

APPENDIX 1

Grammar

The Western Apache language belongs to the Athapaskan family of languages. Others in the Southwest speaking these languages are Mescalero, Chiracahua and Jicarilla Apaches, and Navajos. As shown by the map in Appendix 4, there are many Athapaskan Indian tribes in Canada and Alaska. Western Apache is spoken by members of the White Mountain and San Carlos tribes. There are some differences in forms and pronunciations of words, but all understand one another.

A great deal of linguistic work has been done on the Southern Athapaskan languages. Early Catholic missionaries studied the Navajo, and early Lutheran missionaries the Apache. As early as the 1920s and 30s Dr. Edward Sapir and Dr. Harry Hoijer of the University of California at Los Angeles were studying these languages. After Dr. Sapir's death Dr. Hoijer continued the work, and has published very valuable material. In 1945 and 46, articles on the Apachean Verb by Dr. Hoijer were published in the International Journal of American Linguistics. These articles and other materials written by Dr. Hoijer have been basic to the work other linguists have done. In the early 1940s some very good work was done on the Navajo by Dr. William Morgan, Navajo, and Dr. Robert Young, Anglo. The result of their work was published in the book, "The Navajo Language." Much in the grammar section of this book is applicable to Apache.

Sentence Structure:

In general, the order in an Apache sentence is subject, object, verb.

Subject	Object	Verb	
Ishkiin	łiŋ	yizloh.	'The boy caught the horse.'
boy	horse	he caught it	

Dependent clauses precede main clauses and are usually joined to them by the enclitic -go.

Áń	na'iziigyú	diyaago	kq'	godiltli'go	yo'ii'.
He	work - to	as-he-went	fire	burning-an-area	he-saw
'He saw the forest fire on his way to work.'					

The verb is the basis of the Apache language. Most English adjectives are expressed by verbal forms in Apache, and many Apache nouns are nominalized verbs. For example, **broom** is 'that

with which sweeping is done', and **chair** is 'that on which one sits'. The verbs are very complex. A complete sentence in English may be translated by one Apache verb. The thought expressed is very precise, the exact tense, the number of people involved, adverbial ideas, as well as the exact kind of action, and in the case of verbs involving handling, the kind of article handled. It is the verb that has given the Apachean languages the reputation of being the most difficult of all languages.

Dr. Hoijer* has described 14 positions in the verb complex, as follows: 1. Indirect object, 2. Postposition, 3. Adverbial prefixes, 4. Theme prefix, 5. Iterative mode, 6. Number prefix, 7. Direct object, 8. Deictic prefix, 9. Adverbial prefix, 10. Tense prefix, 11. Modal prefix, 12. Subject prefix, 13. Classifier, 14. Stem. One, two, or possibly three enclitics may follow the stem, such as nominalizers, and others expressing the ideas of **at**, **from**, etc. Some of these positions are filled by complete syllables, or in some cases the two are elided so that two positions are filled by one syllable. In a very few cases the object, the postposition, and the theme prefix are composed of two syllables. Not all fourteen positions are filled in any one verb. In the examples below, the numbers refer to these positions. The first two positions make up a postpositional phrase, like a prepositional phrase in English, but with the object first. These two positions are often written as one word, separate from the rest of the verb. They are not as closely bound to the verb as the others. In some of his later work, Dr. Hoijer has not considered them as part of the verb complex, but they usually need to be spoken with the verb in order to complete its thought in any particular context. We will use the abbreviation 'E' to indicate enclitics in the examples below.

1 2	3	4	6	12	14
yaa	na	- tsí -	daa		kees
it about	around		(pl) they		think

'they (pl) are thinking about it'

(The **-tsí-** theme prefix always occurs with the verbs meaning 'to think'. No prefix in position 12 indicates third person.)

1	2	4	6	12	14	E
bi	-	ch'í'	yá -	daash -	ti' -	go
him/her/them	to		(pl) I	talk	as	'as I was talking to them'

*Hoijer, Harry, "The Apachean Verb, Part 1: Verb Structure and Pronominal Prefixes," *International Journal of American Linguistics*, Vol. 11, No. 4, October 1945.

1	2	3	6	14	E	E
doo yi	kík'eh	á -	daa -	t'ee	da -	yúgo
neg. him/her/it	according to	thus (pl)	(to be)	neg.	if	
E						
shə'						
question	'what if they don't obey?'					

(The final part of the split negativizer **doo...da**, though actually an enclitic, is usually written separately.)

3	6	7	10 12	14	
gá -	daa -	shil -	dol -	<u>diih/niih</u>	
thus (pl)	me	future-you	say	'you (pl) will say thus to me'	

3	6	7	11 12	14	
á -	daa-	nohwil -	dish	<u>dii/nii</u>	
that (pl)	you	imperfective-I	say	'I'm saying that to you (pl)'	

6	7	8	14	E	
daa -	bil -	ch'i -	<u>dii/nii</u> -	go	
(pl)	him	they	say -	ing	'they saying to him'

(The **-ch'i-**, deictic subject, is the 3a form, a special third person which points to some particular person or persons. It is also used as a 'polite form' in conversation between people of certain relationships)

VERB PARADIGMS

Each Apache verb may have a number of tenses and modes, to express action that is future, present continuative or present instantaneous, past, repeated, desired, etc. There are also neuter verbs, where tense is not expressed. Future and past may also be expressed by the present tense forms with enclitics, **doleel** or **ndi at'éé** for future, and **ni'** or **lé'e/lék'e** for past. Although we speak of these as enclitics because they are without meaning apart from the verb, these particular ones are not usually written as part of the verb, but as separate words to make for easier reading. In the following paradigms we will name the tenses by terms used by Dr. Hoijer and by Drs. Young and Morgan—Future, Imperfective (about the same as present), Perfective (comparable to past), Repetitive (repeated action), with some mention of Opta-

tive. These are representative of the tenses and modes employed by the majority of the verbs.

'to read it'

These forms require an object in the context, as, 'he is reading the book'. The Future forms are made by adding **ndi at'éeé** to the Imperfective forms.

IMPERFECTIVE

SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1 hoshĩ	hóoljii/hóqjii	daahóoljii/daahóqjii
2 hónzhii	hólshĩ/hóhshĩ	daahólshĩ/daahóhshĩ
3 yozhĩ	daayozhĩ	daayozhĩ
3a ch'ozhĩ	daach'ozhĩ	daach'ozhĩ

PERFECTIVE

1 hózhi'	hóolji'/hóqji'	daahóolji'/daahóqji'
2 hónzhii'	hólshi'/hóhshi'	daahólshi'/daahóhshi'
3 yózhii'	daayózhii'	daayózhii'
3a ch'ózhii'	daach'ózhii'	daach'ózhii'

REPETITIVE

1 náhóshjiih	náhóoljiih/náhóqjiih	nádaahóoljiih/nádaahóqjiih
2 náhónjiih	náhólshiih/náhóhshiih	nádaahólshiih/ nádaahóhshiih
3 náyójiih	nádaayójiih	nádaayójiih
3a nách'ójiih	nádaach'ójiih	nádaach'ójiih

'to read'

When there is no object in the context, the initial 'h' is replaced by a glottal stop. The first person singular form would be translated, 'I am reading'. The Imperfective only will be given here. It is not essential that the glottal stop be written at the beginning of a word. When a word begins with a vowel, the glottal stop is 'understood'.

IMPERFECTIVE

1	oshĩ	óoljii/óqjii	da'óoljii/da'óqjii
2	ónzhii	olshĩ/ohshĩ	da'olshĩ/da'ohshĩ
3	ozhĩ	da'ozhĩ	da'ozhĩ
3a	ich'ozhĩ	da'ch'ozhĩ	da'ch'ozhĩ

Note that in the first person singular Imperfective forms, where the subject pronoun prefix is *-sh-*, the stem initial *zh* changes to *sh*. This also occurs in the second person dual and plural forms, where the subject pronoun prefix is *-ol/oh-*. This is the effect of the voicelessness of the *sh*, *h* and *l* on the voiced *zh*. The same occurs when the stem initial is *l*. It becomes *l* after the *sh* and *h*, and blends with the *l*. See the verb 'to make, or do'.

'to make, or do'

FUTURE

SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1 ádishliil	ádndliil	ádaadndliil
2 ádnlĩ	ádohliil	ádaadohliil
3 áidooliil	ádaidooliil	ádaidooliil
3a ách'idooliil	ádaach'idooliil	ádaach'idooliil

IMPERFECTIVE

1 áshle'	áhiidle'	ádaahiidle'
2 áńle'	áhle'	ádaahle'
3 áyile'	ádaile'	ádaile'
3a ách'ile'	ádaach'ile'	ádaach'ile'

PERFECTIVE

1 áshlaa	áhiidlaa	ádaahiidlaa
2 ánlaa	áhlaa	ádaahlaa
3 áyílaa	ádaizlaa	ádaizlaa
3a ách'ílaa	ádaach'izlaa*	ádaach'izlaa*

*ádaach'izlaa will normally assimilate to ádaats'izlaa, because of the *z*.

CUSTOMARY

1	ásht'ǵǵ	áhiit'ǵǵ	ádaahiit'ǵǵ
2	ánǵt'ǵǵ	áǵt'ǵǵ	ádaaǵt'ǵǵ
3	át'ǵǵ	ádaat'ǵǵ	ádaat'ǵǵ
3a	ách'it'ǵǵ	ádaach'it'ǵǵ	ádaach'it'ǵǵ

REPETITIVE

1	ánásh'ǵǵh	ánáiiil'ǵǵh	ánádaiil'ǵǵh
2	ánánl'ǵǵh	ánál'ǵǵh	ánádaal'ǵǵh
3	ánáyil'ǵǵh	ánádail'ǵǵh	ánádail'ǵǵh
3a	ánách'il'ǵǵh	ánádaach'il'ǵǵh	ánádaach'il'ǵǵh

OPTATIVE

Optative forms express, with certain particles, a strong desire or a strong negative command. For example:

Ch'éh tah áoshle' tana nsǵ 'I wish I could do it'

Dáku áole' hela' 'Don't do it! (to one person)'

1	áoshle'	áodle'	ádaodle'
2	áole'	áole'	ádaole'
3	áyóle'	ádaayóle'	ádaayóle'
3a	ách'óle'	ádaach'óle'	ádaach'óle'

The verbs 'to go or come' and 'to sit' use different verb stems to indicate number. For example:

dishááh/dishaal / dishgaal I will go díyáá/déyáá I'm going (now)	nt'ash we (2) will go det'áázh we (2) are going	nkah we (pl) will go dekai we (pl) are going
nasiiyá I went (and came back)	nashiit'aazh we (2) went	nasiikai we (pl) went
nánsdzaa I came back	nánt'aazh we (2) came back	nánkai we (pl) came back
sidaa I am sitting	sikee we (2) are sitting	naháatqǵ we (pl) are sitting

(These forms are also used to mean 'I am here', 'we are here')

dahnidáá I sat down	dahnikee we (2) sat down	dahdiniibjih we (pl) sat down
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VERB FORMS FOR 'to handle'

Verbs expressing action which has to do with the handling of articles employ stems which classify these articles as to size, shape, number, etc. The stems for the most commonly used tenses and modes are given below, in the following order—Future, Imperfective, Perfective, Repetitive. Different prefixes are used for the different kinds of handling actions, as, 'to pick up', 'to put down', 'to give', 'to carry', etc. The third person imperfective form for each will be found in the dictionary, using the stem for a bulky object which is the first class given below:

-'aah, -'aah, -'aa, -'áh to handle one bulky object, as a rock, book, hat, box, etc. 'he picked up the rock' **tséé náidn'aa**

-jáh, -jáh, -jaa, -jih to handle plural objects of small size as seeds, loose beads, change, etc.
'he picked up the change' **zhááli náidnjaa'**

-tsó, -tsoo', -tso, -tsoh to handle non-compact matter as wool, loose hay, tangled yarn, etc.
'he picked up the wool' **ighaa' náidntso'**

-kaal, -kaah, -kaa, -káh to handle anything in an open vessel, as in a pail, basket, on a plate, etc.
'he picked up the cookies (on a plate)' **báń likané náidnkaa**

-léél, -léé, -laa, -léh to handle a slender, flexible object as a rope, string of beads, etc.
'he picked up the rope' **t'ool náidnlaa**

-diil/-niil, -dîl/-nîl, -dil/-nil, -dil/-nil to handle plural objects, animate or inanimate, as several stones (any size), books, puppies, ropes, etc.
'he picked up a lot of books' **naltsoos láágo náidndil/nil**

- teel, -teeh, -tǫ́, -téh** to handle one live object, as a baby, puppy, bug, etc. 'she picked up the baby' **mé' náidnltǫ́**
- tjih, -tjih, -taq, -tǫ́h** to handle a slender, stiff object, as a pole, pencil, stick, etc.
'he picked up the cane' **gish náidntaq**
- tleel, -tleeh, -tlég, -tloh** to handle mushy matter, as mud, mortar etc. 'he picked up the clay' **goshtl'ish náidntlég**
- tsoos, -tsóós, -tsooz, -tsos** to handle a flexible and flat object, as paper, cloth, blanket, etc.
'he picked up the blanket' **ch'ig/d náidnltsooz**
- né', -né', -né', -né'**, to handle anything, any size, number, shape, usually used when these factors are unknown or indefinite.
'he picked up the things' **il'ta'at'éhi náidnné'**

The following illustrate most of the 'to handle' verbs, using one object (**ch'ig/ch'id** blanket), and past tense. This means that one stem is used with varying prefixes and postpositions. All are in third person.

- Biká'idané ch'ig biká' dahstsooz.** The blanket is on the table.
- Bimaa ch'ig yaa yínl'tsooz.** He brought the blanket to his mother./He gave the blanket to his mother.
- Shidizhé ch'ig shá yínl'tsooz.** My little brother/sister carried the blanket for me.
- Shidee ch'ig nañkaadií dabíí át'íinií náyintl'tsooz.** My big sister/brother chose the blanket with the fringe.
- Ishkiin ch'ig shich'í' dahyintl'tsooz.** The boy handed me the blanket.
- Ch'ig dahyú dahyistsooz.** She hung up the blanket.
- Mé' ch'ig dahyintl'tsooz.** The baby lifted the blanket.
- Ch'ig sha'ínl'tsooz.** She loaned the blanket to me.
- Ch'ig náintl'tsoozyé' biká'idané yiká' dahyistsooz.** She moved the blanket from where it was to the table.
- Bich'ig anyínl'tsooz.** She pawned her blanket.
- Shiye' ch'ig náyintl'tsooz.** My son picked up the blanket.

12. Ch'ig ch'a'ódag n'íí náyínltsóoz. She recovered the blanket that was lost.
13. Ch'ig bich'á' ch'a'ódag n'íí yaa náyínltsóoz. She replaced the blanket she had lost.
14. Ch'ig bá ch'íníltsooz n'íí yaa náyínltsóoz. She returned the blanket she had borrowed.
15. Ch'ig k'ihzhi' nyínltsóoz. She put the blanket away.
16. Ch'ig ni' nyínltsóoz. She put the blanket down.

PRONOUNS

Pronouns may be independent, or prefixed to nouns or post-positions.

INDEPENDENT:

shíí I	shíyée mine
ni you	díyée/níyée yours
bíí, áń he, she, it, they (áń is always a person)	bíyée his, hers, theirs, its
kíí he, she (3a)	kíyée his, hers (3a)
nohwíí/née we	nohwíyée ours
nohwíí you (pl)	nohwíyée yours (pl)
daabíí they	daabíyée theirs
daakíí they (3a)	daakíyée theirs (3a)

POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS, prefixed to nouns:

The noun **yoo'** 'beads', changes to **-yo'** when possessed. This is true of many, though not all nouns. The changes in form are not regular. They may involve length of vowel, tone, or even a change in either the initial or final consonant. **Líí'** 'horse' becomes **bilí'** 'his/her horse'. **Tl'ool'** 'rope' becomes **bit'ól'** 'his/her rope'.

SINGULAR

PLURAL

shiyo' my beads	nohwiyo' our beads
niyo' your beads	nohwiyo' your beads
biyo' his/her/its beads	biyo' their beads
kiyo' his/her beads (3a)	kiyo' their beads (3a)

It is possible to use **daanohwiyo'** and **daabiyo'** when necessary to emphasize that the beads belong to several different persons, but this is normally shown by the verb or by the context.

Body parts are obligatorily possessed. They have an indefinite pronoun form **i-**, but it would be rarely used since one does not speak ordinarily of a body part not belonging to the body. One which is used is **its'in** 'bone' (something's bone).

INDIRECT OBJECT PRONOUNS, prefixed to postpositions:

shich'i'	to me
nich'i'	to you
bich'i'	to him/her/it/them
yich'i'	he/she/it/them to him/her/it/them
kich'i'	to him/her/them (3a)
nohwich'i'	to us/you (pl)
ich'i'	to something or someone (indefinite possessor)
ilch'i'	to each other

When joined to postpositions which do not begin with a consonant, the consonant of the pronoun is joined directly to the postposition, as:

shaa	about/to me
naa	about/to you
baa	about him/her/it/them
yaa	he/she/it/them about him/her/it/them
kaa	about him/her (3a)
aa	about something or someone
ilhaa	about each other
	(aa and ilhaa would begin with a glottal stop if they were written word initially)
ádaa	about oneself

Object and subject pronouns also occur as verb prefixes, as was seen in the section on verbs. Object pronoun prefixes have the same form as those prefixed to postpositions. The **yi-** form indicates, as it does with the postposition, action of a third person or persons on another third person or persons, when neither is put in the 3a form. Usual subject pronoun forms are as follows:

-sh- 'I' (this may assimilate to -s- before a stem beginning with ts, dz, etc.) In perfective forms there is usually some other indication of a first person subject, as a high tone on the syllable preceding the stem.

-n-/high tone on prefix or stem 'you' The absence of a prefix in the subject prefix position indicates that the subject is third person—'he/she/it/them'. (When it is 'them', this of course is indicated by the -**daa-** or -**da'**-).

-ch'i- 'he/she/them' 3a subject in deictic subject position. This sometimes assimilates to **ts'i** when followed by a stem beginning with ts, dz, etc.

-ii-/n- 'we' This prefix is followed by a change in the initial consonant of the verb stem. Some linguists call it the 'd effect'. A stem beginning with l changes to **dl**, one beginning with a glottal stop changes to **t'**, one beginning with zh changes to j, etc.

-oh/-o!- 'you (pl)' Whether the 'we' and 'you' are dual or plural depends on whether or not there is a **daa** or **da'** in verb position 6. The subject prefix is the same.

PARTICLES

It is convenient to class as 'particles' the variety of classes of words or enclitics which serve as connectives, or to indicate time, emphasis, feeling, etc. Sometimes it is difficult to determine whether to write some of these as separate words or to join them to the preceding noun or verb form as enclitics. Some examples are:

CONNECTIVES:

la'ũ, hik'eh and
áiyé'/áígé'/áídí' and then
ákohgo and so
ndi/ndihĩ but

áík'ehgo and so, therefore
ái bigha for that reason
áiná'/áídá' then
da'ágát'ée ndi even so
-go -ing, and, since

TIME INDICATORS:

-ná’-dǎ’ when (in the past) **ndee/nnee dala’adzaaná’ nant’án hadziih** ‘when the people had gathered, the ruler spoke’

n’íí used to be **nanl’í’** **n’íí bígózihgo ádoldiil/ádolniil** ‘that which was hidden will be made known’

ni’ used to **óltagee ilch’ígó’aah ni’** ‘he used to teach in the school’

lé’e/lék’e in the past **doo hat’íí daadii/nii da lé’e** ‘they didn’t say anything’

doleel will be **baa k’e’eshchiinií dawa begolde’/ne’ doleel** ‘all I have written about will be fulfilled’

PLACE INDICATORS:

-yé’/-gé’/-dí’ from **da’adagé’/da’anahdí’ iké’ higaal** ‘he followed from far off’

-yú to **hayú dínyaa?** ‘where are you going?’

-gee at **daagonoljigee** ‘where you live’

yude’/yune’ inside **ha’ánázéh yude’/yune’** ‘inside the gathering place’

OTHER FREQUENTLY USED PARTICLES:

zhá only **shíí zhá ákú díyáá** ‘I’m the only one going there’

aldó’/dó’ also **shíí aldó’ masáána la’ hasht’íí** ‘I too want an apple’

qal that’s all **qal nagosdi’ná’/nagosni’ná’** ‘when he had told it all’

k’ad soon, **k’adii** now **k’adií ákú díyáá** ‘I’m going there now’

née following the main verb makes a statement into a question.

PARTICLES THAT EXPRESS FEELING, EMPHASIS, ETC.:

In English, feeling and emphasis are expressed mainly by intonation. This is why we enjoy it when readers of English read ‘with

expression'. In Apache, to a large extent, this is taken care of by certain particles built into the language. In the examples below, the particles will be left without an attempt at a literal translation, but we will try to express something of the feeling in the free translation.

Ákq̄q̄ nashaa le'at'éhi. 'I should have gone there!'
There I-go

Ndaaz shj. 'I wonder if it's heavy/Maybe it's heavy.'
It's-heavy

Ch'ínódááh hela'. 'Don't come out!/Don't you dare come out!'
You (one)-come-out out!
(Optative form)

Haódziih hela'. 'Don't speak!/Don't you dare speak!'
You (one)-speak

Hat'ĩ/nt'é bigha? 'Why?'
What its-reason

Hat'ĩ láá bigha? 'Why in the world?'
What its reason

Hat'ĩ/nt'é át'éé doleel dagá? 'What can it be?'
What it-is will (a wait and see attitude)

Doo', da'óljii le'. 'Come on, let's read.'
we-read
(Optative)

John bízhi' gánii. 'John is really his name (for sure).'
John his-name

Shil nzhq̄q̄go bil nash'aash gánii.
me-with she-being-nice her-with I-live
'I really love her, that's why I married her.'

WESTERN APACHE DICTIONARY

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Cover photo of Carl Clawson, Cedar Creek, Arizona

Published
by the
WHITE MOUNTAIN APACHE TRIBE

©1972 White Mountain Apache Culture Center
P. O. Box 507
Fort Apache, Arizona 85926
— 5000 —