YANA TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP

BY

EDWARD SAPIR

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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 tct!, 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 302.
2 Terms of Relationship and the Levirate, Am. Anthrop., 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'ail-nā "'rock!'" from k'ail-na). I may state here once for all that Yana terms of relationship are treated precisely like other nouns as regards possessive pro-nominal affixes (e.g. dji tc'igal'-ldja "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'-ldja "my mouth" from bal-la "mouth"). Vocative gaisi-nd 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. nina "mother"; vocative gan-ni. 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 plau'nī "son" (see below, II, 5 and 6). One may also use dji wa'ala-mari'mindja "my girl" for "my daughter," if it is necessary to be explicit, but wa'ala-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, 'amaits!gi (or 'amaits!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 'amaits!gi seems to be confined in use to girls (see II, 6).

3. plau'nī "son"; vocative plau'nī-nā or tlinisi-nā. Inasmuch as tlinisi-nā means also "daughter" (see no. 4) and tlinisi is used in Yahi for both "son" and "daughter," it seems plausible to infer that Northern Yana tlinisi means "son" or "daughter," i.e. "child." This is supported by its etymology; cf. tlini "to be little."

4. tlinisi "daughter"; vocative tlinisi-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 plau'nī "son" (see below, II, 5 and 6). One may also use dji wa'ala-mari'mindja "my girl" for "my daughter," if it is necessary to be explicit, but wa'ala-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, 'amaits!gi (or 'amaits!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 'amaits!gi seems to be confined in use to girls (see II, 6).

5. C. Yana dāt'ī "child," used for both "son" and "daughter"; vocative dāt'ī-nā. Plural dāt'ī-ivi. It corresponds to N. Yana tlinisi.

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

7. wayēmai’mā-(’nidja) “(my) younger brother” (male speaking); vocative wayēmai’mā’-nā. This term may be analyzed as wa- “to sit,” -yēmai-(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. isi’yau-na, isi’yau-na “older brother” (female speaking); vocative isi’yau-nd. 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 isi-’yau-na (see below, II, 12) is used to refer to “woman’s brother,” whether older or younger.

9. k’lət’u “younger brother” (female speaking); vocative k’lət’u-nā. This and k’lədai-na (no. 11) are the only terms for “brother” and “sister” which are not clearly analyzable. It has no Yahi equivalent.

10. mari’miyau-na “older sister” (male speaking); vocative mari’miyau-nā. Central Yana mari’miyau-na. This term may be analyzed as N. Yana mari’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’lədai-na “younger sister” (male or female speaking); vocative k’lədai-nā. Central Yana k’ləndai-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 *adjui* 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 confused 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. *amāvimarim'i* "woman’s son’s daughter"; vocative *amāvimarim'i-nā*. Compounded of no. 14 and *mari'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'ai-marim'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'aiğanasi*, 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'ai-marim'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'ai-marim'i* "woman’s daughter’s daughter"; vocative *t'u'ai-marim'i-nā*. Compounded of no. 18 and *mari'mi* "woman."

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

22. C. Yana *untclayau-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-ná. 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 udji'yau-na "mother's brother" (see no. 26) agrees with Yahi u'dji'yau-na (see below). Silkworm, who is called "uncle" in above passage, answers with wadâl'imauyariwina "O nephews!" (Yana Texts, p. 57, l. 11); but wadâl'imaun-na means "man's brother's son" in N. Yana (see no. 27). We must therefore assume either that C. Yana un'ima and wadâl'imauna 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'imasi (see no. 24), with which it is etymologically connected.

24. C. Yana wan'imasi "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'nimasi "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-ná.

26. udji'yau-na "mother's brother"; vocative udji'yau-ná. This term is to be analyzed as udji "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. wadät'imaun-ña "man's brother's son"; vocative wadät'imaun-nä. Plural wadät'imaun-yarlwi; vocative wadät'imaun-yarlwi-nä (for -yarlwi cf. no. 6). According to Sam Batwi wadät'imauna means "man's brother's child," whether boy or girl. Its analysis is clear: wa- "to consider as," ddt'i "child" (see no. 5), and passive participle suffix -mau-na, 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' ddt'imaun-ña was interpreted as "sister's child."

28. waddt'imauniarim'i "man's brother's daughter"; vocative waddt'imautnmarim'i. Compounded of no. 27 and mari'mi "daughter." 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-yarlwi.

30. iw'nt!inisi "(man's) brother's children, nephews and nieces" (Yana Texts, p. 184, l. 17). Evidently compounded with t!inisi (see no. 4).

31. il'auya-ña "cousin"; vocative il'auyä or il'auyä-nä. Evidently compounded with yä-na "person." Plural il'au-yarlwi. In Yahi (see below, II, 13) ilauyä-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. garäk'aiyä-ña "cousin"; vocative garäk'aiyä or garäk'aiyä-nä. Evidently compounded with yä-na "person." I do not know how this term differs in range of significance, if at all, from il'auyä-ña (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 yarlwi "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'auyä-ña, plural il'au-yarlwi (see no. 31).

34. C. Yana mäwagai-ña "friend"; vocative mäwagai-nä. Plural mäwagai-yarlwi.

35. k!utplamau-ña (N. Yana) "husband"; vocative k!utplamau-yi. 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!amaun-"a wife"; vocative wak!alp!amaun-nd. 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-nd.

38. tc'ap'djüp!un-"a mother-in-law"; vocative tc'ap'djüp!un-nd. Compounded of no. 37 and stem -p!ut '-"woman" (cf. plural p!ut'diwi "women" and -p!di "woman" in certain compounds).

39. nigä'i '(man's or woman's) son-in-law"; vocative nigä'i-nd.

40. tc'a'wai-"a daughter-in-law"; vocative tc'a'wai-nda.

41. C. Yana wana "(man's or woman's) son-in-law"; vocative waid or ai'wana, ai'wand. This term in its specific sense of "son-in-law" seems peculiar to C. Yana, which has no term corresponding to N. Yana nigä'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'usä'wanasi'i '(my, man's) son-in-law will smoke' (ibid., l. 8), dol'lip!annai'wanak'ihan'dj "I (woman) have covered over very thickly (my) son-in-law's (sleeping place)" (op. cit., p. 111, l. 1), k!undjumaip!amtc'twana'ask'inigi "we, father-in-law and son-in-law, like each other."

42. C. Yana 'awaudjä "(man's or woman's) daughter-in-law." As N. Yana tc'a'wai-"a daughter-in-law."
(see below, II, 31), this term is doubtless of secondary origin. It may be analyzed as ‘a- ‘woman goes,’ -wa- ‘to,’ and -dja- ‘off, away,’ i.e. ‘woman who goes off (from her own house) to (her husband’s people).’

43. C. Yana wiman’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 wimat’. This verb is explained by Ishi’s Yahi data. According to these, wimat’- 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. wiman’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. dji’mayau-na (C. Yana djimayau-na) ‘man’s sister’s husband’; vocative dji’mayau-nā. Seems to contain verbal noun suffix -yau-na, but its further analysis is unclear.

46. djidjadja’wayau-na ‘husband’s sister’; vocative djidja’dja’wayau-nā. In view of Yahi -wi- of corresponding djidjadja’wi’-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,’ ’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. YAHI TERMS

1. galsi “father”; vocative galsi-nā (male speaking), galsi (female speaking). Also “father’s (older or younger) brother.” Ishi recognized te'igail-la (see I, 1) as garimauna, i.e., belonging to N. and C. Yana dialect.

2. gan-na “mother”; vocative gan-na (male or female speaking). Also “mother’s (older or younger) sister.” According to Kroeber, nina (see I, 2) was also used by Ishi.

3. t!i nisi “(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. plau’ni “(man’s or woman’s) son.”

5. ’i’sipla “(man’s or woman’s) son” or ’i’siplai’amauya-hi; vocative ’i’sipla-nā (male speaking), ’i’siplā (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 -plai diminutive suffix, i.e. “little man”; and ’i’si “man, male,” -plai- incorporated form of -pla-, -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’mipla “(man’s or woman’s) daughter” or mari’imiplai’amauya-hi; vocative mari’imipla-nā (male speaking), mari’imiplā (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 ’amaits!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’yewi (yewi is plural correspondent of -yau-na).

8. t!let’yau-na “man’s younger brother”; vocative t!let’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!let’- may mean “to be younger,” but I have not come across it in any other connection; -yau-na as in no. 7. Plural t!let’yewi.

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 -you-na (see no. 7), i.e. "being woman." Plural mari'miyewi.

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 oxnaiyd-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'miydhi (ydh,i "people") is equivalent to N. and C. Yana yariwvi (ef. I, 6, 29, 33).

11. t!et'womari'mi "woman's younger sister"; vocative t!et'wo-mari'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; -mari'mi compounded form of mari'mi "woman." Probably t!et'yauna can also be used for "woman's younger sister" (ef. no. 10). Plural t!et'wop!di (for -pldi cf. C. Yana pludi-wi "women")."

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

13. i'ayuyahi "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'auy&-na "cousin" (I, 31).

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

15. 'awawi "(man's or woman's) father's father," also "man's son's son, daughter"; vocative 'awawi-nä "father's father! son's son!" (man speaking), 'awawi "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'djuwi. Plural 'a'djuwiyā-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 sister’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'djuwiyā-hi.

19. mucdī “(man’s or woman’s) father’s sister,” also “woman’s brother’s son, daughter”; vocative mucdī. Plural mucdīwiyā-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! 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 ’ōp’dju’weiyau-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 umawagai-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’yammau-na below, no. 23). Plural u’djiwiyē-wi.

21. wa’dāt'imau-na “sister’s son, daughter”; plural yeidāt'īmāvī. For analysis see I, 27; Yahi yei-, 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’ta and mari’mit’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; ’amawi 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 ’o’yamau-na (see below, no. 23).

23. ’o’yamau-na, plural ’u’di’yamau-wi; vocative ’o’yamau-na. 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 son,” “man’s father’s sister’s son”; to “woman’s brother’s son, daughter”; to “husband’s sister’s son, daughter”; and to “husband’s (not own) son, daughter” and “husband’s (not own) daughter’s son, daughter.” ’o’yamau-na may be analyzed as ’o’yam-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 ’o’yamau-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.”

27. **alts'ilal'a-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'ilal'a (cf. N. Yana alts'ilal'a-na "dead person appearing in one's dream, ghost," hence probably "tabooed person" generally) and **waita** (cf. N. Yana waita-na "tabooed (father-, mother-, son-, or daughter-) in-law.")

Plural **adilts'ilawii-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-i'wana**. **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 "sister of son-in-law.") Plural **tc'ap'djup!un'-h**. **tc'ap'djup!un'-wana**, compounded of **tc'ap'djup!un** 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'wii**; vocative **net'ga'wii**. **ne'ga'wii-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'waawii**; vocative **tc'at'waawii**. **tc'a'waihi-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 **marimari** "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'waawii'i'si**. When
compounded with -wvana (cf. no. 27), i.e. *tc'a'waih'i'i s'i'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-la. Plural bulya-hi.

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


37. ya'gaihi "wife's brother"; vocative ya'gaihi-nà. Plural yat'-gaikìwi; vocative yat'gaikìwi-nà.


40. k'utc'di'wìsi "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'utc'di'wìsi'wana. When compounded with -wvana (cf. no. 27), i.e. k'utc'di'wìsi'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'utc'di'wìsi may be analyzed into k'u-, k'ù- "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 ulđja- "to throw away"), and agentive -si, i.e. "one who is left behind without (wife, husband, son, or daughter)." 5

41. oxnaiyà-hí "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'umàgal'üga "widow" (N. Yana k'umàgal'üga; k'u- "to be not," -mà "along with," -'la verb suffix indicating state, -ya "female," i.e. "woman who has not [her husband] with her"); p'tunéxi (also N. Yana) "widower" (-si agentive); dì'galísì "man whose child has died" (gal- indicates removal of part from whole, e.g. N. Yana dògal'ídi- "to peel off skin," -si agentive, i.e. something like "man who is deprived of [his offspring]"); dì'galwàya "woman whose child has died" (ya "female"); tc'umum 'amayà-hí "male or female whose father or mother has died" (man- participle suffix, ýà-hí "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’emo’o ‘(man’s or woman’s) father’s brother’s wife,’’ also ‘‘stepmother’’; vocative p’emo’o-nā (man speaking), p’emo’o (woman speaking). Plural p’en’mo’oyā-hi.

43. dāt’ipla ‘husband’s brother’s son, daughter,’’ also ‘‘woman’s stepson, stepdaughter’’; vocative dāt’iplā. 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’ipla is used even for a grown-up man or woman.

44. wa’nimasi ‘‘(man’s or woman’s) stepfather; man’s stepson, stepdaughter’’; vocative wa’nimasi-na ‘‘stepfather! stepson!’’ (said by man), wa’nimasi ‘‘stepfather!’’ (said by woman), ‘‘stepdaughter!’’ (said by man). Cf. N. Yana un’ima ‘‘father’s brother’’ (I, 23), C. Yana wan’imasi ‘‘father’s brother’’ (I, 24).

45. umāwagai-na ‘‘wife’s brother’s son, daughter’’; vocative umawagai-na. 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. ’ap’dju’wiyau-na ‘‘mother’s sister’s husband’’; vocative ’ap’dju’wiyau-nā. Analysis unclear except for -yau-na verbal noun suffix. Plural ’at’p’dju’wiyewi. 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’la’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’la’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’layau-na ‘‘father’s sister’’ (see I. 22), differs considerably in meaning. Plural ’odents’la’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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N. (AND C.) YANA</th>
<th>MEANING</th>
<th>YAHI</th>
<th>MEANING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gaisi-nā (voc.)</td>
<td>father!</td>
<td>gaisi</td>
<td>father; father's brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ganna (voc.)</td>
<td>mother!</td>
<td>ganna</td>
<td>mother; mother's sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nīna</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>nīna (Kroeber)</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p'laun'i</td>
<td>son</td>
<td>p'laun'i</td>
<td>son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'il'īni</td>
<td>daughter, son (?)</td>
<td>t'il'īni</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dātt'ī (C.)</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>dātt'ī</td>
<td>husband's brother's child; woman's stepchild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'tamaits'gi</td>
<td>children</td>
<td>'tamaits'gi</td>
<td>girls, daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuuwants'gi</td>
<td>boys, sons</td>
<td>yuuwants'gi</td>
<td>boys, sons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ist'yau-na</td>
<td>woman's (older) brother</td>
<td>'t'si'yau-na</td>
<td>woman's father's brother's son; woman's mother's sister's son; man's sister; man's father's brother's daughter; man's mother's sister's daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marli'miyau-na</td>
<td>man's (older) sister</td>
<td>marli'miyau-na</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nādjīwi</td>
<td>father's mother (?)</td>
<td>'at'adjīwi</td>
<td>mother's mother; woman's daughter's child father's mother; woman's son's child; father's mother's sister; woman's sister's son's child mother's mother (after death of father's father)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'amāwi</td>
<td>woman's son's son</td>
<td>'amāwi</td>
<td>father's mother; woman's son's child; father's mother's sister; woman's sister's son's child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'amāwi'imarim'i</td>
<td>woman's son's daughter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t't'ū'ai-na</td>
<td>mother's mother</td>
<td>t'o'oi-na</td>
<td>mother's mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t't'ū'ai</td>
<td>woman's daughter's son</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>t't'ū'aimarim'i</td>
<td>woman's daughter's brother</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mūxdi</td>
<td>father's sister</td>
<td>mūxdi</td>
<td>father's sister; woman's brother's child mother's father's wife; father's wife stepfather; man's stepchild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unt'eyau-na (C.)</td>
<td>father's sister</td>
<td>unt'eyau-na</td>
<td>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's child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>un'ma,</td>
<td>father's brother</td>
<td>wa'nimasi</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>wan't'māsi (C.)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>udjī'yau-na</td>
<td>mother's brother</td>
<td>udjī'yau-na</td>
<td>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's child</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa'dātt'imaunari-</td>
<td>man's brother's son</td>
<td>wa'dātt'imaunari-</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m'i</td>
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<tr>
<td>t'il'auyā'na</td>
<td>cousin</td>
<td>il'auyā'na</td>
<td>man's sister (mythological)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māwaaqai-na (C.)</td>
<td>friend</td>
<td>māwaaqai-na</td>
<td>wife's brother's child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te'ap'dju'ī</td>
<td>father-in-law</td>
<td>te'ap'dju'ī</td>
<td>father-in-law; woman's sister's father-in-law; man's brother's father-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YANA</td>
<td>MEANING</td>
<td>MEANING</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te'ap'djå'p'un'-na</td>
<td>mother-in-law</td>
<td>te'ap'dju'-p'un'-na</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nígá'i</td>
<td>son-in-law</td>
<td>ne'gå'i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te'á'wai-na</td>
<td>daughter-in-law</td>
<td>te'ta'waihi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wana (C.)</td>
<td>son-in-law; man's mother-in-law</td>
<td>wana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiman'mah-na</td>
<td>woman's son-in-law</td>
<td>wimát'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'iág'-na</td>
<td>wife's brother</td>
<td>ya'gaihi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dji'(')mayau-na</td>
<td>man's sister's husband</td>
<td>dji'ma'yau-na</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dji'dajadja'wayu'na</td>
<td>husband's sister</td>
<td>dji'dajadja'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gámai'djauwai'yuau-na</td>
<td>woman's brother's wife</td>
<td>gámai'djauwai'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u'niyá-na</td>
<td>wife's sister; husband's brother; woman's sister's husband; man's brother's wife</td>
<td>ozniyá'hi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ad'juwi and amáwi (amáwi-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 unlikely that N. Yana k'latc'u (I, 9)

*From incidental remarks made by Betty Brown in connection with is't'yuaw "woman's brother" (Yana Texts, 176, l. 12), I concluded that it was doubtful if is't'yuaw-na necessarily meant "woman's older brother" alone, but that it was possible that women said k'latc'u-ná to their brothers before these were of age, is't'yuaw-ná "being man" after puberty.
and k\textit{ladai-na} (I, 11; at least when used by male) are really pre-pubertal terms and that \textit{mari'miyau-na} (I, 10) and \textit{ist'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: 23'); 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: 23') "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: 23' "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"); 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").

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...
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'yamnau-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 womian" (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.


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,\(^{12}\) 12, 13) three are symptomatic of a taboo or semi-taboo.


\(^{13}\) Change of term undoubtedly connected with mourning taboo, i.e., taboo of explicitly or implicitly mentioning the deceased person.
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