

YUROK AFFIXES

BY

T. T. WATERMAN

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INTRODUCTION

A brief notice of Yurok affixes appeared in 1911 in a paper by A. L. Kroeber on *The Languages of the Coast of California North of San Francisco Bay*.¹ The present account is an amplification of the remarks there published. It is based on text material supplied by Kroeber, together with additional notes made by myself in the field. The symbols used in writing Indian words are those employed in my *Yurok Geography*.² The alphabetic order is as follows: i, e, ä a, r (R), o, u, w, y, h, x, p, m (M), t, s, ts, n (N), l (L), k (q), g. The language does not seem to be at all simple, and, moreover, I have never made any very lengthy investigation of it. A final study of the morphology will come from other hands than mine. In the meantime certain facts concerning the structure of the language are fairly obvious, and it may be of interest to list them here, very briefly. The material may be useful in comparing Yurok with other Algonkian forms of speech.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS

INDEPENDENT FORMS

In these forms there is no distinction for number.

First person	neq, neqa'	I, we
Second person	kel, kelä'w	thou, you
Third person	kelä'	he, they

Intensive usages.—These “independent” pronouns are frequently combined with modification into the long verb complexes in which Yurok abounds. It is usually the shorter of the forms listed that are merged in the complexes. The longer of the alternative forms seem to be used for special emphasis. Within such a complex, the independent pronoun may place itself wherever the emphasis requires;

¹ Present series, ix, 414-426, 1911.

² *Ibid.*, xvi, 1920.

and may even be repeated. In these complexes intensifying expressions also are tacked on to the pronouns.

pic-neq-kwel-eq^w-kiti'-ye'go-k, *now I indeed certainly about-to go I* (as one would say in English: *one moment, please, and I will join you*).

neq-ni-mots-ho'go, *we verily ourselves did (it)*.

Reflexive usages.—The word we'skwel, *body*, is used in forming expressions which correspond logically to the reflexives of English.

o-ni'na-u-we'skwel, *indefinite-time observed-he his body, (he looked at himself)*.

Similarly ne'-wes is used for *myself* (literally: *my body*) and ke'-wes for *yourself* (*your body*).

AFFIXED FORMS

Possessive forms.—These elements have no meaning if detached from the stem.

my	n-
your	k-
his, her	w- (before vowels), u- (before consonants)
indefinite	m-

Subjective forms.—The subjective concept is expressed by either prefixes or suffixes, according to some complicated rule which I do not understand, but which apparently has to do with the nature of the stem. Certain intransitive verbs, especially, take the prefixed forms.

The prefixed elements, where they occur, correspond exactly with the possessive forms just listed. Thus he'cek, *think*, takes the forms n-e'cek, *I think*, and w-e'cek, *he thinks*. The verb *to roll over* becomes no'lkepek, *I roll myself over*, w'olkepek, *he rolls himself over*.

Subjective meanings are, in many verbs, carried by the following endings:

First person	-k
Second person	-m
Third person	-l

Thus, ske'wo-k, *like I*; ske'wol, *likes he*; ni'mi ske'wo-m hes, *not like-you, no?*

Transitive forms.—The most conspicuous feature of the Yurok pronouns, to my mind, is the occurrence of forms which express both subject and object. The schedule of these forms which I have worked out is not complete. Certain forms, which logically should exist, are not represented in my notes. The forms which have been encountered are shown in the following tabulation.

COMBINATION SUBJECTIVE-OBJECTIVE PRONOMINAL FORMS

		<u>Subject</u>			
		I	thou	he, she, it	they
Object	me	X	-pa -sipä' -sipäl -sipän	-pitc -sipä' -sipe'N	-päL -sipe'L -seik
	thee	-tsik -sitsek	X	-ye'M -seyi'M	
	him her it	-sicek -simek	-M -se'M -seme'M -sisek -sitsem	-si'M	-seik -simeL
	us	X	-seyogo	-sipäl -saiyogo	
	you	-tso -sitso'	X		
	them	-M -so -sico'			-sime'L

In addition to these there is a reciprocal form, -peyil, meaning *they each other.*

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

The most frequently used demonstrative in the language takes the form *wa'* or *wi'*, *this*. It refers to something definite, or visible. A weaker demonstrative is *ki*, *that*, which is used almost as is the English definite article. Before vowels it takes the form *ku*.

The first of these demonstratives is often followed by the element *-tu-*, when it may take on two forms: *wii'tu* or *wi'stu*. Although I have the feeling that *wii'tu* is the more emphatic of the two, both are constantly used, and seem to be interchangeable. The form *woi'tu* is said to refer to persons.

We' and *ki* often appear together, attached to the same noun. The form *yo* means *that one yonder*.

neqa'-wa'i, *I that* (our colloquial English *that's me!*)

ki-ye'gok-mel-wi', *incomplete-action go-I for that* (i.e., *I am going for that purpose*.)

Question: *Which of these is yours?* Answer: *wii't* (touching it with the finger).

neq-qwel-eq"-wii't-mel-ho'xkumek-tsik, *I indeed verily that for receive money* (i.e., *that is what I am paid for*).

wii't-kits-mel-nes, *that completed-action for come* (i.e., *that is what I came for*).

tu-nol-wi'stu-mel-ru'rawo', *so then that for he-sang*.

wis-tu-ki-yego'xku, *that-person indeed incomplete-action make-it* (i.e., *he is the one who will make it*).

tu-wo'tis-tspin-la'temel, *indeed those only travel (there)*, (speaking of a trail, traversed by dead souls).

Relative pronouns as such do not seem to exist. Relative expressions are elliptical (such as *the man he makes* instead of *one who makes*) or are introduced by an element *kus* which is also used for the interrogative. (see under *Adverbs*, below).

qwela's-ki-Tr'wr-kus-ol, *that man at-Trwr who lives*.

The phrase *which I give* is, in Yurok, *the given-thing*.

ELEMENTS PREFIXED TO THE VERB

The most nearly characteristic thing about Yurok is the formation of somewhat long and rather loose verbal complexes, consisting of a verb stem with modifying particles added. These particles or elements are placed for the most part before the verb. Those which appear thus before the verb are also the most easily analyzed. In fact, the suffixed elements have largely baffled me so far. In some cases such affixes modify the meaning of the stem in very slight degree. Certain of them are therefore translated into English only

with extraordinary difficulty. As luck would have it, these expressions with vague or generalized meaning are precisely the ones most frequently employed. It seems well therefore to give, first, a list of these "generalized" particles or affixes, with whatever explanation I am able to supply concerning their meaning.

ELEMENTS WITH GENERALIZED MEANINGS

-mi-. This element occurs apparently as part of such affixes as *olku'mi*, *ni'mi*, *nu'mi*. It also occurs by itself in some expressions. I do not know what it means.

mi-ki-kitsyu'-skewo'kseik, . . . *will all like-him*.

mo-mi-nitsyu-mel-gege'samui, *because . . . all therefore will-one-by-one-die*.

-tu-. This element occurs at or near the beginning of fifty per cent of the verbal complexes one encounters in a Yurok text. What it means I cannot say, but a great majority of definite assertions begin with it.

kus-tu-ki-me'gwa, *where, now, [is] that boy?*

tu-wii't-we'i-kits-mel-ne'skwetsok, *now that-matter hither completed-action for come-I (that is what I came here for!)*.

wii't-qwel-tu-kits-ko'm, *that indeed already completed-action know (I knew that already)*.

kits-he'gok, *completed-action go-I (I went)*.

tu-kits-he'gok, *already completed action go-I (I had gone)*.

A person suggests to another, "Let's go to Weitchpec tomorrow." The reply is, *we'ko-tu-ki-li'mo*, *right-now indeed incomplete-action go (lets go now, instead)*.

tu-kiti'-ye'gok, *well, impending-action go-I (well, I think I will start)*.

-pis-. This element is often used as a resumptive, like our English *so* in narration. The Yurok story-teller says *pis* while he is awaiting the inspiration of the muses or resting between long verb complexes. Also, a man who wishes confirmation of his statement might turn to a witness and say *pis?* (*isn't that so?*). A very large number of the verb complexes in a text which do not begin with *tu*, begin with this *pis*.

-so-. This often has much the sense of our *accordingly*. It serves to connect an idea in a definite way with what has gone before. In many cases it has been translated *because*. It is sometimes equivalent to *seeing that*.

so-kits-nimo'oq^w-we-te'gwono, *because completed-action no-longer to-him flesh (i.e., because his flesh was all gone)*.

-kwe'si-, *so; as a matter of fact*.

If someone showed a stranger into a sweat-house, an appropriate remark would be *kwe'si-rgr'ik-wi*, *so, sweat-house that (so that's what a sweat-house is like!)*

When inquiry was once made about a certain person's grandmother, the reply was *kwe'si-kits-qol-son*, *to-tell-the-truth, completed-action something she-did* (i.e., *as a matter of fact, the old lady died*).

-kwel-, indeed. The expression serves to mildly intensify an idea.

neqa'-kwel-pas, *we indeed not* (i.e., *not us!*).

tu-nol-wii't^u-qem-menetso'lek-kwel-neq, *indeed at-that-time thither also go-I yea, I myself*.

-eq^w-, verily. This particle adds somewhat greater force to an assertion.

pis-wis-eq^w-son, *now that verily [he]-did (that's exactly what he did)*.

If a person uttered a sudden startled exclamation, a companion would say *kus-son-eq^w*, *what is-it, verily?* (i.e., *what's the matter with you?*).

kolo-eq^w-skuwe'tik, *it-appears indeed that-you-find-it-good* (in the vernacular, *seems like you like it!*).

neqa'-eq^w-hogo'xkumoxki'n, *I myself make-it-from-time-to-time*.

-ni-. This particle carries the significance of *very, very much, completely, exactly*, thus emphasizing the elements with which it is associated. Thus *mo'oq^w* means *gone* or *used up*, while *ni-mo'oq^w* means *all gone* or *completely used up*. In some cases the particle is best translated by an inflection of the voice rather than by words.

qwel-eq^w-ni-two'ri-son, *verily indeed very often [thus] it-is (that's the way things go)*.

A person said to another, *where is your hat?* The reply was *ole'q^w-ni-oq^w*, *at-home indeed have-it-I*.

The elements just mentioned readily fuse or unite themselves into set combinations, each of them with very indefinite connotation. These are comparable with our compounds like *nevertheless, all-in-all*. They are very liberally used in Yurok. Some of these frequent combinations are *pi'ctu*, *qwe'leq^w*, *ni'ni*, *so'nini*. These, with the exception of *ni'ni*, are even less readily translatable than are the simple elements given above. *Ni'ni* is seemingly a duplication of the *ni* already described, with a shift in meaning. Thus, someone would say of a baby, *wi'-ni'ni-he'gok*, *thus just he-walks (he is only just beginning to walk)*; or, if asked "*where is the baby?*" would respond, *wi'-ni'ni-o-rur*, *he just indefinite-time runs (he is just running around)*."

The phrase *we'ki-tco-no're^u* means *this object is pretty*; while *we'ki-tco-ni'ni-no're^u* means *this is prettier*.

It seems unnecessary to give examples of the other combinations I have mentioned. They occur in great profusion, but are colorless.

ELEMENTS WITH SPECIFIC MEANINGS

The implication of the following elements is fairly well established. For the alphabetic order, the reader is referred to the statement at the beginning of the paper.

-em-, by going, by coming. This element also occurs in the texts in the forms äm, häm, me, and e'me.

pis-tu-em-ki-Sa''a-heno'gwane'qu, *so then by-going to-Sa''a he-brought-it (he carried it farther, to Sa''a).*

heL-tso-wii'tu-em-ki-meL-mego'xpi'n, *come, better, that-man by-traveling incomplete-action with converse (come, you had better go talk to that man).*

A person giving directions for finding a certain house said, wa'i-tso-em-ki-lä'yi'm, *this-way imperative by-going incomplete-action walk-thou.*

wistu-qem-em-lo-ni'nawo'm, *that-person also by-moving saw [it], (the next also came and looked at it).*

kits-mä-sloitso-k, *completed-action by-moving descend I (I went down).*

pic-kits-me-qo'moigo, *indeed completed-action by-going heard-we (we went and heard him).*

neq-qwel-eq-won-kits-me-co'tok, *I indeed verily above completed-action by-moving went-I (I went up above).*

e'le-, at a distance.

kyek'e'le-ne'sqwetso'L, kyek-w-petskuk, *yonder at-a-distance he-arrived, yonder up-river.*

pictu-Segwe''e'le-no'woni, *then to-Segwe'' distant they-brought-it [the Deerskin Dance].*

noL-pe'tsku-e'le-ni'nawom, *at-that-time up-river at-a-distance he-looked.*

krL-e'le-negwo'rkes, *visible from a long distance [name of a rock].*

wi'ctu-qem-e'le-nino, *that-one also at-various-places looked.*

pištu-rekwoi-e'le-nawani'-ki-upiugwe'ganil, *then to-Regua distant took that Deerskin-Dance.*

pis-wi'stu-wo'noiyek-e'le-ne'skwetsoL, *now that-one overhead at-a-distance arrived (i.e., in the Sky-country).*

pi'stu-noL-olege'L-e'le-na'woniky, *so at-that-time at-OlegeL at-a-distance he-arrived.*

-ap-, next in order; next after that.

kwe'si-wi'stu-äp-cr'Le'm, *indeed that-man next buried-himself.*

heL, kuc-o-cots äp srunoya'so, *ha! when indefinite-time he-comes-out then he-looks-around.*

äp-ni'no-umego'k'', *then he-looked-at his-dogs.*

-olku'mi-, because, of course.

olku'mi nu'mi wa'asoik, *because very poor-I.* An informant was asked, *can you employ that word in another sentence?* The answer was olku'mi, *of course.*

-o-, indefinite time.

piskä'L-o-re'qen, *in-the-ocean they-were-sitting.*

ki-o-lewo'lotsem, *incomplete-action indefinite-time you-will-get-well.*

kyek^w-o-nrgr'i-neq, *yonder indefinite time helping-out I (I am working as a hired man over there).*

pis-wi'stu-o-nrmr'i, *then he indefinite time began-to-sing.*

kits-qol-o-nepim, *completed-action something indefinite-time eat-they (they have eaten something already).*

niqo'L-o-nekrgrkr'k, *always-I-used-to-fish.*

-mo-. This element is a conditional, adding the idea that what is stated is uncertain, vague, or indefinite.

mo-ni'mi-hes-une's? *Indefinite not interrogation arrives-he? (hasn't he come yet?).*

mo-ni'mi-uqrgr'xtsprⁱ, *yet not adolescent (before [the girl] becomes adolescent).*

mo-wis-o-lego'xk, *conditional it indefinite-time make-I (I was going to make it).*

mo-wii't-kits-weno''omoksil, *indefinite it completed-action began-to-be-summer (just when summer began).*

heL-tso-wii't-mo-ki-ne'sqwetsol, *come! imperative there conditional incomplete-action arrive (you had better go thither!).*

A story refers in the following terms to a certain mythical spot: ki-kits-mä-qwe'toyo-mo-wii't-laye'm, . . . *completed-action by-going encountered-danger indefinite that-place [which]-traveled-they (that was a dangerous place, that place, wherever it was, which they went through).*

. . . mo-wii't-si-olego'xku, *would [have been] there for their-use.*

. . . mo-ki-ye'gok, *if incomplete action go-I (i.e., . . . if I go).*

tso-nu-weno''m-mo-ki-tämoil, *better please come-over if future bright (come over if the weather is bright).*

. . . mo-noL-pu'luk-kits-ro, *when at-the-time down-stream completed-action [the sun] passes (when the sun has gone down).* As explained by Kroeber, for the Yurok downstream means west.

-mo'tse-, if, when (indefinite time). This seems to be a combination of the mo, just given, with a new element.

. . . mo'tse-ki-nimi-uqrgr'xtspr *[I will be offended] if incomplete-action not observe-adolescence-rites (. . . if people do not observe the taboos).*

ki-nu'mi-pyuts-son-mo'tse-ki-hime'n-ho'o'lemel, *incomplete-action very proper be if incomplete-action around-in-back go-they (if they go around in back of me, that will be proper).*

qoL-ki-ho'xkumek-mo'tse-ki-nes, *something incomplete-action do-I, if incomplete-action arrive [you], (I will work for you when you come).*

-te'me-, -ta'mo-. This element introduces the idea of trying.

ta'mo-he'sek-qem-ni'mi-wo-komo'iyom, *I-tried to-tell-[you], but not it heard-you (I tried to tell you but you did not hear me).*

kits-ta'mo-me'rkwetso-k, *completed-action trying go-all-about I (I tried to go everywhere).*

te'me-rnr'ip, *he tried to hook it.*

wo'noi-ye-qem-kits-te'me-la'yik, *on-the-sky yonder also completed-action trying travel-I (I tried to travel up on the sky).*

kits-te'me-mä'rkwetsoL *I-have unsuccessfully everywhere-been.*

-*ta'wi-*, -*ta'wo-*, enough, completely, already.

o'lem-ta'wo, he-said, it is enough.

ta'wo-kits-tspite, enough! completed-action finish!

ta'wi-kits-so'n, already completed-action it-is (it's already done).

ta'wi-ki'-co-ma-We'itspus-ni-ye'gok, enough future accordingly not Weitchpec verily go-I (I will never go to Weitchpec again).

ta'o-kits-meL-ogo'moiyok, already completed-action for hear-I (I have heard it already).

-*si-*, contrary to fact.

tu-wii'tu-si-so-no'xsemiL, indeed that-way would-have accordingly taken-off-they (that's the way they would have taken it off). Compare with this *tu-wi'stu-no'xsemiL*, that's the way they took it off.

toq^w-si-na'xtsek, *e'peL-oq^w-ne-tsik*, . . . would pay, if had my money, (literally, my woodpecker-scalps, used for currency).

si-tme'goli, contrary-to-fact was-a-number-of-times-shot (he came near being shot, more than once).

A myth recounts that a hero was arranging matters so that people could make arrow points merely by firing at a cliff, . . . *si-meL-tmi'goli meL-ho'qtsqe^w*, would with have-shot with [an] arrow-flaker.

mo-wii't-si-olegoxku-wä'-ki-co'ktop, conditional-statement that-substance would have-been-used this the red-obsidian. Nowadays red obsidian is taboo.

wii'tu-si-son, that-would have been.

tu-wii'tu-si-sego'noxsitsi, indeed that-way were going-to-chip-it.

-*tsu*, -*tso-*. This element introduces politely imperative use of the verb, to which verb a suffixed -*m* is invariably attached. The simple imperative is the bare stem with a suffixed -*s*.

tsu-ku-re'^{it}som, let-us go paddle.

tsu-heL-ku-kune'kuk mi-yots, let-us please go pull-up my boat.

tsu-ku-e'kso'm, let-us go shut [it].

tso-Lo'xtsom, please catch [him]!

tso-nu'mi-tsyu-so'ome'kine'm, better absolutely all-around observe, (better look well all around!).

The element *tsu*, used by itself, may have the meaning of *all right* or *go ahead*.

tsuL, come now! This is an interjection rather than an affix, but its obvious relation to the form just given makes it necessary to mention it here. It is used in introducing phrases of farewell, for, like some Oriental peoples, the Yurok dismiss a caller. It is sometimes translated by the English exclamation Well! (not, however, as an exclamation of surprise, for which other words are used) or by Yes!

tsuL, *himr'qsets*, well, hurry!

tsuL, *niyi-metso/res-ta-ki-koLok-ki-nekä'p*, well, better be-departing, and future take-I my medicine.

tsuL, *ta'wi con haiktsek*, well, enough it-is, think I (well, I think it's O. K!).

-*tspi*-, alone, only.

wi'ti-tspi-we-co, *that only it is (that's my only reason).*

nek-so-ne'sek-ta'wi-kets-tspit'o *I conditional think enough completed-action alone (I think that will be all).*

tspi-wi-son, *only that-kind is (that's the only kind there is).*

uwr'Lqr-tspi-komo-o'le^w, *his-bones only all-the-time were-left.*

pis-tu-wi'tu-tspin-co'N, *well, now that all is (well, that is all).*

tspi'-koleli-ki-rgr'k, *only one the sweat-house (there is only one sweat-house).*

There is an adjective *tspi'kor*, *alone*, which obviously connects with the affix here discussed. It was used in referring, for example, to an old bachelor, keeping house by himself.

-*tspi*-, *tspä*-, *-tspa'ni*-, a long time.

tspi-we'goliksek, *she always gathered hazel.*

kits-tspa'ni-skuiyä'xpelek ho'wi, *completed-action for-a-along-time good-to-them-I (I have been good to them for a long time).*

kits-tspa'ni-opene'Lqo, *long ago they fell off (speaking of the leaves of a certain tree).*

kits-tspäni-ne'sqwetsok, *completed-action long-ago come-I.*

kits-tspä-pene'Lqo, *completed-action long-ago fell-they (they fell off last fall).*

nu'mi-tspa-eqwe'pelik, *very-much long-ago feared-I.*

to-kis-tspa'anik, *thinks it a long time to wait.*

-*nä'am*-, a long way.

ta-kwel-kits-nä'ämi-he'gok, . . . *indeed completed-action a-long-way have-gone-about-I.*

ta'kwi-kits-nä'am-no'xpena, . . . *completed action far you-have-followed-me.*

-*ni'ki*-. This affix might well have arisen as a combination of the elements *ni* and *ki*, already discussed. It seems to have the force of *all the time, continuously, or surely*.

tu-he^r-tu-qem-ki-ni'ki-sku'i-so'nini-hego'm, *declarative come-now! declarative also uture right-along good accordingly you-will-walk.*

ki-ni'ki-tsy^u co'uawo me'goxk^u, *all kinds of dogs.*

ni'ki-wi-la'i, *right-on-by he walked.*

ki-ni'ki-wo'o, *future all-the-time [here] it-will stand.*

wii't-ki-ni'ki-ne'skwetsok, *there future without-stopping I-will-arrive.*

ni'ki-ko'si-o''was, *absolutely all-over mud [he is], he is all covered with mud.*

-*nu*-, come and . . . go and . . .

we'sek-ki'ti-nu-rprgyguwr'mrq^u, *he thinks about to come to-let-me-know.*

nu-neps-kyek^w-kits-moho'xk^u, *go eat those-yonder already gathered.*

tso-nu-weno'm mo-ki-tä'anoi, *please by-coming come if future bright (come on and come, if it's good weather).*

nu-Lo^s, *go fetch [it]!*

nu-sr''simes-pa'a, *go turn-down the water (referring to an irrigating ditch with a headgate).*

kit-nu-Lo-qo'witse^w, *impending-action going to-get stick!*

kiti'-nu-qr'Lqrl, *about going to-fish (they're going fishing).*

tso-wii't-nu-nin-ku-kets-me'gwimor, *better that-one go-and look that completed-action aged (go and look at that old man).*

-*nu'mi*-, very, exactly.

nu'mi-qā-pyuts-son-ki-qe'nes, exactly ? proper is that you-arrive (you did just the right thing in coming).

An interpreter was looking for a pin that had been dropped. A woman said, *nu'mi-yo-ol*, right there it-lies!

inu'mi-kise'nu, midsummer.

kits-nu'mi-tse'li, he-became very thin.

A person inquired, *how is the sick man?* The answer was, *kits-nu'mi-mo'oq'-wene'skwi*, completed-action indeed not improved.

kwel-egw-tu-nu'mi-son, indeed verily so exactly it-was (that's the absolute truth).

ki-nu'mi-ni'nawok, future emphatically look-about I (I will look sharp).

ku-nu'mi-me'gwimor-tse'se, that very oldest dog (that oldest dog of all).

wop-qem-nu'mi-la'yik, out-in-the-water also exactly he-was-traveling (he was coming right down the middle of the river).

qwel-egw'-qem-nu'mi-ne'gwok, yes! indeed also myself see-[it]-I (I see it myself).

nu'mi-tspä'āneq, very far-it-is.

-*ki*-, incomplete-action, future-time.

This affix is too commonly used to require much illustration. That the particle is not a future merely, or essentially, the following example will show.

kito'omik-so-ki-nepek, all-kinds-of-things conditional incomplete-action eat-I.

-*ki'ki*-. This seems to me to be merely a duplicated form of the preceding. The effect of the duplication is to add the idea that the action will surely take place, or will be continuous. It may be called an emphatic future.

ki'ki-qol-we'ego'xkwik, always anything he-will customarily-succeed-at.

kwel-egw'-ki'ki-newe'skwel'al, indeed verily always my-body [it will be].

tawi-ki'ki-so-ma-We'itspus-ni-ye'gok, enough emphatic-future accordingly not *We'itspus* verily go-I (I'll never to *We'itspus* any more).

We'itspus-ki'ki-cot, to-*We'itspus* clear-through I-am-going.

i'i, neqa'-kiki-numi-ni'nawok, yes! I always right-sharp will-look-about.

kiki-wo'lemek-ol, surely are-coming-into-existence Indians.

-*kiti'*-, impending action.

kiti'-neskwetso'm, he is coming soon.

Other examples are very numerous in the examples already given.

-*kits*-, completed action.

An informant, after receiving some pay, remarked to the interpreter, *pis-wii'tu-kits-woxkwekno'xkum*, well, it completed-action to-me-he-has-given.

-*qem*-, also, again.

A person remarks that he is about to depart. A bystander says *neq-qem*, I also. *mo-ki-kwel-ko'wits-tso-qem-con'owo'm*, conditional future indeed better-not please again do-it.

-*ko'lo*, it seems that, apparently, resembling, as though.

An informant trying to describe a color, pointed to her apron and said, *ko'lo-we'i-nu'mi-son*, *apparently this exactly it-is (it looks just like this)*.

ko'lo-woi't, *apparently he [it is], (I think it's he)*.

ki-ko'lo-tmo'loi, *future apparently be-shot (he might shoot us!)*.

ko'lo-ni'mi-sku'i, *apparently not good (I do not think it looks well)*.

ko'lo-nimo'oq^w-we'lin, *it looks like is-gone his-eye*.

-*kom-*, permanent result, right along.

wi'stu-kom-son, *that-way all-the-while he-is*.

An informant said in speaking of a man who went on a crutch (having lost a leg), *wi'stu-ni-kom-so-he'go'L*, *that-way exactly forever as-a-result he walks*.

wi'stu-ni-ko'me-le'lke'N, *there exactly permanently they-abandoned [it]*.

wii't-tspi'wi-komo'o, *that only is-left (that is all that's left)*.

-*kos-*, desiderative. This element is apparently related to a stem *o'stoi*, which is used as a verb, meaning *I wish*. The form *kos* appears to be used before other verb stems in a way exactly corresponding to the affixes just listed.

kos-one'gwo'm, *I would like to see [it]*.

kos-ole'tskin, *I would like him to sleep*.

kos-oleso'n, *would that it were that way!*

A POSSIBLE INFIX

An element of very frequent occurrence is *-go-*, *-eg-*, *-ge-*, which, to all appearances, is interpolated into stems, both verbal and nominal. Its significance is clear. With verbs it means *often* or *habitually*, adding the idea of frequent or customary occurrence. Nouns with this addition take on the significance of distributives. Sometimes it has almost the effect of making nouns into plurals. I am not familiar enough with the behavior of infixes in other languages to be very sure of my ground. Possibly it is an affix, not a genuine infix; or an amplification of the nature of a reduplication or vowel budding. I have drawn up a list of examples where this apparent infix occurs, supplying wherever I can the other forms of the verb and noun for comparison.

ne'pu'i-se'gemu, *he salmon he-always-pounded up (sä'mes, pound-up)*.

tu-tso-ne'gep-qol, *that-is-how . . . always-ate anything (that is the only way he could eat anything [ne'pes, eat])*.

niqol-o-nekrgr'krk, *always indefinite-time used-to-fish-I*.

hego'ktsek, *I gambled continually (ho'ktsek, I gambled)*.

wis-o-wrgr'sprk, *he indefinite-time always-got-into-a-game (wrspr'kik, I tried to get a game)*.

onä^w-wrlkr's-ne'gep, *he-saw 'bones who-eats' [a wolf]*.

qe-megekwelä''^w, *you are always crying (qeme'qweleweyik, you are crying)*.

wii't^u-ki-ko-gego'xk^u-ki-ni'igem, *that-is where future always-make their arrow-points* (ho'xkum, *make*).

si-tme'goli, *-contrary-to-fact was-often-shot* (he came near being shot more than once [tmots, *shoot*]).

si-meL-tmi'gole meL ho'qstqe'^w, *contrary-to-fact with they-always-shot with an arrow-flaker* (they would have shot with an arrow flaker [to make arrow points]).

wii'tu-qwel-eq^w-neq-cego'nawolek, *this-way indeed verily I always-am* (son, be).

In addition, I find a considerable list of place names containing this element. These have been published in my *Yurok Geography*.³ The following are examples. An indefinitely large number could readily be supplied.

O-slego'its, *where [a trail] goes-down* (slo'itsos, *go down*), the name of a place on a river bluff.

O-kne'get, *where they get arrow points* (kne'tken, *arrow point*).

O-stse'gep, *where they land* (stsep, *to disembark*).

O-trega', *where it drips* (trahko, *to drip*).

Yots-lega'i, *boats go-over* (la'yik, *to travel*).

Rnrgr'ⁱ, *berrying-place* (nr'pr, *berry*).

O-sigi's, *fern-root-gathering-place* (si'son, *fern root*).

O-tsiguk, *where an Indian Devil always sits* (tsyu, *to sit*).

The use of this element in connection with various elements is illustrated by the following:

te'tqoL, *a gulch*, tege'tqoL, *gulches*.

kr'xtspr, *adolescent girl*, krg'r'xtsprL, *all adolescent girls*.

käämes *corpse*, o'o-kege'samui-ole'q^w-oL, *one-of those-who-die-from-time-to-time going-about they* (one of those people who die from time to time).

a'spe^w, *to drink*, ma-aga', *where no one drinks*.

nin, *to see*, o-negi'ino, *to look around*.

NOUN PREFIX

On page 198 of my *Yurok Geography*, already mentioned, a list is given of names for places beginning with o-, which evidently has the meaning of *where* The following additional examples may serve to illustrate the usage: o-lke'loL, *on the ground*, o-qr'tsrL, *on the hill*, o-qeto'xsil, *on the flat*, o-pä'äl, *on the water*, ki-oL-o-pek^w, *those people at Pekwutul*, o-pi'gis, *where they catch surf-fish*.

Very similar meanings are carried by certain locative suffixes, as will be explained below.

³ Present series, xvi, 1920.

NOUN SUFFIXES

The commonest noun-suffix is -s, which has the sense of a locative. I am unable to distinguish the difference in meaning between this suffix and the noun prefix just discussed. Another very common noun-suffix is -k. The difference in meaning between -s and -k is not clear. My feeling is that -s means *in* or *at* a place, while -k expresses motion toward a place. My feeling is that pu'leku-s ni'na would mean *downstream he looked about* (i.e., he stood at a point downstream and looked around), while pu'leku-k nin would mean *he looked in a downstream direction*. The following examples partly bear out this interpretation.

Rekwo'i-s-ol, *at-Requa he-lives*.

yonts-is-o-lemä, *boat in indefinite-time they-went*.

hepur-is-ol, *down-river at he-lives (he lives below here)*.

wo-qo-Oknu'L-s-o'loL, *ye who live at Oknu'L*.

kyek^u-s-norä'iyoraso'n, *yonder peeping*.

wo'ot-kä-Sä'äl-es-ol, *that-one . . . Sä'äl at who-lives*.

he'gwon-is-qem-tis-onegwo'm, *hill upon also . . . he-saw-[it]*.

Someone inquired, *where is Frank?* The answer was, *kyu-s iye'gon, over-there he-is*.

pis-wi'stu-wono'iyek-s . . . , then there sky-in-he-arrived. If my theory is correct, it means that *in the sky he arrived not to the sky country he came*.

metsi'-äpe'ma, fire on put-it.

yok-e'le-nes, here-motion-toward distant arrive (I got here).

not-em-si-Lke'li-k-letko'li'm, then-by-going general-statement ground into enter-they.

pis-tu-pe'tsku-k-äm-mä'wametsk, so next up-river toward by-going he-sets-out.

wogi-k-o-ne'ku, middle into indefinite-time they-put.

we'sek, heL, wono'iyek-qem-ki-co'tolek, he-thought, 'Come! sky onto also future go-I!'

The presence of some sort of an affix is suspected in the case of the following expressions containing -i-

Lke'l-i o'-Lkecek, on-the-ground I-am-lying.

we'i-q-ne'kes-sa'wa-i, here put-it, on-this-side.

. . . he's-i-mr'xqwi, . . . farther underneath.

ADVERBS AND SEPARABLE PARTICLES

The following elements differ from the elements just listed in the fact that, while they readily find place in a complex, they may also stand alone. The language makes no real distinction between adverbs and adjectives. The present list includes what may seem to be a rather heterogeneous assortment of elements.

NEGATIVES

Yurok is supplied with a variety of negatives. It seems best therefore to discuss them separately from the other elements in the present list. Briefly they are as follows:

mä, mäš
 ni'mä
 mi, mis
 ni'mi
 mos
 mo'oq^w, nothing, none
 nimo'oq^w, absolutely none
 pä, päš, no (this involves the idea of action of the will)
 pe'kus
 kowi'tso, do not . . . !

In the forms ni'mä, ni'mi, nimo'oq^w, it is possible to recognize the element ni- which has been discussed above, with the meaning *very much* or something similar. Mo'oq^w may be a combination of mo with the element -eq^w already discussed, meaning *verily*. Such a form as nimo'oq^w would, if that is true, have an intensifying element at each end. This form is certainly used as the most emphatic negative. The form kowi'tso certainly includes the "polite imperative" tso- already illustrated, the negative element apparently being ko'wi-. Concerning the use of these negatives I have little to say, except that kowi'tso is always with the imperative, and pa is the regular response which embodies a refusal. The -s which appears in the alternative form mäš, mis, is evidently comparable to the -s appearing in wistu, already commented upon.

. . . motse-ki-ma-ki-pa'ana, . . . *if incomplete-action not that water (if he does not get water).*

mas-neq-ki-qem-nu'kwanes, *not I will again come.*

nimä'-legai'ⁱ-oL, *not customarily-travels-there anyone.*

kits-mi-weye'tsak wexpega'rkes, *completed-action not stopped that-sickness.*

neyi'-mi-pyekuts-ni-co'ne'm, . . . *not proper indeed he-is (he's sort of mean).*

tu-wii'tu-meL-mi-wo''olego'xku, *indeed that for not they-make-it (that is why they do not make it).*

mis-weyo'kcimil-k'-ku-kä'polil, *not respecting that yonder herb.*

. . . motse-ki-nimi-uqrgr'xtspr, . . . *if future not menstruate-they.*

kwe'l-eq^w-nim'-ko''mtsumek, *indeed truly not know-it-I.*

mos-wi'-ki-con, *not this will be (this won't do!)*

mos-neq-ki-we'ixkok, *not I will quit.*

mos-qem-ki-wa'ⁱ-skuiyenek, motse-ki-mo'oq^w-we-nepu'iyana, *not also will this be-good, if future none this salmon.*

ta-tu-ki-mo'oq^w-wule'gai-oL, . . . *so future not exist people.*

kits-mo'oq^w-tsute'n, *it is not going to rain.*

nimo'oq^w-ko-nepek, *nothing . . . I-eat.*
 äp-nin-nimo'oq^w, *then they-saw none.*
 neqa'-kwel-päs, *we indeed not.*
 pä'äs-qwel-eq^w-nimi-qo'mtsu'm, *no! indeed, that not should-know-you (I am unwilling that you should not know).*
 tsik-peksu-skewok-sipa', *money not likes it-me.*
 peksu-tsqe'ioL, *not-sleep-he-will.*
 kowi'tso-pkwe'tsom, *do-not come out.*
 kowi'tso-meL-no'xpeup, *do-not . . . go-in*
 kowi'tso-he'si, *do-not think!*
 kowi'tso-kwe'lpe^u, *do-not fear.*
 kowi'tso-a'spem-pa'a, *do-not drink water.*

ELEMENTS EXPRESSING TOTALITY

A certain amount of apparent inconsistency and overlapping is encountered in the use of these elements. It therefore seems best to discuss them as a group.

-koi-, -ko'si-, all around, everywhere, always.

kits-koi-so'nawok, *completed-action everywhere saw-I.*
 ko'si-pega'rkes-o'leq^w, *everywhere villages they-live-in.*
 noL-ikiko'si-sapigwe'ganil, *then in-all-places he danced.*
 niki-kosi-hä'megetoL, *surely everywhere had-that-they.*
 ki'kol-We'itspus-ni-yegok, *all-the-time to-Weitchpec indeed go-I.*
 ni'kol-ne-mege'lkoiyik, *always . . . I-am-humored.*
 -kitoo'mik-kito'me^u, *everywhere, all kinds of.*
 kwel-eq^w-ki-nu'mi-mr'qwini-wi-kito'mik, *indeed surely future very . . . all-over [will be].*

-tsyu, all.

he'si-wo'xpi-tsyu-reqe'nawok, *farther toward-the-middle-of-the-stream all sat.*
 te'me-tsyu-ne'p, *he-tried everything to-eat.*
 heL-tu-ki-tsyu-ne'gwom, *come! indeed future all you-will-see.*
 tskam-tsu, *all kinds.*
 qem-ni'ki-tsyu-pu'like-ru'ri'm, *also emphatic all-these downstream went.*
 ni'ki-tsyu-wä'sräts-yontsi-le'komatil, *one-and all their-arrows boat-in put-they.*
 mi'-ki-kitsyu-skewo'ksuk, *so future all will-like-him.*
 mo-mi-ni'tsyu-meL-qege'samui, *because . . . all for-that will-one-by-one-die.*
 kwel-wii'tu-ni'tsyu-ho'xkumil, *indeed that-thing all do-they.*
 ni'ki-tsyu ole'sil-tsu, *one-and all thought-they 'Very-good.'*
 nu'mi-tsyu-kawe'iki, *everything is finished.*
 nu'mi-tsyu-hä'm-wit-ki-so'nini-ho'le'mo, *one-and all, he said, that-way future accordingly should-live.*
 tu-i'numi-tsyu-hä'k^usek, *so absolutely everything he-found.*
 ki-nu'mi-tsyu-so-qe-negepek, *that absolutely everything so you have-from-time-to-time-been-eating!*

-tse'gi-. I feel this element to be a more emphatic form of the *tsyu*, just illustrated. I should not be at all surprised if it contains

the "infixed" -g- which I have discussed. It adds the notion of a *variety of objects*.

ki-tse'gi-co'nanani-nego're^w, *those all sorts-of-things pretty-dresses*.

An informant describing a grab box said, ki-tse'gicego'-nawoni-tu-qem-ola'^w, *those emphatic-all emphatic-sorts-of-things this also he-had-assembled*.

ki-tse'igi'n-kits-co'oto'L, . . . *wherever past went-they*.

VARIOUS PARTICLES

hi-, when prefixed to certain locative elements, seems to mean a *little way, visible, or definite*.

i, e, yes.

a'wOL, tomorrow.

a'iwo, ai'iwo'oq^w, alas! This latter may contain the element -eq^w already discussed.

aiye'q^w, a'iyekwe, ah!, well! (an exclamation of surprise or longing).

re'gwonek, regwona'u, riiqan, weri'iqen, at the edge.

ote'kti, close by, beside.

we'ki, here. This probably contains the demonstrative wa'.

wo, wo'hpi, hi'wop, out in the water.

wo'xpek, out in the ocean.

won, hi'gwon, above (in the sense of elevation); wo'noi or wo'noiyek refers particularly to the sky-country. He'woni, at the beginning, seems to be based on the same element.

wo'go, in the middle.

wogik, inside.

wu, hiwu, halfway.

yä, an exclamation of surprise, used by women.

yo, yok, hiyok, there (visible).

hi, an expression of surprise, used by men.

hir, hirq, hirqus, around in back; used also in the sense of *north*, referring to the whole region, not to a point of the compass.

hes, interrogative.

he'si, farther, more (he'si-ko, farther on, he'si-pur, farther down-river, he'si-he'Lqäu, farther back).

heL, come! come now!

he'L, he'Lqu, he'Lqäu, back from the water. He'Lkik is said to mean on the opposite side of a valley; he'lkekus is said to mean *backward facing*.

pets, pe'tsik, petskus, petskuk, hipets, upstream.

pr'wr, in rear of something; used also in the sense of *south*.

poi, at the head of.

pul, pur, puluk, hipur, downstream; used also in the sense of *west*, and, because the ocean is imagined to flow northward, also in the sense of *north*.

meṚ, mrx, mr'qwi, under.

meL, for, with from. This is often used where a similar expression would not be necessary in English, and, conversely, often occupies the place of a whole phrase.

tso-wii't-meL-requ'rawo'm, *must that-one . . . sing!*

pis-wi'stu-o'les, tsul-ki-ye'gok-meL-wi', *then he thinks, "well, future go for that!"*

meL-rgr'ek, *from the sweat-house.*

meL-ki'mi-lo'gen, *from my weir.*

. . . meL-ki-ni-qāp, . . . *with that my herb.*

tu wii'ti-meL-weg^wwo'lek, *indeed that . . . its-name (indeed that with it-is-named).*

tu-wii't-meL-wa'skuwo'-ku-pi''i, *indeed that- [is] why he-likes those mussels.*

kits-meL-so'nomel, *they smelled it.*

te'gwolau, oceanward.

to'lil, crosswise.

to, hito, on this side of.

toi, tyu, toward the speaker.

sots, on top of.

tsei, on the other side.

tso'le^w, down hill.

tsme'igen, yesterday.

nə, nā'āgin, at one side.

nos, behind, following after.

noL, then.

kes, down below (referring to elevation).

ku''¹, after a while.

qo, hiqo', across a stream.

kus, interrogative (where, what, who) and relative (when).

kyu, kyek^w, yonder at a distance. The form kye' kwinqwin means *as long as*.

kye'kwinqwin-ki-soho'golimoni-ki-ol, *as long as live those people (as long as people live).*

kye'kwinqwin-ki-no''omun, *as long as it lasts.*