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THE FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENTS OF  
NORTHERN YANA

BY  
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INTRODUCTORY

It is some time since the Northern and Central Yana texts, collected in 1907, have been before the public.<sup>1</sup> Now that we know Yana to be no completely isolated Californian language, as had been at first supposed, but a divergent member of the so-called "Hokan" stock, it became more than ever a duty to do something to help the student of comparative linguistics in the analysis of the published material. At the time that the texts were being prepared for publication considerable progress had already been made in the analysis of the language. Unfortunately the data then arranged had utilized only a part of the Northern Yana texts and grammatical notes, while the Central Yana material remained almost entirely untouched. It so happens that Yana is one of those complexly synthetic (polysynthetic) languages that need to be exhaustively studied in lexical, as well as purely grammatical, respects before an adequate presentation can be made of their structure. For this reason the material incorporated in this paper, which may be described as a selective summary of my still fragmentary Northern Yana collectanea, is far from constituting an adequate introduction to even the Northern dialect. This particularly applies to the lists of verb stems and verb suffixes, which are very far from including all the Yana elements available in my texts and notes. Nor are the lists of more strictly formal elements measurably complete. I hope in due time to give the complete grammatical account of Yana that this interesting language deserves. Meanwhile I trust that the present materials will serve a useful preliminary purpose, as an aid to the analysis of the Yana texts and as a possible lever for the further elucidation of Hokan relationships.

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<sup>1</sup> E. Sapir, *Yana Texts*, this series, ix, 1-235, 1910.

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

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

1. Syllabically final *p* and *t* (Central Yana *m* and *n*) are assimilated to *m* and *n* before nasals; *pʔ* and *tʔ* become voiceless *mʔ* and *nʔ* before nasals.
2. *-tl-* (Central Yana *-nl-*), *-tʔl-*, and *-ln-* are respectively assimilated to *-ll-*, *-lʔl-*, and *-ll-*.
3. Syllabically final *p* and *pʔ* (Central Yana *m* and *pʔ*) assimilate with following *w* to *mm* and *mʔm* respectively.
4. Before elements beginning with *-ʔ-* (e.g., *-ʔgat-*, *-ʔda-*) long vowels are shortened (this is true also in other primarily closed syllables), while short vowels (after the first syllable) disappear; e.g., *ʔé- + ʔgat-* becomes *ʔéʔgat-*, *-dja- + ʔda-* becomes *-tcʔda-*.
5. Certain suffixed elements have a long vowel if the preceding syllable is light (i.e., ending in a short vowel), a short vowel if the preceding syllable is heavy (i.e., ending in a long vowel, diphthong, or consonant). Thus, *ʔa-sā-*, but *ʔó-sa-*, *ʔnaʔi-sa-*, *ʔaʔt-sa-*.
6. Final short vowels become voiceless in absolute position and before consonants, in forms used by women. Preceding *b*, *d*, *g*, *dj*, *w* become *pʔ*, *tʔ*, *kʔ*, *tcʔ*, voiceless *w* respectively (male *pʔaʔdi* ‘‘place,’’ female *pʔaʔtʔi*). Other feminine forms are noted below. Before words beginning with smooth vowels, final short vowels are elided in both male and female forms. Elided forms of syllables are also used in certain grammatical forms for both sexes (e.g., *dalūʔwi* ‘‘hands,’’ but *dabūʔwkʔi* (ʔa) ‘‘another’s hands’’; *-si*, present indicative, but *-s-kʔi-*, present indicative with possessive *-kʔi-*).

The student may rely on one rule with absolute safety—there are no prefixes in Yana. All verb forms begin with an element of the type listed in Part I. As many of these elements are rather vague or elusive in significance, it is possible that a certain number of homonymous stems are really identical elements. An important percentage of the verb stems are objective, i.e., refer to the handling of particular classes of objects (e.g., *bô-*, *luî-*) or, in their “static” form, to the position of such classes (e.g., *bā-*, *lai-*). The fundamental importance and extensive development of objective verbs in Yana were brought out very clearly in my Yahi researches with Ishi. Certain verbs are instrumental (e.g., ‘*ê-*, *buî-*), i.e., they refer to activities performed with certain objects or parts of the body.

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

#### I. NORTHERN YANA VERB STEMS<sup>2</sup>

- a-*, if
- \**a-*, \**ā-*, have on oneself, become covered with
- \*<sup>†</sup>*a-*, go (one female)
- ‘*a-bā-*, shake (intr.)
- ‘*a-bit-*, go after
- ‘*a-djil-*, dance round-dance
- ‘*a-k!au-*, chop
- ‘*a-s’uts-*, go off
- \*<sup>†</sup>*ā-*, trail runs

<sup>2</sup> \* indicates that the stem cannot be directly followed by grammatical (i.e., tense-modal and pronominal) suffixes, but must have its meaning completed by one or more derivational suffixes.

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

Entries of form ‘*au-* . . . ‘*a-*, such as never occur without the derivational suffix -‘*a-*, which, however, may be separated from the stem by other elements.

- \**ā*-, sink (intr.)  
 ' *ā-ba*-, be old  
 \**ai*-, time elapses  
 ' *ai*-, be white-haired  
 \**ai*-, fall down  
 ' *ai-k!u*-, be sick, sore  
 ' *āk-s'aps'i*-, yawn  
*ak!p'ā*-, clap one's hands  
 ' *al-i'da*-, shake (intr.)  
 ' *aluk!ma*-, be happy, willing  
 \**amma*-, keep  
*apbi*-, who?  
 \**at*-, go (plur.), be many  
 ' *art-gil-di*-, fall down  
*atc'i*-, what?  
 \**au*...*'a*-, believe  
*auwi*-, take, hold  
*auwil-ya*-, stay long with  
 ' *awap*-, be full of acorn mush  
 \**ayat*-, rock  
 \**ba*-, move quickly, run  
 \**ba*-, call upon  
 \**ba*-, sun moves  
*ba-dū-t!ap*-, come to life again  
*ba-gat-gu*-, be short  
*ba-gul*-, be tired out  
*ba-k'ū*-, spill (intr.)  
*ba-lau*-, plant grows  
*ba-ts!i'di*...*'a*-, shout  
 \**bā*-, *ba-rī*-, rain  
*badjal*-, be large  
*bai*-, one  
*bai*-, hunt deer (denominative from *ba*-, deer)  
*ba'nī*-, be full  
*basi*-, be night, yesterday  
*bat-di*-, spherical object falls out, bounds  
*bat-p'al*-, be flat  
*bāwi-sa*-, be night  
*bē*-, be he who  
*bēdjap*-, urinate  
*bē'na*-, eat (mush) with hands  
*bēyau*-, when?  
*bēyu*-, take food along  
*bī*-, rocks lie  
*bīrī*-, where?  
*bō*- (static *bā*-), hit with fist  
 \**bō*- (static \**bā*-), handle a round hard object; *bā*-, rock lies  
*bop-dja*-, look about  
*bōts't!ip*-, laugh out loud  
 \**bu*-, dance  
 \**bu*-, be unable to urinate  
*bū*-, hair comes out

- bū-*, kick, do with the foot  
*\*bū-*, three  
*dā-...sa-*, be... in appearance  
*\*dā-*, look  
*dā-*, much water lies, ice is spread out  
*\*dā-* (*\*dā-*), jump, fly  
*dā-dam-ma-*, bleed  
*dāsi-*, catch salmon (denominative from *dāsi-*, salmon)  
*dat'-*, be much, many  
*dau-*, count, handle set of things one after another  
*daumi-*, four  
*\*dē-*, peel, shear  
*\*dē-*, see, know  
*dē-ts!git-dī-*, be ahead of, beat  
*dēdji-*, nevertheless  
*\*det-*, shell, mash  
*\*dī-*, move, run on in a line  
*dīmān'ai-*, just  
*dīl'-xai-*, eye waters  
*\*dīt-*, put out one's hand, touch  
*dō-*, hook  
*\*dō-*, do with the fingers  
*dō-nīt-*, whip, beat  
*dwi-ts'!inai-*, scold  
*dū-lai-*, smear (pitch) on (cf. *dō-*, causative of *dā*, liquid lies)  
*dum-mana-*, hug, fondle  
*dūt'-*, be older, be doing much (cf. *dat'-*)  
*\*dja-*, eat, have in the mouth  
*\*dja-*, dance, move on  
*\*dja-*, *dja'*, hang (intr.)  
*dja-k'i-*, be sullen  
*djadji-*, sit with drooping eyes  
*djal-*, laugh  
*djau-*, get grasshoppers (denominative from *djau-*, grasshopper)  
*djaudut'-*, hire  
*djavā-*, weep in mourning  
*\*djē-* (static *\*dji-*), fill into  
*\*djē-dja-*, handle door, seat  
*\*dje'*, run  
*djēdjap-*, *dji... 'a-*, shoot  
*djēdjau-p!a-'a-*, be ready to go  
*\*dji-*, *\*dji-*, move about, water flows, smoke streams  
*dji-ts!ut-dja-'a-*, look on at others eating  
*\*dji-*, taste (intr.)  
*dji-djurai-*, freeze to death  
*\*dji'*, ice is on ground  
*djidjā-*, watch for salmon  
*djik!u... 'a-*, listen  
*djimat-*, five  
*\*djō-* (static *\*dju-*), handle food, flesh, mass  
*\*djō-* (*\*dju-*), offer as pay  
*djō-yu... 'a-*, shake

- \*dju-*, wind blows  
*\*djū-*, *\*dju-*, tree stands  
*\*djū-*, much water moves  
*djū-*, spear (salmon), use digging-stick  
*djū-*, *\*dju-*, sharp point gets stuck in part of body  
*\*djū-*, leaf, hair moves  
*dju'-wagal-*, fingers are interlocked; *dju'-lā-*, lie curled up  
*djuw-*, carry on one's shoulder  
*djul-*, be long  
*djulla-*, walk bent  
*djun-ma'wi-*, feed (cf. *\*djô-*)  
*dju'nā-*, carry water  
*ê-*, wait on woman in confinement  
*\*ê-*, handle roots, nuts  
*\*'ê-*, sing, make a sound  
*\*'ê-*, do with one's hands  
*e'*, shell acorns  
*'êk!i-*, act as shaman  
*'êmu-*, stop crying  
*ênit-*, be a widow  
*et!-sa-i-*, sneeze  
*\*ga-*, *\*gā-*, talk  
*ga'-'il'ai-*, be foolish  
*gait's-'ts'it-p!a-*, feel well  
*ge'-lau-*, make angry  
*gêna-'ai-*, forget  
*\*gī-*, be in a certain state of mind  
*gī-t!ap'-*, tell  
*gô-*, hear  
*gók!a-*, take one's part  
*ha-k'ürul-*, be coarse; *ha-mīk!i-*, be pounded fine  
*\*hā-*, be wet (cf. *ha-*, water)  
*ha'dai-*, dream  
*hādjat-*, ten  
*hal-lu-*, be dark  
*ha'lai-*, dawn; *hanai-p!a-*, be daylight  
*hāmutdi-*, be warm  
*hātc!it-*, be cold  
*xô-sa-'a-*, swallow  
*\*hui-*, wash (causative denominative from *ha-*, water)  
*huw-*, hop  
*\*ī-*, put on article of clothing  
*\*'ī-*, go, move (sing. subject)  
*'ī-mui-ri-*, cut meat  
*ī'-gal-dja-*, cough; *ī'-ts'!ū-*, hiccough  
*'ibi-*, build a house  
*ī'dja-*, be tired  
*ī'djat-*, grow  
*'il-*, there is thunder  
*il-s'idi-*, rub feet against each other  
*ī'nā-*, have objection  
*'in'ī-*, be hardly able to breathe



- \**ip-*, drive away, tell to go  
 \**it-*, look for  
 \**itda-*, make  
 \**iwa-*, burden-basket lies  
 \**iwai-*, carry wood  
 \**iyūi-*, be day  
 \**k'ilap-*, be blunt, cut off square  
 \**k'ip-*, let go  
 \**k'it-bit-*, let alone  
 \**k'ū-*, not; \**k'ūyau-gu-*, do not...!  
 \**k'unu-*, not yet  
 \**k'ul-*, feel dry  
 \**k'ul-dja-*, feel lazy  
 \**k'lā-*, feel sore, uncomfortable  
 \**k'lai-*, be strong, bitter  
 \**k'al-ts!au-*, scratch with claws  
 \**k'lā'nai-*, be near  
 \**k'lī-*, be slow  
 \**k'lī-*, swell, rise  
 \**k'lu-*, be long  
 \**k'luni-*, and, but  
 \**k'lut-*, like, want  
 \**k'lutdit-*, return quickly  
 \**lau-*, be strong  
 \**lil-*, turn one's head back  
 \**līli-*, blow one's nose  
 \**lui-*, hit with hard round objects; \**lui-* (static \**lai-*), handle several hard round objects; \**lai-*, several hard round objects lie  
 \**lulmai-*, be blind  
 \**mā-*, climb  
 \**mādi-*, be sick  
 \**madjup-*, fire is out  
 \**mahā-*, melt  
 \**maits'-gini-*, foot, hand sleeps  
 \**mal-*, be worn out, hurt  
 \**māla-*, refuse  
 \**malla-*, stay away for a long time  
 \**malla-p!a-*, be bad  
 \**māri-*, fire is covered with ashes  
 \**mās'i-*, be ripe  
 \**mās'i-dja-*, be glad  
 \**māt!adju-i-*, be winter  
 \**māp'-dja-mai-*, have supernatural power  
 \**mat-*, summer, spring  
 \**māt'-dja-*, get new acorns  
 \**matdja-*, be sharp  
 \**mau-*, tell  
 \**mau-*, be about to  
 \**maus'up'k'idi-*, put on leggings  
 \**mē-*, handle wood; \**mī-*, wood lies  
 \**mē-*, look in a certain way at; \**mī-*, be...-eyed,...-faced  
 \**mē-gil-ya-*, take pity on

- mê'it-*, not allow  
 \**met-*, handle sticks; *mit-*, wood lies  
*met-dja-*, handle garment  
*mi-*, cry  
*mi-lap-*, wake up  
*mī-djat-tc!u-*, clothing is torn; *mī-ts!u-*, be scratched  
*mī-k!ai-*, be angry  
*mīdja-*, be heavy  
*mil-*, hit (with a stick)  
 \**mil-*, handle lump, loglike object  
*mildja-*, run  
*minit-*, look  
*mit-*, drill, whirl  
 \**mits'!*, have (with incorporated object)  
*mô-*, eat  
 \**mô-* (static \**mū-*), reach, hold  
*mô-yi-*, teach  
*mo'*, take along  
*môdju-k!da-*, like  
*môt!i-*, roast  
*mu-rul-*, person lies  
 \**mū-*, work  
*mu-*, bite  
*mul-t!ap-*, 'blotches, pimples break out  
 \**mut-*, move along on one's haunches by aid of hands  
*na-gu-*, therefore; *na-k'u-*, therefore not  
*ne'*, step, do with the foot  
*nī-*, *nī-*, go (one male)  
*nô-*, dis sever two pieces  
*ô... 'a-*, there is ...  
*ô... 'a-* (static *ā... 'a-*), dig up roots  
*ô-k'ui-*, sew  
 \**ô-*, hit with a stick  
*ô-mai-*, track  
*wô-dja... 'a-*, handle long object  
*ôni-*, fetch  
*ôni-na'wai-* (static *anī-na'wai-*), try, practice, look after  
*ônu-*, dig a hole  
*ôp-* (static *wap-*), wait for  
*op'dji-*, (static *ap'djī-*), kill  
*ôtca-*, dig annis roots  
*ôwai-*, get on one's back  
*wôwai-* (static *wāwai-*), miss  
*p'ā-*, snow lies  
*p'at!gā-*, have sore eyes  
*p'āū-*, be distant  
 \**p'ô-*, sharpen, peel off stick  
*p'ê-*, flat object, shallow basket lies  
*p'ê-ga-'a-*, snore  
*p'ê-ts'ti-*, shake (basket, sack)  
 \**p'ī-*, several go (plural of *ī-*)  
*p'ī-ts'!ilai-*, be afraid because of unseen presence

- p'iyuk!ui-*, have fits  
*p'it'*, break wind, boil, burst, snap  
*p'ô-* (static *p'u-*), blow, do with one's mouth  
*p'ô-*, put pitch, paint on  
*p'ôwat-... 'a-* (static *p'awat-... 'a-*), put beads around neck  
*\*p'u-*, smoke (cf. *p'ô-*, blow)  
*\*p'û-*, swim, bathe  
*p'û-tc'ai-*, pound roots to make mush  
*p'ûi'*, be fat  
*p'u-lai-*, smear pitch over (cf. *p'ô-*, put pitch on)  
*p'un'ési-*, be a widower  
*p!uts'!ina-mai-*, be narrow  
*\*s'a'-*, sleep; *\*s'o'-*, close one's eye  
*s'aps'i-*, sleep  
*s'î-*, drink  
*\*s'it-*, water leaks  
*s'ô-ts'!uida-*, crack shells off with fingers  
*s'u-... 'a-*, several run  
*t'ai-lau-*, take out of one's mouth  
*t'ap-p!a-*, seem  
*t'î-*, say  
*t'û-*, do, act in a certain way  
*t'unna-ptc!i-*, break in two (intr.)  
*t!alap-*, be white  
*t!amma-*, even if  
*t!inî-*, be little  
*tc'il-*, be big  
*tc'ô-*, eat uncooked roots  
*ts'up-*, make bilious  
*ts!ê-'a-*, make a noise  
*ts!en'nama-k!oi-'a-*, there is nobody  
*ts!ôha-'ai-*, love  
*ts!ôk!-lau-'a-*, be dumb  
*ts!up'-*, be good  
*u-*, be  
*\*u'*, two  
*wûdja-*, copulate  
*ui-t!at-*, pile up acorns in columns  
*'ui-*, whistle  
*\*ul-*, hit with a stick; *\*ul-dja-*, handle person, stick  
*\*'ul-*, smell (intr.); *'ul-ma-*, smell (tr.)  
*'al-*, liquid lies in receptacle; *'ul-... 'a-*, handle receptacle with liquid  
*ul'î-*, not to hear, not to understand  
*'unna-mai-*, imitate  
*ut-*, take out a torch, handle a light  
*\*wa-*, sit; *\*wâ-k!-*, stand  
*\*wa-... 'a-* (with incorporated noun), have (person) as so and so  
*wa-'yû-*, be afraid  
*wâ-*, pound (acorns)  
*wai-*, think in a certain way  
*wai-ts'!ut-*, burst  
*wairut-*, be full of raw acorns

- wak!i-*, defecate  
*wannup-*, borrow  
*wau-*, hit with a knife, handle with a sharp point  
*wayā-*, not to get enough to eat  
*\*wê-*, take, fetch  
*wê-bu-*, dig roots  
*wê-ri-*, shooting star falls  
*wêya-*, doubt  
*wīm<sup>t</sup>-dja-*, hit the mark  
*wīt<sup>c</sup>u-*, be sweet  
*ya-lau-*, have blood running out of one's mouth  
*ya<sup>t</sup> . . . 'a-*, tattoo  
*ya<sup>t</sup>-wī-*, sweat; *yam-ma-ptc!<sup>i</sup>-*, sweat in the sweat-house  
*yā-*, hit the target  
*\*yā-*, people move  
*yā-*, play a musical instrument  
*\*yai-*, several sit; *\*yai-k!-*, several stand  
*yapbidjai-*, play  
*yōgai-*, ask  
*yōhai-*, be pregnant  
*yū-*, object burns; *yū- . . . 'a-*, build a fire  
*\*ya-*, fire burns; *\*yō- . . . 'a-*, burn (trans.)  
*yū-'la-*, be rotten  
*\*yuī-*, handle doughy, mushy mass  
*\*yul-*, crush, mash

## II. NORTHERN YANA NON-GRAMMATICAL VERB SUFFIXES

- 'a-*, causative (contracts with certain tense-modal elements; see Part III, B)  
*-'a-*, to be (with noun stems)  
*-'ai-*, in the fire  
*-'ai-*, indirect object (with verbs of putting on)  
*-'aigu-*, oneself  
*-'at-*, up to, arriving at  
*-ba-*, completely  
*-ba-*, all (quasi-plural)  
*-ba-*, *-bā-*, to pull, put aside  
*-badi-*, *-bādi-*, to stop making a sound  
*-bal-*, up (from ground)  
*-balla-*, to push, knock  
*-bil-*, about, here and there  
*-di-bil-*, at random, all over, to pieces  
*-bit-*, following  
*-bitdja-*, ready to, to be about to  
*-<sup>t</sup>ba-*, also, too  
*-<sup>t</sup>batdi-*, to be lost  
*-<sup>t</sup>bu-*, *-<sup>t</sup>bū-*, to go first, be ahead  
*-dada-*, *-<sup>t</sup>da-*, to shake, tremble  
*-dap-*, *rap-*; *-dāmi-*, *rāmi-*, out of the house  
*-raps<sup>t</sup>ī-*, *-raps<sup>t</sup>ui-*, red

- di*-, -*dī*-, to clean
- di*-, -*dī*-; -*ri*-, -*rī*-, down
- du*-, -*ru*-, to go in order to
- du*-, -*dū*-, -*t'u*-, back home, retracing one's steps
- du*-, -*dū*-; -*ru*-, -*rū*-, straight down, moving down
- duru*-, to be left over
- duni*-, one after another
- du-nitdi*-, back, backwards
- rul*-, to lie on the ground
- dummai*-, again, once more
- dut'*-, much (cf. primary stem *dut'*-)
- da*-, straight ahead
- da-p'au-gu*-, too, excessively
- dadja*-, very, sound (asleep), plumb (tired)
- datdī-gu*-, continuously, without change
- damai*-, perhaps
- di*-, to leave behind, abandon
- dī*-, to come loose
- dī'a*-, to shout
- dja*-, -*djā*-, to go while —ing
- dja*-, away; general movement (particularly used with certain verbs of handling)
- djari*-, rising from the ground (refers to houses)
- djap*-, -*djap*-; -*djāmi*-, -*djāmi*-, to the north, in the north
- djat-dja*-, to fetch, take along home
- djavu*-, to get ready, practice before going
- djavu-ri*-, underneath, at the bottom
- djawai*-, to help, take one's part
- djiba*-, everywhere, in all respects
- djil*-, around, in a circle
- dju*-, often, from time to time
- dja*-, to rest
- djā*-, to answer
- djai-ri*-, on top, on a surface
- ē*-, with (instrumental)
- ga-bil*-, to stumble, move zigzag
- gal-di*-, skin, bark comes off
- gap*-, -*gāmi*-, from the north
- gat*-, to roll, eddy
- gidi*-, -*giri*-, fire goes out
- gil*-, moving over the crest; -*gīlau*- (= -*gil-hau*-), east over a hill
- git*-, to a neighboring house; -*gīnau*- (= -*gin-hau*-), east to a neighboring house
- git-bal*-, to fall unintentionally, stumble to the ground
- gu*-, just, a little
- gul*-, to be tired, obstructed
- gu-mma*-, truly, indeed
- gunai*-, uninterruptedly, without fear
- gai*-, to roll, reel about
- gat*-, to break
- giyui-sa*-, to stumble along (blind, very sick)
- git*-, early in the morning

- hai-*, -*xai-*, to rest, be quiet  
 -*haina-*, also, as well, likewise  
 -*xal<sup>t</sup>di-*, to make cold  
 -*hat'*, -*xat'*, merely, to no purpose, nothing but  
 -*hau-*, to the east (contracts with preceding *u* to *ô*: *djô* < *dju-hau-*, dwelling in the east)  
 -*haudju-*, from the west (-*dôdju-*, back from the west < -*du-haudju-*)  
 -*'haya-*, -*'hayâ-*, -*'xaya-*, -*'xayâ-*, alone, secretly  
 -*i-*, removing; -*idi-*, away from, to leave  
 -*'i-*, -*'î-*, after, in order to reach; -*'i-wa-*, moving over; -*'i-sa-*, -*'î-sa-*, moving away in pursuit; -*'i-m<sup>t</sup>dja-*, -*'îm<sup>t</sup>dja-*, coming behind in pursuit; -*'i-*, -*'î-*, more of, another (referring to object of transitive verb)  
 -*'ilap-*, -*lap-*, to wake up  
 -*'immai-*, -*mmai-*, to move along with, to help  
 -*'ini-gu-i-'a-*, to have nothing but (makes denominative verbs)  
 -*k<sup>t</sup>i-*, toward the speaker, hither  
 -*k<sup>t</sup>u-*, -*k<sup>t</sup>û-*, crumply, gravelly, finely divided pieces  
 -*k<sup>t</sup>ui-*, to sew  
 -*k<sup>t</sup>unu-*, still, yet  
 -*k<sup>t</sup>upda-*, to tie up  
 -*k<sup>t</sup>it-*, to be slow  
 -*k!<sup>t</sup>di-* (to stand, step, sit) on; -*k!<sup>t</sup>... bal-*, -*k!<sup>t</sup>i... bal-*, to get up; -*k!<sup>t</sup>waldi-*, down on  
 -*k!<sup>t</sup>arat-*, bare and dry, on a hard surface  
 -*k!<sup>t</sup>ai-*, only one (refers to subject of intransitive, object of transitive verb)  
 -*k!<sup>t</sup>al-*, to keep  
 -*k!<sup>t</sup>al-di-*, to wash; -*k!<sup>t</sup>al-<sup>t</sup>di-*, to clean out (by beating, brushing)  
 -*k!<sup>t</sup>allau-*, well, entirely  
 -*k!<sup>t</sup>al-sa-*, moving through  
 -*k!<sup>t</sup>ap-*, to oneself, toward the speaker  
 -*k!<sup>t</sup>at-*, to whirl, flutter  
 -*k!<sup>t</sup>au-*, to sever, cut out a piece  
 -*k!<sup>t</sup>da(t)-*, rather well  
 -*k!<sup>t</sup>it-*, unwillingly, not with one's full heart; -*k!<sup>t</sup>itdi-*, angrily  
 -*k!<sup>t</sup>sururui-*, with close attention, undeviatingly  
 -*k!<sup>t</sup>u-*, one after another, in a series  
 -*k!<sup>t</sup>ui-*, crookedly  
 -*k!<sup>t</sup>ul-*, sideways, slantwise  
 -*k!<sup>t</sup>u'na-*, -*k!<sup>t</sup>u'nâ-*, to stay, dwell  
 -*k!<sup>t</sup>ut-*, to slink (up to, away)  
 -*lak<sup>t</sup>i-*, -*lak<sup>t</sup>!*, stopped up, obstructed  
 -*lai-*, to cut off (a slice), break off (pieces)  
 -*lap-*, to gleam, glimmer  
 -*lau-*, out of an enclosed space: out of the mouth, (looking) out of one's eye, (dipping up water) from a spring, from the plain up to the mountain, (growing, digging) out of the ground, from the water on to land;  
 -*lô-* (< -*lau-hau-*), eastward up the mountain; -*lôdju-* (< -*lau-haudju-*), going up the mountain from the east; -*lô-rp'a*, southward up the mountain  
 -*lil-*, to turn  
 -*lili-*, -*lilî-*, smooth, slippery  
 -*llai-*, to put pitch on

- lu-*, dark; -*halu-*, in the darkness
- 'la-*, -*'lā-*, messy, sticky, wet
- 'lai-*, to warm
- 'lak!i-*, to shut, close
- 'li-*, -*'lī-*, to cover, dress
- 'lu-*, in the head
- m'*, to be alive (?)
- ma-*, -*mā-*, in company with; -*ma-p!a-*, dit.
- ma-*, there, from there
- ma-mi-*, -*ma-*, added to (five) (used in verbs for 6, 7, 8, 9, also 60, 70, 80, 90)
- ma-*, to, for (indirect object, only with object of first or second person)
- mai-*, to, for (indirect object, only with object of first or second person);  
-*mai-*, for that reason (suffixed to verb that follows interrogative stem in sense of "why?")
- mai-*, over the same ground, following in one's footsteps; for good (after unsuccessful attempts)
- mari-*, -*marī-*, down in a hole, pit, basket
- magā-*, -*māga-*, about, concerning, with
- mal-*, to be shot, hurt, beaten
- mal'li-*, just outside the house
- m'dja-*, to come in order to
- m'dja-*, to be wont to (usitative)
- m'dji-*, to the west; -*dji-* (after -*git-*, -*wil-*, -*wal-*, and -*rī-*)
- m'gu-*, near the house, right there (probably <-*ma-gu-*, there-just)
- miri-*, -*mīri-*, to, as far as (particularly with verb following interrogative stem for "where?")
- mil-*, slightly, to a small degree
- mit'gu-*, too, also, any (refers to object)
- mits'!i-*, with one another, each other (after consonants, long vowels, and diphthongs; cf. -*pts'!i-*); -*mits'!i-* (after *u'*, two), -*mits'!i-* (after *bul-*, three), frequently used in numeral verbs for 2 and 3
- mma-*, -*'amma-*, almost, to try to
- mminak!i-*, behind
- mu-*, between two flat surfaces, between the palms, soles
- mu'dui-*, yellow
- mui-*, just about to, just past, young
- muk!gu-*, to keep —ing
- muts'!i-*, to pretend to
- 'mal-*, too late, after everything is over
- 'mats'!u-*, a little bit, somewhat
- nai-sa-*, all over the house
- namai-*, -*nmāi-*, narrow
- nau-*, food, much to eat
- ba-nauma-*, everybody, everywhere
- nnaiwa-du-ru-*, -*'innaiwa-du-ru-*, to go and find one —ing
- nu-*, to make a hole
- 'nim'gu-*, to be left, remain
- 'nai-*, another (object), once more; -*'nai-dja-*, to another place
- p-*, to (indirect object for first and second persons, particularly in *t'i-p-*, to say to); -*p'gu-*, each
- p'al-*, flat

- p<sup>t</sup>al-, black
- p<sup>t</sup>au-, to, for (indirect object for first and second persons; for third person, see -wau-)
- p<sup>t</sup>īt<sup>!</sup>i-, blue
- p<sup>t</sup>s<sup>!</sup>i-, with one another, among —selves (only after short vowels; elsewhere appears as -mits<sup>!</sup>i-, q. v.); -ba-p<sup>t</sup>s<sup>!</sup>i-, one another (reciprocal direct object); -da-p<sup>t</sup>s<sup>!</sup>i-, moving together, toward each other
- <sup>t</sup>p<sup>t</sup>a-, -<sup>t</sup>p<sup>t</sup>ā-, to burst, open up
- p<sup>!</sup>a-, to be so and so as result of activity, to do to oneself
- p<sup>!</sup>ā-, for a long time, long ago
- p<sup>!</sup>annai-, very
- p<sup>!</sup>ūl-, not completely, imperfectly
- p<sup>!</sup>it-, to trim (hair)
- p<sup>!</sup>it-, a long time elapses
- sa-, -sā-, off, away
- sa-sini-gu-, always, continually
- sawa-, -sawā-, to start —ing
- s<sup>!</sup>dja-, -s<sup>!</sup>īdja-, (so and so many) times
- sdja-, going up (refers to houses)
- s<sup>!</sup>t-, to be ripe, satiated
- s<sup>!</sup>ira-k<sup>!</sup>ai-, -s<sup>!</sup>irā-k<sup>!</sup>ai-, white-headed
- s<sup>!</sup>īdi-, to tickle, rub lightly with the hand (or foot)
- s<sup>!</sup>iri-bal-... 'a-, so and so many days, nights
- mu-s<sup>!</sup>ut-, to rub fine between the hands (or feet)
- <sup>!</sup>s<sup>!</sup>ui-, raw, unboiled, unripe
- t<sup>!</sup>-ma-, to reach something to
- t<sup>!</sup>-bal-, to start from
- t<sup>!</sup>ā-, (to talk) a southern dialect of Yana
- t<sup>!</sup>di-, -<sup>!</sup>atdi-, already in progress, now; -ba-t<sup>!</sup>di-, to be through —ing
- rt<sup>!</sup>dja-, -rts<sup>!</sup>dja-, up in the air
- t<sup>!</sup>gul-, to fold over
- t<sup>!</sup>i-, -t<sup>!</sup>ī-, to bend
- t<sup>!</sup>ūl-, to slice off, to have an advantage over another
- t<sup>!</sup>imai-, again, (somewhere or somebody) else
- t<sup>!</sup>k<sup>!</sup>i-, -rt<sup>!</sup>k<sup>!</sup>i-, from the east
- t<sup>!</sup>p<sup>!</sup>a-, -rt<sup>!</sup>p<sup>!</sup>a-, to the south
- t<sup>!</sup>p<sup>!</sup>au-, one's own (object), for oneself; -ba-t<sup>!</sup>p<sup>!</sup>au-, oneself (direct reflexive object)
- t<sup>!</sup>au-, flat expanse, in the plain
- t<sup>!</sup>t<sup>!</sup>i-, to put pitch over
- t<sup>!</sup>arak<sup>!</sup>i-, to be very dry, thirsty
- t<sup>!</sup>ai-, to blaze; -t<sup>!</sup>ai-si-, (to warm oneself) by the fire
- t<sup>!</sup>ai-, (to smear pitch) all over (hands and feet)
- t<sup>!</sup>al-, to come through, get torn, leak, make a hole; -t<sup>!</sup>al-ts<sup>!</sup>i-, asunder, apart, separating from one another
- t<sup>!</sup>ap-, to mash, crush
- t<sup>!</sup>ap<sup>!</sup>-, to emerge; to tell
- t<sup>!</sup>at-, to crack, mash
- t<sup>!</sup>at'a-, to pat, slap
- t<sup>!</sup>gā-, -t<sup>!</sup>ga-lā-, (to be in bad condition) through and through
- t<sup>!</sup>ūi-, -t<sup>!</sup>ūi-... gu-, otherwise, in distinction from others
- tc<sup>!</sup>a-, -tc<sup>!</sup>ā-, at night



- tc'ai-*, to pound roots or acorns for mush
- ts'djai-*, to be glad, impatient with pleasurable anticipation
- tc'gu-*, too, also (refers to object)
- tc'it'*; to go off to the woods; straight out, way off; -*tc'it'-lau-*, out of the water
- ts!irat-*, in a zigzag line
- tc'ul-*, great, excessively
- ts!al-*, to scrape out
- ts!at-*, anything, to a slight extent
- ts!at-*, to make a speech
- ts!atdi-*, to peel off, flake (flint)
- ts!au-*, to get stuck in a cleft, claws, teeth
- ts!gai-*, blue, green
- ts!gai-*, loud
- ts!gi-*, alone, unaided
- ts!gil-*, in the water, to the water
- ts!i-*, to cut up, divide into fragments
- ts!inai-*, to scold, talk meanly
- ts!it-*, to crush
- ts!u-*, -*ts!ū-*, to tear
- ts!ut-*, to split, make a hole, break into, burst through
- ts!xaya-*, -*ts!xayā-*, quietly, to oneself, under one's breath
- 'uldi-*, down from a height, down the mountain
- wa-*, -*wā-*, over (see -*'iwa-*, -*'iwa-*; -*wa-sa-*)
- wādjū-*, to cause to, to bring about
- wādjū-*, -*wādju-*, from the south
- wagal-*, -*wāgal-*, through a hole, opening
- was-*, above, over
- wai-*; -*'wi-*, -*'wī-*, to see, perceive, expect, try
- dja-wai-*, to do for one, take one's part
- wal-*, on the ground, in the country; -*wālau-* (<-*wal-hau-*), in the country to the east
- wal-di-*, down on the ground
- walmi-*, in hiding, in the woods
- walsa-*, hidden in the house
- du-walsa-*, to be left over, survive
- wanai-*, belonging to some one (other than subject of verb)
- wat'*, red
- wau-*, to, for (indirect object for third person only; for other persons, see -*p-*, -*ma-*, -*p'au-*, -*mai-*)
- wil-*, across (a stream), crosswise; -*wīlau-*, -*wilau-* (<-*wil-hau-*), to the east across a stream; -*wil-sa-*, moving across
- wil-mi-*, on one side, only one of a pair, half-finished
- wini-gu-*, similarly, in the same way, furthermore
- wul-*, into the house, into an enclosed space
- wul'ai-*, under a covering, in the shade
- 'witdja-*, fast, to proceed quickly
- 'wī-*, to press
- 'wil-*, to break a flat object
- ya-*, to stay out camping, go away from home (to hunt, dance)
- yagal-*, quickly, in a hurry
- yai-*, female

- yasi*-, -*yāsi*-, to feel dizzy, drunk, ill (from too much activity)
- yau-gu*-, surely (also in prohibitive *k'ū-yau-gu*-)
- yimai*-... (*ri*-), -*yēmai*-... (*ri*-), in the middle, between
- yu*-, -*yū*-, to move along gradually; to pull, rock, shake; -*yū-sa*-, further, ahead
- yu*-, -*yū*-, in the daytime, all day
- 'yu*-, -*'yū*-, to be afraid
- 'yut*-, both, together with (refers to subject)
- 'yut'*-, to slip (down)

### III. NORTHERN YANA FORMAL ELEMENTS

#### A. PRONOMINAL ELEMENTS

- ndja* } 1st pers. sing. (subjective in verbs, possessive in nouns)
- 'nidja* }
- numa* } 2d pers. sing. (subjective in verbs, possessive in nouns)
- nu* (feminine) }
- nigi*, 1st pers. plur. (subjective in verbs, possessive in nouns)
- nuga*, 2d pers. plur. (subjective in verbs, possessive in nouns)
  
- k'i*-, -*k'ia*- (before past -*ha*), immediately prefixed in all forms involving 1st pers. plur. to pronominal endings proper, except in certain future and hortatory forms
- k'i*-, -*k'ia*- (before past -*ha*), "his" (indicates subject of verb is possessed by some third person)
- k'i(a)* "another's" (indicates in noun that possessor is different from subject of verb)
  
- k'ô('a)*, 1st pers. sing. (and pl.) fut. (see future paradigm)
  
- wa-ndja* "he—me"
- wa-'nu(ma)* "he—you"
- wa-'nigi* "he—us"
- wa-'nuga* "he—you (pl.)"
- (*wā*)'*ma* "I—you," "we—you"
- (*wā*)*dja* "you—me"
- (*wā*)*wīdja* "you (pl.)—me"
- (*wā*)*gi* "you—us"
- (*wā*)*wīgi* "you (pl.)—us"
- (*wā*)*m'ga* "I—you (pl.)," "we—you (pl.)"
  
- 'i*' } 3d pers. imperative
- 'i* (fem.) }
- 'a*' } 3d pers. imperative (after *a*-vowels—only N. Yana)
- 'a* (fem.) }
- dja*' imperative with 1st pers. sing. obj.
- k'ī-gi*' imperative with 1st pers. plur. obj.
- wi*-, -*wī*- prefixed in imperative, in forms with 2d pers. plur. subj., to pronominal endings proper

## 1. Paradigm of Present Tense (-si-)

	me	you	(him)	us	you (pl.)
I		-siwā'ma	-sindja		-siwām'ga
you	-siwādja		-si'nu(ma)	-sk' iwāgi	
he	-siwandja	-siwa'nu(ma)	-si (fem. -s)	-sk' iwa'nigi	-siwā'nuga
we		-sk' iwā'ma	-sk' i'nigi		-sk' iwām'ga
you (pl.)	-siwawādja		-si'nuga	-sk' iwawāgi	

## 2. Paradigm of Future Tense (-si-)

	me	you	(him)	us	you (pl.)
I		-sik!ōwā'ma	-sik!ō'a		
you	-sik!ōwādja		*-si'nu(ma)	-sik!ōk' iwāgi	sik!ōwām'ga
he	-sik!ōwandja	*-siwa'numa	-si'i (fem. -si)	-sik!ōk' iwa'nigi	*-siwa'nuga
we		-sik!ōk' iwā'ma	-si'nigi		-sik!ōk' iwām'ga
you (pl.)	-sik!ōwawādja		*-si'nuga	-sik!ōk' iwawāgi	

\* = same as in present tense.

## 3. Imperative Paradigm

	me	(him)	us
you	-dja'	{ -'i' (fem. -'i) - 'a' (fem. -'a)	-k' īgi'
you (pl.)	-widja'	-wi'i' (fem. -wi')	-wik' īgi'
we (hortatory)		-ha'nigi	

## 4. Syntactic Elements of 3d Person

Subj.	Poss.	Obj.
	k' "his, her, its, their"	gi (used with following noun when it is non-subjective or is not possessed by third person)
ai indefinite 3d pers.	aik'	aigi
aidje'e (male) } "that"	aidjek'	{ aigidje'e aididje
aidje (female) }		
aiye'e (male) } "that yonder"	aiyek'	{ aige'e aige
aiye (female) }		
dji article with following possessed noun of 1st pers. sing. or plur.		gidji
aidji article with following possessed noun of 1st pers. sing. or plur. (more emphatic)		aigidji
dju article with following possessed noun of 2d pers. sing. or plur.		gidju

<i>aidju</i> article with following possessed noun of 2d pers. sing. or plur. (more emphatic)	<i>aigidju</i>
<i>aits'</i> "the" (somewhat more emphatic than <i>ai</i> )	<i>aigits'</i>
<i>aidja</i> (male) } "here, there, <i>aits'</i> (female) } thus"	{ <i>aigidja</i> <i>aigits'</i>

## 5. Independent Pronouns of 1st and 2d Persons

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

## B. TENSE-MODAL SUFFIXES

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

NOTE.—Several tense-modal elements contract with causative -*'a*. Such are:-*p'a* = -*'a* + -*p'a*-*mā* = -*'a* + usitative -*ma-*-*garā* = -*'a* + -*gara-*-*māgar(a')* = -*'a* + -*magar(a')*-*sē* (3d pers. -*sē'a*) = -*'a* + fut. -*si-*

- t'ê*- (3d pers. -*t'ê'a*) = '*a* + -*t'i*-  
 -*n't'ê*, -*n'êwara* = -'*a* + -*n't'i*-, -*'niwara*-  
 -*'nêha* = -'*a* + -*n'ha*- (= -'*ni-ha*-)  
 -*'ha* = -'*a* + -*ha*-  
 -*k!ô*- (3d pers. -*k!ô'a*) = -'*a* + -*k!u*-  
 -'*a'* (fem. -'*a*) = -'*a* + imperative -'*a'* (fem. -'*a*)  
 -'*a* (fem. -'*a*) = -'*a* + infinitive -'*a* (fem. -'*a*)

## C. PASSIVE AND ACTIVE FORMS

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

- ô* becomes *a*, *ā*  
*o* becomes *a*  
*ê* becomes *i*, *ī*  
*e* becomes *i*

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

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

- a* becomes *ô* (in open syllables); *o*, *u* (in closed syllables; always *o* in Yahi)  
*ā* becomes *ô*  
*ū*, *u* (in open syllables) becomes *ô*  
*u* (in closed syllables) becomes *o*, *u* (always *o* in Yahi)  
*i* becomes *ê* (in open syllables); *e*, *i* (in closed syllables; always *e* in Yahi)  
*ī* becomes *ê*

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

- Primary *ô*: *mô'sindja*, I eat (it)  
           *ma'siwa'a*, it is eaten  
           *ma'siwandja*, he eats me  
           *ma'siwādja*, you eat me  
           *mô'asindja*, I cause him to eat (it)  
           *mô'asiwandja*, he causes me to eat (it)

- Primary *a*: *'asā'si*, she goes away  
           *'ô'sa'asi*, he causes her to go away  
           *'asā'asiwandj(a)*, he causes me (female) to go away

Two passive elements are found:

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



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