pl-with 3-into 3-come.P
My father had returned and came in on us.

(4) Doo nahaítin da léi’ tó yaa ’anoolʼaql.
neg rain neg Conj water down 3-go-down.I
Because it hasn’t been raining, the water level is going down

(5) Naak’a’atáhí ditáá léi’ nitl’iz.
Because the fabric is thick it is stiff.

(6) Gad dit’in léi’ nízhóní. 
Because the juniper is dense it is beautiful.

As is often the case with coordinated clauses in Navajo, when léi’ 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:

(7) Siláo bibe’eldqöq ’ahááníní léi’ t’áá’ ’ał’aa̱ sinil. 
The policeman had taken his gun apart as a result they are lying in separate pieces. 
(Young and Morgan, 1987:24)

(8) Dziñgháadi nahóóltágí léi’ tsékoohdëé’ tó chíní’go’. 
It rained up in the mountain as a result the water rushed out from the canyon.

For more information on léi’ (see Chapter 4 for particle used with nouns. In Chapter 6, léi’ is used as a modifier of the noun phrase).

3.10 ndí but

The conjunction ndí functions very much like the English word but. The structure [S₁ ndí 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. Ndí is used only to conjoin clauses, not other constituents:

(1) T’áá’ ’ashání ’asháa ndí sitsį’ yęę ’áádíįį. 
I eat and eat but I keep right on losing weight. (YM 1987:11)

(2) Ch’iyáán t’óó ’ahayóí ndí tó ’áádin. 
There’s lots of food but no water. (Young and Morgan, 1987:605)

3 Naturally this is not the case with háádlá, which entails that the condition described in the second clause caused that which is described in the first.
There are many school age children, but there are no schools for them. (YM 1987:10)

(3) Hastiin Tsii’agodí doo naat’áanii nlįį da ndi ‘ayóó ’ádíhólníh.
Mr. Shorthair neg boss 3-be neg Conj very SUP-3-bossy
Mr. Shorthair is not the boss, but he's very bossy. (YM 1987:12)

(4) Nizhóní ndi ’iłįį.
3-preety Conj 3-expensive
It is pretty but it’s expensive.

(10") Mary bidibé yázhí naaki ndi Daniel ’éí dįį’. 
Mary 3.sheep little two Conj. Daniel as.for four
Mary has two lambs but Daniel has four.

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

(5) *Mary ndi Jáan łéé’chąq’í yinoolchéél.
Mary Conj John horse 3-3-chase.I
(Mary and even John are chasing the horse.)

(6) *’Asdzání hastíin ndi łįį’ viyiltsá
woman man Conj horse 3-3-see.P
(The woman saw the man and even the horse.)

(7) *Jooł ’atiin tsé’naa ndi ’anít’i’ báátis ’ahílhan.
ball road across Conj fence 3-over 3-1-throw.Pf
(I threw the ball across the road but even over the fence.)

Right dislocation is possible with ndí. The following examples are grammatical:

(8) Sitsį’ yęę’ ádíjįį t’aá ’asháni ’asháą ndi.
…1-dwindle.X… Conj
(I keep right on losing weight but I eat and eat.)

Right dislocation not possible with ndi.
3.11 át’ée’ past

[The particle át’ée’ is also spelled and pronounced nít’ée’, niit’ée’, and nít’ée’.]

The particle nít’ée’ commonly appears at the end of single clauses to indicate that the proposition it expresses was true at some point in the past. Nít’ée’ is also used in the position of a conjunction in the pattern [S nít’ée’ 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’iiisláá’ nít’ée’ ňdaasdo ‘She went pinyon picking and got stiff (physically)’ or Nayiisnii’ nít’ée’ doo bůghah da lá ‘She bought it but it didn’t fit her’.

Any pair of clauses, in principle, can be connected using át’ée’. The clauses being connected may consist of a verb as in (1) and (2), a postposition followed by a verb as in (3) and (4), and it may connect two clauses with statives (neuter verbs) as the main predicate, as in (5) and (6).

(1) ’Adáádíí’ ná’iiyéláá’ nít’ée’ ňdaasdo.
Yesterday SUP-1-pick.P past 1-sore.SP
I picked pinyon yesterday and I got sore (physically) as a result.

(2) Hastiin ñééchñí biíłtsááñá nít’ée’ nábiidí’il’in.
man dog 3-3-see Conj 3-3-bark CI
When the dog saw the man it started barking at him.

(3) ’Asaa’ biíh deeschid nít’ée’ bilasáána biyi’ lá.
dish 3-in 3-1-put Conj apple 3-in Emph
When I put my hand into the jar I discovered that there was an apple inside. (YM 1987:678)

(4) Shimá ’ée’ shá ’áyiílazá nít’ée’ doo shígha da.
1-mother clothing 1-for 3-3-make.P Conj neg 1-fit neg
My mother had made an outfit for me but it didn’t fit me.

(5) Díí beeldléí nízhóní nít’ée’ likon.
3-pretty Conj 3-flammable
This blanket was pretty but it is flammable. (So I didn’t buy it.)

(6) Hastiin biiyis nít’ée’ ’ayóó dit’o.
man 3-handsome Conj 3-hairy
The man was handsome but he is very hairy.

When clauses are connected with "ñ’t’éé’ there is often an implicature that the condition described in the first clause brought about the condition described in the second clause. There is no connotation that the result is either positive or negative:

(7)  Ján shiítsáág ñ’t’éé’ naanáswo’d.
    John 1-3-see.P Conj rever-3-run.P
    John saw me as a result he turned around and took off (he didn’t want to see me).

Below are additional examples:

(8)  Tsxjjgo kintahgóó tádídeeshaan nisin ñ’t’éé’ doo hah náníshdzáá da.
    quickly town-to among-future-1-go.Cl 1-think Conj. neg late revers.1-come.P.neg
    I was thinking about a quick trip to town but I didn’t return until very late.

(9)  Kintahgóó deesháát nisin ñ’t’éé’ chádí doo sizjí da lá.
    Town.to will-1-go.F 1-want Conj. car neg. 3-park.P neg. emph.
    I wanted to go to town but discovered the car was not (parked) there!

(10) Ray shiíléécháq’í biítsáág níí’t’éé’ t’áadoo núbídiif’ín da.
    Ray 1-dog 3-3-see.P Conj just-neg 3-3-bark.I neg
    My saw Ray but it didn’t bark (at him).

(11) Tl’éédáág’ taah deeshchid ñ’t’éé’ tól’llíish bik’ídinishchid.
    Night-past water-into 1-stick-hand.P Conj watersnake 3-on 1-stick-hand.P
    Last night I stuck my hand in the water and I put it on a watersnake. (YM 1987:678)

Other uses of "ñ’t’éé’

The particle "ñ’t’éé’ can be used at the end of a single clause to indicate that the event or condition it describes occurred in the past:

(12)  ’Ahhínídáág’ jáádk’e’hdí ljjí’ shíl ’ahééhiníltjíh ñ’t’éé’.
    this-morning race-track-at horse 1-with around-3-run.Iter past  I guess it is
    iterative.
    This morning I rode the horse at a gallop around and around the race track. (YM 1987:49)

(13)  ’Ótta’ góó’ yah ’aheejé’go shíí shimá ch’ééh háñihídéez’íí’ ñ’t’éé’.
    school areal-in 3-into 1pl-run.P-GO probably 1-mother in-vain out-3-look.I past
When we went (ran) into the classroom my mother probably looked all over for us. (YM 1987:9)

(14) Silsí nishlíí níít’ée’.
    police 1-be past
    I was (used to be) a policeman. (YM 1987:678)

*Níít’ée* 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:

(14’) Sháa’jí’ ch’iníyáá léí’ kóó sidá.
    sun-in out-3-go.P LÉl’ here 3-sit.sPN (si-P neuter)
    He came out into the sunlight and sat there.

**Níít’ée** éí Na’ashó’ii Dich’ísii, I’ni’ ch’éeh biiłcéego ch’éeh ’ábííłjjíd lá.
    NÍT’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. (Álchání bá hane’ I:35)

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

(15) Shimá sání níít’ée’ yee shíl hoolné’.
    1-mother old past 3-of 1-with 3-tell.P
    My late grandmother (mat.) (now deceased) told me about it. (YM 1987:678)

3.12 *yééddá’* past

*Yééddá’* is a particle that, like *níít’ée*, can be used to subordinate a clause and entails that the clause it subordinates was true in the past relative to speech time. Unlike *níít’ée*, *yééddá’* cannot appear at the end of a main clause:

(1) *’Ashkii bichídí yíchó’ yééddá’*.
    boy 3-vehicle 3-P-ruin past
    (The boy’s car broke down.)

(2) Bichídí yíchó’ yééddá’ ’ashkii t’áani’ nálwod.
    3-vehicle 3-P-ruin past boy on.foot 3-P-return
    The boy returned on foot when his car broke down.

(3) Diné bikéyah bikáa’gi ndahonidzood yééddá’ Naatsis’áán hoolyéégóó
    Navajo 3-country 3-on-at pl-areal-3-flee.I past Navajo.Mtn areal-called-to
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 yééddáa’ suggests that they are subordinate to the clause that follows. See chapter 14 for a full discussion.

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 (13) and (14) are subjects of the verbs in their clauses:

(1) ’Alk’idáá’ Naabeehó bikéyah biká’a’gi ch’il dóó tó bee ’áda’aziin ínt’ée’ jiní. formerly Navajo country top in grass Conj water P plentiful PPrt 4-say
It is said that formerly water and grass were plentiful in the Navajo country. (YM 1987:10)

(2) Naalyéhé vá sidáhí dóó be’esdzáá ts’idá ’álahájjí’ ná’ált’ohgo nát’oh yee ’ádi’niigá. trader Conj 3-wife very constant 3-smoke-GO cigarette refl-kill.F
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:

(3) K’a’ léí’ naaltsoos dóó chidí bikee’ yigháníjil. 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:

(4) ’ashkii dóó ’at’éeéd yazhí
boy Conj girl little
the boy and the little girl
*the little boy and the little girl
On the other hand, (5) is ambiguous; the indefinite marker léi' can have scope over the first conjunct:

(5) ‘ashkii dóó ’at’éeäd 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 (4) and (5). The indefinite marker can have scope across the coordinate structure but the adjective cannot:

(6) ‘ashkii dóó ’at’éeäd 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 -ígí’ are coordinated with doodaii’. Note that the second constituent in the coordinate structure includes the question enclitic -sh:

(7) Háádígísh ni nił likan, náneeskaadí ’ak’ah bit ’ályaaígí’ doodaii’  
which-Q you 2-to sweet, tortilla lard 3-with SUP-3-make.X-NOM Conj  
mandígíyiya bit ’ályaaígísh?  
butter 3-with SUP-3-make.X-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 occuring 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:
The woman saw us, that one and me.

In normal circumstances, however, I would be slightly less precise and simply say 'Asdzání nihiiłtsá, ‘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:

(1)  ’Asdzání shiiltsá dóó niiltsá.
    woman 2-3-see.P Conj 1-3-see.P
    The woman saw me and saw you.

(2)  ’Asdzání shiiltsá dóó líf’ yiyiiłtsá.
    woman 1-3-see.P Conj 3-3-see.P
    The woman saw me and saw the horse.

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

(3)  Bá’ólta’üsh Jáán dóó Mary yich’i haadzí’?
    teacher-Q John Conj Mary 3-to 3-talk.P
    Did the teacher talk to John and Mary?

(4)  ’Asdzání Jáán dóó Mary yiyiiłtsá.
    Woman John Conj Mary 3-3-see.P
    The woman saw John and Mary.

(5)  Lillie dóó Helen ’álah ’aleehgóó deesh’áázh.
    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:

(6)  ’?Asdzání shí dóó ni nihiiłtsá.
    woman me Conj you 1dpl-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:

(8)  ’Asdzání niiłtśá shí dóo 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:

(9)  Shí dóó ni ’asdzání niiłtśá.
    I Conj you woman 1dpl-see.P
    The woman saw you and me.

There is no chance that shí dóó 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 is singular and shí dóó ni is non-singular.

Use of pronouns is emphatic. They might be used in a trial on the witness stand when the speaker is being careful to be clear. (And in the presence of the fourth person).

**Further examples**

Below are examples of object coordination arranged by person. First are examples showing clausal coordination, then pronouns in preverbal position, postverbal position, and sentence-initial position.

**First and Second person**

clausal coordination

(1)  a.  ’Asdzání shiɨtsá dóo niiłtsá.
     woman 2-3-see.P Conj 1-3-see.P
     The woman saw me and you.

b.  ’Asdzání niiłtsá dóo shiɨtsá.
    woman 2-3-see.P Conj 1-3-see.P
    The woman saw you and me.
pronouns in preverbal position

(2)  a.  ?’Asdzání shí dóó ni nihíltšá.
    woman me Conj you 1dpl-3-see.P
    The woman saw me and you.

  b.  ?’Asdzání ni dóó shí nihíltšá.
    woman you Conj me dpl-3-see.P
    The woman saw you and me.

pronouns in postverbal position

(3)  a.  ’Asdzání nihíltšá shí dóó ni.
    Woman 1dpl-see.P I Conj you
    The woman saw us you and me.

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

pronouns in sentence-initial position

(4)  a.  Shí dóó ni ’asdzání nihíltšá.
    I Conj you woman 1dpl-see.P
    The woman saw you and me.

  b.  Ni dóó shí ’asdzání nihíltšá.
    you Conj I woman 1dpl-see.P
    The woman saw you and me.

First and Third person

clausal coordination

(5)  a.  Bá’ólt’a’í Jáán yich’i’ haadzíí’ dóó shich’i’ haadzíí’.
    teacher John 3-to 3-talk.P Conj 1-to 3-talk.P
    The teacher talked to John and me.

  b.  Bá’ólt’a’í shich’i’ haadzíí’ dóó Jáán yich’i’ haadzíí’.
    teacher 1-to 3-talk.P Conj John 3-to 3-talk.P
    The teacher talked to John and me.
(5’) a. Hataa’í ’éí yik’i hóótáál dóó shí shik’i hóótáál.
singer that one Conj 1 1dpl-over 3-sing.P
The singer had a ceremony over that one and me.

b. Hataa’í shí shik’i hóótáál dóó ’éí yik’i hóótáál.
singer that one Conj 1 1dpl-over 3-sing.P
The singer had a ceremony over me and that one.

pronouns in preverbal position

(6) a. ?Bá’ólt’a’í shí dóó Jáan nihich’í’ haadzí’.
teacher me Conj John dpl-to 3-talk.P
The teacher talked to John and me.

b. ?Bá’ólt’a’í Jáan dóó shí nihich’í’ haadzí’.
teacher John Conj me dpl-to 3-talk.P
The teacher talked to John and me.

(6’) a. ?Hataa’í shí dóó’éí nihik’i hóótáál.
singer me Conj that 1dpl-over 3-sing.P
The singer had a ceremony for him/her and me.

b. ?Hataa’í ’éí dóó shí nihik’i hóótáál.
singer that one Conj me 1dpl-over 3-sing.P
The singer had a ceremony for him/her and me.

pronouns in postverbal position

(7) a. Bá’ólt’a’í nihich’í’ haadzí’’ shí dóó Jáan.
teacher dpl-to 3-talk.P me Conj John
The teacher talked to John and me.

b. Bá’ólt’a’í nihich’í’ haadzí’’ Jáan dóó shí.
teacher dpl-to 3-talk.P John Conj me
The teacher talked to John and me.

(7’) a. Hataa’í nihik’i hóótáál shí dóó ’éí.
singer 1dpl-over 3-sing.P me Conj that
The singer had a ceremony over him/her and me.

b. ?Hataa’í nihik’i hóótáál ’éí dóó shí.
singer 1dpl-over 3-sing.P that Conj me
The singer had a ceremony over him/her and me.
pronouns in sentence-initial position

(8)  a. Shí dóó Jáan bá’ólta’í nihich’i’haadzii’.
     me Conj John teacher dpl-to 3-talk.P
     The teacher talked to John and me.

b. Jáan dóó shí bá’ólta’í nihich’i’haadzii’.
     John Conj me teacher dpl-to 3-talk.P
     The teacher talked to John and me.

(8’) a. Shí dóó ’éí hataalii nihik’i hóótáál.
    me Conj that singer 1dpl-over 3-sing.P
    The singer had a ceremony for him/her and me.

b. ’Éí dóó shí hataalii nihik’i hóótáál.
    that Conj me singer 1dpl-over 3-sing.P
    The singer had a ceremony for him/her and me.

First and Fourth person

clausal coordination

(9)  ’Asdzání (shí) shiitsa dóó (hó) hooltsá.
     woman 1 1-3-see.P Conj horse 4 4-3-see.P
     The woman saw me and saw that one.

(10) Bá’ólta’í shich’i’haadzii’ dóó haach’i’haadzii’.
     teacher 1-to 3-talk.P Conj 4-to 3-talk.P
     The teacher talked to me and talked to that one.

pronouns in preverbal position

(11) a. ’Asdzání shí dóó hó niiitsá.
     woman 1 Conj 4 1dpl-3-see.P
     The woman saw that one and me.

b. ’’Asdzání hó dóó shí niiitsá.
     woman 4 Conj 1 1dpl-3-see.P
     The woman saw that one and me.

(12) a. ?Bá’ólta’í shí dóó hó nihich’i’haadzii’.
     teacher 1 and 4 1dpl-to 3-talk.P
The teacher talked to that one and me.

b. ?Bá’óltá’í hó dóó shí nihich’í’ haadzíí’.
teacher 4 and 1 dpl-to 3-talk.P
The teacher talked to that one and me.

pronouns in postverbal position

(13) a. 'Asdzání nihíltsá shí dóó hó.
woman 1dp-3-see.P me Conj 4
The woman saw us, that one and me.

b. 'Asdzání nihíltsá hó dóó shí.
woman 1dp-3-see.P 4 Conj me
The woman saw us, that one and me.

(14) a. Bá’ólta’í nihich’í’ haadzíí’ shí dóó hó.
teacher 1dpl-to 3-talk.P 1 and 4
The teacher talked to us, that one and me.

b. Bá’ólta’í nihich’í’ haadzíí’ hó dóó shí.
teacher 1dpl-to 3-talk.P 4 and 1
The teacher talked to us, that one and me.

pronouns in sentence-initial position

(15) a. Shí dóó hó ’asdzání nihíltsá.
me Conj 4 woman 1dp-3-see.P
The woman saw that one and me.

b. Hó dóó shí ’asdzání nihíltsá.
4 Conj me woman 1dp-3-see.P
The woman saw that one and me.

(16) a. Hó dóó shí bá’ólta’í nihich’í’ haadzíí’.
4 and 1 teacher 1dpl-to 3-talk.P
The woman talked to that one and me.

b. Shí dóó hó bá’ólta’í nihich’í’ haadzíí’.
1 and 4 teacher 1dpl-to 3-talk.P
The woman talked to that one and me.
Second and Third person

clausal coordination

(17)   'Asdzání niitsá dóó tį́' viyiitsá.
woman 2-3-see.P Conj horse 3-3-see.P
The woman saw you and the horse.

(18)   Báʼóltaʼísh nichʼį́' haadzíí dóó Jáanísh yichʼį́' haadzíí’?
teacher-Q 2-to 3-talk.P Conj John-Q 3-to 3-talk.P
Did the teacher talk to you and did s/he talk to John?

pronouns in preverbal position

(19)   a.   ?'Asdzání ni doó Jáan niiitsá.
woman you Conj John dpl-3-see.P
The woman saw you and John.

   b.   ?'Asdzání Jáan dóó nìi niiitsá.
woman John Conj you dpl-3-see.P
The woman saw you and John.

(20)   a.   ?Báʼóltaʼísh ni doó Jáan nihichʼį́' haadzíí’?
teacher-Q you Conj John du-to 3-talk.P
Did the teacher talk to you and John?

   b.   ?Báʼóltaʼísh Jáan dóó nìi nihichʼį́' haadzíí’?
teacher-Q John Conj you du-to 3-talk.P
Did the teacher talk to you and John?

pronouns in postverbal position

(21)   a.   'Asdzání niiitsá ni doó Jáan.
woman 2dpl-3-see.P you Conj John
The woman saw you two, you and John.

   b.   'Asdzání niiitsá Jáan dóó ni.
woman 2dpl-3-see.P John Conj you
The woman saw you two, you and John.

(22)   a.   Báʼóltaʼísh nihichʼį́' haadzíí’ ni doó Jáan?
teacher-Q du-to 3-talk.P you Conj John
Did the teacher talk to you and John?

b. Bá’ôlt’a’íísh nihich’ì’ haadző’ Jáán dóó ni?
   teacher-Q du-to 3-talk.P John Conj you
   Did the teacher talk to you and John?

pronouns in sentence-initial position

(23)  a. Ni dóó Jáán bá’ôlt’a’íísh nihich’ì’ haadző’?
       you Conj John teacher-Q du-to 3-talk.P
       Did the teacher talk to you and John?

b. Jáán dóó ni bá’ôlt’a’íísh nihich’ì’ haadzę’?
   John Conj you teacher-Q du-to 3-talk.P
   Did the teacher talk to you and John?

(24)  [A ewe and her lamb are straggling behind the herd. The shepherder addresses
       the ewe]

       Ni dóó niyázhí têchq’áí niiidoolltséél.
       you Conj 2-little.one dog 2dpl-3-see.F
       The dog will see you and your little one(s).

Second and Fourth person

clausal coordination

(25)  Bá’ôlt’a’íísh nihich’ì’ haadżą’ dóó haach’ì’ haadzą’?
       teacher-Q 2-to 3-talk.P Conj 4-to 3-talk.P
       Did the teacher talk to you and did s/he talk to that one?

pronouns in preverbal position

(26)  ’Asdzáníísh ni dóó hó niiiłtsá?
       woman you Conj 4 2dpl-3-see.P
       Did the woman see you and that one?

pronouns in postverbal position

(27)  a. Bá’ôlt’a’íísh nihich’ì’ haadzą’ ni dóó hó?
       teacher-Q 2dpl-to 3-talk.P  2 and 4
       Did the teacher talk to you and that one (him)?
(28) a. 'Asdzání niihitsá ni dóó hó?
woman 2dpl-3-see. P you Conj 4
Did the woman see you and that one (him)?)

b. 'Asdzání niihitsá hó dóó ní?
woman 2dpl-3-see. P 4 Conj you
Did the woman see you and that one (him)?)

(29) a. Shaa dooh’ash ní dóó hó.
1-to future-2dpl-go. F you Conj 4
Come see me you and one (him).

b. Shaa dooh’ash hó dóó ní.
1-to future-2dpl-go. F  4 Conj 2
Come see me one (him) and you.

pronouns in sentence-initial position

(30) a. Ni dóó hó bá’ólta’ísh nihich’í’ haadzíi”?
2 and 4 teacher-Q 2dpl-to 3-talk. P
Did the woman talk to you and that one (him)?)

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

Third and Third person (provided for contrast note yi/bí)

(31) Bá’ólta’ísh Jáán dóó Mary yich’í’ haadzíi”?
teacher-Q John Conj Mary 3-to 3-talk. P
Did the teacher talk to Jáán and Mary?

(32) Jáán dóó Mary bá’ólta’ísh bich’í’ haadzíi”?
John Conj Mary teacher-Q 3bi-to 3-talk. P
Did the teacher talk to Jáán and Mary?

(33) Bá’ólta’ísh bich’í’ haadzíi” Jáán dóó Mary?
teacher-Q 3bi-to 3-talk. P John Conj Mary
Did the teacher talk to Jáan and Mary?

*Third and Fourth person*

clausal coordination

(34) Bá’ólta’ísh Jáan yiich’j haadzíí’ dóó (hó) haach’j’ haadzíí’?
teacher-Q 2-to 3-talk.P Conj 4-to 3-talk.P
Did the teacher talk to you and did s/he talk to that one?

pronouns in preverbal position

(35) a. ?Bá’ólta’ísh Jáan dóó hó haach’j’ haadzíí’?
teacher-Q John Conj 4 4-to 3-talk.P
Did the teacher talk to Jáan and one (him)?

b. ?Bá’ólta’ísh hó dóó Jáan yíich’j’ haadzíí’?
teacher-Q 4 Conj John 3-to 3-talk.P
Did the teacher talk to one (him) and Jáan?

pronouns in postverbal position

(36) a. Bá’ólta’ísh haach’j’ haadzíí’ Jáan dóó hó?
teacher-Q 4-to 3-talk.P John Conj 4
Did the teacher talk to Jáan and one (him)?

b. Bá’ólta’ísh bich’j’ haadzíí’ hó dóó Jáan?
teacher-Q 3-to 3-talk.P 4 Conj John
Did the teacher talk to one (him) and Jáan?

pronouns in sentence-initial position

(37) a. Jáan dóó hó bá’ólta’ísh haach’j’ haadzíí’?
John Conj 4 teacher-Q 4-to 3-talk.P
Did the teacher talk to Jáan and one (him)?

b. Hó dóó Jáan bá’ólta’ísh bich’j’ haadzíí’?
4 Conj John teacher-Q 3-to 3-talk.P
Did the teacher talk to one (him) and Jáan?

*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:

(1)  Shí dóó ní ’álah ’aleehgóó dii’ash.
     I and you meeting-to 1dpl-go.F
     You and I should go to the conference.

(2)  Shí dóó shizhé’è ’aheenúnléež.
     now 1-father recip-1dpl-tall
     My father and I are equally tall. (YM 1987:52)

(3)  Ni dóó nimá ’aheenólzhóní.
     you Conj 2-mother recip-2du-prety
     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:

(5)  Shí shigaan dóó ni nigaan t’áá ’aheenúnléež.
     me 1-arm Conj you 2-arm just recip-3-long
     My arms and your arms are the same length. (YM 1987:52)

(6)  ’Awéé’ dóó dibé yázhí t’áá ’aheenildaás.
     baby Conj sheep small just recip-3-weigh
     The baby and the lamb weigh the same. (YM 1987:52)

(7)  Sitsil dóó shideezhí t’áá ’aheeníltso.
     1-little.brother Conj 1-little.sister just recip-3-size
     My little brother and little sister are the same height. (YM 1987:52)

Further examples

First and Second Person

(1)  a.  Shí dóó ní ’álah ’aleehgóó dii’ash.
     I Conj you meeting-to 1dpl-go.F

        ————

4 This proposition can be expressed without coordination as follows:
(i)  K’ad shizhé’è bił ’aheenísnééž.
     now 1-father 3-with recip-1-tall
     I'm as tall as my father now. (YM 1987:52)
You and I should go to the conference.

b. Ni dóó shí ’álah ’aleehgóó diit’ash.
you and I meeting-to 1dpl-go-F
(You and I should go to the conference.)

(2) a. ’Álah ’aleehgóó diit’ash shí dóó ni.
meeting-to 1dpl-go.F I and you
You and I should go to the conference.

b. ’Álah ’aleehgóó diit’ash ni dóó shí.
meeting-to 1dpl-go.F you and I
You and I should go to the conference.

First and Third Person

(3) ’Aak’eedág’ shinální bik’i na’akaigo shizhé’é dóó shínaaf dóó shí
fall-last 1-grandfather 3-on Night.Chant-GO 1-father Conj 1-brother Conj I
binisiikai.

3-1dpl-be.in.charge.X

Last fall when my grandfather had a Night Chant my father, my older brother and I
supervised the ceremony. (YM 1987:232)

(4) a. Shí dóó Laverne ’ayóo ’ałk’is niidlí.
I Conj Laverne very friend 1du-be
Laverne and I are good friends.

b. ’Ayóó ’ałk’is niidlí shí dóó Laverne,
very friend 1du-be I Conj Laverne
Laverne and I are good friends.

(5) a. Shí dóó ’éí ’áyóó ’ałk’is niidlí.5
I Conj that very friend 1du-be

5 Other ways of expressing this idea are the following:

(i) ’Éí ’áyóó shík’is nilí.
that very 1-friend 3-be
She’s a good friend of mine.

(ii) ’Éí ’áyóó bił ’ałk’is nishłí.
that very 3-with friend 1-be
I’m good friends with her.
S/he and I are good friends.

b. 'Éí dóó shí 'áyóö 'alt'is niidlí.
that Conj I very friend 1du-be
S/he and I are good friends.

First and Fourth person

(6) a. Shí dóó hó 'álah 'aleehgóó diit’ash.
I Conj that.one meeting-to 1dpl-go.F
That one and I will go to the meeting.

b. Hó dóó shí 'álah 'aleehgóó diit’ash.
that.one Conj I meeting-to 1dpl-go.F
That one and I will go to the meeting.

(7) a. Shí dóó hó bitsii’ yiilzhóóh.
1 conj 4 3-hair 3-1dpl-brush.I
That one and I are brushing his/her hair.

b. Bitsii’ yiilzhóóh shí dóó hó.
3-hair 3-1dpl-brush.I 1 conj 4
That one and I are brushing his/her hair.

(8) a. Nihí dóó hó hodíná’ígo dah diikááh.
1dpl Conj 4 later out 1dpl-go.pl.F
We two and that one are leaving soon.

b. Hodíná’ígo dah diikááh nihí dóó hó.
later out 1dpl-go.pl.F 1dpl Conj 4
We two and that one are leaving soon.

(9) a. Nihí dóó hó béésh łigai yiitstsid.
1pdl Conj 4 metal white 3-1pdl-hit.I
That one and I are hammering silver/ That one and I are silversmiths.

b. Béésh łigai yiitstsid nihí dóó hó.
metal white 3-1pdl-hit.I 1pdl Conj 4
That one and I are hammering silver/ That one and I are silversmiths.

Second and Third person

(10) a. Ni dóó nimá ’aheenółzhóní.
you Conj 2-mother recip-2du-pretty
You and your mother are equally pretty. (YM 1987:54)

b. 'Aheenółzhóní ni dóó nimá.
recip-2du-pretty you Conj 2-mother
You and your mother are equally pretty.

(11) a. Ni dóó Mary shaa dooh’ash.
you Conj Mary 1-to 2dpl-come.F
You and Mary, come to visit me.

b. Shaa dooh’ash ni dóó Mary.
1-to 2dpl-come.F you Conj Mary
You and Mary, come to visit me.

you Conj 2-dog 2-go.ahead SUP-2du-herd.F
You and your dog, go on and herd. [talking to a person]

b. niflááh ’adínólkaad ni dóó nilééchaa’í.
2-go.ahead SUP-2du-herd.F you Conj 2-dog
You and your dog, go on and herd. [talking to a person]

Second and Fourth person

(13) a. Hó dóó ni álah ’aleehgóósh woh’ash?
2 Conj 4 meeting-to 2dpl-go.F
Are you and that one on your way to the meeting?

b. Ni dóó hó ’álah ’aleehgóósh woh’ash?
2 Conj 4 meeting-to 2dpl-go.F
Are you and that one on your way to the meeting?

(14) a. ’Álah ’aleehgóósh woh’ash ni dóó hó?
meeting-to 2dpl-go.F 2 Conj 4
Are you and that one on your way to the meeting?

b. ’Álah ’aleehgóósh woh’ash hó dóó ni?
meeting-to 2dpl-go.F 4 Conj you
Are you and that one on your way to the meeting?

(15) a. Hó dóó ni chizh nidoohéét.
4 Conj you wood 3-2dpl-haul.F
You and that one, haul the wood.

b. **Ni dóó hó** chizh nidoohéél.
you Conj 4 wood 3-2dpl-haul.F
You and that one, haul the wood.

(16) a. Chizh nidoohéél **hó dóó ni**.
wood 3-2dpl-haul.F 4 Conj you
You and that one, haul the wood.

b. Chizh nidoohéél **ni dóó hó**.
wood 3-2dpl-haul.F you Conj 4
You and that one, haul the wood.

(17) a. **Ni dóó hó** (dinolt’éego) naaltsoos hadidoollířł.
you Conj 4 (2dpl-be-GO) paper up-will-2dpl-make.F
You and that one (together) write a paper.

b. **Hó dóó ni** (dinolt’éego) naaltsoos hadidoollířł.
4 Conj you (2dpl-be-GO) paper up-will-2dpl-make.F
You and that one (together) write a paper.

(18) a. **(Dinolt’éego) naaltsoos hadidoollířł ni dóó hó**.
(2dpl-be-GO) paper up-will-2dpl-make.F you Conj 4
You and that one (together) write a paper.

b. **(Dinolt’éego) naaltsoos hadidoollířł hó dóó ni**.
(2dpl-be-GO) paper up-will-2dpl-make.F 4 Conj you
You and that one (together) write a paper.

*Third and Third person* (provided here for contrast)

(19) **Ni ni’ée’ dóó shí shi’ée’ t’áá ’aheedéétáá’**.
you 2-clothing Conj I 1-clothing just recip-3-thickness.N
Your clothing and mine have the same thickness. (YM 1987: 46)

(20) **Jáan bi’ée’ dóó hó ha’ée’ t’áá ’aheedéétáá’**.
John 3-clothing Conj 4 4-clothing just recip-3-thickness.N
Jáan’s clothing and that one’s clothing have the same thickness. (YM 1987: 46)

*Third and Fourth person*

(21) **Hó dóó Laverne ’ayóó ’alk’is jíí.** (or nilʃ.)
4 Conj Laverne very friend 4-be.NI (or 3-be.NI)
That one and Laverne are good friends.

(22) a. Mary dóó hó kingóó jídezh’ázh.
Mary Conj 4 store-to 4-will-go.F
Mary and that one are going to the store

b. Hó dóó Mary kingóó jídezh’ázh.
4 Conj Mary store-to 4-will-go.F
That one and Mary are going to the store.

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, (1) is preferred over (2) and (3) is preferred over (4).

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

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

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

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

(3) a. Shí dóó ’éí ’áyóo ’alk’is niidlí.
I Conj that very friend 1du-be
S/he and I are good friends.

b. ’Éí dóó shí ’áyóo ’alk’is niidlí.
that Conj I very friend 1du-be
S/he and I are good friends.
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,

(5) "Asdzání shiîtsá dóó țįį yiîîltsá.
woman 1-3-see.P Conj 3-3-see.P
The woman saw me and (then) saw the horse.

(6) "Asdzání țįį yiîîltsá dóó shiîtsá.
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’:

(1) Jooł ’atiiin tsé’ naa dóó ’anît’i’ báátiís ’ahîîîhan.
bball road across Conj fence 3-over 3-1-throw.Pf
I threw the ball across the road and over the fence.

(2) Jooł ’anît’i’ báátiís dóó atiin tsé’naa ’ahîîîhan.
bball fence 3-over Conj road across 3-1-throw.Pf
I threw the ball over the fence and across the road.

(3) Tsêdáaaji’ doodago dziîl bighâá’jiw niinî’na’?
ciff-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?

(4) Jooł ’atiiin tsé’ naa doodaii’ ’anît’i’i’ bâátiísísh ’ahûûîîhan?
bball road across Conj fence 3-over-Q 3-1-throw.P
Did you throw the ball across the road or over the fence?

The PPs in these sentences describe the path followed by the ball. The order of the PPs makes a difference, as the interpretations of (18) and (19) show.

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

(5) Tsé’aándéè’ dóó tsédáají’ 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 enclitic and the other is a postpositional phrase with a postpositional enclitic:

(6) Tsédáaji’ dóó dził bigháa’jí’ 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.

(7) Tsé’aándéè’ dóó tsédáají’ dóó dził bigháa’jí’ 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:

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

(9) 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:

(10) K’aa’ ’aní’á biyaa dóó bikáá’góó ’ayiist’oh.
arrows bridge 3-under Conj 3-top-along 3-3-shot.P
S/he shot arrows under the bridge and along the top of it.

(11) K’aa’ísh ’aní’á biyaa doodaaií’ daats’í bikáá’góó ’ayiist’oh?
Arrow-Q bridge 3-under Conj possibly 3-along.top 3-3-shot.P
Did s/he shoot arrows under or possibly along the top of the bridge?

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 (12) contains a noun that has a postpositional enclitic (tsé’áándëég’); (13) contains a PP that consists of a noun followed by a free postposition (tsé yik’i). Either one can appear with the verb ch’ínímááž.

(12) Nástáán tsé’áándëég’ ch’ínímááž.
    log rock cave-from out-3-roll.P
    The log rolled out of the cave.

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

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

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

(15) *Nástáán tsé’áándëég’ dóó tsé yik’i ch’ínímááž.
    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:

(16) Chidi naat’a’í hooghan yikáá’ góó dóó dzít yáah ch’ínísáal.
    Airplane house 3-over-along Conj mountain-over 3-alongside over-3-fly.P
    The airplane flew over the house and along the mountain.
(17) K’aa’ ‘atiinji’ dóó tsé’naa ‘ayiist’oh.
arrow road-up.to Conj across 3-shot.P
S/he shot arrows up to the road and across it.

(18) 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 (16), the postpositional phrase *hooghan yikáá’* bears the enclitic -góó, and this phrase is coordinated with the postpositional phrase dzíł yááh. In (17), 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 (18), 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.6

4.2.2.2 Cases with incorporated postpositions

Two PPs can be coordinated in Navajo as seen in section xx. 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 (19) is a coordination of two full clauses. It cannot be shortened as in (20) by conjoining the PP shikee’ yik’i with the sequence of the NP followed by the incorporated P in the second clause.

(19) Chídí bikee’ shikee’ yik’íimááž ’áádóó nikee’ yik’íimááž.
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.

(20) *Chídí bikee’ shikee’ yik’i dóó nikee’ yik’íimááž.
car 3-shoe 1-shoe 3-over Conj 2-shoe 3-over-3-roll.P
(The tire rolled over my shoe and your shoe.)

Instead, the two noun phrases can be coordinated and taken as the object of the incorporated postposition:

(21) Chídí bikee’ shikee’ dóó nikee’ yik’íimááž.
car 3-shoe 1-shoe Conj 2-shoe 3-over-3-roll.P
(The tire rolled over my shoe and your shoe.)

6 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.
Alternatively, the second clause of (19) 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:

(22) 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.

Insert section discussing whether VPs can be coordinated.

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:

(22) Nyoltsoh nihich’i’ yigáalg dóó chidí naat’a’í naashta’ go baa neiséyeel.
    hurricane 1pl-to 3-move-GO Conj airplane 3-1-fly.CI-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:

(23) *Ashkii dóó ’anít’i’ 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:
I dreamed about a hurricane.

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:

I dreamed about flying a plane and a hurricane.

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

I’m thinking about the hurricane and water rising.

I’m thinking about the hurricane and it causing water to rise (causing a flood).

I’m thinking about the hurricane and the town flooding.

Examples like these suggest that a clause subordinated by the enclitic -go can serve as a noun phrase.

5.x Multiple conjunctions

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

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

I dreamed about flying a plane and a hurricane.
(30) T’óó ha’ìí’ánígo ńdiiish’na’ dóó tá’ádésgis ’áá dóó bik’idjį’
Merely dawn up-1-crawl.P Conj reflex-1-wash.P Conj 3-on-after
kintahgóó shîl dah ’adiłwod.
town-to 1-with up 1-drive.P
I got up at dawn and washed myself and then afterward I started out for town.
(Young and Morgan, 1987:23)

(31) Denny biţį́ yiyiisxį́ dóó néës’ah ’áá dóó hooghángóó néígį.
Denny deer 3-3-kill.P Conj 3-3-butcher.P Conj house-to rever.3-3-haul.P LPB
Denny killed a deer and butchered it and afterward hauled it back home.

(32) Łeets’aa’ táádífois dóó nahodíshoh ’áá dóó lééchąq’í ba’díítsoł, t’áá shoqdí.
dish 3-2-wash 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.

(33) Mary biţį́ naaki dóó Daniel ’éí bîlééchąq’ídiff’ ’áá dóó 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:

(34) Dlóó’ ḥáál’éél dóó didîífjéé’ dóó bi’niizeez ńt’éé’ ’aho’niiltá.
prairie-dog some out-float Conj 1-start-fire.P Conj 3-1-singe.I PAST 3-rain.CI
I drowned out some prairie dogs, built a fire and started to singe them when it
started to rain. (YM 218)

(35) Dlóó’ ḥáál’éél dóó didîífjéé’ dóó bi’niizeez ńt’éé’ ’aho’niiltá.
1dlp-eat.P Conj 3-after out-1dlp-go Conj house 3-against-1dlp-lay 1-brother 3-with
We ate and afterward we went outside and I lay down with my little brother, leaning
against the hogan. (YM 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:

(36) Éí biniinaa nazhniłkaad dóó baa áhojilýą́go ál’í dibé dóó tl’ízí.
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:

(37) Éí biniinaa dibé dóó tl’ízí nazhniłkaad dóó baa áhojilýą́go 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.

5.3 Time and Coordination

Clausal coordination using *dóó* normally triggers an implicature that the event described by the second clause occurred after the event described by the first clause when both clauses are non-stative and non-habitual (i.e., not a derived stative). Examples (1), (3), (6), and (7) in section 3.1, and those below illustrate this:

(1) Jeanie ’ííyáá’ dóó bist’e’ ’áyiilaa.
    Jeanie SUP-3-eat.P Conj 3-lunch 3-make.P
    Jeanie ate and made her lunch (e.g., to take to work).

(2) Jáan yah ’ííyáá dóó dah neezdah.
    John 3.in 3-enter Conj up 3-sit.P
    John came in and sat down (on a chair).

(3) T’óó ha’íí’iíñígo áñiish’na’ dóó tá’àdésgiz.
    Merely sunrise up-1-crawl.P Conj reflex-1-wash.P
    I got up at dawn and washed myself. (YM 1987:23)

Example (1) 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 (4), (5), (8), and (12) in section 3.1 and the example below, there is no entailment of temporal sequencing:

(4) Mary bidibé yázhí naaki dóó Daniel ’éí bilééchqá’í díj’.
    Mary 3-sheep little two Conj Daniel as-for 3-dog four
    Mary has two lambs and Daniel has four puppies.

Example (2) in section 3.1 (repeated below) contains derived statives and so with it there is no implicature of temporal sequencing.

(5) Yáltí’ dóó hataał.
    3-talk.CI Conj 3-sing.CI
    It talks and sings (as in describing a doll, perhaps).
5.4 Coordination and the animacy hierarchy

Coordination of noun phrases is permitted when the noun phrases differ with respect to their hierarchical status. As discussed in chapter 12 on the inverse voice, hastiin ‘man’ and ashkii ‘boy’ outrank híí ‘horse’ and lée’chág’í ‘dog’. But these noun phrases can be coordinated as long as the noun phrase with the higher rank appears first:

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

(2) Hastiin ashkii dóó lée’chág’í yinoolchéét.  
man boy Conj dog 3-3-chase.I  
The man is chasing the boy and the dog.

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

(3) *'Asdzání híí dóó hastiin yiyiłtsá  
woman horse Conj man 3-3-see.P

(4) *Hastiin lée’chág’í dóó ashkii yinoolchéét.  
man dog Conj boy 3-3-chase.I

The inverted counterparts of (1) and (2) are marginally acceptable:

(5) ?Hastiin dóó híí ’asdzání biiltsá.  
man Conj horse woman 3b-3-see.P  
The woman saw the man and the horse.

(6) ?Ashkii dóó lée’chág’í hastiin binoolchéét.  
boy Conj dog man 3b-3-chase.I  
The man is chasing the boy and the dog.

This is the case even though ’asdzání and hastiin appear after híí and lée’chág’í, which they outrank. The noun phrase hastiin dóó híí is of a rank equal to the rank of hastiin, its highest subconstituent. Hastiin and ’asdzání are of the same rank, so either hastiin dóó híí or ’asdzání may appear first in a clause.

The following pair of sentences is included to round out the examples. The sentences are in the direct voice and have a coordinate noun phrase as subject:
(7) Hastiin dóó tįį’ ‘asdzání yiyiitsá
man Conj horse woman pl-3-3-see.P
The man and the horse saw the woman.

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