THE FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENTS OF NORTHERN YANA

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INTRODUCTORY

It is some time since the Northern and Central Yana texts, collected in 1907, have been before the public. Now that we know Yana to be no completely isolated Californian language, as had been at first supposed, but a divergent member of the so-called "Hokan" stock, it became more than ever a duty to do something to help the student of comparative linguistics in the analysis of the published material. At the time that the texts were being prepared for publication considerable progress had already been made in the analysis of the language. Unfortunately the data then arranged had utilized only a part of the Northern Yana texts and grammatical notes, while the Central Yana material remained almost entirely untouched. It so happens that Yana is one of those complexly synthetic (polysynthetic) languages that need to be exhaustively studied in lexical, as well as purely grammatical, respects before an adequate presentation can be made of their structure. For this reason the material incorporated in this paper, which may be described as a selective summary of my still fragmentary Northern Yana collectanea, is far from constituting an adequate introduction to even the Northern dialect. This particularly applies to the lists of verb stems and verb suffixes, which are very far from including all the Yana elements available in my texts and notes. Nor are the lists of more strictly formal elements measurably complete. I hope in due time to give the complete grammatical account of Yana that this interesting language deserves. Meanwhile I trust that the present materials will serve a useful preliminary purpose, as an aid to the analysis of the Yana texts and as a possible lever for the further elucidation of Hokan relationships.

1 E. Sapir, Yana Texts, this series, ix, 1–235, 1910.
A few further remarks may help to make the lists more useful. The phonetic symbols here used are precisely the same as in the texts, with one exception—the sign for the glottal stop, ′, previously used is here replaced by the more current '. Though only the Northern Yana dialect is here considered, the lists may also be employed for the study of the Central Yana texts, provided it is remembered that Northern Yana p and t at the end of primarily closed syllables correspond to Central Yana m and n respectively (e.g., Northern Yana \( t'i'psiwandja \) and -bindja-) ; this Northern Yana -p- becomes -bi- before l and y, while before w syllabically final -t- appears in Northern Yana as -ru- or -ri- (-du- or -di-), before y as -di-, -ri- (Central Yana -m-l-, -m(i)-y-, -n-w-, and -n(i)-y- respectively). Northern Yana -p′- and -t′-, however, appear as -p′- and -t′- also in the Central dialect. It is well to remember, also, that Northern Yana often has -di-, -ri-, where Central Yana has -di-, -ri-. There are, of course, other differences of detail which cannot be enumerated here.

This is no place to go into the details of Northern Yana phonology, but the observance of the following more important phonetic laws will facilitate analysis:

1. Syllabically final p and t (Central Yana m and n) are assimilated to m and n before nasals; p′ and t′ become voiceless m′ and n′ before nasals.

2. -tl- (Central Yana -ml-), -t′l-, and -lm- are respectively assimilated to -ll-, -l′l-, and -ll-

3. Syllabically final p and p′ (Central Yana m and p′) assimilate with following w to mm and m′m respectively.

4. Before elements beginning with -i-. (e.g., -gat-, -da-) long vowels are shortened (this is true also in other primarily closed syllables), while short vowels (after the first syllable) disappear; e.g., -e- + -gat- becomes -e'gat-, -dja- + -da- becomes -te'da-.

5. Certain suffixed elements have a long vowel if the preceding syllable is light (i.e., ending in a short vowel), a short vowel if the preceding syllable is heavy (i.e., ending in a long vowel, diphthong, or consonant). Thus, 'a-sd′', but 'e'-'s, 'na'i-sa, 'a'-'sa-

6. Final short vowels become voiceless in absolute position and before consonants, in forms used by women. Preceding b, d, g, d, w become p′, t′, k′, te′, voiceless w respectively (male p′a′di′ 'place,' t′ female p′a′t′). Other feminine forms are noted below. Before words beginning with smooth vowels, final short vowels are elided in both male and female forms. Elided forms of syllables are also used in certain grammatical forms for both sexes (e.g., dalá'wi 'hands,' but dalá'wi(t′) 'another's hands'; -st, present indicative, but -s-k′ti-, present indicative with possessive -k′t′-).
The student may rely on one rule with absolute safety—there are no prefixes in Yana. All verb forms begin with an element of the type listed in Part I. As many of these elements are rather vague or elusive in significance, it is possible that a certain number of homonymous stems are really identical elements. An important percentage of the verb stems are objective, i.e., refer to the handling of particular classes of objects (e.g., bô-, lui-) or, in their "static" form, to the position of such classes (e.g., bâ-, lai-). The fundamental importance and extensive development of objective verbs in Yana were brought out very clearly in my Yahi researches with Ishi. Certain verbs are instrumental (e.g., 'ê-, bui-), i.e., they refer to activitives performed with certain objects or parts of the body.

Part II includes all non-formal verbal elements that are suffixed to the stem, with the exception of incorporated noun stems. These occur after certain of the listed suffixes, before others. It is possible, indeed probable, that some of the suffixes are really incorporated stems in origin. The suffixes include "stems" of secondary position, adverbial elements, local elements, and other types, but it is difficult to draw hard and fast lines between the various types. Their order is rigidly determined, but the rules governing this order are too complex to be even touched on here. The verb "suffixes" make up the most difficult and fascinating chapter in Yana grammar. It is quite likely that the total number of Yana non-grammatical suffixes is greater than that of the initial stems. The combination of elements of the two classes presents a most interesting analogy to the verbal structure of the Algonkin languages.

I. NORTHERN YANA VERB STEMS

a-, if
*a-, *ā-, have on oneself, become covered with
**a-, go (one female)
'a-bā-, shake (intr.)
'a-bit-, go after
'a-djil-, dance round-dance
'a-k'lau-, chop
'a-s'uts'-, go off
*ā-, trail runs

* indicates that the stem cannot be directly followed by grammatical (i.e., tense-modal and pronominal) suffixes, but must have its meaning completed by one or more derivational suffixes.

Entries of form 'a-bā-, such as can be shown to be compounded of two or more elements, but in which no clear significance has been found for the first element or "stem."

Entries of form 'a- . . . 'a-, such as never occur without the derivational suffix -'a-, which, however, may be separated from the stem by other elements.
*ə-, sink (intr.)
'ə-ba-, be old
*ai-, time elapses
'ai-, be white-haired
*ai-, fall down
'ai-k'lu-, be sick, sore
'άk's'aps'i-, yawn
ak'lp'ə-, clap one's hands
'al'tə-da-, shake (intr.)
aluk'mə-, be happy, willing
*amma-, keep
apbi-, who?
*at-, go (plur.), be many
'art-gil-di-, fall down
ato'rl-, what?
*au... 'a-, believe
auwi-, take, hold
auwil-ya-, stay long with
'awap-, be full of acorn mush
*ayat-, rock
*ba-, move quickly, run
*ba-, call upon
*ba-, sun moves
ba-dā-t'lap-, come to life again
ba-gat-gw-, be short
ba-gul-, be tired out
ba-kə-, spill (intr.)
ba-lau-, plant grows
ba-ts!i'ə-... 'a-, shout
*bə-, ba-ri-, rain
badjəl-, be large
bai-, one
bai-, hunt deer (denominative from ba-, deer)
ba'nə-, be full
bast-, be night, yesterday
bat-di-, spherical object falls out, bounds
bat-p'əl-, be flat
bəwi-sa-, be night
bè-, be he who
bèdjəp-, urinate
bè'nə-, eat (mush) with hands
bèyau-, when?
bèyu-, take food along
bə-, rocks lie
bir-, where?
bō- (static bō-), hit with fist
*bō- (static *bō-), handle a round hard object; bō-, rock lies
bop-dja-, look about
bōts'tlip-, laugh out loud
*bu-, dance
*bu-, be unable to urinate
bə-, hair comes out
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bu-, kick, do with the foot
*bul-, three
da-. . . sa-, be... in appearance
*da-, look
dâ-, much water lies, ice is spread out
*da- ('da-), jump, fly
dâ-dam-ma-, bleed
dâsi-, catch salmon (denominative from dâsi-, salmon)
dat'-, be much, many
da-, count, handle set of things one after another
daumi-, four
*dâ-, peel, shear
*dâ-, see, know
dê-ts!git-di-, be ahead of, beat
dêddji-, nevertheless
*det-, shell, mash
*dî-, move, run on in a line
dimân'ai-, just
dîl'-zai-, eye waters
*dît-, put out one's hand, touch
dô-, hook
*dô-, do with the fingers
dô-nit-, whip, beat
dui-ts!'inai-, scold
dû-lai-, smear (pitch) on (cf. dô-, causative of dâ, liquid lies)
dum-mana-, hug, fondle
dut', be older, be doing much (cf. dat')
*da-, eat, have in the mouth
*da-, dance, move on
*da-, dja'-, hang (intr.)
dja-k'R-, be sullen
djadjî-, sit with drooping eyes
djal-, laugh
djau-, get grasshoppers (denominative from djau-, grasshopper)
djaudut', hire
djawâ-, weep in mourning
*djê- (static *djî-), fill into
djê-dja-, handle door, seat
djê-, run
djêdjav-, dji-... 'a-, shoot
djêdjav-pa- 'a-, be ready to go
*djî-, *dji-, move about, water flows, smoke streams
dji-ts!ut-dja- 'a-, look on at others eating
*djî-, taste (intr.)
djî-djurai-, freeze to death
*djî-, ice is on ground
djâdja-, watch for salmon
djik'u-... 'a-, listen
djimat-, five
*djô- (static *dju-), handle food, flesh, mass
*djô- (*dju-), offer as pay
djô-yu-... 'a-, shake
*dju*, wind blows
*djâ*, *dju*, tree stands
*djâ*, much water moves
djâ, spear (salmon), use digging-stick
*djâ*, *dju*, sharp point gets stuck in part of body
*djâ*, leaf, hair moves
djâ-wagal-, fingers are interlocked; djâ'-lâ, lie curled up
djâ, carry on one’s shoulder
djul-, be long
djulâ, walk bent
djun-ma’wi, feed (cf. *djo-*)
dju’nâ, carry water
ê, wait on woman in confinement
*tê, handle roots, nuts
*tê, sing, make a sound
*tê, do with one’s hands
e’-, shell acorns
t’êkti, act as shaman
t’ému, stop crying
énit, be a widow
e’t-sa-i, sneeze
*ga-, *gâ, talk
gat’-’il’ai, be foolish
gâits-ts’it-p’â, feel well
gât-lau, make angry
gêna’-ai, forget
*gi-, be in a certain state of mind
gî-tlap’, tell
gô, hear
gôk’â, take one’s part
ha-k’sûrî, be coarse; ha-mik’î, be pounded fine
*ha-, be wet (cf. ha-, water)
ha’dai, dream
hâdajat, ten
hal-lu, be dark
ha’lai, dawn; hanai-p’â, be daylight
hâmudî, be warm
hât’ît, be cold
xo-sa’-a, swallow
*hui, wash (causative denominative from ha-, water)
huih, hop
*t-, put on article of clothing
**t-, go, move (sing. subject)
t’i-mui-ri, cut meat
î’-gal-dja, cough; î’-ts’lâ, hiccough
î’ti, build a house
î’dja, be tired
î’djadat, grow
î’îl, there is thunder
îl-s’idî, rub feet against each other
î’nâ, have objection
î’n’tî, be hardly able to breathe
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*tip-, drive away, tell to go
*it-, look for
*tidda-, make
*t’ewa-, burden-basket lies
*t’wai-, carry wood
tyui-, be day
k’tlap-, be blunt, cut off square
*k’tip-, let go
k’it-bit-, let alone
k’a-, not; k’a’ya-gu-, do not...!
k’unu-, not yet
*k’ul-, feel dry
k’ul-dja-, feel lazy
*k’al-, feel sore, uncomfortable
k’lai-, be strong, bitter
k’al-ts’au-, scratch with claws
k’a’na’, be near
*k’ir-, be slow
*k’it-, swell, rise
*k’lu-, be long
k’uni-, and, but
*k’ut-, like, want
k’utdit-, return quickly
lau-, be strong
lili-, turn one’s head back
lili-, blow one’s nose
lui-, hit with hard round objects; *lui- (static *lai-), handle several hard round objects; lai-, several hard round objects lie
luimai-, be blind
*mà-, climb
madji-, be sick
madjup-, fire is out
mahà-, melt *
maits’-gini-, foot, hand sleeps
mal-, be worn out, hurt
mala-, refuse
malla-, stay away for a long time
malla-p’l-, be bad
mári-, fire is covered with ashes
más’i-, be ripe
más’i-dja-, be glad
màt!adju-i-, be winter
màp’-dja-ma’, have supernatural power
*mat-, summer, spring
màt’-dja-, get new acorns
matdja-, be sharp
mau-, tell
mau-, be about to
maus’sup’k’idi-, put on leggings
*mè-, handle wood; mè-, wood lies
*mè-, look in a certain way at; *mè-, be...-eyed,...-faced
mè-gil-yu-, take pity on
mē'it-, not allow
*met-, handle sticks; mit-, wood lies
met-dja-, handle garment
mi-, cry
mi-lap-, wake up
mi-dja-tc'u-, clothing is torn; mi-ts'u-, be scratched
mi-k'ai-, be angry
mi'dja-, be heavy
mit-, hit (with a stick)
*mit-, handle lump, loglike object
mildja-, run
minif-, look
mit-, drill, whirl
*mits'?-, have (with incorporated object)
mō-, eat
*mō- (static *mā-), reach, hold
mō-yi-, teach
mot-, take along
mōdju-kda-, like
mōt!i-, roast
mu-rul-, person lies
*mā-, work
mui-, bite
mul-tap', blotches, pimples break out
*mut-, move along on one's haunches by aid of hands
na-gu-, therefore; na-k'u-, therefore not
net-, step, do with the foot
ni-, ni-, go (one male)
nō-, dissever two pieces
ô... 'a-, there is...
ô... 'a- (static ô... 'a-), dig up roots
ô-k'o-, sew
**ô-, hit with a stick
'ô-mai-, track
wô-dja... 'a-, handle long object
ônt-, fetch
'ônt- na'wai- (static 'ant-na'wai-), try, practice, look after
'tônu-, dig a hole
'op- (static wop-), wait for
op'dji-, (static ap'dji), kill
ôtc'a-, dig annis roots
ôwai-, get on one's back
ôwai- (static wāwai-), miss
p'tâ-, snow lies
p'at!gâ-, have sore eyes
p'at'au-, be distant
*p'tâ-, sharpen, peel off stick
p'te-, flat object, shallow basket lies
p'te-ga'-a-, snore
p'te-ts'î-, shake (basket, sack)
*p'tî-, several go (plural of 'î-)
p'tî-ts'ilai-, be afraid because of unseen presence
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p'tiyuk'ui-, have fits
p'tí-, break wind, boil, burst, snap
p'tó- (static p'tu-), blow, do with one’s mouth
p'tó-, put pitch, paint on
p'tówat... 'a- (static p'tawat... 'a-), put beads around neck
*p'tu-, smoke (cf. p'tó-, blow)
*p'ú-, swim, bathe
p'u-te'ai, pound roots to make mush
p'u't-, be fat
p'u-lai, smear pitch over (cf. p'tó-, put pitch on)
p'u-či-, be a widower
p'uts'ina-mai-, be narrow
*s'ú-, sleep; *s'o-', close one’s eye
s'ap't-, sleep
s'T-, drink
*s'ít-, water leaks
s'ó-ts'uida-, crack shells off with fingers
s'u... 'a-, several run
t'ai-lau-, take out of one’s mouth
t'ap-pla-, seem
t't-, say
t'tó-, do, act in a certain way
t'unna-pte'i-, break in two (intr.)
t'lap-, be white
t'amma-, even if
t'in-, be little
t'o'il-, be little
't'o-, be big
t'o-dó-, eat uncooked roots
t's'tup-, make bilious
t'sélé-'a-, make a noise
t's'ën'ama-k'oi-'a-, there is nobody
t's'óha-'oi-, love
t's'ók'-lau-'a-, be dumb
t's'úp-', be good
u-, be
*ù-, two
*údja-, copulate
u-t'at-, pile up acorns in columns
*tuir-, whistle
*uł-, hit with a stick; *ul-đja-, handle person, stick
*ul-, smell (intr.); *ul-ma-, smell (tr.)
'ul-, liquid lies in receptacle; 'ul-... 'a-, handle receptacle with liquid
ul't-, not to hear, not to understand
'unna-mai-, imitate
ut-, take out a torch, handle a light
*wa-, sit; *wâ-k!-, stand
*wa... 'a- (with incorporated noun), have (person) as so and so
wa-'yâ-, be afraid
wa-, pound (acorns)
wai-, think in a certain way
wai-ts'ut-, burst
wairut-, be full of raw acorns
wak’i-, defecate
wa’nup-, borrow
wa’n-, hit with a knife, handle with a sharp point
waya-, not to get enough to eat
*we-, take, fetch
we’-bu-, dig roots
we’-ri-, shooting star falls
we’ya-, doubt
wi’m’-dja-, hit the mark
wite’u-, be sweet
ya-lau-, have blood running out of one’s mouth
ya’ ... ’a-, tattoo
ya’-wi-, sweat; yam-ma-petc’i-, sweat in the sweat-house
ya-, hit the target
*yä-, people move
yä-, play a musical instrument
*yai-, several sit; *yai-k’i-, several stand
yapbidjai-, play
yögai-, ask
yöhai-, be pregnant
yü-, object burns; yü ... ’a-, build a fire
*ya-, fire burns; *yó ... ’a-, burn (trans.)
yü-la-, be rotten
*yul-, handle doughy, mushy mass
*yul-, crush, mash

II. NORTHERN YANA NON–GRAMMATICAL VERB SUFFIXES

-’a-, causative (contracts with certain tense-modal elements; see Part III, B)
-’a- to be (with noun stems)
-’aï-, in the fire
-’aï-, indirect object (with verbs of putting on)
-’ai’u-, oneself
-’af-, up to, arriving at
-’aï-, completely
-’a-, all (quasi-plural)
-’aï-, ’aï-, to pull, put aside
-’adi-, ’adi’, to stop making a sound
-’al-, up (from ground)
-’alla-, to push, knock
-’bi-, about, here and there
-’di-’bil-, at random, all over, to pieces
-’bi-, following
-’bitdja-, ready to, to be about to
-’ba-, also, too
-’batdi-, to be lost
-’bu-, ’bù-, to go first, be ahead
-’dada-, ’d’da-, to shake, tremble
-’dap-, rap; -dâmì, rámi-, out of the house
-’raps’i-, ’raps’ui-, red
-di, -dī, to clean
-du, -ru, to go in order to
-du-, -dā-, -t'ū-, back home, retracing one's steps
-du-, -dā; -ru-, -rā, straight down, moving down
-duru-, to be left over
-dun-, one after another
-du-nitdi, back, backwards
-rul, to lie on the ground
-dummai, again, once more
-dut', much (cf. primary stem dut')

dj-, straight ahead

daj-a, -daj-a, too, excessively
dāda-, very, sound (asleep), plumb (tired)
dādī-gu, continuously, without change
damai-, perhaps
dī, to leave behind, abandon
dī, to come loose
dī', to shout
-djia-, -djā, to go while —ing
djia-, away; general movement (particularly used with certain verbs of handling)
djari-, rising from the ground (refers to houses)
djap, -djap; -djamī-, -djamī, to the north, in the north
djat-dja, to fetch, take along home
djaw, to get ready, practice before going
dja-w, underneath, at the bottom
djawai-, to help, take one's part
djiba, everywhere, in all respects
djil, around, in a circle
dju, often, from time to time
dja-, to rest
djā, to answer
djai-ri, on top, on a surface
e, with (instrumental)
ga-bil, to stumble, move zigzag
gal-ādi, skin, bark comes off
gap, -gami, from the north
gat, to roll, eddy
gidi, -girt, fire goes out
gil, moving over the crest; -gilau (≈ gil-hau), east over a hill
git, to a neighboring house; -ginau (≈ gin-hau), east to a neighboring house
git-bal, to fall unintentionally, stumble to the ground
gu, just, a little
gul, to be tired, obstructed
gu-mma, truly, indeed
gunai, uninterruptedly, without fear
gai, to roll, reel about
gat, to break
giyu-i-sa, to stumble along (blind, very sick)
git, early in the morning
-hai-, -zai-, to rest, be quiet
-haina-, also, as well, likewise
-zal'it-, to make cold
-hat'-, -zat', merely, to no purpose, nothing but
-hau-, to the east (contracts with preceding u to ô-: djô -<dju-hau-, dwelling in the east)
-haudju-, from the west (<dôdju-, back from the west)-d6dju-, back from the west<-du-haudju-)
-haya-, -'haya-, -'xaya-, -'xayû-, alone, secretly
-i-, removing; -idi-, away from, to leave
-"i-, -"t-, after, in order to reach; -"i-wa-, moving over; -"i-sa-, -"i-sa-, moving away in pursuit; -"i-m'ja-, -"i-m'ja-, coming behind in pursuit; -"i,
-"i, more of, another (referring to object of transitive verb)
-ilap-, -lap-, to wake up
-immai-, -mmai-, to move along with, to help
-inti-gju-'a-, to have nothing but (makes denominative verbs)
-k'it-, toward the speaker, hither
-k'u-, -k'û-, crumly, gravelly, finely divided pieces
-k'ui-, to sew
-k'unu-, still, yet
-k'upa-, to tie up
-k'tit-, to be slow
-k'l-di- (to stand, step, sit) on; -k'l-... bar-, -k'l-... bar-, to get up; -k'l-walidi-,
 down on
-k'larat-, bare and dry, on a hard surface
-k'laï, only one (refers to subject of intransitive, object of transitive verb)
-k'laï-, to keep
-k'lap-, to wash; -k'lai-di-, to clean out (by beating, brushing)
-k'tallau-, well, entirely
-k'lap-, moving through
-k'lap-, to oneself, toward the speaker
-k'lat-, to whirl, flutter
-k'lap-, to sever, cut out a piece
-k'da(t)-, rather well
-k'lit-, unwillingly, not with one’s full heart; -k'itdi-, angrily
-k'lsururu, with close attention, undeviatingly
-k'lu-, one after another, in a series
-k'lu-, crookedly
-k'lu-, sideways, slantwise
-k'lu'na-, -k'lu'na, to stay, dwell
-k'li-, to slink (up to, away)
-lak'li-, stopped up, obstructed
-lat-, to cut off (a slice), break off (pieces)
-lap-, to gleam, glimmer
-lau-, out of an enclosed space: out of the mouth, (looking) out of one’s eye, (dipping up water) from a spring, from the plain up to the mountain, (growing, digging) out of the ground, from the water on to land;
-lô- (<lau-hau-), eastward up the mountain; -lôdju- (<lau-haudju),
going up the mountain from the east; -lô-<rpa', southward up the mountain
-lit-, to turn
-lit-, -lit-, smooth, slippery
-lit-, to put pitch on
-lu-, dark; -halu-, in the darkness
-‘la-, -‘lā, messy, sticky, wet
-‘lai-, to warm
-‘lakī-, to shut, close
-‘li-, -‘lī-, to cover, dress
-‘lu-, in the head
-m‘-, to be alive (?)
-ma-, -mā, in company with; -ma-pha-, dit.
-ma, there, from there
-ma-, to, for (indirect object, only with object of first or second person);
-mai-, to, for (indirect object, only with object of first or second person);
-mai-, for that reason (suffixed to verb that follows interrogative stem
in sense of ‘why?’)
-mai-, over the same ground, following in one’s footsteps; for good (after
unsuccessful attempts)
-mari-, -mari-, down in a hole, pit, basket
-magā-, -māgā, about, concerning, with
-mal-, to be shot, hurt, beaten
-mal‘i-, just outside the house
-m‘dja-, to come in order to
-m‘dji-, to the west; -dji- (after -git-, -wil-, -wal-, and -rī-)
-m‘gu-, near the house, right there (probably <-ma-gu-, there-just)
-miri-, -miri-, to, as far as (particularly with verb following interrogative
stem for ‘where?’)
-mīl-, slightly, to a small degree
-mit‘gu-, too, also, any (refers to object)
-mits‘li-, with one another, each other (after consonants, long vowels, and
diphthongs; cf. -pts‘li-); -mits‘li- (after w‘-), two), -mits‘li- (after bu-, three),
frequently used in numeral verbs for 2 and 3
-mma-, -‘amma-, almost, to try to
-mminak‘li-, behind
-mu-, between two flat surfaces, between the palms, soles
-mu‘dū-, yellow
-mui-, just about to, just past, young
-muk‘gu-, to keep —ing
-muts‘li-, to pretend to
-m‘mai-, too late, after everything is over
-mats‘lu-, a little bit, somewhat
-nai-sa-, all over the house
-namai-, -nmai-, narrow
-nau, food, much to eat
-ba-nauma-, everybody, everywhere
-nnaiwa-du-ru-, -’innaiwa-du-ru-, to go and find one —ing
-nu-, to make a hole
-‘nim‘gu-, to be left, remain
-‘nai-, another (object), once more; -‘nai-dja-, to another place
-p-, to (indirect object for first and second persons, particularly in t‘i-p-, to
say to); -p‘-gu-, each
-p‘al-, flat
-p'a-l-, black
-p'a-w-, to, for (indirect object for first and second persons; for third person, see -wau-)
-p't'i-, blue
-p'ts'î-, with one another, among selves (only after short vowels; elsewhere appears as -mits'î-, q. v.); -ba-p'ts'î-, one another (reciprocal direct object); -da-p'ts'î-, moving together, toward each other
-p'a-, -p'â-, to burst, open up
-p'a-w-, to be so and so as result of activity, to do to oneself
-p'a-w-, for a long time, long ago
-p'annai-, very
-p'ît-, not completely, imperfectly
-p'ît-, to trim (hair)
-p'ît-, a long time elapses
-sa-, -sâ-, off, away
-sa-sini-gu-, always, continually
-sawa-, -sawâ-, to start —ing
-s'dja-, -s'idja-, (so and so many) times
-s'dja-, going up (refers to houses)
-s'î-, to be ripe, satiated
-s'ira-k'âi-, -sirâ-k'âi-, white-headed
-s'idâ-, to tickle, rub lightly with the hand (or foot)
-s'iri-bal..., 'a, so and so many days, nights
-mu-sut-, to rub fine between the hands (or feet)
-s'ui-, raw, unboiled, unripe
-s'ma-, to reach something to
-s'mal-, to start from
-s'mâ-, (to talk) a southern dialect of Yana
-s'di-, -sdîi, already in progress, now; -ba-s'di, to be through —ing
-r't'dja-, -r't's'dja-, up in the air
-s'gui-, to fold over
-s't'i-, -s't'i-, to bend
-s'tî-, to slice off, to have an advantage over another
-s't'mai-, again, (somewhere or somebody) else
-s't'k'i-, -r't'k'i-, from the east
-s'tp'a-, -r'tp'a-, to the south
-s'tp'au-, one's own (object), for oneself; -ba-t'tp'au, oneself (direct reflexive object)
-s't'au-, flat expanse, in the plain
-s't'i-, to put pitch over
-s'larâk'î-, to be very dry, thirsty
-s'la-i-, to blaze; -t'la-i-si-, (to warm oneself) by the fire
-s'la-i-, (to smear pitch) all over (hands and feet)
-s'la-, to come through, get torn, leak, make a hole; -t'la-ts'î-, asunder, apart, separating from one another
-slap-, to mash, crush
-slap'-, to emerge; to tell
-slat-, to crack, mash
-slat'a-, to pat, slap
-s'lä- , -s'lä- , (to be in bad condition) through and through
-s'läi-, -s'läi-... gu-, otherwise, in distinction from others
-te't'a-, -te't'a-, at night
-te'ai-, to pound roots or acorns for mush
-ts'jai-, to be glad, impatient with pleasurable anticipation
-te'gu-, too, also (refers to object)
-te'it'--, to go off to the woods; straight out, way off; -te'it'-lau-, out of the water
-ts'sirat-, in a zigzag line
-te'ul-, great, excessively
-ts'lat-, anything, to a slight extent
-ts'lat-, to make a speech
-ts'latdii-, to peel off, flake (flint)
-ts'li-, to cut up, divide into fragments
-ts'liai-, to scold, talk meanly
-ts'li-, to crush
-ts'lu-, -ts'i-, to tear
-ts'lit-, to split, make a hole, break into, burst through
-ts'laya-, -ts'laya-, quietly, to oneself, under one's breath
-widii-, down from a height, down the mountain
-wa-, -wâ-, over (see -'iwa-, -'iwa-; -wa-sa-)
-wadju-, to cause to, to bring about
-wadju-, -wâdju-, from the south
-wagal-, -wâgal-, through a hole, opening
-wasa-, above, over
-wai; -'wi-, -'wi-, to see, perceive, expect, try
-dja-wai-, to do for one, take one's part
-wal-, on the ground, in the country; -wâlau- (<-wâl-hau-), in the country to the east
-wal-di-, down on the ground
-walmi-, in hiding, in the woods
-walsa-, hidden in the house
-du-walsa-, to be left over, survive
-wanai-, belonging to some one (other than subject of verb)
-wat', red
-wau-, to, for (indirect object for third person only; for other persons, see -p-, -ma-, -p'au-, -mai-)
-wil-, across (a stream), crosswise; -wilau-, -wilau- (<-wil-hau-), to the east across a stream; -wil-sa-, moving across
-wil-mi-, on one side, only one of a pair, half-finished
-wimi-gu-, similarly, in the same way, furthermore
-wil-, into the house, into an enclosed space
-wul'ai-, under a covering, in the shade
-'witdja-, fast, to proceed quickly
-wi-, to press
-wil-, to break a flat object
-ya-, to stay out camping, go away from home (to hunt, dance)
-yagal-, quickly, in a hurry
-yai-, female
-yasi-, -yäşi-, to feel dizzy, drunk, ill (from too much activity)
-yau-gu-, surely (also in prohibitive k't-ñau-gu-)
-yimaï..., (ri-), -yemai..., (ri-), in the middle, between
-yu-, -yū-, to move along gradually; to pull, rock, shake; -yū-sa-, further, ahead
-yu-, -yū-, in the daytime, all day
-yut-, -'yū-, to be afraid
-yut", both, together with (refers to subject)
-yut", to slip (down)

III. NORTHERN YANA FORMAL ELEMENTS

A. PRONOMINAL ELEMENTS

-ndja  1st pers. sing. (subjective in verbs, possessive in nouns)

'nidja~

-numa

-nu (feminine) 2d pers. sing. (subjective in verbs, possessive in nouns)

-nigi, 1st pers. plur. (subjective in verbs, possessive in nouns)

-nuga, 2d pers. plur. (subjective in verbs, possessive in nouns)

-k'ti-, k't'ia- (before past -ha), immediately prefixed in all forms involving
1st pers. plur. to pronominal endings proper, except in certain future
and hortatory forms

-k'ti, k't'ia- (before past -ha), "his" (indicates subject of verb is possessed
by some third person)

-k'ti(a) "another's" (indicates in noun that possessor is different from
subject of verb)

-kílo('a), 1st pers. sing. (and pl.) fut. (see future paradigm)

-wa-ndja "he—me"

-wa-'nu(ma) "he—you"

-wa-'nigi "he—us"

-wa-'nuga "he—you (pl.)"

-(wā)'ma "I—you," "we—you"

-(wā)dja "you—me"

-(wā)widja "you (pl.)—me"

-(wā)gi "you—us"

-(wā)wigi "you (pl.)—us"

-(wā)m'ga "I—you (pl.)," "we—you (pl.)"

-i  3d pers. imperative

-i (fem.)

-a  3d pers. imperative (after a-vowels—only N. Yana)

-a (fem.)

-dja' imperative with 1st pers. sing. obj.

-k't-gi' imperative with 1st pers. plur. obj.

-wi-, -wi- prefixed in imperative, in forms with 2d pers. plur. subj., to prono-

minal endings proper
1. Paradigm of Present Tense (-si-)

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<th>us</th>
<th>you (pl.)</th>
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<tr>
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<td>-siwâ’dja</td>
<td>-si’nu(ma)</td>
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<td>he</td>
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<td>-sk’i’gni</td>
<td>-sk’iwa’gni</td>
<td>-sk’iwa’gni</td>
<td>-sk’iwa’gni</td>
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<tr>
<td>we</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>you (pl.)</td>
<td>-siwândja</td>
<td>-si’nu</td>
<td>-sk’iwa’gni</td>
<td>-siwâ’nuga</td>
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2. Paradigm of Future Tense (-si-)

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<td>-siklôwâ’dma</td>
<td>-siklô’a</td>
<td>*-si’nu(ma)</td>
<td>-siklô’k’iwa’gni</td>
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<td>you</td>
<td>-siklôwandja</td>
<td>*-si’nu(ma)</td>
<td>-si’i (fem. -si)</td>
<td>-siklô’k’iwa’gni</td>
<td>*-siwâ’nuga</td>
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<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>-siklôwâ’dma</td>
<td>-si’i (fem. -si)</td>
<td>-si’i (fem. -si)</td>
<td>-siklô’k’iwa’gni</td>
<td>*-siwâ’nuga</td>
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<td>we</td>
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<td>you (pl.)</td>
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<td>*-si’nu</td>
<td>-siklô’k’iwa’gni</td>
<td>-siklô’k’iwa’gni</td>
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* = same as in present tense.

3. Imperative Paradigm

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<td>-dja’</td>
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<td>-k’tîgi’</td>
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<td>-wîdja’</td>
<td>{-’a’ (fem. -’a)}</td>
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<tr>
<td>we (hortatory)</td>
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<td>-ha’nigi</td>
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4. Syntactic Elements of 3d Person

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<td>aik’</td>
<td>aigi</td>
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<td>aïðje’e (male)</td>
<td>‘that’</td>
<td>aïðjek’</td>
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<tr>
<td>aïðje (female)</td>
<td></td>
<td>{aïðjek’}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aïye’e (male)</td>
<td>‘that yonder’</td>
<td>aïyeke’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aïye (female)</td>
<td></td>
<td>{aïyeke’}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dji article with following possessed noun of 1st pers. sing. or plur.</td>
<td>gidji</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aïðji article with following possessed noun of 1st pers. sing. or plur. (more emphatic)</td>
<td>aïðjî</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dju article with following possessed noun of 2d pers. sing. or plur.</td>
<td>gidju</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
aidju article with following possessed noun of 2d pers. sing. or plur. (more emphatic)
aits' ‘the’ (somewhat more emphatic than ai)
aidja (male) ‘here, there,’ thus'
aits' (female) ‘there, thus’

5. Independent Pronouns of 1st and 2d Persons

Sing. 1 a'i'nidja
   2 a'i'nu (ma)
Plur. 1 a'i'nigi, a'ik'i'nigi
   2 a'i'nuga

B. TENSE-MODAL SUFFIXES

-si (3d pers. -si), present tense
-si' (3d pers. -si'i), future tense
-ha, -xa (3d pers. -ha), past tense, implies personal knowledge on part of speaker
-t'i (3d pers. -t'i), quotative
-wara (3d pers. -wara), perfect (may also be suffixed to -t'i)
-ni-, -n-', remote past (generally prefixed to other tense-modal elements):
   -n'ha-, ‘quite some time ago,’ on personal knowledge of speaker
   -niwara, remote non-quotative past
   -n'ti, ‘long ago, as they say’ (used in myths)
   -n'ti'wara, remote quotative past
-ha, hortatory with 1st pers. plur. (see Imperative Paradigm)
-ma-, used with interrogative stems (prefixed to tense-modal elements proper)
-ma (3d pers. -ma'a), usitative; -ma'ni, past usitative
-gara- (generally prefixed to other tense-modal elements), ‘pray!’ appeal
-magar(a'), appealing imperative
-sha(ra), ‘true enough, as it turns out,’’ inferential
-k!ara'(a'), imperative (‘let’s see you —!”’)
-k'lu (3d pers. -k'lu'i), dubitative; -mak'lu, usitative dubitative
-(ma)-sik'lu, future dubitative (‘I don’t know... will...’)
-p'a'(3d pers. -p'a'a), potential
-s'p'a (3d pers. -s'p'a'a), past potential (‘should, would have’)
   -yau (ma)
   -yau (fem.) 1st pers. sing. intensive (‘I shall —, let me —’)

Note.—Several tense-modal elements contract with causative -'a. Such are:

.p'a = -'a + -p'a.
-ma = -'a + usitative -ma-
-garā = -'a + -gara-
-məgar(a') = -'a + -magar(a')
-sē (3d pers. -sē'a) = -'a + fut. -si-
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-′t’e- (3d pers. -′t’e’a) = ′a- + -′t-i-
-′n’t’e-′niwara- = ′a- + -n′t-i-, -′niwara-
-′něha- = ′a- + -n′ha- (≡ ′ni-ha-)
-′ha- = ′a- + -′ha-
-′k’o- (3d pers. -′k’o’a) = ′a- + -′k’u-
-′a’ (fem. -′o) = ′a- + imperative -′a’ (fem. -′o)
-′a (fem. -′o) = ′a- + infinitive -′a (fem. -′o)

C. PASSIVE AND ACTIVE FORMS

Where possible, stem vowel (vowel of first syllable) undergoes change in passive forms:

- o becomes a, ā
- a becomes a
- e becomes i, ī
- e becomes i

All forms with first or second personal object are treated, as regards vocalism, like passives, as are also certain other "static" forms, e.g., forms with suffixed -pla- (see under Part II).

Conversely, when possible, stem vowel (vowel of first syllable) takes on "causative" or "active" vocalism in causative and certain other transitivizing forms:

- a becomes o (in open syllables); o, u (in closed syllables; always o in Yahi)
- o becomes a
- ā, u (in open syllables) becomes a
- u (in closed syllables) becomes o, u (always o in Yahi)
- ̄i becomes e (in open syllables); e, i (in closed syllables; always e in Yahi)
- ̄i becomes e

Diphthongs (ai and au) remain unaffected. Secondarily passive forms of causatives derived from verbs with "active" vocalism to begin with retain their causative vocalism. Examples:

Primary ɔ: mō’sindja, I eat (it)
   ma’siwe’a’a, it is eaten
   ma’siwendja, he eats me
   ma’siwe’dja, you eat me
   mō’asindja, I cause him to eat (it)
   mō’asiswendja, he causes me to eat (it)

Primary a: ‘asā’st, she goes away
   tō’sa’asi, he causes her to go away
   ‘asā’asiswandj(a), he causes me (female) to go away

Two passive elements are found:

1. -wa- (3d pers. -wa’a); all forms in transitive paradigm with -wa-, -wā,
   are really passives
2. Lengthening of final short vowel; or suffixing of -‘i to final consonant,
   long vowel, or diphthong, e.g.:
   passive of perfective -wara- is -ward-
   passive of infinitive -‘i is -‘i
   passive of verbal noun -yau(na) is -yau‘i
D. SUBSTANTIVAL DERIVATIVES OF VERBS

-‘i (fem. -‘i), infinitive; passive -‘i
-‘a (fem. -‘a), after a-vowels (only in N. Yana), infinitive; passive -‘a
-yau(na) (fem. -yau), verbal noun; passive -yau’ti
-mau(na) (fem. -mau), participle (passive in force in transitive verbs)
-wa, -w (fem.), participial or nominal suffix used with preceding article (dji ...-wa "my"; dju ...-wa "your"), particularly to subordinate after interrogative stems

E. INTERROGATIVE ELEMENTS

-n (used by men)
-‘i after consonants, -yā after long vowels and diphthongs; or lengthening of final short vowel of male form (used by women)
-nā (male) requires negative answer
-‘a (female) requires negative answer

-k‘i

-k‘ia- (before -ha) long vowel (female)

IV. NORTHERN YANA NOUN SUFFIXES

-na (male only); -la (after -i-)

; or no ending (female)

-si, -djūs‘i, agentive; -djūya, female agent

-ya, female (all names of females are included)

-djuwa, found in some animal names

-k‘ku forms small number of derivatives from verbs in -di-, -ri- "down" (e.g., barē‘k‘u "rain" from barē- "to rain"); forms adverbial nouns from "colorless stem" -i- and local verb suffix -di-, -ri- "down" (e.g., irī‘k‘u "below")

-madu, locative element suffixed to nouns ("place of; at")

-ri‘, diminutive

-ts‘i, -tśi, diminutive plural

-p‘a(na), result of activity (†)

-ri’mau(na), -di‘mau(na), place of activity (suffixed to verbs)

-ts‘i, "scattered pieces" (†)

-wi, -t‘, -wi, plural, collective

NOTE.—Many nouns in -yauna and -mauna have lost most of their verbal force (e.g., mō‘yauna "food" from mō- "to eat").
5. The Ellis Landing Shellmound, by N. C. Nelson. Pp. 357-428, plates 36-50. April, 1910 .................................................. 0.75

Index. pp. 427-443.

5. Notes on Shoshonean Dialects of Southern California, by A. L. Kroeber. Pp. 235-269. September, 1908 .................................................. 0.35

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3. The Languages of the Coast of California North of San Francisco, by A. L. Kroeber. Pp. 275-435, and map. April, 1911 .................................................. 1.60


5. Papago Verb Stems, by Juan Dolores. Pp. 241-265. August, 1913 .................................................. 0.25

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2. Phonetic Elements of the Diegueño Language, by A. L. Kroeber and J. P. Harrington. Pp. 177-188. April, 1914 .................................................. 0.10
5. Dichotomous Social Organization in South Central California, by Edward Winslow Gifford. Pp. 291-306. February, 1915 .................................................. 0.05


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