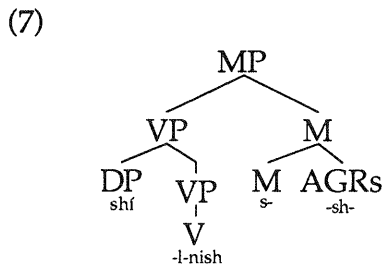
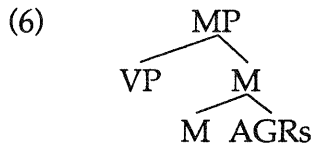
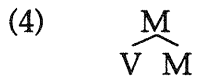


THE SYNTAX OF THE NAVAJO VERB

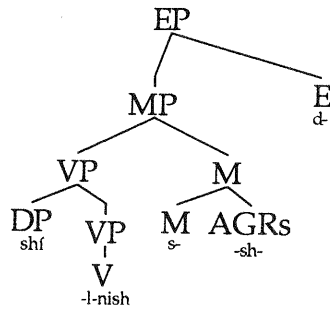
(1) Kóhoot'éeédáá' naalyéhé bá hooghandi déshnish. (Y&M 87D:337)
 'I started working at the trading post last year.'

(2) Shí déshnish.
 'I started working.'

(3)	E	M(ODE)	AGRs	CL(ASSIFIER)	STEM
	d-	s-	-sh-	-l-	-nish



(8)



(9)

AGREEMENT

Agreement is a relation between a head and an argument which it c-governs (simultaneously c-commands and governs).

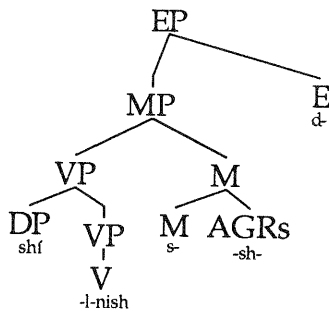
(10)

C-GOVERNMENT (GOVERNMENT AND C-COMMAND):

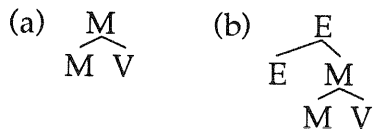
A head *H* c-GOVERNS an argument *A* if:

- (i) *H* c-commands *A* and
- (ii) there is no *XP* which dominates *A* and not *H*, where *XP* is a barrier for *A*.

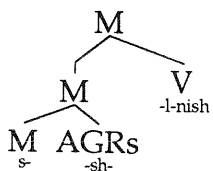
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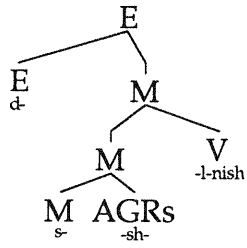
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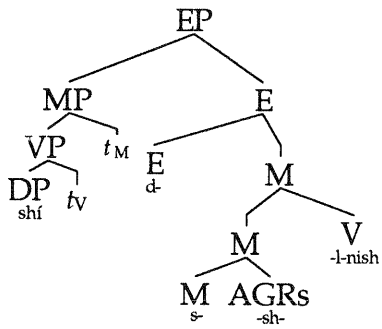
(13)



(14)

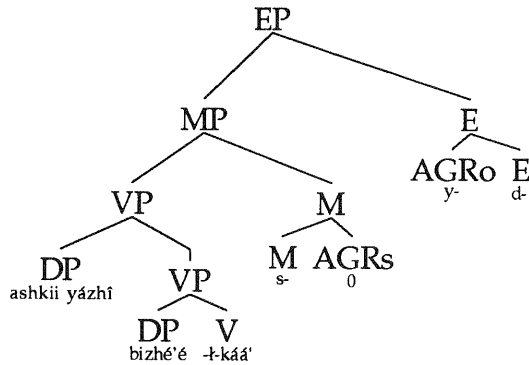


(15)



- (16) Díi ashkii yázhí bizhé'é yideeskáá'. (Y&M 87D:336)
'This little boy took after his father (in habits and ways).'

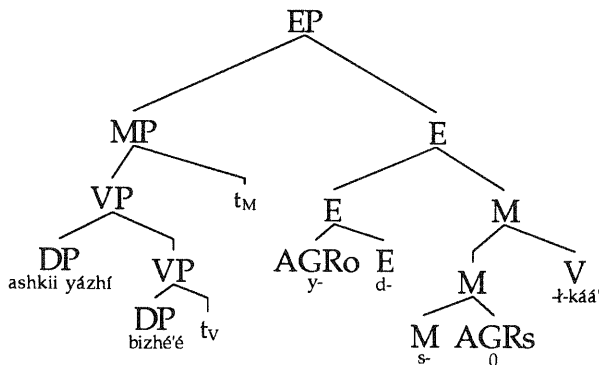
(17)



18) TRANSPARENCY

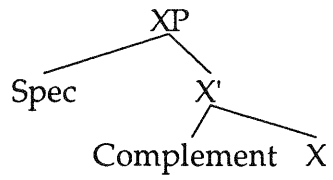
- (a) VP, MP, and EP belong to the extended projection of V.
- (b) There are dependency relations which hold between E, and M, between M and V, and between E and V.
- (c) Head Movement connects the structural heads of VP, MP, and EP within a chain "headed" by the complex derived verb word dominated by E.¹

(19)



¹The term "head" is customarily used in at least two distinct ways, (i) to refer to the structural head of a projection (e.g., according to which the V is the head of VP) and (ii) to refer to the end point of movement, the upper end of a movement chain, opposed to the "tail", or beginning point. It should perhaps be pointed out as well that the terms "beginning", "end", "before", "after", and the like, are used metaphorically in reference to grammatical processes and relations—no temporal implication is intended.

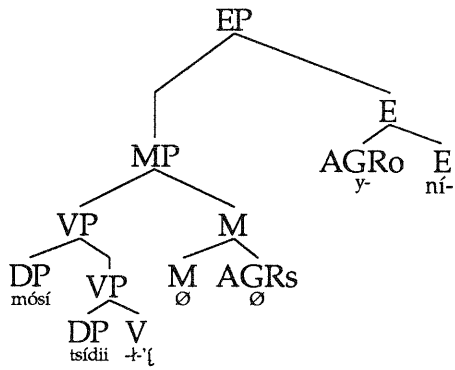
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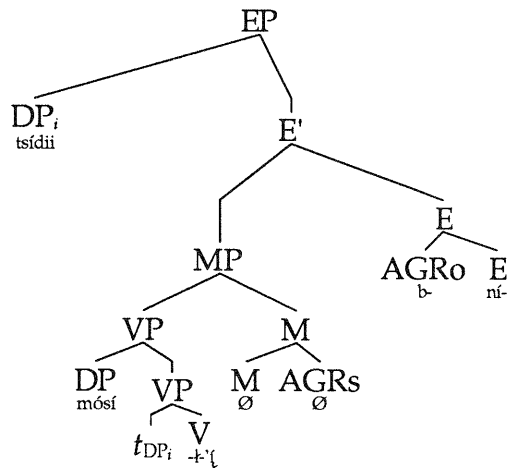
(21) Mósí tsídii yiniŋ'í. (Y&M 87G:65)
 'The cat is looking at the bird.'

(22) Tsídii mósí biniŋ'í.
 'The cat is looking at the bird.'
 'The bird is being looked at by the cat.'

(23)

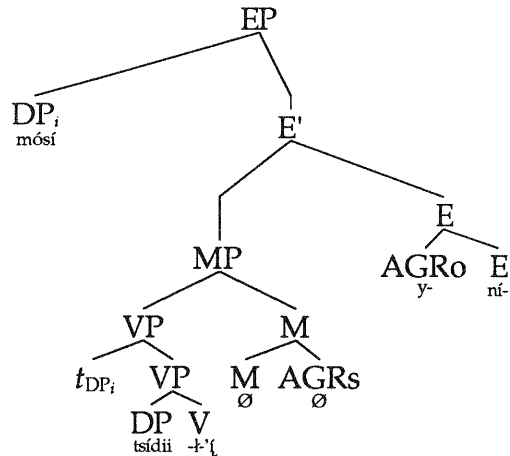


(24)



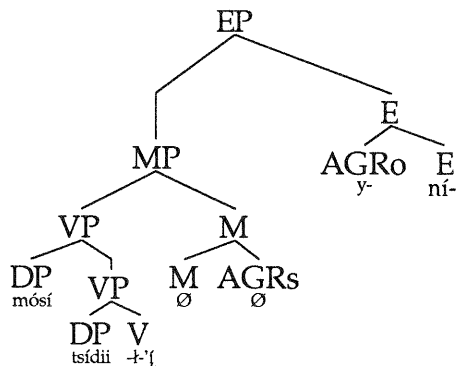
- (25) THE EXTENDED PROJECTION PRINCIPLE (EPP):
A verb and its inflectional projection is a predicate and must be predicated of a subject.

(26)

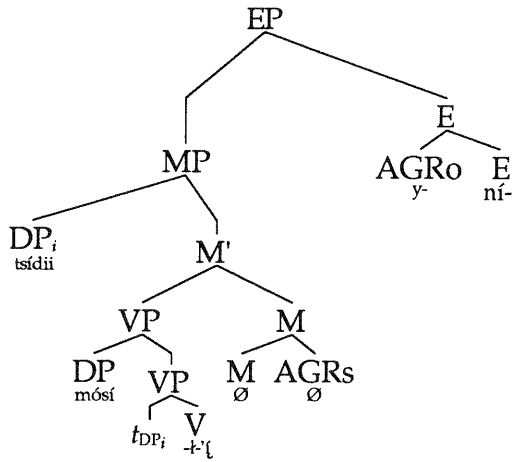


- (27) MAXIMUM LOCALITY (CLOSEST):
DP may enter into the agreement relation with an agreement-bearing head H if: (i) H c-governs DP and, (ii) H is the closest head to DP, where H is closest if there is no other head H* such that H* c-governs DP and H* does not c-command H.

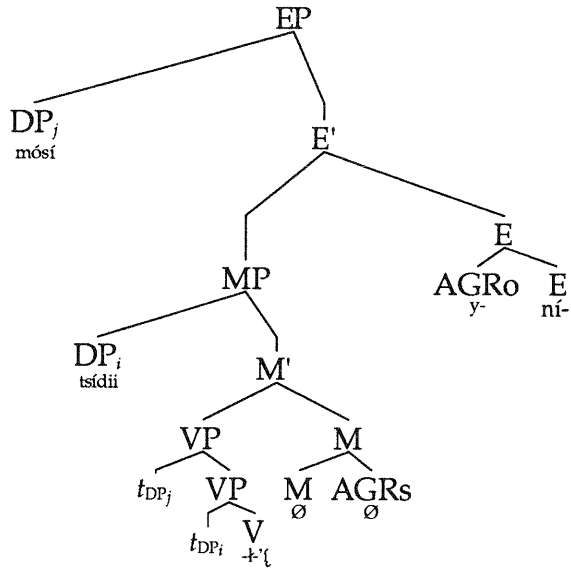
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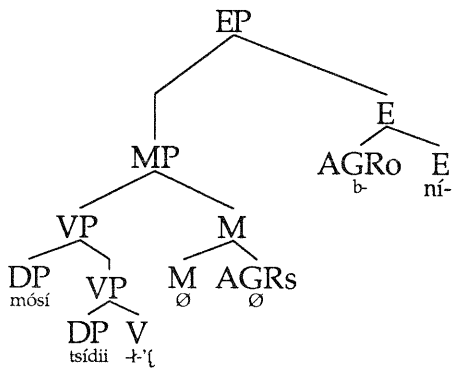
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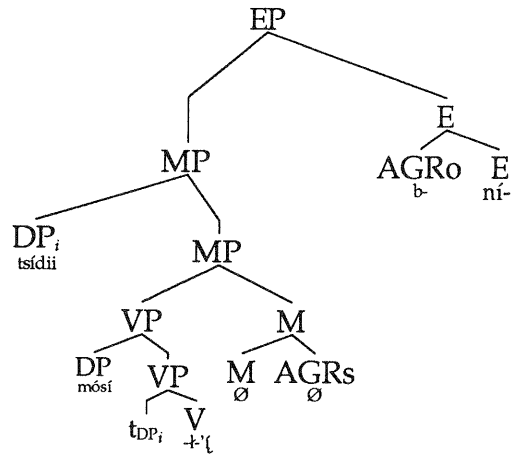
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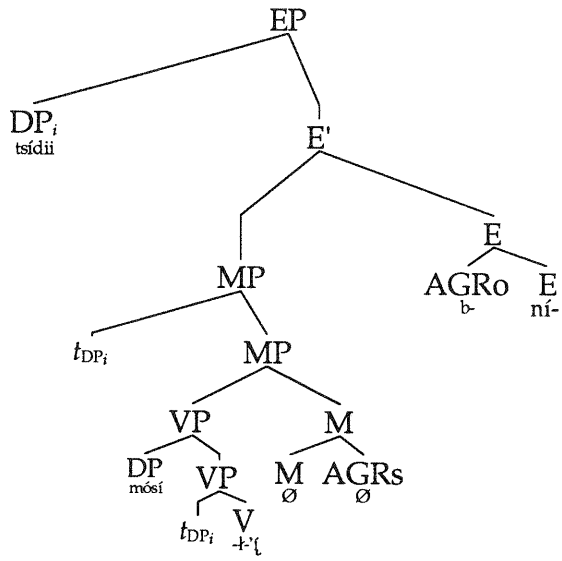
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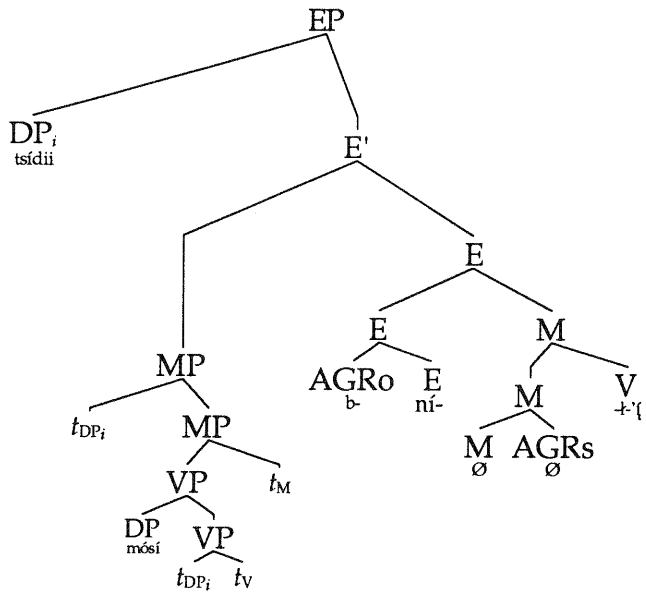
(32)



(33)

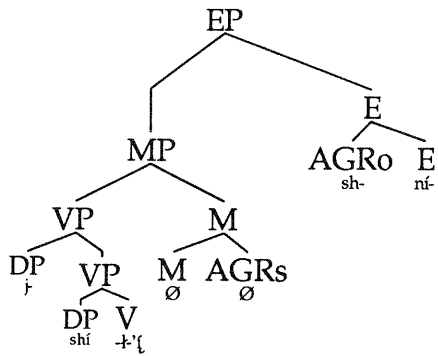


(34)

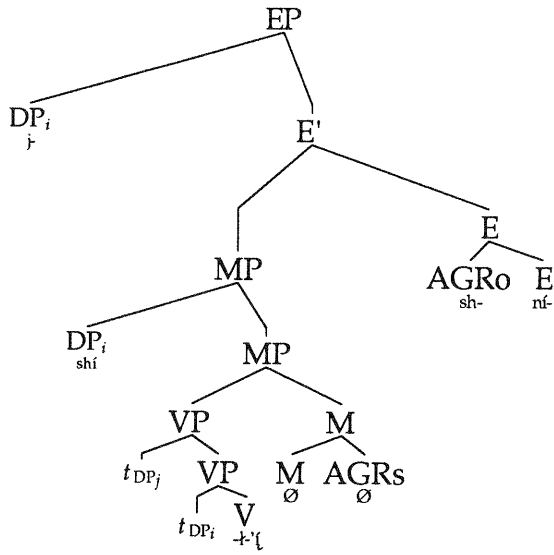


(35) Shizhní'í.
'One looks at me.'

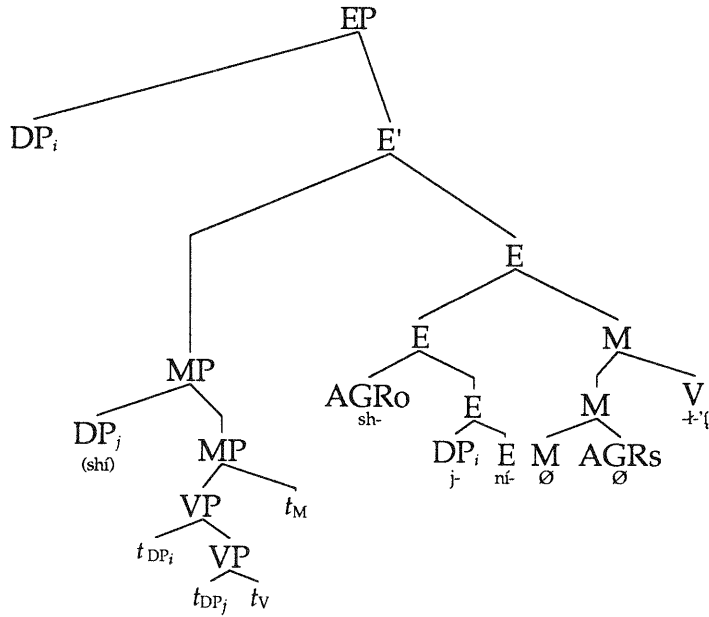
(36)



(37)



(38)



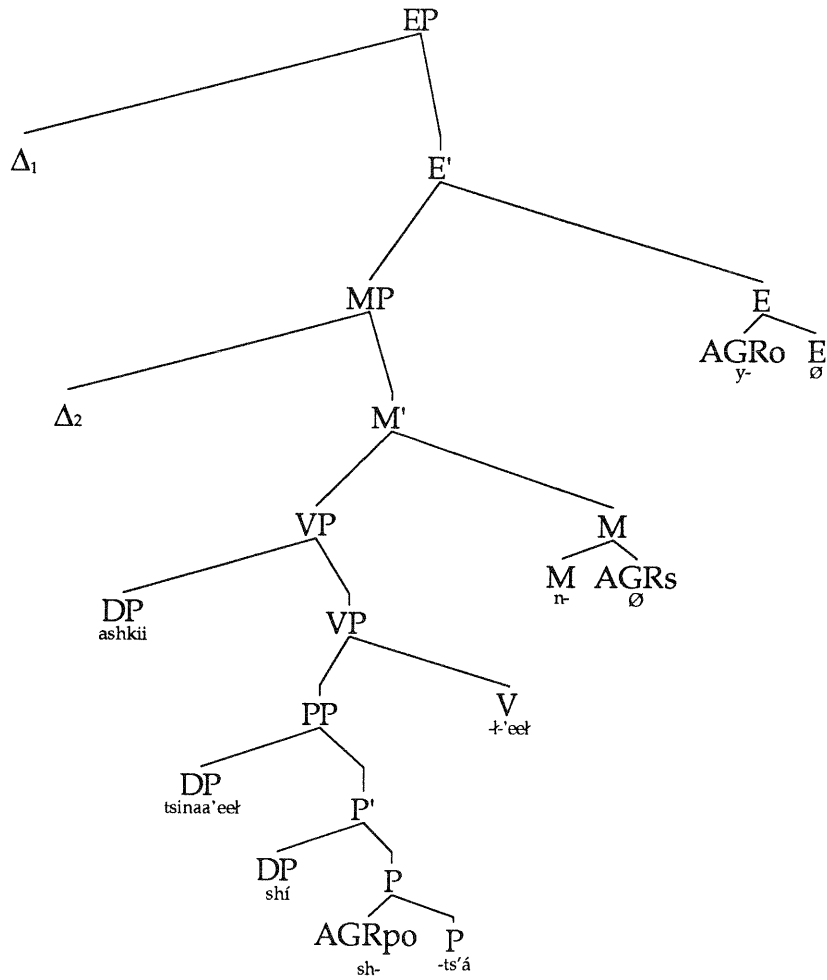
(39) (Shí) shidi'níl'í.
 'I am being looked at.'
 'Someone is looking at me.'

(40) THE ERGATIVE PATTERNING OF 3i MORPHOLOGY:
 (i) '- = subject of intransitive, object of transitive;
 (ii) '-d- = subject of transitive.

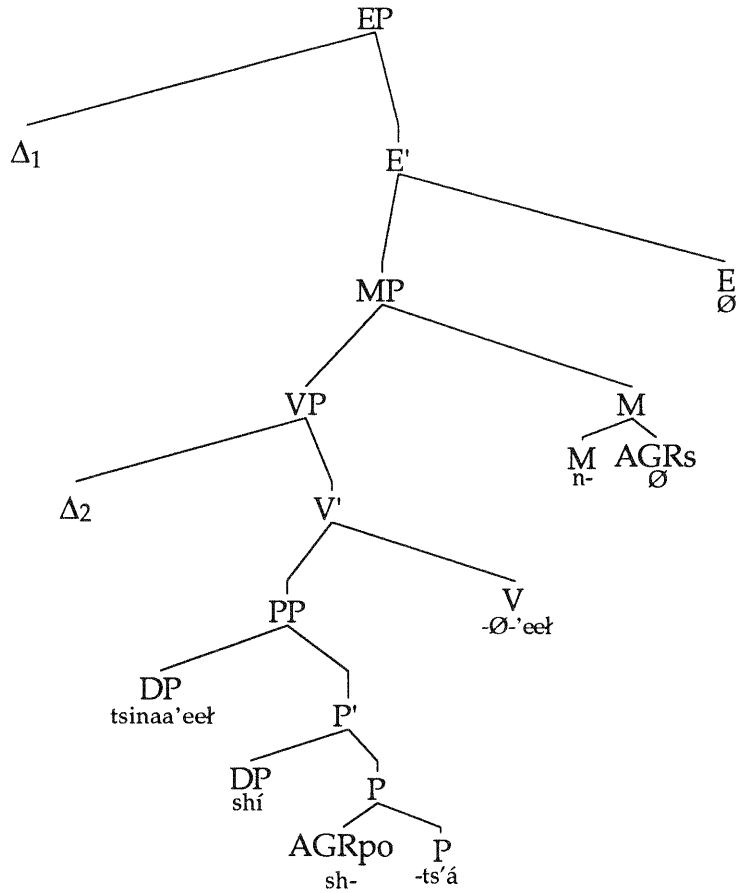
(41) (a) Tsinaa'eeł (shí) sits'ání'éeł.
 'The boat drifted away from me.'

(b) Ashkii tsinaa'eeł (shí) sits'ání'éeł.
 'The boy rowed (lit., floated) the boat away from me.'

(42)



(43)

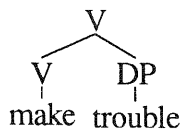


(44) (a) Tsinaa'eeł (shí) sits'ání'éél.
'The boat drifted away from me.'

(b) Ashkii tsinaa'eeł (shí) sits'éinił'éél.
'The boy rowed (lit., floated) the boat away from me.'

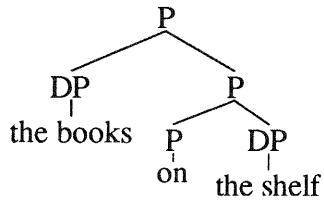
- (45) (a) make trouble
(b) bake a cake
(c) have puppies
(d) build a house

(46)

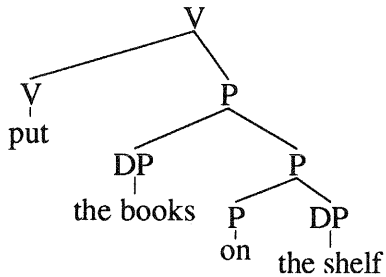


- (47) (a) (put) the books on the shelf
 (b) (get) the cows into the corral
 (c) (pound) nails into the wall
 (d) (drip) paint on the floor

(48)

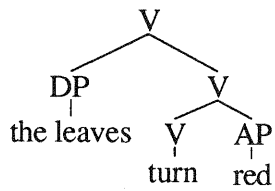


(49)

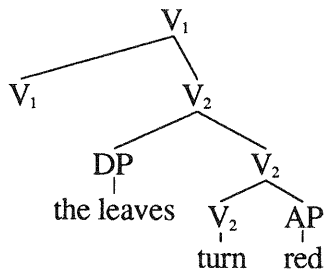


- (50) (a) The leaves turned red.
 The cold turned the leaves red.
- (b) The coconut split open.
 The blow split the coconut open.
- (c) The liquid froze solid.
 We froze the liquid solid.
- (d) The safe blew open.
 The charge blew the safe open.

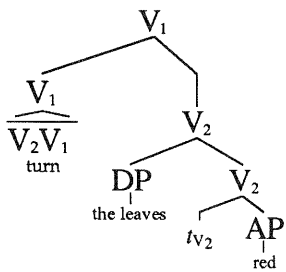
(51)



(52)



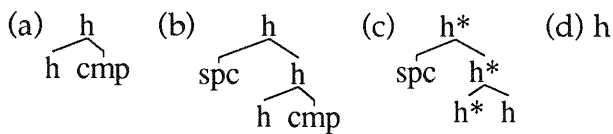
(53)



(54) The fundamental relations of argument structure:

- (a) **Head-Complement.** If X is the *complement* of a head H , then X is the unique sister of H (X and H mutually c-command one another).
- (b) **Specifier-Head.** If X is the *specifier* of a head H , and if P_1 is the first (non-vacuous) projection of H (i.e., H'), then X is the unique sister of P_1 .

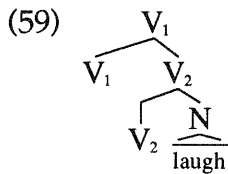
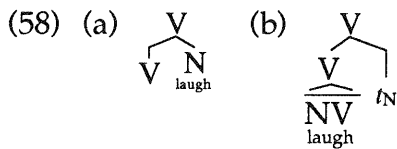
(55)



(56) belch, burp, cough, crawl, cry, dance, gallup, gleam, glitter, glow, hop, jump, laugh, leap, limp, nap, run, scream, shout, sleep, skip, sneeze, sob, somersault, sparkle, speak, stagger, sweat, talk, trot, twinkle, walk, yell.

(57) (a) The cowboys made trouble.
 *The beer made the cowboys trouble.
 (i.e., the cowboys made trouble because of the beer)

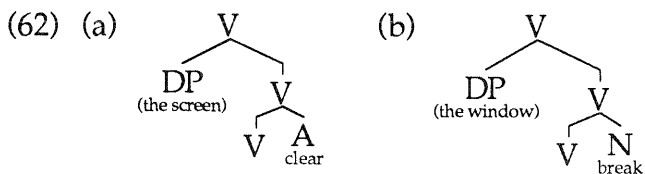
(b) The children laughed.
 *The clown laughed the children.
 (i.e., the children laughed because of the clown)

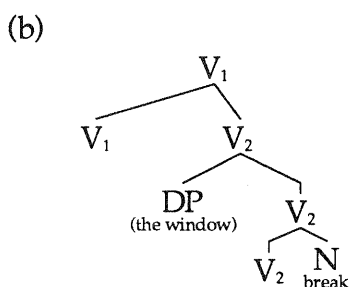
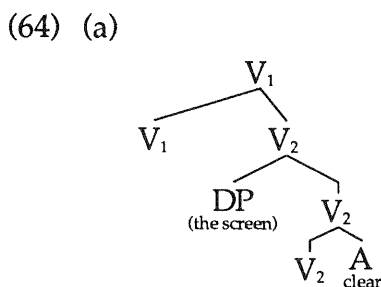
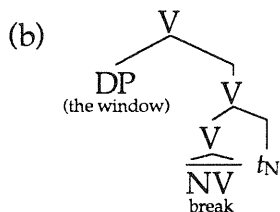
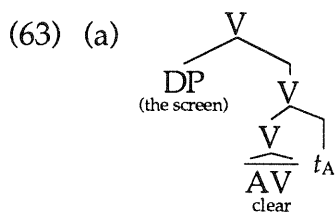


(60) bend, blacken, break, clear, crack, darken, dry, flatten, freeze, harden, loosen, melt, narrow, open, redden, soften, split, straighten, thicken, thin, tighten, widen.

(61) (a) The screen cleared.
 (a') She cleared the screen.

(b) The window broke.
 (b') He broke the window.





- (65) (a) Tóshjeeh si-ts'il.
barrel SPF:3-shatter:PERF
'The barrel shattered, broke to pieces.'
(Cf. Y&M 80.804: Tóshjeeh tó bii' hadeezbingo tsinaabaqas
bikáá'déé' hadah 'ílmááz nít'ée' sits'il.)

- (b) Łeets'aa' sé-ł-ts'il.
dish 3:SPF:1s-ł-shatter:PERF
'I shattered the dish.'
(Cf. Y&M 80.798: Shimá sání łeets'aa' bits'áá' séłts'ilgo 'ayóo
bá hóochíjd.)

- (66) (a) Tin yí-yíí'.
ice YPF:3-melt:PERF (< -ghíí')
'The ice melted.'
Cf. Y&M 80.794: Tin honibąąhgi niní'áá' nít'ée' yíyíí' lá.)

- (b) Yas yí-ł-híí'. (< -ghíí')
snow 3:YPF:1s-ł-melt:PERF
'I melted the snow.'
(Cf. Y&M 80.782: Tł'óo'di didíłjée'go yas yishhíłhgo baa naashá,
tó hazłíı'go bee da'deesgis biniiyé.)

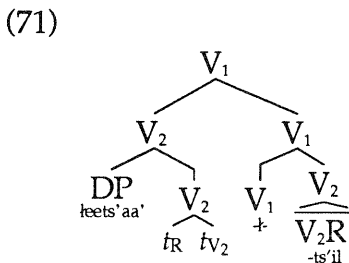
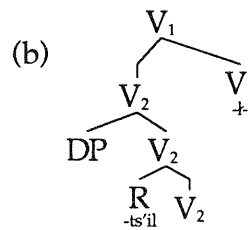
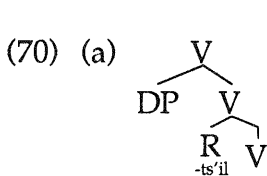
- (67) '-(ł)'eeł 'float away' [177-83]; ii-(ł)gááh 'whiten' [195]; (ł)gan 'dry up'
[199]; '-(ł)geeh 'fall away' [as person, animal; 214,6]; ii-(ł)kíísh 'become
spotted, put spots on' [329]; ii-(ł)k'is 'crack' [351]; (ł)łąąh 'increase' [in

number or quantity; 369]; ‘-(*t*-)lĭ ‘flow away’ [376,7]; *d*-(*t*-)lid ‘be burning’ [371]; ‘-(*t*-)máás ‘roll away’ [397,8]; *ii*-(*t*-)táás ‘bend over, double’ [493]; (*t*-)t’ees ‘cook, roast, etc.’ [536]; ‘-(*t*-)t’ééh ‘extend away’ [line, fence; 546,7]; *ii*-(*t*-)thíish ‘darken, turn brown, [571]; (*t*-)t’is ‘harden’ [as mud, dough; 580]; *ii*-(*t*-)tsóóh ‘yellow’ [614]; *d*-(*t*-)ts’ogd ‘stretch’ [643,4]; *d*-(*t*-)zháásh ‘begin to wear away, down’ [767]; (*t*-)zhogoh ‘become gentle, make gentle’ [796].

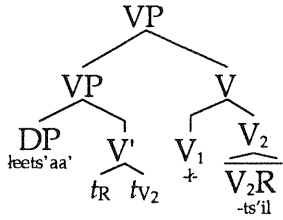
(68) (a) ‘Awéé’ d-ee-za’.
 baby d-SPF:3-belch:PERF
 ‘The baby burped.’

(b) *‘Awéé’ d-é-sa’. (< d-é-t-za’)
 baby d-SPF:1s-t-belch
 ‘I burped the baby.’

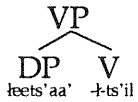
(69) *na-bé* ‘swim, bathe’ [69]; *-cha* ‘cry’ [70]; *d-lish* ‘spurt urine’ [as of dog; 375]; *na-né* ‘play’ [423] *hw-taał* ‘sing’ [490]; *d-zheeh* ‘spit’ [771]; ‘-zhíifł ‘gasp, inhale sharply’ [773]; *d-yih* ‘pant, puff’ [702]; ‘-yóół ‘inhale’ [723].



(72)



(73)



(74) 'Awéé' yi-dloh.

baby PROG:3-d:laugh:PROG

'The baby is laughing.'

(75) *(Shí) awéé' yishdloh. (< gh-sh-ł-dloh)

*'I laugh the baby.' (I.e., 'I make the baby laugh.')

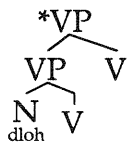
(76) (Shí) awéé' biyeeshdloh. (< b-y-gh-sh-ł-dloh)

'I make the baby laugh.'

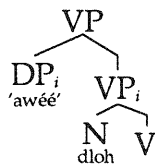
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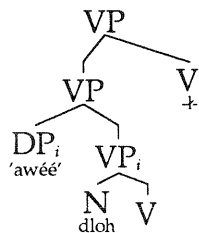
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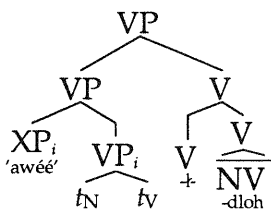
(79)



(80)



(81)

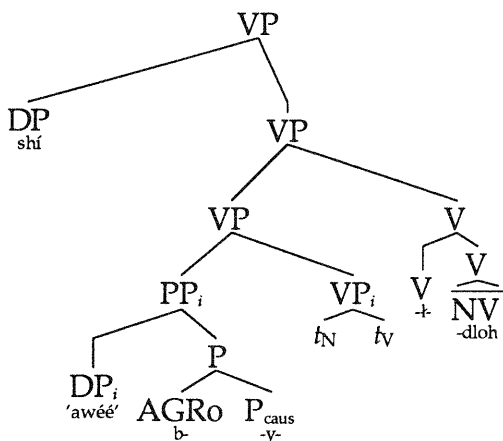


(82) CASE-BINDING:

A head *H* Case-Binds and argument *A* if:

- (i) *H* governs and locally c-commands *A*; and
- (ii) *H* governs a bare nominal c-argument of *A*; and
- (iii) *H* delimits a "small clause".

(83)



(84) (a) 'Awéé' d-ee-za'.

baby d-SPF:3-belch:PERF

'The baby burped.'

(b) 'Awéé' bi-di-y-é-sa'. (< b-d-y-s'-sh-ł-za')

baby 3-d-y-SPF:1s-ł-belch:PERF

'I burped the baby.'

(Cf. Y&M 80.184: 'Awéé' binághahdégé' nánishkadgo bidiyésa'.)

(85) (a) Biná'iissíh. (< b-ná#'-y-Ø-sh-ł-yíh)

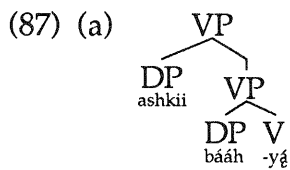
'I iteratively feed him.' (Lit., make him eat something, as baby.)'

(Y&M87D:215)

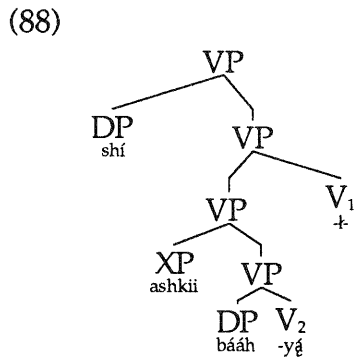
- (b) Dibé yázhí tózis bee bi'iyííłt'óód. (< b-'-y-gh-'-sh-ł-t'óód)
 'I fed the lamb with a bottle.' (Lit., made it suck something.)
 (Y&M87D:215)

- (86) (a) Dibé yázhí nábi'iishdlíłhgo amíná'át'ááh. (< ná#b-'-y-ii-Ø-sh-ł-dlíłh)
 'I feed the lambs every morning.' (cf., Y&M87D:215)

- (b) Nichidí ná nábiissj'. (< ná#b-y-ii-Ø-sh-ł-zj')
 'I righted your (overturned) car for you.' (Y&M87D:267)



- (b) Ashkii bááh yiyá.
 'The boy is eating bread.'

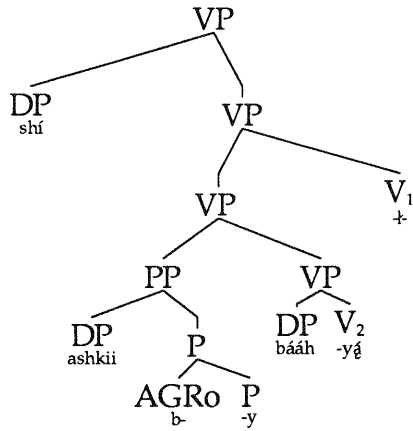


- (89) CASE-BINDING:

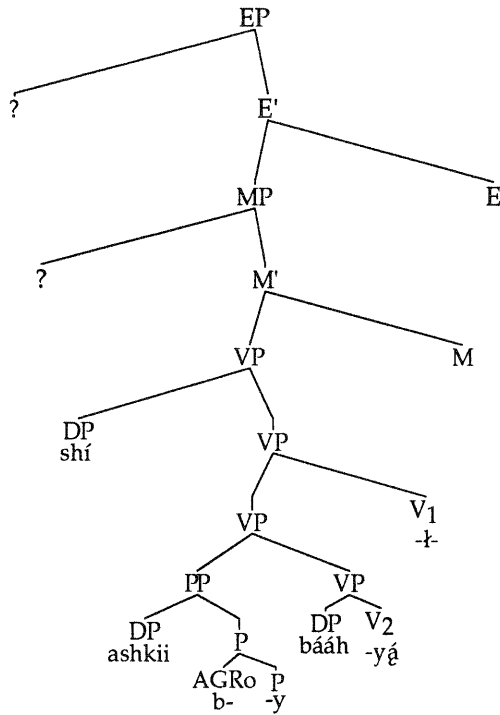
A head *H* Case-Binds and argument *A* if:

- (i) *H* governs and locally c-commands *A*; and
- (ii) *H* governs a bare nominal c-argument of *A*; and
- (iii) *H* delimits a "small clause".

(90)



(91)



(92) (a) *Shí ashkii bááh biissá. (< b_{AGRC}-Ø_{AGRo}-y-Ø_M-sh-t-yâ)
 'I make the boy eat bread.'

(b) *Hastiin ashkii bááh yiyiisá. (< y_{AGRC}-y_{AGRo}-y-Ø_M-Ø_{AGRS}-t-yâ)
 'The man makes the boy eat bread.'

(93) (a) Shí ashkii bi'iissá. (< b-'-y-Ø-sh-t-yâ)
 'I am feeding the boy (lit., making make the boy eat).'

- (b) Hastiin ashkii yi'iisá. (< y-'-y-Ø-Ø-ł-yá)
'The man is feeding the boy (i.e., making the boy eat).'
- (94) (a) *Shí ashkii bááh biissá. (< b_{AGRC}-y-Ø_M-sh-ł-yá)
'I am making the boy eat bread.'
- (b) *Hastiin ashkii bááh yiyiisá. (< y_{AGRC}-y-Ø_M-Ø_{AGRS}-ł-yá)
'The man is making the boy eat bread.'
- (95) (a) Shizhé'é t'áadoo le'é nayiisnii'. (< na#y-h-s-ł-nii')
'My father bought something.'
- (b) Shizhé'é na'iisnii'. (< na#'-h-s-ł-nii')
'My father shopped, made purchases.'
- (96) 'ł-wosh 'sleep'
'ł-gháá' 'snore'
'-l-zhish 'dance'
'-Ø-lizh 'urinate'
'-Ø-chi' 'defecate'
'ł-sooł 'arrive (in a swarm)'
'ł-kóóh 'swim'
- (97) '-Ø-yá 'eat', dine (lit., eat 3o)'
'ł-chí 'give birth (lit., bear 3o)'
'-Ø-tsid 'do silversmithing (lit., pound 3o)'
'ł-káah 'make puberty cake (lit., to sweeten 3o)'
'ł-leeh 'stage event' (lit., cause 3o to be realized)'
'-Ø-tl'ó 'weave, do weaving (lit., weave 3o).'
na#' -n-ł-kaad 'herd sheep (lit., move spreading 3o about)'
na#' -n-Ø-tin 'teach (lit., teach 3o)'
ná#' -ł-'ah 'butcher (lit., butcher 3o).'