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. **Naabeehó dóó Dzítgháá’í danlínígíí 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. **Díí dził t’ah doo bəqą́ hashisháah da.**
   this mountain still neg 3-alongside 1-go.up.out neg
   I've never climbed this mountain. (YM 1987:431)

4. **Bidine’é t’aadoo yóó’ ’iidíí’ąą 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. **Hérii hanii dibé nayiisnii’, Sírii 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 -\textit{da} to a content question word:

\begin{itemize}
\item h\text{á}í\text{ida} \quad \text{‘nobody/anybody’}
\item h\text{á}ág\text{ó}d\text{á} \quad \text{‘to nowhere/anywhere’}
\item h\text{á}á\text{d}\text{é}\text{é}\text{é} \text{da} \quad \text{‘from nowhere/anywhere’}
\item ha’\text{á}t’\text{í}\text{ida} \quad \text{‘nothing/anything’}
\end{itemize}

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

\begin{itemize}
\item Hastiin \text{doo} h\text{á}ág\text{ó}d\text{á} ool\text{ba}s \text{da}.
\quad \text{man} \text{neg somewhere-to-da drive da}
\quad \text{‘The man is not driving to anywhere.’}
\end{itemize}

The \textit{-í-} 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:

\begin{itemize}
\item Hastiin doo ool\text{ba}s\text{í}g\text{ó}d\text{á}.
\quad \text{man neg 3-drive.I-í-to-neg}
\quad \text{The man is not driving (to) anywhere.}
\end{itemize}

Other expressions

\begin{itemize}
\item B\text{é}eso doo lä’\text{í} ndi naash’\text{á}a \text{da}.
\quad \text{money neg one but 3-1-carry neg}
\quad \text{I haven’t even a single dollar. (YM 1987:351)}
\end{itemize}

One way to form negative imperatives is to use \textit{t’áadoo} followed by an optative verb form:

\begin{itemize}
\item T’áadoo \ ’án\text{í}t’\text{í}n\text{í}!
\quad \text{just-neg SUP?-2-do.Opt}
\quad \text{Don’t do that!}
\end{itemize}

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

\begin{itemize}
\item Doo ’áj\text{í}n\text{í} \text{da}.
\quad \text{neg indef-3a-do neg}
\quad \text{One should never say that./Don’t say that!}
\end{itemize}

This chapter surveys these and other negative expressions.

\textbf{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 yiyá́dá.
    apple neg 3-1-eat.I neg
    S/he isn’t eating apples./ S/he doesn’t eat apples.

(13)  Doo yichaáda.
    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.

(15)  Il ne pleure pas.

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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.  Kinláníídi nanínáago niítsá.
    Flagstaff-at 2-go.CI-Sub 2-1-see.P
    I saw you walking around in Flagstaff.

    b.  T’áadóo niítsáá 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’úú 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 ndí baa dzólníí da.
        Jake neg even 3-with good.character neg.
        Jake does not have good character.
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’íínígíí t’ah doo ’altso dziłgóó ’ahii’néeh da.
here 1pl-live.I-ÍGÍI 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 t’oh hädiikáah da Toohgóó.
not.yet hay some 1dpl-go.I-pl neg Shiprock-toward
We haven't yet gone after hay to Shiprock. (YM 1987:386)

(18) T’áadoo bidine’é yóó ’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 ínt’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. Tʼáadoo, then, in some uses, is a more emphatic negator than doo. Often constructions with tʼáadoo 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:

(12) 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.

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2 This is also spelled as a single word: t’ahdoo.
3 The tone of the first syllable of tʼáadoo is falling because of the low tone in doo.
I have not gone to town yet.\textsuperscript{4}

(13) 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:

(14) 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 (12c), (13b), or (14b).

2.1.5 Position of \textit{da}

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

(15) Doo V da dooleeⁿ.
    neg V neg future
    I shall not V.

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

(17) ’Ahbínídág’ 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 (15), the future particle \textit{dooleeⁿ} appears after \textit{da}, in (16), the past particle \textit{ńt’eé'} does, and in (17) \textit{lá}, an marker indicating an unexpected discovery appears there.

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 (17a), 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:

\textsuperscript{4} Reichard glosses these sentences as ‘I have never been to town’. 
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:

(31) Doo shináát ’ádidooniit 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.

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

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

(32) Doo shináát ’áñi 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:

(19) Mary Jáan doo deyáhígóó 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):

(20) Ch’iyáán doo yá’át ‘éghií níyáago bininaa doo dinílwo’ da.
food neg 3-good-Ígíí 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 ‘éeh in the relative clause, is negated by doo, but da does not appear because the subordinating enclitic -ígíí is present. The past counterpart of -ígíí has two forms, the enclitic -éê, and the independent subordinator yéê. Only the enclitic form precludes da. In the example below, the enclitic -éê is used, and da cannot appear.

(21) ’Adáádáá’ naadáá’ t’áadoo yik’ángé 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 yéê appears instead of -éê, da does appear:

(22) ’Adáádáá’ naadáá’ t’áadoo yik’áa da yéê 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):

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

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

(24)a. Doo ’ákót’éégóó ’ínilaa.
   neg thus-3-be-neg 3-1-make.P
   You didn’t make it right. (YM 1987:350)

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

5 The main verb dinílwo’ is negated as well in this example. The da that appears after it is not in the subordinate clause.
(25) Ján doo ha'át' ůda yinízinígoó (da+go) shił bééhózin.
John neg something 3-3-want-neg 1-with 3-know
I know that John doesn't want anything.

(26) Nái'uídéeshtah nisin űt'éé' shibéesoo doo hózhó búghah dago
1-school.Semil 1-want past 1-money neg very 3-fit neg-GO
biniinaa t'áá bíyó ni'nahwiishá.
3-because-of rather 1-hesitant-CI
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)

(27) Na'nesshsheéh doo bééhasin dago biniinaa shimá shá.
1-warp-with-string neg 3-know.N neg-GO 3-because-of 1-mother 1-for
niná'nishah
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)

(28) T'áadoo shich'í na'ílyáa dago biniinaa ádziíchxó'.
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)

(29) Doo nił hóyéé'góó 'éiyá nibéégashii danizhóní dooleet.
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)

(30) Doo 'ákót'égóó 'ínilaa.
Neg 3-be-neg 3-2-make.P
You didn't make it right. (YM 1987:144)

(31) Dú doo 'ábóonoolingóó nahisiníñíi' 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.

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

(33) Ján t’áadoo yinízinígiú shił bééhózin.
John just-not 3-3-want-ÍGÍí 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:

(34) Jjan doo Na’nzhoozhdi naashj da díniid.
John neg Gallup-at 1-walk neg 3-said.P
John said he is not in Gallup.

(35) Jjan k’ad doo bitah honeezga baa nihi¬ dahºzh#.
John now neg 3-among areal-3-hot-Comp 3-about 1pl-with 1pl-happy
We are happy that John is not sick anymore.

(36) Doo t’ií yikí¬ shªª kwii kªºh¬âº doogo bª ’ahªºt’i’.
neg everyone possibly here 3-live.Cl-Comp fut-Comp 3-for 3-possible.
It is not possible for just anyone to live here.

(37) Mary Ján doo ’ålhosj da nížin.
M 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:

(38) a. Ján Mary doo chidí neidiyooñih 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 neidiyooñih 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.

(39) a. Ján doo t’ahgo ch’ínádzí’ígíí shi’diľ’á.6
John neg early 3-wake.R-(neg)-ÍGÍí 3-1-bother.NP
It bothers me that John doesn’t wake up early.

John 3-oversleep-ÍGÍí neg 1-bother.NP neg

6 The negative particle da does not appear because of -ígíí (see section 2.3.1 of this chapter).
It doesn’t bother me that John oversleeps.

(40)  a. Ján doo níd’níshwosh da doo nízin.
John neg 1-oversleep.1 neg fut 1-want.NP
John doesn’t want to oversleep.

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

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

b. Nát’oh neididooñihíghí 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 \textit{da} is crucial in determining meaning. There is an alternative wording for the (b) examples above, in which \textit{doo} appears immediately before the main verb:

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

(43)  Naatsis’áán bğa’h chídí bee na’adá doo b'hóóneedzá 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 \textit{doo} tends to be dispreferred.

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:

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

(45)  Mary Ján doo deyáhgóó 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 (45) contains the incorporated indefinite -lí, along with -góó, which replaces \textit{da}-go. Below is an affirmative counterpart of the two previous examples:
(46) Mary Jáñ háágóshjí deyá nízin.  
M J somewhere 3-go.to-Impf 3-think  
Mary thinks John is going somewhere.

(one more example):  
(47) T'áá 'álají' dibé t'áadoo yóó' 'anání'nilí ndishnúigo 'ádanídeshláá'.  
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  
ot 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:

(48) Naatsis'áán báq̱h doo chídí bee na'ááago bihóneedzáa 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)

[not sure if this is an ex of a clausal complement]  
(49) T'áá nílé háádéé' shíí yik'éhgo kéédahat'íneg t'ah ndi  
from.long.ago probably 3-from-GO pl-3-live-past.NOM still  
t'áá 'ákóto'éego kéédahat'í, kojí Bilagáana k'éhgo 'iínánii  
in.that.way pl-3-live, here white.man in.that.way? resources  
ch'éeh bá bíchá hwítdeéni’go doo ndi deiníí'íí da.  
in.vain 3-for be.the.object.of.great.desire-GO neg but pl-look?neg  
They lived very much as they had always lived, and had little interest in learning the ways  
of the white man. (Trouble at Round Rock 73)

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

(50) “Doo 'ánáádeeshníít da”, níigo doo joodláá da.  
neg indef.again doo 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:

(51) [She’esdzáán doo ’ałchíí da.] Biniinaanii doo níihí 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:

(52) Biniinaanii ’éí doo níihí 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:

(53) Doo ’ákót'éégóó ’ínílaa.
    neg SUP.right-(neg)-GO 3-2-make.P
    You didn't make it right. (YM 1987:350)

(54) Shú’dáá’ doo nihee naha¬tingºº 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:

(2) Doo yidlohgºº naaltsoos shein¶’£.
    neg 3-smile.Prog.neg.GO book 1-to-3-hand.SRO.Pf
    Without smiling, s/he handed me the book.

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

(5) Doo bi¬ hozhóqogóó naaltsoos shein¶’£.
    3-with happy.N-neg.GO book 1-to-3-hand.SRO.Pf
    Without being happy, s/he handed me the book.

(6) Doo bi¬ hozhóq dago naaltsoos shein¶’£.
    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:

(7) T’áadoo danitsaago dóó ’át’áá’ígo ’ájíilaa 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:

(55) [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)

(56) Bilagáana bizaad doo diists’a’ígíí shinílo’.  
white.people 3-language neg 3-1-speak-(neg)-ÍGÍÍ 1-drawback  
My inability to understand English is my drawback. (YM 1987:238)

(57) Doo da’ílíta’ígíí t’áá ‘altsojí 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 -ígíí, da does not appear in the subordinate clause. [This suggests that da and -ígíí are of the same category; that -go is distinct from -ígíí; 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:

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 hanii is placed immediately after the constituent to be negated:

(1) Jáan hanii chídí nayiisnii’, Mary ga’.  
John hanii car 3-3-buy.P Mary ga’.
It wasn’t John who bought the car, it was Mary.

In general, hanii appears immediately after the phrase that is its focus. This focus tends to appear as the first constituent in the sentence, with hanii in second position, but hanii 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). Hanii has a counterpart ga’, which has as its focus that corrects the error focused by hanii.
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 (1) 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, hanii 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:

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

Using hanii 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 hanii and ga’ follow the constituent that is their focus. When hanii is used, the material in the sentence aside from the focus of hanii is usually presupposed; that is, that information is understood to be true by the participants in the conversation before the sentence in which hanii 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 hanii and takes the exact slot where hanii would have appeared. The presupposed portion of the hanii sentence need not be repeated when the denial is corrected as shown below. The sentence below is still grammatical; however, it is repetitious:

(3) Tl’izí hanii yizloh, dibé ga’ yizloh.
goat hanii 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.

Hanii can be used to challenge a part of an assertion, as suggested in the discussion of (1) and (2). It can also be used in an answer to certain yes-no questions:

(4) Q: Ha’át’ísh baa naníná, ’íthoshísh?
what-Q 3-with 2-do.I 2-sleep.I-Q
What are you doing, are you sleeping?

A: ’Ashxosh hanii; shináá’ yee’ hanályíih.
1-sleep.I neg 1-eye Emph 3-1-rest.I
I am not sleeping; I was just resting my eyes.

(5) Q: Náá’ít’óósh, ’ítl’ó yiits’a’?
2-weaveIter-Q 2-weave.I 3-sound.I
Are you weaving again? it sounds like you’re weaving.

A: ’Ashtl’ó hanii, ’ashxaal ga’.

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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 ’ahidiigeeh 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:

(6) [Chidí naat’a’i ‘nléí yót’áahdi ʽahch’i’ ʽahinoolchéélgo] airplane there in-the-sky recip-to 3-run.Pg-GO


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 (1) and (2) show that common noun phrases can be negated by hanii, and (4) through (6) show a verb as the focus of hanii. Below, the pronoun shí is its focus:

(7) Shí hanii ’ásht’í, háíshíí’ ʽát’í!

I neg SUP-I-be.the.one someone SUP-I-be.the.one
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:

(8) [Carlota naaltsoos yiyílta’ígíí] hanii baahoneeni; Warren yiyílta’ígíí ga’.

Carlota book 3-3-read.P-ÍGÍÍ hanii 3-with is.entertaining Warren 3-3-read.P-ÍGÍÍ ga’

The book Carlota read isn’t entertaining; the one Warren read is.

(9) [Líí’ lígaiígíí] hanii shíl nízhóní, lízhíníígíí ga’.

horse white-ÍGÍÍ hanii 1-with 3-beautiful 3-black-ÍGÍÍ ga’

I don’t like the white horse, I like the black one.

(10) [Awéé’ ʽáists’íísíígíí] hanii ʽayóó ayá, bimá sáni ga’.

baby little-ÍGÍÍ hanii very 3-eat 3-mother old ga’

It’s not the little baby that is a big eater, it’s the grandmother.
In examples (11) and (12), 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 the in second it is marked by -go. They have the same interpretation:

    John Kii 3-run.away-ÍGÍÍ hanii 3-3-believe
    It’s not Kii running away that John believes.

(12) Jáan [Kii yóó’eelwodgo] hanii yoodlá.
    John Kii 3-run.away-GO hanii 3-3-believe
    It’s not Kii running away 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 (13) is an affirmative sentence that does not contain hanii. The other examples each have hanii in a different position:

(13) ’Azee’il’íní shicheii ’ášíjíh likan yits’éídiní’á.
    doctor 1-grandfather sugar 3-away.from-3-3-take.P.SRO
    The doctor prohibited my grandfather (maternal) from using sugar.

(14) ’Azee’il’íní hanii shicheii ’ášíjíh likan yits’éídiní’á, hataaíí ga’.
    doctor hanii 1-grandfather sugar 3-away.from-3-3-take.P.SRO medicine man ga’
    It is not the doctor who prohibited my grandfather (maternal) from using sugar, it was the medicine man.

(15) ’Azee’il’íní shicheii hanii ’ášíjíh likan yits’éídiní’á, shimá sání ga’.
    doctor 1-grandfather hanii sugar 3-away.from-3-3-take.P.SRO 1-mother old ga’
    It is not my grandfather (maternal) who the doctor prohibited from using sugar, it was my maternal grandmother.

(16) ’Azee’il’íní shicheii ’ášíjíh likan hanii yits’éídiní’á, ’ášíjíh ga’.
    doctor 1-grandfather hanii sugar 3-away.from-3-3-take.P.SRO salt ga’
    It is not sugar that the doctor prohibited my grandfather (maternal) from using, it was salt.

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:

(17) *Héii dibé nayiisnii’ hanii.
    Harry sheep 3-3-buy.P neg
It is not buying sheep that Harry did.

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:

(18) Ján *hanii* chídí yiyíľchǫ’ go t’áani’ naashá.
    John *hanii* car 3-3-break.down.P-GO afoot 1-walk.CI
   a. It’s not because *John* wrecked the car that I’m on foot.
   b. It’s not because *John wrecked the car* that I’m on foot.

(19) *Ján* chídí *hanii* yiyíľchǫ’ go t’áani’ naashá.
    John car hani 3-3-break.down.P-GO afoot 1-walk.CI
   (It’s not because John wrecked *the car* that I’m on foot...[but because he wrecked the truck])

The only difference between these is the position of *hanii*.

The second point is that (18) is actually ambiguous. It can be followed by either (20) or (21).

(20) … Mary ga’ chídí yiyíľchǫ’ 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.

(21) Łahgo áhóót’įjδgo 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 (18) that becomes clear if (20) 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 *Ján*. But (18) also can have the reading in which what *hanii* negates is the causal connection between the initial modifying clause and the final main clause. This is the only reading available for the (slightly awkward) example below:

(22) (?)Ján chídí yiyíľchǫ’ go *hanii* t’áani’ naashá.

---

7 Example (18), on this reading, and example (22) 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.
In (22), *hanii* appears immediately after the modifying clause *Jáan chídí yiiyîłçho’go*. The curiosity about sentences like (18) 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 (18-22):

(23)  Jáan hanii bitah honeezgaígíí baa shíí’.
    John neg 3-among areal-3-hot-ÍGíí 3-about 1-worry.I
    What I’m worried about is not that John is sick.

(24)  Jáan hanii bitah honeezgaígíí baa shíí’, 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.

(25)  Jáan hanii bitah honeezgaígíí baa shíí’, shinaanish ga’.
    John neg 3-among areal-3-hot-ÍGíí 3-about 1-worry 1-work ga’
    What I’m worried about is not that John is sick; it’s my job.

(26)  (?)Jáan bitah honeezgaígíí hanii baa shíí’.
    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.

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:

(27)  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:

(28)  Doo hanii kót’éego ’ánîlêeh 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) bíñeesh'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:

(29)  Shicheii hanii ’át’i nisingo hastiin biyooch’ídí bínees’áá’.  
1-grandfather hanii 3-be.N 1-think.I-GO man 3-lie-í 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

(30)  Doo háiida at’ééd yizts’qsa da.  
neg who-da girl 3-3-kiss.P-da  
No one kissed the girl.

(31)  Háshíí at’ééd yizts’qsa.  
who-shíí girl 3-3-kiss.P  
Someone kissed the girl.

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 shíí indefinite pronoun in place of it, and the (c) examples have a da indefinite pronoun:

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 háshíí yizts’qsa da.  
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 -dééé’ cannot appear with pronouns: *shígóó; *yidééé’.
(32) a. Hastiin kingóó oołbas.
    man town-to 3-drive.Pg
    The man is driving to town.

    b. Hastiin háágóshíí oołbas.
    man somewhere-to-shíí 3-drive.Pg
    The man is driving somewhere.

    c. Hastiin doo háágóóda oołbasda.
    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:

(38) a. Doo hááida at’ééd yizts’qsída.
    neg someone-da girl 3-3-kiss.P-da
    No one kissed the girl.

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

(39) a. At’ééd doo hááida yizts’qsída.
    girl neg anyone 3-3-kiss.P-da
    The girl didn’t kiss anyone.

    b. At’ééd doo yizts’qsída.
    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:

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

(41) a. Hastiin doo háádée’da oołbašda.
       man neg somewhere -from -da 3-drive.I-da
       The man is not driving from anywhere.

   b. Hastiin doo oołbašídée’da.
       man neg 3-drive.I- from -da
       The man is not driving from anywhere.

Note also the contrast between (15b) and the following example:

(42)  Kingóó doo oołbašída.
       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:

(43)   a. Doo ashkii yiiyištánída.
        neg boy 3-3-see.Pf-í-neg
        Nobody saw the boy.

   b. Ashkii doo yiiyištánída.
      boy neg 3-3-see.Pf-í-neg
      The boy did not see anybody.

(44)   a. Łééchą́q’í doo yishxashída.
        dog neg 3-3-bite.Pf-í-neg
        The dog didn’t bite anything.

   b. Doo łééchą́q’í yishxashída.
      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:
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 *háíída* ‘nobody/anybody’ and *ha’át’úída* ‘nothing/anything’) are normally preferred inside the negative frame rather than the indefinite pronouns, such as *háíshíį* ‘someone’ and *ha’át’úíshíį* ‘something’, that have the enclitic –shíį:

(1) a. Doo háíída at’ééd yizts’qs da.  
   neg no.one girl 3-3-kiss.P-neg  
   No one kissed the girl.

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

(2) a. Háíshíį at’ééd yizts’qs.  
   someone girl 3-3-kiss.P  
   Someone kissed the girl.

   b. At’ééd háíshíį yizts’qs.  
   girl someone 3-3-kiss.P  
   The girl kissed someone.

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

(3) *Háíída at’ééd yizts’qs.  
   no.one girl 3-3-kiss.P
However, the *h...shíh* words are sometimes used inside the negative frame, thus indicating that they are not true positive polarity items:

(4)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{At’èéd doo} & \quad \text{háíshíh} & \quad \text{yizt’sǝqsda.} \\
\text{girl} & \quad \text{neg} & \quad \text{someone} & \quad 3-3\text{-kiss.P-neg}
\end{align*}
\]

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* (4B), in the restriction of a universal quantifier (5), and in certain irrealis contexts such as an embedded question (4A) and the scope of *laanaa* (6), which expresses a wish:

(4)  

**Speaker A:**  
Jáan háágóósda oołbas.  
John where-to-Q-da 3-drive  
I wonder where John is driving to.  

**Speaker B:**  
Jáan háágóódá *hanii* oołbas.  
John where-to-*da hanii* 3-drive  
John is not driving anywhere.

(5)  

Ashiiké t’áálá’í nízínígo *ha’át’ída* yiyíyáq’ígíí ɬeets’a’ táidoogis.  
boys every nothing 3-3-eat.P-COMP dish 3-3-wash.Fut  
Every boy who ate anything will wash dishes.

(6)  

 Háíida shíká´oolyeed *laanaa*.  
who-neg 1-for 3-run wish  
I wish somebody would help me. (YM 1987:486)

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:

(7)  

*Há’át’ída* wóyáq’ lágo.  
whatchamacallit 2-eat.Opt-í lágo  
a. Don’t eat the whatchamacallit.  
b. Don’t eat anything.

(8)  

*Ha’át’ída* naash’aago k’ad *’ashyééh* doo ńt’ée’.  
whatchamacallit 3-1-carry.about.Imp-COMP now 1-married fut past  
a. If I had that whatchamacallit I would have been married by now.  
b. If I had something-- anything-- I would have been married by now.

(9)  

*Há’át’ída* ʔádin.
whatchamacallit SUP-not.exist
a. We’re out of the whatchamacallit. (something that I can’t think of the name of)
b. We’re out of it.

To form counterparts of (7) and (8) that in English would use the negative polarity item *anything*,\(^\text{10}\) the *sh Hü* indefinite can be used:

(10)  Há’át’ĭsh Hü wóy Hü lágo.
       something 2-eat.Opt-i lágo
       Don’t eat anything.
       Or “don’t eat something.”??

(11)  Há’át’ĭsh Hü naash Hü k’ad ’ashyéeh doo ŋt Hü été’.
       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’ĭda is fully ungrammatical. It may get the whatchamacallit reading just in the scope of a downward entailing operator.]]

*Há’át’ĭsh Hü* can be used with the verb in (9) with the following result:

(12)  Há’át’ĭsh Hü ’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’ĭda* appears in the antecedent clause of a conditional sentence:

(13)  **Há’át’ĭda** naash Hü k’ad ’ashyéeh doo ŋt Hü été’.
       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:

(14)  Doo ashkii yiíyíts Hüíída.
       neg boy 3-3-see.Pf-í-neg
       Nobody saw the boy.

It is ungrammatical without a negative frame:

\(^{10}\) There is no such English counterpart of (9). The sentence would be *We’re out of anything.*
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:

(15) *Ashkii yiyltsâní.*
    boy 3-3-see.Pf-í

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:

(16) *Yishtl’óf hanii, ’ashxaal ga’.*
    3-1-weave.1-f hanii SUP-1-drum FOC
    (I’m not weaving anything; I’m drumming.)

(17) *Ashiiké t’áálání nizínígo yiylíyåå’í’ígí’ leets’aa’ táidoogis.*
    boys every nothing 3-3-eat.P-í-COMP dish 3-3-wash.Fut
    Every boy who ate anything will wash dishes.

(18) *Shíká ’oolyed laanaa.*
    1-for 3-run-í 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:

(19) Shízhé’é doo deesháál 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 deeshááí ‘I will go’ in the complement clause.

### 5.3 A Minimizer: *tá’í ndi* (< *tá’í* ‘unity; *ndi* ‘but’ OR < *la* ‘some’; í ‘anyone’ *ndi* ‘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 *tá’í* along with the negative enclitic -í,\(^{11}\) that also serves as the incorporated counterpart of negative indefinite pronouns, and the conjunction *ndí* ‘but’;

(20) Béeso *tá’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.)

---

\(^{11}\) This could possibly be the nominalizing enclitic -í, employed here to form *tá’í* ‘union’.
Đí chídí bikee’ ³ャ¹í ndįi doo dits’id da lá.
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.

³ャ¹í ndįi is a fairly strict negative polarity item that is normally acceptable only within the negative frame. Without negation, ³ャ¹í ndįi is ungrammatical:

(22)  *Béeso ³ャ¹í ndįi naash’á.
      money MIN 3-1-carry.about.Imp

(23)  *Đí chídí bikee’ ³ャ¹í ndįi 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, ³ャ¹í ndįi is ungrammatical in these environments:

Yes-No Question:
(24)  *Béeso ³ャ¹í ndįi²sh nani’á?
      money MIN-Q 3-2-carry.about.Imp

Universal restriction:
(25)  *Ashiiké t’aáááí nížínígo (ch’íyáán) ³ャ¹í ndįi yiyíyíyí’ígíí́ léets’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:
(26)  *Béeso ³ャ¹í ndįi naash’ágo k’ad ‘ashyéélh doo ńt’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 ³ャ¹í ndįi needs overt negation in order for it to appear:

(27)  *Béeso ³ャ¹í ndįi naash’á laanaa.
      money MIN 3-2-carry.about.Imp wish
      (I wish I had some money.)
Often substituting the indefinite determiner Ʌʉ for Ʌʉ ndi results in a grammatical counterpart for the sentences above:\(^\text{12}\)

(28)  Cf. Béeoosh Ʌʉ nani’á?
       money-Q some 3-2-cary.about.Imp
       Do you have any money?

(29)  Cf. Béeso Ʌʉ naash’áago k’ad ’ashyééh doo ŋt’éé’.
       money some 3-1-carry.about.Imp-Comp now 1-married fut past
       If I had some money I would have been married now.

(30)  Cf. Béeso Ʌʉ naash’á laanaa.
       money some 3-2-cary.about.Imp wish
       I wish I had some money.

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

(31)  Shibéeso Ʌʉ’í ndi ’ādin.
       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:

(1)  Chidí bito doo ndó’ holóq da.
       car 3-water neg NDÓ’ areal-be.N neg
       There’s not even any gasoline.

---

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

(i)  Doo Ʌʉ nisin’.
       neg some 1-want.N-neg
       I don’t want any.

(ii) Doo Ʌʉ nisinída.
       neg some 1-want.N-f-neg
       I don’t want any one of them.
Béeso doo ndó’ naash’áá da.
money neg NDÓ’ 1-have.? neg
I don’t have any money.

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

'Awée’ doo ndó’ yidlóoh 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:

Doo ndó’ísh yiyáq da?
eg 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:

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

With the negative existential predicate:

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

With the constituent negator hanii:

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

In the restriction of a universal quantifier:

*Ashiiké t’aálá’í nízingo (ch’íyáán) ndó’ yiyíyáq’ígíí…
In the antecedent of a conditional:

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

With wishes:

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

With a negative imperative:

(12) *Ndó’ bidoólchííd lágo.
MIN ..

(13) *T’áado le’é ndó’ bidoólchííd 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’:

(14) Doo ’adlánda dóó ’asdzání yaa yinít’ü 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)

(15) 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):

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

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

(3) Béégashii dá’ak’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)

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

(5) Chídí 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:

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

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

(8) Díí naayehe yá sidáhí ni’dóoleeh lágo.
    this trader 2-3-gyp neg
    I hope this trader doesn’t gyp you. (YM 1987:163)

(9) Dóola dá’ak’eolyeed lágo díí tf’ée’.
    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:

(9)  
Doo ’ájiní da.  
neg SUP-4-speak neg  
One should never speak that way. / Don’t ever speak that way. (1951:309)

(10)  
Doo ’ájit’í da.  
neg SUP-4-do neg  
One should never do that. / Don’t ever do that. (1951:309)

(11)  
Doo jicha da.  
neg SUP-4-cry neg  
One should never cry. / Don’t cry. (1951:309)

(12)  
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 *-í*:

(13)  
T’áadoo ’ádíníí!  
just-neg SUP?-2-say  
Don’t say that!

(14)  
T’áadoo ’ánít’íí!  
just-neg SUP?-2-do  
Don’t do that!

(15)  
T’áadoo niyoocch’ídí!  
just-neg 2-lie  
Don’t be a liar/Don’t lie!

(16)  
Táadoo shiníníí!  
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’.”

(17) 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)

(18) 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)

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

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

(21) T’áá ká łahgo ’át’éego shich’i’ haohdzih. [lágo]
    t’ááká changed 3-be-GO 1-to 2-ask.X
    Be careful not to ask anything extraordinary of me. (Reichard 1951:314)
    [Ella likes these better with lágo].

6.1.5 Níwe

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

(23) Níwe!
    2-stop.?
    Leave it! Stop! Quit it!

(24) Níwe łééchąq’í t’áadoo nánífhalí!
    2-stop dog neg 3-2-beat.Imp
    Quit beating the dog! (YM 1987:664)

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:

1. *Doo gad dit’i’n léi’ nichxó’í da.\n   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:

   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:

3. *Gad doô dit’in da d66 nichxó’í.\n   juniper neg 3-dense neg Conj 3-ugly
   The juniper is not dense and it is ugly.

4. *Gad dit’in d66 doô nichxó’í da.\n   juniper 3-dense neg Conj 3-ugly neg
   The juniper is dense and it is not ugly.

5. *Gad doô dit’in da d66 doô nizhó’í da.\n   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*:

6. *'Awéé’ 'ítít’óó’dí’i doô yicha da.\n   baby 3-suck.P-Conj neg 3-cry.P neg
   Because the baby suckled s/he is not crying.

7. *Doo dit’ta daai’ dit’óó’dí.\n   neg 3-thick neg-Conj 3-fragile
Because it is not thick it is fragile.

(8) **Doo** hazhó’ó 'íyyá’’ *daii’* 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:

(9) Shíká ’nanílikwo’ **doodaii’** t’áadoo shaa nánít’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:

’táko

(10) Yiskággo **doo** nda’anish da *táko* t’óó hootah deet’áázh, 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)

(11) Kintahgóó déyá *táko* doo shaa díínáát 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.

(12) **Doo** ntsaa da *táko* doo ndaaz da.  
    neg 3-big da Conj neg 3-heavy neg  
    It is not big so it is not heavy.

doodaii’

(13) ‘Adeeshlííł doodaii’’ **doo** ‘adeeshlííł da.  
    I will make/do it, or I won’t.

(14) Doo ‘adeeshlííł da doodaii’ ‘adeeshlííł.  
    I will make/do it, or I won’t.

(15) Džíttahgoo deekago ch’íyáán doo lâ’í da doo doodaii’’ chidí bitoo’ doo lâ’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

(16) **Doo** háággóó da deeshnéef da háálá kwe’é shikéyah.  
    Neg somewhere-to neg 1-move.F neg Conj here 1-land

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I will not go (move) anywhere else because my land is here.

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

(18) Doo Kin Łánídi naanish da håálá doo ’áadi shighan da.
neg 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’

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

(20) Ha’asídí nihééhósín léi’ doo nihaa ná’áhodził’t’égoó
watchman 1dpl-3-know.N Conj neg 1dpl-to 3-pay.attention.NI-neg.GO
t’óó nihit ch’ínl’éél.
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)

(21) Doo nahaltín da léi’ tó doo dego ‘anool’áqal da.
neg 3-rain neg Conj water neg up 3-go.Prog neg
Because it hasn’t been raining, the water level is not going up.

ndi

(22) Kii lji’ yizlóh léi’ ndi doo yí’diiltíd da.
Kii horse 3-3-rope.SP Conj but neg 3-3-brand.I neg
Kii has roped the horse but is not branding it.

(23) Doo ’ífftá’ da ndi ’óltá’i nahalingo ’í’diishyaa.
neg 1-school.P neg Conj scholar 3-like-GO 1Reflex-make.P
Even though I didn’t go to school, I dressed like a schoolgirl. (YM 1987:467)

(24) Sitsii’ ch’ééh haa’í lá doo ’áásh’jít da ndi doo yiilch’ilít da.
1-hair in.vain everything neg 3-1-do neg Conj neg 3-curled.I neg
I’ve done everything I can do to my hair but it won't curl. (YM 1987:796)

átt’éé’

(25) T’ah doo ’adishtíjíh da átt’éé’ yiskáago ’adétá.
I had never carried the prayer stick [in a War Dance] but tomorrow I'll carry it. (YM 1987:27)

Kii horse 3-3-rope.SP Conj neg 3-3-brand.I neg
Kii has rooped the horse but is not branding it.

This blanket isn’t pretty but it isn’t flammable [so I bought it anyhow].

6.2.2 Coordinated Adverbials and Negation

Certain adverbials can be coordinated inside the negative frame of the clause they modify. Below is an example of two -go adverbials coordinated inside a negative frame. Negation has scope over the conjunction:

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:

[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):

[As for me, I make tortillas small and thick.] That is how we Navajos make our tortillas, not very broad and not very thin.
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 téiyá bit ’ádeiil’į.  
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, doodaii’ ‘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 doodaii’ even though doodaii’ has dislocated to the end of the sentence:

(31) Nihí ’éí náneeskaагí doo 'ak’ah bił ’ádeiil’į da doodaii’ 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:

(32) Jooł doo ’atiin tsé’naa dóó ’anít’i’ báátis ahííñíłhan 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.

(33) Jooł doo ’atiin tsé’naa doodago ’anít’i’ báátis ’ahííłhan 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”

(5) Nahaltingo doo deesháął da.  
Rain.comp.neg.F.go.neg.t  
If it rains I won’t go (leave/come).

(6) Doo nihee nahaltingoó díkwíí da nínáánááhaigo shįį dibáąį’ ‘áníhidoóldįįl.  
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 dooleeł and the past particle nít’ée’:

(1) Hooghandi sédáago k’ad ’ashhosh dooleeł nít’ée’ (doo nít’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)

(2) K’ad kintahdi naasháago t’áá ’íió ’ífé’ dooleeł nít’ée’ (doo nít’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)

(3) Siláo ’idlju házhó’ó bíhool’áago shíí t’ahdí siláo nishlju dooleeł nít’éé’
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 dooleeł.
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 lá’í ’asháágóó contains its own negative frame. This expression of negation has narrow scope relative to the conditional:

(4) Doo lá’í ’asháágóó k’ad ’ánísts’ózí dooleeł nít’ée’ (doo nít’ée’).
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.

(5) Doo nił hóyéé’góó éiyá nibéégashii danízhóní dooleeel. no nít’ée’?
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
Ella, what do you think of this section? Ella says The idiomatic verbs like the one in (2) come with doo so a second doo is necessary to undo the negative. Not so with (3) and (4) below or (1) above.

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

(1) ’?Doo doo bił hózhó’ó da.
neg neg 3-with beauty neg
S/he is not angry. (Reichard 1951:309)

(2) Doo doo ’ásohodish’ííh da doo.
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:

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

(4)  
?Naabeehó dóó Dzilgháá’í danlíngígí 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 (1) and (2) 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:

(5) a.  
Doo bił hózhóó da.  
neg 3-with beauty neg  
S/he is happy.

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

(6) a.  
Ásohodish’ííh doo.  
SUP-1-with.hope fut  
I shall have hope.

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

Example (5b) is not a straightforward negation of (5a). What about (6)? Is (6a) grammatical? What does it mean? Negating them contradicts the idiomatic meaning, rather than being a case of two negations actually canceling each other.

In conclusion, clauses that have multiple cases of negation tend to be difficult to understand. 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’.

\[ t'ah \ doo \ldots \ da \]

(1) Dí ždzi t'ah doo bąq̌ǎ hashisháah da. 
   this mountain just neg 3-alongside 1-go.up.out.Pf neg 
   I've never climbed this mountain. (YM 1987:431)

(2) T'áá źnéééegi da t'ah doo 'ádaah dah hoshisht'aah da. 
   I've never committed a crime in my life. (YM 1987:458)

(3) 'Ōlt'a'ji' źíyáhá̓dá̓ǧi ndi chíph yee 'adilohii t'ah doo yiístéeh da ŋt'éé'. 
   I still had never seen an elephant even at the time I went away to school. (YM 1987:710)

(4) T'ah doo la' naáñéístéeh da. 
   I wonder why I never see him anymore. (YM 1987:710)

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\[ t'áádoo \ V \ da \]

(5) T'áádoo yee 'akéé' níníyáhhí da. 
   t'áádoo yee seconded neg 
   it was never seconded, it hasn't been seconded. (YM 1987:649)

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(6) T'áá 'ákwií zhní doo ts'idá t'áá le'déé'te' góne' nihee hodítiíjí da. 
   strike.happy.medium 
   Our summer rains never strike a happy medium. (YM 1987:742)

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\[ Hool'áágóó \ doo \ldots \ da, 'never' \]

(2) Hool'áágóó doo 'alk'iídiijah da daanígo 'ahada'deest'ú. 
   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) 
   \[ \Rightarrow \text{Agree }((a,b), \text{Forever(←attack } (a,b))) \]

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(8) Ha'áá t'éegi da t'ódiísołgo doo bighá'jítseeh da. 
   never ? blister neg 3-1-prick.? neg 
   Never prick a water blister. (YM 1987:707)

t'áá shiídáq'dii "a long time, never (in negative contexts), old.

(9) T'áá shiídáq'dii kwe'é nihíghan. 
   just long.time here 2pl-live.N 
   We’ve lived here for a long time. (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 *biniinaa/yiiniinaa*. Negation appears twice in the example below:

(1)  Ch’iyáán *doo* yá’át’éhí́ígí moyá́ago *biniinaa* *doo* diní́lwo’ *da*.
     food neg 3-good-(neg)-ÍGÍF 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 *biniinaa* 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 -ígií. 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 Schauber 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:

(2)  ’Ádíhodidesht’ih 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:

(1)  *nda ga’, daga’, ndagha’, nada 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:

(2)  Mother:  Shiyáázh,  áláá́h  ‘ílhosh.
     1-son  there-go 2-sleep.X
Go to sleep, son.

Child: Dooda.
No.

Mother: Łeets’aa’ísh táásinigiz?
dishes-Q 2-wash.Pf
Did you wash the dishes?

No.

Díí 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:

Mother: Łeets’aa’ísh t’áadoo táásinigiz ?
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:

Child: Ndaga’ tááségiz.
no 3-1-wash.Pf
No, I washed them.

Here is another example:

Mother: Naaltsoosísísh t;ahdooyísotso yíníltah 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:

Child: Ndaga’ altso yííltah.
No, I’ve finished it already.

Young & Morgan (1987) have the following example:

(9) Díí ljjí’ biyéél doo neeznádiin béeso báágilí 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 ’añdó’ t’áá ’ákwinínízín.
2-Q also 2-hold.that.opinion
Do you look at it that way?
’Aoo ’, shí do’ t’áá ’ákwinisín.
yes 1 also 1-hold.that.opinion
Yes, I look at it that way. (YM 1987:79)