

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS
IN
AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY

Vol. 13, No. 4, pp. 153-173

March 12, 1918

YANA TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP

BY

EDWARD SAPIR

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
BERKELEY

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

The following publications dealing with archaeological and ethnological subjects issued under the direction of the Department of Anthropology are sent in exchange for the publications of anthropological departments and museums, and for journals devoted to general anthropology or to archaeology and ethnology. They are for sale at the prices stated. Exchanges should be directed to The Exchange Department, University Library, Berkeley, California, U. S. A. All orders and remittances should be addressed to the University of California Press.

European agent for the series in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Classical Philology, Education, Modern Philology, Philosophy, and Semitic Philology, Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig. For the series in Botany, Geology, Pathology, Physiology, Zoology and also American Archaeology and Ethnology, R. Friedlaender & Sohn, Berlin.

AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY.—A. L. Kroeber, Editor. Prices, Volume 1, \$4.25; Volumes 2 to 11, inclusive, \$3.50 each; Volume 12 and following \$5.00 each.

	Cited as Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn.	Price
Vol. 1.	1. Life and Culture of the Hupa, by Pliny Earle Goddard. Pp. 1-88; plates 1-30. September, 1903	\$1.25
	2. Hupa Texts, by Pliny Earle Goddard. Pp. 89-368. March, 1904	3.00
	Index, pp. 369-378.	
Vol. 2.	1. The Exploration of the Potter Creek Cave, by William J. Sinclair. Pp. 1-27; plates 1-14. April, 1904 .....	.40
	2. The Languages of the Coast of California South of San Francisco, by A. L. Kroeber. Pp. 29-80, with a map. June, 1904 .....	.30
	3. Types of Indian Culture in California, by A. L. Kroeber. Pp. 81-103. June, 1904 .....	.25
	4. Basket Designs of the Indians of Northwestern California, by A. L. Kroeber. Pp. 105-164; plates 15-21. January, 1905 .....	.75
	5. The Yokuts Language of South Central California, by A. L. Kroeber. Pp. 165-377. January, 1907	2.25
	Index, pp. 379-392.	
Vol. 3.	The Morphology of the Hupa Language, by Pliny Earle Goddard. 344 pp. June, 1905	3.50
Vol. 4.	1. The Earliest Historical Relations Between Mexico and Japan, from original documents preserved in Spain and Japan, by Zelia Nuttall. Pp. 1-47. April, 1906 .....	.50
	2. Contribution to the Physical Anthropology of California, based on collections in the Department of Anthropology of the University of California, and in the U. S. National Museum, by Ales Hrdlicka. Pp. 49-64, with 5 tables; plates 1-10, and map. June, 1906 .....	.75
	3. The Shoshonean Dialects of California, by A. L. Kroeber. Pp. 65-168. February, 1907	1.50
	4. Indian Myths from South Central California, by A. L. Kroeber. Pp. 167-250. May, 1907 .....	.75
	5. The Washo Language of East Central California and Nevada, by A. L. Kroeber. Pp. 251-318. September, 1907 .....	.75
	6. The Religion of the Indians of California, by A. L. Kroeber. Pp. 319-356. September, 1907 .....	.50
	Index, pp. 357-374.	
Vol. 5.	1. The Phonology of the Hupa Language; Part I, The Individual Sounds, by Pliny Earle Goddard. Pp. 1-20, plates 1-8. March, 1907 .....	.35
	2. Navaho Myths, Prayers and Songs, with Texts and Translations, by Washington Matthews, edited by Pliny Earle Goddard. Pp. 21-63. September, 1907 .....	.75
	3. Kato Texts, by Pliny Earle Goddard. Pp. 65-238, plate 9. December, 1909	2.50
	4. The Material Culture of the Klamath Lake and Modoc Indians of Northeastern California and Southern Oregon, by S. A. Barrett. Pp. 239-292, plates 10-25. June, 1910 .....	.75
	5. The Chinmariko Indians and Language, by Roland B. Dixon. Pp. 293-380. August, 1910	1.00
	Index, pp. 381-384.	
Vol. 6.	1. The Ethno-Geography of the Pomo and Neighboring Indians, by Samuel Alfred Barrett. Pp. 1-352, maps 1-2. February, 1908	3.25
	2. The Geography and Dialects of the Miwok Indians, by Samuel Alfred Barrett. Pp. 333-368, map 3.	
	3. On the Evidence of the Occupation of Certain Regions by the Miwok Indians, by A. L. Kroeber. Pp. 369-380, Nos. 2 and 3 in one cover. February, 1908 .....	.50
	Index, pp. 381-400.	

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS
IN
AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY

Vol. 13, No. 4, pp. 153-173

March 12, 1918

YANA TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP

BY
EDWARD SAPIR

While engaged at Montgomery Creek, California, in collecting Northern Yana texts and working out the grammatical structure of that dialect in the summer of 1907, I succeeded in obtaining from my main informant, Betty Brown, a fairly comprehensive, though by no means altogether satisfactory, set of relationship terms. The opportunity did not present itself of obtaining a corresponding set of terms for the closely related Central Yana dialect,¹ though a small number of supplementary Central Yana terms turned up incidentally in working up the texts. A much fuller and more satisfactory set of relationship terms for the Southern Yana (Yahi) dialect was secured at Berkeley, California, in the summer of 1915 from Ishi, the only survivor of his tribe, since then deceased.² The Yana orthography used in this paper is the same as that already employed in my Yana Texts,³ except that the glottal stop is here represented by an apostrophe ('). For simplicity's sake, moreover, *ts*- and *ts*! are here regularly written as *tc*' and *tc*!, of which they are merely phonetic variants, *s*- as *s*. Stress accents are omitted.

¹ Sapir, E., Yana Texts, Present series, IX, 2-4, 1910, also footnotes 3a and 202.

² Terms of Relationship and the Levirate, Am. Anthropol., n. s., XVIII, 329, note 4, 1916. "Ishi, the informant, spoke very little English, but I consider the full data on kinship terms that I obtained from him, aside from a few doubtful points, as thoroughly reliable. This is due to the fact that the terms were collected very slowly and with the utmost care and circumspection, with repeated checking whenever opportunity was offered; further to the fact that data already obtained from the Northern Yana helped me to follow the informant. The many agreements in nomenclature between the Yahi and Northern Yana systems are in no case due to suggestion on my part. The work was rendered possible by the use of counters, differing in appearance for males and females, arranged in the form of a genealogical tree; this device put the whole investigation on a directly visible footing. My familiarity with Northern and Central Yana (by that time also of Yahi) naturally also helped, though the language of the discussion itself was a crude jargon composed of English, quasi-English, and Yahi."

³ Yana Texts, 4, 5.

I. NORTHERN (AND CENTRAL) YANA TERMS

1. *tc'igal-la* "father" (assimilated from **-na*, absolute noun suffix for all monosyllabic nouns and for all nouns ending in long vowel, diphthong, or consonant); vocative *tc'igal-lā* or *gaisi-nā* (*-lā* assimilated from **-nā*; this vocative *-nā* is probably merely lengthened *-na* and is not confined to terms of relationship, cf. *k'ai-nā* "rock!"* from *k'ai-na*). I may state here once for all that Yana terms of relationship are treated precisely like other nouns as regards possessive pronominal affixes (e.g. *dji tc'igal-'lidja* "my father," *dju tc'igal-'luma* "thy father," *dji tc'igal-'ligi* "our father," *dju tc'igal-'luga* "your father," *ai-k' tc'igal-la* "his, their father," like *dji bal-'lidja* "my mouth" from *bal-la* "mouth"; similarly, *dji nīna-ndja* "my mother" like *dji wawi-ndja* "my house"). Vocative *gaisi-nā* is probably directly related to Yahi *galsi* "father" (see below, II, 1), of which *gal-* is at least possibly related to *-gal-* of Northern Yana *tc'i-gal-la*.

2. *nīna* "mother"; vocative *gan-nā* (regular vocative of Yahi *gan-na* "mother," see below, II, 2).

3. *p!aun'i* "son"; vocative *p!aun'i-nā* or *t!inīsi-nā*. Inasmuch as *t!inīsi-nā* means also "daughter" (see no. 4) and *t!i'nīsi* is used in Yahi for both "son" and "daughter," it seems plausible to infer that Northern Yana *t!inīsi* means "son" or "daughter," i.e. "child." This is supported by its etymology; cf. *t!inī-* "to be little."

4. *t!inīsi* "daughter"; vocative *t!inīsi-nā*. Probably may also be used for "son" (see no. 3). According to this, there would be no exclusive term for "daughter." This agrees well with Yahi, in which there is no term for "daughter" strictly corresponding to *p!au'ni* "son" (see below, II, 5 and 6). One may also use *dji wa'alā-mari'mindja* "my girl" for "my daughter," if it is necessary to be explicit, but *wa'alā-mari'mi* (like its male correspondent *wa'ana-isi* "boy") is no true term of relationship. As plural is used, in both N. and C. Yana, *'amait!gi* (or *'amait!its!gi*) "children" (without regard to sex); *yuwunts!gi* is used for "boys, sons," vocative *yuwunts!gi-nā*. *-ts!gi* of these forms is diminutive plural suffix. In Yahi *'amait!gi* seems to be confined in use to girls (see II, 6).

5. C. Yana *dāt'i* "child," used for both "son" and "daughter"; vocative *dāt'i-nā*. Plural *dat't'iwī*. It corresponds to N. Yana *t!inīsi*.

6. *umāyā-na* "older brother" (male-speaking); vocative *umāyā-nā*. This term may be readily analyzed into *u-* "to be," *-mā-* "in company

* Yana Texts, 25, l. 16.

with," and *yā-na* "person," i.e. "person who lives in company with one." That it is a secondary descriptive term is indicated by the fact that Yahi has an unrelated term meaning "being older" (see below, II, 7). Its plural is *umā-yarīwi*.

7. *wayêmai'mā-(nīdja)* "(my) younger brother" (male speaking); vocative *wayêmai'mā'-nā*. This term may be analyzed as *wa*- "to sit," *-yêmai-(ri-)* "in the middle," and *-mā-* of unknown meaning (unless it is another form of *-mā-* "in company with"), i.e. "one who sits in the middle (of the house)." This also is a secondary descriptive term, as indicated by the fact that the corresponding Yahi term, meaning "being younger" (see below, II, 8), is unrelated.

8. *īsi'yau-na, isi'yau-na* "older brother" (female speaking); vocative *īsi'yau-nā*. Central Yana *'isi'yau-na*. This term may be analyzed as *'isi* "male, man" and *-yau-na* suffix of verbal nouns, i.e. "being male." Its Yahi correspondent *'i'si-'yau-na* (see below, II, 12) is used to refer to "woman's brother," whether older or younger.

9. *k!atc'u* "younger brother" (female speaking); vocative *k!atc'u-nā*. This and *k!atdai-na* (no. 11) are the only terms for "brother" and "sister" which are not clearly analyzable. It has no Yahi equivalent.

10. *mari'miyau-nā* "older sister" (male speaking); vocative *mari'miyau-nā*. Central Yana *mari'miyau-na*. This term may be analyzed as N. Yana *marī'mi*, C. Yana *mari'mi* "female, woman" and *-yau-na* (as above, see no. 8); i.e. "being female." Its Yahi correspondent *mari'mi'yau-na* (see below, II, 9) is used to refer to "man's sister," whether older or younger.

11. *k!atdai-na* "younger sister" (male or female speaking); vocative *k!atdai-nā*. Central Yana *k!andai-na*. This term is not analyzable (cf. no. 9 above). It has no Yahi equivalent, which has a specific term for "woman's younger sister" (see below, II, 11) corresponding to "man's younger brother" and fails to distinguish between "man's younger sister" and "man's older sister."

12. *umāmari'mi* "older sister" (female speaking); vocative *umāmari'mi-nā*. This term may be readily analyzed into *u-* "to be," *-mā-* "in company with," and *mari'mi* "woman," i.e. "woman who lives in company with one." It is a secondary descriptive term entirely analogous to *umāyā-na* "man's older brother" (see no. 6), to which it is related precisely as the Yahi term for "woman's older sister," which means "older woman" (see below, II, 10), is related to that for "man's older brother" (literally "being older").

13. *adjui* "father's mother"; vocative *adjui-nā* (male speaking). Comparison with Yahi *'a'djuwi* "mother's mother" (see below) and with N. Yana terms for "woman's son's child" (see no. 14) would lead one to suspect that *adjui* (read probably *'adjuwi*) means "mother's mother," not "father's mother," as recorded. However, as *t'u'ai-na* (see no. 18) was given for "mother's mother," it may be that *adjuwi* in N. Yana has departed from its original meaning ("mother's mother") and that *amāwi*, originally "father's mother" and "woman's son's child," has become confined in meaning to the latter. This, if correct, would mean that "father's mother" and "woman's son's child" are not reciprocal terms in N. Yana, which is exceptional for Yana and far from likely a priori.

14. *amāwi* "woman's son's son"; vocative *amāwi-nā*. Comparison with Yahi *'amāwi* (see below, II, 14) strongly suggests that this term properly means or originally meant also "father's mother."

15. *amāwimarim'i* "woman's son's daughter"; vocative *amāwimarim'i*. Compounded of no. 14 and *marī'mi* "woman."

16. *t'ugu-na* "father's father"; vocative *t'ugu-nā*. Also, though doubtfully, recorded for "mother's father," for which no other term was obtained. Should *t'ugu-na* actually mean "grandfather" (paternal or maternal), it would be easier to understand Betty Brown's rendering of *'adjuwi* as "father's mother" rather than "mother's mother" (see no. 13).

17. *t'ugunāsi* "man's son's son"; vocative *t'ugunāsi-nā*. Evidently derived from no. 16. No term for "man's son's daughter" was obtained. Analogy with *t'u'aimarim'i* (see no. 20) suggests that man's son's daughter" is *t'ugunāmarim'i* (cf. also no. 15). *-si* of *t'ugunāsi* is used in several other terms indicating relation to one of a younger generation (cf. *t'ināsi*, no. 4; *t'u'aisi*, no. 19; *p'aiganasi*, no. 29). No terms were obtained for "man's daughter's child."

18. *t'u'ai-na* "mother's mother"; vocative *t'u'ai-nā* or *t'u'aimarim'i-nā* (doubtful). Cf. Yahi *t'o'oi-na* "mother's mother," but only when her husband is no longer alive (see below, II, 17).

19. *t'u'aisi* "woman's daughter's son"; vocative *t'u'aisi-nā*. Evidently derived by *-si* suffix (see no. 17) from no. 18.

20. *t'u'aimarim'i* "woman's daughter's daughter"; vocative *t'u'aimarim'i*. Compounded of no. 18 and *marī'mi* "woman."

21. *muxdi* "father's sister"; vocative *muxdi-nā*.

22. C. Yana *untc!ayau-na* "father's sister." This term must be of secondary origin, as N. Yana *muxdi* (see no. 21) agrees with Yahi

mucdi (see below, II, 19). It cannot be satisfactorily analyzed, though *-yau-na* is evidently verbal noun suffix, as in several other terms of relationship. It is etymologically identical with Yahi *'onts!a'yau-na* (see below, II, 47), which was rendered by Ishi as "wife of (paternal or maternal) grandfather" (not kin grandfather). If both Sam Batwi's and Ishi's information is correct as noted, this means that there has been as to its significance, either in C. Yana or in Yahi, both a generation shift and a shift in reference to consanguinity *versus* affinity. Would a maternal grandfather's (second) wife be identical with one's father's sister, i.e. would he marry one of his son-in-law's sisters?

23. *un'ima* "father's brother"; vocative *un'ima-nā*. There is some doubt as to whether *un'ima* means "paternal uncle" or "maternal uncle" in C. Yana. *un'imanigi* "our uncle" (Yana Texts, p. 55, l. 12) was explained by Sam Batwi as meaning "mother's brother," though in this context there is no reference to true relationship; which contradicts N. Yana testimony. Moreover, N. Yana *udjī'yau-na* "mother's brother" (see no. 26) agrees with Yahi *u'djī'yau-na* (see below). Silkworm, who is called "uncle" in above passage, answers with *wadāt'imauyarīwinā* "O nephews!" (Yana Texts, p. 57, l. 11); but *wadāt'imau-na* means "man's brother's son" in N. Yana (see no. 27). We must therefore assume either that C. Yana *un'ima* and *wadāt'imau-na* have respectively changed their significance from "paternal uncle" and "man's brother's son" to "maternal uncle" and "woman's brother's son," which seems unlikely, or that C. Yana *un'ima* was misinterpreted and is another form of *wan'imāsi* (see no. 24), with which it is etymologically connected.

24. C. Yana *wan'imāsi* "father's brother." Evidently related to *un'ima* (see no. 23), *u-* being replaced by *wa-* "to sit" or "to consider as, hold for"; *-si* is agentive. This term is clearly identical with Yahi *wa'nimāsi* "stepfather, man's stepchild" (see below, II, 44). Perhaps its real meaning is something like "one who is considered as *un'ima*" (i.e. is true *un'ima* "paternal uncle" or, like or instead of him, marries my widowed mother).

25. *garai-na* "mother's sister"; vocative *garai-nā*.

26. *udjī'yau-na* "mother's brother"; vocative *udjī'yau-nā*. This term is to be analyzed as *udjī* "to be old" and verbal noun suffix *-yau-na*, i.e. "being old." Possibly this refers to the peculiar status so often enjoyed by the maternal uncle (even in tribes without maternal descent or maternal clan organization) as "guide, counsellor, elder."

27. *wadāt'imauna* "man's brother's son"; vocative *wadāt'imaunā*. Plural *wadāt'imaun-yarīwi*; vocative *wadāt'imaun-yarīwi-nā* (for *-yarīwi* cf. no. 6). According to Sam Batwi *wadāt'imauna* means "man's brother's child," whether boy or girl. Its analysis is clear: *wa-* "to consider as," *dāt'i* "child" (see no. 5), and passive participle suffix *-mauna*, i.e. "considered as own child." In other words, one's brother's children are potentially one's own by virtue of the obligation to marry their mother on the death of her husband. In Yahi (see below, II, 21) its exact correspondent *wa'dāt'imauna* was interpreted as "sister's child."

28. *wadāt'imaumarim'i* "man's brother's daughter"; vocative *wadāt'imaumarim'i*. Compounded of no. 27 and *marī'mi* "daughter."

29. *p'aigana* or *p'aiganasi* "man's sister's child; woman's brother's or sister's child"; vocative *p'aiganā* or *p'aiganasi-nā*. Possibly *p'aigana* refers to "woman's sister's child," *p'aiganasi* to "woman's brother's child" and "man's sister's child," but my notes are not clear enough on this point to warrant certainty of statement. Plural *p'aiganasi-yarīwi*.

30. *iwā'naīt'inīsi* "(man's) brother's children, nephews and nieces" (Yana Texts, p. 184, l. 17). Evidently compounded with *t'inīsi* (see no. 4).

31. *il'auyā-na* "cousin"; vocative *il'auyā* or *il'auyā-nā*. Evidently compounded with *yā-na* "person." Plural *il'au-yarīwi*. In Yahi (see below, II, 13) *ilauyā-hi* (*-hi* corresponds to N. and C. Yana *-na*) was interpreted as "man's sister," but was said by Ishi to be used in that sense only by Coyote, Panther, and other mythological characters.

32. *garāk'aiyā-na* "cousin"; vocative *garāk'aiyā* or *garāk'aiyā-nā*. Evidently compounded with *yā-na* "person." I do not know how this term differs in range of significance, if at all, from *il'auyā-na* (no. 31). Possibly it is related to *garai-na* "mother's sister" (no. 25), in which case it may indicate "children of sisters."

33. C. Yana *yarīwi* "relatives, friends." Translated by Sam Batwi as "cousins" in its widest sense, as synonymous with "relatives, kinsfolk." He distinguished between such "cousins" and "real cousins," whom he called *il'auyā-na*, plural *il'au-yarīwi* (see no. 31).

34. C. Yana *māwagai-na* "friend"; vocative *māwagai-nā*. Plural *māwagai-yarīwi*.

35. *k!utp!amauna* (N. Yana) "husband"; vocative *k!utp!amaun-yī*. This term is to be analyzed as *k!ut-* (C. Yana *k!un-*) "to like,

love," *-p!a-* voice suffix expressing status, condition, and passive participle *-mau-na*, i.e. "(he) who is loved, desired." It is noteworthy that in Yahi (see below, II, 24) "husband" is rendered simply by "male, man."

36. *wak!alp!amau-na* "wife"; vocative *wak!alp!amau-nā*. Passive participle in *-mau-na* of verb *wak!alp!a-* "to keep" (*wa-* "to consider as, hold for," *-k!al-p!a-* "to keep"), hence meaning literally "kept, owned." In Yahi (see below, II, 25) "wife" is simply "female, woman."

37. *tc'ap'dju'i* "(man's or woman's) father-in-law"; vocative *tc'ap'dju'i-nā*.

38. *tc'ap'djūp!un'-na* "(man's or woman's) mother-in-law"; vocative *tc'ap'djūp!un-nā*. Compounded of no. 37 and stem *-p!ut'* "woman" (cf. plural *p!ut'diwi* "women" and *-p!di* "woman" in certain compounds).

39. *nigā'i* "(man's or woman's) son-in-law"; vocative *nigā'i-nā*.

40. *tc'a'wai-na* "(man's or woman's) daughter-in-law"; vocative *tc'a'wai-nā*.

41. C. Yana *wana* "(man's or woman's) son-in-law"; vocative *wanā* or *ai'wana*, *ai'wanā*. This term in its specific sense of "son-in-law" seems peculiar to C. Yana, which has no term corresponding to N. Yana *nigā'i* (see no. 39; Yahi, however, has exactly corresponding *ne'ga'i*, II, 30). C. Yana *wana*, at least in its vocative forms, refers also to "(man's) mother-in-law." Its use as incorporated subject or object is very curious; examples are: *djuma'wanawi'i* "do you (pl.) give it to (my, man's) son-in-law!" (Yana Texts, p. 58, ll. 7, 15), *p'usā'wanasi'i* "(my, man's) son-in-law will smoke" (*ibid.*, l. 8), *dol'lip!annai'wanak'ihandj* "I (woman) have covered over very thickly (my) son-in-law's (sleeping place)" (*op. cit.*, p. 111, l. 1), *k!undjumaip!amtc!iwana'ask'inigi* "we, father-in-law and son-in-law, like each other." In Yahi (see below, II, 27) *wana* is used as compounded element in terms of affinity involving taboo relationship. It is not unlikely that originally *tc'ap'dju'i* meant "father-in-law" (of man only); *wana*, "mother-in-law" (of man only) and reciprocally "son-in-law" (of woman only); *tc'ap'djūp!un'-na*, "mother-in-law" (of woman only); *nigā'i*, "son-in-law" (of man only), but that these terms gradually extended their meanings so as to overlap in part. Note that nos. 37 and 38 are specifically used also in C. Yana for "father-in-law" and "mother-in-law" respectively.

42. C. Yana *'awaudjā* "(man's or woman's) daughter-in-law." As N. Yana *tc'a'wai-na* (no. 40) directly corresponds to Yahi *tc'a'waihi*

(see below, II, 31), this term is doubtless of secondary origin. It may be analyzed as 'a- "woman goes," -wau- "to," and -dja- "off, away," i.e. "woman who goes off (from her own house) to (her husband's people)."

43. C. Yana *wīman'mau-na* "(woman's) son-in-law" (Yana Texts, p. 109, l. 7; p. 112, l. 3). -*mau-na* is passive participle suffix; in form this term is merely passive participle of verb *wīmat'*. This verb is explained by Ishi's Yahi data. According to these, *wīmat'* means "to avoid certain ones of opposite sex to whom one is related by affinity"; in other words, a man must neither look at nor speak to his mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, a woman to her father-in-law and son-in-law. *wīman'mau-na* thus properly means "avoided because of affinity taboo" and very likely applies not only to "woman's son-in-law" but also to "woman's father-in-law," "man's mother-in-law," and "man's daughter-in-law."

44. 'igai-na, 'igai-na "wife's brother"; vocative 'igai-nā.

45. *djī'mayau-na* (C. Yana *djīmayau-na*) "man's sister's husband"; vocative *djī'mayau-nā*. Seems to contain verbal noun suffix -*yau-na*, but its further analysis is unclear.

46. *djīdjadja'wayau-na* "husband's sister"; vocative *djīdjadja-dja'wayau-nā*. In view of Yahi -*wī*- of corresponding *djīdjadja'wī-yau-na* (see below, II, 38), N. Yana -*wa*- is doubtless to be corrected to -*wai-yau-na* as in no. 47, but further analysis unclear.

47. *gāmaidjawai'yau-na* "woman's brother's wife"; vocative *gāmaidjawai'yau-nā*. -*yau-na* as in no 45, but further analysis unclear.

48. *u'naiyā-na* "brother-in-law or sister-in-law, when speaker is of opposite sex," i.e. "wife's sister," "husband's brother," "woman's sister's husband," and "man's brother's wife." It is analyzable into *u-* "to be," -'nai- "other, elsewhere," and *yā-na* "person," i.e. "person who is of other (sex)." Its exact Yahi equivalent *oxnaiyā-hi* (see below, II, 41) means "wife's sister" (possibly also other terms listed under *u'naiyā-na*), but was not used in ordinary speech; it was used only in myths by Coyote, Panther, and other characters.

II. YAHİ TERMS

1. *galsi* "father"; vocative *galsi-nā* (male speaking), *galsi* (female speaking). Also "father's (older or younger) brother." Ishi recognized *tc'igal-la* (see I, 1) as *garīmauna*, i.e., belonging to N. and C. Yana dialect.

2. *gan-na* "mother"; vocative *gan-nā* (male or female speaking). Also "mother's (older or younger) sister." According to Kroeber, *nīna* (see I, 2) was also used by Ishi.

3. *t!i'nāsi* "(man's or woman's) child; son, daughter" (cf. I, 3, 4). Does not properly correspond to our "son" and "daughter," as it is applied to one's child when he is not yet grown up, though able to run around.

4. *p!au'ni* "(man's or woman's) son."

5. *'i'sip!a* "(man's or woman's) son" or *'i'sip!ai'amauyā-hi*; vocative *'i'sip!a-nā* (male speaking), *'i'sip!ā* (female speaking). Also "man's brother's son" and "woman's sister's son." These terms are to be respectively analyzed as *'i'si* "man, male" and *-p!a* diminutive suffix, i.e. "little man"; and *'i'si* "man, male," *-p!ai-* incorporated form of *-p!a-*, *-a-* "to be," *-mau-* participle suffix, and *yā-hi* "person" (Yahi *-hi* is used in certain cases for N. and C. Yana *-na*, see I, 1), i.e. "being-little-man person." As plural is used *yuwunts!gi* "boys, sons"; *-ts!gi* is diminutive plural.

6. *mari'mip!a* "(man's or woman's) daughter" or *mari'mip!ai'amauyā-hi*; vocative *mari'mip!a-nā* (male speaking), *mari'mip!ā* female speaking). Also "man's brother's son" and "woman's sister's son." Analysis as in no. 5, except that for *'i'si* is substituted *mari'mi* "woman, female." As plural is used *'amait!gi* "girls, daughters"; for *-ts!gi* cf. no. 5.

7. *dut'yau-na* "man's older brother"; vocative *dut'yau-nā*. Also "man's father's brother's son older than self" and "man's mother's sister's son older than self." To be analyzed into *dut'* "to be grown up, older" and *-yau-na* verbal noun suffix, i.e. "being older." Plural *dut'yēwi* (*-yēwi* is plural correspondent of *-yau-na*).

8. *t!et'yau-na* "man's younger brother"; vocative *t!et'yau-nā*. Also "man's father's brother's son younger than self" and "man's mother's sister's son younger than self. *t!et'* may mean "to be younger," but I have not come across it in any other connection; *-yau-na* as in no. 7. Plural *t!et'yēwi*.

9. *mari'mi'yau-na* "man's (older or younger) sister"; vocative *mari'mi'yau*. Also "man's father's brother's daughter" and "man's

mother's sister's daughter." To be analyzed into *mari'mi* "woman" and *-yau-na* (see no. 7), i.e. "being woman." Plural *mari'mi'yêwi*.

10. *dut'mari'mi* "woman's older sister"; vocative *dut'mari'mi*. Also "woman's father's brother's daughter older than self" and "woman's mother's sister's daughter older than self." Compounded of *dut'*- (see no. 7) and *mari'mi* "woman," i.e. "older woman." Where no ambiguity would result, it seems that *dut'yauna* can be used instead of *dut'mari'mi*; thus, in explaining *oznaiyâ-hi* (see below, no. 41), Ishi paraphrased it as *mari'mi k' dut'yauna*, which can only mean "wife her older sister." Plural *dut'mari'miyâhi* (*yâhi* "people") is equivalent to N. and C. Yana *yarîwi* (cf. I, 6, 29, 33).

11. *t!et'womâri'mi* "woman's younger sister"; vocative *t!et'womâri'mi*. Also "woman's father's brother's daughter younger than self" and "woman's mother's sister's daughter younger than self." *t!et'*- as in no. 8; *-wo-* I cannot explain; *-mâri'mi* compounded form of *mari'mi* "woman." Probably *t!et'yauna* can also be used for "woman's younger sister" (cf. no. 10). Plural *t!et'wop!di* (for *-p!di* cf. C. Yana *p!udi-wi* "women").

12. *'i'si'yau-na* "woman's (older or younger) brother"; vocative *'i'si'yau*. Also "woman's father's brother's son" and "woman's mother's sister's son." To be analyzed into *'i'si* "man, male" and *-yau-na* (cf. no. 7), i.e. "being man." Plural *'i'siwit'yêwi* (*'i'si-wi* "men, males"; *-t'*- plural infix, as frequently; hence plural or collective suffix *-wi* seems to occur twice).

13. *ilauyâ-hi* "man's sister" (interpreted by Ishi as *mari'mi'yauna*, see no. 9). Used only by mythological characters, such as Coyote and Panther. Perhaps its range of meaning is wider, "*mari'mi'yauna*" being merely illustrative of its significance. Cf. N. and C. Yana *il'auyâ-na* "cousin" (I, 31).

14. *'amâwi* "(man's or woman's) father's mother," also "woman's son's son, daughter"; vocative *'amâwî* "father's mother!" "son's daughter!" "son's son!" (woman speaking), *'amâwi-nâ* "father's mother" (man speaking). *'amâwi* is further used for "(man's or woman's) father's mother's sister" and, reciprocally, "woman's sister's son's son, daughter." It may also be employed to refer to "father's father's wife" (not kin paternal grandmother), though *'a'yansiya* (see below, no. 22) seems to be more properly used for this affinity. Plural *'amâwiyâ-hi*.

15. *'awâwi* "(man's or woman's) father's father," also "man's son's son, daughter"; vocative *'awâwî-nâ* "father's father! son's son!" (man speaking), *'awâwî* "father's father!" (woman speaking), "son's

daughter!" (man speaking). 'awāwi is further used for "(man's or woman's) father's father's brother" and, reciprocally, "man's brother's son's son, daughter." Plural 'awāwiyā-hi.

16. 'a'djuwi "(man's or woman's) mother's mother," also "woman's daughter's son, daughter"; vocative 'a'djuwī. Plural 'a'djuwī-yā-hi. This term is used if maternal grandmother's husband (maternal grandfather) is alive, otherwise no. 17 is employed. 'a'djuwi may also be used to refer to "mother's father's wife" (not kin maternal grandmother), though 'a'yansiya (see below, no. 22) is more appropriate.

17. t'o'oi-na "(man's or woman's) mother's mother," perhaps also reciprocally "woman's daughter's son, daughter." Cf. N. and C. Yana t'u'ai-na (I, 18). This term is used if maternal grandmother's husband (maternal grandfather) is no longer alive.

18. ma'dju "(man's or woman's) mother's father," also "man's daughter's son, daughter"; vocative ma'dju-nā "mother's father! daughter's son!" (man speaking), ma'djū "mother's father!" (woman speaking), "daughter's daughter!" (man speaking). Plural ma'djuyā-hi.

19. mucdi "(man's or woman's) father's sister," also "woman's brother's son, daughter"; vocative mucdi. Plural mucdiwīyā-hi.

20. u'dji'yau-na "(man's or woman's) mother's brother," also "man's sister's son, daughter"; vocative u'dji'yau-nā "mother's brother's brother! sister's son!" (man speaking), u'dji'yau "mother's brother!" (woman speaking), "sister's daughter!" (man speaking). It is to be analyzed as u'dji- "to be old" and verbal noun suffix -yau-na, i.e. "being old" (cf. I, 26). This term is used further for "mother's sister's husband" (but see 'āp'dju'wīyau-na below, no. 46) and, reciprocally, "wife's sister's son, daughter"; "father's sister's husband," but apparently not "wife's brother's son, daughter" (see umāwagai-na below, no. 45); "father's mother's brother" and, reciprocally, "man's sister's son's son, daughter"; apparently also "man's father's sister's son" (see 'ō'yanmau-na below, no. 23). Plural 'u'djiwit'yēwi.

21. wa'dāt'imau-na "sister's son, daughter"; plural yēidāt'imāwi. For analysis see I, 27; Yahi yēi-, N. and C. Yana yai-, is plural stem corresponding to singular wa-. Ishi did not specify whether "man's sister's child" or "woman's sister's child" was meant. Comparison with N. Yana (see nos. 25 and 26) and Ishi's habit of using "sista" for both sister and brother (he had always to be very carefully con-

trolled on this point) make me suspect strongly that this term really means, as its etymology and levirate reference ("held as own child") would imply, "man's brother's child" and "woman's sister's child," thus including *'i'sip!a* and *mari'mip!a* (see nos. 5 and 6) in their reference to "nephew" and "niece").

22. *'a'yansiya*, plural *'a'di'yansiya*. This term covers several types of cousin relationship, also several remoter consanguineous and affinity relationships. It is used to refer to "woman's father's sister's daughter," "man's father's sister's daughter," and "man's mother's brother's daughter"; to "father's father's sister"; to "(man's or woman's) mother's brother's wife"; and to "father's father's wife" (not paternal grandmother by kin; *'amāwi* may also be used, see no. 14) and "mother's father's wife" (not maternal grandmother by kin; *'a'djuwi* may also be used, see no. 16). *'a'yansiya* may be analyzed as verb stem *'a'yan-* (of unascertainable meaning), agentive *-si*, and feminine suffix *-ya*). Its reciprocal term is in every case *'ō'yanmauna* (see below, no. 23).

23. *'ō'yanmau-na*, plural *'u'di'yanmāwi*; vocative *'ō'yanmau-nā*. This term covers several types of cousin relationship, also several affinity relationships. It is used to refer to "man's mother's brother's son," "woman's mother's brother's daughter," "woman's mother's brother's son," and "woman's father's sister's son"; to "woman's brother's son's son, daughter"; to "husband's sister's son, daughter"; and to "husband's (not own) son's son, daughter" and "husband's (not own) daughter's son, daughter." *'ō'yanmau-na* may be analyzed as *'ō'yan-* causative or active form of verb *'a'yan-* (see no. 22) and *-mau-na* passive participle suffix, i.e. approximately "made to stand in (reciprocal) relation to *'a'yansiya*." In only one recorded case ("man's mother's brother's son") is its reciprocal other than *'a'yansiya* (see no. 22). For this reason I am strongly inclined to believe that there is some mistake here and that *u'dji'yauna* in its sense of "man's father's sister's son" has as reciprocal not *'ō'yanmau-na*, as recorded, but *u'dji'yau-na* (see no. 20).

24. *'i'si* "husband, husband's brother." Possibly also "woman's sister's husband," for which no term was recorded. *'i'si* means properly "man, male."

25. *mari'mi* "wife, wife's sister." Possibly also "man's brother's wife," for which no term was recorded. *mari'mi* means properly "woman, female."

26. *yāhi* general term for "parent-in-law" and "child-in-law." Plural *yat'hīwi*.

27. *alts'ila'wana* general term for such "parents-in-law" and "children-in-law" as must not be spoken to or looked at (*wimat'*- is verb indicating such attitude to one, cf. I, 43), i.e. "woman's son-in-law, man's mother-in-law; man's daughter-in-law, woman's father-in-law." This term is compounded of *alts'ila* (cf. N. Yana *alts'ilā-na* "dead person appearing in one's dream, ghost," hence probably "tabooed person" generally) and *wana* (cf. I, 41 and see below, nos. 28-33, 40), i.e. "tabooed (father-, mother-, son-, or daughter-) in-law." Plural *ādilts'ilāwi'wana*.

28. *tc'ap'dju'i* "(man's or woman's) father-in-law"; vocative *tc'ap'dju'i*. Also "woman's sister's father-in-law" and "man's brother's father-in-law." Plural *tc'ap'dju'iwi*. *tc'ap'dju'i'wana*, compounded of *tc'ap'dju'i* and *-wana* (cf. no. 27) applies to "tabooed father-in-law," i.e. "woman's father-in-law, woman's sister's father-in-law."

29. *tc'ap'djup!un'-na* "(man's or woman's) mother-in-law." Also "woman's sister's mother-in-law" and "man's brother's mother-in-law." Compounded of *tc'ap'dju(i)* "father-in-law" (see no. 28) and *-p!ut'*- "woman." Plural *tc'ap'djup!ut'yā-hi*. *tc'ap'djup!ut'-wana*, compounded of *tc'ap'djup!ut'*- and *-wana* (cf. no. 27), applies to "tabooed mother-in-law," i.e. "man's mother-in-law, man's brother's mother-in-law."

30. *ne'ga'i* "(man's or woman's) son-in-law"; vocative *ne'ga'i*. Also "brother of son-in-law." Plural *net'ga'iwi*; vocative *net'ga'iwi*. *ne'ga'i'wana*, compounded of *ne'ga'i* and *-wana* (cf. no. 27), applies to "tabooed son-in-law," i.e. "woman's son-in-law, woman's son-in-law's brother."

31. *tc'a'waihi* "(man's or woman's) daughter-in-law"; vocative *tc'a'waihi*. Also "sister of daughter-in-law." Plural *tc'at'waihiwi*; vocative *tc'at'waihiwi*. *tc'awaihi'wana*, compounded of *tc'a'waihi* and *-wana* (cf. no. 27), applies to "tabooed daughter-in-law," i.e. "man's daughter-in-law, man's daughter-in-law's sister."

32. *ne'ga'imari'mi* "(man's or woman's) son-in-law's sister." Compounded of *ne'ga'i* (see no. 30) and *mari'mi* "woman, female," i.e. "son-in-law woman." When compounded with *-wana* (cf. no. 27), i.e. *ne'ga'imari'mi'wana*, it applies to "tabooed son-in-law's sister," i.e. "man's son-in-law's sister."

33. *tc'a'waihi'i'si* "(man's or woman's) daughter-in-law's brother." Compounded of *tc'a'waihi* (see no. 31) and *'i'si* "man, male," i.e. daughter-in-law man." Plural *tc'at'waihi'i'si*. When

compounded with *-wana* (cf. no. 27), i.e. *tc'a'waihi'i'si'wana*, it applies to "tabooed daughter-in-law's brother," i.e. "woman's daughter-in-law's brother."

34. *bul-la* (assimilated from **-na*) "(man's or woman's) son-in-law's or daughter-in-law's father"; vocative *bul-lā*. Plural *bulyā-hi*.

35. *bulmari'mi* "(man's or woman's) son-in-law's or daughter-in-law's mother"; vocative *bulmari'mī*. Compounded of no. 34 and *mari'mi* "woman, female." Plural *bulmari'miyā-hi*.

36. *djīma'yau-na* "man's sister's husband"; vocative *djīma'yau-nā*. Plural *djīt'mat'yēwi*. For analysis, cf. I, 45.

37. *ya'gaihi* "wife's brother"; vocative *ya'gaihi-nā*. Plural *yat'gaihiwi*; vocative *yat'gaihiwi-nā*.

38. *djīdjadja'wīyau-na* "husband's sister"; vocative *djīdjadja'wīyau-nā*. Plural *djīt'djadja'wi'yēwi*. For analysis cf. I, 46.

39. *gāmaidjawi'yau-na* "woman's brother's wife"; vocative *gāmaidjawi'yau*. Plural *gat'maidjawi'yēwi*. For analysis, cf. I, 47.

40. *k'ūt'c'dīsi* "daughter-in-law" (after death of son originally married to her), "son-in-law" (after death of daughter originally married to him), "parent-in-law" (after death of wife or husband who has been their daughter or son). This term seems to be used also for "new wife, sister of deceased," as applied to her by her new husband and her parents-in-law. Plural *k'ut'tc'dīsiwi*. When compounded with *-wana* (cf. no. 27), i.e. *k'ūt'c'dīsi'wana*, it applies to "tabooed child-in-law or parent-in-law" (after death of person whose marriage has brought about affinity), i.e. "man's mother-in-law" (after his wife's death), "man's daughter-in-law" (after his son's death), "woman's father-in-law" (after her husband's death), "woman's son-in-law" (after her daughter's death). *k'ūt'c'dīsi* may be analyzed into *k'u-*, *k'û-* "to be not," *-tc'di-* "to leave behind" (compounded of *-dja-* "off, away" and N. Yana *-di-* "to leave"; cf. N. Yana *ultc'di-* "to leave" from *uldja-* "to throw away"), and agentive *-si*, i.e. "one who is left behind without (wife, husband, son, or daughter)."⁵

41. *oxnaiyā-hi* "wife's sister." This term is used only by such mythological characters as Panther and Coyote. Its analysis is given

⁵ Not properly terms of relationship are: *k'umāp!āya* "widow" (N. Yana *k'umā!aya*; *k'u-* "to be not," *-mā* "along with," *-p!a-* verb suffix indicating state, *-ya* "female," i.e., "woman who has not [her husband] with her"); *p'unēsi* (also N. Yana) "widower" (*-si* agentive); *dī'galsi* "man whose child has died" (*-gal-* indicates removal of part from whole, e.g., N. Yana *dōgal' dī-* "to peel off skin," *-si* agentive, i.e., something like "man who is deprived of [his offspring]"); *dī'galwaya* "woman whose child has died" (*-ya* "female"); *tc'lumum'amauyā-hi* "male or female whose father or mother has died" (*-mau-* participle suffix, *yā-hi* "person").

above (see I, 48). Very likely, as suggested by N. Yana *u'naiyā-na*, its proper range of significance is wider; it may have embraced all meanings of *'i'si* "husband" and *mari'mi* "wife" but their literal ones (see above, nos. 24 and 25).

42. *p'êmo'o* "(man's or woman's) father's brother's wife," also "stepmother"; vocative *p'êmo'o-nā* (man speaking), *p'êmo'ô* (woman speaking). Plural *p'en'mo'oyā-hi*.

43. *dāt'ip!a* "husband's brother's son, daughter," also "woman's stepson, stepdaughter"; vocative *dāt'ip!ā*. To be analyzed into *dāt'i* (cf. C. Yana *dāt'i* "child," I, 5) and diminutive *-p!a*, i.e. "little child." Despite its literal significance, *dāt'ip!a* is used even for a grown-up man or woman.

44. *wa'nimāsi* "(man's or woman's) stepfather; man's stepson, stepdaughter"; vocative *wa'nimāsi-nā* "stepfather! stepson!" (said by man), *wa'nimāsi* "stepfather!" (said by woman), "stepdaughter!" (said by man). Cf. N. Yana *un'ima* "father's brother" (I, 23), C. Yana *wan'imāsi* "father's brother" (I, 24).

45. *umāwagai-na* "wife's brother's son, daughter"; vocative *umāwagai-nā*. Its reciprocal is *u'dji'yau-na*, which, among other uses, refers to "father's sister's husband" (see above, no. 20). Its analysis is unclear, but *u-* "to be" and *-mā-* "along with" seem plausible. It is clearly related to C. Yana *māwagai-na* (see I, 34), interpreted as "friend"; there is, however, no clear relation in meaning.

46. *'āp'dju'wīyau-na* "mother's sister's husband"; vocative *'āp'dju'wīyau-nā*. Analysis unclear except for *-yau-na* verbal noun suffix. Plural *'at'p'dju'wīyēwi*. Ishi stated that one's "wife's sister's children" (reciprocal to above) were addressed as one's own children, but he was not altogether intelligible here. "Mother's sister's husband" is apparently also covered by *u'dji'yau-na* (see above, no. 20).

47. *'onts!a'yau-na* "mother's father's wife" (not kin maternal grandmother), "father's father's wife" (not kin paternal grandmother), perhaps only after kin grandmother's death; vocative *'onts!a'yau-nā*. This term was not defined altogether satisfactorily; it leaves some room for doubt. Observe that its assigned meanings have already been covered by *'a'yansi-ya* (see above, no. 22). Its C. Yana etymological equivalent, *untc!ayau-na* "father's sister" (see I, 22), differs considerably in meaning. Plural *'ôdents!a'yau-na*.

III. DISCUSSION OF YANA TERMS

The number of Yahi terms of relationship corresponding etymologically to Northern and Central Yana terms is considerable. In many cases the meanings are identical, at least in part; in comparatively few others they diverge, though generally along sociologically intelligible lines. The following table presents a summary of the facts of linguistic relationship of kinship terms:

N. (AND C.) YANA	MEANING	YAHİ	MEANING
<i>gaisi-nā</i> (voc.)	father!	<i>galsi</i>	father; father's brother
<i>gannā</i> (voc.)	mother!	<i>ganna</i>	mother; mother's sister
<i>nāna</i>	mother	<i>nāna</i> (Kroeber)	mother
<i>p!aun'i</i>	son	<i>p!au'ni</i>	son
<i>t!inisi</i>	daughter, son (?)	<i>t!i'nisi</i>	child
<i>dāt'i</i> (C.)	child	<i>dāt'ip!a</i>	husband's brother's child; woman's stepchild
<i>'amait's!gi</i>	children	<i>'amait's!gi</i>	girls, daughters
<i>yuwunts!gi</i>	boys, sons	<i>yuwunts!gi</i>	boys, sons
<i>isī'yau-na</i>	woman's (older) brother	<i>'i'si'yau-na</i>	woman's brother; woman's father's brother's son; woman's mother's sister's son
<i>mari'miyau-na</i>	man's (older) sister	<i>mari'mi'yau-na</i>	man's sister; man's father's brother's daughter; man's mother's sister's daughter
<i>adjuwi</i>	father's mother (?)	<i>'a'djuwi</i>	mother's mother; woman's daughter's child
<i>amāwi</i>	woman's son's son	<i>'amāwi</i>	father's mother; woman's son's child; father's mother's sister; woman's sister's son's child
<i>amāwimarim'i</i>	woman's son's daughter		mother's mother (after death of mother's father)
<i>t'u'ai-na</i>	mother's mother	<i>t'o'oi-na</i>	
<i>t'u'aisi</i>	woman's daughter's son		
<i>t'u'aimarim'i</i>	woman's daughter's daughter		
<i>muxdi</i>	father's sister	<i>mucdi</i>	father's sister; woman's brother's child
<i>utnc!ayau-na</i> (C.)	father's sister	<i>'onts!a'yau-na</i>	mother's father's wife; father's father's wife
<i>un'ima,</i> <i>wan'imāsi</i> (C.)	father's brother	<i>wa'nimāsi</i>	stepfather; man's stepchild
<i>udjī'yau-na</i>	mother's brother	<i>u'dji'yau-na</i>	mother's brother; man's sister's child; mother's sister's husband; wife's sister's child; father's sister's husband; father's mother's brother; man's sister's son's child; man's father's sister's son
<i>wadāt' imau-na</i>	man's brother's son	<i>wa'dāt'i-mau-na</i>	"sister's" child
<i>wadāt' imaumari-</i> <i>m'i</i>	man's brother's daughter		
<i>il'awyā-na</i>	cousin	<i>ilauyā-hi</i>	man's sister (mythological)
<i>māwagaī-na</i> (C.)	friend	<i>umāwagaī-na</i>	wife's brother's child
<i>tc'ap'dju'i</i>	father-in-law	<i>tc'ap'dju'i</i>	father-in-law; woman's sister's father-in-law; man's brother's father-in-law

N. (AND C.) YANA	MEANING	YAHİ	MEANING
<i>tc'ap'djūp!un'-na</i>	mother-in-law	<i>tc'ap'dju-p!un'-na</i>	mother-in-law; woman's sister's mother-in-law; man's brother's mother-in-law
<i>nīgā'i</i>	son-in-law	<i>ne'ga'i</i>	son-in-law; son-in-law's brother
<i>tc'a'wai-na</i>	daughter-in-law	<i>tc'a'waihi</i>	daughter-in-law; daughter-in-law's sister
<i>wana</i> (C.)	son-in-law; man's mother-in-law	<i>-wana</i>	tabooed parent-in-law or child-in-law
<i>wīman'mau-na</i>	woman's son-in-law	<i>wīmat'</i>	"to have taboo relation toward affinity"
<i>'igai-na</i>	wife's brother	<i>ya'gaihi</i>	wife's brother
<i>djī(')mayau-na</i>	man's sister's husband	<i>djīma'yau-na</i>	man's sister's husband
<i>djīdjadja'wayau-na</i>	husband's sister	<i>djīdjadja'-wiyau-na</i>	husband's sister
<i>gāmaidjawai'yau-na</i>	woman's brother's wife	<i>gāmaidjawī'-yau-na</i>	woman's brother's wife
<i>w'naiyā-na</i>	wife's sister; husband's brother; woman's sister's husband; man's brother's wife	<i>oxnaiyā-hi</i>	wife's sister (mythological)

There is undoubtedly at least some element of error in comparing the northern with the Yahi terms. Were this removed, we should probably find even fewer discrepancies in meaning between the two sets than are revealed by the foregoing comparative table. In particular, the Northern Yana terms *adjuwi* and *amāwi* (*amāwi-marim'i*) have, quite likely, been fallaciously defined. Some of the more distinctive features of the Yana kinship system are listed in the following paragraphs:

1. Distinctive term for "son," but not for "daughter" (I, 3 = II, 4). "Daughter" is included in "child" (I, 4 = II, 3). Yahi "little man" (II, 5) and "little woman (II, 6) for "son" and "daughter" respectively are hardly true relationship terms, their proper interpretation being probably as "boy" and "girl."

2. Recognition of difference between "older brother" and "younger brother" and between "older sister" and "younger sister" (I, 6: 7 = II, 7: 8; I, 2: 1 = II, 10: 11; I, 10: 11). In Yahi there is no difference recognized between "woman's older brother" and "woman's younger brother" or between "man's older sister" and "man's younger sister." I am not at all certain that Northern Yana differs radically in this respect from Yahi. My notes are not as clear on this point as I could wish, but it seems not altogether unlikely⁶ that N. Yana *k!atc'u* (I, 9)

⁶ From incidental remarks made by Betty Brown in connection with *īsiyau* "woman's brother" (Yana Texts, 176, l. 12), I concluded that it was doubtful if *īsi'yau-na* necessarily meant "woman's older brother" alone, but that it was possible that women said *k!atc'u-nā* to their brothers before these were of age, *īsi'yau-nā* "being man" after puberty.

and *k!atdai-na* (I, 11; at least when used by male) are really pre-pubertal terms and that *marī'miyau-na* (I, 10) and *isi'yau-na* (I, 8) are respectively inclusive, as in Yahi, of "older and younger sister" and "older and younger brother." These terms themselves suggest by their etymology not relative seniority, but sex contrast. However, Northern Yana and Yahi do not need to correspond in detail.

3. Recognition of difference between male and female speaker. This applies to brothers and sisters (I, 6, 7: 8, 9 = II, 7, 8: 12; I, 10: 12 = II, 10, 11: 12; I, 11 seems to contradict this principle, perhaps only through misleading character of data as recorded); to men and women in relation to their nephews and nieces (as necessary consequence of principle of reciprocity, see 4, below); to men and women in relation to their grandchildren or grandchildren of brothers and sisters (again as necessary consequence of principle of reciprocity); to certain terms for "cousin" (II, 20: 23 "father's sister's son"; II, 22: 23 "mother's brother's daughter"); to spouse (I, 35: 36 = II, 24: 25); to certain affines (see 8 below for classification of brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law; II, 20: 23 "spouse's sister's child"; II, 45: 43 "spouse's brother's child"); and to stepchildren (II, 44: 43). It seems not unlikely that in the case of brother and sister terminology, the recognition of the sex of the speaker is a reflection of the semi-taboo relation that in many American tribes subsists between brother and sister, particularly after the maturity of the latter. Thus, among the Yana, social intercourse between brother and sister, after the playing days of childhood, was not free. To avoid the implication of too great familiarity, brother and sister addressed each other in the plural instead of the normal singular (Yana Texts, note 139). Both social custom and kinship feature are paralleled among the Nootka. However, the hypothesis here suggested needs to be followed up in detail among many tribes before great weight can be attached to it.

4. Reciprocity, i.e. application of same (or etymologically closely related) term to both members of related pair of individuals (e.g. paternal grandmother and woman's son's child, man's mother-in-law and woman's son-in-law). This principle is exemplified, though not always completely, in grandparents and grandchildren (II, 14; I, 16: 17 = II, 15; I, 18: 19, 20 = II, 16; II, 18); in granduncles (grand-aunts) and grandnephews (grandnieces) (see references for preceding category; further II, 20 "father's mother's brother, man's sister's son's child"; II, 22: 23 "father's father's sister, woman's brother's son's child"); in uncles (aunts) and nephews (nieces) (II, 19; II, 20);

in cousins (I, 31, 32; II, 22: 23⁷); in man's mother-in-law and woman's son-in-law (I, 41); in certain other relations of affinity (II, 20 "mother's sister's husband, wife's sister's child"; II, 22: 23⁷) "mother's brother's wife, husband's sister's child"; II, 27; II, 34, 35; II, 40); and in step-relationship (II, 44; II, 22: 23⁷ "father's father's wife, husband's son's child; mother's father's wife, husband's daughter's child").

5. Recognition of difference between relationship via father (reciprocally, son or brother) and via mother (reciprocally, daughter or sister). This applies to grandparents, reciprocally grandchildren (I, 13: 18 = II, 14: 16, 17; I, 14, 15: 19, 20 = II, 14: 16; II, 15: 18); to granduncles and grandaunts, reciprocally grandnephews and grandnieces (see references for preceding category; further, II, 20 "father's mother's brother, man's sister's son's child"; II, 22 "father's father's sister": 23 "woman's brother's son's child"); to uncles and aunts, reciprocally nephews and nieces (I, 21, 22: 25 = II, 19: 2 "mother's sister"; I, 23, 24: 26 = II, 1 "father's brother": 20; I, 27, 28: 29 "man's sister's child" = II, 5, 6, 21 [?] "man's brother's child": 20 "man's sister's child"; II, 19 "woman's brother's child": 5, 6, 21 [?] "woman's sister's child"); to cousins (II, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 "father's brother's child, mother's sister's child": 20 [?], 22, 23 "father's sister's child, mother's brother's child"); to certain terms of affinity (II, 46 "mother's sister's husband": 20 "father's sister's husband";⁸ II, 20 "wife's sister's child": 45; II, 22 "mother's brother's wife": 42 "father's brother's wife"; II, 23 "husband's sister's child": 43 "husband's brother's child"); and to certain step-relationships (II, 14 "father's father's wife": 16 "mother's father's wife"⁹).

6. Merging of paternal (reciprocally, fraternal) and maternal (reciprocally, sororal) lineage (reverse of 5). This feature is not fundamentally characteristic of Yana, and it is doubtful if all recorded cases are genuine (I, 16 [?]; I, 29 "woman's brother's or sister's child"; I, 31, 32; II, 20 "father's or mother's sister's husband"; II, 22 "father's or mother's father's wife"; II, 23 "husband's son's or daughter's child"; II, 47 [?]).

7. Secondary sex discrimination (in contradistinction to such primary discriminations as grandfather and grandmother or uncle and

⁷ *a'yansiya* (II, 22) and *o'yanmau-na* (II, 23) are etymologically related and form in effect a reciprocal kinship pair.

⁸ II, 20, however, seems to include also "mother's sister's husband" (see 6).

⁹ II, 22, however, may be employed for both of these relationships.

aunt, in which cases etymologically unrelated stems are used). These embrace certain cases of brother and sister (I, 6: 12 = II, 7: 10; II, 8: 11); of grandchildren (I, 14: 15; I, 19: 20); of nephew and niece (I, 27: 28); of terms of affinity (I, 37: 38 = II, 28: 29; II, 30: 32; II, 31: 33; II, 34: 35). Note also *'a'yansiya* (II, 22), which is a feminine derivative of the stem contained in its reciprocal term *'o'yanmau-na* (II, 23); the latter term, however, would seem to include several feminine references. Particularly noteworthy is the secondary origin of "mother-in-law," literally "father-in-law woman" (I, 38 = II, 29). The same feature is found also in Chimariko:¹⁰ *-maku* "father-in-law," *-mako-sa* "mother-in-law" (Chimariko *-sa* corresponds to Yana feminine *-ya*).

8. Classification of brothers-in-law and sister-in-law according to whether speaker and relative are of same or different sex. When the speaker and relative are of the same sex (man's sister's husband, wife's brother, woman's brother's wife, husband's sister), a distinctive term is used for each of the four relationships (I, 44 = II, 37; I, 45 = II, 36; I, 46 = II, 38; I, 47 = II, 39). When they are of opposite sex (man's brother's wife, wife's sister, woman's sister's husband, husband's brother), they are either lumped together under a single term (I, 48 = II, 41) or, in Yahi, identified with husband or wife (II, 24, 25).

9. Merging of terms of consanguinity and affinity (including step-relationship). Generally these two classes of terms of relationship are kept rigidly apart, but there are certain cases of merging in Yana (I, 14, 16; II, 20; II, 22, 23).

10. Merging of distinct generations, apart from cases of reciprocity. This does not happen often (II, 20, 22, 23).

11. Distinction in terminology dependent on whether third party (connecting link in terms of affinity) is alive or dead. (a) In terms of consanguinity (II, 16: 17); (b) in terms of affinity (II, 28, 29, 30, 31: 40). It is possible that this principle operates to a greater extent than would appear from recorded evidence.

12. Reflection of taboo relationship (man's mother-in-law, man's daughter-in-law, woman's father-in-law, woman's son-in-law; also certain remoter relationships) in kinship terminology (I, 41 "man's mother-in-law, woman's son-in-law";¹¹ I, 43; II, 27; *-wana* forms in II, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 40).

¹⁰ Dixon, R. B., *The Chimariko Indians and Language*, Present series, v, 374.

¹¹ But also "man's son-in-law."

13. Reflection of levirate custom (marriage of widow by brother of deceased, marriage of widower by sister of deceased) in kinship terminology.¹² The cases involved may be grouped into two classes: (a) those which depend on what may be called the sociological equivalence of brothers and of sisters; and (b) those which represent step-relationship in terms of the levirate. Under (a) come the following cases: identification of paternal uncle and maternal aunt with father and mother respectively (II, 1, 2); of man's brother's children and of woman's sister's children with own children (II, 5, 6; I, 27 = II, 21); of cousins on paternal uncle's or maternal aunt's side with brothers and sisters (II, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12); of grandfather with grandfather's brother and of grandmother with grandmother's sister, reciprocally of man's grandchild with his brother's grandchild and of woman's grandchild with her sister's grandchild (II, 14, 15); of husband with husband's brother and of wife with wife's sister (II, 24, 25); of parent-in-law with man's brother's or woman's sister's parent-in-law, or son-in-law with son-in-law's brother, and of daughter-in-law with daughter-in-law's sister (II, 28, 29, 30, 31). Under (b) come the following cases: identification of father's brother's wife with stepmother, reciprocally of husband's brother's child with woman's stepchild, itself meaning literally "little child" (II, 42, 43); etymological identity of N. and C. Yana terms for paternal uncle with Yahi term for stepfather (I, 23, 24; II, 44). It should be noted that the dependence of these facts of terminology on the custom of the levirate was throughout quite clear and practically self-evident to Ishi.

It is worth noting that of the four recognizable cases of kinship terminology reflecting some feature of social usage (3, 11,¹³ 12, 13) three are symptomatic of a taboo or semi-taboo.

¹² For a general treatment of this matter, with use of Yahi data, see Sapir, E., *Terms of Relationship and the Levirate*. Am. Anth., n. s., xviii, 327-337, 1916.

¹³ Change of term undoubtedly connected with mourning taboo, i.e., taboo of explicitly or implicitly mentioning the deceased person.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS—(CONTINUED)

Vol. 7.	1. The Emeryville Shellmound, by Max Uhle. Pp. 1-106, plates 1-12, with 38 text figures. June, 1907.....	1.25
	2. Recent Investigations bearing upon the Question of the Occurrence of Neocene Man in the Auriferous Gravels of California, by William J. Sinclair. Pp. 107-130, plates 13-14. February, 1908.....	.35
	3. Pomo Indian Basketry, by S. A. Barrett. Pp. 133-306, plates 15-30, 231 text figures. December, 1908.....	1.75
	4. Shellmounds of the San Francisco Bay Region, by N. C. Nelson. Pp. 302-356, plates 32-34. December, 1909.....	.50
	5. The Ellis Landing Shellmound, by N. C. Nelson. Pp. 357-426, plates 36-50. April, 1910..... Index, pp. 427-443.	.75
Vol. 8.	1. A Mission Record of the California Indians, from a Manuscript in the Bancroft Library, by A. L. Kroeber. Pp. 1-27. May, 1908.....	.20
	2. The Ethnography of the Cahulla Indians, by A. L. Kroeber. Pp. 29-68, plates 1-15. July, 1908.....	.75
	3. The Religion of the Luiseño and Diegueño Indians of Southern California, by Constance Goddard Dubois. Pp. 69-186, plates 16-19. June, 1908.....	1.25
	4. The Culture of the Luiseño Indians, by Philip Stedman Sparkman. Pp. 187-234, plate 20. August, 1908.....	.50
	5. Notes on Shoshonean Dialects of Southern California, by A. L. Kroeber. Pp. 235-269. September, 1909.....	.35
	6. The Religious Practices of the Diegueño Indians, by T. F. Waterman. Pp. 271-353, plates 21-28. March, 1910..... Index, pp. 359-366.	.80
Vol. 9.	1. Yana Texts, by Edward Sapir, together with Yana Myths collected by Roland B. Dixon. Pp. 1-235. February, 1910.....	2.50
	2. The Chumash and Costanoan Languages, by A. L. Kroeber. Pp. 237-271. November, 1910.....	.35
	3. The Languages of the Coast of California North of San Francisco, by A. L. Kroeber. Pp. 273-435, and map. April, 1911..... Index, pp. 437-439.	1.50
Vol. 10.	1. Phonetic Constituents of the Native Languages of California, by A. L. Kroeber. Pp. 1-12. May, 1911.....	.10
	2. The Phonetic Elements of the Northern Palute Language, by T. T. Waterman. Pp. 13-44, plates 1-5. November, 1911.....	.45
	3. Phonetic Elements of the Mohave Language, by A. L. Kroeber. Pp. 45-96, plates 6-20. November, 1911.....	.65
	4. The Ethnology of the Salinan Indians, by J. Alden Mason. Pp. 97-240, plates 21-37. December, 1912.....	1.75
	5. Papago Verb Stems, by Juan Dolores. Pp. 241-263. August, 1913.....	.25
	6. Notes on the Chilula Indians of Northwestern California, by Pliny Earle Goddard. Pp. 265-288, plates 38-41. April, 1914.....	.30
	7. Chilula Texts, by Pliny Earle Goddard. Pp. 289-379. November, 1914..... Index, pp. 381-385.	1.00
Vol. 11.	1. Elements of the Kato Language, by Pliny Earle Goddard. Pp. 1-176, plates 1-45. October, 1912.....	2.00
	2. Phonetic Elements of the Diegueño Language, by A. L. Kroeber and J. P. Harrington. Pp. 177-188. April, 1914.....	.10
	3. Sarsi Texts, by Pliny Earle Goddard. Pp. 189-277. February, 1915.....	1.00
	4. Serian, Tequistlatecan, and Hohan, by A. L. Kroeber. Pp. 279-290. February, 1915.....	.10
	5. Dichotomous Social Organization in South Central California, by Edward Winslow Gifford. Pp. 291-296. February, 1916.....	.05
	6. The Delineation of the Day-Signs in the Aztec Manuscripts, by T. T. Waterman. Pp. 297-398. March, 1916.....	1.00
Vol. 12.	7. The Mutsun Dialect of Costanoan Based on the Vocabulary of De la Cuesta, by J. Alden Mason. Pp. 399-472. March, 1916..... Index, pp. 473-479.	.70
	1. Composition of California Shellmounds, by Edward Winslow Gifford. Pp. 1-29. February, 1916.....	.30
Vol. 12.	2. California Place Names of Indian Origin, by A. L. Kroeber. Pp. 31-69. June, 1916.....	.40
	3. Arapaho Dialects, by A. L. Kroeber. Pp. 71-138. June, 1916.....	.70
	4. Miwok Moieties, by Edward Winslow Gifford. Pp. 139-194. June, 1916.....	.55
	5. On Plotting the Inflections of the Voice, by Cornelius E. Bradley. Pp. 195-218, plates 1-5. October, 1916.....	.25

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS—(CONTINUED)

6. Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu Kinship Terms, by Edward Winslow Gifford. Pp. 219-248. February, 1917	.30
7. Bandelier's Contribution to the Study of Ancient Mexican Social Organization, by T. T. Waterman. Pp. 249-282. February, 1917	.35
8. Miwok Myths, by Edward Winslow Gifford. Pp. 283-338, plate 6. May, 1917	.55
9. California Kinship Systems, A. L. Kroeber. Pp. 339-396. May, 1917	.60
10. Ceremonies of the Pomo Indians, by S. A. Barrett. Pp. 397-441, 8 text-figures. July, 1917	.45
11. Pomo Bear Doctors, by S. A. Barrett. Pp. 443-465, plate 7. July, 1917	.25
Index, pp. 467-473.	
Vol. 13. 1. The Position of Yana in the Hokan Stock, by E. Sapir. Pp. 1-34. July, 1917	.35
2. The Yana Indians, 1918	.75
3. Yahi Archery, by Saxton T. Pope. Pp. 103-152, plates 21-37. March, 1918	.75
4. Yana Terms of Relationship, by Edward Sapir. Pp. 153-173. March, 1918	.25
Vol. 14. 1. The Language of the Salinan Indians, by J. Alden Mason. Pp. 1-154. January, 1918	\$1.75
Volumes now completed:	
Volume 1. 1903-1904. 378 pages and 30 plates	\$4.25
Volume 2. 1904-1907. 393 pages and 21 plates	3.50
Volume 3. 1905. The Morphology of the Hupa Language. 344 pages	3.50
Volume 4. 1906-1907. 374 pages, with 5 tables, 16 plates, and map	3.50
Volume 5. 1907-1910. 384 pages, with 25 plates	3.50
Volume 6. 1908. 400 pages, with 3 maps	3.50
Volume 7. 1907-1910. 443 pages and 50 plates	3.50
Volume 8. 1908-1910. 369 pages and 28 plates	3.50
Volume 9. 1910-1911. 439 pages	3.50
Volume 10. 1911-1914. 385 pages and 41 plates	3.50
Volume 11. 1911-1913. 479 pages and 45 plates	3.50
Volume 12. 1916-1917. 473 pages and 7 plates	5.00

Note.—The University of California Publications are offered in exchange for the publications of learned societies and institutions, universities and libraries. Complete lists of all the publications of the University will be sent upon request. For sample copies, lists of publications or other information, address the Manager of the University Press, Berkeley, California, U. S. A. All matter sent in exchange should be addressed to The Exchange Department, University Library, Berkeley, California, U. S. A.

AGRICULTURAL SCIENCES.—E. B. Babcock, J. W. Gilmore, and C. B. Lipman, Editors. Price per volume \$5.00. Volumes I, II, and III in progress.

ASTRONOMY.—W. W. Campbell, Editor. (Lick Observatory, Mt. Hamilton, Cal.)

Publications of the Lick Observatory.—Volumes I-XII completed.

BOTANY.—W. A. Setchell, Editor. Price per volume, Volumes I-IV inclusive, \$3.50; Volume V and following, \$5.00. Volumes I (pp. 418), II (pp. 360), III (pp. 400), and IV (pp. 397) completed. Volumes V, VI, and VII in progress.

CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY.—James T. Allen, William A. Merrill, Herbert C. Nutting, Editors. Price per volume \$2.00. Volumes I (pp. 270), and II (pp. 312), completed. Volume III in progress.

EDUCATION.—Edited by the Department of Education. Price per volume \$2.50.

ENGINEERING.—Edited under the direction of the Engineering Departments. This series will contain contributions from the Colleges of Mechanics, Mining, and Civil Engineering. Volume I in progress.

GEOGRAPHY.—Ruliff S. Holway, Editor. Volume I (pp. 510) completed. Price, \$5.00.

GEOLOGY.—Bulletin of the Department of Geology. Andrew C. Lawson and John C. Merriam, Editors. Price per volume for volumes I-VII, \$3.50; for volumes VIII and following, \$5. Volumes I (pp. 435), II (pp. 457), III (pp. 482), IV (pp. 462), V (pp. 458), VI (pp. 454), VII (pp. 504), VIII (pp. 583), and IX (pp. 545), completed. Volume X in progress.

MODERN PHILOLOGY.—Volumes I (pp. 400), II (pp. 373), III (pp. 510), IV (pp. 498), and V (pp. 478) completed.

PATHOLOGY.—Frederick P. Gay, Editor. Price per volume \$2.50. Volume I (pp. 347) completed. Volume II in progress.

PHILOSOPHY.—C. H. Rieber, Editor. Volume I (pp. 262) completed. Volume II in progress. Price per volume \$2.00.

PHYSIOLOGY.—S. S. Maxwell, Editor. Price per volume \$2.00. Volumes I (pp. 217), II (pp. 215), III (pp. 197), and IV (pp. 228) completed. Volume V in progress.

PSYCHOLOGY.—George M. Stratton, Editor. Volumes I and II in progress.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA CHEONICLE.—An official record of University life, issued quarterly, edited by a committee of the Faculty. Price, \$1.00 per year. Current volume No. XX.

Address all orders or requests for information concerning the above publications to The University of California Press, Berkeley, California.