

TEXT ANALYSES OF THREE
YANA DIALECTS

BY
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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Of the four Yana dialects that constitute the Yanan group of Hokan languages—Northern, Central, and Southern Yana, and southernmost Yana or Yahi—texts have been secured from all but one, the Southern Yana dialect. This dialect was spoken by Sam Batwi, my Central Yana informant, in his childhood, but was exchanged early in life for the Central dialect. When I worked with him in 1907, he could give only isolated words and phrases of his old dialect, which was then extinct. The probability is strong that Southern Yana was a link between the Central and Yahi dialects, with a leaning, I surmise, to Yahi rather than to Central Yana. The Central and Northern dialects, though neatly distinct on a number of phonetic points, are mutually intelligible without difficulty. Yahi is very close in all essential respects to the two northern forms of Yana, but there are enough differences in phonetics, vocabulary, and morphology to put it in a class by itself as contrasted with the other two. It is doubtful if a Northern or Central Yana Indian could understand Yahi perfectly, but it is certain that he could make out practically all of it after a brief contact. On the whole, Yahi is the most archaic of the three dialects; it is also appreciably harsher to the ear than the other two. Or rather, was, for with the death of Ishi, the last Indian to speak Yahi, this dialect, too, became extinct. Possibly there are still one or two Indians who know Central Yana and a handful who can speak or who know something of Northern Yana, but it can hardly be more than a matter of ten or fifteen years before Yana, like Esselen and Chimariko, becomes one of the extinct Hokan languages of California.

The Central and Northern Yana texts that I secured in 1907 were published in 1910 as vol. 9, no. 1 of the present series. The Central Yana text analyzed in this paper is the first two paragraphs of a fairly long myth, "Bluejay's Journey to the Land of the Moon,"

of which a variant has been published by Jeremiah Curtin. The Northern Yana text that I have chosen is a little more than half of a personal narrative of Betty Brown's. These two texts illustrate not only differences of dialect but of narrative type. The former uses verb forms appropriate to a myth, the latter more nearly reproduces the language of daily intercourse. The Yahi text is but a brief fragment of a mythical narrative.

At the time that I was working among the northern Yana survivors in 1907, the mysterious "Kombo" described by Powers were generally believed to be either a myth or safely extinct. The startling appearance on the Californian scene of Ishi in 1911 gave these old rumors an unexpected confirmation and American philology a new language with which to grapple. Little, however, was or could be done with Ishi's language till he had learned enough of the white man's ways and speech to make at least an elementary communication possible. The Yahi texts and grammatical information that are now in my hands were secured from him in the summer of 1915. Toward the end of my stay in Berkeley Ishi became ill. He never recovered. Throughout the period of my work with him, he was gentle and patient to a degree. Had he been surly, like several of the more northern Yana I have known, progress in this most nerve-racking of researches would have been impossible. It should be remembered by any one who makes a study of Part III of this paper and who may be inclined to feel annoyance at the gaps in my analysis that Ishi's English was of the crudest. "Him's no good" did duty for "He (or it) is bad" or "That is not correct," while "sista" might mean equally "sister" or "brother." Ishi was perfectly willing to dictate and to interpret; the difficulties followed unavoidably from the circumstances. In going over his texts for interlinear translations—and it proved a difficult task to hold Ishi in leash in the matter of speed of dictation—I endeavored to use every tittle of evidence that I could muster, Ishi's "explanation" of the single words, his accompanying gestures, the context of the myth itself, and, most important of all, the analogies of the northern dialects. Had Yahi proved to be less closely related to these dialects than it is, it is difficult to believe that it would have been feasible to secure from Ishi more than merely lexical information. As it is, Yahi not only receives abundant light from the northern dialects, but is now able to reflect light upon them on a number of fundamental points of phonology and even of morphology. As regards the purely phonetic record, I consider the Yahi material as

superior, if anything, to that of the other dialects. Many of the morphological obscurities that still remain are sure to be dissipated when all the dialectic material has been systematically made available for comparison.

Yana is neither difficult nor complex in syntactic and formal respects. On the other hand, it is quite complex in its etymology. There is an endless array of "secondary stems" and derivative suffixes, and many of these undergo or induce phonetic changes under appropriate circumstances. Hence I have thought it wiser to refrain from giving long texts, and to bring together in the notes enough comparable material to lay the word structure of Yana clearly before the student. I have numbered the notes to the three texts consecutively in order to facilitate cross-reference. The orthography employed in my *Yana Texts* is retained except for the glottal stop, which is here indicated by the apostrophe (').

I. ANALYSIS OF A CENTRAL YANA TEXT

BLUEJAY'S JOURNEY TO THE LAND OF THE MOON¹

'a'n't ¹	aitc ²	yā'na ³	k' ⁴	yā'map!ayauna ⁵	k'ēt'cliwāla ⁶
They were many	the	people	their	dwelling with him	Bluejay.
mitc!'i'gun't'i ⁷	om'dji'yau ⁸	gi ⁹	ba'na ¹⁰	wak!a!p!a ¹¹	gi ¹²
He had sweat-house	killing	to	deer.	He had as wife	to
'itc!i'nmari'mi ¹³	k'ēt'cliwāla ¹⁴	yō'hai ¹⁵	ai ¹⁶	'itc!i'nmari'mi	
Wildcat Woman	Bluejay.	She was pregnant	she	Wildcat Woman.	
am'dji'yau ¹⁷	ban ¹⁸	ai	k'ēt'cliwāla ¹⁹	mitc!ā'ba'	ai ²⁰ k'ēt'cliwāla
Being killed	deer	he	Bluejay	was lucky man	he Bluejay,
djo'yura'idibil'a ²¹	k'u'ls-i'ayauna ²²	gi	ba'na	ba'ri ²¹	djū'ri ²⁴
he had it hanging all over to dry	causing it to be dry	to	deer meat.	It rained,	it snowed.
wayu'ndin't ²⁵	ai ¹⁶	ma'ri'mi ²⁶	wa'yū ²⁷	agitc ²⁸	'i'gunmat'u ²⁹
Now she gave birth to child	she	woman,	she gave birth to child	at the	sweat-house place
iwū'lu ³⁰	k'u ³¹	dé'waiyau ³²	'ai ³³	k'ēt'cliwāla	wa'yūyauk'i'a ³⁴
inside,	not	seeing	he	Bluejay	she giving birth to child.
p'ō'djan ³⁵	ai	'itc!i'nmari'mi'	k' ³⁶	dā't'i ³⁷	nidū'an ³⁸ ai
She bathed him	she	Wildcat Woman	her	child.	He arrived home he
k'ēt'cliwāla	mumarisi'ndj ³⁹	t'i'n't ⁴⁰	ai	'itc!i'nmari'mi	
Bluejay.	"I have baby,"	she said	she	Wildcat Woman	
gayā'wauyau ⁴¹	gi	k'ēt'cliwāla	ā'	tlini'gumauna ⁴²	gayā'n't ⁴³
talking to him	to	Bluejay.	"So!"	being little	he spoke,
gak!ē'railaugun't ⁴⁴	gat'djā'p!ayauna ⁴⁵	bas-i'andik'i ⁴⁶	p'ō'djan-		now bathing
he just spoke drawing out slowly	answering.	When it was already night	him		
'ayauant' ⁴⁷	k' ³⁶	dā't'i	han'a'ip!ama ⁴⁸	wā'k!iram ⁴⁹	ai
	her	child,	it was morning,	he stood outside	he
k'ēt'cliwāla	gi	'i'gunna ⁵⁰	gawa'udibil' ⁵¹	'im'ila'biyau ⁵²	gi
Bluejay	at	sweat-house.	He shouted around to them	waking them up	to
yā ⁵³	p'i'ba'lwi'i ⁵⁴	ga'ihaup!a'a ⁵⁵	ga'im'djip!a'a ⁵⁶	dō's-it'i ⁵⁷	
people.	"Get up, all of you!"	he was heard shouting east,	he was heard shouting west.	"Flake flints!	

¹ See Yana Texts, pp. 50-52.

amū^{'58} dju⁵⁹ mann^{'i60} gi⁶¹ 'a'una⁶² gī'maiha'nik^{'63} ba'na
 warm up the your bows at fire! Let us find deer!"
 t'ū^{'64} ai yā'na p'i'bal^{'65} k'unū'yau⁶⁶ 'iyū'is·i^{'67} nīs·ā'-
 They did so they people. They got up not yet being be day. Now they
 went off
 andi^{'68} aitec yā'na ba'iruyauna⁶⁹ nīdā'widibi'lgus·it!ō'a⁷⁰ t'ī^{'71}
 the people going to hunt deer. "I shall just go about beside (you)," he said
 ai k'ē'tc!iwāla mumarip'a'us·iwandja^{'72} nīs·ā'andi' dji^{'73} yā'na
 he Bluejay, "I have had child born to me." Now they went off the people
 da⁷⁴ 'irā'wiyā^{'75} ba'iyauant^{'i76} k'u⁷⁷ ba'i^{'78} ai k'ē'tc!i-
 those common people now hunting deer. Not he hunted deer he Bluejay,
 wāla nihat'di'bilgu^{'i79} nīdū'an^{'78} k'ē'tc!iwāla bā'wis·ak'i^{'80}
 he merely went about. He arrived home Bluejay when it was dark
 djuk!unā'duwaldi^{'81} wadā't'in't^{'82} ai k'ē'tc!iwāla ba'igumauna^{'83}
 he sat down where he was He had child he Bluejay being one.
 went to sit.
 u's·ī^{'84} 'iyū'iyagu'a⁸⁵ i'dja'nyauna⁸⁶ gamā^{'87} aitec⁸⁸ dā't'i
 It is two just being days he growing. "Give me the child!"
 'ite!inmari'mi du'mmanawau^{'89} du'mmanabil^{'90} ai
 Wildcat Woman she gave it to him in his arms. He fondled him in his arms he
 k'ē'tc!iwāla tclup'p!a'nnais^{·91} tclup'p!a'nnais· dā't'ini'k^{'92}
 Bluejay. "He is very good, he is very good our child."
 ya'bidja'iwau^{'93} k'i dā't'i^{'94} dut'yā'andin't^{'95} k'ē'tc!iwā'naplandi^{'96}
 He played with him his child. Now he became older already young Bluejay,
 t'ō'k!t'an't'ē^{'97} 'ai umu'iyā^{'98} gi udjī'yā^{'99} ya'bidja'i^{'100} aite
 he looked just like him he young person to old person. He played the
 k'ē'tc!iwānap!^{'101} irā'mi^{'102}
 young Bluejay outside.

TRANSLATION²

Many were the people that lived together with Bluejay. He had a sweat-house and used to kill deer. Bluejay had as wife Wildcat Woman. Wildcat Woman became pregnant while Bluejay was killing deer. Bluejay had good luck as hunter and had deer meat hanging around all over to dry. It rained and it snowed. The woman gave birth to a child, gave birth to it inside the sweat-house. Bluejay did not see her as she gave birth to her child. Wildcat Woman washed her boy. Bluejay came back home. "I have a baby," said Wildcat Woman, speaking to Bluejay. "Indeed!" he said, speaking only a little. He spoke very slowly as he answered her. During the night she washed her boy, and when it was daylight Bluejay stood outside the sweat-house. He shouted around to his people, waking them up. "Get up, all of you!" His voice was heard in the east, his voice was heard in the west. "Flake your flints! Warm up your bows over the fire! Let us look for deer."

The people did so, they arose while it was not yet day. The people went off to go to hunt deer. "I shall walk around beside you. My wife has given me a baby." The people went off, those people

² See Yana Texts, p. 66.

now hunted deer. But Bluejay did not hunt deer; he just walked around with them. When it was dark Bluejay returned home and sat down where he was always accustomed to sit. Bluejay had one boy. When he had been growing two days (Bluejay said to his wife,) "Give the boy to me." Wildcat Woman gave it to him in his arms and Bluejay fondled him. "He is very pretty, our boy is very pretty," and he played with his child. Young Bluejay grew older and the young man came to look just like his father. Young Bluejay played outside.

GRAMMATICAL NOTES

1. So heard for *'an-n't'*. *'an-*, verb stem used with personal plural subject only: "to go, to be many." *-n't'*, elided from *-n't'i* because of following vowel. *-n't'i* is compounded of *-ni-*, tense suffix referring to definitely past time, and quotative *-t'i*. *-n't'(i)* is regularly used in mythical narrative in Northern Yana; in Central Yana it is often employed too, but may be and generally is replaced, after the first one or two narrative verb forms, by infinitives in *-(i)*. See Note 11.

2. Definite article, compounded of third personal pronoun *ai* and element *tc*, *tc'*. In Yahi *tc'* occurs regularly as article or personal pronoun without preceding *ai*, far less often in Central Yana; hence *ai-tc* may be interpreted properly as "he-the," *-tc* preceding its noun, while *ai* pleonastically anticipates it. *ai* and *aitc*, and other forms built on them, are used indifferently with singular and plural nouns.

3. Noun stem *yā-* "people." *-na*, absolutive noun suffix for nouns ending in a long vowel, diphthong, or consonant, also for all monosyllabic nouns (e.g. *yā'-na* "people," *t'u'i-na* "sun," *da'l-la*—assimilated from **dal-na*—"hand," *i'na* "stick"). Polysyllabic nouns ending in a short vowel take no absolutive suffix (e.g. *dā't'i* "child," *p'u't!uk!u* "skull"). In female forms, however, i.e., in forms used by or in speaking to females, *-na* is never employed. In such cases there is no suffix; thus *yā'na* would be replaced by *yā*.—*yā'na*, as subject, follows its verb.

4. Third person possessive pronoun, used indifferently for singular and plural.

5. *yā-map!a-*: *yā-*, verb stem "to dwell" (probably identical with noun stem *yā-* "person, people"): *-map!a-*, verb suffix "with," compounded of *-ma-* "with" and *-p!a-* denoting static condition. *-yauna*, compounded of *-yau-*, verbal noun suffix, and absolutive *-na* (see note 3). —Verbal nouns, with or without preceding *k'* (for third persons), are constantly used in Yana as gerunds to express verbal subordination; "their dwelling with him" is equivalent to "as they dwelt" or "who dwelt with him."

6. Unanalyzable noun. *-la*, however, occurs in several nouns. It is possible that, like Chimariko *-l-* of *-l-la*, it is an old diminutive suffix that has hardly retained its force. *k'ē'tc!iwāla* follows *yā'map!ayauna* as its object, without objective particle *gi* (see note 9), presumably because of static force of *-p!a-*.

7. So heard for *mitc!'i'gunn't'i'*. *mitc!-*, verb stem "to have," regularly employed with incorporated noun. *-i'gun-*, incorporated form of *'i'gun-na* "sweat-house." *-n't'i*, as in note 1; *-i* is unelided because *om'dj̄'you* following is really *'om'dj̄-*, as shown by later Yahi evidence (in my Central and Northern Yana material I was not always careful to note this initial glottal stop, which inheres in many stems—Yana *'i*—"wood," Mohave *a'i*; Yana *'au-*—"fire," Mohave *a'auwa*, Salinan *t-a'au'*).

8. *om'dj̄-*, verb stem "to kill," Northern Yana *op'dj̄-*, Yahi *'op'dj̄-*. *-yau*, gerund (see note 5); absolutive *-na* is omitted because *om'dj̄'you* is immediately followed by objective *gi ba'na*.

9. *gi* is used as general objective particle with direct, indirect, instrumental, and local objects, which invariably follow. In Yahi there are two syntactic particles of this type, *gi*, used with direct and indirect objects, and *bi*, used with local objects. This *bi* is unknown to Central and Northern Yana. With pronominal *ai* and article *aitc'*, *tc'* (see note 2), *gi* combines to form *aigi*, *aigitc'*, *gite'*. It also makes objective forms of demonstratives: *aidje*(*'e*) "this, that," obj. *aigidje*(*'e*); *aiye*(*'e*) "that yonder," obj. contracted to *aige*(*'e*). From adverbial *aidja*, *aitc'* "here, there" is formed objective *aigidja*, *aigitc'* "(to) here, there." Possessive articles (*ai*)*dji* "the" (referring to "mine" or "ours") and (*ai*)*dju* "the" (referring to "yours") form objective (*ai*)*gidji* and (*ai*)*gidju*. With third personal possessive *k'* (see note 4) *gi* combines to form *k'ⁱ* (see note 36).

10. *ba-*, noun stem "deer." *-na*, absolutive.

11. *wak!alp/a-*, verb "to have as wife, husband," compounded of verb stem *wa-*, which does not occur without derivative suffix or incorporated noun, and suffix *-k!alp/a*. *wa-*, "to have as (so and so), to consider as," e.g. *wa-nigai-* "to have as son-in-law" (*niga-* "son-in-law"), *wa-dā'ti-mauna* "nephew, considered as one's child" (*dā'ti* "child"). *-k!alp/a-*, secondary verb stem "to keep" (cf. *mits*·*!-k!alp/a-* "to keep," for *mits*·*!*- see note 7). *wa-k!alp/a-* "to keep and have as (so and so)" only by idiomatic implication refers to husband or wife; cf. participial *wak!alp/a-mauna* "kept and had as (wife)," i.e. "wife." *-'*, for *-ⁱ*, infinitive used as narrative absolutive, tense-modal suffixes being dispensed with. This infinitive appears in four forms: *-ⁱ* (male absolute form, see note 79); *-ⁱ*, *-'* (female absolute form and form used by both sexes when it is immediately followed by some syntactically connected word, such as subject or objective particle); *-^a* (male absolute form of causatives and other verbs in suffixed *-^a*, see note 21; *-^a* suffix and infinitive suffix contract to *-^a*); *-^a* (female absolute form and syntactically connected form of *-^a*). In Northern Yana infinitives *-ⁱ*, *-ⁱ* becomes *-^a*, *-^a* also when it is preceded by any *a*-vowel. Central Yana *baiⁱ*, *baiⁱ*, *baiⁱ* "to hunt deer" appear as such also in Northern Yana; Central Yana *basāⁱ*, *basāⁱ*, *basāⁱ* "to run away" appear in Northern Yana as *basā^a*, *basā^a*. Causative *bōsa^a*- "to cause to run away" forms infinitive *bōsa^a*, *bōsa^a*, *bōsa^a* in both dialects. Yahi agrees with Central Yana in its infinitives.

12. Objective particle; see note 9.

13. Compound noun, consisting of *'itc'in-* "wildcat" (absolute *'itc'i'n-na*) and *ma'ri'mi* "woman." Note that qualifying element precedes. This is true of all compounds of noun and noun, except such as indicate body-part or portion of some designated being or thing (e.g. *ima'-m-ba* "liver-of-deer, deer-liver," Northern Yana *galu'-p-ⁱ* "arm-of-tree, branch").

14. See note 6. Subject of sentence, but follows object. This is unusual. More normal would be: *wak!alp/a' ai k'ē'tc'iwāla gi 'itc'i'nmari'mi*.

15. *yōhai-*, verb "to be pregnant." Analysis uncertain; with *yō-* cf. perhaps Northern Yana *yō'yōts!gi* "two mountains where a man used to go to sleep for one or two days when his wife became pregnant" (*-ts!gi*, diminutive plural); with *-hai* cf. perhaps verb suffix *-hai-*, *-xai-* "to rest, to be quiet" (e.g. *wa-hai-* "to rest," *ē-xai-waldⁱ-^a* - "everything is quiet"). *-'*, elided from *-ⁱ* because followed by *ai*, narrative infinitive (see note 11).

16. Third personal subjective pronoun, practically equivalent to article *aitc'*; see note 2.

17. *am'dj̄-*, static or passive form of *om'dj̄-* (see note 8). *-yau*, gerund (cf. notes 5, 8); absolute *-na* dropped because of syntactic connection with immediately following subject.

18. Elided from *ba-na*; see note 10.

19. *ai k'ē'tciwāla* is non-objective in form, though agentive in meaning. Syntactically, *ana* "deer" is subject of gerund *am'djī'yau*, but "Bluejay" is felt to be its logical subject and is therefore treated as subjective in form: "being-killed deer (by) him Bluejay, was-lucky he Bluejay."

20. *mīc!ā'ba-*, "to have good luck;" analysis uncertain. Forms its present without *-si-* suffix: *mīc!ā'ba-ndja* "I have good luck." *-'*, narrative infinitive.

21. *djo'*, causative or active form of *dja'* "to hang" (intr.; cf. *dja'-du* "to hang down," *dja'-ts!imā'-wi* "mussel-shell beads"), also *dja-* (in *dja-bil* "to hang up, intr.," *djō-bil'-a* "to hang up, tr."); *djo'- . . -'a-*, causative "to cause to hang, to have hanging." *-yurai*, verb suffix "to dry, for drying;" cf. *wau-yurai* "several pointed objects are out drying." *-dibil-*, local verb suffix "about, here and there, all over," evidently compounded with *-bil-* "moving about." *-'a*, contracted from causative *-'a* and infinitive *-'i* (see note 11).

22. *k'uls-i-*, verb "to be dry;" *k'ul-* also occurs without *-s-i-* (e.g. *k'ul-t!arak!i-* "to be exceedingly dry"); *-s-i-*, verb suffix, apparently implies "maturity, filling up, using up" (cf. further *mā-si-* "to be ripe, done," Northern Yana *gī-s-i-tdi-* "to be satiated"); *k'uls-i-* means both "to be dry" and "to feel dry, thirsty" and is perhaps best rendered "to be dried up." *-'a-*, causative suffix. *-yau-na*, gerund.

23. *bari-*, verb "to rain," compounded of verb stem *ba-* "to go quickly, run, fall" (does not occur without suffix) and *-ri-*, local suffix "down" (*-di-* after consonants). *-'*, narrative infinitive.

24. *djūri-*, verb "to snow," compounded of verb stem *djū-* "water moves, to stream" (does not occur without suffix; other examples are *djū-dja* "water rises," *djū-t!al-* "water leaks through," *djū-gil-* "water runs over, gets above a point," *djū-lau-* "to be washed up to shore," *djū-mai-dja-* "creek washes dirt off banks") and *-ri-*, local suffix "down" (cf. note 23). *-'*, narrative infinitive.

25. *wayu-*, verb "to give birth (to)." *-ndi-*, verb suffix marking point of time, translatable as "now, then" or as perfective, but not generally capable of adequate English rendering; after long vowels, diphthongs, and consonants it appears as *-'andi-*. *-n-t'*, tense and quotative suffixes (see note 1).

26. Noun; occurs frequently in compounds (cf. note 13; cf. also *wa'alā'-mari'mi* "girl"). It forms its plural from another stem: *p!udi-* (absolute *p!u'di-wi*, *p!u't!di-wi* "women;" in compounds *-p!di-wi* or *-p!di*, e.g. *wa'alā'-p!diwi* "girls").

27. *wayū-*, verb "to give birth to" (cf. note 25). *-'*, narrative infinitive.

28. Consists of pronominal *ai*, objective *gi*, and article *tc'* (see notes 2, 9): "it-to-the sweathouse-place," i.e. "at-it, the sweathouse." *gi* in itself does not indicate location, but it helps to give *-mat'u* "place" (note 29) prepositional force.

29. Compounded of *īgun-* (see note 7) and *-madu* "place" (cf. verb suffix *-ma-* "there"), of which *-mat'u* is feminine or syntactically connected form; properly speaking, *-madu* should be elided before *īwū'lu* to *mad*. *-madu* is used only as second element of nouns of place and may be suffixed only to noun stems; it is no true post-position, though with preceding *gi* it may be best rendered as "at."

30. Local noun in *ī-*, *i-*. *-wūlu*, local suffix "inside," corresponding to verb suffix *-wul-* "in the house, into the house." *īwū'lu* follows "at the sweathouse-place" as adverb. To local verb suffixes, of which Yana possesses a great number, correspond independent local nouns. These are formed, for the most part, by suffixing the verbal local elements to a radical element *ī-*, *i-*, not otherwise employed, so far as known; thus, from *-t'dja* "up" is formed *i't'dja* "up, above," from *-wīlau-* "across a creek to the east" is formed *īwī'lau-na* (for *-na*, see note 3). Local elements in *-ri-* or *-di-* add *-k!u*, e.g. *i'ri-k!u* "below," *iyē'mairi-k!u* "between." Elements indicating cardinal points are nominalized by suffixing to a radical element *djau-*, Yahi *t'en-* (e.g. Northern and Central Yana *dja'u-hau-na* "east;" Yahi *t'ē'nau-na*, contracted

from *t'en-hau-*); but if these cardinal-point elements are compounded with other preceding local elements, *i-* is used (e.g. *iwī'lau-na* above, contracted from *i-wil-hau-*). A few local elements, such as *-gil-* "over a crest" and *-gin-* "next door," are nominalized without preceding *i-* (e.g. *gī'lau-na* "eastward over the mountains," *gī'nau-na* "next door to the east"). Finally, a few local suffixes have slightly irregular forms in the noun, e.g. *i-wū'lu* "inside," *i-rā'mi* "outside" (cf. verbal *-ram-* "out of the house;" but *-rāmi-* also occurs as verb suffix).

31. *k'u-* "to be not" is generally used as verb, with following infinitive, e.g. *k'us ba'i'i* "he-not-s to-hunt, he does not hunt." In Central Yana it is sometimes used as invariable adverb (cf. also note 77) in gerunds, as here, or in infinitives; yet *k'uyau dē'wai* "being-not to-see" could also have been used (cf. *k'uyau ba'i'i* "not hunting deer," Yana Texts, p. 52, l.10).

32. *dēwai-*, verb "to see," compounded of elements *dē-* and *-wai-*. *dē-*, in certain derivatives of *dēwai-*, is disconnected from *-wai-*, e.g. *dē-dja-wai-p/a-* "to be tired of seeing," *dē-nam'-mai-sa-* (from *-nap'-wai-*) "to see no sign of;" in certain verbs indicating "to see one —ing," *dēwai-* changes to *dē'wi-*, e.g. *dē'wi-sa-* "to see one going away," *dī'wī'-k!am-siwandja* "I am seen coming" (passive form of *dē'wi-*), *dē'wi-mal-* "to see one get shot." *dē-* (static *dī-*, *dī-*) occurs without *-wai-* in certain verbs of knowing, looking at, and appearing; e.g. *dē-djiba-* "to know," *dū-wil-k!wi-lau-tc'ui-* "to be cross-eyed." *-wai-* seems to occur also in certain other verbs of perceptive effort, e.g. *ʷθwai-* "to miss one," *ʷθwai-k'i-* "to expect one to come," *'ui-wai-* "to whistle after one," possibly also *'θmina'wai-* "to try, to practise;" analogous to *dē'wi-* is *gō'wi-* "to hear one —ing," e.g. *gō'wi-k!am-* "to hear one coming," *gō'wi-mal-* "to hear one get shot." We may conclude that *dē-* refers to sight pure and simple; *-wai* and *-'wi-*, *-'wi-* to purposive perception in general. *-yau*, gerund. *-yau-n ai* (cf. note 18) would have been more proper for a male addressing a male; *-yau 'ai* is really the female form, which Sam Batwi, the narrator, tended to use absent-mindedly through habit.

33. Glottal stop to mark vocalic hiatus. *ai* indicates following noun as subject of gerund.

34. *wayū-*, see notes 25, 27. *-yau-*, gerund depending on preceding gerund *k'u dē'waiyau*. *-k'i'a* (male), *-k'i* (female), possessive noun suffix indicating that possessor of object or of subject of activity is identical with subject of sentence or clause; *kⁱ wa'yuyau* would indicate that Bluejay did not see another woman, not his own wife, give birth to a child.

35. Elided from *p'ō'djan'a*, narrative infinitive of *p'ō'djan'a-* (see note 11), causative "to bathe (tr.)" of *p'ūdjan-* "to swim, to bathe (intr.)." *p'ū-*, verb stem "to swim" (forms without *-djan-* are, e.g., *p'ū-ts!gil-* "to get into the water," *p'ū-'gai-* "to swim using one's arms," *p'ū-m'dji-* "to swim to the west"); *-djan-*, verb suffix of uncertain significance.

36. Objective form of possessive *k'*; see notes 4, 9.

37. Noun stem, "child" in sense of "one's child;" plural *da't't'i-wi*.

38. *nī-*, *ni-*, verb stem "to go" (refers to one male); corresponding forms for one female and for several people, male or female, are respectively *'adū'an'* and *'a'nduan'*. Neither *ni-* nor *'a-* can be used without one or more derivative suffixes. *-dū-*, verbal suffix "back, returning;" after heavy syllables (those ending in consonant, long vowel, or diphthong) and after light syllables if itself followed by two consonants (old vowel elided between them) or under certain other rhythmic circumstances *-du-* is used, generally after light syllables if itself followed by one consonant (*nī-* is properly *ni-*) *-dū-* is used, after heavy syllables and if itself followed by certain other suffixes (e.g. *-sa-* "off," *-k'i-* "hither") *-du-* is reduced to *-t'u-* (e.g. *'i'-du-bal-* "to be cured," lit. "to go up again;" *ni-du-'t'dja-* "to go up back home;" *ba-dū'-k'i-* "to

come running back;" *wə-t'⁴-sa* "to take back home"). *-an-*, properly *-ʼan-*, verb suffix "arriving." ', narrative infinitive.

39. *mumari-*, verb "to have a new-born baby, to be confined;" analysis uncertain, but cf. *mā-*, *mūma-* "to work" and local verb suffix *-mari-* "down in a hollow." *-si-*, present tense. *-ndj*, first person singular subject, female form (male: *-ndja*); *-ndja* is contracted from older *-ni-dja*, preserved, as *-nidja*, after heavy syllables (e.g. *mu'mari-mau-nitc' yā* "being-in-confinement-I person, I am one who is in confinement").

40. *t'ī-*, verb stem "to say." *-n't'*, narrative quotative; cf. notes 1, 7, 25.

41. *gayā-*, verb "to talk," formed from verb stem *ga-* "to utter, talk in some way" (numerous verbs are formed from this base, which cannot occur alone; cf. notes 44, 45); *-yā-* is always suffixed to *ga-* when "talking" without particular qualification is meant and is probably identical with *yā-* "person" (see note 3): "to talk, make sound like a person" (for incorporated *-yā-* in a similar function, cf. *djī-yā-dja-* "to taste like human flesh"). *-wau-*, indirective verb suffix with third personal objects (most verbs take *-p'au-* with first and second personal indirect objects or in passive forms, some *-ma-* or *-m-*, e.g. *gayā'waušindja* "I talk to him," *gayā'p'ausiwādja* "you talk to me;" *mauwa'ušindja* "I teach him," *ma'umasiwandja* "he teaches me;" *t'ī'waušindja* "I tell him," *t'ī'msiwa'a* "he is told by him"). *-yau*, gerund.

42. *t'īnī-*, verb stem "to be little," also found in derivative noun *t'īnī-si* "child" (Northern Yana equivalent of Central *dā't'i*, see note 37). *-gu-*, verb suffix "a little, just;" certain stems, like *t'īnī-* and *bai-* "one" nearly always require *-gu-* after them. *-mau-*, participial suffix, active with intransitive verbs (e.g. *basā'mauna* "running away"), passive with transitive verbs (e.g. *mō'mauna* "eaten") but without passive vocalism of stem, e.g. not *mā-*). *-na*, absolute suffix of nouns ending in heavy syllable, participles being reckoned as formally nouns.

43. *gayā-*, see note 41. *-n't'*, see note 1.

44. *ga-* "to utter, make a sound" (cf. note 41). *-k'lerai-*, verb suffix "slowly," used after light syllables; after heavy syllables *-k'irai-* is used (e.g. *p'ū-k'irai-m'dja-gu-si* "he comes swimming slowly"). *-lau-*, verb suffix here meaning "out of the mouth," metaphorically referring to "utterance" (cf. *p'ō-la-lau-* "to take something chewed out of one's mouth," *ya-lau-* "to have blood flowing out of one's mouth," *ē-lau-* "to sing"); its more general meaning is "out into the open" and it may be used to mean "out from the ground" (e.g. *ba-lau-* "plant grows"), "away from the body" (e.g. *ul-lau-* "to stick out one's feet," *dō-l'i-lau-* "to take off one's hat"), "out of the fire," "out of the water" (e.g. *dun'ā-lau-* "to dip up water"), and "from the level up the mountain" (e.g. *ni-du-lau-wadju-* "man comes back up hill from the south;" *djau-du-lō-dju-*, contracted from *-lau-haudju-* "up the mountain from the east," "sun rises"). *-gu-*, verb suffix "just" (cf. note 42); certain modal suffixes, like *-k'lerai-* and *-hat'* "in vain, with nothing," seem to require *-gu-* after them. *-n't'*, see note 1.

45. *ga'tdjāp'a-*, verb "to answer" (without object). *ga-*, see note 41. *-t'djā-* (after light syllables), *-t'dja-* (after heavy syllables) "in answer" (cf. *dja-t'djā-si-wandja* "he bites me back, in order to get even with me," *wi-t'dja-p'a'-a-* "to whistle back at one"). *-p'a-*, medio-passive verb suffix, generally denoting condition as such or condition resulting from activity. Sometimes it denotes reflexive or indirect reflexive activity; here it seems to denote naturally transitive activity conceived of as without object (cf. *wē'ya-p'a-si-ndja* "I do not believe it," but *wi'ya-si-wandja* "he does not believe me"). Properly, medio-passive *-p'a-* demands static vocalism of stem (e.g. Northern Yana *dju-k'arat-p'a-* "[ground] is too hard for digging," contrast *djō-k'arat-* "to dig for roots but to find ground too hard;" *ap'djū-p'a-* "to kill oneself," contrast

op'dji- "to kill"); but there are certain verbs in *-p/a-* (like *wêya-p/a-* above), apparently not properly medio-passive, that have active vocalism in stem. *-yau-*, gerund. *-na*, absolute noun suffix.

46. *bas·î-*, verb "to be night." *-andi-*, properly *-'andi-* (secondary glottal stops, i.e. such as arise from vocalic hiatus, are often very weakly articulated; *-andi-* is particularly frequent), form of *-ndi-* employed after heavy syllables, see note 25. *-k'i'* connected form of *-k'i'a* (female form *-k'i*, connected *-k'*), properly possessive (cf. note 34) but here used, as often, to indicate adverbial or subordinated use of certain time verbs (e.g. "to be night," "to be dark," "to be dawn," "to be day;" cf. note 80).

47. *p'ô-djan-'a-* "to bathe," causative verb (cf. note 35). *-yau-*, gerund. *-ant'i*, for *-ant'i'* (see note 46), connected form of *-'andi* (see note 25).

48. *han'ai-*, also heard as *ha'nai-*, diminutive form of *ha'lai-* "to be dawn, daylight;" *l* is changed to *n* in diminutive forms (e.g. *na'n-p/a* "little foot" from *la'l-la* "foot"). *-p/a*, verb suffix indicating state (cf. note 45); *han'aip/a-* "to be early morning, before sunrise (another) day has begun." *-ma-*, frequently used in Central Yana with *han'aip/a-*; possibly conventionalized use of local verb suffix *-ma-* "there." *-'*, narrative infinitive.

49. *wāk/i-*, verb "to stand;" *wāk!*- before certain suffixes, e.g. *wāk!-dibil-* "to stand" (in general), *wāk!-bal-* "to stand up (from sitting position)." *wāk/i-*, *wāk!*- is composed of *wā-*, probably lengthened form of *wa-* "to sit" (contrast *wa-k!-di-* "to sit on") and *-k/i-*, *-k!-*, verb suffix " (sitting, standing, stepping) on" (always followed by another local suffix). *-ram-*, verb suffix "outside, out of the house;" appears as *-dam-* after consonants, also as *-rāmi-* and *-dāmi-*. *-'*, narrative infinitive.

50. *'igun-*, noun stem "sweat-house" (cf. notes 7, 29). *-na*, absolute noun suffix.

51. *ga-*, verb stem "to talk, utter sounds" (cf. notes 41, 43, 44, 45). *-wau-*, indirective verb suffix "to" (cf. *gayā-wau-* "to talk to," see note 43); *ga-wau-* as unextended verb-complex indicates "to talk about (somebody)," but keeps its primary etymological significance when followed by *-dibil-*. *-dibil-* (probably itself compounded of *-di-* and *-bil-* "moving about"), verb suffix "here and there, all over, at random." *-i'*, narrative infinitive; should, properly, be elided to *-'* before following *-i-*.

52. *'im'ilabi-*, with glide *-i-*, before *y*, for *'im'ilap-*, verb "to wake up" (tr.). Consists of verb stem *'im-* "to drive off, to get to do" (e.g. *'im-sa-* "to drive away," *'im-mau-ru-* for *'im-wau-ru-* "to tell one to get"); and secondary verb stem *-'ilap-* "to wake up" (cf. *gui-'ilap-* "to wake up a person with noise," *p'u-'ilam-marā-'nidja* "I was awakened by being blown upon;" intransitive are *mi-lap-* "one person awakes," *p'i-lap-* "several awake"), perhaps composed of indirective *-i-* " (to get) after, (to go over) to" and intransitive *-lap-*; C. Yana *-lap-* for expected *-lam-* is anomalous (such forms as *-'ilam-marā-* above, assimilated from *-'ilam-warā-*, suggest that *-lam-* is its original form, whence regular N. Yana development to *-lap-* unless protected by assimilation). *-yau*, gerund; connected form of *yau-na*.

53. *yā*, noun stem "people" (cf. note 3). Feminine form. We should, properly, have *yā'na*.

54. *p'i-*, shortened, because in closed syllable, from *p'i-*, verb stem "several go," plural of *'i-* "one person goes, moves." *-'bal-*, C. Yana form of N. Yana *-t'-bal-*, verb suffix "arising, starting up." *-t'-bal* is compounded of *-t'-*, which does not seem to occur alone, and *-bal-*, verb suffix "up from the ground, moving up" (e.g. *'êba-bal-* "to pull up," *ya-i'ai-bal-* "to blaze up"); *-t'-* apparently adds to *-bal-* the idea of movement from a definite point as contrasted with undefined movement or movement to a definite point (cf. further N. Yana *dji-t'-bal-* "smoke goes up," *da-t'-bal-* "to jump"). *-wi'i'* (connected and female form: *-wi'*), imperative of second person

plural; composed of *-wi-*, second person plural element in imperatives and (as *-wī-*) in transitive forms with first person object (e.g. *diwa'isiwawīdja* "ye see me," *diwa'isiwawīgi* "ye will see us"), and second person singular imperative *-i'* (female form *-i',-'*).

55. *gai-*, static or passive form of *gui-*, verb "to hear —ing" (e.g. *gui-sa-gu-* "to hear somebody talking in the distance"); *gui-* is compounded of *gō-* "to hear" and *-i-*, verb suffix indicating "off, from, away" (e.g. *wī-sa'-i-warā* "it has been stolen away"): "to hear off," i.e. "to hear something of what is going on, to partake of by hearing;" *gō-i-*, making a single syllable, contracts to *goi-* (preserved in Yahi), which shifts in N. and C. Yana to *gui-*. *-hau-*, local verb suffix "in the east." *-p/a-*, medio-passive verb suffix ordinarily demanding static vocalism of stem syllable (*gui-hau-* "to hear a sound in the east," *gai-hau-p/a-* "a sound is heard in the east"). *-a*, contracted from verb suffix *-a-* and infinitive *-i* (cf. notes 21, 35). This derivational *-a-* acts like causative *-a-* (as regards position and contraction), but does not restore active vocalism (*gui-*) of stem syllable; presumably many verbs in *-p/a-* are not causatives from medio-passives in *-p/a-* but contain *-p/a-* and intransitive *-a-* "to be" (cf. such forms as *mī-wil-klūi'-dī'-a-* "to be cross-eyed," *lulmai'-a-* "to be blind," *au'-a-* "there is fire"), *gai-hau-p/a'-a-* perhaps signifying more properly "to be audible in the east."

56. Analysis as in note 55 except that local verb suffix *-m'dji-* "in the west" is substituted for *-hau-*.

57. *dō-*, verb stem referring to "removal, clearing off of loose material" (e.g. *dō-gal'di-* "to peel off skin," *dō-k'al'di-* "to brush," *dō-k'al-yauma* "brush for acorn flour"); cf. Yahi *dō-sit'-* "to flake an obsidian point," *dā-p.dja-* (with static vocalism) "to be flaking off chips." *-s·it'-*, secondary verb stem apparently referring to "flaking." *-i'*, second person singular imperative. Chiefs frequently addressed their people in the singular, because they were thought of collectively as a unified group. One would have expected *dā's·it'i'*, with static vocalism, as imperatives are regularly treated like static, not active, forms; cf. note 58

58. *amū-*, static form of *ō'mu-*, transitive verb "to warm up;" the change from static to active or active to static is frequently accompanied, where there is a change in the quantity and stress of the stem vowel, by a compensating inverse change in the quantity and stress of the following vowel (cf. *'a-dū'-džil-* "a woman goes clear around back to starting point," causative *'ō'-du-džil'-a-*; *'ō'nina'-wai-* "to try, to practise," in passive forms *'anū'na'wai-*). *ō-* (*a-*), primary verb stem of unknown significance. *-mu-* (*-mū-*), secondary verb stem referring to "warmth" (cf. *ne'-mu-* "to warm one's feet by the fire;" N. Yana *hā-mu-tdi-* "to feel warm"). *-'*, connected form of *-i'*, second person singular imperative (cf. note 57). Active verb forms become static in the imperative and, if followed by an object, omit *gi*. Imperative constructions, like transitives with first or second personal objects, are really passives or passive-like; thus, "warm up your bow!" is probably more accurately rendered "let your bow be warmed up!" just as "you see me" is properly "I am seen (by you)."

59. *dju*, possessive article of second person; used for both singular and plural of second person. In the singular the noun may or may not be provided with the pronominal suffix *-numa* (fem. form *-nu*), the plural regularly has *-nuga* (fem. form *-nuk'*); thus, *dju wa'wi* or *dju wawi'numa* "your house," *dju wawi'nuga* "your (pl.) house." Corresponding to *dju* is *dji* for the first person: *dji wa'wi* or *dji wawi'ndja* "my house," *dji wawi'nigi* "our house." The change from *i* to *u* is exactly parallel to the *i-u* alternation in the pronominal suffixes: *bē'-ni-dja* "it is I" and *bē'-ni-gi* "it is we," but *bē'-nu-ma* "it is you" and *bē'-nu-ga* "it is you (pl.)." *dj-* of *dji* and *dju* is probably identical with article *tc* and demonstrative *-dje-* of *aidje'(e)* (see note 2). That *-i* and *-u* are old demonstrative elements that have combined with this

dj-(d)je-, not true pronouns, is indicated by Yahi, which suffixes true possessive pronominal elements in the second person singular and first person plural: *dji* "my," *dju-m* "your," *dji-n* "our," *dju-m . . . nu-m-gi* "your (pl.)." (*-numgi* corresponds to N. and C. Yana *-nuga*).

60. Noun stem. N. Yana: *ma'n'ni*.

61. Objective particle, here used locally.

62. *'au-*, noun stem "fire." *-na*, absolute noun suffix.

63. *g̃-mai-*, verb "to be bent on (pursuit of game) successfully." *g̃-*, primary verb stem "to have in mind" (cf. *g̃-ma-* "to be sensible," *g̃-mau-pla-* "to be glad," *g̃-s . ams . i-pla-* "to be sleepy," *g̃-ma-sā-* "to brood"). *-mai-*, verb suffix of "pursuit, following after" (e.g. *δ-mai-* "to track," *ne'-mai-* "to follow one's footprints," *minin-tsl'zaya-mai-gu-* "to just look secretly after," i.e. "to think about one"), sometimes implying successful result after unsuccessful attempts (e.g. *'e-gan-mai-* "to break for once and all"). *-ha-'nik'*, connected form of *-ha-'nigi*, first person plural hortatory; consists of *-ha-*, tense suffix of recent past stated on speaker's authority and *-('nigi)*, first person plural subjective element. What idiomatic nuance makes *-ha'nigi* hortatory in N. and C. Yana is not clear (Yahi uses *-ga* as hortatory). In true preterit forms *-k'ia-* precedes (e.g. *g̃'maik'iaha'nigi* "we found game"). Observe that objective *gi* is lacking as after imperative forms (cf. note 58).

64. *t'ū-*, verb stem "to do, to act thus." *-'*, narrative infinitive.

65. *p'i'-bal-*, see note 54. *-'*, narrative infinitive.

66. *k'unū-*, verb "to be not yet;" consists of negative verb *k'u-* (see note 31) and *-nū-*, not otherwise found but clearly related to *-k'unu-*, adverbial verb suffix "yet, still" (e.g. *'i'-k'unu-'a-si* "there is wood there yet"). Possibly *k'unū-* is contracted from *k'uk'unu-*. *-yau*, gerund, connected form. For *-yau* followed by vocalic hiatus instead of *-yau-n(a)*, cf. note 32.

67. *'-*, secondary glottal stop to mark vocalic hiatus. *iyūi-*, verb "to be day" (cf. *iyū'isi* "it is day," *iyū'ik'i'a* "in the daytime"), apparently denominative verb in *-i-* (cf. *ba-i-* "to hunt deer" from *ba-* "deer"; see note 69) from *i-yū-*, *ī-yū-* "day," not used as such; *i-yū-* consists of adverbial "stem" *i-*, *ī-* (see note 30) and *-yu-*, *-yū-*, verb suffix "during the day, all day" (e.g. *ga'lā-yu-* "to cry all day"). *-s·i-*, verb suffix of uncertain significance; possibly indicates "fulness, satiety" as in note 22: "when it was not yet fully day." *-'*, infinitive depending on preceding negative verb.

68. *nū-*, verb stem "one male goes;" singular used, though verb is logically plural. *-s·ā-*, local verb suffix "off, away." *-andi-*, as in note 46. *-'*, narrative infinitive.

69. *bai-*, verb "to hunt deer," denominative verb from *ba-* "deer." Noun stems ending in short vowels, except *i*, are turned into denominative verbs indicating "to get—, to seek—" by suffixing *-i-* (identical with *-i-* of incorporated noun stems ending in short vowels; with *bai-* cf. incorporated *-wai-*, e.g. *djī-wa'i-si* "it tastes like deer-meat"); other nouns become verbs of this type without verbifying suffix (e.g. *dāsi-* "salmon," *dā'sisindja* "I catch salmon;" *djau-* "grasshopper," *dja'usindja* "I pick grasshoppers"). *-ru-* (*-du-* after consonants), verb suffix "to go in order to. . ." *-yau-*, gerund. *-na*, absolute noun suffix.

70. *nū-*, see notes 38, 68. *-dāwi-*, *-rāwi-*, local verb suffix "on the side" (cf. *ba-rāwi-* "to run on the side," *ī-rā'wi-yā* "side-people, common people"). *-dibil-*, verb suffix "here and there, all over" (cf. note 21). *-gu-*, modal verb suffix "just, merely." *-s·i-t'δ'a* (female form *-s·i-t'δ*), first person singular subjective future; *-s·i-* is future (third person *-s·i'i*), while *-t'δ(a)* (N. Yana *-k'δ'a*) is used as first person pronominal element in future forms.

71. *t'ī-*, verb stem "to say" (cf. note 40). *-'*, narrative infinitive.

72. *mumari-* "to give birth to a child" (cf. note 39). *-p'au-*, indirective "for, to," used in passive forms (including transitive forms with first or second personal object), corresponding to *-wau-* of active forms (transitives with third personal object). *-s·i-*, present temporal suffix. *-wa-ndja* "he—me," better understood as composed of passive *-wa-* and *-ndja*, first person singular subjective pronominal suffix (masculine form; contrast feminine *-ndj*, note 39).

73. Equivalent to *tc* (see note 2) with *i-* glide because of following *y-*.

74. *da-*, demonstrative element "that, those," with strong deictic feeling (e.g. *da 'wi'ldjamiyā* "those Northern Indians living across the creek," pointing; cf. denominative verb *dō-'ai-* "to point"). More frequently *da* occurs compounded as *ada'iri*.

75. *-*, marks vocalic hiatus. *ī-rāwi-*, local noun "on the side," formed from local verb suffix *-rāwi-* (see note 70) and adverbial *ī-* (cf. note 30). *-yā*, compounded form of *yā-na* "people" (cf. note 3).

76. *bai-*, see note 69. *-yau-*, gerund. *-ant'*, see note 47.

77. Negative verb used as adverb; cf. note 31.

78. *bai-*, see note 69. *-*, narrative infinitive.

79. *ni-*, verb stem "one male goes." *-hat'*, verb suffix "nothing but, merely, without purpose or result" (cf. *nā-hat'* "to come with nothing, without game as result of hunting," *ga'lā-hat'-gu-* "to do nothing but cry"). *-dābil-*, verb suffix "about, here and there" (cf. notes 21, 51, 70); *-dābil-*, for *-dībil-*, is unusual. *-gu-*, verb suffix "just" (cf. nos. 42, 44, 70), nearly always used with preceding *-hat'*. *-i*, narrative infinitive.

80. *bāwi-s·a-*, verb "to be dark, nightfall;" *bāwi-* possibly related to *ba-* of *bas·ī-* "to be night" (cf. note 46). *-s·a-*, verb suffix "off, away," not infrequently used in such adjectival verbs or verbs of condition as refer to appearance (e.g. *dambu-sa-* "to be pretty," *da-p'al-sa-* "to be black," *dā-lili-ba-sa-* "ground is all covered with ice"). *-k'i'*, as in note 46.

81. *dju-*, primary verb stem "to sit, to stay, to dwell" (cf. *djō'na*, contracted from *dju-ha'u-na* "dwelling-east," i.e. "Hat Creek Indian"). *-k!un'ā-*, (*-k!un'a-* after heavy syllables), secondary verb stem referring to "sitting, staying," apparently used only with primary stems (such as *dju-*, *wa-* "one is seated," *yai-* "several sit, stay") that have a like significance. *dju-k!un'ā-* "to be sitting, to dwell" is characteristic of C. Yana (cf. also Yahi *dju-k!ola-ri-*); in N. Yana *wa-k!un'ā-* (plur. *yai-k!un'a-*) is used. *k!un'ā-* appears in primary position only in certain noun compounds: *k!un'ā-mari'mi-p!a* "sit-woman-little," i.e. "old woman," plur. *k!ū'nā-p!diwi* "old women." *-du-*, verb suffix "back, again" (cf. *-dū-* in note 38), implying that he resumed his usual seat. *-waldi-*, local verb suffix "down on the ground," composed of *-wal-* (which occurs only combined with following local elements) "on the ground" (this significance is merely inferred by elimination of other elements) and *-di-* "down" (cf. *-ri-*, notes 23, 24). *-*, narrative infinitive.

82. *wa-*, verb stem "to have as . . ." (with incorporated object; cf. also note 11). *-dāt'i-*, incorporated noun "child" (cf. note 37). *-n't'*, see note 1.

83. *bai-*, numeral verb stem "to be one." *-gu-*, verb suffix "just," almost invariably employed with *bai-*. *-mau-*, participial suffix, makes nominal or adjectival forms out of verbs; it has a passive significance with transitive verbs but causes no change in static vocalism of the stem (e.g. *basā'mauna* "running off," but *dē'wai-mauna* "seen," not "seeing"). *-na*, absolute noun suffix.

84. *u'*, numeral verb stem "to be two." *-s·ī-*, lengthened form of *-s·i-*, third person present indicative. *u'* has the peculiar property of lengthening the vowel of the following syllable or of the next syllable but one provided this vowel stands or originally stood in an open syllable; e.g., *u'-mits·i'ī-mau-na* "being two together" (contrast *bu'l-mits·i-mau-na* "being three together"), *u'-djā'ri-si* "there are two

(houses) up" (contrast *ba'i-djari-gu-si* "there is one house up"). If the following syllable normally has a lost vowel, it is restored, lengthened, after *u'*; e.g., *u'-s·i'dja* "to be twice" (contrast *bu'l-s·dja* "to be three times").

85. *'iyūi*-, as in note 67. *-yau*-, verbal noun: "being day." This verbal noun is again verbalized by *-gu-'a*-. *-gu*-, modal derivative suffix "just." *-'a*-, contracted from *-'a*-, verbifying element "to be" used with nouns (e.g. *'a'u-'a-si* "there is fire"), and *-'i*-, infinitive (complementary to preceding verb); cf. notes 21, 35, 55. Literally, "there-are-two to-be-just-being-day."

86. *i'djan*-, verb "to grow;" possibly composed of primary stem *i-* and suffixed element *-djan*-, but I can assign no separate significance to either of these. *-yau*-, gerund. *-na*-, absolute noun suffix.

87. Petrified imperative in *-'* (elided and female form for *-'i*'), i.e., there seems to be no indicative verb form to correspond; "me" is only implied, and "hand over!" is perhaps a more appropriate rendering. *ga-* is obscure; it can hardly be identical with *ga-* "to utter" (see note 43). *-mā* (*-ma-* after heavy syllables), indirective "to" in static forms (passives, imperatives, transitives with first and second personal object); other examples are *s·i'·ma-'ā-dja* "give me to drink!" ("cause to me to drink!"), *'i'm-ma-ru-si-wandja* "he tells me to go and get it," *ma'u-ma-si-wandja* "he teaches me." As indicative verb *ga-mā-* means "to tell (you, me) to get (it)," e.g. *ga-mā-si-wandja* "he tells me to get it," in which *ga-* evidently means "to utter." Possibly *gamā* "give (me)!" is really a polite form, originally: "tell (him) to get it!"

88. See note 2. Note absence of objective *gi*, because of preceding imperative.

89. *dummana*-, verb "to fondle, hold in one's arms" (cf. *dumma'na-si-ndja* "I dandle it," *dumma'na-klam-si-ndja* "I hug him"). Compounded of *dum-* and *-wana-* (*-mw-* assimilates in N. and C. Yana to *-mm-*, but is preserved in Yahi). *dum-* (Yahi *dom-*), primary verb stem of handling (active vocalism) corresponding to *dam-*, verb of lying (static vocalism). *dam-*, in C. Yana, was defined as "dead animals, fossils lie (in the ground);" in Yahi, as "quiver, deer lies." Its true meaning is evidently, at least in origin, "bulky object (like a deer carcass) lies." For *dum-* (*dom-*), properly "to handle a bulky object," cf. Yahi *dom-dja-wō-* "to give (him) a deer, rabbit," *dom-dja-waldi-* "to put down on the ground (a quiver, book, deer, wild-cat)." *-wana-*, presumably secondary verb stem of "fondling, holding affectionately." *-wau*-, indirective "to" (with third personal object); cf. note 41. *-'*, narrative infinitive.

90. *dum-mana*-, as in note 89. *-bil*-, verb suffix "(moving) about" (cf. *ba-bil-* "to run around," *djū-bil-* "to feel around with a digging stick," *mu-i-bil-* "to eat-off-about, dog scatters bones about in eating").-, narrative infinitive.

91. *ic'up*-, verb stem "to be good." *-p'an-nai*-, adverbial verb suffix "very, exceedingly." *-s·*, third person present indicative; female form (male: *-s·i*) because Bluejay speaks to his wife.

92. *dā'i*-, see note 37. *-nik'*, female form of *-nigi* "we; our." It would probably have been more idiomatic to use *dji* before *dā't'inik'* (see note 59).

93. *ya'bidjai*-, verb "to play" (N. Yana *yapbidjai*-). *-bidjai*-, secondary verb stem "to play" (cf. *djū-djā-bidjai*- "to play at spearing salmon," *dju-bil-bidjai-'a* "to play shooting around arrows"); evidently based on simpler *-djai*-, found in *yō-gat-djai-'a* "to play at throwing ball up hill." *ya'*-, unexplained primary stem (cf. perhaps causative derivative *yō . . . -'a*- in *yō-gat-djai-'a*). *-wau*-, indirective "to, for, with;" cf. note 89. *-'*, narrative infinitive.

94. *k' dā't'i*, as in notes 36, 37.

95. *du't-yā*-, verb "to become older," literally "to be much-personed, mature-personed." *du't*-, verb stem "to be much, mature, older" (cf. *dat*-, "to be much, many"); *-yā*-, noun stem "person" (cf. note 3). *du't'yā* is also used as noun: "older one, the oldest;" *du't'yā'mar'i mi* "older woman." *-andi*-, as in note 68. *-n't'*, as in note 1.

96. *k'ētciwāna*, diminutive form of *k'ētciwāla* "bluejay" (for change of *l* to *n*, cf. note 48). *-p'a-*, diminutive noun suffix. *-ndi*, suffix marking point of time, "now, already" (cf. note 25). Most verbal suffixes cannot be directly attached to nouns, but there is a certain number (such as *-ndi*, *-p'annai* "very," *-t'imai* "like-wise") that may be appended to either verbs or nouns.

97. *t'ō- . . -'a-*, causative of *t'ū-* "to do" (see note 64): "to do to, to have one in a certain way, to look like;" *t'ō- . . -'a-* is used in many idiomatic turns that it is difficult to render accurately into English. *-k!t'a-*, adverbial verb suffix "exactly, precisely, just so." *-n't'ē*, elided form of *-n't'ē'a*, third person quotative past of causative, contracted from causative *-'a-* and tense suffix *-n't'i* (cf. note 1).

98. Compound noun. *u-mui-* "to be young" consists of verb stem *u-* "to be" (cf. *u 'a'i dji dā't'indja* "he is my son;" *u* is used without tense suffixes) and *-mui-*, verb suffix "soon, just (done), in a short lapse of time" (e.g. *mō'-mui-ha-nđja* "I have just been eating," *a'i-mui-s-k'i'a* "soon"). *-yā*, noun stem "person."

99. Compound noun analogous to *umu'iyā* (note 98). *u-dži-* "to be old" (cf. *udži-mari'mi* "old woman") consists of *u-* "to be" and *-dži-*, verb suffix "old" (I have found this element only with *u-*).

100. *ya'bidjai-*, see note 93. *-'*, narrative infinitive.

101. Elided, before following vowel, from *k'ētciwānapla*; see note 96.

102. Local noun consisting of adverbial stem *i-* (cf. notes 30, 67) and *-rāmi*, local verb suffix "outside, out of the house," longer form of *-ram-* (after consonants *-dāmi-*, *-dam-*; cf. note 49).

II. ANALYSIS OF A NORTHERN YANA TEXT

BETTY BROWN'S DREAM³

ha'da'iwau'n'ha'ntc ¹⁰³ I dreamt.	'aiwi'laun'handj ¹⁰⁴ I went off eastward across	ai ¹⁰⁵ it	djite'la'u' ¹⁰⁶ dry creek,
p!alé'wi'inigui'né'x ¹⁰⁷ it was all covered with moss	aitc' ¹⁰⁸ the	xa ¹⁰⁸ water,	dats!ga'isan' ¹⁰⁹ it was green
wa'ir ¹¹¹ Now	'a'dja'mn'handj ¹¹² I went north	aits'· ¹¹³ the	'i'yā ¹¹³ trail.
aits'· ¹¹⁵ the	ima'l' ¹¹⁵ outside.	wair ^u Now	wāk!wa'ldin'handj ¹¹⁴ I stood
'i'wul' ¹¹⁶ "Enter!"	t'i'mn'hawantc ¹¹⁷ he said to me	ai'sirak!aimau ¹¹⁸ being all white-haired	'aitc' the
t'ū'winigun'h ¹²⁰ She also did so	aitc' the	marī'm' ¹²¹ woman,	lulma'iyaiwilmi'nēx ¹²² she was blind in one eye.
djidjā'man'hawandj ¹²³ She offered me as seat	aitc' the	dā'rik! ¹²⁴ ice	wa'dja'ir' ¹²⁵ chair.
telin'ha'ntc ¹²⁶ thing to another.	dā'rik!u'i'nigui'né'x ¹²⁷ There was nothing but ice,	djax'wu'ldi'nex ¹²⁸ it was dangling.	mō'- "They are
bitdjas ¹²⁹ about to eat,"	t'i'ne'x ¹³⁰ she said,	'ē'badjas ¹³¹ "he pulls	aigi ¹³² to it
wamari'si'nu ¹³⁵ you will be seated!	wair ^{u134} now	'ibāk!a'psiwa'nu ¹³⁶ he will pull you up."	wamari'n'ha'ndj ¹³⁷ I seated myself.
wair ^u Now	'ē'bak!ap'atdi'nex ¹³⁸ he was finished pulling up.	wak!unā'n'h ¹³⁹ He was sitting	ai he
gayā'atdi'nex ¹⁴² he was already talking.	ci'tdjut'klai ¹⁴³ Rock	k!ū'w medicine-man,	klū'w ¹⁴⁰ he had white-down net-cap,
aici'rak!ai'ne'x ¹⁴⁵ he was all white-haired	aik ¹⁴⁶ his	co''liya'utc ¹⁴⁷ eyelids.	k!unun'hantc ¹⁴⁸ And I was
wawa'lditdin'handj ¹⁵⁰ I sat down	aidj ¹⁵¹ the	mō'yauni'tc ¹⁵² my eating.	wa'yū ¹⁴⁹ be afraid.

³ See Yana Texts, pp. 195, 196.

TRANSLATION⁴

I dreamt. I went off towards the east across a dried-up creek; the creek bed was all covered with moss, it was green with moss. Now I went to the north along the trail. Now I stood on the outside (of a house).

"Enter!" said to me a man whose hair was all white. There was also a woman who was blind in one eye. She offered me as a seat a chair of ice. I looked from one thing to another. Everything was made of ice, and it hung down in icicles. "It is near dinner-time," she said. "He will pull the bell," she said. "Now you will be seated, and he will pull you up." I seated myself. Now he had pulled me up. There was a medicine-man sitting there, talking. The medicine-man was made of rock, he had on a net-cap of white down; he was all white-haired, even his eyelashes were white. I was afraid. I sat down to eat.

GRAMMATICAL NOTES

103. *ha'dai-*, verb "to dream;" no further analysis suggests itself. *-wau-*, indirective verb suffix "to, for, about;" "I dreamt about (what follows)." *-n'ha-*, temporal suffix contracted from *-'ni-*, referring to past of long standing, and *-ha-*, past tense implying that statement is on speaker's authority; *-n'ha-* is appropriately used in recital of personal experiences, as is *-n't'i-* in that of myths or events known only by hearsay (cf. note 1). *-ntc'*, female form of *-ndja*, first person singular subjective. All forms in this text are female, as they are either used by or addressed to a woman.

104. *'a-*, verb stem "one woman goes." *-i-*, local verb suffix "off, away;" used most frequently with following local suffix, but combined phonetically with preceding vowel without inserted glottal stop (cf. note 55). *-wilau-*, contracted from *-wil-hau-*, compound local verb suffix. *-wil-*, "across, across a creek;" *-hau-* "in the east, to the east." *-n'ha-*, as in note 103. *-ndj*, as in note 103, except that, being syntactically connected with following *ai*, *-dj* remains unaspirated.

105. Third personal pronoun, referring to following noun. One would rather have expected objective *aigi*.

106. Female form of *djitc!a'u'i* "little creek, dry creek." *dji-*, verb stem "water moves, to flow, to drift." *-tc!au'i*, evidently some verb suffix or combination of two verb suffixes, but I am not clear as to analysis. Possibly *-tc!au-* is identical with *-tc!au-*, *-ts!au-* "(to be caught) in a cleft, between the teeth, claws" (e.g. *p'ê-ts!au-* "plate-like object is stuck between (boards)," *dja-ts!au-* "to have something stuck in one's teeth," *yul-ts!au* "to grasp with claws hawk-fashion"), while *-i* may be identical with *-i-* (see note 104). If this is correct, *djitc!a'u'i* would mean "flowing off (quickly) and (disappearing as though) caught in a cleft." Formally, *djitc!a'u'i* is simply a verb-complex without tense-modal or pronominal suffixes; such bare verbal bases are frequently employed as nouns in Yana (cf. *wa'dja'iri*, note 125).

⁴ See Yana Texts, pp. 196, 197.

107. *p'alēwi-*, noun "moss;" contains collective suffix *-wi* (cf. *'i'wi* "firewood," *wa'wi* "house"). *-'inigiwi* . . . *-a-* verbalizing suffix "to be full of so and so," containing element *-'ini-* (old incorporated noun?), -adverbial suffix *-gu-* "just," completive *-i-* used with denominative verbs and incorporated nouns ending in short vowel (cf. note 69), and verbalizing suffix *-a-* "to be so and so" (this *-a-* does not here appear as such, but contracted with *-'ni-*). *-'nēx*, female form of *-'nēha* (*-'nēxa*), contracted from verb suffix *-a-* and tense suffix *-n'ha-* (see note 103), formerly *-'ni-ha-*; contraction parallel to that of *-a-n't'i-* to *-nt'ē'a* (see note 97). Many cases of N. and C. Yana *h* go back to *x* (always preserved as such in Yahi); this older *x* is often preserved in N. Yana as variant of *h*, particularly as final, rarely in C. Yana, which in general is rather softer than either N. Yana or Yahi.

108. *xa'*, female form of *xa'-na*, *ha'-na* "water."

109. *da-*, primary verb stem used in adjective-verbs of appearance (e.g. *da-k'ū-sa-* "to be rough," *da-raps-ṛ-s-a-* "to be red"), possibly connected with *da-* "to look" (e.g. *da-lil-* "to look behind," *da-t'dja-* "to look up into the air"). *-ts!gai-*, secondary stem "to be green" (old incorporated noun in *-i-* from obsolete stem **ts!aga-* or **ts!iga-*?). *-sa-*, local verb suffix "off, away," common in adjective-verbs of appearance. *-n'h*, connected form of *-n'ha-*, see note 103.

110. Female form of *p'alē'wi*, note 107.

111. Properly *wairu*, female form of *wairu*, temporal adverb "now." Probably based on old Hokan demonstrative stem **wa-*, **wai-* "this," *-ru*, perhaps old post-position "in, at" (Hokan **-du?*).

112. *'a-*, see note 104. *-'djam-* (*-djam-* after heavy syllables), local verb suffix "to the north;" ordinarily *-(')djam-* in N. Yana, but old *-m-* preserved because of following nasal. *-n'ha-ndj*, see note 104.

113. Female form of *'i'ya* "trail."

114. *wā-*, verb stem "to stand;" cf. note 49. *-k!-*, shortened form of *-k!i-*, see note 49. *-waldi-*, see note 81. *-n'ha-ndj*, as in note 104.

115. Local noun, formed from *ṛ-* (cf. notes 30,102) and *-mal'li-* (final female form *-mal'li*), local verb suffix "outside but near the house" (e.g. *mō-mal'li-* "to eat outside near the house").

116. *ṛ-*, verb stem "one person goes, moves." *-wul-*, local verb suffix "into the house;" cf. note 30. *-'*, imperative, female form.

117. *t'i-*, shortened from *t'ṛ-* "to say" (see note 40) because in closed syllable. *-m-*, unvoiced from *-m-* because of following voiceless nasal; *-m-*, indirective suffix "to" used in "static" or passive forms, preserved before nasal instead of N. Yana normal *-p-* (e.g. *t'i'psiwandja* "he says to me"); apparently used only with *t'ṛ-*, probably reduced from *-ma-*, *-mā-* (see note 87). *-n'ha-*, as in note 103. *-wa-ntc'*, female form of *-wa-ndja*, pronominal element "he . . . me," more properly analyzable into *-wa-*, passive, and *-ndja* "I."

118. *āṛ-*, *āṛ-*, verb stem "to be gray-haired" (e.g. *a'imauyā* "gray-haired person"). *-sirak!ai-* (*-sirāk!ai-* after light syllables) "to be white all over head" (e.g. *ba-sirāk!ai-gu-* "one person is white all over his head"), also locally "all over one's head" (e.g. *dūt-sirak!ai-* "to rub one's head-hair palm down"); probably contains verb suffix *-k!ai-* "one, alone, in one piece." *-mau*, participial suffix.

119. Female form of *'i'si* "man."

120. *t'ū-*, verb stem "to do" (cf. note 64). *-wini-gu-*, verb suffix "also, too," containing element *-gu-* "just." *-n'h*, as in note 109.

121. N. Yana female form of C. Yana *ma'ri'mi*.

122. Form of denominative verb *tulmai-* . . . *-a-* "to be blind," derived form *lu'lmai-na* "blind man." *-yai-*, verb suffix "female" (cf. *dī-dji-wil-lau-tc'u-yai-* "woman looks cross-eyed"), incorporated form in *-i-* of nominal suffixed element

-ya "female" (e.g. *k!ū'wi-ya* "medicine-woman" from *k!ū'wi* "medicine-man"); verbs referring to bodily defects of women seem regularly to suffix -yai-. -wilmī-, -wilmī-, verb suffix "on one side, half" (e.g. *bul-wilmī-* "three are on one side," *djū-wilmī-* "one tree grows apart"), compounded of -wil- "across" (see note 104) and -mi-, -mī- "apart, to a side" (occurs only compounded with other elements, e.g. *u'-ma-mī-* "seven," literally "two-together-aside," i.e. "two added to five;" -wal-mi- "in hiding, in the woods"). -'nêx, as in note 107.

123. *djūdja-*, properly *djidjā-*, "static" form of *djê-dja-*, verb "to offer a seat" (when followed by indirective suffix). It is difficult to assign *djêdja-* its primary meaning (cf. further *djêdja-wagal-ts-'it'* "to push a thing through in the center," *djêdja-ts'gîl-* "to put an object in the creek," *djêtc'-p'a-idi-* from *djêdja-p'a-idi-* "to open a door"); presumably *djêdja-* belongs to the class of verbs in -*dja-* that indicate handling some particular class of object (cf. *bôdja-* "to handle a hard, round object," *p'êdja-* "to handle a flat thing," *dêdja-* "to handle a load of wood," *êdja-* "to handle acorn mush"). -*ma-*, indirective "to" with first or second personal object (*djêdja-wau-* "to offer him a seat"); cf. notes 87, 117. -*n'ha-wa-ndj*, as in note 117.

124. Feminine form of *dā'rik!u* "ice." Nominal derivative in -*kl'u* of verb *dā-ri-* "to freeze" (intr.); certain verbs in -*ri-*, -*di-* may be nominalized by means of -*kl'u-* (e.g. *barê-kl'u* "rain" from *bari-si* "it rains"). *dāri-* probably consists of *dā-* "water lies" (cf. *dā-ha* "river," *dā-lili-ba-sa-* "ground is all covered with ice," causative *dô-gidi-a-* "to put water on the fire") and -*ri-* "down."

125. *wa-*, verb stem "to sit" (cf. note 49). -'djairi, female form of -'djairi, local verb suffix "on top of, resting on" (cf. *ne-'djairi-* "to put one's feet on," *ma-'djairi-* "to climb on top of"); evidently contains -*ri-* "down," while -'djai- is perhaps related to -'dja-, secondary verb stem "to rest" (e.g. *mô-'dja-* "to rest and eat," *yū-'dja-a-* "to rest and make a campfire"). Verbal base used as noun; cf. note 106. Properly, *dā'rik!u* and *wa'dja'ir'* should be combined as *dā'rik!uwa'djair'*, compound noun "ice-chair;" they were separated, perhaps, merely because of slowness of dictation.

126. *minit-*, C. Yana *minin-*, verb "to look." -*du-*, verb suffix "back, returning" (cf. note 38). -*wul-* "in the house" (cf. note 116). -*s-a-* "off, away." -*ptc!i-*, C. Yana -*mtc!i-* (after heavy syllables -*mtc!i-* in both dialects), verb suffix "together, with one another." Literally, "to look-back- in the house-off-one another," i.e. "to be looking inside back and forth, from one thing to another." -*n'hanc'*, see note 103.

127. *dārik!u-*, see note 124. -'ini-gu-i- as in note 127. -'nêx, as in note 127.

128. *djax-*, more commonly *dja'-*, verb stem "to hang" (intr.) (cf. *dja'-du-* "to be hanging down"). -'wuldi-, -'uldi-, verb suffix "down from a point above" (e.g. *dju-'uldi-* "wind blows down from the mountain," *da-'uldi-* "to jump down"); evidently contains -*di-*, -*ri-* "down" (cf. notes 23, 24, 81, 124, 125). -'nex, female pause form of -*n'ha* (see note 103), in which old *i*-vowel of -'ni- reappears; contrast connected form -*n'h*, e.g. note 109. *i* is sometimes lowered to *e* before *x*, *u* to *o*; these *e* and *o* vowels are purely secondary developments and have nothing to do with primary *e* and *o*, shortened from *ê* and *ô*.

129. *mô-*, verb stem "to eat." -*bitdja-*, C. Yana -*bindja-*, verb suffix "to be ready to, to be about to" (cf. *bāwisabūdja-* "to be nearly night"). -*s-*, female form of -*si-*, third person present indicative.

130. *tî-* "to say." -'nex, as in note 128.

131. 'êba-, verb "to pull," consisting probably of primary stem 'ê- "to do with the hands" and secondary stem -*ba-*, -*bā-* after light syllables (precise meaning unknown; cf. *djô-ba-* "to put ashes aside from over a fire;" *p'ô-ba-wagal-* "to blow a hole through something"). -*dja-*, verb suffix frequently used in verbs of movement

(cf. note 123), probably here indicating movement of subject while engaged in pulling (cf. 'elau-dja- "to walk singing," ne'-dja "to move along"). -s, as in note 129.

132. Objective form of *ai* "he, it."

133. Borrowed from English *bell*.

134. Variant forms. Voiceless *r* and aspirated *t'* with preceding *r*-glide often interchange in N. Yana.

135. *wa-*, verb stem "to sit" (cf. note 125). *-marī-* (after light syllables), *-mari-* (after heavy syllables), local verb suffix "down in a hollow, down into a basket or seat" (cf. note 39; C. Yana always has *mari-*); evidently contains *-ri-*, *-rī-* "down." *-si-*, present or future tense suffix (second person subjective forms are identical in present and future). *-(')nu*, female form of *-(')numa*, second person singular subjective pronominal element. A glottal stop, of phonetic rather than etymological origin, is regularly inserted between a tense suffix (or verbal base) and a pronominal suffix in *-ni-*, *-nu-* (e.g. *-si-'nigi* "we shall . . .," *-t'i-'numa* "it is said that you . . .," *bē-'nidja* "it is I who"), but not if *-ni-* is contracted to *-n-* (e.g. *-si-ndja*, *-wara-ndja*). This glottal hiatus seems to indicate that the pronominal suffixes as a class have grown from the status of mere enclitics or independent pronominal particles. The old Hokan system of prefixed pronominal elements, preserved in Chimariko, Shasta-Achomawi, Karok, Yuman, Salinan, Chumash, and Washo, has disappeared in Yana.

136. *ī-bā-*, *'i-bā-*, passive form of *'ē-ba-*; see note 131. *-k!ap-*, C. Yana *-k!am-*, verb suffix "towards self, hither" (cf. *auwi-k!ap-* "to take," *p'ō-ba-du-k!ap-* "to breathe in air," *mo'-k!ap-du-* "to go to fetch one"). *-si-wa-*, future passive (cf. notes 135 and 117). *-'nu*, as in note 135.

137. *wa-marī-*, cf. note 135. *-n'ha-ndj*, cf. notes 103, 104.

138. *'ēba-*, see note 131. *-k!ap-*, as in note 136. *-'atdi-*, C. Yana *-'andi-*, cf. notes 25, 46. *-'nex*, as in note 128.

139. *wa-* "to sit" (cf. notes 125, 135). *-k!unā-*, secondary verb stem, cf. note 81. *-n'h*, as in note 109.

140. Connected form of *k!ūw'*, female form of *k!ū'wi* "medicine-man."

141. Female form of *aigidja*, adverb "here, there." Composed of pronoun *ai*, objective *gi*, and adverbial *-dja* parallel to demonstrative *-dje('e)* of *aidje('e)* "this one, that one." Presumably *-dja* is composed of demonstrative stem **-dj(i)*, **-dje-* (cf. note 2) and old local postposition **-a* "at."

142. *gayā-* "to talk;" cf. note 41. *-'atdi-'nex*, as in note 138.

143. Compound noun, consisting of verbal base *ci'dju't'* and *k!ai*, feminine form of *k!a'ina* "rock, stone." *ci'dju't'* seems to occur only compounded with *k!ai-*; other examples of *ci't-*, *s'it-* are *s'it-p'a'l-k!ai* "flat stone," *s'it-p'alā'-k!ai* "flat rocks." *-dju't'*, suffixed element of unknown significance. What kind of rock is indicated by *ci't'-dju't'-k!ai* is not clear. This compound noun is itself compounded with *k!ūw^(s)* "medicine-man."

144. Denominative verb in *-'a-* (cf. notes 107, 122, 127) from *yō'lai-yau-* "white down worn on head." *yō'lai-yau* is nominal derivative in *-yau* (cf. *mō-yau-* "food" from *mō-* "to eat"), which ordinarily makes abstract nouns. *yō'lai-* evidently consists of primary verb stem *yō-* and suffixed verbal element *-lai-*, neither of which I can define separately; *-lai-* possibly related to *-llai-* of *p'ullai-*, *dullai-* "to smear pitch on." *-'nēx*, as in note 107.

145. *ai-cirak!ai-*, as in note 118 (*s* and *c* frequently interchange in Yana). *-'nex*, as in note 128.

146. *ai* "he;" *k'*, third person possessive "his." Presumably for objective *aik'* "to his" (cf. note 36).

147. Properly *co'liyautc'*^u. Compound noun consisting of *co'liyau-* "closing (one's eye), lid" and *tc'u* "eye" (absolute male form *tc'u'-na*; monosyllabic short-vowel stems in *-na* lose this suffix in composition). Note that qualifying element follows: "lid (of) eye," not "eye-lid." This type of composition is confined to such nouns as indicate a part of something else (e.g. a body-part); if the first noun ends in a short vowel, C. Yana adds *-m-*, N. Yana *-p-* (e.g. C. Yana *ima'-m-ba* "liver of deer," N. Yana *galu'-p-'i* "arm of tree, branch"). *co'li-yau-* contains nominalizing *-yau-* (cf. note 144 for another concrete use of this verbal abstract element). *co'li-*, cf. *co'li-sa-* "to close one's eyes"; *co'-*, probably active form of *ca'-* "to sleep" (e.g. *ca'-du-lu'ai-* "to sleep in the shade"), infrequent parallel to normal *s·ams·(i)-* "to sleep;" *-'li-*, secondary verb stem "to cover" (e.g. *ba-'li'-wa* "roof," *dil-'li-* "to put one's hand over something," *mullap/a-'li-'a-* "not to give one good clothes," lit. "to cause one to be badly covered").

148. *k'unu-*, *k'uni-*, conjunctive stem "and," treated as verb (like *a-* "if," *k'u-* "not," *biv̄-* "where?" and other adverbial and conjunctive stems). *-n'hantc'*, see note 103.

149. Properly *wa'yū'*, infinitive in *-'*, complementary to preceding verb, "and I was." *wa'yū-* "to be afraid" (sing.) contains *wa-* "to sit" (cf. note 125) and suffixed element *-yū-* (*-'yu-* after heavy syllables) "to fear" (cf. *ni-'yū-* "to be a little afraid," *yai-'yu-* "several are afraid" from *yai-* "several sit").

150. *wa-* "to sit" (sing.). - *waldi-*, see note 81. *-tdi-*, C. Yana *-ndi-*, see note 25. *-n'ha-ndj*, as in note 104.

151. Better *aidji*, consisting of *ai* "he, it" and *dji*, article used with first personal possessive (cf. note 60).

152. For *mō'yau'nitc'* (cf. note 135). *mō-yau-*, gerund of *mō-* "to eat," indicating purpose or attendant circumstance. *-nitc'*, female form of *-nidja* "I, my."

III. ANALYSIS OF A YAHI TEXT

A STORY OF LIZARD

¹⁵³ i'ri He made arrows	¹⁵⁴ é'bil he was engaged in	¹⁵⁵ k his	¹⁵⁶ i'ri'maun arrow-making.	¹⁵⁷ k'lu'lli He desired to turn (back).
¹⁵⁸ niwi'ldji He went west across a stream	¹⁵⁹ wi'sdu he went to gather pine-nuts	¹⁶⁰ gi at	¹⁶¹ iwi'lte west across a stream,	¹⁶² niló'p.dji he went westward up a mountain.
¹⁶³ domdjawa'ldi He put down on the ground	¹⁶⁴ k his	¹⁶⁴ di't'el quiver.	¹⁶⁵ ó'k'laudubalgu He just cut out and pulled up	¹⁶⁵ gi at
¹⁶⁶ wé'yump deer horns;	¹⁶⁷ dó'wayalte'idibil he carried about on his shoulders as quiver	¹⁶⁷ wé'yump deer horns.	¹⁶⁸ bó'tlan He pounded out (nuts) with a rock	¹⁶⁸ tc' And then he
¹⁶⁹ tc the one gathering	¹⁷⁰ wi'ssi pine-nuts.	¹⁷¹ dju'sp.dja He was getting out nuts,	¹⁷² djo'st'al he got out nuts from (cones).	¹⁷³ dje'wó And then
¹⁷⁴ yo'nbal took up (nuts) in his hands,	¹⁷⁵ dje''duwó he took up again	¹⁷⁶ k his storage basket.	¹⁷⁷ busdi'm They shouted their war-whoops	¹⁷⁷ tc' the
¹⁷⁹ basdi They whooped	¹⁷⁹ tc' the	¹⁷⁸ yā''wi Yā'wi.	¹⁷⁸ dje''duwó He took up again	¹⁷⁸ k his
¹⁷⁹ basdi They whooped	¹⁸⁰ tc' the	¹⁸⁰ yā''wi Yā'wi.	¹⁸⁰ e't'yunduram He pulled out of his quiver	¹⁸¹ gi to
¹⁸² dju''k'alsi-t' "Wind is blowing," he said;	¹⁸³ mi''badjāsi-t' "it is storming," he said.	¹⁸³ ne''p'dahi He was rushed by (by them).	¹⁸⁴ dje''dja'andi Now he shot off (his arrows),	¹⁸¹ ma'n bow.

bo'p'sdak!auram' ¹⁸⁶ he hit them straight	gi at	te'u'n ^a 187 face.	ne'durihau' ¹⁸⁸ He went back east down hill;	mô'tssdjam' ¹⁸⁹ he shot off arrows to the north,
mô'djat'p'a' ¹⁹⁰ he shot off arrows to the south,	mô'djahau' ¹⁹¹ he shot off arrows to the east,	bo'p'sdak!auram' he hit them straight	gi a t	te'u'n ^a face.
ne'duts!gil' ¹⁹² He went back to the water	gi at	dā'x ^a 193 river,	ne'duwi'lau' ¹⁹⁴ he went back east over the water,	ni'te'il'a'u' ¹⁹⁵ he came out of the water
gi at	dā'x ^a river.	mênama'idjasa' ¹⁹⁶ They all scattered out of sight	te' the	yā''wi Yā'wi.
ni'du'an' ¹⁹⁸ he came back home	te' he	ba'sik'i' ¹⁹⁹ when it was night.	'o'idjat'usa' ²⁰⁰ He put them away again	k' his
xa'ala'isgink'i' ²⁰¹ Early in the morning	masduwa'ldis' ²⁰² he smooths down on the ground canes for arrow-shafts,	'i'ri' he amde arrows,	musmiye' ²⁰³ he smoothed arrow- shafts by rubbing,	
'é'bil' he was engaged in	k' his	i'ri'maun ^a arrow-making.	dé'duk!au' ²⁰⁴ He finished.	me'ntlap'wal' ²⁰⁵ He fitted cane shafts tight on around foreshafts.
dé'duk!au' He finished,	de'tc'wun' ²⁰⁶ he socketed the foreshafts into (cane shafts).	me'nwaldis' ²⁰⁷ He turns them on the ground,	'e'xt'i' ²⁰⁸ he painted on bands (at the arrow butts).	
'é'bil'andi' ²⁰⁹ Now he was engaged	i'yu'ik'i' ²¹⁰ when it was day.	met'dja'ri' ²¹¹ He feathered the arrows,	dé'duk!au' he finished.	djewō' And then
te' he	dé'wuni' ²¹² trimmed the feathers,	dé'duk!au' he finished.	p'ó'wunmi' ²¹³ He blackened the feathers by charring,	we'p'dawal' ²¹⁴ he bound sinew around junctures of shaft and foreshaft.
dé'duk!au' He finished.	budsi'mdi'andi' ²¹⁵ Now he smoothed foreshafts with scouring rush.	wó'djaduk!am' ²¹⁶ He put (his arrows) aside	ba'sik'i' when it was night.	
k'us ²¹⁷ "Not are	dji'nau'inam ^a -t'i' ²¹⁸ be many to eat, it would seem," he said,	wu'n ^a "pine-nuts,"	gi'p'auyauwa' ²¹⁹ he having people come to him for food.	
yó'ma' ²²⁰ Gave to eat	te' the	ma'ri'mi' ²²¹ woman.	k'ū's ²²² "Not are	dji' ²²³ the my
bé''widja' ²²⁵ "Let it be, pray,	gi to	p'ā'tlelwal ^a -t'i' ²²⁶ Long-tailed Lizard," he said.	ba'iwaklik!arā''ai'-t'i' ²²⁷ "Do you go ahead to get sticks for foreshafts!" he said.	dje'wō' And then
te' the	ba'iwakli' ²²⁸ one to get sticks for foreshafts	ne''sa'andi' ²²⁹ now went off.		

TRANSLATION

(Lizard) made arrows, was busy with his arrow-making. He (put aside his work and) made up his mind to go off in another direction. He went across the river to the west,⁵ went to gather pine-nuts on the western side of the river. He went westward up into the hilly country. He put his quiver down on the ground. He (had) merely cut out and pulled up the horns of a deer (for a quiver) and was carrying them about riding his shoulder.⁶ He, who was gathering pine-nuts, pounded them out with a stone. He was getting out the

⁵ The Sacramento river is meant.

⁶ It seems that Lizard's quiver was made of deerskin stretched on a frame of two deer horns that he had cut loose from each other at the base.

nuts, got them out of the cones.⁷ And then he took up the nuts and, filling them in, he took up again his storage basket.⁸

The Yā'wi⁹ yelled their war-whoops. (Lizard) again took up his quiver. The Yā'wi whooped.¹⁰ He pulled a bow out of his quiver. "There's a wind blowing," he said. "It is storming," he said.¹¹ They rushed past him. Now he shot off his arrows and hit them straight in their faces. He returned down hill to the east. He shot off arrows to the north, he shot to the south, he shot to the east—he hit them straight in the face. He returned to the river, went back eastward over the water, and emerged from the river. The Yā'wi all scattered out of sight. Then (Lizard) went ahead on the road and came back home at nightfall. He put away his storage baskets.

Early in the morning he smooths down cane arrow-shafts. He was making arrows. He smoothed his arrow-shafts by rubbing, busied with his arrow-making. He finished. He fitted the cane shafts tight on around the foreshafts. He finished this, he socketed the foreshafts well in. He turns his arrows as he holds them down to the ground; he painted bands—(red and green)—at their butts. Now he occupied himself in this manner all day long. He feathered the arrows—finished. And then he trimmed the vanes of the feathers—finished. He blackened the feathers, charring them (with the burnt point of a stick). He wrapped sinew around the juncture of shaft and foreshaft—finished. Then he smoothed his foreshafts with scouring rush.¹² He put his arrows aside when it was night.

⁷ He first put the pine-cones over a fire to try out the pitch. When there was no more pitch left in them, he pounded out the nuts.

⁸ The *bā'nu*, an openwork, flexible receptacle for roots and nuts, made of vegetable fibres.

⁹ This is the term now used by the Northern and Central Yana for the Wintun. In a Central Yana myth obtained from Sam Batwi (see *Yana Texts*, p. 71) the Yā'wi are legendary, evil-minded people dwelling on the western banks of the Sacramento. Among their chiefs were Fish Hawk, Crane, Heron, Salmon Trout, and Big Acorn Pestle. According to Ishi the Yā'wi were bad folk west of the Sacramento who were in the habit of killing people. The Yā'wi listed by him included *dā'si*, Salmon; *barī'k'u*, Rain; *wa'alū'hīya*, (?); *to'inwaré'k'u*, a little snake (as regards its etymology, this word is merely a diminutivized form of Northern Yana *to'š'lwarek'u*, "Big Rain;" see *Yana Texts*, p. 167, l.10); *daha'uk!āsi*, (?); *'ā'saik!alāla*, a fish; *xap'yu'muk'u*, a little black animal living in the water; and *wawi'ldjuwa* (probably identical with N. and C. Yana *wawi'ldjuwa* "otter").

¹⁰ The sound they made was a prolonged 'ä.

¹¹ Apparently the Yā'wi were shooting off arrows at Lizard from all directions in the form of rain. Lizard pretended that the attack of the Yā'wi was merely a strong wind blowing.

¹² Yahi *mi'its!imyauna*.

"There are not many pine-nuts to eat, it would seem," said (Lizard), as (his people) came and stood near, waiting for food.¹³ The woman¹⁴ gave them all to eat. "I have no stems¹⁵ for the making of foreshafts," he said. "Let it be Long-tailed Lizard,¹⁶ pray," he said, ("who is to go for some"). "Do go and get stems for foreshafts!" said he. And then the one (spoken to by Lizard) went off to find a bush for the arrow foreshafts.

GRAMMATICAL NOTES

153. *'iri'*-, verb "to make arrows." *-'*, combines *-'* of stem and *-'*, shortened from *-i*, narrative infinitive; see notes 11, 20, 23, 51, 79. Ishi's narrative forms are regularly abbreviated, all final short vowels becoming unvoiced or disappearing entirely.

154. *'ê-*, primary verb stem of instrumental force "to do with one's hands, fingers;" cf. N. Yana *'ê-wagal-* "to fold one's arms," *'e-gat-* "to break with the hand," also note 131. *-bil-*, verb suffix "about, moving here and there;" cf. note 90. *-'*, narrative infinitive.

155. See note 4. Here equivalent to objective possessive *k'i*, see note 36.

156. Unvoiced form of *'iri'mauna*. *'iri'*-, as in note 153. *-mau-*, participial suffix; cf. notes 42, 118. *-na*, absolutive noun suffix. *'iri'mauna* "(arrows) being made" is practically used as abstract noun: "arrow-making."

157. Precise meaning not clear, though etymological analysis seems certain enough. *k'ullil-*, assimilated from *k'un-lil-*. *k'un-*, primary verb stem "to like, to desire, to want;" cf. C. Yana *k'un-miyau-* "to want-food, to be hungry," N. Yana *k'ut-sa-* "to want-off, to desire to go away." *-lil-*, verb suffix "turning;" cf. N. Yana *da-lil-* "to look back," *wa-lil-waldi-* "to turn clear around." *-'*, narrative infinitive.

158. *ni-*, see note 38. *-wildji-*, verb suffix "across (the river) to the west," compounded of *-wil-* (cf. note 104) and *-p.dji-* (N. and C. Yana *-m'dji-*) "to the west;" *-wildji-* is found in this form (not *-wilm'dji-*) also in N. and C. Yana. *-'*, narrative infinitive.

159. *wis-*, verb "to gather pine-nuts," N. and C. Yana *wi'*-. Yahi keeps syllabically final *-s-* and *-x-*, which fall together in N. and C. Yana to *-x-*, generally weakened to *-'*; cf. further Yahi *'e-sgan-* "to break": N., C. Yana *'e-gan-*, *'e-gat-*. *-du-* "to go to (do) . . ." (post-consonantal form; cf. note 69). *-'*, narrative infinitive.

160. Objective particle, used locally.

161. Full form: *iwi'ldji*. Local noun formed from element *i-* (see notes 30, 102, 115). *-wildji*, as in note 158.

¹³ As chief, he was naturally expected to share with his people the stock of pine-nuts he had brought home with him from the western country. I incline to believe that Lizard's words are to be taken in a sense opposed to their literal meaning. He affects a chief's self-disparagement. The true implication seems to be that there was plenty for all. Rhetorical negatives of this type are quite common in Yana; cf. *Yana Texts*, p. 111, 1.5, and note 166.

¹⁴ Lizard's wife.

¹⁵ The term *ba'iwak'i* seems to indicate some bush or tree growing near the water. The stems of small ones were used for the making of the wooden foreshafts that fitted into the arrow-shafts of cane. Apparently the word indicates both the tree and the stem used in arrow-making.

¹⁶ Another species of lizard than the hero himself (*k'altc'auna*), who is named later on in the narrative. This "Long-tailed Lizard" (*p'at'elwalla*) was Lizard's little nephew.

162. *nī-*, as in note 158. *-lōp.djī-*, local verb suffix "westwards up-hill," compounded of *-lau-* "from an enclosed space into the open" (cf. note 44) and *-p.djī-* "to the west" (cf. note 158). In N. and C. Yana *-lau-* appears as *-lō-* before most of the 8 suffixes indicating cardinal points: N. Yana *-lō = -lau-hau-* "up hill to the east;" *-lōm'djī = -lau-m'djī-* "up hill to the west;" *-lō-djap-* "up hill to the north;" *-lōt'p'a-* "up hill to the south;" *-lō-t'k'i-* "up hill from the east;" *-lōdju = -lau-haudju-* "up hill from the west;" but *-lau-wadju-* "up hill from the south." Sound-groups of the type *-p.djī-* are peculiar to Yahi. Wherever N. and C. Yana have *-m'* (or *-m-* + nasalized breath) + intermediate stop (e.g. *-m'gu-, -m'dja-, -m'djī-*), Yahi has "pause *-p*" (unaspirated and clearly surd, followed by a perceptible pause yet without the acoustic effect of a geminated *p* as in N. Yana *apbi-*) + intermediate stop. These groups were sometimes heard as *p++* intermediate surd, but merely erroneously so. Yahi *-p.djī-* (N.-C. Yana *-m'djī-*) differs both acoustically and etymologically from such groups as N. Yana *'bā'k/apdja'* (C. Yana *-k/amdja'*, Yahi *-k/amdji'*) on the one hand and such N.-C.-Yahi groups as *-t/ap'-dja-* on the other. Observe that the *-p-* of Yahi *-p.djī-* does not shorten a preceding long vowel, while the two latter types of *p-* sounds can occur only in a closed syllable with a short vowel. In other words, *-p-* acts as a reduced but distinct syllable of its own, as does N.-C. Yana *-m'*; this is explained by the fact that such elements as *-m'dja-, -p.dja-* can indeed be shown to go back to elements of type *-madja-*. — *-'*, narrative infinitive.

163. *dom-*, primary verb stem "to handle a bulky object like a child or quiver;" see note 89. *-dja-*, verb suffix used in many verbs of "handling, putting, throwing" with active vocalism of stem; e.g. Yahi *bā-* "a stone lies;" *bō-dja-* "to handle a stone," *dā-* "water lies:" *dō-dja-* . . . *-'a-* "to put water (not contained in a vessel);" *dam-* "a quiver, deer lies:" *dom-dja-*. *-waldi-*, see notes 81, 114, 150. *-'*, narrative infinitive.

164. N. and C. Yana *dī't'il-la. dī-t'el-*, noun "quiver," probably nominalized from verb *dē-*, static *dī-* "to shear, to cut off" (cf. N. Yana *dē-k/adat-* "to cut off the hair so as to leave the head bald," *dē-ya-* "to shear off hair," *dē-tc/atdi-* "to peel off bark," *dē-t'il-k'ai-* "to cut hair evenly around the head"); *-t'el-*, cf. N. Yana *-t'il-*, secondary verb stem "in a slice" (e.g. N. Yana *djō-t'il-*, "to cut off a slice of bread"). *-la*, assimilated from *-na* to preceding *l*, absolute noun suffix. *dī't'ella* thus probably means, to begin with, "a flayed strip" (cf. further N. Yana *bat'i'lmi* "blanket of deer-hides," *dīt'i'ldimauna* "black-bear hide").

165. Full form: *'ō'k/audubalgu'a. 'ō- . . . -'a-*, causative form: "to handle a long object" (e.g. Yahi *'ō-sa'-a-* "to throw away a stick"); cf. N. Yana *'ō-*, primary verb stem of instrumental force "to do with a long object, with a stick" (e.g. *'ō-batdi-sa-* "to kill with a stick," *'ō-balla-sa-* "to hit with a club"). The deer horn is the "long object" referred to. *-k'au-*, secondary verb stem "to cut, to break off;" e.g. N. Yana *djō-k'au-ba-dibil-* "to cut up food into little pieces," *ne'-k'au-* "to step on and break in two," *bul-k'au-* "three objects snap, break in two." *-du-* "again" (cf. notes 38, 81, 126); in Yahi *-dū-* does not occur (cf. note 198, where N. and C. Yana would have *nī-dū-*). *-bal-* "up from a position of rest" (cf. note 54). *-gu-* "merely, just" (cf. notes 44, 70, 79, 83, 85, 107, 120). *-'a-*, here elided, is contracted from causative *-'a-* and narrative infinitive *-i*; see notes 21, 35. — The idea of "again" is not altogether obvious in the English rendering; it is probably implied in the idea of cutting out first one horn, then the other.

166. Abbreviated from *wē'yumba*. Compound noun formed from *wē'yu* "horn," connective *-m-*, and *ba-* "deer:" "horn of deer;" cf. note 147 for type of compound. Another Yahi example is *bū'ni-m-sawa* "feather of arrow."

167. *dôwa-*, verb "to carry (a quiver) on one's shoulder," static form *dawā-* (other Yahi forms in this legend are *dawā-k!-tc'i-sdja'* "it rode resting up on his shoulder," *dawā-k!-tc'i-dibil-hi* "it was carried about resting on his shoulder"); probably compounded of *dô-* (*da-*) and *-wa-* (*-wā-*). *dô-*, primary verb stem apparently referring to "carrying or wearing on one's head or shoulder" (cf. N. Yana *dô-l'i-lau-* "to take off a hat"). *-wa-* (*-wā-* after light syllables), local verb suffix "over" (cf. N. Yana *dji-wa-* "water covers all," *ne'-i-wa-gil-* "to step over a sleeping person"); *dô-wa-* thus probably means "to carry a hat-like object over one's person." *-yal-*, verb suffix apparently indicating "between two uprights" (cf. N. Yana *tsal'-yal-la* "seat between two upright sticks for a woman in confinement;"; possibly diminutivized to *-yan-*, N. Yana *-yat-*, in *a-yat-p/a-* "to rock oneself"). *-tc'i-*, secondary verb stem apparently meaning "to shake up and down" (cf. N. Yana *p'ê-tck'i-* "to shake a basket or sack so as to let the water in which it has been washed trickle down"); *-yal-tc'i-* apparently refers to the bobbing movement of the quiver secured at either end by a deer horn. *-dibil-*, see notes 21, 51, 70, 79. *-'*, narrative infinitive.

168. *bô-*, instrumental verb stem "to hit with a stone" (e.g. Yahi *bô-si-ndji* "I hit him with a stone," N. Yana *bô-k'u-* "to pound up fine with a stone"). *-!an-*, secondary verb stem "to crack, to mash" (cf. N. Yana *-!at-* in *lui-!at-* "to crack open with a rock," *yul-!at-* "to mash up with the palm"). *-'*, narrative infinitive.

169. *tc'*, article "the" or general third personal pronoun; cf. note 2. It is used constantly in Yahi, but is nearly always compounded with *ai* as *aitc'* in N. and C. Yana. Ishi never used *aitc'* as article, only as contracted form of *aidja* "here, there," in which sense it also occurs in N. and C. Yana, or of *aidji* "this, that" (N. C. Yana *aidje*).

170. *wis-*, see note 159. *-si*, agentive suffix (cf. *dā-si* "salmon," literally "jumper"). Agentive constructions like *tc' wi'ss'* seem not infrequently to imply purpose of the preceding verb: "he pounded with a rock in order to get pine-nuts."

171. *djus-*, static form of verb stem *djos-* (see note 172) "to beat out pine-nuts from pine-cones." N. and C. Yana would have *djo'-*, *dju'-*, but I have not found this stem. — *-p.dja-*, verb suffix indicating durative activity without reference to verbal object (cf. English "to spin, to be a-spinning" as contrasted with "to spin yarn"), hence demanding static vocalism in stem; for phonetic form, see note 162. N. Yana *-m'dja-* is used in two senses: as durative (e.g. *ap'dji'm'djan'wara* "they used to be killed"), though not necessarily with static vocalism of stem, and as element indicating "to come to(do) . . ." (correlative of *-du-*, *-ru-*); presumably these two uses of *-m'dja-* are unrelated to each other. Yahi duratives in *-p.dja-* are distinctive not only in that a logically active verb is static in form but that with it the verb stem, transitive or intransitive, is used in its simplest radical form, with elimination of all derivative suffixes; e.g. *djus-p.dja:* *djos-!al-* (see note 172), *bā-p.dja-* "to be pounding with a stone": *bô-!an-* (see note 168), *i-p.dja-* "to be singing": *ê-lau-* "to sing," *dā-p.dja-* "to be flaking": *dô-sil'-* "to flake obsidian points," *mas-p.dja-* "to be rubbing (a foreshaft)": *mus-miyē-* "to smooth an arrow-foreshaft," *wa-p.dja-* "to be sitting:" N. Yana *wa-k!un'ā-* "to sit" (see note 139). *-'*, narrative infinitive.

172. *djos-*, active verb stem "to beat out nuts from cones" (cf. note 171). *-!al-*, secondary verb stem indicating "undoing, destruction, separation" (cf. N. Yana *bui-!al-* "to kick a hole through something," *djū-!al-* "much water leaks through," *bô-!al-* "to crack with a rock"). *-'*, narrative infinitive.

173. Verb form which has evidently become so colorless in meaning as to serve as mere connective: "and then." *dje-*, variant of *dji-* (*i* in open syllables tends to become *e* in Yahi, but this secondary *e* is not to be confounded with active *e*, *ê* that parallels static *i* or *ī*). *dji-*, primary verb stem used in many verbs of movement

difficult to classify under a common head; cf. N. Yana *dji-rap-* "blood runs out (of the nose)," *dji-k!ut-sa-* "to slink away," *dji-yut-wuldi-* "to slip down," *dji-gabil-* "to stumble," *dji-i-mari-* "to help," *dji-wau-* "to fight" (literally "to get at somebody"). *-wō-*, contracted form of *-wou-*, *-wau-*, indirective suffix (cf. notes 41, 51, 89, 93, 103); *-wau-* > *-wou-*, *-wō-* and *-yai-* > *-yē-* are characteristic phonetic processes in Yahi, long close *e* and *o* not being found as primary vowels in Yana. *-'*, narrative infinitive. *dje'wo'* presumably means, to begin with, "(he) proceeded thereto," in other words "thereupon he (did so and so)."

174. *yon-*, primary verb stem for which I have no ready parallel in N. or Central Yana; its meaning may be "to gather up a heap." *-bal-*, cf. note 165. *-i*, narrative infinitive.

175. *dje-*, *-wō-*, and *-'*, as in note 173. *-du-* "again," cf. note 165; literal meaning presumably: "again (he) proceeded to." *-'* between *dje-* and *-du-* is of purely phonetic, not morphological, origin, and is not analogous to N. and C. Yana pre-consonantal *-'* (cf. note 159) < *-x-* or *-s-*. The following phonetic rule is characteristic of Yahi and never applies to N. and C. Yana: If the vowel of the first syllable of a word is etymologically short (i.e., not merely shortened from a long vowel that has come to stand in a closed syllable) and stands in an originally open syllable (i.e., in a syllable that is actually open or is followed by a consonant that closes the first syllable but functions as an independent morphological element and has lost a vowel originally standing after it), it is followed by an aspiration, provided that the following consonant is an intermediate stop (*b*, *d*, *dj*, *g*), an aspirated stop (*p'*, *t'*, *tc'*, *k'*), a voiceless spirant (*s*, *x*), or a *y* or *m*, but not if it is a glottalized consonant (of type *p'*), a glottally checked consonant (of type *p'*), an arrested consonant (of type *-p.dj-*), or a *w*, *l*, *r*, or *n*. This rule works with great regularity. Further examples are: *ba'bil-*, *ni'du'an-* (see note 198), *dje'dja-* (note 185), *xa'ga*, *gi'p'au-* (note 219), *ne't'au-* (note 197), *ni'tc'il-* (note 195), *u'k'i-*, *ba'sa-* (note 199), *ba'xalo-*, *i'yui-* (note 210), *i'mawilau-*; in secondarily closed syllables: *ne't'sa-* "to go off again" (cf. N. Yana *nidū'sa*), *de'tc'wun-* (see note 126), *dja'tc'p.dja-* (but *djap.dja-*). If the short vowel is lengthened, for a morphological reason, the aspiration naturally disappears; e.g. *ba'bil-* "to run about," causative *bōbil'a-*. There are a few cases that are not covered by the rule (e.g. *ya'wōdju-*, *yada'p.djagu-*), which may need to be somewhat further qualified (thus, it is likely that *-'* also appears before *w* if the preceding vowel is accented), but whatever the true formulation of the rule, it is clear that it worked with mechanical regularity. It will prove an important phonetic criterion in unraveling the phonology of Yana in its older form. That the aspiration occurs before *-d-*, for instance, but not before *-r-* (which appears as *-d-* after consonants) indicates that the Yana *-d-* which never changes to *-r-* and the Yana *-d-* that becomes *-r-* after vowels are of distinct phonetic origin.

176. Full form *bā'nu*. Disyllabic noun stem; probably identical with N. Yana *bā'nu* "plant of which twine was made."

177. I am unable to analyze *busdim-* for lack of ready comparable material; presumably it consists of primary verb stem *bu-* (cf. *ba-*, note 179) and secondary verb stem *-sdim-* (or *-sdi-+m-*; cf. note 179); possibly final *-a* has been elided (see note 179). *-'*, narrative infinitive.

178. Full form *yā'wi*. Cf. N. and C. Yana *yā'wi* "Wintun Indian;" also C. Yana *yā'wi* as mythological group (*Yana Texts*, p. 59, 1.18). *-wi* is probably collective noun suffix; cf. note 110. This leaves *yā'* as stem.

179. *basdi-*, verb "to shout, to whoop." *ba-*, primary verb stem "to call out" (cf. N. Yana *ba-bil-mits'i-* "to call together from all over," *ba-wau-* "to ask one to come," *ba-djiba-* "to call everywhere"). *-sdi-*, secondary verb stem "to shout;" N. and C. Yana *-di-* (for *-'* : Yahi *-s-*, cf. note 159), e.g. *ba-ts'i-'di'-a-* "to shout." If we may judge from this form, Yahi *basdi'* is to be understood as *basdi'* (a).

180. 'et'- probably contains 'ê-, shortened to 'e- in a closed syllable; 'ê-, primary verb stem "to do with one's hand" (cf. note 154), often used in verbs of "pulling" (e.g. N. Yana 'ê-ba- "to pull," 'ê-yu-k/ap- "to pull twine through"). -t-, verb suffix indicating beginning of motion; cf. note 54 (C. Yana p'i-i'-bal- corresponds to N. Yana p'i-t'-bal- as does C. Yana 'e'-yun-dam- "to pull an arrow out of a quiver" to Yahi 'e-t'-yun-dam-). -yun-, secondary verb stem "to pull out, off;" cf. further -yut- in N. Yana 'e'-yut-l'al-ts·!i- "to pull two things apart." -du-, see note 165. -ram-, local verb suffix "out of the house, out of a receptacle," cf. notes 49, 102. -, narrative infinitive.

181. Full form *ma'n'i*. Cf. note 60.

182. *dju'k/al-*, verb "wind blows;" cf. N. Yana *djuk/al-*, nominalized *djuk/a'l-la* "wind." *dju-*, primary verb stem "wind blows;" cf. N. Yana *dju-k'i-* "a wind comes blowing," *dju-'uldi-* "a wind blows down from the mountain." -*k/al-*, verb suffix apparently referring to "uninterrupted movement, a clean sweep;" aside from *dju-k/al-* it has been found only compounded with other elements, e.g. -*k/al-sa-* "right through" (e.g. N. Yana *mildja-k/alsa-* "to run right through"), -*k/al-law-* "well, completely." -, phonetic in origin, anticipating glottalized articulation of -*k/-*; short vowels in initial, open syllables when followed by glottalized consonants (of type *p'*) are generally closed by a glottal stop (this rule is parallel to that given in note 175). -*si-*, present tense (masculine form); cf. notes 39, 72, 91, 129, 131, 135. -*t'i*, quotative suffix (cf. note 1), regularly used by Ishi to mark direct discourse; it is generally equivalent to "said he." This usage is not found in N. and C. Yana, where the related verb stem *t'i* "to say" is used instead (cf. notes 40, 71).

183. *mībadjā-*, lengthened from *mībadja-*; before present suffix -*si* short vowels are regularly lengthened in Yahi, while -*a-* becomes -*aw-*. *mī-*, primary verb stem "to howl, to storm" (cf. C. Yana *mī-* "to weep," N. Yana *mī-halu-dibil-* "ghosts go about wailing in the dark;" possibly also *mī-* in N. Yana *mī-k'ai-* "to be angry," *mī-k'it-di-a-* "to rage" (may be used of the mind); N. Yana *mī-gul-a-* "to be protected from the wind"). -*ba-*, verb suffix "all, completely" (cf. N. Yana *mδ-ba-* "to finish eating," *ya-ba-* "to be burnt completely," *djū-ba-dja-* "leaves fall"). -*dja-*, verb suffix of movement "off, away" (cf. note 131). -*si-t'i*, as in note 182.

184. *ne-*, for *ni-* (cf. note 173), primary verb stem "one male goes; cf. note 158. -*p'da-*, verb suffix of unknown significance, conveying some such idea as that of "passing one after another" (perhaps to be understood as -*p.da-*, compounded of -*p-*, N. and C. Yana -*m'-* in -*m'-gu-* "right there, near the house," and -*da-*, cf. N. and C. Yana -*da-mts·!i-*, -*da-pts·!i-* "moved together, towards each other;" -*m'-da-*, Yahi -*p.da-*, might mean "moving one after another past one point")¹⁷; possibly, however, -*p'da-* is to be explained as in note 214. -*hi*, passive infinitive, used as narrative form; corresponds to N. and C. Yana -*ṛ* (e.g. N. Yana *t'i-p-ṛ* "to be told," Yahi *t'i-m-hi*).

185. *dje'dja-*, from *dji-dja-*, verb "to shoot (an arrow);" for *e* see note 173, for -*ṛ-* see note 175. Yahi *dje'dja-* corresponds exactly to N. and C. Yana *dji-djā-*; it often accents an initial short-voweled stem where they accent the following suffix and lengthen its vowel (analogous is Yahi *ne'du-* "to go back": N. and C. Yana *nidū'-*). *dji-*, primary verb stem "to shoot;" cf. N. Yana *dji-wāgal-ts·!i'-a-* "to shoot right in the center," active *djê-* in *djê-djap-* "to shoot a person." -*'andi-*, as in note 68. -, narrative infinitive.

¹⁷ This corresponds to Ishi's explanation. As Lizard stood there, the Yā'wi rushed past him from west to east, each one shooting off his arrow as he approached. Had they all rushed by in a pack, the singular verb stem *ni-*, *ne-* could hardly have been used.

186. *bop'*-, verb stem meaning apparently "to hit with an arrow-point," probably related to *bô*- "to hit with a stone" (*ô* shortened to *o* in closed syllable; cf. note 180); cf. also C. Yana *bop'-di*- "to chip off a piece of flint." *-sda*-, verb suffix "straight on, uninterruptedly," C. and N. Yana *'da*- (cf. N. Yana *ni-'da-sā-gu*- "to go straight on," *da-'da-sa*- "to jump ahead of the mark," *wa-'da-tā-gu*- "to just sit still without moving"). *-k'au*-, secondary verb stem "to cut, to wound" (cf. note 165). *-ram*-, local suffix "out of an enclosed space" (cf. note 180); precise application here not clear, but possibly *-k'au-ram*- implies a "gouging out" of their eyes. *-'*, narrative infinitive.

187. Full form *tc'u'na*. *tc'u*-, noun stem "eye, face." *-na*, absolute noun suffix

188. *ne*-, as in note 184. *-'*, as in note 175. *-du*-, as in note 165. *-ri*-, local verb suffix "down;" cf. notes 23, 24. *-hau*- "to the east;" cf. notes 55, 104. *-'*, narrative infinitive.

189. *tmôts*-, reduced form of *môdja*- (cf. notes 190, 191). Before *-s*- or *-x*- followed by another consonant (in N. and C. Yana, before *-'*+ another consonant) a short vowel (generally *a* or *i*), if unaccented and not in the first syllable, is lost, provided the preceding consonant is a stopped consonant or a voiceless spirant (*s*, *x*) and the main accent of the word is on a syllable that precedes the affected vowel (this last condition is not altogether certain); if the consonant preceding the last vowel is an intermediate stop (*b*, *d*, *g*, *dj*), it becomes an aspirated surd (*p'*, *t'*, *k'*, *tc'*). Examples of elided vowels before *-'*+ consonant in N. Yana are *mī'tc'dap'augu*- (<*mī'dja-'da*-), *mī'ltc'da-sa*- (<*mī'ldja-'da*-), *mī'tc'wi'l*- (<*mī'dja-'wi'l*-), *u'ltc'di*- (<*u'ldja-'di*-), *nīdū'sdagu*- (<*nīdū'sa-'da*-), *k'lā'yasgai*- (<*k'lā'yasi-'gai*-), *bōtc't'i'p*- (<*bōdja-'t'i'p*-). Examples of preserved short vowel before *-'*+ consonant, though unaccented and not in the first syllable, are *p'aba'gait'l'ltc'i*-, *basa'dama'isi'i*-, *'ida'na'i*-, *a'uwi'nai*-, *dja'k'surū'ru'djap*-, *'adjī'lya'djap*-; here the accent follows or the preceding consonant will not allow the vowel to drop. A few forms (like *mā'u'ldi'bu*-) with preserved vowel in conditions that would ordinarily warrant its loss show that the mechanical rule is crossed by certain other factors; probably certain suffixes, like *-'uldi*- "moving down," are always preserved intact. In Yahi the rule operates more extensively than in the other dialects because of the fact that the accent is frequently thrown back (cf. note 185); thus, Yahi *'a'p'tssda*- <*'a'p'dji-sda*- would be *'ap'dji-'da*- in N. Yana. — Yahi *môts-sdjām*-, assimilated from *mōtc'-sdjām*-. *môdja*-. . . *-'a*-, causative verb "to handle a long, pointed object (like an arrow or pen)," hence "to shoot an arrow" (as designated by the following element). *mô*-, active form corresponding to static *mu*- (e.g. Yahi *mu-rul*- "long object lies"); *-dja*-, suffix used with verbs of handling a type of object (cf. note 163). *-sdjām*-, local verb suffix "to the north;" C. Yana *-djām*-, N. Yana *-djap*- (cf. note 112). *-'*, shortened from *-'a*, compounded of causative *-'a*- and narrative infinitive *-'i* (cf. note 165).

190. *môdja*-, as in note 189. *-t'p'a*-, local verb suffix "to the south;" appears in N. and C. Yana as *-t'p'a*-, *-t'p'a*-, *-rp'a*-. *-'*, narrative infinitive.

191. *môdja*-, as in note 189. *-hau*-, as in note 188. *-'*, narrative infinitive.

192. *ne-'du*-, as in note 188. *-ts'gil*-, local verb suffix "in, into the water" (cf. N. Yana *dā-ts'gil*- "to jump into the water," *djū-ts'gil*- "geese fly in the river," *murul-ts'gil*- "to lie asleep in the water"). *-'*, narrative infinitive.

193. Full form *dā'xa* "river," particularly "Sacramento River;" N. and C. Yana *dā'ha*-. Compounded of verb stem *dā*- "water (or any fluid mass, including fire) lies, is spread out" (cf. note 127; Yahi causative *dô*-. . . *-'a*- "to put, pour out water, pine-nuts," *dôdja*-. . . *-'a*- "to handle fire") and noun stem *xa* "water" (absolute *xa'na*), cf. note 108. For other examples of verb-noun compounds, see notes 98, 99.

194. *ne-'du*-, as in note 188. *-wīlau*-, as in note 104. *-'*, narrative infinitive.

195. *ni-*, as in note 158; *-l-*, as in note 175. *-tc'il'au-*, local verb suffix "out of the water;" N. Yana *-ts·'it'lau-* (e.g. *dā-ts·'it'lau-* "to jump out of the water," *lwi-ts·'it'lau-* "to throw a rock out of the river"). This element is probably compounded of *-tc'il'* "moving off from the camp, towards the woods, straight out into the open" (e.g. N. Yana *ni-tc'il'* "to go out hunting," *minit-tc'il'-djāmi-* "to look straight north," *dji-tc'il'* "blood flows out") and *-lau-* (see note 44). *-'*, narrative infinitive.

196. This form is very obscure. It was at first interpreted to mean "they were all killed off," but "they all scattered out of sight, no trace of them was visible" is perhaps nearer correct. *mê-*, primary verb stem possibly referring to "visibility, appearance" (cf. N. Yana *mê-klul-* "to look down slantwise," static *mī-wil-klui-dī'a-* "to be cross-eyed," Yahi *mēnin-* "to look"). *-namai-*, cf. perhaps *-nama-* in N. Yana *ts·let'-nama-ko'i-a-* "there is nobody," Yahi *tc'et'-namo-gwi-sa'-a-* "all have disappeared," cf. further N. Yana *-nam'* in *k'ū- dē-nam'-mai-sa-* (<*dē-nam'-wai-sa-*; cf. *dēwai-* "to see") "not to be able to see any;" *-nama(i)-* may indicate "disappearance, no trace left." *-dja-*, verb suffix of movement; cf. note 183. *-sa-*, local verb suffix "off, away;" cf. notes 68, 80, 109, 126. *-'*, narrative infinitive (possibly verb base is really *mēnamaidjasa'a-*, in which case *-'* represents *-a-*+infinitive *-i*, cf. note 165).

197. *ne-l-*, as in note 188. *-t'au-*, verb suffix "ahead in open country," e.g. Yahi *dji-t'au-* "to proceed on the trail;" cf. N. Yana *-t'au-* "flat, plain, in the midst of an expanse" (e.g. *da-t'au-sa-* "to be flat," *ī-t'a'u basī'-k'i'a* "in the middle of the night"), also *-t'au-* (e.g. C. Yana place-name *Djēwint'a'urik'u*). *-andi-*, as in note 185. *-'*, narrative infinitive.

198. *ni-l-*, as in note 195. *-du-*, as in notes 188, 192. *-an-* "arriving," cf. note 38. Note accent in Yahi *ni'du'an-* as compared with C. Yana *nidū'an-*. *-'*, narrative infinitive.

199. *ba'si-*, verb "to be night;" N. and C. Yana *basī-* (cf. note 46). For *-l-* and accent on first syllable, cf. notes 175, 185, 188; Yahi *ba'si-* shows that N. and C. Yana *basī-* has secondarily lengthened *ī* (cf. C. Yana *nidū'-*: Yahi *ne'du-*, note 188). *-k'i*, shortened form of *k'i'a*, meaning as in notes 46, 80; as for phonetic form, Yahi *-k'i* is not identical with C. Yana *-k'i*, which is the "syntactically connected" form of *-k'i'a*, while Yahi *-k'i* is an absolute shortening of *-k'i'a*, identical with feminine *-k'i*.

200. *'oi-dja-* . . . *-a-*, verb "to handle several bulky objects (like deer, books, storage baskets);" cf. Yahi *'oi-dja-waldi'-a-* "to put down several deer, books." *'oi-* active form of static *'ui-* "several deer, storage baskets lie." *-dja-* and *-a-*, as in note 189. *-t'u-*, reduced form of *-du-* "again" (cf. note 38); N. Yana examples of *-t'u-* < *-du-* are *wē-t'u-k'i-* "to bring home," *'a-mā-t'u-sa-* "woman goes home with," *mo'-t'u-gap-* "to fetch back from the north." The rule seems to be that unaccented *-du-*, when preceded by the accent (not necessarily directly) and followed by an intermediate stop, aspirated surd, or *s*, becomes reduced to *-t'u-*. *-sa-*, as in note 196. *-'*, as in note 165.

201. *xa'alai-*, verb "to be dawn, morning," N. and C. Yana *ha'lai-*, *hal'ai-* (cf. note 48); note characteristic Yahi echo-vowel in *xa'a-*. *-sgin-*, verb suffix "early," C. Yana *-gin-*, N. Yana *-git-* (e.g. *bai-git-* "to hunt deer early," *ni-git-sa-* "to go off early"); for Yahi *-s-*: N. and C. Yana *-l-*, cf. notes 159, 186. *-k'i*, as in note 199.

202. *mas-*, primary verb stem of static form "to rub (an arrow-shaft) smooth;" its N. and C. Yana correlate would be *ma-l-*, but I have no record of this. *-du-*, probably verb suffix "again," cf. note 175. *-waldi-*, as in note 163. *-s*, shortened form of *-si*, present tense, cf. note 182.

203. *mus-*, active form of *mas-*, cf. note 202; *u* is ordinarily static and does not properly correspond to *a*, hence *mus-* may be secondarily developed from *mos-* (cf. 'wi-: 'oi-, note 200; *dam-*: *dom-*, note 163). *-miyē-*, probably represents *-miyai-* (cf. note 175); meaning unknown but possibly incorporated form in *-i-* (cf. notes 7, 67, 69, 107, 122) of some noun *-miya-* with instrumental function (cf. N. Yana *djō-yu-k!uyul'-a-* "to shake with the head, *k!uyul'-la,*" *dil'-xai-gu-* "eye waters" with *-xai-* "with water, *xa-*"). *-'*, narrative infinitive.

204. Full form *dēduk!au'a*, causative narrative infinitive (for *-'a,* *-'*, see note 165) of static *di'duk!au-* "to be finished, to finish (intr.)"; cf. N. Yana *dik!au-* "to be finished," causative *dēk!au'a,* *dēduk!au'a-* "to finish (tr.)" *dē-*, active form of *di-*, primary verb stem indicating "continuous movement, passage" (e.g. N. Yana *di-wul-* "to dance into the house," *di-git-* "to turn a somersault," *di-lil-gu-* "basketry stitches run smooth," *di-lau-* "to die," literally "to pass out of (life)"). *-du-*, as in note 175. *-k!au-*, as in note 186. *di-k!au-* thus literally means "to be cut off in the course of a continuous passage," *dē(du)k!au'a-* "to cause to be (again) cut off in the course of a continuous passage."

205. *men-*, active verb stem "to turn in a circle, to twirl," static *min-*; C. Yana *min-*, N. Yana *mit-*, active and static (e.g. N. Yana *mit-* "to twirl the fire-drill," *min-mu'-a-* "to roll up tobacco," *mit-k!at-* "there is a whirlwind"). *-!ap'-*, secondary verb stem "to squeeze, to crush" (cf. N. Yana *ō-!ap-* "to squeeze," *yul-!ap-* "to crush with the palm"). *-wal-*, verb suffix "wrapped around," cf. note 214, also N. Yana *djō-wal-t'dja-mauna* "buckskin strip around woman's hips from which bark fringes were suspended." *-'*, narrative infinitive.

206. Full form *de'tc'wun'a* (form *de'tc'wun'amauna* occurs later on in text). *de-*, short form of *dē-*, causative form of *di-*, primary verb stem "to be inserted, to be caught in" (e.g. N. Yana *di-waldi-* "to be caught in a tight place from which egress is difficult," *di-ts!au-* "to be caught in a cleft"). *-'*, as in note 175; *de-* counts as a true short vowel, as it is shortened not because it is closed by *-tc'-* (in fact *-tc'-* forms its own syllable) but because *-tc'-* demands the short form of the preceding stem vowel, whether static or active. *-tc'-*, element of plurality in certain verbs, here referring to plurality of object; analogous to *de'-tc'-* are Yahi *do'-tc'-yus-dja-waldi'-a-* "to put down several large baskets": singular *dō'-yus-dja-waldi'-a-* "to put down a large basket," C. Yana *da-tc'-wul-* "several look into the house": *dā-wul-* "one looks into the house." *-wun-*, local verb suffix "into a hole, into the house," corresponds to N. and C. Yana *-wul-* (cf. note 126); *l > n* occurs in N. and C. Yana aside from diminutive forms (see note 96), e.g. N. Yana *ā-nunmai-* "road is hard to trace, all but invisible": *lulmai-* "blind" (cf. note 122). *-'*, as in note 165.

207. *men-*, as in note 205. *-waldi-*, as in notes 163, 202. *-s,* as in note 202.

208. *'e-*, shortened in closed syllable from *'ē-*, see notes 154, 180. *-xt'i-*, secondary verb stem "to smear on, to lay on color," N. and C. Yana *-t'i-* (e.g. N. Yana *p'o-t'i-* "to put pitch on a salmon-spear," *do-t'i-t'ai-* "to smear all over one's hands and feet"). *-'*, narrative infinitive.

209. *'ē-bil-*, as in note 154. *-'andi-*, as in note 185.

210. *i'yui-*, N. and C. Yana *iyui-*, *iyūi-*; see notes 67, 85. *-'*, see note 175. *-k'i,* as in note 199.

211. *me-*, shortened in closed syllable from *mē-*, active verb stem "to handle several flat objects" (e.g. Yahi *mē-waldi-* "to put down several plates, basket-trays, mocassins," *mē-ts!gil-* "to put feathers in water," N. Yana *me-gat-* "to break wood"), static *mī-* (e.g. N. Yana *mī-* "several pieces of wood lie"). *me-t'dja-*, cf. N. Yana *metdja-du-dapts'!i-* "to fold up," *metdja-lau-* "to take off a skirt," *-t'dja-*, possibly "laid on top." *-ri-*, local verb suffix "down," see note 188. *-'*, narrative infinitive.

212. *dê-*, verb stem "to shear, to peel off" (e.g. N. Yana *dê-k/adat* "to cut off head-hair completely," *dê-ya* "to cut off hair with shears," *dê-tc/at-di* "to bark a tree"). *-wunî-*, incorporated form of *bū'ni* "feather," here employed as object; for change of *b-* to *-w-* in incorporated form, cf. N. Yana *ba-* "deer": *dji-wai-dja* "to taste like venison," *bal-* "mouth", *ul-lau-wal-* "to have a bad breath." *-i*, narrative infinitive.

213. *p'ô-*, primary verb stem "to paint, to blacken" (e.g. N. Yana *p'o-'t'i-t/ai-* "to put pitch all over one's hands and feet," *p'ô'-djal-'li-mauna* "painted bow," *p'u-lai-* "to smear pitch over"). *-wunmi-*, incorporated form of *bunmi-*, cf. Yahi *bunmi'-m-tc'u* "eyelashes," literally "hair-of-eye" (cf. note 166). *bun-mi-* probably contains *mi-* "hide, fur, hair covering" (cf. N. Yana *'ahā'limil-mi* "fox hide," *bat'i'l-mi* "blanket of deer hides," *mi'-wi* "hide," *bun-*, *-wun-* (see note 212) may be another form of *būni-* "feather" (cf. *-k'un-*: *k'ūni-*, note 214), whence *bun-mi-* "feather hide, feathery covering" or, in reference to an arrow, "feathering." *-i*, narrative infinitive.

214. *we-*, shortened in closed syllable from *wê-*, active verb stem "to wind, bind together," cf. C. Yana *we-'t'up'-di-* "to unwind (one's hair);" static *wî-* "to be wound, bound together" is probably contained in N. Yana *wî-k'un-na* "woman's belt wound of hair" (for *-k'un-* cf. perhaps Yahi *k'ūni-'a* "to wear around the neck"), *wî-dja-lal-la* "bat" (literally, "whose feet, *lal-*, are bound along"). *-p'da-*, verb suffix apparently signifying "two together," correlative to *-t'da-* "two apart" (cf. Yahi *'o-t'da-k/au-waldi-* "to cut in two on the ground with a stick," *'a-t'da-tc/u-t/antc/i-* "head falls away from body," *'a-t'da-siviri-t/antc/i-* "to be strangled in two," *djo-t'da-xa-bil-waldi-* "to break one's arrow in two"); *-p'da-* is probably compounded of *-p-* (from *-m-*; Yana *-m'*, preserved as voiceless *-m'* in C. Yana, becomes *-p'* in N. Yana and Yahi; this *-m-* is probably identical with *-m-*, *-mi-* in *-m-tc/i-*, *-mi-tc/i-* "together, with each other," cf. *-tc/i-*, *-t/al-tc/i-*, *-t/an-tc/i-* "apart, from each other") and *-da-* (indicates dual reciprocity?). *-wal-*, as in note 205. *-i*, narrative infinitive.

215. *busdimi-*, static verb "to smooth the foreshaft of an arrow." Analysis not clear. *busdim-* probably consists of primary verb stem *bus-* and secondary verb stem *-dim-*. *-di-*, possibly local verb suffix "down" ("to smooth down"); cf. notes 23, 81, 128. *-andi-*, as in note 185.

216. *wô-dja-* . . . *-a-*, verb "to handle, place a long object (like a bow, baby, twig);" causative in *-a-* formed from primary stem *wa-* (cf. *wa-rul-* "a bow lies," *wa-ri-* "wood lies"); *-dja-*, as in notes 163, 189, 200. *-du-k'am-*, compounded of *-du-* "again" (see note 175) and *-k'am-* "toward self" (see note 136), signifies "set aside, to be finished;" cf. Yahi *ga'-du-k'am-* "to finish talking." *-i*, as in note 165.

217. Allegro form of *k'us*. *k'u-*, verb stem "to be not;" cf. notes 31, 77. *-s*, as in note 202.

218. *djinaw-*, verb apparently meaning "to be much to eat." *dji-*, primary verb stem, cf. perhaps N. Yana *dji-* "to taste" (intr.) (e.g. *dji-yu'la-* "to taste mouldy," *dji-dja-* "to taste in a certain way"). *-nau-*, verb suffix referring to "abundance of food" (e.g. N. Yana *djô-du-nau-* "to give food to some one," *dja-nau-* "to have plenty to eat"). *-i-*, infinitive; negation is generally expressed by *k'u-*, provided with tense-modal and pronominal suffixes, followed by the infinitive of the verb. *-nam^{ba}*, full form *-namba* (*a* as in English *but*; this timbre of *a* is not altogether rare in Yahi in closed syllables before nasal consonants), apparently a modal enclitic, frequent in Yahi but unknown in N. and C. Yana; "it would seem, so" is hardly more than a plausible guess (cf., further on in this text, *bê'-gu-ma'ni'a-na'mb^a* "so that is what it is!"). *-t'i*, as in note 182.

219. *gi'p'au-*, passive form of *giwau-*. *gi-*, primary verb stem "to have in mind," cf. note 63. *-i-*, as in note 175. *-p'au-*, passive form of indirective *-wau-*, cf. note 72. Yahi *giwau-*, *gi'p'au-* corresponds to N. Yana *giwa'u-* "to stand wishing for something to eat." *-yau-*, gerund; cf. note 5. *-wa*, shortened form of *-wa'a*, final form of passive suffix *-wa-* (e.g. N. Yana *diwa'iyawwa'a* "being seen," *diwa'isiwa'a* "he is seen"), cf. notes 72, 117, 123, 136.

220. *yôma-*, verb "to give to eat;" not found in N. and C. Yana, which employ instead *djôdunau-*, passive *djudunau-ma-*. *-'*, narrative infinitive.

221. Full form *ma'ri'mi* "woman," C. Yana *ma'ri'mi*, N. Yana *marî'mi*; see notes 13, 26, 121.

222. *k'û-*, negative verb "to be not" in its substantive verbal sense ("there is not"), while *k'u-* negatives "to be" as copula (cf. note 217). In C. Yana *k'u-* and *k'û-* are similarly used (for *k'u-*, cf. notes 31, 77; for *k'û-* cf. *k'û-ba-* "to be all gone," *k'û-p'au-* "there is nothing for," *k'û-andi-s* "there are no longer any"); in N. Yana *k'û-* is both negative substantive verb and negative copula. *-s*, as in note 202.

223. See note 59.

224. *ba'iwakli* "foreshaft;" analysis uncertain, but its literal meaning is apparently "what fits over (the shaft)." *ba-*, primary verb stem, possibly identical with *ba-* "to run, to move quickly." *-iwa-*, local verb suffix "over;" cf. N. Yana *-iwa-* (unites with preceding *a* and *i* to *ai* and *î* respectively), *-iwa-* (after heavy syllables), e.g. *dja-iwa-nat-* "to hold one leg over the other knee," *ne'-iwa-gil-* "to step over." *-kli*, significance unknown, possibly nominalizing suffix; cf. N. Yana nouns in *-kli*, e.g. *dâ'i'wa-kli* "tiger-lily," *k!u's·i-kli* "annis root," *p'a't'li-kli* "belt."

225. *bê-*, verb stem "to be so and so that . . ."; very common in all three dialects (e.g. N. and C. Yana *bê'nidja* "it is I;" C. Yana *bîman't' bê' aidja dju'ga p'us·â'i* "truly-it-was be-that-one there silkworm smoke," i.e. "in truth it was Silkworm there that did the smoking"). *-widja*, verb suffix of modal significance, possibly equivalent to "pray, indeed;" other Yahi examples (it is not found in N. and C. Yana) are *dja dji t'û'-widja-yauna* "what the-my doing-pray?" i.e. "what, now, shall I do?" *dja djin yû'-widja-a-yauna* "what the-our making-fire-indeed?" i.e. "how, indeed, are we to build a fire?"—Objective *gi* after *bê-*, a substantive verb, is peculiar.

226. *p'ât'elwal-*, noun "lizard" (sp.?). Precise analysis unknown, but in form clearly composed of primary stem *p'â-*, secondary stem *-t'el-*, and, in all likelihood, *-wal-*, incorporated form of *bal-* "mouth." *-la*, assimilated from *-na*, absolute noun suffix. *-t'i*, as in note 182.

227. *baiwakli-*, as in note 224; here used as denominative verb "to go for foreshafts" (cf. note 69). *-ru-*, as in note 69. *-k!arâ-*, modal suffix of appeal or urgency, used in imperative forms; very common also in N. and C. Yana (e.g. N. Yana *dja'u-ru-k!ara-a'* "come on! go and gather grasshoppers!" C. Yana *ni-wî'lau-k!ara-wî'i* "do ye go east across the river!"). *-ai'*, for *-i'* after *a* (cf. *ba-'ai- < ba-'i-* "to run after some one"), second person singular imperative; see notes 54, 57, 58.

228. *baiwakli-*, as in note 227. *-i'*, shortened form of *-hi*, nominalizing agentive suffix, equivalent to *-si* in note 170; here also it may be taken to indicate purpose; "went off to get sticks for foreshafts."

229. *ne'-*, as in note 188. *-sa-*, as in notes 196, 200; *ne'-sa-* corresponds to N. and C. Yana *ni-sâ-* (see note 68), cf. note 198. *-andi-*, as in note 185.

