# Studies in Native American Languages IV

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Cumulative contents of volumes 1-10
It is indeed gratifying to recognize the degree of acceptance the Kansas Working Papers in Linguistics has come to enjoy, and this is especially true for the series of Studies in Native American Languages. Even before the call for papers went out in the fall, we had received inquiries from prospective contributors, and the response to the call itself was remarkable in quality as well as diversity.

This year the KWPL marks its first decade of existence, and we are publishing two numbers. Number one is devoted to theoretical issues, general linguistics and old-world languages, while number two is the fourth in the Studies in Native American Languages series. This number includes articles representing seven different language families from all over North America (Uto-Aztecan, Muskogean, Yuman, Siouan, Otomanguan, Athabaskan and Aligin), and a great deal of original scholarship.

We wish to thank the contributors, both those whose papers appear in this volume, and those whose papers we did not include. We also wish to thank the faculty of the Linguistics department of the University of Kansas for their support and encouragement for the KWPL throughout the year.
Notes on Yurok Derivation

Paul Proulx

Abstract: Yurok verb stems consist of one or two roots, often a medial suffix, and usually one or more final suffixes. When there are two roots the second is deverbal. Some roots are followed by postradical extensions. A medial suffix may follow either type of root. Different finals distinguish transitive from intransitive verbs. Some are abstract, some concrete. Elements are generally joined by one of two link vowels, e and o. Yurok nouns and particles are simpler in structure, but a few derivational finals have been identified. There are a few contractions at morpheme boundaries.

This paper reports the main findings of the fieldwork I conducted from January to April of 1980 at Requa (on the mouth of the Klamath river) with Mrs. Florence Shaughnessy, funded in part by the Survey of California Indian Languages (Berkeley), and by the Melvillo and Elizabeth Jacobs Research Fund, Whatcom Museum Foundation (Bellingham, Washington).

My original interest in Yurok derivation was provoked by the problem of segmentation I encountered in reconstructing Proto-Allic vocabulary. Often my matchings consisted of stems composed of two or three elements, some cognate and some unrelated. Hence, it was crucial to be able to determine each stem's constituents. Moreover, it was equally important to know the exact semantic contribution of each constituent to the meaning of the stem. Many morphemes in matchings are all too short (three or four phonemes), and etymologies lack credibility unless the semantics really fit closely.

As is the case with the other Allic languages, the meanings of Yurok roots and medial suffixes often have no close equivalent in Indo-European languages, and hence the non-native linguist often requires several examples of an element's use in stems before she can abstract out its meaning. This can only be done when one seeks out the combinatory possibilities of each element, and brings them together for comparison.

Once I had collected this data - on file cards listing all the stems containing a given suffix - it became evident to Mrs. Shaughnessy and I that this was an excellent way to organize.

vocabulary into semantic/morphological classes, and that such organization greatly stimulated the memory of one who had partly forgotten the language. No doubt it would also facilitate the learning of new vocabulary. Hence, the contents of my file could be a valuable tool for language preservation. Indeed, since it reveals productive patterns of word-formation, it could potentially prepare a speaker to coin the new terms she might require.

A third way the file can be used is to gain insight into the traditional Yurok worldview, reflected in their linguistic organization of experience. A particularly striking example of this is the elaborate machinery the language provides for the description of various aspects of the behavior of water: to read slowly through some of the entries is to see the world through the eyes of the expert fisherman, and share his intimate knowledge of every variation in the habitat of his prey. This cannot fail to be of cultural interest to a new generation of Yurok, as well as revealing to the Amerindian semanticist.

Overview of Stem Structure

A Yurok verb stem consists of one or two roots, often a medial suffix, and usually one or more final suffixes. (When a medial is directly followed by inflection, we may say there is a zero final.)

When there are two roots, the second is deverbal. A deverbal loses its initial consonant, almost always l-. For example, there is -huck-kepek? 'I crawl fast' beside -huc-kepek? 'I crawl' (lek- and deverbal -etk 'body motion', and the reflexive final -ep).

A medial suffix may follow either type of root: wonow so? -lekeloypek? 'I crawl uphill' (with medial -eley 'with affect'), and kelomk-kelaypok? 'I struggle to get an rap in wrestling' beside kelomekepek? 'I turn over' (kelo- 'turn').

Two finals are present in ho-lekeloybyoky? 'I'm dragged around' (the causitive final -s plus the passive final -oy), beside ho-lekkeloybyok? 'I drag something'. -skwecwok? 'I weave fine baskets' (skwe- 'good', -escw 'weave') has a zero final.

Transitive and intransitive verbs are distinguished by their finals, which sometimes come in pairs such as tr. -en/ intr. -ec. Thus, kwomkenok? 'I bring it back', and kwomkeckok? 'I turn back'.

As the last pair of examples shows, the initial vowel of most elements alternates between /a/ and /o/ according to the identity of the immediately preceding element. Sometimes there is free variation between the two vowels at boundaries, showing hesitation on the part of speakers. After a very few elements, the initial vowel of the following element is /i/ rather than /e/ or /o/: sieweticok? 'I walk quietly' (siew- 'well', plus -cc intr.). Suffix-initial /e/ optionally drops after /y/, and more rarely after other consonants: sloyek? /sloyek? 'I go downhill'.

There is vowel harmony of /æ/ and /o/ with /a/ within an element, usually within the whole stem, and sometimes the whole word. Alternatively, the same alternation may reflect diminutive-qualitative symbolism rather than harmony: kégécék? 'I go stone', skéwicék? 'I weave fine baskets' (skew- 'good', -cew- 'weave').

**Roots**

A very few Yurok roots consist of a single consonant (n- 'hither'), a few of a consonant cluster (ka- 'motionless, quiet', pko- 'through a barrier'), and most of a single syllable (pem- 'down to the ground', hort- 'around').

There is some irregular pairing of roots (kaim- 'poor' beside kim- 'bad', coam-/coam- 'how much'): there are doublets in r/l versus y (sloy-/sroy-/sroy- 'downhill' kekelam-/kekeyam- 'swirl'), while others result from optional noncontraction (me?wom-/muf- 'whence').

Yurok roots cited in this study are listed below. Examples are given in lieu of (or in addition to) a gloss when their meaning is unclear, either generally or in the specific examples cited, or when the root is too sparsely attested to permit accurate glossing.

?am- 'liquid' (taspeyok? 'I taste a liquid')
cecomey- 'prance, skip' (but ceeémeyet 'someone with a shrill voice')
cegey- 'fed up' (cegeyolok? 'I'm tired of hearing it')
ce?l(oy)- 'dry'
cép- 'strong of body'
cep- (only in cepu/logi? 'the water flows down a steep incline', with -u?logi- 'place in the water') Perhaps this item means 'flows strongly', and has the same root as the preceding item (which would then show vowel symbolism).

cew- 'straight' (cew/o? 'run straight') Also followed by -Va.

cykel- 'small'

ciu- 'new' (but cinu:ne?m 'they (collective) grow slowly/stunted')

cik?n- 'a few/little' (extended in cik?n:wokn-t 'respect someone a little', -okn-t 'think of someone')

coy- 'rough, mean'

cep- 'grope' (cep?c?wok: 'I grope', -ctew 'hand, finger'; cepok?k: 'I contemplate on something', -oka 'think')

cps:an- (iterative cpega:n) 'a long time'

cps? (only in cpe?wok- 'remember, miss')

cps?n- (doubllet of cps?n-). Also cpe?nokst- 'wait for someone'.

cpsw- 'carefully' (also cpswok? 'I menstruate')

ce:kw- (only in ce:kwecok? 'I steer the boat', -ce 'go by foot or boat')

?ek- (and haplographic ?- before /ek/) 'hold stationary' (also ?ekik? 'the blood coagulates')

?elo? 'undo'

hakkw- 'smile'

hahpe- (only in hahpei/nep- 'feel lively and light', -in 'feel')

he?- 'up from prone'

he?w (only in he?wel-/he?wowit- 'wake up')

he?w: 'warm'

heymo?k: (only in heyomokst/nep- 'feel lucky')

him- 'fast'
hi?ka- 'away'
hoi- (iterative hegoi-) 'around' (but ho:i:ewkwwe?e?ama 'you have
a load in your boat', and hoiroyoe?e?i 'I owe someone'
ho?e?i- 'uphill' (homeyoe?i 'I go uphill')
ho:kwwe- 'begin' (in ho:kwekoke? 'I begin', -ek 'do')
k- 'slow, slow down'
ka+e?- 'bad, poor'
keg- (or perhaps kew-) 'alone'
ke?kuyi- 'wind crookedly (as a stream)'
ke?e- (only in kémete?w 'little finger')
ke?me?e- 'homeward'
ke?mi?we? (only in ke?mi?we?cok 'I turn a vehicle', final -ce)
ke?poe- 'for fus'
ke?ti- (only in ke?ti?op? 'there's so much liquid in it', -op
'stationary liquid')
ke?we? 'wash' (ke?we?tak 'I wash it', tr. final -et)
ke?y- (iterative ke?ge- 'doctor'
ke?we?i- (and ke?y?-) 'drop'
ke?we?- (or perhaps kec-) Only in kecyokisa- 'get tired of
someone'.
kelome- (and keyo- 'turn'. Reduplicated kekelom/-kekeyom-
'swirl'
ke?i- (only in kikë?i/kikë?ki?i? 'it's disjointed')
kim- 'bad', and kimol- 'ugly'
k?le? 'hang limp' (in k?le?imoyok 'I'm listless', k?le?y?k 'it
(snake) is draped over something', k?le?osotmek? 'I hang
it', k?le?so?m 'you hang limp', k?le?we?k 'I'm about to
doze off', k?le?we?m k?le?mek 'your fire is dying out').
kn- 'leave motionless'
knewel- 'tall'
kocp- (only in kocpoks- 'think about it')
kom- (only in kominep- 'have feeling in the body')
kwar- 'pointed'
kwes? (only in kwes?oyew?k 'I say healing prayers')
kwéykwé- 'whistle'
kwom(t)- 'back' (iterative kwego(a)-'back and forth')
kwockwot- (only in kwotkwotop? 'it's simmering', -op 'stationary liquid')
kwéy- 'slowly'
kyén- (only in kyéniké? 'sprain (a hand)')
lasy- 'along'
léks- (only in léksu?wé?y 'dark clouds right above', -u?wé 'face, cloud')
lep- 'surreptitiously'
leps- 'out the door' (in lepsow 'toward the doorway', lepsil? 'it's outside')
leptoy- 'hairy', and lepsoy- 'fuzzy'
š- 'stop'
šléšk- (only in šléškét?kin?k? 'I tie a knot')
šmey- (also Švey-) 'mean, angry'
š- 'take'
šoy- 'with care/effort'
ma?- (only in ma?epetek? 'I tie it up')
mar- 'get past'
mekwora- 'slender'
mei- 'touch, rub'
men- 'disappear; pull'
menokw- (only in menokwolumek? 'I swallow it whole')
merk(ew)-'destroy'
mērp- (only in mērpyēh 'watch someone secretly')
mes-'a little, slender'
new- (only in newēksion 'clean/right-minded person', -oks 'think', -išon 'person who')
newol- (also mul-, muro-) 'all away'. Also muroyop? 'it melts' (with long u), but muroyop? 'it evaporates'.
meuw(on)- (also mua-) 'whence'
meikwel- 'weeping'
mekwole- (only in mukwole?wey 'round clouds, thunderheads', -e?wey 'face, clouds')
mik?- (only in mik?olum- 'swallow', cf. menokw- above)
my- (also me-) 'surge, push, rise'. Refers to a sudden uncontrolled motion. Includes: meukwaem 'fish jump out of the water to feed', mirwen(??) 'waves come in'.
myew- (evidently a derivative of my-) 'stick in, submerge'. Iterative myewn-, except in myegiite?m 'you repeatedly dip it in water'—which looks as if uwo has contacted to u; and the iterative infix has been added.
me- 'hither'
na?-'two'
ne?e- (only in ne?e?nemek? 'I grab it with both hands', -onem 'by hand')
nase- (only in nase?ginep- 'feel forebodings')
nase- 'take/go away'
nase- (and nese-) 'inadequate'
nekom(uy)- 'well, skillfully'
nek- 'cute' (only in nektoksim- 'think someone cute')
nekp- (in nekipatewek? 'I stumble and fall', -cetew 'hand'; and nekipeweyek? 'it scrapes my face')
nesnks- 'envy'
ndēm- 'rap'
nesk- 'arrive' (also neskwekoy? 'the stream isn't far', -mekoy? 'flow, stream'
neskw(ey)- 'annoying, surprising'
nes- 'pushing one's body to its limits?' (In nesstotrep? someone runs fast', -to: 'run'; nesturek? 'I reach the other shore', -ur 'swim'; nesstoteyek? 'I've been badly hurt in my flesh')
no? (also no:-, no:-y-) 'with'
nohp(uy)- 'bring/go in (a building)'
nohs- 'start off'
no:lo:y(k)- 'feeble'
no?om- 'how long/far'
no:si- 'bring'
now- (in nowinep- 'like the feeling', novinoksim- 'feel at ease with someone')
no:w- 'hither; to destination' (also no:woy? 'it's coiled')
?ol- 'carry, drag' (also ?olo:wek? 'I imitate a bird call', -oyew 'speak')
?o:t- (only in ?o:keyok? 'what I eat from', -pey 'eat')
?om- 'in position relative to others'
?oy- (only in skelli ?oykesel- 'you lie down here')
pa?ati- 'appear?' (only in pa?ati:te:ko? 'it looks like flowing water')
pekoy- 'red'
pen- 'down to the ground'
pew(ol) - 'wash'
plabon - 'ocean-fishy' (only in plabono? 'ocean-fishy smell', -o? 'smell')
plk - 'out through a barrier'
pl - (and ploi-) 'big' (also ploilikoy? 'it flows wide', ploup? 'it's high water', plinep-/plinow- 'feel mean, angry').
plahoniy - (only in plahoney:cek? 'I growl in my sleep', -o: 'sound')
plus - plus vowel length on the next vowel, i.e., perhaps puseg- (only in puseg: molek? 'I smell of cat, skunk', -o? 'smell')
pwego - (only in pwego: cek? 'my voice is heard above the others', -o: 'sound')
py - 'chew' (sometimes extended with -ew 'by mouth')
pyaw - (only in pyaw:ksim- 'love someone')
pywr - 'ritually pure'
reg - 'full' (in regop? 'it's full of liquid')
ro:y - 'along' (cf. ia:y above)
saw - 'cold'
sesey - (only in seseykoy? 'shallow water flows over pebbles and disappears', -koy? 'flowing water')
sen - (also seni-, senikoy-, senoy-) 'fist, with effort'
ske - (only in skoy? 'it's limp', -o'y 'rope-like entity')
ske? - (and ske?) 'spread, scatter'
sken - 'bitter'
ske(ew) - (and sky-) 'well'
slae - 'rubbish' (cf. slae:n - 'get rid of rubbish', slae:/sleah 'to the dump')
smi - 'pull' (in smi:ley 'pull flesh from fishskin with teeth', smi:ken - 'pull out', smi:no? 'break, slide (a mountain inside)')
son- (also son-, s:ot-, so:-, so:-) 'this, how'
s?op- (reduplicated s?oka?op-) 'hit (as with a fist),
speg- (also cpeg- and peg-) in spegot(on)ep- 'race someone',
or- 'run'
s?ek- 'high-point, apex'
sw- 'spread out'
s?ow- (usually sw- plus vowel length) 'undo, surge'
s?ey- (also syewon-) 'be fed up with', also syeyonkim- 'hold someone in contempt'
s?eyon- (extended version of s?ey-) in s?eyoninepok? 'I doubt myself', s?eyonisho?n 'someone is soorworthy'
sy- (in s:ya?:k- 'kick', s:ya?ik? 'it sweats and drops of water sleep away')
syab- (also slah- and slah-) 'separate, put aside', also slahicok? 'I part from them'.
syekw- (slekw-) 'backwards'
sy?ekw- 'slippery'
s?oy- (slo?) 'downhill', but also s?ey?k?w 'the wind is cold', s?ek?w 'wind'.
t- (only in toksim- 'be proud of someone', tori?e?m 'you hit an animal to kill it'
t? - (only in ti?enem 'plants come up', -urn 'grow')
tsh? - (only in tashokkok? 'I'm hungry')
ts?an- 'hor'
tasoy- 'be hot'
tegoy- 'emerge'
tek- 'together'
tel- 'falsely?', in teloyewek? 'I tell a lie', -oyew 'speak'.
tem- 'a lot' (extended form teno:w-)
temonon- (only in temononoksia- 'think evil of someone, hok')
teykel- (or perhaps tekel-?) 'small' (cf. ceykel- above). Also
teykela'tem 'you bite someone', -a't 'by mouth'.
tikw- 'break'
tin- onomatopoetic, is tinorjeck? 'it's a ringing sound', -orjec
'sound'.
tk- 'thick!' (only in tkop? 'It's thick liquid!')
tkwe?ron- 'short'
tsepi- 'in half'
tohp- 'hole'
tork- 'hit, slap'
toli- 'across a barrier, sideways'. Also tolom? 'It's glazed'.
tom- (to:m-) 'how much'
to:pa- (reduplicated tō:kē:p-) 'hit' (cf. sō:p- above).
tum-? (only in tumokok? 'I do something fast?', -ak 'do')
tum- (tum-, tumér-) 'something rope-like forks'
tyohpey- 'hate?' (lit tyohpeyoiksia- 'hate someone')
wa- (in woyk? 'It's coiled, draped over something', -oyk?
'ropelike thing')
wa?si- (only in wasalinepek? 'I'm apprehensive')
wa:n- 'bad!' (in wa:nikkwok? 'I have a bad dream of someone')
wa?sa? (in wa?saliksia- 'feel sorry for/about someone/something')
we?= (in we?=gëcëk? 'I speak English', -orjeg 'speak')
weit- (in wetpekiñe? 'I roll strands together to make a rope,
twine hair')
wenom to 'past/to a point', also in wenominepek? 'I have a premonition' (if this is in fact the same stem) and with the infix weño?molep 'birds fly in formation'.

wey- 'finish'
wohp(ey) 'across'
wo̱l- (in woloywet 'dogs back in the distance', -øyew 'speak')
wo̱n- 'up'
woy(om)- (and woyp-) 'overnight'

ye?wo̱n(om) - (and yu?m-, yu?m-) 'disappear', also in yewōnemek? 'I put someone in a bent/sitting position', ye?wēnemek?
'I struggle up from my knees (wrestling).

yohp- (and yo?hopp-) 'in a circle', literary yegohp- 'in circles'. Also yegohp- in ye?gohak? 'I see something going around in circles'. yo?hopp- is found only in kic yo?hoppeni? 'It's been brought clear around'.


?- plus vowel length 'in position: follow/lead'

Postradical extensions

There is one meaningful postradical extension, -in 'feel' (elsewhere a medial), and it is attested only before deverbal -oks 'think': nowōnokslek? 'I feel at ease with someone' (beside nowinepek? 'I like the feeling' and roksiap? 'I think so of someone'). 3

The following meaningless postradical extensions have been noted with more than one root:

-ol. In la?yolok/layok? 'I pass by'.
my̱wolotek/my̱wotek? 'I stick it in', mésēryk/mésēyk? 'it's a small stream', pëšulēstēyēk? 'I wash my hair',
tu?nēryk/tu?nēyk? 'a stream forks'.

-om. In metom-, yełom-, and historically in pemom- 'cook' and nkom- 'do well' (mëyot puw- 'cook', PA *nek- 'be skillful').
Medials and deverbal roots

Medials typically have the shape -VC (e.g., -ew 'by mouth', -oig 'sound'), but a few are longer (e.g., -oicks 'think', -oek 'with effort', -oey 'with effort', -okey 'face', -oeyks 'look', -uolog 'place in or quantity of water').

Nearly all deverbalizing roots in Yurok begin in l-/r- (which drops when the root is noninitial).

What follows is a list of Yurok medials and deverbal roots, and the stems they are found in. The initial consonant of a deverbal is ignored for purposes of listing (i.e., alphabetizing), but is shown in the first following example. Except as otherwise stated, any item the first example of which does not begin in a single consonant is a medial suffix. Uninflected verbs used syntactically as nouns are glossed as nouns.

-shtew 'hand'; pewahntewek? 'I wash her hands', pewahntewek? 'I wash my hands', pewolahntewek? 'I wipe my hands'. The first example seems to show contraction of ew-em to em. This item is a by-form of more common -stew 'finger/hand, toe/foot'.

-astk 'foot'. ra:tkah 'build stepping stones', mya:tkepek? 'I jump'. This item is a by-form of more common -stek 'foot/body motion'.

-ar 'stick'. ca?ansr 'it's new plant growth', cokopar 'drum' (uninflected verb, replace the noun coko? 'drum'), kwomast?esr/kwomats?esr 'you put wood (e.g., a gate) back in place', sekoyar 'tough wood', to:raka?onek?/to:ra?onek? 'I put up a stick as a barrier', wopeyarr 'a stick across something'. Haas (1967:339) glosses this item 'straight object'.

-ar 'by ear'. ra?royok? 'I hear something unseen'; cegaroyok? 'I hear it with distaste', cegar? 'ear', cegaroyok? 'I listen to it'.
-ecw 'weave baskets, braid, lace'. Yihde'wde? 'I weave baskets quickly', horrecekw 'I weave baskets', ksqecokw 'I spoil a basket design', knecew 'I put my weaving aside', yahde'wde? 'I have a little on a basket (helping someone)', sekecokw 'I make a big/rough basket' (the only kind of weaving done by a man), o'wikwe'wde? 'I weave fine baskets', tonecekw 'I have lots of things in my basket', kus we'wde'wde? 'how far along are you weaving?'. This item may be a specialized by-form of -ecw 'finger/hand'. In any event, it is haplogonic both after an element ending in e and one beginning in 3. Examples are: kahcew 'I'm sewing' (kahc- 'sew'): telosewetek 'I unlace/unravel/unstrap it, unwind it (weaving)', no'osewetek 'you start a basket, lace a baby in one', sekozewetek 'I tie it tightly', no'osewetek 'I braid/lace something', wayewetek 'I finish my basket'. All but the first end in the transitive final -et. Compare also -et 'fill net in water' below.

ek, -etk. See -enek and -ol below.

e'pet(kin) 'be jointed/joined/tied together'. Reference is generally to limbs or ropes. le'ke 'the joint is back in place', cep'ke 'strong limb', n'ik'ke 'knee', kelamek'ke 'get out of joint (body part)', kelomek'ke 'somersault', kenol'ke 'lie down in a cramped space', kilkek' (kinch) 'a carcass is disjoined', kyenik'ke 'sprain (a hand)' ne'ukab'uek'ke 'a bony person', ne'yev:le'ke/nel'ke'ke 'feeble legs, frail/bony person', nel'ke 'be feeble', nel'ke'wde? 'limbs (foot/legs) are cold', telomek'ke 'unbraid', 'ile'ke'wde? (kin) 'you untie a knot, unlace it', kelomek'ke 'a person/animal twists loose/', tel'nek'kinek?/tel'ne'kinek?/te'ne'kinek? 'I tie a knot', tel'ne'kinek? 'tie strands together'.

-ekomy 'place, put'. lekotek 'I put it (here)', poy rekek 'I throw something ahead', lekomy(e)teki? 'I put it down'; knekomy(e)teki? 'I leave something behind', hiakomy(e)teki? 'I bring them in fast', ho:lekomomy(e)teki? '?', newolekomomy(e)teki? 'I take everything away', nol'komomy(e)teki? 'I gather a lot of material to make something', wekomy(e)teki? 'I put things on display', yahlekomomy(e)teki? 'I separate out my things, put them aside', o'tekomy(e)teki? 'I put up a barrier', wehekomy(e)teki? 'I put someone/something across', yokekomy(e)teki? 'I carry it clear around'; tenekeki? 'there's a lot scattered around', cenekeki? 'how much is scattered around'.

-ekoy? 'flowing water'. lekoy? 'the water flows', kus rekoy? 'which way does this water flow?'; ho:lekoy? 'the water moves around (e.g., the swan)'; kelokoy? 'the water flows back (a 180 degree turn)', knekoy? 'the water
gets calm; it's relaxed, witten; kwoytokyo? 'the water runs back', kwoyekoy? 'the water flows slowly', lrnyekoy? 'stripes', &lyekoy? 'the water is placid', maryekoy? 'the water flows past', menekoy? 'the water disappears', mnsękoy? 'the water recedes (as a wave)', kus mtnmekoyko? 'whence comes the water?', mntkoy? 'the water rises, waves come in', nesmekoy? 'the water (a stream) isn't far', kus ntnmekoyko? 'how long is this waterway?', palarekoy? 'it looks like flowing water', pkekoy? 'it's the mouth of a stream; the water leaks out (e.g., of a spring)', plrlilikoy?/plrlilik? 'the water flows wide', rlyekoyko? (?), saktkoy? 'the water flows swiftly', sckkikyék? 'shallow water flows over pebbles and disappears', sskikky? 'the water is clear (as above rapids)', skmekckoyko? 'it's a backwash', stkoy? 'it's a big flow of water', wetkoy? 'the water flows over the right', yagophkoyko? 'water flows around and around', yrnmekckoyko? 'the water seeps out of sight, disappears'. Compare -op 'liquid', -oky 'rope-like entity', -wert 'in water', and -ultog 'depth, spot in the water'.

-welo 'with effort'. This medial is productive after the deverbal -etk 'foot/body motion' and -etk 'drag' (where it is obligatory). Other examples are: skekewlyoyko? 'I pull it along backwards', pkelooyoyko? 'I get to where I can see through the brush', pmktkayoyko? 'I drag someonelseomething out', pkmkoyooyko? 'I have a vision, see a hidden meaning'. The third example probably involves -etk and dissimilation of kw to k; perhaps the first does too and involves haploglott. I distrust the second for morphological/semantic reasons, and the fourth in a religious term which should be reflected from a speaker with a better knowledge of that specialized vocabulary. Possibly -ewo is restricted to dragging motions.

-etk 'body, foot, earth, crawl'. The basic meaning would seem to be 'body': 'foot' is only found in lelkekpek. 'I stub my toe' (otherwise 'foot' shows the by-form -etk). 'Earth' is probably metaphorical from 'body', just as 'sky' -elewu is metaphorical from 'face'. 'Crawl' is a specialized type of 'body motion'—perhaps also related to 'earth'. It is only when the sense is 'crawl' that the medial -elo is used. Examples: 1kkekpek? 'I bury myself; I crawl', lmkelooyko? 'I crawl'. With the meaning 'body/earth'; cdpékék? 'I'm strong of body', cnyetekpek? 'I'm irritable, restless', nnyetekpek? 'I bury myself along with others', swweker? 'it's a hard surface', snyetekpek?/skkoyko?lekpek? 'I wrestle in soft terrain', wloookekpek? 'I roll in oil', wlnwloookekyywoyo? 'I'm oily'; cdpékék? 'they're dancing out of step', lwetekpek? 'you get up (suddenly, from lying down)', hewetk(toy)pek? 'I get up foot', tlmekekpek? 'someone covers up something quickly with earth/sand', lwettwetekpek? 'I stir coals, scatter sand',

-enekw/-onekw 'adrift, soaking'. This item has a suppletive by-form -onekw for the first and second persons, and prefixes -(en)ck to form a plural. Examples: lenekw 'something is adrift', leho?eknekew? 'things are adrift'; cepeonekw 'it gets waterlogged/spoiled from soaking', lekenekw? 'it's lodged floating', hiswonekew? 'it floats by fast', horioneke 'it drifts around', horilekoeke 'many fine things are adrift', keneke 'it floats out of the main current', keneke 'it drifts into still/stagnant water', kwomekeke 'it moves back and forth on the water', kwomekonekew? 'I move back and forth on the water', kwonekonekew? 'it drifts back', lavyoneke 'it drifts by', tenekw 'it keeps drifting (being wedged somewhere)', mayonekew? 'it drifts by', manonekew? 'it sinks, goes out of sight in the water', mowonekew 'it all floats away', naideonew? 'two things float together', manonekew? 'it's drifted off by rising water, a whirlpool', nekonekew? 'it drifts close (to me)', rohpenekew? 'it drifts in (a river mouth)', kus sononekew? 'now long was it submerged'.
no:sonekw 'it drifts ashore', ?olonekw 'it's afloat, submerged but visible', raiyonekw 'it drifts by', royoneww 'it floats along, drifts with the current or waves', sloyonekw 'it slides into the water', sloyoneckenekw (pl.), kus so:sonekw 'what's the direction of something floating?', teneckenekw 'many things float together', kus tomonekw 'how far did the water come up on it?', wolpeyonewk 'it drifts across, overnight', woykenewk (?) 'it floats overnight; clouds float by', weno?tomonekw 'it drifts past', yoyonekw 'it goes overnight', woypinekw 'it's in water overnight', yego:ponewk 'it drifts around in circles', yew?sononekw 'it's submerged', yohpetekw 'it drifts in a circle', yu?tomonekw /yu?tomonekw 'it submerges'.

-ep 'tie'. Examples: mala:petek? 'I tie it up', mala:petek? 'two bundles', sekipetek? 'I tie it in place securely'.


-etul 'hand'. This seems like another variant of -ctew, consisting of -ctew plus -ol (ew-о contracts to u in some
"-ow 'mouth, opening'. Examples: tek'l'wetek? 'I hold it in my mouth', tekk'woloy 'bite and hang on', ho'l'wetek? 'I go around with something in my mouth', k'arnel 'a bad taste', k'arnel'wetek? 'I dislike the taste', layayetek? 'someone goes along with something in the mouth', me'wetek? 'I wipe someone's face', me'wetek? 'I wipe my mouth', nemel'wetek? 'I grab it in my mouth, bite something', nemeloloyek? 'someone bites me', pykewetek? 'someone spits out food', pywetek? 'I chew (something for someone)', pywolayek 'chew', pywolayek 'chew something for a baby' (wax some sort of contraction?), sekit'wetek? 'I chew something tough/hard', sekoylewetek? 'It's tough (for chewing)', kwest'yel 'someone is hoarse', kwel'wetek? 'I speak hoarsely', skel 'it tastes bitter', skel 'a good taste', skel'wetek? 'I like the taste', skel?wolayek? 'It tastes good', woni'ne'wetek? 'It's strange-tasting', wyetek? 'I'm tired of a food', kus weno?wetek? 'Where is (a dog) up to carrying something in its mouth?'.

Note how the glottal catch of the third-person inflection of skelw seems to have spread to derived forms of the stem. Examples with 'opening': nohpelewetek? 'I enter', mywetek? 'I paddle in water, stick wood further into the fire', nohpelewetek? 'rain/dust blows in the door'.

elewetek? 'dissimilitude-distinguish-identify-unify/yield/fulfill 'face, sky'. Examples: hék'woloy 'person with a smiling face', hék'woloy 'person with a smiling face', hék'woloy (so transcribed) 'a laughing face; a sunny sky after the rain', k'elulayek 'a person with an ugly face; ugly clouds', kekeloloyek 'clouds have swirling faces', kinsel'wetek? 'I have a homely face' (third person: 'the sky has a mean face'), kinsel'wetek? 'a face of someone holding in anger; the sky just before a storm', kwel'wetek? 'you have a pointed face' (third person: 'a sharp boat-head'), k'elyol 'a person with a mean expression', keleyol 'a mean face; a raw/windy mean day', lelewetek? 'dark clouds right above', lelewetek? 'I have fuzz on my face', lepuloyek 'a hairy face; stringy-looking clouds with rain in them', lepet'wetek? 'the sky is dark, murky', melewetek? 'I wipe my eyes face', melewetek? 'I have a crying face', melewetek? 'a weeping face; a misty sky (as after the funeral of a good person)', melewetek? 'thunderheads, indistinct-faced clouds, round clouds full of rain or snow', netlepuloyek? 'it creases my face', pëdwetek? 'I have a red face', sok'welepuloyek?
(recorded with simple w for ?w) 'I hit someone in the face', wek soina?weyek? 'your face looks like chis', swetkelo?weyek? 'I have a broken-out face', storpe?wey 'hit in the mouth', tegoye?wey 'something emerges (the first sign, e.g., whiskers)', toksa?weyek? 'I hit someone in the face', tormpe?wey 'run into something with the face', welego?weyek? 'I have a fat face'.

-ewkw 'dig'. Examples: lekwatemok? 'I dig', lekwatemokk? 'I dig for something', cohpekwtk? 'I drill a hole', cohpekwkhot 'they drill a hole', yohopkwtk? 'I dig clear around (e.g., a foundation)', Compare horokwtk? (so recorded) 'I reas out (e.g., a cup)'.

-istikw? 'sleep, dream'. witkwoe?k? 'I'm dreaming', witkwoeck? 'I'm dreaming about you', witkumek? 'I'm dreaming about someone'; cpa?istik? 'someone sleeps a long time', kasmiktek? 'I dream a bad dream', kasmikwk? 'I dream a bad dream about something', kasmikumek? 'I dream a bad dream about someone', kasmikwoeck? 'I dream a bad dream about you', helwonihek? 'I wake up', helwonihtkwoeck? 'I wake someone up', wek soritsek? 'I dream this', wek soritkwtk? 'I dream this', wek soritkumek? 'I dream about someone this way', warnik 'a vision, bad omen', warnikwk?/warnikumek? 'I have a bad dream of someone', hur?wonihek 'wake a group'. The short form -istikw seems to be mediopassive versus the more transitive meaning of -istikw, but historically the former may be a backformation from the uninflected verb.

-in 'feel', ceolinapek? (?)'I feel dry', cineapek? 'I feel irritated', cspaininepek? 'I feel the time drag', hahpeilinepek? 'I feel light and lively', huyomokinepek? 'I feel lucky', kasminepek? 'I feel unhappy (at a certain location)', klininepek? 'I feel bad', kinahpeyek? 'they don't feel good about me', kominepek? 'I have feelings in the body, can feel', maulinepek? 'I feel relieved of bad thoughts or fears', mulinepek? 'I feel relief from pain', arkominepek? (?)'I feel awkward (having outstayed my welcome)', nekwkimepek? 'I feel shocked and sad', naininepek? 'I feel forebodings, anxiety, or that someone is watching me', nasinepek? 'I feel inadequate to a task', nasinepek? 'I don't think I can do it', novinepek? 'I like the feeling', pininepek? 'I feel mean, angry', pyrinepek? 'I feel ready for prayer', samwolainepek? 'I feel chilly', skewinepek? 'I feel full', skwisoninepek? 'I feel good', suninepek? 'how I feel', sweyoninepek? 'I doubt myself; I dislike the idea', sunapinepek? 'I feel I'm different', wallsinepek? 'I'm apprehensive', wenwolainepek? 'I have a remonition, I'm scared', yegohpinepek? 'I have a spinning headache'. Compare skewinc- 'be a good navigator'.


-osa 'relational'. Specifies that action is performed in relation to something/someone else. Often followed by the passive final -el or the active final -et (with which it contracts to -o:et), or the dative=melitative by-form of the latter (-et). It is followed by deverbal -url in one case, suggesting that it too is deverbal and thus related to -o:et (which see). One word, peshntemek? 'I wash her hands' (beside peshntawk? 'I wash my hands'), points to a related relational final -e(j). Speech and thought can also be regarded as relational (i.e., they are 'about something'), and so the final -Vm 'by much, speech, thought' (see below) may be connected as well. Examples of -osa are: tokoonolek? 'they close the door on me', tekorto:tek? 'you close the door on someone'. Tekorto:toyek? 'someone closes the door on me' (cf. Tekoyek? 'they lock me in'); leko:melek? 'I'm stabbed (i.e., someone uses a knife on me)', leko:tek? / leko:tek? 'I stab (something/someone)'; mono:monemek? 'I take it back/return it (to someone)'; tomo:olek? 'they take it away from me' (koyek? 'they grab me (i.e., take me away)'; tomo:olek? 'you relieve someone of a load'; tomo:olek? 'they take it away from him'. See also the medial -um 'grow'.


-oyk 'stream, rope-like object'. Perhaps this was a single item in origin, but it seems to have two deverbalizing roots synchronically: one in -r-, and one in -w-. roya? 'it flows, drips, trickles', woyk? 'it (e.g., a snake) is coiled, draped over something'; ce?øyk? 'it's a dry stream', kus ce?øyk? 'how deep does it flow?'; ce?øyk? 'it's a long stream', ho?øyk? (?) kseek?øyk? 'it (stream) winds very crooked', kloomyk? 'it (rope, fabric) is twisted on inside out', kloyk? 'it (snake, rope) is draped over something', kneyk? 'limp', knoyk? 'it's a dead-end of water', knoyketeik? 'I put flexible items down gently', kseyk? 'it flows slowly', kwowoyk? 'it (snake, rope) turns back', kwoyk? 'it (rope) is moving slowly', kwowketeik? 'you're slow getting things out', la?oyk? 'it (snake, root) is on the ground', løyk? 'it (snake) stops; the flow stops' (also kloyk?), lit?k? 'liquid gets thick, stops seeping', aaryoyk? 'it (stream) passes an obstruction', menoyk? 'it (round pliable object) disappears', menoyketeik? 'I pull something (as a rope)', meso?k? 'it (eel, stream) is slender', meséyk? /meséryk? 'it (stream) is small', menoyk? 'it (snake) crawls away', menoyketeik? 'I wipe a long strand', kus menoyk? 'from what direction did it crawl out?'; menoyketeik? 'it (water) seeps/drips away', kus mélymeyk? 'where does the stream flow from?'; kus menoyk? 'how long is this (snake, rope)?', menoyk? 'it's coiled (nemp, etc.)'; pwo?oyk? /pwo?øyk? 'it flows red', pwo?oyk? 'I get the needle threaded', pwo?oyk? 'it leaks out; the thread comes through the needle', pwo?oyk? 'it flows out', pwo?oyk? 'it (rope) is recorded' ; liquid seeps out', pwo?oyk? 'it (stream of slow) is strong', kus séinyk? 'how is it flowing?', séseyk? 'it trickles over gravel and dries up', skéwyk? 'it (wood) has clear grain', skoyk? 'it's limp', skéyk? 'it (stream) is clear', tenoyk? 'it's a lot of (strings, sels)', tu?øyk? /tu?øyk? (also tu?øyk?); yego?oyk? 'it's circled with string/rope', yego?oyk? 'it's a small leaky place made by rain on dry soil', yéyk? 'water seeps out', yé?lik? 'it seeps (a clay container)'; yé?lik lik? 'it soaks and drops step away'. My assumption here is that -(é?)(é?)(é?)(é?) and -oyk? are phonological variants of -éyk? and -oyk? respectively, but the possibility of contrast has not been disproved.

-øykenc 'exepel (liquid, ropelike object). roykwonk? 'I render fat, force out liquid'; kwoykwonk? 'I play out rope slowly', co kwoykwonk? 'play out the rope slowly', skéwykének? 'I skim foam off water to clear it'.

-wul(og-) 'depth or location in a body of water', celu?loges? 'water disappears into sand/gravel till dry',
cepul'oge ti 'water flows down a steep incline' (or is this a 'place where' noun?), cenu'ologe? 'it's shallow', cku'roget? (?), kau'lioge 'a deep place', nda'aka no'tou? 'it's up to my knees', steku? ti 'it's the high-water point of the flood', su(∪u)logene? (recorded with (u)) 'I enlarge the mouth of a waterway', cenu'lioge ti 'a deep place', kus to'a'lioge ti 'how deep is the water?', to'pu? ti 'a deep pool'.

-wul(ues) ti 'pack, load'. Possibly the final -es is a separate morpheme (an active final), since a couple of stems seem to show a passive -ulowy. lules- (in way lisese? ti 'I take a load to a different (wrong) place', and wonik lule? ti 'someone carries a load uphill!'): cpanulises? ti 'I (a ghost) carry a load forever', ckenulises? ti 'I pack a little, a light load', hit'numulises? ti 'you pack things (away)', ho'lulises? ti 'I carry a pack', ho'lu? ti 'pack', load', kemeyu'ises? ti 'I take a load home', kwogmu'ises? ti 'I'm packing back and forth', kwesu'ises? ti 'I pack it back', layu'ises? ti 'I come by here with a pack', layulowow? ti (?) 'I pass this way with my load' (?), fomulises? ti 'you relieve someone of her load', maru'ulises? ti 'I bring my pack past an obstacle (e.g., a slide area)', menulises? ti 'I get up with a load', menulowow? ti 'I'm abducted, enticed away', easoulu'ises? ti 'I pack everything away', kus senu'moulises? ti 'whence did you bring your load?', cpaneik me'woulu'ises? ti 'I bring this load from afar', nasmulises? ti 'you relieve someone of a load', nesu'ises? ti 'I bring my load here', nohpu'ises? ti 'I bring in a load', nohulowowey ti 'I'm brought in, I enter with a load', nesu'ises? ti 'I don my pack', kus noxmu'ulises? ti 'how long have you been packing your load?', noxulises? ti 'I bring/ deliver your load', nesu'ises? ti 'you get home with a pack', pu'ulises? ti 'I emerge with a load', sekoyu'ulises? ti 'I carry my load well- tied', steku'ulises? ti 'you pull items out of your pack', sloyu'ulises? ti 'I take a load down the hill', sisyhulises? ti 'I carry a separate load (gathered for a menstruating woman)', cokes? sunulises? ti 'I carry a load downhill', raivulises? ti 'I walk along with a load', slofu'ulises? ti 'you show the contents of your pack', awulises? ti 'I unpack', cenu'ulises? ti 'I carry a lot, a heavy load', kus to'mulises? ti 'how much is your load?', wenosu'mulises? ti 'I'm up to a certain point with my load', wohpeyu'ulises? ti 'I carry a load across', yewu'mulises? ti 'I carry a load out of sight'. There is also the dependent noun -esamul 'load', e.g., esamul 'my load'.

-wun 'grow', hune'm ti 'things grow', hunowow? ti 'they grow', hunowow(ese)cek? ti 'I grow something!'; cinput? ti 'they grow sufficiently', skenu'm ti 'not many plants come up/grow', cenu'nowowomecek? ti 'I didn't plant many', cpanu'nowow? ti 'I've lived a long time', himu'nowow? ti 'they grow fast', kamun'ti 'they grow poorly', kamunu'nowowomecek? ti 'I grow very plants',
Concrete verb finals

The concreteness of the meaning of a verb final is a matter of degree. The more concrete a final, the harder it is to distinguish from a medial, and in some cases it may merely be due to the accidental failure to record a final after it that led me to classify it as a final at all.

The Yurok elements tentatively classed as concrete finals are:

-eev(eu), tr. -en 'go', reeck 'I paddle'; up-necok 'I'm gone a long time', ma cegesnecewok? 'I was gone a long time', cukweeck? 'I steer a boat', himec1m 'you walk fast', himen 'a group goes fast', himolec 'I have to walk fast', horlocok 'I stir, move my boat around with a paddle', horieeck? 'I move my boat around with a paddle', stir food with a paddle cooking', hor necok? 'I climb, walk uphill', horneecok? 'I go upstream by boat', horineeek? 'I carry it', horlenhepeyk 'they chase me around', kéégeek? 'I go alone', holameecok? 'I turn my boat around 180 degrees', kenk?weeck? 'I turn a boat, car', kwogoseecok? 'I walk back and forth', kwoseeck? 'I turn back', kwoseeneck? 'I bring it back', reeck? 'I catch up to
someone', kwocok? 'I walk slowly/silently' (collective: kwoye? 'they...'), layecok? 'I walk along', lepekoc? 'I crawl to avoid detection', tieck? 'I hit a snag, run aground', kwoye? 'I walk carefully (in a side area, on muddy ground)', mapeyecok? 'I struggle to get my boat past an obstacle', menece? 'I disappear', meyewa? mecenua?ke 'they disappear', meyewa? 'I come from...'; meywema? 'they...'; kus me no?omecok? 'how long were you gone?', neskwecok? 'you've arrived here'; nohecok?/nowapecewek? 'I come inside', sonecok? 'I'm in this position (in or on the ground); mepecewek? 'I step from a tree to the ground (cllimbing down)'; penecewek? 'I put down my load and rest', pwecok?/pwcsewewek? 'I come out (as of woods), into view', pwcsewewek? 'I bring it out', ralpecok? 'I paddle along', neskwecok? 'I can make it (walking)', swewok? 'I walk gently/quietly', slahtecok? 'I separate from someone (as at a fork in the trail)', slahtewewek? 'I left the group', sklewecok? 'I come cut/down backwards, push my boat off backwards with a paddle', sleyecok? 'I go downhill', pulik sonecok? 'I paddle downstream, toward the ocean beach', kus ki soxecok? 'how will I travel?', syewecok? 'I walk backwards', tolecok?/tolweewek? 'I go sideways', me tolecok? 'how far around I go', neskwecok? 'I walk through slick clay; I walk with an injured pelvis', weno?omecok? 'when I was walking along there', worpecok? 'I cross a stream by boat', wypeyecok?/wylyecok? 'I stay overnight (away from home)', regohpecok? 'I walk in circles', yewecok?/yewomecok? 'I get out of sight' (collective: ye?wena? 'they...'); ye?weck?/wy it disappears', yohpecok? 'you go clear around', cf. yohomecok? 'I go around'.

'er go' (augmentative-peonitive of -e); hiaecok? 'hurry! (said to old person, child)', holotek? 'I walk with effort (in a steep place, under a heavy load)', sekit'la? 'you walk fast', soce? 'I go so', syewecok 'come out backwards'.

'ekc 'body strength'. Only in sekktekok? 'I shake with effort, use all my strength' and sittok? 'my strength' (i.e., 'how strong I am').

someone in kind, get revenge', toilekki? 'I block a path (crosswise)', kus tomkøm'M 'how much of this did you do?', tumokok? (?) 'I do something fast' (??), kus wenoñomak?i 'how far along are you (working)?', Compare mowolok?i 'I clean a pipe', and sewikok? 'I tidy up'.


-økw 'wind blows'. cëcëmekkii?wes 'the wind skips around (child speaking)', heilekkii?wes 'the wind blows around, makes a little whirlwind', këlemekkii?wes 'the wind blows something inside cut' (cf: compare kelomik's 'something is turned over/inside out'), këkëmekkii?wes 'the wind shifts constantly', knëkkii?wes 'the wind is dying down', kwëmekkii?wes 'the wind blows back', kwëyëmekkii?wes 'the wind whispers', lëryëmekkii?wes 'the wind blows along something', tëfii?wes 'the wind stops', mëyëmekkii?wes 'the wind isn't so strong here; a passing wind; a small gust', mëmekkii?wes 'the wind dies down between gusts', nëwëmekkii?wes 'the wind clears away the clouds' (compare mowolok?i 'clouds clear'), kus mëwëmekkii?wes 'where's the wind blowing from?', mëwikëmekkii?wes 'the wind has a surprising velocity', mëwikëmekkii?wes 'the wind coaches here', pëwikëmekkii?wes 'the wind makes a draft', rockëmekkii?wes 'the wind blows', kus rokëmekkii?wes 'which way does the wind blow?', mëwikëmekkii?wes/sekyeikii?wes 'the wind is hard/force', kus sëmekkii?wes 'how hard/which way is the wind blowing?', slëyëmekkii?wes 'the wind is cold', swëmekkii?wes 'the wind gusso', swëyëmekkii?wes 'the wind gusts repeatedly', wëyëmekkii?wes 'the wind stops blowing', yëgëhekëmekkii?wes 'the wind blows in circles', yëwëmekkii?wes 'the wind dies away (as in the lee of a point)'.

-oowy/oowy (tr. -oows) 'having the quality/appearance of'. kowë cmowëmoyem 'don't act like a dog!', cmëmoyem 'covered with red woodpecker scalps', pememoyem?i 'I'm greasy',

pemeyonotei 'I put grease in the pan, grease something'. This final is very common in the vocabulary in Robin (1958:87–300), and these examples are not repeated here. Its semantic range is similar to that of PA *-o(wi) (e.g., see Bioenfield 1962 sec. 15.4–5).

-law 'reflective'. For examples, see the medial -in 'feel'. The second by-form is usually found in transitive verbs, where it is followed by a secondary final.

-ewet 'in water'. Examples: lewet 'someone fishes with a net'; knowetek 'I sit out my net', menewet 'a fish pulls a net underwater; someone clinches down something', myewetek 'I plunge something in water', rehpuwetek 'I drag something in water'. Compare moworewetek? 'I've gobbled/sneaked everything away'.

-wkwaw 'on water'. hoklewkwawen 'you have a load in your boat', kelomewkwawen 'you turn around and come back in a boat', knoewkwawen 'fish fin up to feed at the surface (near the bank)', kweycakewkwawen 'you go back and forth on water', mewkwawen 'boats disappear on the river' (collective -n?m), neskwawen 'fish jump out of the water to feed' (initial -n?m), neskoyewkwawen 'they (fish) are strong swimmers' (?), kus noewkwawen 'which direction are you going (by boat)?', wohpengewkwawen 'you put things in a stream to walk across on'.

-éyaha/-ýeýana(-) 'look'. Tékéyahenýek?/Tékéyéh 'they give me a dirty look, try to stare me down', kwéyáhyak?/kwéyáhyah(sak?) 'I look back', mérpéyäh 'watch someone without their knowledge', mérpéyékah? 'someone is being watched', pwéyáhyak? 'you see through (a knothole); you have a vision', sénéyéshák? 'how far I can see', noore?w sénéyésh? 'the scenery is pretty', wonik?w sénéyéshák? 'I see something in the sky'.


-ow 'sound'. This seems to be a contraction of the medial -oz with a final -ec. kweyáhyööceck/kweyáhyëceck? 'I whistle', kus melomwööröc? 'where is the sound coming from?'
neskwoc? 'someone makes a loud annoying noise', punomeyoc? 'someone groans in her sleep', puweneyoc? 'my voice is heard above the others', kilm so:na:ce? 'it's a noise of distress', eyo:to:gec?k? 'I make a noise', eyo:to:gec?k? 'it's a noise in the distance'.

-o:ka 'flat'. Identified by Robins (1958:96). Examples I collected are: ceyokoks 'narrow flat thing (board)', kelomoks 'turn inside out, twist so both surfaces show', kwomokoks 'slide back (on a board)', layokoks 'it (board, limb, rope) is across a path', menokoks 'there's a dip in the terrain', mewolokoks 'cloud/fog clears', no:oks 'two boards', wohpeyokoks 'it spans a stream'. I suspect that all the forms with glottal k̂ are third-person verbs, regardless of the glosses.

-ol 'sound'. cegeyolokoks? 'I'm tired of hearing it', skuyolokoks? 'I like the sound'.

-ol (rarely -el) 'fly'. Plural forms generally have -etkol plus -um and are uninfl ected. lo:li a bird flies', letekolim 'they fly', lekolema 'they (a flock) hover', leko:li 'one hovers', himori:li 'they fly out of sight fast', horletkolim 'birds circle around in flight', kelomok 'a bird turns in flight', kelomolema 'they turn in flight', kwogoso 'a bird flies back and forth, as to a feeder', kwosomin 'a bird flies home', menolim 'birds circle around in flight', menolema 'they fly out of sight fast', mewolomok 'they fly by fast and close', mohpokoks 'a flock jumps into flight', mohpoloki 'a bird jumps into flight', mewolim 'it flies home', mewolomok 'a flock flies home', wohpeko so:ni: 'it flies out to the middle of the water', weno:omo 'it flies above, flies past a certain point, flies up to such a point in its path', weno:omo:kolim 'they all fly', weno:omo:lo:li 'birds fly in formation', yegopokoki 'some species flies in circles', yohpoloki 'they flew in a circle'. Phrase: kolo cegemem so:ni: 'flies like a hummingbird'.

-ol/ol 'go in a group'. himori:li 'they go by in a hurry', horlolema 'they all run around', kwogosolema 'they keep going back', kwosolema/kwosolin 'the hard turns back', layolo:lema 'they run by', maseyo:olo 'they run past', menolema 'they disappear', molo:lema 'animals bunch up (when they can't find the gate)', mohpoloki 'they all fly up', pkwo:olema 'they all emerge', pkwo:olo:re 'they all run into view'.

-olum 'throat'. menokolumok 'I gulp something down, force food down, swallow it whole', nikolumok 'I swallow', sleykolumok 'I have something crosswise in my throat', silekolim 'someone swallows (a pain)'.


-otkey 'board food'. skewo'tkeye'm 'you're generous (with food)', teno'tkeye'm 'you're stingy'.

-olo't 'burn'. lo't 'it burns'; ckeno'opek? 'I build a small fire', hmo'olo't 'it burns fast', mewolo't 'it burns up away', skewo't 'it's an even blaze', swo't 'a burn or bite spreads, gets worse', sashe'topek? 'I build my own fire apart', teko't 'it's burned on', yoholo't 'it burns in a circle'.

-olo't 'run, stand'. ro'opek? 'I run'; horo'topek/horo'topek? (pl. horo'toman) 'someone runs around', ro'tolokoh 'someone standing in place', raio'topek? 'I run by something', kus tomo'topek 'how tall are you?'

-ow 'do, act, be'. cowyowok?/cayo'tkepek? 'I'm very irritable/seem/restless', kemorowyowok 'you're a sneak-thief', kegowyowok? 'I'm a doctor', kegowyowok? 'I'll perform as a doctor', lepoyowok/lepoty'tkepek? 'I'm hairy', tebowok? 'I'm angry' (?), tsewokyowok? 'I'm angry', noisowok? 'I join in, act like then', sashe'kwyowok 'you're surprisingly awful!'. pinyowok? 'I'm really angry' (cf. plinpepek 'I feel angry'), pyurowok'm 'you get ready for prayer, make prayers/formulas', sibhobyowok? 'I'm born to a higher station (than someone)'. For some further examples, see -un 'grow'.

-owok 'talk'. ckenowotem 'you talk very little', tenowok 'I talk too much', tomoowos 'someone talking insincerely' (?).

-boy 'pay'. ckenoyewek? 'I don't pay much', horoyewek? 'I owe someone', tenoyewek? 'I pay a good salary', ndim togenoyewok 'they don't pay me much' (evidently iterative), kus tomooyewok 'how much did you pay in wages?'

-tpa'town'. skewnapak? 'I have very little', te'napak? 'I have many valuable', wok tl'napak? 'this much is mine'. The first example seems to have root cken-, but was recorded with sken-. Note how the glottal catch migrates: N-? gives N.

-tpey 'eat'. tpeyok? 'I taste a liquid', cweyapeyok? 'I didn't eat much', knepyedh 'leavings of food', kwopyeyok? 'I eat slowly', tpeyeyok? 'I taste it (e.g., a spoonful)', wepypedh? 'I taste it (e.g., by putting my finger to the tip of my tongue)', tpeyeyok? 'What I eat from', ro'wophpyok? 'I drink it', sashe'tpeyok? 'I have a bad taste on my tongue', tpeyeyok? 'I eat too much', kus to'peyeyok 'how much did you eat?'. Note how the glottal catch migrates with a preceding nasal and dropping otherwise.
Abstract verb finals

Robins (1958:47-49) describes the pairing of passive with active stems in transitive verbs, which is quite irregular. He also describes the formation of reflexive and reciprocal stems (Robins 1958:78-79). Additional abstract finals I encountered are the following:

-sc (see medial -o:gi).

-sek/-sekk (see medial -ewk:i).

-seon (see medial -oyk).

-ap 'mediopassive' (after medials -a:i:k, -e:i:k, -i:n). This element has a by-form -a:p before a secondary final. It also forms reflexives (see Robins 1950:79).
-es 'causitive'. Ḥe:kki:sən 'you stop the water', letkwelo:yloŋ 'I drag it' (as automatically gives 3 after /y/), tmokkelo:yloŋ 'I break it'. See also the medial -eloy 'with effort'.

-es (see the medial -alọg, -ul). See also RESIDUE.

-ọt 'mediopassive' (after medial -ọm).  

-ọy 'mediopassive' (after medial -ər 'by ear').

-V(a)em 'by delicate action (e.g., with fingers or hands)'. Examples in -em: ṭelomonẹk! 'I remove stitches/unravel sewing; I take a baby from a basket, unlace a shoe' (babies were laced into baskets), ho:le:nk! 'it handle something', kep[t]ekwenek! 'I desen someone' (cf. kep[t]ekwalekek! 'I'm deaf'), kwomonenek! 'I take it back' (cf. kwomənənəpaya:wek! 'I'm sent back'), syahnomenek! 'I separate something', rikwo:henek! 'I break something brittle' (meaning of -əp uncertain). Often it is paired with -ee 'go': himenek! 'I hurry to deliver it', kelomenek! 'I turn it over', ọhwenek! 'I bring it indoors', te:le:nk! 'I put up a wooden barrier crosswise', wohpenek! 'I cross it over', yehwenek! 'I shove something out of sight', yohpenek! 'I go around with something'. Examples in -in(em): ọ:ọrebinek!/ọ:ọrebinek! 'I stop it with my hand', melophinek 'you smear it', melophinek! 'rub' massage something round lightly', regophinek! 'I fill it', sekinek! 'I do it with all my strength', ṣẹsọphineka 'you shake it (as a reed)', ọwọphinek! 'I pour it off', syahn(ə)mek! 'I separate things', so:pọ(ə)mek!/so:pon(ə)mek! 'I hit someone', ta:la:topinek! (so recorded) 'I beat liquid', emepinek! 'I divide loose things in half by hand' (cf. emepinek! 'I cut it in half'). Notice the frequency of -ọp 'liquid' and other ọp sequences before this by-form.

Examples in -ọ(ə)m: ọGWOMENEK! 'I straighten it', ọkomenek! 'I hold it', ọkọọpẹk! 'I hang on', ọGWOMENEK! 'I lift someone/something from a prone position', ọGWONITKWNENEK! 'I wake someone up', ọGWOMENEK! 'you carry something', hìmonemenek! 'I bring it fast', ho:le:nek! 'I touch/place things with my hands', kelomenek! 'you turn something over', kwomonenek! 'I go take it back', kwọwynemenek! 'slow delivery', kwọyomenek! 'I bring it slowly', ọwọyomenek! 'I bring something through here', məyanemenek! 'I pass an obstacle with it' (cf. məya:tek! 'makó, but with big articles'), ọGWOMENEK! 'I touch it' (cf. məkẹ:tyek! 'someone touch me'), ọGWOMENEK! 'I take it back/return it', məsi:gonoyek! 'I'm massaged', nətomenek! 'I grab someone in flight with my hand', nəfə:nagmenek! 'I grab/hold it with both hands', nəGWOMENEK! 'now long I've kept it', nọGWOMENEK! 'I take/return it
somewhere", nor:owonemek? 'I bring it', ?olonemek? 'I carry something in my hand, bring something in a container', ro:yonemek? 'I guide it along the water', dekoyon(en)ek? 'I grasp it lightly, squeeze it', sloyonemek? 'I slide it into the water', kus soro:nomemek? 'where did you take it?', nor:owonemek? 'I hit it', tenomemek? 'I take a lot', kus to:nomemem? 'how much did you take?', ne:to:nomemek? 'this is as far as I've packed this', weno:tomemek? 'I keep something overnight', yego:phowen? 'you hold/roll something around', yohphiek? 'I milk it'.

-nt (generally -at/-ot) 'active transitive'. See the medials -at/, -ecw, -ekt(omey), -ek, -ep, -ew, -elway, -ola, -op, -ot, -oyx.

Noun finals


Participle finals


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-ew 'locative) toward'. hekew 'a place toward the mountains', lepsew 'toward the doorway', pahsew 'to the rear of the house', rewo'ew 'at the end, on the edge', tewolow 'toward the ocean side', wonew 'uphill'.

Residue

As I shall likely never again have the opportunity to do fieldwork on the Yurok language, I am here presenting the residue of my derivational corpus: the elements (and suspected elements) I had too little information on to identify and gloss with confidence. Very likely other researchers will find in their field notes data with which to complete the analyses of the majority of these items.

-skin 'strand'. we-pékenek? 'I roll strands together to make a rope, I twine long hair around my heart'. Also a numeral classifier (kohe'ekin 'one strand', Haas 1967:357).

-ek (abstract final). hal'arekôle 'be rocky'. Also used in descriptions of weather (e.g., cel'oyô 'be dry weather').

-es 'terrain'. ca'kékeki? 'there's nothing but sand there', cel'oyôke's 'a dry water-hole', cel'ülûloges 'a stream is dried of water by flowing over sand/gravel', kare'ekôke's 'rough terrain'. Compare tê:ülûlo'som 'you put on a bridle', tê:ülûle's 'a dog has something in its mouth'.

-eto'y body'. hewêkê(to'y)ek? 'I get up fast', ê:)((o)yek? 'I'm stuck', neseto'yek? 'I've been badly hurt in my body'.

-ewolo 'burn'. Deverbal from nêwwolo 'it's all burned up'. Knowolo 'live embers, coals (i.e., it burns quietly)', neewolo 'singing firewood, green/wet wood that hisses and crackles'. Compare phêwo'olo 'wood that hisses or roars when it burns'.

-ey-o'ey 'be, do'. col'omôye 'be four', col'omôye 'be/do something for some time'.

-(ey)kolet(k-) 'freeze'. menkolet(ko?) 'I freeze to death', meneykolet 'I'm freezing'.

-ìy, -ô 'by' blade, stick, paddle'. ìlewoloìok? 'I knit it, hang a net, hang it up', ko:îshe 'paddle', kékhté:pi'sôlema 'you hit it once driving in a sharp blade', kohe'tshála 'you eat one spoonful', ko:tepôlo'yek? 'someone knocks me backwards', le'tshà:îk? 'black skin', lo:îbyoi 'knit; weaving a net', skelí-lo:îbiok? 'I knock it to the ground with a stick (e.g.,
acorn), myol:ibok? 'I push on a paddle, stick something in the ground', nêktol:ibok? 'I accidentally knock someone down', ngi:16 'two people paddle', nôthol:ibok? 'I knock someone down', nu:kwo:myâ? 'I brought everything together (nura, stones)', "--perhaps causitive--es added to a stem nu:kwo:myâ-, as in nu:kwo:myâ? 'it's gathered', pko:libok? 'I break through (cutting a tree)', rây:libok? 'I paddle along', re?po:ko:k? 'I cut brush', têkt:plâ:1o1 'you hit it with a stick', testol:ibok? 'I shake something down from a tree vigorously' (compare testol:eyok? 'I shake, as from old age') --probably another causitive formation, co:li:1o1a 'you hit an animal (to kill it); you make a barrier', wê:16:1:1 'twiggly' (compare we:1welek?w 'it forms a tiny branch'), wê?ti:11 'show-off' (also kit wê?ti:11 'going all-out to show off'). The problem of analysis here is not a lack of examples of -16, but their apparent heterogeneity. Perhaps things will fall in place when the other elements in these stems are better known.

-ôgh(ey)- 'swing', kelosô?ôheyok? 'I swing around'.

-ol, -el, -ir, -îl (mediopassive?). kôswol:eyok? 'someone washes me' (compare kôswetek? 'I wash it'); wek:co:mi:rek? 'I'm slender', sa:welek? 'I'm cold'. syahboll:'a group divides, is different', tek:swonek? 'I jump over something' (cf. tek:swonek? 'I jump'), tkwe:plek? 'I'm very short'; kus to:ole? 'how many people were there?'; whopeyol?'they cross a stream (wading)'.

-ône, -îne (?). sônci? 'it (a boat) is snagged', sôeronek?'I stop it (a big clock)', sa:wonek? 'I cool something off', se:swino- 'be a good navigator'. It's not certain whether one is a contraction of -one.

-(on)ekî:r (?). kelosonekî:r 'tumble, make a somersault', la:rononekî:r 'branch off', kus me:wonekî:r 'where is the head of this stream?'.

-sîr 'see'. Tekonorko:wey? 'I'm blessed, forgiven', hek:wokee:me:y? 'they're glad to see me', koky:re? 'I'm watching', sweyorkwe? 'I'm scared (by what I see)', meso:ko:we? meso:wek? 'I make fun of someone', neworkwe? 'I have good sight, can see, see in the distance', pyre:ko:tt?wok? 'I greet someone', py:rokwe? 'I see in a vision, divine, take part in a ceremonial dance', swyorkwe? 'I'm tired of seeing her'.

-os, -es (?). cecyo:w 'mosquito', kamo 'mythical water monster', sâdâs 'trapper, snare, to trap', panomeyos 'a person groaning in her sleep'.
-owy (passive). myol:ewowoyek? 'I was being manhandled (by a group)', nekilowoyek? 'I'm missed'.

-oy 'light, day'. Generally followed by -et, whether as noun final or verb final. kocoyt 'daylight' (also keri? 'it becomes daylight'), hojicoyt 's'tr-light', kelloyt 'a soaking day', kus mel:ewoyt 'from what direction are the clouds coming?', na:nasoyt 'two days', royoyt 'direction of the wind' (?), ta:nasoyt 'it's a hot day'.

-oyet, -yoyt 'stagnant water', cp:n:yoyt 'it's been a long time on the water', kus cp:n:yoyt 'how deep is the water?', léy:gyoyt 'dark/brackish water', lép:gyoyt 'salty', mel:ewoyt, y:kkikt 'It's a slender stream of water', sswoyt 'spill'.

-oyt 'fire'. te:noyoyt 'it's a big fire'.


-u?/-?o (.) l:spewi?l 'soup', cKl:iyf?l 'something tubular/round dried out (e.g., an eel or stick)', cpeyu?l 'story', tshp:fr 'a drill'.

-w (possibly signals an indirect object). See -ikw, -onikw.

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Morphophonemics

Most morphophonemic alternations in Yurok seem to be leveled out in at least a few combinations, perhaps optionally so in many cases, and many are leveled out in all but a few frozen combinations. Insofar as possible, examples of both contracted and uncontracted sequences are given.

1. ewi/ut: chewpik/chepfak? 'I tidy up' (cew- 'straighten'), skwenpik/skunpik? 'I put things in order' (skew- 'good', well').

2. ewo/ut: Often u: from this and other sources is recorded short, both by myself and Robins. myuoltek/etuoltek/myuoltek? 'I immerse it' (myew- 'submerge', extended with -ol). Three variants were also recorded for mewol- 'all away' (by-forms mu:/m-w- and yetmow- 'disappear' (by-forms yu:/y-w-), but only two for the common melemw- 'whence' (by-form m-w-). Also, only the short-vowel contraction was recorded for any of the stems ending in -im 'by mouth'; tekyumik? 'I bite it' beside tekslewomoloyek? 'I'm bitten'.

3. eyo/ot: sowyolmeke?/swoyolmawo? 'I have contempt for her' (-oks 'think').

4. égo/ot: ko?repek? 'I run alone' (keg- 'alone', -or 'run'). Since é is the diminutive-grade of 4, one might suppose that this is really a contraction of égô- ... but this sequence does not contract in other cases (ségo?repek? 'I race'). If it is genuine, only this item and the next (both involving keg-) show contraction of a sequence beginning in é.

5. égu/ot: kurtek? 'I swim alone' (keg- 'alone', -ur 'swim').

6. eyo/ot: sio?repek? 'I run down the hill, (slo- 'down', -or 'run')', but syouneke? 'I push my boat down to the water' (syo- is a by-form of slo-, and -one of -on 'by hand').

7. ye/l: wiyoys? 'the water rises, waves come in' (my- 'surge', -cwoys? 'flowing water').

8. evo/ot: woloyuk/woloyiek 'dogs bark in the distance'.

9. ew and w both drop before u(1) in some items. sku:n 'it (plant) grows well' (skew- 'well', -un 'grow'), knu:loget 'a deep place (in water)' (knew- 'long', -uloj 'depth'), neskulosek? 'I bring my load here' (nesku- 'arrive', -u: 'load').
10. w-k gives wk w in all cases. moe-ekwomeyetek? 'I gather lots of material to make something' (moe- 'gather', -ekwomeyet- 'put'). Note the loss of e in this environment prior to the alternation (see 11 below).

11. y/1. y alternates to l before the first vowel of a word in many cases, and sometimes after a later vowel. 
  yeog?/leog? 'it's twilight, the sun goes down', 
  yepinek?/ 
  lohpinek? 'I strain something (a liquid)' (é: recorded for éh, 
  with diminutive vowel symbolism from é), 
  syoy-/slyo- (see 6 above), 
  kely/-ke?l- 'drop', 
  keyow-/kelow- 'turn'.

12. In one instance, y seems to be replaced by w between o and i (slogowakwepek? 'I repeatedly slide down', with iterative -eg-, sleyo- 'down', and -wók 'body motion').

13. e drops between y or è and an obstruent. The è is generally lost in such cases, and the y often is before -es 'causative'. kceoy 'day' (kceoy- 'be daylight', -et 'nominalizer'), wék layetkweyo(y)òkok? 'i drag it along here', but lémpéyék 'saliva' (+et 'nominalizer'); lekót- 'stab' (lek- 'stab', -ót 'relational', -et 'transitive') and hanowoma(e)cek? 'I grow something', but lekoma(e)cek? 'I'm stabbed' and tenunowoma(e)cek? 'I plant a lot'. See 10 above for e after w.

NOTES

1. Transcription is that used earlier (Proulx 1984:168) but printwheel limitation force substitution of ã for schwa, s for s wedge, and ? for glottal catch. Grammatical abbreviations used are: T (transitive verb with animate object), I (transitive verb with inanimate object), AI (intransitive verb with animate subject), and II (intransitive verb with inanimate subject).

2. These short roots sometimes have Proto-Algonkian etymologies (the above respectively reflect *a-, *ken-, *pew-, *pem-, *sul-).

Longer roots in Yuuk generally seem to result from extension with non-meaningless material of obscure origin. Often these extension are absent in one or more archaic frozen form, revealing the earlier state of a form: kwom(ê)- 'back',
ne'w(on)- hence', pew(ol)- 'wash', wop(sy)- 'across', and wy(k)- 'overnight' are cases in point. Productively forced iterative roots are also longer, as a result of infixing yo(gop)- 'in circles' beside yo(hp)- 'in a circle') or reduplication (ke(ko)m- 'swift' beside ko(lo- 'turn').

3. There are no formations of quite this type in Algonquian (as far as I know), and the combination thus appears to be a Yurok innovation.

4. One might expect medialis, buried deep within the structure of stems, to be lexically conservative—but Yurok medialis are generally noncognate to those of Algonquian. Moreover, the semantic structure of the two sets of medialis is not particularly similar.

5. PA also deverbalizes roots in *-eck (Siebert 1975:402), but such more commonly roots in *-e or a nasal. The Yiyot pattern is similar to that of Yurok, and this is probably a shared development in the Kwakiutl languages postdating genetic unity. Thus, while the pattern is similar, individual stems do not necessarily agree. For example, Yiyot has lik̕e- 'weep' (e.g., to lik̕e- 'she weeps') beside Y mekwel- (see Proulx 1984 item 89 for the full Proto- Algic reconstruction). Similarly, Y -eck has evidently been added before Proto-Algic *-eck (PA *-eck) 'foot or body motion' to give Y leek-, showing a replacement of old medialis by deverbal roots in that language.

What these examples suggest is that the initial l-/r- of a deverbal root in Yurok is often secondary, and that cognates can be sought in stems beginning in other sonorants and in medialis. (Similar disturbances in initial consonants have been reported for other California languages (e.g., Nichols 1981:29), and widespread diffusion of the pattern may be suspected.)

One notable feature of Yurok deverbalis that lacks a counterpart in Algonquian is the infixing of a pluralizing element -eek/-eck- after the initial consonant of the deverbal roots l-enek- 'drift on water' and l-oil- 'fly, glide'. It is also found in Y eniako- 'many leaves/seeds float in the air' (teno- 'there are many'). Perhaps -eek- and its distinctive-pluralizing by-form originated as a deverbal root *leek- meaning 'a consolid medium carries things along'. This would give such forms as Y layetkoliim 'they all fly by' three etymological roots: lary- 'by', lile- 'fly', and lakt-.

6. However, it seems likely that an element such as *Akwa- 'wind blows' is a genuine final in Yurok, and that this
reflects the Proto-Algec pattern. If so, the addition of the abstract final PA *-on after its cognate PA *-eň (making it an Algonquian medial) reveals an Algonquian tendency toward a pattern of concrete medials and abstract finals. This is only to be expected, for abstract finals have a more important role to play once Algonquian develops its four-way classification of verb stems (TA, TI, AI, II).

In other cases, it may be that some of the elements were presented as concrete finals are historically sequences of medial plus final. Indeed, some may be so synchronically, since a preliminary study of this kind inevitably lacks sufficient data to reveal all morpheme boundaries.

7. Perhaps such forms as te:lyu:cek? 'I tell thee a lie' beside te:lyew:ceki? 'I tell a lie' belong here too historically. The vowel before T = 'chee' is never e, but the PA cognate *-a is always preceded by *e. Thus, the medial -oyew 'speak, call' would combine with Pre-Yurok *-ee to give Y -oyec.

8. Numbers in indices are folio numbers, counting title page as "1".

REFERENCES


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