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FOREWORD

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 linguists 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 Algic), 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 Melville and Elizabeth Jacobs Research Fund, Whatcom Museum Foundation (Bellingham, Washington).

My original interest in Yurok derivation was provoked by the problems of segmentation I encountered in reconstructing Proto-Algic 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 Algic languages, the meanings of Yurok roots and medial suffixes often have no close equivalent in IndoEuropean 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

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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 world-view, 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 Yuroks, 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 <u>deverbal</u>. A deverbal loses its initial consonant, almost always 1-. For example, there is himełkepek? 'I crawl fast' beside lełkepek? 'I crawl' (lełk- and deverbal -ełk 'body motion', and the reflexive final -ep).

A medial suffix may follow either type of root: wonew so? lełkeloypek? 'I crawl uphill' (with medial -eloy 'with effort'), and kelomełkeloypek? 'I struggle to get on top in wrestling' beside kelomełkepek? 'I turn over' (kelom- 'turn').

Two finals are present in ho:letkweloyŝoyek? 'I'm dragged around' (the causitive final -s plus the passive final -oy), beside ho:letkweloyŝok? 'I drag something'). skéwicéwék? 'I weave fine baskets' (skew- 'good', -ecew '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, kwomłenek? 'I bring it back', and kwomłecok? 'I turn back'.

As the last pair of examples shows, the initial vowel of most elements alternates between /e/ 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/: skewicok? 'I walk quietly' (skew- 'well', plus -ec intr.). Suffix-initial /e/ optionally drops after /y/, and more rarely after other consonants: sloycok?/sloyecok? 'I go downhill'.

There is vowel harmony of /e/ and /o/ with /é/ within an element, usually within the whole stem, and sometimes the whole word. Alternatively, the same alternation may reflect diminutive-meliorative symbolism rather than harmony: kégécék? 'I go alone', skéwicéwék? 'I weave fine baskets' (skew- 'good', -ecew 'weave').

Roots

A very few Yurok roots consist of a single consonant (n-'hither'), a few of a consonant cluster (kn- 'motionless, quiet', pkw- 'through a barrier'), and most of a single syllable (pen- 'down to the ground', ho:1- 'around'). 2

There is some irregular pairing of roots (ka:m- 'poor' beside kim- 'bad', to:m-/tom- 'how much'): there are doublets in r/l versus y (sloy-/sroy-/syoy- 'downhill', kekelom-/kekeyom- 'swirl'), while others result from optional noncontraction (me?wom-/mu?m- '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.

```
?as- 'liquid' (?aspeyok? 'I taste a liquid')
cecomey- 'prance, skip' (but cécéméyét 'someone with a shrill
    voice'
cegey- 'fed up' (cegeyolok? 'I'm tired of hearing it')
ce?l(oy)- 'dry'
cép- 'strong of body'
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cep- (only in cepu?roge+ 'the water flows down a steep
     incline', with -u?rog/-u?log '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' (cewo?r 'run straight') Also follwed by -Vn.
ceykel- 'small'
cin- 'new' (but cinu:ne?m 'they (collective) grow
     slowly/stunted')
cken- 'a few/little' (extended in ckeno:woksim- 'respect
     someone a little', -oksim 'think of someone')
coy- 'rough, mean'
cp- 'grope' (cpécéwék? 'I grope', -etew 'hand, finger';
     cpoksek? 'I contemplate on something', -oks 'think')
cpa:n- (iterative cpega:n-) 'a long time'
cpew- (only in cpeweks- 'remember, miss')
cpin- (doublet of cpa:n-). Also cpinoksim- 'wait for someone'.
cpur- 'carefully' (also cpurowok? 'I menstruate')
cu:kw- (only in cu:kwecok? 'I steer the boat', -ec 'go by foot
     or boat')
?ek- (and haplogic ?- before /ek/) 'hold stationary' (also
     ?ekik? 'the blood coagulates')
?elom- 'undo'
hahkws- 'smile'
hahpel- (only in hahpelinep- 'feel lively and light', -in
     'feel')
hew- 'up from prone'
he?w (only in he?wet-/he?wonit- 'wake up')
hewom- 'warm'
heyomoks- (only in heyomoksinep- 'feel lucky')
him- 'fast'
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hi?m- 'away'
ho:1- (iterative hego:1-) 'around' (but ho:lewkwse?m 'you have
a load in your boat', and ho:royewek? 'I owe someone' ho:n- 'uphill' (ho:neyek? 'I go uphill')
hopkw- 'begin' (in hopkwekok? 'I begin', -ek 'do')
k- 'slow, slow down'
ka:m- 'bad, poor'
kég- (or perhaps keg-) 'alone'
kékuyém- 'wind crookedly (as a stream)'
kém- (only in kémetew 'little finger')
kemey- 'homeward'
kenik?w- (only in kenik?wecok? 'I turn a vehicle', final -ec)
kepoy- 'for fun'
ket?- (only in ket?op? 'there's so much liquid in it', -op
     'stationary liquid')
k?ew- 'wash' (k?ewetek? 'I wash it', tr. final -et)
key- (iterative kegey-) 'doctor'
ke?1- (and ke?y-) 'drop'
keyc- (or perhaps kec-) Only in keycoksim- 'get tired of
     someone'.
kelom- (and keyom-) 'turn'. Reduplicated kekelom-/kekeyom-
     'swirl'
ki- (only in kikét/kikétkini? 'it's disjointed')
kim- 'bad', and kimol- 'ugly'
k?irw(él)- (only in k?irw(él)é?éy 'grey-haired')
k?1- 'hang limp' (in k?limowok? 'I'm listless', k?loyk? 'it
     (snake) is draped over something', k?lostemek? 'I hang
     it', k?losto?m 'you hang limp', k?lo:wek? 'I'm about to
    doze off', k?lo:we?m k?emec 'your fire is dying out').
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kn- 'leave motionless'
knewe?lon- 'tall'
kocp- (only in kocpoks- 'think about it')
kom- (only in kominep- 'have feeling in the body')
kwar- 'pointed'
kwes?- (only in kwes?oyewek? 'I say healing prayers')
kweykwey- 'whistle'
kwom(1)- 'back' (iterative kwegom(1)-'back and forth')
kwotkwot- (only in kwotkwotop? 'it's simmering', -op
     'stationary liquid')
kwoy- 'slowly'
kyén- (only in kyénikét 'sprain (a hand)')
la:y- 'along'
léks- (only in léksu?wé?y 'dark clouds right above', -u?wéy
     'face, cloud')
lep- 'surreptitiously'
leps- 'out the door' (in lepsew 'toward the doorway', lepsi?
     'it's outside')
leptoy-'hairy', and lepsoy- 'fuzzy'
1?- 'stop'
±ké?m- (only in ±ké?méké±kinek? 'I tie a knot')
łmey- (also tey-) 'mean, angry'
1- 'take'
toy- 'with care/effort'
ma?- (only in ma?epetek? 'I tie it up')
ma:y- 'get past'
mekwco:m- 'slender'
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met- 'touch, rub'
men- 'disappear: pull'
menokw- (only in menokwolumek? 'I swallow it whole')
merk(e)w-'destroy'
mérp- (only in mérpéyéh 'watch someone secretly')
mes- 'a little, slender'
méw- (only in méwéksiŝon 'clean/right-minded person', -oks
     'think', -iŝon 'person who')
mewol- (also mul-, muroy-) 'all away'. Also mu:royop? 'it
     melts' (with long u:), but muroyop? 'it evaporates'.
me?w(om)- (also mu?m-) 'whence'
meykwel- 'weeping'
mu:kwol- (only in mu:kwole?we?y 'round clouds, thunderheads',
     -e?wey 'face, clouds')
mik?- (only in mik?olum- 'swallow', cf. menokw- above)
my- (also m-) 'surge, push, rise'. Refers to a sudden
     uncontrolled motion. Includes: mewkwse?m 'fish jump out
     of the water to feed', mirwen(i?) 'waves come in'.
myew- (evidently a derivative of my-) 'stick in, submerge'.
     Iterative myu:w-, except in myegu:lete?m 'you repeatedly
     dip it in water' -- which looks as if u: wo has contacted to
     u: and the iterative infix has been added.
n- 'hither'
na?- 'two'
né?és- (only in né?ésénémék? 'I grab it with both hands', -onem
     'by hand')
na:g (only in na:ginep- 'feel forebodings')
na:m- 'take/go away'
na:sc- (and nesc-) 'inadequate'
nekom(uy)- 'well, skillfully'
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nekt- 'cute' (only in nektoksim- 'think someone cute')
netp- (in netpetewek? 'I stumble and fall', -etew 'hand'; and
     netpe?weyek? 'it scrapes my face')
nemoks- 'envy'
né?ém- 'trap'
neskw- 'arrive' (also neskwekoyo? 'the stream isn't far',
     -ekoyo? 'flow, stream'
neskw(ey)- 'annoying, surprising'
nest- 'pushing one's body to its limits?' (in nesto?rep?
     someone runs fast', -o?r 'run'; nesturek? 'I reach the
     other shore', -ur 'swim'; nestetoyek? '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:loy(k)- 'feeble'
no?om- 'how long/far'
no:?m- 'bring'
now- (in nowinep- 'like the feeling', nowinoksim- 'feel at ease
     with someone')
no:w- 'hither; to destination' (also no:woyk? 'it's coiled')
?ol- 'carry, drag' (also ?oloyewek? 'I immitate a bird call',
     -oyew 'speak')
?ot- (only in ?otpeyok? 'what I eat from', -pey 'eat')
?on- 'in position relative to others'
?oy- (only in skeli ?oy+kese?m 'you lie down here')
pa?a:r- 'appear?' (only in pa?a:rekoyo? 'it looks like flowing
     water')
pekoy- 'red'
pen- 'down to the ground'
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pew(o1)- 'wash'
piŝon- 'ocean-fishy' (only in piŝomo?m 'ocean-fishy smell',
     -o?m 'smell')
pkw- 'out through a barrier'
pl- (and plo:1-) 'big' (also plo:likoyo? 'it flows wide', plop?
     'it's high water', plinep-/plinow- 'feel mean, angry').
punomey- (only in punomeyo:cek? 'I groan in my sleep', -o:c
     'sound')
pus- plus vowel length on the next vowel, i.e., perhaps puseg-
     (only in puso:?molek? 'I smell of cat, skunk', -o?m
     'smell')
pwegenoy- (only in pwegenoyo:cek? 'my voice is heard above the
     others', -o:c 'sound')
py- 'chew' (sometimes extended with -ew 'by mouth')
pyéw- (only in pyéwéksim- 'love someone')
pyur- 'ritually pure'
reg- 'full' (in regop? 'it's full of liquid')
ro:y- 'along' (cf. la:y- above)
sa:w- 'cold'
séséy- (only in séséykéyé? 'shallow water flows over pebbles
     and disappears', -ekoyo? 'flowing water')
sek- (also seki-, sekikoy-, sekoy-) 'fast, with effort'
sk- (only in skoyk? 'it's limp', -oyk 'rope-like entity')
ska?- (and ske?-) 'spread, scatter'
sken- 'bitter'
sk(ew)- (and skuy-) 'well'
sla:?y- 'rubbish' (cf. sla:n- 'get rid of rubbish', sla:1/
     slegah 'to the dump')
sm- 'pull' (in smo:ley 'pull flesh from fishskin with teeth',
     smełken- 'pull out', smemoł 'break, slide (a
     mountainside)')
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son- (also so:n-, so:-, so:y-) 'thus, how'
s?o:p- (reduplicated s?oks?o:p-)'hit (as with a fist),
speg- (also cpeg- and peg-) in spego?r(on)ep- 'race someone',
     -o?r 'run'
st(ek)- 'high-point, apex'
sw- 'spread out'
swow- (usually sw- plus vowel length) 'undo, surge'
swey- (also syewon-) 'be fed up with', also sweyoksim- 'hold
     someone in contempt'
sweyon- (extended version of swey-?) in sweyoninepek? 'I doubt
     myself', sweyoniŝo?n 'someone is scornworthy'.
sy- (in sya: 1k- 'kick', syé: ?ik? 'it sweats and drops of water
     seep away')
syaht- (also slaht- and slah-) 'separate, put aside', also
     slahsicok? 'I part from them'.
syekw- (slekw-) 'backwards'
sy∉ykw- 'slippery'
syo?- (slo?-) in slo?u:lese?m 'you show the contents of your
     pack', slo?o:gec? 'it's a grunt', slo?oc? 'someone departs
     by boat', syo?o:gecik? 'it's a noise in the distance',
     syo?o:cek? 'I make a noise'.
syoy- (sloy-) 'downhill', but also sléyék?ws 'the wind is
     cold', -ék?ws 'wind'.
t- (only in toksim- 'be proud of someone', to:liŝo?m 'you hit
     an animal to kill it'
     t?- (only in t?u:ne?m 'plants come up', -u:n 'grow')
taht- (only in tahtoksek? 'I'm hungry')
ta?an- 'hot'
ta:noy- 'be hot'
tegoy- 'emerge'
tek- 'together'
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tel- 'falsely?', in teloyewek? 'I tell a lie', -oyew 'speak'.
ten- 'a lot' (extended form teno:w-)
tenumon- (only in tenumonoksim- 'think evil of someone, hex')
teykel- (or perhaps tekel-?) 'small' (cf. ceykel- above). Also teykelu±e?m 'you bite someone', -u± 'by mouth'.
tikw- 'break'
tin- onomatopoetic, in tino:gec? 'it's a ringing sound', -o:gec
     'sound'.
tk- 'thick?' (only in tkop? 'it's thick liquid')
tkwe?ron- 'short'
tmepi- 'in half'
tohp- 'hole'
to:ks- 'hit, slap'
to: 1- 'across a barrier, sideways'. Also to: lop? 'it's gluey'.
tom- (to:m-) 'how much'
to:p- (reduplicated tekte:p-) 'hit' (cf. s?o:p- above).
tum-? (only in tumekok? 'I do something fast'?, -ek 'do')
tu?n- (tu?ni-, tunér-) 'something rope-like forks'
tyohpey- 'hate?' (in tyohepyoksim- 'hate someone')
w- (in woyk? 'it's coiled, draped over something', -oyk?
     'ropelike thing')
wa?al- (only in wa?alinepek? 'I'm apprehensive')
wa:n- 'bad?' (in wa:ni\text{kwok}? 'I have a bad dream of someone')
wa?s- (in wa?soksim- 'feel sorry for/about someone/something')
wé?- (in wé?égécék? 'I speak English', -o:gec 'speak')
we+p- (in we+pekinek? 'I roll strands together to make a rope,
     twine hair')
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weno?om- 'past/to a point', also in weno?minepek? 'I have a premonition' (if this is in fact the same stem) and with the infix wegeno?omole?\frac{1}{2} 'birds fly in formation'.

wey- 'finish'

wohp(ey)- 'across'

wol- (in woloyewet 'dogs bark in the distance', -oyew 'speak')

won- 'up'

woy(k)- (and woyp-) 'overnight'

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

yohp- (and yo?ohp-) 'in a circle', literative yegohp- 'in circles'. Also yegohs- in yegohsok? 'I see something going around in circles'. yo?ohp- is found only in kic yo?ohpeni? 'it's been brought clear around'.

yo?om- (yo:m-) in yo?omurek? 'I dive from the surface', -ur
 'swim'; yo?omecek? 'I go around', -ec 'go': and yo:me?l
 it's bent'.

?- 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': nowinoksimek? 'I feel at ease with someone' (beside nowinepek? 'I like the feeling' and roksimek? 'I think so of someone'). 3

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

-o1. In la:yolek?/la:yek? 'I pass by',
myewoletek?/myewetek? 'I stick it in', méséréyk?/méséyk? 'it's
a small stream', pé?wélé?éyék? 'I wash my hair',
tu?néréyk?/tu?néyk? 'a stream forks'.

-om. In me?wom-, ye?wom-, and historically in pewom- 'cook' and nekom- 'do well' (Wiyot puw- 'cook', PA *nek- 'be skillful').

-on. In humonepek? 'I get warm' (beside hewomopek? 'I warm liquid'---with hewom-/hum- free variants, -ep 'mediopassive', and -op 'liquid'), ka:megone?\(\frac{1}{2}\)/ka:mege?\(\frac{1}{2}\) 'it's bad we sather', myo?repek? 'I run to quarrel', and possibly cpego?ron(ep)ah 'I race someone' (-o?r 'run', -ep 'mediopassive').

Meaningless postradical elements found only on one root are discussed and listed in the section of roots.

Medials and deverbal roots

Medials typically have the shape -VC (e.g., -ew 'by mouth', -o:g 'sound'), but a few are longer (e.g., -oks 'think', -etk 'with effort', -eloy 'with effort', -e?wey 'face', -éyéhs/-éyéks 'look', -u?log 'place in or quantity of water').4

Nearly all deverbalizing roots in Yurok begin in 1-/r- (which drops when the root is noninitial).⁵

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 sonorant is a medial suffix. Uninflected verbs used syntactically as nouns are glossed as nouns.

-ahtew 'hand'. pewahtemek? 'I wash her hands', pewahtewek? 'I wash my hands', mewolahtewek? '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 -etew 'finger/hand, toe/foot'.

-a:\flactk 'foot'. ra:\flactkah 'build stepping stones', mya:\flactkepek? 'I jump'. This item is a by-form of more common -e\flactk 'foot/body motion'.

-a?r 'stick'. ca?ana?r 'it's new plant growth', coko:p?a?r 'drum' (uninflected verb, compare the noun coko:? 'drum'), kwom\u00e4a?rete?m/kwom\u00e4a?rece?m 'you put wood (e.g., a gate) back in place', sekoya?r 'tough wood', to:ra?ronek?/to:ra?retek? 'I put up a stick as a barrier', wohpeya?r 'a stick across something'. Haas (1967:359) glosses this item 'straight object'.

-a?r 'by ear'. ra?royok? 'I hear something unseen'; cega?royok? 'I hear it with distaste', cpega?r 'ear', cpa?royok? 'I listen to it'.

-ecew 'weave baskets, braid, lace'. himécéwék? 'I weave baskets quickly', ho:recewek? 'I weave baskets', ka:mecewek? 'I spoil a basket design', knecewek? 'I put my weaving aside', mésécéwé?m 'you weave a little on a basket (helping someone)', sekicewek? 'I make a big/rough basket' (the only kind of weaving done by a man), skewicewek? 'I weave fine baskets', tenecewek? 'I have lots of things in my basket', kus kic wéné?émécéwé?m 'how far along are you weaving?'. This item may be a specialized by-form of -etew 'finger/hand/. In any event, it is haplogic both after an element ending in c and one beginning in et. Examples are: kahcewek? 'I'm sewing' (kahc-'sew'): ?elomewetek? 'I unlace/unravel/unstrap it, unwind it (weaving)', no?omewete?m 'you start a basket, lace a baby in one', sekoyewetek? 'I tie it tightly', weno?omewetek? 'I braid/lace something', weyewetek? 'I finish my basket'. All but the first end in the transitive final -et. Compare also -ewet 'fishnet in water' below.

-eck, -etk. See -enekw and -ol below.

-ekeł(kin-) 'be jointed/joined/tied together'. Reference is generally to limbs or ropes. lékéł 'the joint is back in place'), cépékéł 'strong limbs', ?é:kéł 'knee', kélémékéł 'get out of joint (body part)', kelomekeł 'somersault', keno:yekeł 'lie down in a cramped space', kikéł(kini?) 'a carcass is disjointed', kyénikéł 'sprain (a hand)', mékwcé:mékéł 'a bony person', né:yé:lékéł/né:léykéł 'feeble legs, frail/bony person', né:léykéł 'be feeble', sléyéwékéł 'limbs (feet/legs) are cold'; ?elomekeł 'unbraid', ?élémékéł(kine?m) 'you untie a knot, unlace it', kelomekeł 'a person/animal twists loose/, łké?mékéłkinek?/ łké?méłkinek? 'I tie a knot', tu?nikéł 'tie strands together'.

-ek(omey) 'place, put'. leketek? 'I put it (here)', poy rekek? 'I throw something ahead', lekomey(e)tek? 'I put it down'; knekomeyetek? 'I leave something behind', himekomeyetek? 'I bring them in fast', ho:lekomeyetek? (?), mewolekomeyetek? 'I take everything away', no:wkwomeyetek? 'I gather a lot of material to make something', swekomeyetek? 'I put things on display', syahłekomeyetek? 'I separate out my things, put them aside', to:lekomeyetek? 'I put up a barrier', wohpekomeyetek? 'I put someone/something across', yohpekomeyetek? 'I carry it clear around'; tenekomi? 'there's a lot scattered around', ckenekomi? 'there's less scattered around', kus to:mekomi? 'how much is scattered around?'.

-ekoyo? 'flowing water'. lekoyo? 'the water flows', kus rekoyo? 'which way does this water flow?'; ho:lekoyo? 'the water moves around (e.g., there's a fish in it)', kelomekoyo? 'the water flows back (a 180 degree turn)', knekoyo? 'the water

gets calm; it's relaxed, wilted', kwomłekoyo? 'the water runs back', kwoyekoyo? 'the water flows slowly', la:yekoyo? 'stripes', 1?ekoyo? 'the water is placid', ma:yekoyo? 'the water flows past', menekoyo? 'the water disappears', mewolekoyo? 'the water recedes (as a wave)', kus me?womekoyo? 'whence comes the water?', mikoyo? 'the water rises, waves come in', neskwekoyo? 'the water (a stream) isn't far', kus no?omekoyo? 'how long is this waterway?', pa?a:rekoyo? 'it looks like flowing water', pkwekoyo? 'it's the mouth of a stream; the water leaks out (e.g., of a spring)', plo:likoyo?/plo:lik? 'the water flows wide', ra:yekoyo? (?), sekikoyo? 'the water flows swiftly', séséykéyé? 'shallow water flows over pebbles and disappears', skewikoyo? 'the water is calm (as above rapids)', slekwekoyo? 'it's a backwash', tenekoyo? 'it's a big flow of water', woyekoyo? 'the water flows overnight', yegohpekoyo? 'water flows around and around', ye?womekoyo? 'the water seeps out of sight, disappears'. Compare -op 'liquid', -oyk 'rope-like entity', -ewet 'in water', and -u?log 'depth, spot in the water'.

-eloy 'with effort'. This medial is productive after the deverbals -ełk 'foot/body motion' and -etkw 'drag' (where it is obligatory). Other examples are: slekweloyŝok? 'I pull it along backwards', pkweloyŝok? 'I get to where I can see through the brush', pkwetkeloyŝok? 'I drag someone/something out', pkwékeloyŝok? 'I have a vision, see a hidden meaning'. The third example probably involves -etkw and dissimilation of kw to k; perhaps the first does too and involves haplology. I distrust the second for morphological/semantic reasons, and the fourth is a religious term which should be reelicited from a speaker with a better knowledge of that specialized vocabulary. Possibly -eloy is restricted to dragging motions.

-ełk 'body, foot, earth, crawl'. The basic meaning would seem to be 'body': 'foot' is only found in 1?elkepek? 'I stub my toe' (otherwise 'foot' shows the by-form -a: 1k). 'Earth' is probably metaphorical from 'body', just as 'sky' -e?wey 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 -eloy is used. Examples: letkepek? 'I bury myself; I crawl', letkeloypek? 'I crawl'. With the meaning 'body/earth'; cépéłkék? 'I'm strong of body', coyetkepek? 'I'm irritable, restless', no:yetkepek? 'I bury myself along with others', sekiłke?s 'it's a hard surface', sekoye±kepek?/sekoyo:±kepek? 'I wrestle in soft terrain', welogo: tkepek? 'I roll in oil', welogo: tkemoyek? 'I'm oily'; cécéméyétkét 'they're dancing out of step', hewetkepe?m 'you get up (suddenly, from lying down)', hewelke(toy)pek? 'I get up fast', himełkep? 'someone covers up something quickly with earth/sand', ho:lelkenek? 'I stir coals, scatter sand',

kelome+keloypek? 'I struggle to the top (wrestling)', leptoy+kep?/leptoy+kemi? 'someone is hairy all over', kus no?me+ko?m 'how long did you stay?', no:we+ketek? 'I pick something up', skeli-?oyłkese?m 'you lie down here', penełkep? 'falling leaves cover the ground', ra:yełkepek? 'I lie down hidden by a long obstacle', sekitkepek? 'I feel strong', slekwelkepek? 'I sleep with my head at the foot of the bed', kus so:ne+(kep?) 'what's the terrain like?', tene+kep? 'there's a lot of stuff underfoot', sekoyelkepek? 'I struggle to get up (using body/legs)', ska?e+kenek? 'I winnow', skewi+ke?y 'it (liquid) is clear', swołkweyetek? 'I spill (a solid)', to:letkepek? 'I put myself crosswise in someone's path', swetkelo:moyek?/swetkepek? 'I have a rash all over', swetkelo:?weyek? 'I have a rash on my face' (in contrast), wohpeyetkepek? 'I span a small stream with my body', woyetkepek? 'I lie there overnight', ye?wetkepek? 'I struggle up from my knees (wrestling)', ye?wome+(kep?) 'it disappears into the ground'. Examples meaning 'crawl': himełke(loy)pek? 'I crawl fast', ho:letke(loy)pek? 'I crawl around (on dirt/sand)', kwegom1e1ke(loy)pek? 'I crawl back and forth', kwomłełke(loy)pek? 'I crawl back', la:yełke(loy)pek? 'I slink', letkep? 'someone crawls', letkeloypek? 'I crawl' wonew so? letkeloypek? 'I crawl uphill', lepetke(loy)pek? 'I crawl silently along', toyetkepek? 'I struggle to crawl (out)', ma:ye+ke(loy)pek? 'I crawl by (stealthily)', kus me?womełke(loy)pe?m 'whence did you crawl?, na:mełke(loypek? 'I crawl with difficulty (in sand)', nohpe+ke(loy)pek? 'I crawl inside', wonew so:netkepek? 'I crawl up', weno?ome+(ke(loy)pek?) 'I crawl by a certain spot', yegohpeł(ke(loy)p?) 'an angleworm keeps stretching; someone crawls in a circle'.

-enekw/-onekw 'adrift, soaking'. This item has a suppletive by-form -Vnewkw for the first and second persons, and prefixes -(en)eck to form a plural. Examples: lenek?w 'something is adrift', l(en)eckenek?w 'things are adrift'; cpa:nonek?w 'it gets waterlogged/spoiled from soaking', ?ekenek?w 'it's lodged floating', himenek?w 'it floats by fast', ho:lenek?w 'it drifts around', ho:leckenek?w 'many fine things are adrift', kenek?w 'it floats out of the main current', knenek?w 'it drifts into still/stagnant water', kwegomlenek?w 'it moves back and forth on the water', kwegomlenewkwek? 'I move back and forth on the water', kwomlenek?w 'it drifts back', la:yonek?w 'it drifts by', 1?enek?w 'it stops drifting (being wedged somewhere)', ma:yonek?w 'it drifts by', menenek?w 'it sinks, goes out of sight in the water', mewolenek?w 'it all floats away', na?eckenek?w 'two things float together', na:menek?w 'it's drifted off by rising water, a whirlpool', neskwenek?w 'it drifts close (to me)', nohpenek?w 'it drifts in (a river mouth)', kus no?omenek?w 'how long was it submerged?',

no:wonek?w 'it drifts ashore', ?olonek?w 'it's afloat, submerged but visible', ra:yonek?w 'it drifts by', ro:yonek?w 'it floats along, drifts with the current or waves', sloyonek?w 'it slides into the water', sloyoneckenek?w (pl.), kus so:nenek?w 'what's the direction of something floating?', teneckenek?w 'many things float together', kus tomonek?w 'how far did the water come up on it?', wohpeyonek?w 'it drifts across, overnight', woykenek?w (?) 'it floats overnight; clouds float by', weno?monek?w 'it drifts past', woyonek?w 'it soaks overnight', woypinek?w 'it's in water overnight', yegohpenek?w 'it drifts around in circles', ye?womonek?w 'it's submerged', yohpenek'w 'it drifts in a circle', yu:?monek?w/yu?monek?w 'it submerges'.

-ep 'tie'. Examples: ma?epetek? 'I tie it up', na?apetek? 'two bundles', sekipetek? 'I tie it in place securely'.

-etew 'with the fingers/hands, toes/feet'. Examples: lecewek? 'I point something out with my hands'; cépétéwék? 'I have strong fingers/hands', cpécéwék? 'I grope', cpurecewek? 'I feel in the mud for a lost object', himécéwé?m 'you're fast with your hands, you weave quickly', ho:letewek? 'I grope around', kelometewek? 'I turn my hand around', kémetew 'little finger', la:yecewek? 'I grope my way along', łoyecewek? 'I grope for something with my hands', mełetewek? 'I feel something with my hand', nekomecewek? 'I work with my right hand', néłpétéwék? 'I stumble over it (with my toe)', nełpetewek? 'I stumble and fall', nohsecewek? 'I pry something loose from a rock', s?éks?é:pétéł 'hit repeatedly on fingers/hand', ske?ecewek? 'I spread my fingers', swecewek? 'I flex my fingers/hand', tékté:pétéwék? 'I clap my hands', yegohpecewek? 'I mould something round my hands'.

-etkweloy\$/-etkweley\$ 'drag'. The phonetic sequence y\$ seems to be unstable, with frequent loss of the y; in one case, ey evidently contracts to i instead. Y -eloy may be the medial meaning 'with effort', and Y -s (which automatically alternates to -\$ after underlying y) could be the causative final. Examples are: hego:letkwelo\$ok? 'I drag something around here and there', ho:letkwelo\$oyek? 'someone drags me around (by the hair)', ?olegetkweli\$oyek? 'I'm repeatedly dragged back/along', wek la:yetkwelo(y)\$ok? 'I drag it along here', weno?ometkweloy\$ok? 'this is as far as I've dragged it', and perhaps pkwetkeloy\$ok? 'I drag someone/something out' (with dissimilation of kw to k). Queried: letkweloy\$ok?/letkwele\$ok? 'I drag someone/something', menetkweloy\$ok? 'I drag something out of sight, away'.

-etul 'hand'. This seems like another variant of -etew, consisting of -etew plus -ol (ew-o contracts to Y u in some

cases). Here -ol would be a postmedial accretion of some sort. Examples are: ke?letulonemek? 'I drop something from my hand', ke?letulowok? 'I drop it', ke?yetulowok? 'it slipped away from me', menetulowok? 'I abduct someone', pewetule?m 'you wash your hands', skewetulonemek? 'I find it smooth to the touch', to:petul 'hit someone across the hand'.

-ew 'mouth, opening'. Examples: ?ek?ewetek? 'I hold it in my mouth', ?ek?ewoloy 'bite and hang on', ho:lewetek? 'I go around with something in my mouth', ka:me?w 'a bad taste', ka:mewetek? 'I dislike the taste', la:yewet? 'someone goes along with something in the mouth', meworewetek? 'I wipe someone's face', meworewocek? 'I wipe my mouth', na:mewetek? 'I grab it in my mouth, bite something', na:mewoloyek? 'someone bites me', pkwewet? 'someone spits out food', pyewetek? 'I chew (something for someone)', pyewolew 'chew', pyeworew 'gum something (chew without teeth)', pyu:kto? 'chew something for a baby' (with some sort of contraction?), sekitewek? 'I chew something tough/hard', sekoyewet? 'it's tough (for chewing)', kwesa:gele?w 'someone is hoarse', kwesa:lewecek? 'I speak hoarsely'. skene?w 'it tastes bitter', sku:?w 'a good taste', sku:?wetek? 'I like the taste', sku:?woli? 'it tastes good', woni-ŝo:ne?w 'it's strange-tasting', sweywetek? 'I'm tired of a food', kus weno?omewet? 'where is (a dog) up to carrying something in its mouth?'. Note how the glottal catch of the third-person inflection of sku:?w seems to have spread to derived forms of the stem. Examples with 'opening': nohpewek? 'I enter', myewetek? 'I paddle in water, stick wood further into the fire', nohpewit 'rain/dust blows in the door'.

-e?wey/-o?wey, diminutive-meliorative -u?wey/-u?rwey 'face, sky'. Examples: hahkwse?we?y 'person with a smiling face', héhkwsu?wé?y 'pet/baby with a smiling face', héksu?wéy (so transcribed) 'a laughing face; a sunny sky after the rain', kélému?wé?y 'a person with an ugly face; ugly clouds', kekelomu(:)?weyet 'clouds have swirling faces', kimélu?rwéyék? 'I have a homely face' (third person: 'the sky has a mean face'), kimelu?rwey 'a face of someone holding in anger; the sky just before a storm', kware?weye?m 'you have a pointed face' (third person: 'a sharp boat-head'), 1meyu?we?y 'a person with a mean expression', \text{\flagrange} mean face; a raw/windy/mean day', léksu?wé?y 'dark clouds right above', lépsu?wéyék? 'I have fuzz on my face', lepsu?wéy 'a hairy face; stringy-looking clouds with rain in them', leptu?we?y 'the sky is dark, murky', mewole?weyek? 'I wipe my eyes/face', meykewle?weyek? 'I have a crying face', meykwele?wey 'a weeping face; a misty sky (as after the funeral of a good person)', mu:kwole?we?y 'thunderheads, indistinct-faced clouds, round clouds full of rain or snow', netpe?weyek? 'it scrapes my face', pékéyu?rwéyék? 'I have a red face', sokso:pe?weyetek?

(recorded with simple w for ?w) 'I hit someone in the face', wek so:ne?weye?m 'your face looks like this', swetkelo:?weyek? 'I have a broken-out face', s?o:pe?wey 'hit in the mouth', tegoye?wey 'something emerges (the first sign, e.g., whiskers)', to:kso?weyetek? 'I hit someone in the face', to:pe?wey 'run into something with the face', welogo:?weyek? 'I have a fat face'.

-ewkwt 'dig'. Examples: lewkwtemełek? 'I dig', lewkwtemełkok? 'I dig for something', tohpewkwtok? 'I drill a hole' tohpewkwsoł 'they drill a hole', yohpewkwtok? 'I dig clear around (e.g., a foundation)'. Compare ho:rekwtok? (so recorded) 'I ream out (e.g., a cup)'.

-if (tr. -itkw) 'sleep, dream'. witkwok? 'I'm dreaming', witkwocek? 'I'm dreaming about you', witkumek? 'I'm dreaming about someone'; cpa:ni?t 'someone sleeps a long time', ka:mitek? 'I dream a bad dream', ka:mitkwok? 'I dream a bad dream about someone', ka:mitkwocek? 'I dream a bad dream about you', he?wonitek? 'I wake up', he?wonitkwonek? 'I wake someone up', wek so:nitek? 'I dream this', wek so:nitkwok? 'I dream this', wek so:nitkumek? 'I dream this', wek so:nitkumek? 'I dream this', watcomeone this way', wa:nit 'a vision, bad omen', wa:nitkwok?/wa:nitkumek? 'I have a bad dream of someone', hu:?wonit 'wake a group'. The short form -it seems to be mediopassive versus the more transitive meaning of -itkw, but historically the former may be a backformation from the uninflected verb.

-in 'feel'. ce?linepek? (?) 'I feel dry', cinepek? 'I feel irritated', cpa:ninepek? 'I feel the time drag', hahpelinepek? 'I feel light and lively', heyomoksinepek? 'I feel lucky', ka:minepek? 'I feel unhappy (at a certain location)', kiminepek? 'I feel bad', kiminahpeyek? 'they don't feel good about me', kominepek? 'I have feelings in the body, can feel', mewolinepek? 'I feel relieved of bad thoughts or fears', mulinepek? 'I feel relief from pain', nekominepek? (?) 'I feel awkward (having outstayed my welcome)', neskwinepek? 'I feel shocked and sad', na:ginepek? 'I feel forebodings, anxiety, or that someone is watching me', na:scinepek? 'I feel inadequate to a task', nescinepek? 'I don't think I can do it', nowinepek? 'I like the feeling', plinepek? 'I feel mean, angry', pyurinepek? 'I feel ready for prayer', sa:woksinepek? 'I feel chilly', skewinepek? 'I feel full', skwisoninepek? 'I feel good', soninepek? 'how I feel', sweyoninepek? 'I doubt myself; I dislike the idea', syahtinepek? 'I feel I'm different', wa?alinepek? 'I'm apprehensive', weno?minepek? 'I have a premonition, I'm scared', yegohpinepek? 'I have a spinning headache'. Compare skewinc- 'be a good navigator'.

-o:g 'sound'. ro:gec? 'there's a moonlit haze, a distant sound or echo', ro:get 'there's a delicate tinkling mist', ce?lo:gec? 'it's a dry/raspy sound', ce?lo:get 'a dry/raspy sound', te?lo:gec? 'the sound stops', meno:gec? 'the sound fades out', neskwo:gec? 'the sound comes nearer: someone screams for help', ro?o:gec? '(there are) sun/star/ moon rays', skewo:gec? 'it's a pretty sound', syo?o:gec? 'it's a grunt', tino:gec? 'it's a ringing sound', tino:get 'it's a delicate tinkling sound', wé?é:gécék? 'I speak English', ye?womo:gec? 'the sound fades away'.

-oks 'think'. roksimek? in k?en roksimek? 'I feel at ease with/think well of someone' and won ni roksimek? 'I doubt someone's identity'; ca:noksek? 'I forgive', cinoksim-(?), ckeno: woksimek? 'I respect/ value someone a little', cpa:noksek? 'I thought of it for a long time', cpeweksek? 'I remember, miss someone/something', cpoksek? 'I think', woni-cpoksek? 'I contemplate on something', ho:roksek? 'I have clever but changing and unreliable thoughts', ka:moksimek? 'I hate someone/something', keycoksimek? 'I get tired of someone/something', kimoloksimek? 'I have bad thoughts about someone', knoksimek? 'I forget, leave it behind', kocpoksek? 'I think about it', kwomłoksek? 'I think back', łmeyoksimek? 'I think someone/something frightful', +?o:ksek? (so recorded) 'I stop thinking about it', nemoksek? 'I'd like to have something which isn't offered', nektoksimek? 'I think someone/something cute', nowinoksimek? 'I feel at ease with someone', na:scinoksimek? 'I think myself inadequate to a task', pkwoksek? 'my thoughts come true', pkwoksimolek? 'I outguess someone', pkwoksisek? 'I outguess someone', pkwoksimesek? 'I speak another's thoughts', pyéwéksimek? 'I love someone', sekoyoksek? 'I feel strong (enough to wait for someone before dying)', skewoksimek? 'I like something/someone', k?en so:noksimek? 'I approve of someone, think someone reliable', kim so:noksimek? 'I disapprove of someone', skuy so:noksimek? 'I have good thoughts about someone', sweyoksimek? 'I hold someone in contempt', syahłoksek? 'I think differently', teno:woksimek? 'I value/respect someone/something highly' tenumonoksimek? 'I think evil of someone, hex', toksimek? 'I'm pround of someone/something', tyohpeyoksimek? 'I hate someone', wa?soksimek? 'I feel sorry for/about someone/something', cpinoksimek? 'I wait for someone'. Compare loksimek? 'I weight somehting down', ho:roksek? 'I'm nauseated', tahtoksek? 'I'm hungry', tahtoksimi? 'starved'.

-o?m 'smell'. ka:mo?molek? 'I smell bad', ka:mo?metek? 'I smell something bad', ku mera: so:no?molek? 'I smell smokey', tko:loni so:no?m 'it smells of mud', piŝono?melek? 'I smell ocean-fishy', piŝono?m 'an ocean-fishy smell', puso:?molek? 'I smell of cat/skunk', puso:?met 'a place with an animal smell',

skewo?molek? 'I smell good', skewo?metek? 'I smell something good', swo:?metek? 'I smell something', swé:?méték? 'I get a whiff of something', swo:?m(olek?) 'my flesh smells'.

-oni±(k-), -oni±(kw-) 'expensive'. ckenoni±kwok? 'I didn't pay much for it', tenoni±kwok? 'I payed a lot for it', tenoni±kemi? 'it's expensive', kus to:moni?± 'how expensive?', kus to:moni±kwo?m 'how much did you pay for it?'.

-o:m '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:t), or the diminutive-meliorative by-form of the latter (-ec). It is followed by deverbal -u:l in one case, suggesting that it too is deverbal and thus related to -o:t (which see). One word, pewahtemek? 'I wash her hands' (beside pewahtewek? 'I wash my hands'), points to a related relational final -(e)m. Speech and thought can also be regarded as relational (i.e., they are 'about' something), and so the final -Vm 'by mouth, speech, thought' (see below) may be connected as well. Examples of -o:m are: ?ekso:melek? 'they close the door on me', ?ekso:to?m 'you close the door on someone', ?ekso:toyek? 'someone closes the closes the door on me' (cf. ?eksoyek? 'they lock me in'); leko:melek? 'I'm stabbed (i.e., someone uses a knife on me)', leko:tek?/leko:sek? 'I stab (something/someone?)'; meno:monemek? 'I take it back/return it (to someone?)'; to:melek? 'they take it away from me' (toyek? 'they grab me (i.e., take me away)'; to:mu:lese?m 'you relieve someone of a load'; 12:0:mew 'take it away from him'. See also the medial -u:n 'grow'.

-op 'liquid'. héwémép? 'it's warm fog', hewomopek? 'I warm a liquid', ka:mop? 'it's rough water', ket?op? 'there's so much liquid in (e.g., a bucket)', keyomop? 'it's a whirlpool', kwotkwotop? 'it's simmering', la:yop? 'it flows', \frac{1}{2}ekop? 'blood begins to coagulate', me?wop? 'whence the fluid came', muroyop? 'it evaporates', mu:royop? 'it melts', myop? 'the water rises (as a swell)', pekoyop? 'it's red water', plop? 'it's high water', regop? 'it's full of liquid', regohpinek? 'I fill it', sekoyop? 'it's sticky/gluey', skewop? 'it's calm water', stek?wop? 'it's high tide, a crest of water peaks', swo:poyoh 'liquid gushes', swo:pinek? 'I spill something uncountable (water, salt, etc.)', ta?mop? 'it's hot liquid', ta?ano:pinek? (so recorded) 'I heat liquid', tenop? 'it's a lot of liquid', tkop? 'it's thick liquid', tkohpetek? 'I thicken it', to:lop? 'it's gluey'.

-o?r 'run'. cecomeyo?r(epek?) 'I'm trotting', cpega:no?repeł 'they run a long time', himo?repek? 'I run fast', ho:ro?rep? 'she runs around', kelomo?repek? 'I turned

180 degrees running', ko:?repek? 'I run alone', kwegom±o?repek? 'I run back and forth', kwomło?repek? 'I run back', kwo:?repek? 'I'm slow (running, walking)', wonew la:yo?repek? 'I run along the hillside', lepo?repek? 'I run bent down to avoid detection', 1?o?repek? 'I stop running', +?o?repenek?/+?o?repinek? 'I stop it with my hand (e.g., a clock)', ±?o?ronepek? 'I stop', ±?o?ronecek? 'I stop it (e.g., a big clock)', toyo?repek? I'll try to run', ma:yo?r(epek?) 'I run past (missing the place)', kus me?womo?repe?m 'whence did you start running?', myo?repek? 'I run to quarrel' (also myo?ronepek?), neskwo?repek? 'I arrive here running', nesto?rep? 'someone runs fast', no:?repek? 'I run along with others, keep company with them', kus me no?omo?repe?m 'how long/far did you run?', no?o?repek? 'I run with someone', no:wo?repek? 'I've run up/arrived', ?o:?repek? 'how far back/ ahead I am (running?), I follow a group (running)' (more likely: 'I run in position behind or ahead of others'), pego?r(epek?)/ cpego?ronah 'I race someone', pkwo?repek? 'I run out into the open through a barrier' (collective: pkwo?olo?r 'a group runs...') keski ra:yo?repek? 'I run along the river, below', sekikoyo?r 'someone runs uphill with effort', sekoyo?r(epek?) 'I run fast' (third person: 'a sailboat goes fast'), slo:?repek? 'I run downhill', kus so:no?repek? 'how fast was I running?', sro:?repek? 'I run downhill', syahto?repek? 'I run by myself apart from the group', weno?omo?r '(see someone) running in some direction', woyo?repek? 'I run all night', wohpeyo?repek? 'I run across a shallow stream', yegohpo?rek? 'I run in a circle', ye?womo?repek? 'I run out of sight'.

-o:t 'throw'. lo:tek? 'I throw it': himo:te?m 'you hasten with it', ho:lo:tek? 'I wave something (ie, throw it around)', kelomo:tek? 'I turn something aside', kno:tek? 'I discard something', kwomło:tek? 'I throw it back', la:yo:tek? (?), ma:yo:tek? 'I bring it past', meno:tek? 'I pull it', mewolo:tek? 'I use it all up (i.e., throw it away)', myo:tek' 'I shove', myo:leyek? 'I'm shoved', neskwo:tek? 'I throw it surprisingly far', pkwo:tek? 'I put something through', sekoyo:tek? 'I throw it with force', wohpeyo:tek? 'I tow something across', yohpo:tek? 'I throw something with a circular motion, as a discus)'. The passive -o:l beside active transitive -o:t suggests a contraction of something with the finals -ol and -et respectively.

-oyew 'call, speak'. kimoyewo?moyek? 'someone calls me something bad', kimoye?w 'someone speaks ill (of someone)', kwes?oyewek? 'I say prayers to heal', kwes?oyumek? 'I say prayers to heal over someone', kimoyewoloyek? 'someone insults me', ?oloyewek? 'I imitate a bird call', sesoyewek? 'I whisper', teloyewek? 'I tell a lie', teloyucek? 'I tell you

(sg.) a lie', teloyusek? 'I tell someone a lie', woloyeweł/woloyuł 'dogs bark in the distance'.

-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-. royk? 'it flows, drips, trickles', woyk? 'it (e.g., a snake) is coiled, draped over something'; ce?loyk? 'it's a dry stream', kus cpe:neyk? 'how deep does it flow?', cpe:neyk? 'it's a long stream', ho:loyk? (?), kékuyéméyk? 'it (stream) winds very crooked', kelomoyk? 'it (rope, fabric) is twisted on inside out', kloyk? 'it (snake, rope) is draped over something', knéyk? 'limp', kné:?ik 'it's a dead-end of water', knoyketek? 'I put flexible items down gently', keyki? 'it flows slowly', kwomłoyk? 'it (snake, rope) turns back', kwo:yk? 'it (rope) is moving slowly', kwoykete?m 'you're slow getting things out', la:yoyk? 'it (snake, root) is on the ground', 1?oyk? 'it (snake) stops; the flow stops' (also +?oyek?), +? \(?' ik? 'liquid gets thick, \) stops seeping', ma:yoyk? 'it (stream) passes an obstruction' menoy? 'it (round pliable object) disappears', menoyketek? 'I pull something (as a rope)', mesoyk? 'it (eel, stream) is slender', méséyk?/méséréyk? 'it (stream) is small', mewoloyk? 'it (snake) crawls away', mewoloyketek? 'I wipe a long strand', kus me?womoyk? 'from what direction did it crawl out?', meworoyk? 'it (water) seeps/drips away', kus mé?wéméyk? 'where does the stream flow from?', kus no?omoyek? 'how long is this (snake, rope)?', no:woyk? 'it's coiled (hemp, etc.)', pekoyoyk?/pékéyéyk? 'it flows red', pko:yk? 'I get the needle threaded', pkwoyk? 'it leaks out; the thread comes through the needle', pkwéyk? 'it flows out', pkwéyk? (so recorded) 'liquid seeps out', sekoyoyk? 'it (strand of sinew) is strong', kus sé:néyk? 'how is it flowing?', séséyéyk? 'it trickles over gravel and dries up', skeweyk? 'it (wood) has clear grain', skoyk? 'it's limp', skeyk? 'it (stream) is clear', tenoyk? 'it's a lot (of strings, eels)', tu?néyk? 'it (stream) forks' (also tu?néréyk?), yegohpoyk? 'it's circled with string/rope', ye?womoyk? 'it's a small leaky puddle made by rain on dry soil', yé:yk? 'water seeps out', yé:?ik? 'it sweats (a clay container)', syé:?ik? 'it sweats and drops seep away'. My assumption here is that - \(\ext{\ell}(:)\)?ik? and -oyek? are phonological variants of -eyk? and -oyk? respectively, but the possibility of contrast has not been disproved.

-oykenoc 'expel (liquid, ropelike object). roykenocek? 'I render fat, force out liquid'; kwo:ykenocek? 'I play out rope slowly', co kwo:ykenote?m 'play out the rope slowly!', skéwéykénécék? 'I skim foam off water to clear it'.

-u?l(og-) 'depth or location in a body of water'. ce?lu?loges? 'water disappears into sand/gravel til dry'. cepu?rogeł 'water flows down a steep incline' (or is this a 'place where' noun?), ckenu?loges? 'it's shallow', cku?rogeł (?), knu?logeł 'a deep place', né?ékéł no?omu?ł 'it's up to my knees', steku?ł 'it's the high-water point of the flood', su?(u)logenek? (recorded with (u)) 'I enlarge the mouth of a waterway', tenu?logeł 'a deep place', kus to:mu?logeł 'how deep is the water?', tohpu?l 'a deep pool'.

-u:l(es-) 'pack, load'. Possibly the final -es is a separate morpheme (an active final), since a couple of stems seem to show a passive -u:lowoy. lu:les- (in woy lu:lesek? 'I take a load to a different (wrong) place', and wonik lu:le?s 'someone carries a load uphill'): cpa:nu:lesek? 'I (a ghost) carry a load forever', ckenu:lesek? 'I pack a little, a light load', hi?mu:lese?m 'you pack things (away)', ho:lu:lesek? 'I carry a pack', ho:lu:l 'pack, load', kemeyu:lesek? 'I take a load home', kwegom±u:lesek? 'I'm packing back and forth', kwomłu:lesek? 'I pack it back', la:yu:lesek? 'I come by here with a pack', la:yu:lowek? (?) 'I pass this way with my load' (?), to:mu:lese?m 'you relieve someone of her load', ma:yu:lesek? 'I bring my pack past an obstacle (e.g., a slide area)', menu:lesek? 'I get up with a load', menu:lowoyek? 'I'm abducted, enticed away', mewolu:lesek? 'I pack everything away', kus me?womu:lese?m 'whence did you bring your load?', cpa:nik me?womulesek? 'I bring this load from afar', na:mu:lese?m 'you relieve someone of a load', nesku:lesek? 'I bring my load here', nohpu:lesek? 'I bring in a load', nohpu:lowoyek? 'I'm brought in; I enter with a load', nohsu:lesek? 'I don my pack', kus no?omu:lese?m 'how long have you been packing your load?', no:wu:lesek? 'I bring/deliver my load', nu:lese?m 'you get home with a pack', pku:lesek? 'I emerge with a load', sekoyu:lesek? 'I carry my load well-tied', sleku:lese?m 'you pull items out of your pack', sloyu:lesek? 'I take a load down the hill', syahtu:lesek? 'I carry a separate load (gathered for a menstruating woman)', co:lek?w so:nu:lesek? 'I carry a load downhill', ra:yu:lesek? 'I walk along with a load', slo?u:lese?m/syo?u:lese?m 'you show the contents of your pack', swu:lesek? 'I unpack', tenu:lesek? 'I carry a lot, a heavy load', kus tomu:lese?m 'how much is your load?', weno?omu:lesek? 'I'm up to a certain point with my load', wohpeyu:lesek? 'I carry a load across', ye?womu:lesek? 'I carry a load out of sight'. There is also the dependent noun -a:mu:l 'load', e.g., na:mu:l 'my load'.

-u:n 'grow'. hu:ne?m 'things grow', hu:nowoł 'they grow', hu:nowo:(m)cek? 'I grow something'; cinu:ne?m 'they grow slowly/stunted', skenu:ne?m 'not many plants come up/grow', ckenu:nowo:mecek? 'I didn't plant many', cpa:nu:nowok? 'I've lived a long time', himu:nowoł 'they grow fast', ka:mu:ne?m 'they grow poorly', ka:mu:nowo:mecek? 'I grow puny plants',

kwoyu:nowoł 'they grow slowly', no?omunowok? 'I'm that many years old', nohsu:nowok? 'I originate somewhere', sku:ne?m 'plants grow well', sku:nowo:mecek? 'plants grow well for me', sku:?n 'it grows well', stu:nowok? 'I've achieved maturity', stune?m (so transcribed) 'middle-aged, mature', stunowok? 'I'm middle-aged, mature', syahlu:nowok? 'I'm high-born', syahtu:nowot 'they're clannish', teku:ne?m 'they grow together', teku:nowo+ 'they're grafted', teku:nowo:mecek? 'I plant something joined (e.g., a double bulb, a cut potato)', tenu:ne?m 'they grow in a bunch (e.g., garlic)', tenu:nowoł 'it's a large family (people, plants)', tenu:nowo:mecek? 'I plant a lot', kus to:mu:nowo?m 'what's your age?', t?u:ne?m/t?u:nowoł 'plants come up'. Since initial h- is automatic in Yurok, this element can be said to pattern like a deverbal with stem-initial zero (a medial would presumably not come in word-initial position as in the first examples). initial zero could be taken to reflect underlying w-, automatically lost before u(:). The function of the uninflected collective plurals here seems to be specification of generic or quasi-generic behavior, while the regular inflected plurals seem to refer to known entities. The element was at times recorded with short u, probably just reflecting the common difficulty in correctly distinguishing the length of this phoneme.

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:

-ec(ew), tr. -en 'go'. recok? 'I paddle'; cpa:necok? 'I'm gone a long time', ma cpega:necewek? 'I was gone a long time', cu:kwecok? 'I steer a boat', himeco?m 'you walk fast', hime?m 'a group goes fast', himolecok? 'I have to walk fast', ho:lecok? 'I stir, move my boat around with a paddle', ho:lecok? 'I move my boat around with a paddle, stir food with a paddle cooking', ho:necok? 'I climb, walk uphill', ho:necek? 'I go upstream by boat', ho:lenek? 'I carry it', ho:lenahpeyek? 'they chase me around', kégécék? 'I go alone', kelomecok? 'I turn my boat around 180 degrees', kenik?wecok? 'I turn a boat, car', kwegomłecok? 'I walk back and forth', kwomłecok? 'I turn back', kwomłenek? 'I bring it back', kecok? 'I catch up to

someone', kwoycok? 'I walk slowly/silently' (collective: kwoye?m 'they...'), la:yecok? 'I walk along', lepecok? 'I crawl to avoid detection', 1? ckk? 'I hit a snag, run aground', toyecok? 'I walk carefully (in a slide area, on muddy ground)', ma: yecok? 'I struggle to get my boat past an obstacle', menecok? 'I disappear', mene?m/ menecu:?mel 'they disappear', me?womecok? 'I come from...', me?wome?m 'they...', kus me no?omeco?m 'how long were you gone?', neskweco?m 'you've arrived here', nohpecok?/nohpecewek? 'I come inside', ?oncok? 'I'm in this position (in my boat, in line)', penecok? 'I step from a tree to the ground (climbing down)', penecewek? 'I put down my load and rest', pkwecok?/pkwecewek? 'I come out (as of woods), into view', pkwenek? 'I bring it out', ra:yecok? 'I paddle along', sekoyecok? 'I can make it (walking)', skewicok? 'I walk gently/quietly', slahtecok? 'I separate from someone (as at a fork in the trail)', slahtecewek? 'I left the group', slekwecok? 'I come out/down backwards, push my boat off backwards with a paddle', sloyecok? 'I go downhill', pulik soncok? 'I paddle downstream, toward the ocean beach', kus ki so:ycok? 'how will I travel?', syekwecok? 'I walk backwards', to:lecok?/ to:lecewek? 'I go sideways', me to:mecok? 'how far around I go', syoyecok? 'I walk through slick clay; I walk with an injured pelvis', weno? omecok? 'when I was walking along there', wohpecok? 'I cross a stream by boat', woycok?/woykecok? 'I stay overnight (away from home)', yegohpecok? 'I walk in circles', ye?wecok?/ye?womecok? 'I get out of sight' (collective: ye?wome?m 'they...'), ye?wecok?w 'it disappears', yohpeco?m 'you go clear around', cf. yo?omecek? 'I go around'.

-et 'go' (augmentative-pejorative of -ec). himetos 'hurry! (said to old person, child)', ho:letok? 'I walk with effort (in a steep place, under a heavy load)', sekito?m 'you walk fast', so:tok? 'I go so', syekwetos 'come out backwards!'.

-etk 'body strength'. Only in sekitkok? 'I shake with effort, use all my strength' and so:tkok? 'my strength' (i.e., 'how strong I am').

-ek 'do, make, treat'. cinkok? 'I change it', cpa:nekok? 'it takes me a long time to do it', cpurkok? 'I treat someone/do something carefully', coykok? 'I treat someone roughly', himekok? 'I do it fast', ho?omohtkok? 'I hurt someone' (cf. ho?omohtoyek? 'someone hurts me' where passive -oy replaces -ek), hopkwekok? 'I begin', kemeykok? 'I bring someone back to life', kimkok? 'I do a poor job, treat someone mean', kwoykok? 'I do it slowly', imeykok? 'I treat someone mean', it you treat someone badly (verbally)', sekikok? 'I try hard to do it', skuykok? 'I treat someone well', kim sonkok? 'I treat someone badly', mohkic sonkok? 'I treat

someone in kind, get revenge', to:lekok? 'I block a path (crosswise)', kus tomko?m 'how much of this did you do?', tumekok? (?) 'I do something fast' (?), kus weno?omeko?m 'how far along are you (working)?'. Compare mewolekok? 'I clean a pipe', and skewikok? 'I tidy up'.

-ekik 'water flows, something coils'. ?ekik? (haplologic) 'blood coagulates', ho:lekik? 'water swirls around', kekik? 'water flows down a canyon', kelomekik? 'water turns away', cf. co kelomiksene?m pa?ah 'turn the water away!'. kwomłekik? 'water turns back', kwoyekik? 'water flows slowly', la:yekik? 'water flows by', +?ekik? 'water stops flowing (at a barrier)', 1?ekikso?m 'you stop the water', ma:yekik? 'water flows past (a barrier)', menekik? 'water disappears', mewolekik? 'water recedes', kus me?womekik? 'where's the head of this stream?', mékwcé:mékik? 'it's a slender stream', kus no?omekik? 'how far did this water flow from?', no:wekik? 'water arrives (e.g., in a ditch)', pkwekik? 'water leaks', ra:yekik? 'water flows', sekoyekik? 'water is swift', sla:?yekik? 'water runs through a dump', to:lekik? 'water flows over an obstacle', kus weno?omekik? 'where is the water up to (in an aquaduct)?', woyekik? 'the water flows overnight', yegohpekik? 'it (rope) is coiled', ye?womekik? 'a stream goes out of sight (around a bend)'.

-ékws 'wind blows'. cécéméyék?ws 'the wind skips around (child speaking)', he:lek?ws 'the wind blows around, makes a little whirlwind', kélémék?ws 'the wind blows something inside out' (?; compare kelomok?s 'something is turned over/inside out'), kékélémék?ws 'the wind shifts constantly', knék?ws 'the wind is dying down', kwemtek?ws 'the wind blows back', kwéyék?ws 'the wind whistles', lé:yék?ws 'the wind blows along something', ±?ék?ws 'the wind stops', mé:yék?ws 'the wind isn't so strong here; a passing wind; a small gust', menek?ws 'the wind dies down between gusts', mewelek?ws 'the wind clears away the clouds' (compare mewolok?s 'clouds clear'), kus mé?wémék?ws 'where's the wind blowing from?', néskwék?ws 'the wind has a surprising velocity', ne:wek?ws 'the wind reaches here', pkwék?ws 'the wind makes a draft', ro:k?ws 'the wind blows', kus ro:k?ws 'which way does the wind blow?', sekeyek?ws/ sekoyo:k?ws 'the wind is hard/fast', kus sé:nék?ws 'how hard/which way is the wind blowing?', sleyek?ws 'the wind is cold', swé:k?ws 'the wind gusts', swégé:k?ws 'the wind gusts repeatedly', wéyék?ws 'the wind stops blowing', yégéhpék?ws 'the wind blows in circles', y\(e^2 \) w\(e m \) ek?ws 'the wind dies away (as in the lee of a point)'.

-emoy/-omoy (tr. -omot) 'having the quality/apprearance of'. kowe ciŝa:moye?m 'don't act like a dog!', ci:?ŝomi? 'covered with red woodpecker scalps', pemeyomoyek? 'I'm greasy',

pemeyomotek? 'I put grease in the pan, grease something'. This final is very common in the vocabulary in Robins (1958:187-300), and these examples are not repeated here. Its semantic range is similar to that of PA *-eyewi (e.g., see Bloomfield 1962 sec. 15.4-8).

-ep/-ahp 'reflexive'. 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'; knewetek? 'I set out my net', menewet? 'a fish pulls a net underwater; someone clinches down something', myewetek? 'I plunge something in water', ra:yewetek? 'I drag something in the water'. Compare meworewetek? 'I've gambled/sneaked everything away'.

-ewkws 'on water'. ho:lewkswe?m 'you have a load in your boat', kelomewkwse?m 'you turn around and come back in a boat', knewkwse?m 'fish fin up to feed at the surface (near the bank)', kwegomłewkwse?m 'you go back and forth on water', menewkwse?m 'boats disappear on the river' (collective -e?m), mewkwse?m 'fish jump out of the water to feed' (initial my-?), sekoyewkwse?m 'they (fish) are strong swimmers' (?), kus so:newkwse?m 'which direction are you going (by boat)?', wohpeyewkwse?m 'you put things in a stream to walk across on'.

-éyéks/-éyéh(s-) 'look'. ?ékéyékséyék?/?ékéyéh 'they give me a dirty look, try to stare me down', kwémłéyéksek?/kwémłéyéh(sek?) 'I look back', mérpéyéh 'watch someone without their knowledge', mérpéyéksi? 'someone is being watched', pkwéyéhsé?m 'you see through (a knothole); you have a vision', sénéyéhsék? 'how far I can see', no:re?w sénéyéhsi? 'the scenery is pretty', wonik ?o sénéyéhsék? 'I see something in the sky'.

-o?oc 'go in a boat'. himo?ocek? 'I paddle fast, make a fast boat trip', kelomo?ocek? 'I turn my boat around', kwomło?ocek? 'I paddle back', ma:yo?oce?m 'you've passed something', mene?skwo?ocek? 'I pull a boat up over a riffle', meno?ocek? 'I hide in a boat', kus me?womo?oce?m 'how far have you come?', neskwo?oc? 'someone arrives in a boat', pkwo?ocek? 'I emerge in a boat', scep?o:cek? 'I hit shore/land in a boat', sekoyo?oce?m 'you travel fast', slo?oc? '(inaudible) depart in a boat', kus kic weno?oceł 'where are they up to (in a boat race)?' (with apparent contraction of ome to o).

-o:c 'sound'. This seems to be a contraction of the medial -o:g with a final -ec. kwéykwéyo:cek?/kwéykwéyé?écek? 'I whistle', kus me?womo:c? 'where is the sound coming from?',

neskwo:c? 'someone makes a loud annoying noise', punomeyo:c? 'someone groans in her sleep', pwegenoyo:cek? 'my voice is heard above the others', ki?m so:no:c? 'it's a noise of distress', syo?o:(ge)cek? 'I make a noise', syo?o:gecik? 'it's a noise in the distance'.

-oks 'flat'. Identified by Robins (1958:94). Examples I collected are: ceykoks 'narrow flat thing (board)', kelomok?s 'turn inside out, twist so both surfaces show', kwomłok?s 'slide back (on a board)', la:yok?s 'it (board, limb, rope) is across a path', menok?s 'there's a dip in the terrain', mewolok?s 'cloud/fog clears', no?oks 'two boards', wohpeyok?s 'it spans a stream'. I suspect that all the forms with glottal k? are third-person verbs, regardless of the glosses.

-ol 'sound'. cegeyolok? 'I'm tired of hearing it', skuyolok? 'I like the sound'.

-ol (rarely -el) 'fly'. Plural forms generally have -etkol plus -V?m and are uninflected. lo?t 'a bird flies'. letkoli?m 'they fly'; ?ekole?m 'they (a flock) hover', ?eko? t 'one hovers', himo:le?m 'they fly out of sight fast', ho:letkoli?m 'birds circle around in flight', kelomo? t'a bird turns in flight', kelomele?m 'they turn in flight', kwegomło?ł 'a bird flies back and forth, as to a feeder', kwomło?ł 'a bird returns, flies back', la:yetkoli?m 'they all fly by', la:yo?+ 'one flies by', mya:lo:li?m 'they fly by fast and close', nohsoli?m 'a flock jumps into flight', nohso? \pm 'a bird jumps into flight', no:we?l 'it flies home', no:weli?m 'a flock flies home', wohpeku so:no? t 'it flies out to the middle of the water', weno?omo? + (pl. weno?omoli?m) 'it flies by above, flies past a certain point, flies up to such a point in its path', weno?ometkoli?m 'they all fly', wegeno?omole?+ 'birds fly in formation', yegohpoli?m '(some species) flies in circles', yohpoli?m 'they flew in a circle'. Phrase: kolo cegemem so:no? + 'flies like a hummingbird'.

-o?ol/-o:l 'go in a group'. himo:le?m 'they go by in a hurry', ho:lo?ole?m 'they all run around', kwegom±o:le?m 'they keep going back', kwom±o:le?m/kwom±o:li?m 'the herd turns back', la:yo?ole?m 'they run by', ma:yo?ole?m 'they run past', meno?ole?m 'they disappear', myo:le?m 'animals bunch up (when they can't find the gate', nohso?ole?m 'they all fly up', pkwo?ole?m 'they all emerge', pkwo?olo?r 'they all run into view'.

-olum 'throat'. menokwolumek? 'I gulp something down, force food down, swallow it whole', mik?olumek? 'I swallow', sleykwolumek? 'I have something crosswise in my throat', slekolu?m 'someone swallows (a pain)'.

-ołkey 'hoard food'. skewołkeye?m 'you're generous (with food)', tenołkeye?m 'you're stingy'.

-o?op? 'burn'. lo?op? 'it burns'; ckeno?opek? 'I build a small fire', himo?op? 'it burns fast', mewolo?op? 'it burns up/away', skewo?op? 'it's an even blaze', swo?op? 'a burn or bite spreads, gets worse', syahto?opek? 'I build my own fire apart', teko?opi? 'it's burned on', yohpo?op? 'it burns in a circle'.

-o?op 'run, stand'. ro?opek? 'I run'; ho:ro?op?/ho:ro?opep? (pl. ho:lo?omah) 'someone runs around', ?o:?lo?oh 'someone standing in place', ra:yo?opek? 'I run by something', kus to:mo?ope?m 'how tall are you?'.

-ow 'do, act, be'. coyowok?/coyełkepek? 'I'm very irritabale/mean/restless', kemoroyowo?m 'you're a sneak-thief', kegeyowok? 'I'm a doctor', keyoworek? 'I'll perform as a doctor', leptoyowok?/leptoyłkepek? 'I'm hairy', łeyowok? 'I'm angry' (?), łmeyowok? 'I'm angry', no:-sonowok? 'I join in, act like them', neskweyowo?m 'you're surprisingly awful!'. plinowok? 'I'm really angry' (cf. plinepek? 'I feel angry'), pyurowo?m 'you get ready for prayer, make prayers/formulas', slahłoyowok? 'I'm born to a higher station (than someone)'. For some further examples, see -u:n 'grow'.

-owoł 'talk'. ckenowołe?m 'you talk very little', tenowołek? 'I talk too much', tomowo?ł 'someone talks indiscretely' (?).

-oyew 'pay'. ckenoyewek? 'I don't pay much', ho:royewek? 'I owe someone', tenoyewek? 'I pay a good salary', nimi tegenoye?w 'they don't pay me much' (evidently iterative), kus tomoyewe?m 'how much did you pay in wages?'.

-?p?a 'own'. ske?npak? 'I have very little', te?npak? 'I have many valuables', wek to?mpak? '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.

-?pey 'eat'. ?aspeyok? 'I taste a liquid', cke?npeyok? 'I didn't eat much', knépéyéh 'leavings of food', kwoypeyok? 'I eat slowly', łoypeyok? 'I taste it (e.g., a spoonful)', łéypéyék? 'I taste it (e.g., by putting my finger to the tip of my tongue)', ?ołpeyok? 'what I eat from', rekwohpeyok? 'I drink it', syahłpeyok? 'I have a bad taste on my tongue', te?npeyok? 'I eat too much', kus to?mpeyo?m 'how much did you eat?'. Note how the glottal metathesizes with a preceding nasal and drops otherwise.

-u+ (tr. -u+ken) 'mouth'. mewolu+ek? 'I wipe my mouth', s?\(\ell\)ks?\(\ell\): p\(\ell\)+ 'repeatedly hit in the mouth', s?\(\ell\)ks?\(\ell\)p\(\ell\)+ kenoyek? 'someone repeatedly hits me in the mouth', teykelu+e?m 'you bite (someone)'. Compare t\(\ell\): 1u?1 'something across a mouth', t\(\ell\): 1u?1ese?m 'you put on a bridle'.

-ur 'swim'. rurek? 'I have to swim (somewhere)'; cpa:nurek? 'I'm in the water a long time, swim far' (third person plural: cpa:nuri?met), ?ekurek? 'I'm stationary in the water', ho:rurek? 'I swim around', kelomulek? 'I turned 180 degrees swimming (and made big waves)', kurek? 'I float/ swim out of the main current', kukurek? (?), ku:rek? 'I swim alone', kepoyurek? 'I swim for fun', knu:rek? (so transcribed) 'I stop swimming', knuri?m 'some water fowl stop swimming', ku:rek? (so transcribed) 'I float, tread water', kuri?m 'salmon fin (verb)', kwegomiurek? 'I swim back and forth', kwomiurek? 'I swim back', +?urek? 'I stop swimming (midstream)', +oyurek? 'I'll try to swim', ma:yurek? 'I struggle to swim past an obstacle', kus me?womure?m ' 'whence did you swim here?', nekomurek? 'I know how to swim well', no?omure?m 'how far you swam', no:-rurek? 'I swim along (with someone)', pkurek? 'I emerge from the water', ra:yurek? 'I swim', sekikoyu?r 'she swims fast with effort', sekoyurek? 'I swim fast', slekurek? 'I swim backwards (from an obstacle)', kus so:nure?m 'in which direction did you swim?', syahturek? 'I swim apart', kus ?u:re?m 'what's your position (in a swimming group)?', weno?omurek? 'I swim past, up to such a point along the way', wohpurek?/wohpeyurek? 'I swim across', yegohpurek? 'I swim in a circle', ye?womurek? 'I submerge, swim under water', yo?omurek? 'I dive (from the surface of the water)'.

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:

- -ec (see medial -o:g).
- -emeł/-emełk (see medial -ewkwt).
- -enoc (see medial -oyk).
- -ep 'mediopassive' (after medials -a:\frac{1}{2}k, -e\frac{1}{2}k, -in). This element has a by-form -ahp before a secondary final. It also forms reflexives (see Robins 1958:78).

-es 'causitive'. +?ekikso?m 'you stop the water', letkweloyŝok? 'I drag it' (s automatically gives ŝ after i/y), tmohkeloyŝok? 'I break it'. See also the medial -eloy 'with effort'.

- -es (see the medials -u?log, -u:l). See also RESIDUE.
- -ol 'mediopassive' (after medial -o?m).
- -oy 'mediopassive' (after medial -a?r 'by ear').

-Vn(em) 'by delicate action (e.g., with fingers or hands)'. Examples in -en: ?elomenek? 'I remove stiches/unravel sewing; I take a baby from a basket, unlace a shoe' (babies were laced into baskets), ho:lenek? 'I handle something', kep?e+kwenek? 'I deafen someone' (cf. kep?e±kwelek? 'I'm deaf'), kwom±enek? 'I take it back' (cf. kwomlenahpeyek? 'I'm sent back'), syahlenek? 'I separate something', tikwohpenek? 'I break something brittle' (meaning of -ohp uncertain). Often it is paired with -ec 'go': himenek? 'I hurry to deliver it', kelomenek? 'I turn it over', nohpenek? 'I bring it indoors', to:lenek? 'I put up a wooden barrier crosswise', wohpenek? cross it over', ye?womenek? 'I shove something out of sight', yohpenek? 'I go around with something'. Examples in -in(em): 1?o?repinek?/1?o?repenek? 'I stop it with my hand', me?lohpine?m 'you smear it', me?repinek? 'I rub/ massage something round lightly', regohpinek? 'I fill it', sekinek? 'I do it with all my strength', ses?ohpine?m 'you shake it (as a tree)', swo:pinek? 'I pour it off', syahlin(em)ek? 'I separate things', so:pin(em)ek?/so:pon(em)ek? 'I hit someone', ta?ano:pinek? (so recorded) 'I heat liquid', tmepinek? 'I divide loose things in half by hand' (cf. tmepitok? 'I cut it in half'). Notice the frequence of -op 'liquid' and other Vp sequences before this by-form.

Examples in -on(em): cewonemek? 'I straighten it', ?ekonemek? 'I hold it', ?ekonepek? 'I hang on', hewonemek? 'I lift someone/something from a prone position', he?woni\(\)kwonek? 'I wake someone up', hi?moneme?m 'you carry something', himonemek? 'I bring it fast', ho:lenemek? 'I touch/place things with my hands', kelomene?m 'you turn something over', kwomonemek? 'I go take it back', kwoyone?m 'slow delivery', kwoyonemek? 'I bring it slowly', la:yonemek? 'I bring something through here', ma:yonemek? 'I pass an obstacle with it' (cf. ma:yetek? 'same, but with big articles'), me\(\)onemek? 'I touch it' (cf. me\(\)etetoyek? 'someone touches me'), meno:monemek? 'I take it back/return it', mesi:gonoyek? 'I'm massaged', na:monemek? 'I grab someone in flight with my hand', n\(\)?\(\)ete s\(\)ete n\(\)ete m\(\)ete k? 'I grab/hold it with both hands', no?omonemek? 'how long I've kept it', no:?monemek? 'I take/return it

somewhere', no:wonemek? 'I bring it', ?olonemek? 'I carry something in my hand, bring something in a container, ra:yonemek? 'I guide it along the water', sekoyon(em)ek? 'I grasp it lightly, squeeze it', sloyonemek? 'I slide it into the water', kus so:noneme?m 'where did you take it?', so:ponemek? 'I hit it', tenonemek? 'I take a lot', kus tomoneme?m 'how much did you take?', weno?omonemek? 'this is as far as I've packed this', woyonemek? 'I keep something overnight', yegohpene?m 'you bend/roll something around', yohpinek? 'I milk it'.

-Vt (generally -et/-ot) 'active transitive'. See the medials -a?r, -ecew, -ek(omey), -e±k, -ep, -ew, -e?wey, -o?m, -op, -o?r, -oyk.

Noun finals

-et derives an inanimate noun from a verb stem. ce?loyet 'a dry place', ce?lo:get 'a dry/raspy sound', knu?loget 'a deep place in the water', puso:?met 'a place with an animal smell', syéykwet 'a slippery place', tekteket 'something with spots on it', tek?tek?et 'something sticky', tenu?loget 'a deep place in the water'. Compare cécéméyét 'someone with a shrill voice', hahset 'urine'.

-iŝon derives nouns (from verb stems) specifying the type of person who has the characteristics stated in the stem. heyomoksiŝon 'lucky person', łkyorkwiŝon 'entertaining person, i.e., someone worth watching', łmeyorkwiŝo?n 'it's frightening', méwéksiŝon 'a clean/right-minded/happy person' (also in further derivation: méwéksiŝonepek?/méwéksiŝonowok? 'I'm a ____'), neskwiŝo?n '(she is) a troublesome person', no:siŝon(owok?) 'I'm comical', sweyoksiŝon 'a contemptible person', tyohpiŝo?n 'she's a hateful person', tyohpiŝonowoni 'she's a nuisance (?)', wa:?soksiŝon 'a pitiful sight/person' (also wa:?soksiŝonowok? 'I'm a pitiful sight').

-o? 'tree, stem'. pékwéné? 'Indian asparagus/rhubarb (horsetail)', pkwo?olo? 'maple', tépé:né? 'large fir tree'.

-o?ot 'instrument, tool'. ?ego:lino?ot 'bed', lemolo?ot 'eel-hook', pkwegeno?ot 'needle, awl'.

Particle finals

-ekw 'adverbial'. ce?mekw/ce?muc 'barely', cegeykek?w (so recorded) 'in small quantities', co:lekw/co:lew 'downhill', cpa:nekw 'a long ways', rewon(ek?w) 'the edge, end'.

-ew '(locative) toward'. helkew 'a place toward the mountains', lepsew 'toward the doorway', pahsew 'to the rear of the house', rewonew 'at the end, on the edge', tewolew '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.

-ekin 'strand'. welpekinek? 'I roll strands together to make a rope, I twine long hair around my hear'. Also a numeral classifier (kohcekin 'one strand', Haas 1967:357).

-eł (abstract final). ha?a:goneł- 'be rocky'. Also used in descriptions of weather (e.g., ce?loył- 'be dry weather').

-es 'terrain'. ca?ałkesi? 'there's nothing but sand there', ce?loyłke?s 'a dry water-hole', ce?lu?loges? 'a stream is dried of water by flowing over sand/gravel', ka:mełke?s 'rough terrain'. Compare té:lu?lese?m 'you put on a bridle', té:lu?le?s 'a dog has something in its mounth'.

-etoy 'body'. hewelke(toy)pek? 'I get up fast', letoyek?
'I'm stuck', nestetoyek? 'I've been badly hurt in my body'.

-ewolo? 'burn'. Deverbal from mewolo? 'it's all burned up'? knewolo? 'live embers, coals (i.e., it burns quietly)', mecewolo? 'singing firewood, green/wet wood that hisses and crackles'. Compare pkwoyolo? 'wood that hisses or roars when it burns'.

-ey/-oy 'be, do'. co?oney- 'be four', co:moy- 'be/do something for some time'.

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

-iŝ, -oŝ 'by' blade, stick, paddle'. ?elewoliŝok? 'I knit it, hang a net, hang it up', ho:liŝ 'paddle', kéhté:piŝo?m 'you hit it once driving in a sharp blade', kohtiŝe?m 'you eat one spoonful', kyo:łpoliŝoyek? 'someone knocks me backwards', lé?égé?iŝ 'black skin', lo:liŝoy 'knit; weaving a net', skeli-lo:liŝok? 'I knock it to the ground with a stick (e.g.,

acorn)', myo:liŝok? 'I push on a paddle, stick something in the ground', nekto:liŝok? 'I accidently knock someone down', ni:giŝ 'two people paddle', nohto:liŝok? 'I knock someone down', nu:kwomiŝok? 'I brought everything together (nuts, stones)' ---perhaps causitive -es added to a stem nu:kwomey-, as in nu:kwomi? 'it's gathered', pkwo:liŝok? 'I break through (cutting a tree)', ra:yiŝok? 'I paddle along', re?poŝo:k? 'I cut brush', tekte:piŝo?m 'you hit it with a stick', testo:liŝok? 'I shake something down from a tree vigorously' (compare testo:leyek? 'I shake, as from old age') ---probably another causitive formation, to:liŝo?m 'you hit an animal (to kill it); you make a barrier', w#1#w#li3 'twiggy' (compare wełowelek?w 'it forms a tiny branch'), wé?t?éiŝ 'show-off' (also kit wé?téyŝ 'going all-out to show off'). The problem of analysis here is not a lack of examples of -i3, but their apparent heterogeneity. Perhaps things will fall in place when the other elements in these stems are better known.

-o?oh(pey-) 'swing'. kelomo?ohpeyok? 'I swing around'.

-ol, -el, -ir, -il (mediopassive?). k?ewoloyek? 'someone washes me' (compare k?ewetek? 'I wash it'), mekwco:mirek? 'I'm slender', sa:welek? 'I'm cold'. syahłoli?m 'a group divides, is different', tekwonorek? 'I jump over something' (cf. tekwonek? 'I jump'), tkwepilek? 'I'm very short', kus tomole?m 'how many people were there?', wohpeyoli?m 'they cross a stream (wading)'.

-onc, -inc (?). lenci? 'it (a boat) is snagged', lenci? 'I stop it (a big clock)', sa:woncek? 'I cool something off', skewinc- 'be a good navigator'. It's not certain whether onc is a contraction of -onec.

-(on)eki?r (?). kelomoneki?r 'tumble, make a somersault', la:yoneki?r 'branch off', kus me?womeki?r 'where is the head of this stream?'.

-orkw 'see'. ?ekonorkwoyek? 'I'm blessed, favored', hekwcorkwomeyek? 'they're glad to see me', ±kyorkwek? 'I'm watching', ±meyorkwek? 'I'm scared (by what I see)', mescorkwok?/mescemek? 'I make fun of someone', neworkwek? 'I have good sight, can see, see in the distance', pyekwco?rkwok? 'I greet someone', pyurkwek? 'I see in a vision, divine, take part in a ceremonial dance', sweyorkwok? 'I'm tired of seeing her'.

-os, -es (?). ceyceyos 'mosquito', ka:mes 'mythical water monster', né?émés 'trapper, snare, to trap', punomeyos 'a person groaning in her sleep'.

-owoy (passive). myo:leyowoyek? 'I was being manhandled (by a group)', nekilowoyek? 'I'm missed'.

-oy 'light, day'. Generally followed by -e+, whether as noun final or verb final. kecoy+ 'daylight' (also keci? 'it becomes daylight'), ho:gecoy+ 'star-light', kwe?loy+ 'a scorching day', kus m*/**. ** from what direction are the clouds coming?', na?amoy+ 'two days', roy+ 'direction of the wind' (?), ta?anoy+ 'it's a hot day'.

-oyet, -éyŝ 'stagnant water'. cpé:néyŝ 'it's been a long time on the water', kus cpé:néyŝ 'how deep is the water?', lé?égéyt 'dark/brackish water', léhpéyet 'saliva', mekwcé:méytkik? 'it's a slender stream of water', swoyt 'spill'.

-?oyt 'fire'. te?noyt 'it's a big fire'.

-sew 'catch, kill'. ckensewi? 'someone catches a few', meru comsewok? 'I kill five', markwsewi? 'all were killed, spanked', nahksewok? 'I kill three', tensewok? 'I catch/kill a lot', kus me tomsewo?m 'how many did you catch?'. But compare: na?awok? 'I kill two', nahksewetek? 'I get/kill three', co?onewetek? 'I get/kill four'.

-u?r/-i?r (?). ?aspeyu?r 'soup', ce?loypi?r 'something tubular/round dried out (e.g., an eel or stick)', cpeyu?r 'story', tohpu?r 'a drill'.

-w (possibly signals an indirect object). See $-i \pm k w$, $-oni \pm k w$.

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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.

- l. ewi/u:. cewipak?/cu:p?ak? 'I tidy up' (cew'straighten'), skewip?ak?/sku:p?ak? 'I put things in order'
 (skew- 'good, well').
- 2. ewo/u:. Often u: from this and other sources is recorded short, both by myself and Robins.
 myewoletek?/myu:letek?/myuletek? 'I immerse it' (myew'submerge', extended with -ol). Three variants were also recorded for mewol- 'all away' (by-forms mu:r-/mur-) and ye?wom- 'disappear' (by-forms yu:?m-/yu?m-), but only two for the common me?wom- 'whence' (by-form mu?m-). Also, only the short-vowel contraction was recorded for any of the stems ending in -Vm 'by mouth': teykelumek? 'I bite it' beside tekelewomoyek? 'I'm bitten'.
- 3. eyo/o:. sweyoksimek?/swo:ksimek? 'I have contempt for her' (-oks 'think').
- 4. \(\ell_go/o:\) ko:?repek? 'I run alone/ (k\(\ell_g-\) 'alone', -o?r 'run'). Since \(\ell_i\) is the diminutive-grade of e, one might suppose that this is really a contraction of eg-o ... but this seuqence does not contract in other cases (spego?repek? 'I race'). If it is genuine, only this item and the next (both involving k\(\ell_g-\)) show contraction of a sequence beginning in \(\ell_e\).
- 5. \(\exign gu/u:\) ku:rek? 'I swim alone' (k\(\exign g = 'alone', -ur'swim')\).
- 6. oyo/o:. slo:?repek? 'I run down the hill, (sloy-'down', -o?r 'run'), but syoyonemek? 'I push my boat down to the water' (syoy- is a by-form of sloy-, and -onem of -on 'by hand').
- 7. ye/i. mikoyo? 'the water rises, waves come in' (my-'surge', -ekoyo? 'flowing water').
 - 8. ewe/u. woloyuł//woloyeweł 'dogs bark in the distance'.
- 9. ew and w both drop before u(:) in some items. sku:?n
 'it (plant) grows well' (skew- 'well', -u:n 'grow'), knu?loge+
 'a deep place (in water)' (knew- 'long', -u?log 'depth'),
 nesku:lesek? 'I bring my load here' (neskw- 'arrive', -u:l
 'load').

- 10. w-k gives wkw in all cases. no:wkwomeyetek? 'I gather lots of material to make something' (no:w- 'gather', -ekomey-et 'put'). Note the loss of e in this environment prior to the alternation (see 13 below).
- ll. y/l. y alternates to l before the first vowel of a word in many cases, and sometimes after a later vowel. yego?/lego? 'it's twilight, the sun goes down', yé:pinek?/lohpinek? 'I strain something (a liquid)' (é: recorded for éh, with diminutive vowel symbolism from oh), syoy-/sloy- (see 6 above), ke?y-/ke?l- 'drop', keyom-/kelom- 'turn'.
- 12. In one instance, y seems to be replaced by w between o
 and i (slegowiłkepek? 'I repeatedly slide down', with iterative
 -eg-, sloy- 'down', and -Vłk 'body motion').
- 13. e drops between y or m and an obstruent. The m is generally lost in such cases, and the y often is before -es 'causative'. kecoył 'day' (kecoy- 'be daylight', -eł 'nominalizer'), wek la:yetkwelo(y)ŝok? 'I drag it along here', but léhpéyeł 'saliva' (-eł 'nominalizer'); leko:t- 'stab' (lek- 'stab', -o:m 'relational', -et 'transitive') and hu:nowo:(m)cek? 'I grow something', but leko:melek? 'I'm stabbed' and tenu:nowo:mecek? 'I plant a lot'. See 10 above for e after w.

NOTES

- l. Transcription is that used earlier (Proulx 1984:168) but printwheel limitation force substitution of £ for schwa, s for s-wedge, and? for glottal catch. Grammatical abbreviations used are: TA (transitive verb with animate object), Tl (transitive verb with inanimate object). Al (intransitive verb with animate subject), and II (instransitive verb with inanimate subject).
- 2. These short roots sometimes have Proto-Algic etymologies (the above respectively reflect *n-, *ken-, *pekw-, *pen-, *a:wal-).

Longer roots in Yurok generally seem to result from extension with now-meaningless material of obscure origin. Often these extension are absent in one or more archaic frozen forms, revealing the earlier state of affairs: $kwom(\frac{1}{2})$ - 'back',

me?w(om)- hence', pew(ol)- 'wash', wohp(ey)- 'across', and woy(k)- 'overnight' are cases in point. Productively formed iterative roots are also longer, as a result of infixing yegohp- 'in circles' beside yohp- 'in a circle') or reduplication (kekelom- 'swirl' beside kelom- '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 medials, buried deep within the structure of stems, to be lexically conservative---but Yurok medials are generally noncognate to those of Algonquian. Moreover, the semantic structure of the two sets of medials is not particularly similar.
- 5. PA also deverbalizes roots in *1- (Siebert 1975:402), but much more commonly roots in *w- or a nasal. The Wiyot pattern is similar to that of Yurok, and this is probably a shared development in the Ritwan languages postdating genetic unity. Thus, while the pattern is similar, individual stems do not necessarily agree. For example, Wiyot has likwi- 'weep' (e.g., ta likwii 'she weeps') beside Y meykwel- (see Proulx 1984 item 89 for the full Proto- Algic reconstruction). Similarly, Y 1- has evidently been added before Proto-Algic *-eck (PA *-esk) 'foot or body motion' to give Y lelk-, showing a a replacement of old medials by deverbal roots in that language.

What these examples suggest is that the initial 1-/r- of a deverbal root in Yurok is often secondary, and that cognates can be sought in stems beginning in other sonorants and in medials. (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 deverbals that lacks a counterpart in Algonquian is the infixing of a pluralizing element -eck-/-etk- after the initial consonant of the deverbal roots l-enekw- 'drift on water' and l-ol- 'fly, glide'. It is also found in Y tenetko? 'many leaves/seeds float in the air' (teno? 'there are many'). Perhaps -etk- and its diminutive-meliorative by-form originated as a deverbal root *letk- meaning 'a nonsolid medium carries things along'. This would give such forms as Y la:yetkoli?m 'they all fly by' three etymological roots: la:y- 'by', lol- 'fly', and letk-.

6. However, it seems likely that an element such as -kws wind blows' is a genuine final in Yurok, and that this

reflects the Proto-Algic pattern. If so, the addition of the abstract final PA *-en after its cognate PA *-e?1 (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 here 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 teloyucek? 'I tell thee a lie' beside teloyewek? 'I tell a lie' belong here too historically. The vowel before Y -c 'thee' is never e, but the PA cognate *-± is always preceded by *e. Thus, the medial -oyew 'speak, call' would combine with Pre-Yurok *-ec to give Y -oyuc.
- 8. Numbers in indices are follio numbers, counting title page as "1".

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