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# Basic Yurok



Andrew Garrett



**Survey of California and Other Indian Languages, Report 16**

Basic Yurok

## Survey of California and Other Indian Languages, Report 16

University of California, Berkeley

Series editors: Andrew Garrett and Leanne Hinton

# Basic Yurok

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Written and designed by Andrew Garrett

The Yurok words, sentences, and linguistic knowledge described in this book were contributed by Lame Billy, Orick Bob, Lowana Brantner, Domingo of Weitchpec, Frank Douglas, Aileen Figueroa, Bessie Fleischman, Fanny Flounder, Weitchpec Frank, Birdie James, Jimmie James, Mary Marshall, Glenn Moore, Sr., Violet Moore, Trinidad Pete, Minnie Reed, Florence Shaughnessy, Alice Spott, Captain Spott, Robert Spott, Susie of Weitchpec, Archie Thompson, Lucy Thompson, Georgiana Trull, Jessie Van Pelt, Billy Werk, Charlie Williams, and many other fluent speakers.

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*Pel' soo chperwerkseemek' 'ne-laayoluemeen —  
'aawokw Aileen, Archie, Georgiana, Glenn, Jimmie, Ollie.*





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Abbreviations above: HSU = Humboldt State University; PAHMA = Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology.

Original illustrations are by Annelia Hillman. Basket design illustrations are from A. L. Kroeber, *Basket designs of the Indians of northwestern California* (1905), and Lila M. O'Neale, *Yurok-Karok basket weavers* (1932).



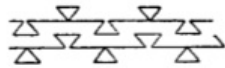
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# Abbreviations

## Grammatical abbreviations

See the Glossary (pages xix–xx) for short explanations of the following terms:

1, 2, 3	1st, 2nd, 3rd person	PL	plural
ATTR	attributive	SG	singular
COLL	collective	SUBJ	subjunctive
IMPV	imperative	VN	non-inflected verb
LIT	literally		

## Source abbreviations

All example sentences given in this book are quoted from documentation of fluent Yurok speakers. Wherever possible, the speaker, the year, and the source of the quotation are noted, using the abbreviations in Table A below and in Table B on page xviii. Details appear in the Bibliography (pages 299–300). Many sources in Table B are in archives, also described with full references in the Bibliography.

AF	Aileen Figueroa	JVP	Jessie Van Pelt
AS	Alice Spott	LB	Lowana Brantner
AT	Archie Thompson	LBy	Lame Billy
BF	Bessie Fleischman	LT	Lucy Thompson
BW	Billy Werk	MM	Mary Marshall
CS	Captain Spott	MR	Minnie Reed
DW	Domingo of Weitchpec	OB	Orick Bob
FD	Frank Douglas	RS	Robert Spott
FS	Florence Shaughnessy	SW	Susie of Weitchpec
GM	Glenn Moore, Sr.	TP	Trinidad Pete
GT	Georgiana Trull	VM	Violet Moore
JJ	Jimmie James	WF	Weitchpec Frank

Table A: Speakers cited



AG	recordings by Andrew Garrett
ALK	notes and recordings by A. L. Kroeber
AQ	recordings by Alysoun Quinby
BJ	recordings by Betty Jackson
EJW	recordings by Esther J. Wood
ES	notes by Edward Sapir
GR	notes by Gladys Reichard
HB	Howard Berman, "Supplement to Robins" (1982)
JB	recordings by Juliette Blevins
JC	notes by Jeremiah Curtin
JP	recordings by Jean Perry
LC	recordings by Leo Canez
LCC	A. L. Kroeber, "Languages of the coast of California" (1911)
LJC	recordings by Lisa J. Conathan
MRo	recordings by Margo Robbins
PJS	recordings by P. J. Shinahan
PP	notes and recordings by Paul Proulx
RHR	recordings by R. H. Robins
TTW	notes by T. T. Waterman
WB	recordings and notes by William Bright
YD	<i>Yurok dictionary</i> (undated)
YG	T. T. Waterman, "Yurok geography" (1920)
YL	R. H. Robins, <i>The Yurok language</i> (1958)
YLCB	<i>Yurok language conversation book</i> (2003)
YM	<i>Yurok myths</i> (1976)
YN	Spott & Kroeber, "Yurok narratives" (1942)
YT	Edward Sapir, "Yurok texts" (2001)

Table B: Sources cited

# Glossary

## Classical and Modern Yurok

It is sometimes good to distinguish the usage patterns of two sets of Yurok speakers at different times. The dates given below are somewhat arbitrary, since in every period of a language there are always some speakers who use an older style and others who use a newer style.

**Classical Yurok.** This term refers to the usage of Yurok speakers recorded in the first half or two thirds of the 20th century, those born before about 1900–1910. (These include Lowana Brantner, Florence Shaughnessy, Robert Spott, and many other people.)

**Modern Yurok.** This term refers to the usage of Yurok speakers recorded late in the 20th century and early in the 21st century, those born after about 1900–1910. (These include the most active teachers of the last generation.)

## Terminology

You do not need to know special terminology to speak a language. Yurok children learned their language perfectly, and elders spoke masterfully and subtly in the language, for centuries with no linguists. But linguistic terminology is helpful if you want to talk about the structure or the use of a language.

**1st, 2nd, 3rd person.** Verbs have first-, second-, and third-person forms: 1st person means that the subject is “I” or “we”; 2nd person means that the subject is “you” (singular or plural); and 3rd person means that the subject is “he”, “she”, “it”, or “they”.

**Impersonal verb.** An impersonal verb is a verb that has no subject; the usual impersonal verbs concern weather and other situations that need not involve any participants. See §2.1 on page 17. A Yurok example is *tenpewéhl* “it is raining”.

**Intransitive verb.** An intransitive verb is a verb that has a subject but no object. See §2.1 on page 17. An English example is *walk*; a Yurok example is *ro’opek’* “I run”.

**Noun.** See §2.3 on page 19.

- Object.** Some verbs have an object as well as a subject; the object is the person or thing affected or targeted by the action. In English, for example, *that rock* is the object in the sentences *I saw that rock* and *I threw that rock*.
- Plural.** A plural noun or verb refers to more than one person or thing (in the case of verbs, usually the subject but occasionally the object).
- Prefix.** A prefix is a piece of a longer word that is added to the beginning of the word, such as English *un-* in *unhappy*) or Yurok *'ne-* in *'ne-'yoch* "my boat".
- Singular.** A singular noun or verb refers to one person or thing (in the case of verbs, usually the subject but occasionally the object).
- Subject.** Almost every verb has a subject: the person or thing that does the action, or that experiences or undergoes the state expressed by the verb. In English, for example, *that rock* is the subject in the sentences *Yesterday that rock fell on my car* and *That rock was big*.
- Suffix.** A suffix is a piece of a longer word that is added to the end of the word, such as English *-ness* in *happiness* or Yurok *-ek'* in *skewokseemek'* "I like it".
- Transitive verb.** A transitive verb is a verb that requires an object and a subject. See §2.1 on page 17. An English example is *see*; a Yurok example is *newook'* "I see it".
- Verb.** See §2.1 on page 17.

## Special symbols

- † A dagger or obelisk marks phrases or sentences that are unacceptable to fluent speakers of a language; you cannot say them. For example, in English †*Man the is old* is impossible. Similarly, in Yurok, because a preverb like *'ochkaa* must precede the verb, you cannot say †*Kepoyurek' 'ochkaa*.
- \* An asterisk marks Yurok expressions that are almost certainly possible, but that do not happen to be documented in recordings of speakers.

# Acknowledgements

We would not know what we know about Yurok without the patient work of fluent speakers who never stopped teaching their language. I had the good fortune to learn from *aawokw* Aileen Figueroa, Jimmie James, Glenn Moore, Sr., Archie Thompson, and Georgiana Trull. I have also spent many hours listening to, and reading transcripts of, the voices of other Yurok speakers, including the elders of a century and longer ago; those of the mid-twentieth century, such as Lowana Brantner, Frank Douglas, Florence Shaughnessy, Alice Spott, and Robert Spott; and many others. All of them generously shared their knowledge so their language can endure with its people.

Also essential have been linguists of earlier generations who worked with fluent speakers to document Yurok, carefully studied aspects of its grammar, and published valuable analyses of its patterns. The most important of these linguists is R. H. Robins, whose book *The Yurok language* (1958) contains key observations on every page; this book makes constant use of what he learned from Florence Shaughnessy and other Yurok elders. Also invaluable is the work of Howard Berman, A. L. Kroeber, Paul Proulx, Edward Sapir, and T. T. Waterman. These scholars created a lasting analytic framework for the study of Yurok grammar.

This book is intended for members of the Yurok community — language learners and teachers — and is a direct result of their support and inspiration. Participants in the Yurok Language Institute and grammar workshops have made helpful comments and suggestions on grammar, handouts, and drafts of part of this book; they include Tammy Cairns, Leo Canez, Georgiana Gensaw, Robert R. Kinney, Kate Lowry, Skip Lowry, Chelsea Reed, Margo Robbins, Bessie Shorty, Britty Vigil, Lawrence Williams, and others. The Yurok Tribe language program staff over the years — Victoria Carlson, James Gensaw, Barbara McQuillen, Kathleen Vigil, and their colleagues and interns — are good friends and engaging teachers. Long-time Yurok language teacher Kay Inong has played an important role in creating a language curriculum that informs the choice of topics covered in this book. The Yurok Tribe language program *poy'we-son*, Carole Lewis, deserves special mention for her hard work and long-term vision in creating a program that inspires communities throughout California. Thanks also to activist, artist, and Yurok language teacher Annelia Hillman for kindly contributing original artwork to this book.

Without two friends who changed my career, I would never have worked with the Yurok language. Leanne Hinton introduced me to California language documentation and revitalization, and has offered unstinting support. Juliette Blevins introduced me to Yurok itself, persuaded me that a philologist could play a role in the community, and talked with me for years about the grammar of the language. I am forever grateful to

both of them.

My colleagues Lisa Conathan, James Martin, Line Mikkelsen, Alysoun Quinby, Ruth Rouvier, Justin Spence, and Tess Wood have greatly improved my understanding of Yurok grammar with ideas and work that have made a difference throughout this book. Many students and former students have made contributions as Yurok Language Project research assistants; they include Kyle Bashaw, Guillermo Gomez, Elizabeth Goodrich, Alejandro Granados, Anna Jurgensen, Justin Lei, Erin Lindsay, Adrienne Mamin, Rachel Maxson, Emil Minas, Hannah Pritchett, Andrew Robinett, and Susanne Stadlbauer. For extensive database and programming guidance and collaboration throughout the last decade, I am indebted to Ronald Sprouse, information technology analyst in the UC Berkeley Department of Linguistics. Thanks to Herman Leung, Kevin Ryan, and William Richard for database, linguistic, and programming help that made my work possible.

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Finally, for their patience and presence, *wokhlew Leslie, Sam, 'ese'e aawokw Sophie*.

*Andrew Garrett  
Berkeley, California*



# Preface

This book is meant to be used by Yurok language teachers and advanced learners, in support of language restoration in the Yurok community. That goal has determined the contents and style of what follows. Linguists and other scholars may find this useful as well, but should be aware that it is not an academic reference grammar. All readers should keep in mind that languages are best learned by speaking and listening; this is a supplement to the spoken language.

This is a combination, expansion, and revision of two earlier publications, *Yurok verb guide: 75 common verbs* (2009, 78 pages) and *Basic Yurok grammar* (2010, 69 pages). Those earlier books are completely superseded by this one; substantial content has been added and significant errors have been corrected.

Part I (chapters 1–10) provides information about the sounds of Yurok and about basic grammatical and vocabulary patterns. Many were identified by the Yurok Tribe for teacher certification purposes. Part II (chapters 11–25) introduces the meanings and forms of the most common Yurok verbs. Over 200 different verbs are covered, in 117 numbered sections. Because Yurok verbs tend to pack more information into them than English verbs, Yurok verbs usually have many different forms, indicating participants in the action and sometimes also relations to other verbs in the sentence. Some Yurok verbs have dozens of different forms. This makes a guide useful.

Other grammatical topics are discussed only briefly (such as some of the preverbs), or are omitted entirely (such as reflexive and reciprocal verbs, locative forms of nouns, and many sentence patterns). Advanced learners and teachers may consult R. H. Robins's 1958 book *The Yurok language: Grammar, texts, lexicon*, written in a technical style for linguists, and other linguistic publications. See the Bibliography on pages 299–300 for details.

## Contact information for errors and suggestions

If you find an error in this book, or if you have questions or suggestions, please write to me at the following address:

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**Part I**

**Basic grammar**





# Chapter 1

## The sounds of Yurok

### 1.1 Writing and pronunciation

The principle of the basic sound, which linguists call the PHONEME, underlies the writing of a language and its sound patterns. In every language, sounds can be arranged into a set of phonemes or basic sounds. Sometimes a phoneme is pronounced in only one way in a language; or a single phoneme may have two or more different pronunciations depending on its position in the word, or on nearby sounds.<sup>1</sup> In what follows, the writing system to be described is PHONEMIC in the sense that each basic Yurok sound has a unique spelling (which may consist of more than one letter, such as *ch*, *er*, or *eee*).

#### 1.1.1 Overview

Table 1.1 below and Table 1.3 on page 5 show the symbols used here to represent the 42 phonemes of Yurok: 13 vowels and 29 consonants. International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) symbols are shown in brackets.

SHORT VOWELS (AND EXAMPLES)		LONG VOWELS (AND EXAMPLES)					
<i>a</i>	[a]	<i>pa'ah</i>	"water"	<i>aa</i>	[a:]	<i>raak</i>	"creek"
<i>o</i>	[ɔ]	<i>'yoch</i>	"boat"	<i>oo</i>	[ɔ:]	<i>hoogech</i>	"star"
<i>er</i>	[ɚ]	<i>tergers</i>	"rat"	<i>err</i>	[ɚ:]	<i>k'err'</i>	"crow"
<i>ee</i>	[i]	<i>keehl</i>	"redwood"	<i>eee</i>	[i:]	<i>cheek</i>	"money"
<i>ue</i>	[u]	<i>muesmues</i>	"cow"	<i>uue</i>	[u:]	<i>puuek</i>	"deer"
<i>ur</i>	[uː]	<i>kurnkurn</i>	"nasal septum"	<i>urr</i>	[uː:]	<i>murnn</i>	"merganser"
<i>e</i>	[e] ~ [ɛ]	<i>nepuy</i>	"salmon",				(unlike other short vowels, <i>e</i>
	~ lowered [ɛ]	<i>nepek'</i>	"I eat",				has no long counterpart)
		or <i>kem</i>	"also"				

Table 1.1: Yurok vowel phonemes (with IPA in brackets)

Yurok also has combinations of short vowels plus the consonants *r*, *w*, *y* that can sound

<sup>1</sup> In English, for example, the phoneme /t/ is sometimes pronounced like an actual [t] sound, and sometimes, at the end of a word, like a glottal stop, in words like *hit* [hɪʔ].

quite distinctive (they are sometimes called DIPHTHONGS). Table 1.2 shows the combinations that are found.

	R	EXAMPLES	W	EXAMPLES	Y	EXAMPLES
	<i>a, e</i>	<i>ar</i> <i>ka'ar</i> "pet"	<i>ew</i>	<i>kelew</i> "you (plural)"	<i>ey</i>	<i>perey</i> "old woman"
	<i>o</i>	<i>or</i> <i>meweemor</i> "old man"	<i>ow</i>	<i>tee'now</i> "who?"	<i>oy</i>	<i>poy</i> "in front"
	<i>er</i>	—	<i>erw</i>	<i>nerperw</i> "meat"	<i>ery</i>	<i>nerhpery</i> "berry"
	<i>ee</i>	<i>eer</i> <i>mo'ohpeer</i> "fog"	—	—	—	—
	<i>ue</i>	<i>uer</i> <i>tege'muer</i> "snowbird"	—	—	<i>uy</i>	<i>nuenepuy</i> "food"

Table 1.2: Yurok combinations of short vowels + *r*, *w*, *y*

Table 1.2 contains combinations of independently existing sounds, but sometimes the consonant (*r*, *w*, *y*) does significantly affect the quality of the vowel, causing it to sound different from other contexts. A particularly striking case is the combination written here as *ar*, as in *harpuech* "ant", *ka'ar* "pet", *kwar* "nail", *too'mar* "friend or relation", and many other words. This does not sound at all like the sound in English *car* or *large*.<sup>1</sup> This is a combination of the *a* or *e* vowel plus the consonant *r*; because of the effect of the *r*, this vowel has a quality intermediate between the two Yurok vowels.

Gaps and other features of Table 1.2 can be explained as follows:

- The Yurok vowels *a* and *e* have a special relationship (a shared origin in linguistic pre-history).<sup>2</sup> As a result of this relationship, they have only one combination with each of *r*, *w*, *y*. In the case of *r* and *w*, the vowel can sound intermediate between *a* and *e*.
- The combinations *er* + *r*, *ee* + *w*, *ee* + *y*, and *ue* + *w* are absent because these sound sequences never occur inside a single syllable in Yurok. Likewise the vowel *ur* is never followed by *r*, *w*, or *y*.
- The combination *ue* + *y* is spelled *uy*, as in the Yurok Alphabet.
- The combination *ar* = *a/e* + *r* is spelled differently from the Yurok Alphabet spelling ("*eyr*"), as is the combination *ow* = *o* + *w* (Yurok Alphabet "*aw*"). This is because the spellings "*eyr*" and "*aw*" may be confusing; "*eyr*" may wrongly seem like a combination of *ey* and *r*, and "*aw*" may wrongly seem like a combination of *a* and *w*.

Note that some two-letter combinations (such as *ch*, *er*, *ur*) stand for a single Yurok sound, while others (such as *ey*, *or*, *ow*) stand for a combination of Yurok sounds.

### 1.1.2 Differences from the Yurok Alphabet

The spellings used here differ in three important ways from the Yurok Tribe's official Yurok Alphabet (in addition to differences in the sounds in Table 1.2). These differences are described in §§1.1.2.1–1.1.2.3 on pages 6–7.

<sup>1</sup> It is unlike any sound or sound combination in most dialects of English. Phonetically, it can be written [æɹ].

<sup>2</sup> Their relationship was explored by Juliette Blevins, "One case of contrast evolution in the Yurok vowel system" (2003; for the full reference see the Bibliography on page 299).

SPELLING	IPA	DESCRIPTION	EXAMPLE
<i>ch</i>	[tʃ] ~ [tʃ̥]	like English <i>ch</i> , or like <i>t</i> + Yurok <i>s</i>	<i>chaahl</i> "sand, beach"
<i>ch'</i>	[tʃʔ] ~ [tʃ̥ʔ]	glottalized <i>ch</i>	<i>ch'eeshah</i> "dog"
<i>k</i>	[k]	like English <i>k</i>	<i>ka'an'</i> "blanket"
<i>k'</i>	[kʔ]	glottalized <i>k</i>	<i>k'ooy'</i> "bluejay"
<i>kw</i>	[kʷ]	like English <i>qu</i> in <i>queen</i>	<i>kwar</i> "nail, peg"
<i>k'w</i>	[kʷʔ]	glottalized <i>kw</i>	<i>cheek'war</i> "chair"
<i>p</i>	[p]	like English <i>p</i>	<i>pahtuen</i> "neck"
<i>p'</i>	[pʔ]	glottalized <i>p</i>	<i>kaap'</i> "brush"
<i>t</i>	[t]	like English <i>t</i>	<i>teseer</i> "beaver"
<i>t'</i>	[tʔ]	glottalized <i>t</i>	<i>t'ohlt'ohl</i> "mud"
<i>l</i>	[l]	like English <i>l</i>	<i>lekwsee</i> "outside"
<i>l' ~ ʎ</i>	[ʎ]	glottalized <i>l</i>	<i>kel'</i> "you"
<i>m</i>	[m]	like English <i>m</i>	<i>mech</i> "fire"
<i>m' ~ 'm</i>	[ʔm]	glottalized <i>m</i>	<i>ko'moyok'</i> "I hear it"
<i>n</i>	[n]	like English <i>n</i>	<i>nek</i> "I, me"
<i>n' ~ 'n</i>	[ʔn]	glottalized <i>n</i>	<i>re'noh</i> "feather"
<i>r</i>	[ɹ]	like American English <i>r</i>	<i>raak</i> "creek"
<i>r' ~ 'r</i>	[ʔɹ]	glottalized <i>r</i>	<i>'ekar'</i> "necklace"
<i>w</i>	[w]	see §1.1.3.2	<i>wenchokws</i> "woman"
<i>w' ~ 'w</i>	[ʔw]	glottalized <i>w</i>	<i>ke'ween</i> "eel"
<i>y</i>	[j]	like English <i>y</i>	<i>yohpenee</i> "in a circle"
<i>y' ~ 'y</i>	[ʔj]	glottalized <i>y</i>	<i>we'yon</i> "teenage girl"
<i>s</i>	[ʃ]	see §1.2.1	<i>segep</i> "coyote"
<i>sh</i>	[ʃ]	like English <i>sh</i>	<i>ch'eeshah</i> "dog"
<i>hl</i>	[ʰ]	see §1.2.1	<i>'oohl</i> "(Indian) person"
<i>x</i>	[x]	see §1.2.1	<i>mer'erx</i> "gills"
<i>g</i>	[g] ~ [ɣ]	see §1.1.3.1	<i>keget</i> "mountain lion"
<i>h</i>	[h]	like English <i>h</i>	<i>heekon</i> "long ago"
<i>'</i>	[ʔ]	glottal stop	<i>to'</i> "thigh, hip"

Table 1.3: Yurok consonant phonemes (with IPA in brackets)

### 1.1.2.1 Syllable breaks

Syllable breaks are not usually shown here: *sootook'*, for example, not *soo-took'*. This has three reasons:

- Speakers must pronounce a word slowly to reveal its syllabification, but slow pronunciations by elders are only rarely documented for Yurok words; too many guesses would be needed.
- Even fluent speakers disagree on the syllabification of some words in their language. In Yurok, for example, *hesek'* may be syllabified as *he-sek'* or *hes-ek'*; *heyomues* as *he-yo-mues* or *hey-o-mues*; and *sonowok'* as *so-no-wok'* or *son-o-wok'*. There are thousands of words like this.
- Hyphens take up a lot of space in long words, and in complicated charts they can be confusing.

Hyphens may help learners but are hard to place in a consistent and systematic way.

### 1.1.2.2 The letters *i* and *u*

These two letters are not used here, though they are sometimes used in the Yurok Alphabet for reduced variants of *ee* and *o*. For example, the *o* in the word *cheenomewes* “young man” is sometimes pronounced with a reduced vowel (like the first vowel in English *about*), and might then be spelled “*cheenumewes*”. Similarly, when spoken rapidly, the preverb *keetee* may sound like English *kitty* and might then be spelled “*kitee*”. In careful speech, elders clearly pronounce these words as *cheenomewes* and *keetee*.

The reduced-vowel letters *i* and *u* are not used here because reduction depends on speech rate and style: a fluent speaker may clearly pronounce an *o* in careful speech, but in quick or casual speech it may sound like the vowel in English *about*. Variation that depends on speech rate is best ignored in a writing system.

### 1.1.2.3 The letter *e*

The letter *e* is used here for three related but distinct sounds, only one of which is identical to an English sound:

- LAX *e*. This is the vowel sound in *kem* “also”, *mehl* “because of, from”, etc. This sound is identical to the vowel sound in English *bed* and *head*.
- TENSE *e*. This is the vowel sound in the FIRST syllable of *nepuy* “salmon”, *newook'* “I see it”, *segep* “coyote”, etc. This sound is intermediate in pronunciation between lax *e* and the vowel sound of English *hate* and *bait*; for some but not all Yurok speakers it is identical to that English sound.
- OPEN *e*. This is the vowel sound in the LAST syllable of *kweget* “visit”, *segep* “coyote”, etc. This sound is intermediate in pronunciation between lax *e* and the vowel sound of English *hat* and *bat*.

In the Yurok Alphabet, tense *e* is spelled “*ey*”, and open *e* is sometimes spelled “*a*”; the Yurok Alphabet uses spellings like “*ney-puy*” “salmon” and also sometimes “*sey-gap*” “coyote”. In this book, however, a single symbol *e* is instead used for all three sounds above. This is done for several reasons. There is variation among speakers and even in

the speech of a single speaker on different occasions: a word that usually has a tense *e*, like the first vowel in *nepək* “I eat”, is sometimes pronounced with a lax *e*. This can happen in hundreds of words; it would be cumbersome to spell them all in two different ways.

In addition, the symbol *ey* is used here for the combination *e* + *y*, as in *cheykenee* “small”, which is not the same as the tense *e* in *nepuy*; and lax *e* is not the same as the *a* in *pa’ah* “water” or *raak* “creek”.

Most importantly, the three different *e* sounds are related in such a way that the pronunciation in a given word is usually predictable. When sounds have a predictable relationship in a language, they are considered variants of a phoneme (basic sound). The three variants of the Yurok phoneme *e* are distributed according to the rules in §1.1.3.3.

### 1.1.3 Pronunciation rules

Some major rules affecting the pronunciation of Yurok phonemes are described here.

#### 1.1.3.1 The phoneme *g*

The phoneme *g* has three pronunciation variants:

- It can be pronounced just like an English *g*.
- It often has a weaker articulation linguists call a FRICATIVE, with air passing between the tongue and the roof of the mouth. This may sound to English speakers like a weak vibration toward the back of the mouth.<sup>1</sup>
- At the end of a word, *g* has an extremely weak pronunciation. If you listen carefully, you will hear what may sound like a very weak vibration, but in this position *g* is almost inaudible; it may also sound like *y*.<sup>2</sup>

The last variant can be heard in *ha’aag* “rock”, *nepé’weeshneg* “otter”, *wehketeg* “fingernail”, and similar words. The first two variants can be heard in different pronunciations of most Yurok words with *g*. For example, if you listen to various speakers saying *hoogech* “star”, *keget* “mountain lion”, *kweget* “visit”, and *segep* “coyote”, you will hear examples of the first and second pronunciation variants above.

#### 1.1.3.2 The phoneme *w*

The phoneme *w* has two pronunciation variants:

- The most common Modern Yurok variant is identical to English *w*.
- A common Classical Yurok variant is a slightly stronger articulation with air passing between the tongue and the roof of the mouth and with the lips rounded. This is a combination of *w* and the weak variant of *g*.

If you listen carefully to recordings of words like *newook* “I see it”, you will hear both pronunciations.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Technically, this is a velar fricative [ɣ].

<sup>2</sup> Technically, this is a velar glide [ɥ].

<sup>3</sup> Technically, the second variant is a labialized velar fricative [ɣ<sup>w</sup>). It was often written *gw* by anthropologists and other non-Yurok people in the early twentieth century. Yurok does not have a “*gw*” combination.



Figure 1.1: Yurok language camp at 'Ohpoh, 2014

### 1.1.3.3 The phoneme *e*

The phoneme *e* has three pronunciation variants. First, if *e* is stressed in the last syllable of a word (or the only syllable of a one-syllable word), the OPEN pronunciation is used. Open *e* is intermediate between the vowels in English *head* and *had*. Open *e* is found in the final syllable of the words in (1).

- (1) Open *e*
- (a) One-syllable words: *chekws* "heart", *mech* "fire", *'yekwhl* "maggot"
  - (b) Two-syllable words with open *e* before *w* or *y*: *Chuerey* "Trinidad", *Hop'ew* "Klamath", *perey* "old woman"
  - (c) Other two-syllable words: *chewes* "hand", *keekwten* "moss", *keeshen* "summer", *pontet* "ashes"

Open *e* is sometimes spelled "*a*" by users of the Yurok Alphabet, but it is not the same as the vowel in English *had*; nor does it have the same quality as the *a* vowels in Yurok *ma* (past time preverb), *ch'eeshah* "dog", or *chaahl* "beach".

Second, if *e* is stressed in the first syllable of a word with more than one syllable, the TENSE pronunciation is used (but not before *r*). Tense *e* is intermediate between lax *e* and the vowel sound of English *hate* and *bait*; for some but not all Yurok speakers it may be identical to that English sound. In each word in (2), the first vowel is a tense *e* and the second *e* is either open (if it is in the final syllable) or lax.

- (2) Tense *e*
- (a) Repetitive verbs: *slekwslekw* “put clothes on”, *tekwtekwsook* “I cut it up”, *tektekon* “it’s sticky”
  - (b) Nouns and non-inflected verbs: *chekwchem* “black acorns”, *keget* “mountain lion”, *keychek* “tired”, *kweget* “visit”, *legech* “mudhen”, *segep* “coyote”

Tense *e* is spelled “*ey*” in the Yurok Alphabet, but is not the same sound as the combination of *e* plus *y*. That combination occurs in words like *cheykenee* “small”, and is also spelled “*ey*” in the Yurok Alphabet.

Third, in all other contexts (wherever open and tense *e* are not used), the LAX pronunciation is used. Lax *e* is the same as the vowel sound of English *head*.

Open and tense *e* only occur in stressed syllables and only in adverbs, interjections, nouns, pronouns, and verbs — not in the various PARTICLE word classes (see §2.6). Otherwise, there are very few exceptions to the rules above; one common exception is *hesek*, whose first syllable has a lax vowel rather than the tense vowel.

The relationships among the variant pronunciations of *e* can clearly be seen when the same vowel, in a related word, undergoes a change because its word position has changed. Several such examples are in (3–6). In each case, the first word has a tense *e* that becomes open *e* in the related second word. For example, in each verb pair in (3), the first form is a 1 SG verb with tense *e* in the initial syllable and the second form is the corresponding 3 SG verb with an open *e*.

- (3) Tense *e* → Open *e*: Verb pairs
- (a) *chkeyek* “I sleep” → *chkey* “s/he sleeps”
  - (b) *nekek* “I put it” → *nek* “s/he puts it”
  - (c) *nepek* “I eat” → *nep* “s/he eats”

In each noun pair in (4), the first form is a full noun with tense *e* in the initial syllable and the second form is the corresponding short form with an open *e* (on short forms see §3.4 beginning on page 27).

- (4) Tense *e* → Open *e*: Noun pairs
- (a) *lewet* “net” → *'ne-lew* “my net”
  - (b) *'leptoyhl* “hair” → *'ne-'lep* “my hair”
  - (c) *pekcheech* “rope” → *'ue-pek* “his or her rope”
  - (d) *'ne-k'ep'ch'em* → *'ne-k'ep* “my daughter-in-law”

In each word pair in (5), the first word is a longer noun or verb with tense *e* in the initial syllable and the second form is an iterative with an open *e* (on iteratives see §6.6 beginning on page 59).

- (5) Tense *e* → Open *e*: Iteratives
- (a) *meskwoh* “medicine” → *mege*s “doctor”
  - (b) *sepolah* “prairie” → *segep* “coyote” (“goes on the prairies”)
  - (c) *tetolo'hl* → *teget* “cry”

Finally, in the miscellaneous related word pairs in (6), the first example in each case has tense *e* in an initial syllable and the second example has open *e* in a final syllable.



- (6) Tense *e* → Open *e*: Miscellaneous word pairs  
 (a) *pechue* → *hepech* “upriver”  
 (b) *lekwsee* → *lekws* “outside”

Compare also the suffix *-etew-* “hand, finger”, whose second vowel is open *e* in *pletew* “thumb” and *sketew* “little finger”, but lax *e* in the longer words in (7).

- (7) (a) *Nue pe’wetewes!*  
 “Go wash your hands.” GT 2003 (YLCB)  
 (b) *Cho’ ko mewoletewe’m!*  
 “Wash your hands!” FS 1980 (PP)

#### 1.1.3.4 Prefix and suffix *er* and *err*

Prefixes and suffixes added to words with the vowels *er* and *err* tend to be influenced by those vowels. The affected prefixes include possessive *’ne-* “my, our”, *k’e-* “your”, and *’we-* “his, her, its, their” (discussed in §3.2); the affected suffixes include endings like 1st person *-ek’*, 2nd person *-om’*, etc.

When a prefix or suffix containing *a*, *o*, or *e* is added to a word that has *er* or *err* in it, then *a*, *o*, or *e* tend to change to *er*; the long vowels *aa* and *oo* likewise tend to change to long *err*. (Usually this does not have any effect on *ee* or *ue*.) Examples are given in (8) for the prefixes *’ne-* and *’ke-*, and in (9) for the suffixes *-ek’* and *-oom’*.

- (8) The change to *er* in prefixes  
 (a) *Keech pegerk kue ’ner-merm.*  
 “My son is already a man.” YL 1951  
 (b) *Cho’ chyuep’ery k’er-wer’yers we-’lep!*  
 “Comb your girl’s hair!” FS 1951 (RHR)
- (9) The change to *er* in suffixes  
 (a) *Cheekor’ serrhlerperk’.*  
 “I am doing everything.” GT 2003 (YLCB)  
 (b) *Kel’ kee nergerykerrm’.*  
 “You will help.” FS 1951 (YL)

These changes are more likely in conversational speech or story-telling at a fluid pace, and less likely in slower speech or when a speaker is pronouncing words carefully.

#### 1.1.3.5 Rules affecting preverb–verb combinations

The consonant at the beginning of a verb is sometimes affected by the vowel of an immediately preceding preverb. This always depends on speech rate; it is more likely in more conversational or fluid speech. There are two relevant rules.

One rule applies to *h* at the beginning of a verb. Whenever *h* is immediately preceded by a preverb ending in a vowel, then *h* changes to another consonant. If the vowel is *ee*, then *h* changes to *y*; after any other vowel, it changes to *g*.<sup>1</sup> In the examples in (10), the

<sup>1</sup> In older stories, *h* often changes to *l*. This pattern was described by Juliette Blevins and Andrew Garrett, “The rise and fall of *l*-sandhi in California Algic” (2007; for the full reference see the Bibliography on page 299).

words beginning with *g* are basically *hoh* “make”, *hookwch* “s/he gambled”, and *hak’ws* “s/he laughed”.

- (10) The change *h* → *g*
- (a) *Keech ho goh per’erk.*  
“I made dried mussels.” FS 1980 (PP)
- (b) *Kue ’o’rowee’ kem ’o gookwch’.*  
“The dove too was gambling.” FS 1951 (YL)
- (c) *Yo’ ho gak’ws.*  
“He laughed.” YL 1951

In (11), the *h* of *hem* “s/he said” becomes *g* and the *h* of *hegook* “I go” becomes *y*.

- (11) *Kwesee ’o gem’, Chyuue’, tue’ kee yegook’.*  
“So he said, ‘Well, I will go.’” FS 1951 (YL)

The second rule applies to *s* at the beginning of a verb. Whenever *s* is immediately preceded by a preverb ending in *ee*, then it is pronounced as *sh*. For example, as in (12), when the word *son* “it is (thus)” or *sonowok* “I do (thus)” is preceded by *keetee* or *kee*, it is pronounced with word-initial *sh*.

- (12) The change *s* → *sh*
- (a) *Wey’ keetee shon’.*  
“This is going to happen.” FS 1980 (PP)
- (b) *Pee’eeh kem kee nuemee shonkee’.*  
“Mussels should be treated in the same way.” FS 1951 (YL)
- (c) *To’ wee kee shonowok’.*  
“This is what you will do.” RS 1933 (PJS)

### 1.1.4 Twentieth century pronunciation changes

All languages change all the time. During the last hundred years, Yurok has changed in several ways. If you listen to old recordings or read old transcriptions (or publications), you may encounter pronunciations that are less common today. The following are some of the most notable Modern Yurok pronunciation changes:

- The variant of the *g* phoneme that sounds like English *g* has become more common (§1.1.3.1).
- The variant of the *w* phoneme that sounds like English *w* has become more common (§1.1.3.2).
- The tense variant of the *e* phoneme more often has the quality of the vowel of English *bait* (§1.1.3.3).
- Some unstressed vowels are likelier to have the neutral quality of the first vowel in English *about*.

These changes reflect a process called ACCOMMODATION, in this case between Yurok and English; this is a process that happens when people who are bilingual unconsciously adapt their speech to the speech of other people they talk with. Accommodation is a sign of linguistic adaptability and strength, a process that happens in all healthy languages all the time; speakers of Modern Yurok are as fluent as any earlier generations of speakers.

## 1.2 Major differences between English and Yurok

When you learn a second language as an adult, your first language always influences your new language. For example, usually you have an accent in your second language; you do not sound like somebody who grew up speaking that language. To reduce your accent and what you carry over from your first language, it can be helpful to focus on major differences between the two languages.

Six major differences between English and Yurok are described here; if you pay attention to these differences, your Yurok may sound less English-influenced. You can hear recordings of most words below on the Yurok Language Project website ([linguistics.berkeley.edu/~yurok](http://linguistics.berkeley.edu/~yurok)).

### 1.2.1 Consonants and vowels not found in English

Most obviously, two Yurok consonants are unlike anything heard in English: *hl* and *x*. To articulate *hl*, hold your tongue in the position for *l* but then try to say *h*; it is likely that you will say *hl*. To articulate *x*, hold your tongue in the position for *k*, then start to say *k* but relax your tongue somewhat so that air passes between your tongue and the roof of your mouth. In Yurok, *hl* is common while *x* is rare.

There are also a pair of Yurok vowels that are unlike anything in English: *ur* and *urr*. Like the consonant *x*, they are very rare, found only in a few words, such as *murn* “merganser”. They sound like an *ue* sound (or long *uue* sound) that is pronounced simultaneously with an *er* sound.

Other Yurok consonants and vowels may be identical to English sounds, or they may be similar but not fully identical to English sounds. For example, the Yurok *s* resembles English *s*, but because the tongue is positioned somewhat differently it has a rather different sound. You should listen carefully to elder speakers or recordings of elders, to make sure you are articulating each sound as closely as possible to the way it is pronounced by fluent first-language speakers.

### 1.2.2 Glottalized stops

Unlike English, Yurok has glottalized stops: *p'*, *t'*, *ch'*, *k'*, and *k'w*. They are sometimes hard to hear, especially at the end of a word, but they can be very important. For example, first-person singular verb forms (meaning “I” did it) usually end in *-k'*, and for many verbs glottalization also expresses the third-person singular. Examples are in Table 1.4.

PLAIN STOPS	GLOTTALIZED STOPS
<i>Chuelue nee nep</i> “wild parsley”	<i>nep'</i> “s/he eats”
<i>segep</i> “coyote”	<i>cheeshep'</i> “flower”
<i>nek</i> “I, me”	<i>nek'</i> “s/he puts it”
<i>keychek</i> “tired”	<i>'ohchek'</i> “I give (food) to you”
<i>sraat</i> “scrub jay”	<i>se'raat'</i> “s/he shaves wood”
<i>seryerkert</i> “robin”	<i>sermert'</i> “s/he killed her/him”

Table 1.4: Glottalized and non-glottalized consonant pairs

### 1.2.3 Long vowels

The term LONG VOWEL refers to a vowel sound that lasts twice as long as an ordinary vowel. English has no long vowel phonemes (vowels that are always twice as long as other vowels). The Yurok long vowels *aa*, *oo*, *err*, *eee*, and *uue* correspond to the short vowels *a*, *o*, *er*, *ee*, and *ue*. Make sure to draw them out; they should last fully twice as long as short vowels, and about as long as a short vowel plus *h*. Some very common words with long vowels are listed in (13).<sup>1</sup>

- (13) Common words with long vowels
- (a) Long *aa*: *chmeyaaan* "yesterday", *ha'aag* "rock", *'ochkaa* (preverb), *paa'* "no", *wehlowaa* "ten"
  - (b) Long *oo*: *hlook'* "I take", *noohl* "then", *'oohl* "person", *'ook'* "I am", *roo* "time", *sootook'* "I go"
  - (c) Long *err*: *'er'gerrch* "sweathouse", *serrhlerperk'* "I do", *'errwerh* "grass", *k'err'* "crow"
  - (d) Long *eee*: *cheek* "money", *neee'nowok'* "I watch it", *rek'eeen* "sit" (collective), *we'eeet* "this"
  - (e) Long *uue*: *chyuuue'* "good-bye", *chyuuuekwenek'* "I sit", *huuek(soh)* "child(ren)", *nuuem'* "arrive" (collective)

The examples in Table 1.5 contrast the corresponding short and long vowels in words that are generally similar.

SHORT VOWEL		LONG VOWEL	
<i>a</i>	<i>hak'ws</i> "s/he laughs" <i>ma</i> (past time preverb)	<i>aa</i>	<i>chaahl</i> "sand" <i>chpegaa</i> "cormorant"
<i>o</i>	<i>so</i> "toward" <i>komchuemek'</i> "I know it"	<i>oo</i>	<i>soo</i> "thus" <i>myootek'</i> "I put it on"
<i>er</i>	<i>'wer'errgerch</i> <i>'ne-merm</i> "my son"	<i>err</i>	<i>kerrcherh</i> "mountain ridge" <i>kerrmeek'</i> "nine"
<i>ee</i>	<i>kohchee</i> "once" <i>ch'eesah</i> "dog" <i>heekon</i> "formerly"	<i>eee</i>	<i>spegeee</i> "hawk" <i>cheeshap'</i> "flower" <i>reeek'ew</i> "shore"
<i>ue</i>	<i>kuechos</i> "grandmother" <i>muenchey</i> "white" <i>wohpuek</i> "into the water"	<i>uue</i>	<i>muueweemor</i> "old men" <i>puuenomaap'</i> "dogwood" <i>puuek</i> "deer"

Table 1.5: Short and long vowel pairs

### 1.2.4 The vowels *a* and *o*

Unlike many varieties of US English, Yurok distinguishes between two vowels *a* and *o*, or long *aa* and *oo*. Whereas the vowels of *cot* and *caught* are often confused or pronounced the same (in California English), in Yurok the vowels of words like *pa'ah* "water"

<sup>1</sup> The rare long vowel *uur* is omitted. The other five long vowels are included in (13) and Table 1.5.

and *po'oh* "scar" are never confused. Note also that Yurok *o* is rounder than the vowel in *caught*: it is not precisely the same as any American English vowel.

### 1.2.5 Glottal stop (') and *h* after vowels

Yurok has *h* and glottal stop (') after vowels and at the ends of words; English does not. The sounds of vowel + *h* and vowel + ' also differ from the sound of a pure long vowel; examples are in Table 1.5 and (13) above. The difference between vowel + *h* and vowel + ' can be heard clearly by comparing the words in Table 1.6.

	VOWEL + <i>H</i>	VOWEL + GLOTTAL STOP (')
<i>a</i>	<i>chahchew</i> "difficult" <i>ch'eeshah</i> "dog"	<i>ha'p'ehl</i> "forget" <i>hekwsa'</i> "whale"
<i>o</i>	<i>sohchee</i> "on top" <i>pohsey'</i> "madrone berries"	<i>re'go'</i> "maidenhair fern" <i>ko'ses</i> "crab"
<i>er</i>	<i>herk'werh</i> "rabbit" <i>nerhpery</i> "berry"	<i>chperger'</i> "razor clam" <i>mer'p'erhl</i> "pubic hair"
<i>ee</i>	<i>pee'eeh</i> "mussel"	<i>che'lee'</i> "it's dried"
<i>ue</i>	<i>hue'ueh</i> "nut" <i>merueh</i> "five"	<i>hohkue'</i> "it's built" <i>pemue'</i> "it's cooked"

Table 1.6: Glottal stop (') and *h* after vowels

### 1.2.6 Word-final *kw*

Unlike English, Yurok has *kw* at the ends of words. Examples are in Table 1.7 on page 15, with words ending in *k* for comparison. It can be hard to hear the difference between word-final *k* and *kw*.

## 1.3 Stress patterns

Yurok words can have very different stress patterns from English words. To understand these patterns, three types of syllables can be defined with examples as follows:

- **CLOSED SYLLABLE.** This has a vowel followed by more than one consonant. For example, the first syllable of *hohkuemek'* "I make" is closed because it has a short vowel *o* followed by two consonants *h* + *k*. (They are not both in the closed syllable: *h* is in the word's first syllable and *k* is in the second syllable; the point is that *o* is followed by two consonants.)
- **HEAVY SYLLABLE.** This is closed or has a long vowel. (In other words, all closed syllables are also heavy.) For example, the first syllable of *plerrserk'* "I talk loudly" is heavy because it has a long vowel *err*.
- **LIGHT SYLLABLE.** This is any syllable that is not heavy. For example, the first syllable of *nepuy* "salmon" is light because it has a short vowel *e* followed by a single consonant *p*; the second syllable of *hohkuemek'* is light because it has a short vowel *ue* followed by a single *m*.

<i>kw</i>	<i>'aawokw</i>	"alas!"	<i>megokw</i>	"dog"
	<i>'elekw</i>	"I don't know"	<i>cherkw</i>	"jump center"
	<i>che'mekw</i>	"a little bit"	<i>puelekw</i>	"downriver"
	<i>kwegokw</i>	"raven"	<i>sraakw</i>	"ring"
<i>k</i>	<i>cheeek</i>	"money"	<i>huuek</i>	"child"
	<i>chmuuek</i>	"bobcat"	<i>kelok</i>	"goose"
	<i>hehlkeek</i>	"inland"	<i>skewok</i>	"like, want"

Table 1.7: Word-final *kw* and *k*

Given these definitions, two stress patterns explain stress in many (though not all) Yurok words.

First, in Yurok a vowel in a heavy syllable is ALWAYS stressed. You should always stress long vowels, and you should always stress vowels that are followed by more than one consonant. Examples of stressed long vowels are given in (14); hyphens divide syllables, and stressed syllables are in boldface.

- (14) Words with stressed long vowels
- (a) **chee**-shep' "flower"
  - (b) **hoo**-gech' "star"
  - (c) 'wer-'**err**-gerch "alder"

Examples of stressed vowels followed by consonant groups are in Table 1.8 on page 16. Hyphens again divide syllables, and stressed syllables are in boldface.

Second, a vowel in the syllable AFTER a closed syllable is always stressed. In other words, the syllables before and after a consonant cluster are both stressed. Examples are also seen in Table 1.8.<sup>1</sup> This pattern is striking from the point of view of English, which avoids stress on adjoining syllables; avoidance of stress on adjacent syllables is partly responsible for a sense among elders that some learners speak "too fast".

The two patterns just mentioned are summarized in (15).

- (15) Two Yurok stress rules
- (a) Always stress a heavy syllable: **hoo**-gech' "star", **chey**-ke-nee "little".
  - (b) Always stress the syllable after a closed syllable: **chey**-ke-nee "little", **hoh**-kue-mek' "I make it".

If possible, it is helpful to listen to recordings of elders saying these words. Practicing stress patterns may be the single most effective thing a learner can do to "sound Yurok".

<sup>1</sup> The second syllable of *hlker'merkerhlkeenek* "I tie a knot" is not stressed, though it follows a heavy syllable; this appears to contradict the pattern. The reason for this exception is that this Yurok stress pattern never affects a single light syllable SURROUNDED by two heavy syllables; such syllables are not stressed.

TWO-SYLLABLE WORDS			
<i>chah-chew</i>	"difficult"	<i>pon-tet</i>	"ashes"
<i>keekw-ten</i>	"moss"	<i>wen-chokus</i>	"woman"
<i>Koh-pey</i>	"Crescent City"		
THREE-SYLLABLE WORDS			
<i>chey-ke-nee</i>	"little"	<i>kwom-hle-chok'w</i>	"s/he returns"
<i>hoh-kue-mek'</i>	"I make it"	<i>'oh-pue-mek'</i>	"I feed him"
<i>kep-che-neesh</i>	"fawn"	<i>tek-tek-ehl</i>	"(sturgeon) glue"
<i>kom-chue-mek'</i>	"I know it"	<i>t'ohl-t'o-leehl</i>	"swampy"
FOUR-SYLLABLE WORDS			
<i>che-gey-ke-nee</i>	"little ones"	<i>ske-wok-see-mek'</i>	"I like it"
<i>che-yoh-pee-nek'</i>	"I hide it"	<i>tey-ke-lue-mek'</i>	"I bite it"
<i>me-wah-se-goh</i>	"boys"	<i>ye-goh-pe-chok'w</i>	"s/he goes around"
<i>re-go'-p'ee-nes</i>	"fill it up"		around in circles"
FIVE-SYLLABLE WORDS			
<i>hee-moo-re-yo-wos</i>	"hurry up!"	<i>hlker'-mer-kerhl-kee-nek'</i>	"I tie a knot"

Table 1.8: Stressed vowels after closed syllables

# Chapter 2

## Word classes

In any language, words can be grouped into various **CLASSES**, which are defined partly by their meaning and partly by how they are used in sentences. It is useful to identify the word classes of a language because then you can make general statements about them, such as “Yurok nouns do not usually change according to whether they are singular or plural” and “Yurok preverbs are positioned before the verb”.

Though there are many similarities across languages, word classes do differ from language to language. For example, English has a class of **ADJECTIVES**; Yurok does not. In Yurok, the meanings that are expressed by English adjectives are instead expressed by the class of verbs. Likewise, English has no class of **PREVERBS** despite the importance of this word class in Yurok grammar. English also lacks **NON-INFLECTED VERBS**.

Every Yurok word belongs to one of the ten word classes below.

### 2.1 Verbs

Verbs in the broad sense actually consist of two distinct word classes.

A **VERB** (in the narrow sense) is a kind of word that changes its form depending on its subject (and possibly its object), and that prototypically expresses an activity or state. English verbs include *know*, *run*, *sing*. A Yurok verb that changes form is illustrated by the following selection of forms:

- *komchuemek* “I know it”
- *komchuem* “he or she knows it”
- *komchuechek* “I know you”
- *komchuepa* “you know me”
- *komchuesek* “I know her or him”

A **NON-INFLECTED VERB** is a kind of verb (in the broad sense) that does not change form; it is not “inflected” according to the subject. For example, without changing form, the Yurok non-inflected verb *skewok* “like, want” can be used in expressions like *nek skewok* “I want”, *kel' skewok* “you want”, or *yo' skewok* “he or she wants”. For more information see §5.2.





**Figure 2.1:** Florence Shaughnessy in 1988. Mrs. Shaughnessy was dedicated to Yurok language revitalization for over three decades; she may have made more recordings of the language than any other person. Photo by Jean Perry.

Both inflected and non-inflected verbs can be classified according to TRANSITIVITY, which refers to the number of obligatory participants implied by their meaning. The options can be summarized as follows.

- An INTRANSITIVE verb has a subject but no object. Yurok examples are *kepoyurek'* "I swim" and *knewolepek'* "I am tall".
- A TRANSITIVE verb has a subject and an object. Yurok examples are *ko'moyok'* "I hear it" and *nooluemek'* "I love her or him".
- A DITRANSITIVE verb has a subject and two objects. These verbs usually refer to giving or transfer, where one object is the thing given and the other is the recipient (the person to whom it is given). A Yurok example is *nahchek'* "I give it to her or him".
- An IMPERSONAL verb has no subject or object. These verbs usually refer to the weather or similar situations. A Yurok example is *rook'ws* "it's windy".

For more information about Yurok verbs see chapters 5–6 and 11–25.

## 2.2 Adverbs

An adverb is a kind of word that modifies a verb by indicating the time, place, or direction of an action (among various other notions). Examples include *owook* "tomorrow", *lekwisee* "outside", and *pueleek* "downriver". The use of adverbs is not much discussed in this book.

## 2.3 Nouns

A noun is a kind of word that can be the subject or object of a verb, or the object of a preposition; nouns typically refer to people, places, things, events, substances, or qualities. English nouns include *boy*, *creek*, *boat*, *water*, and *happiness*; Yurok nouns include *mewah* "young boy", *raak* "creek", and *yoch* "boat". (Abstract concepts tend to be expressed as verbs in Yurok, not nouns.) For more information about Yurok nouns see chapter 3.

## 2.4 Pronouns

A pronoun is a kind of word that stands in place of a noun. It may be the subject or object of a verb, for example, but its reference may differ from sentence to sentence, depending on context. English pronouns include words like *me*, *that*, and *what*. Yurok pronouns are of three types:

- PERSONAL PRONOUNS refer to "I", "you", "me", etc.: *nek*, *kel'*, *nekah*, *kelew*, etc.
- DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS refer to a third person, that is, "s/he", "that one", "them", etc.: *yo'*, *wee'eeet*, etc.
- QUESTION (OR INTERROGATIVE) PRONOUNS include words like *kues* "how?", *tee'now* "who?", *tee'neeshoo* "what?", and other words in forming content questions (§9.3.2).

For some additional information about Yurok personal and demonstrative pronouns see chapter 4; question pronouns are discussed in §9.3.

## 2.5 Interjections

Interjections are words used as exclamations (like *ouch!*), or in greetings (*hey!*) or other social interactions (*thanks*). They mostly constitute sentences on their own, and do not combine grammatically with other words. Yurok interjections include *'elekw* “I don’t know”, *'ohlkuem* “of course”, and *'egaa* “ouch”, among many others.

## 2.6 Particles

The term PARTICLE refers to a set of five different word classes which share two features: all of them have relatively few words, ranging from only two articles to a few dozen preverbs; and in all cases they cannot be used on their own to form utterances. Particles occur only with other words. For example, since you can answer a question with just an adverb, an adverb is not a particle: if someone asks where you’re going, you can just answer *lekwsee* “outside”. A noun is not a particle because if someone asks what you want to eat, you can say *nepuy* “salmon” by itself. But you cannot say words like *keetee*, *'ochkaa*, *k'ee*, or *kwelekw* on their own without being part of a larger phrase or sentence. The five Yurok word classes that can be regarded as particles are detailed in §§2.6.1–2.6.5.

### 2.6.1 Articles

An article is a little word (like English *a* and *the*) that occurs with a noun. Yurok has two articles: *kue*, which can mean either “the” or “that”; and *k'ee*, which means “this”. For more information about Yurok articles see chapter 4.

### 2.6.2 Conjunctions

A conjunction is a word that is used to combine words, phrases, or sentences. In English, common conjunctions include *and* and *but*. Yurok conjunctions include *'esee* (or *'emsee*) “and”, *mee'* “because”, *mo(cho)* “if”, and others.

### 2.6.3 Discourse particles

The term discourse particle refers to the class of words that includes *hes*, *kem* “also, even”, *kwelekw*, *to'*, and *tue'*. Most Yurok discourse particles tend to occur near the beginnings of sentences, and while a few have uses that are easy to describe (for example see §9.3.1 on the question particle *hes*), many have very elusive meanings and will not be discussed here.

### 2.6.4 Prepositions

A preposition is a word that is used together with (and preceding) a noun to indicate how the noun relates to the meaning of the sentence as a whole. English examples include

for and with; Yurok examples include *ho* “to” and *mehl* “because of, for, with”.

### 2.6.5 Preverbs

A preverb is a kind of Yurok word that is short (one or two syllables) and ordinarily occurs before the verb, expressing meanings having to do with time, place, and direction (among various other notions). The meanings expressed by preverbs are broadly similar to those expressed by adverbs, but adverbs can have much more specific meanings (like “tomorrow” or “over there”) and adverbs can occupy various positions in the sentence. Typical Yurok preverbs include *ho* (referring to past time), *keech* (referring to past and present time), and *nue* (referring to motion that takes place together with the verbal action). Some of the most common Yurok preverbs are listed here:

- Circumstance, manner, and relation: *'eekee, keekee, mehl, neekee, neenee noo, see, soo*
- Direction and location: *'ee, nee, 'o, so*
- Directed motion: *nue*
- Negation: *'eemee, mee, neemee*
- Time: *kee, keech, keet, keetee, keetue, kue, ma, 'ochkaa, wo*

See chapter 7 for information about preverbs of time, and chapter 8 for information about preverbs of negation (§8.2), directed motion (§8.3), and other meanings (§8.4).



# Chapter 3

## Nouns

This chapter will describe changes in PLURAL nouns, referring to “more than one” (§3.1); the prefixes that mean “my”, “your”, etc. (§§3.2–3.3); and SHORT FORMS of nouns (§3.4).

### 3.1 Plural nouns

Usually nouns have no separate plural forms, but can refer to one or more than one. For example, *wenchokws* can mean “woman” or “women”. But a few nouns do have distinct plurals. As seen in Table 3.1, these are mostly words for people.

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
PEOPLE	<i>meweemor</i>	“old man”	<i>muuweemor</i>	“old men”
	<i>perey</i>	“old woman”	<i>pegerey</i>	“old women”
	<i>mewah</i>	“boy”	<i>mewahsegoh</i>	“boys”
	<i>we’yon</i>	“young woman”	<i>we’yono’</i>	“young women”
	<i>wer’yers</i>	“girl”	<i>wer’yernerk</i>	“girls”
	<i>huuek</i>	“child”	<i>huueksoh</i>	“children”
	<i>’ne-k’ep’ew</i>	“my grandchild”	<i>’ne-k’ep’eworoh</i>	“my grandchildren”
	<i>’ne-me’y</i>	“my daughter”	<i>’ne-me’y’or</i>	“my daughters”
OTHER	<i>sepolah</i>	“prairie”	<i>segepolah</i>	“prairies”
	<i>knuuue</i>	“hawk”	<i>knuuuewerehl</i>	“hawks”

Table 3.1: Nouns with special plural forms

### 3.2 Possessed nouns

To express possession of nouns, Yurok has a set of PREFIXES that can be attached to the beginning of a noun. These prefixes do not have separate singular vs. plural forms:

- 1st person *’ne-* “my, our”
- 2nd person *k’e-* “your” (singular or plural)
- 3rd person *’we-* ~ *’ue-* “her, his, its, their”

	<i>smohtar</i> "bow"	<i>'yohlkoych</i> "(fire)wood"	<i>pahtuen</i> "neck"
"my, our . . ."	<i>'ne-smohtar</i>	<i>'ne-'yohlkoych</i>	<i>'ne-pahtuen</i>
"your . . ."	<i>k'e-smohtar</i>	<i>k'e-'yohlkoych</i>	<i>k'e-pahtuen</i>
"her, his, its, their . . ."	<i>'we-smohtar</i>	<i>'we-'yohlkoych</i>	<i>'ue-pahtuen</i>

Table 3.2: Nouns with possessive prefixes

A few examples of prefixes are given in Table 3.2. These prefixes are also used to construct longer expressions like those in (16).

- (16) Expressions with possessive prefixes
- nek 'ne-pahtuen* "my neck"
  - kue ch'eeshah 'ue-pahtuen* "the dog's neck"
  - 'ne-psech 'we-yohlkoych* "my father's wood"
  - k'e-psech 'ue-psech* "your father's father"

Possessive prefixes also often change their form, according to three principles.

First, if a noun begins with *h*, then at least in fluid speech, Yurok speakers usually substitute the initial consonant of the prefix for the *h*. Examples are in Table 3.3.

NOUN		POSSESSED NOUN	
<i>haamoh</i>	"bear grass"	<i>k'-aamoh</i>	"your bear grass"
<i>ha'aag</i>	"rock"	<i>'n-a'aag</i>	"my rock"
<i>herhkerh</i>	"potato"	<i>'w-erhkerh</i>	"his potato"
<i>holeehl</i>	"hazel stick(s)"	<i>'w-oleehl</i>	"her hazel sticks"
<i>herkwterkws</i>	"drinking basket"	<i>'w-erkwterkws</i>	"his drinking basket"

Table 3.3: Possessive prefixes and nouns beginning with *h*

Second, in the third person ("her, his, its, their"), the prefix has two basic forms, *'we-* and *'ue-*. These forms are governed by the KMPW rule, in (17), named (by Kay Inong) after the consonants K, M, and P, and W.

- (17) The KMPW rule
- Use *'ue-* if the noun begins with any *k* sound or any "labial" sound (articulated with the lips), in other words, any of the following: *k k' kw k'w p p' w 'w m 'm*.
  - Use *'we-* otherwise, unless the noun begins with *h*, in which case see the first rule above and Table 3.3.

Some examples of the KMPW rule are listed in Table 3.4 on page 25.

Third, a special pattern is found in words beginning with *hue-* in the third singular ("his, her, its, their") form, *h* is replaced by *'* rather than *'w*. A common example is with *huuek* "child" and *huueksoh* "children": *'n-uuek* "my child", but *'-uuek* "his or her child" — in this word the initial glottal stop (') is the possessive prefix!

A final rule that affects possessive prefixes has to do with their stress pattern. Usually the prefix is not stressed, and the possessed noun has its usual stress pattern. But for a small subset of nouns (see §3.3) with one syllable, the prefix plus noun are treated as a single word and the prefix is stressed. Examples are listed in (18).

KMPW NOUNS (PREFIX 'UE-)	OTHER NOUNS (PREFIX 'WE-)
'ue-kahkah "his sturgeon"	'we-leen "his or her eyes"
'ue-mey' "her daughter"	'we-'yoch "his boat"
'ue-meehl "his legs"	'we-'lep "his or her hair"
'ue-kegoh "her acorn soup"	'we-to' "her hip"
'oohl 'ue-pop "Indian bread"	'oohl 'we-'ekah "Indian hat"
'ue-'wers "his skin"	
tekwonekws 'ue-kwerhl "television"	
(LIT. "box picture")	

Table 3.4: Third-person possessive prefixes: The KMPW rule

- (18) One-syllable nouns with stressed possessive prefixes
- (a) Nouns beginning with *l* and *hl*:
- 'ne-hlpehl "my eyelash", 'ne-leen "my eyes", 'ne-luehl "my mouth", 'ne-lew "my net", 'ne-'lep "my hair", 'ne-let "my (a woman's) sister"
- (b) Other nouns: 'ne-seen ~ 'ne-sen "my arm", 'ne-chkah "my foot", 'ne-psech "my father"

This pattern is important, because it explains why sometimes the prefix vowel is tense *e* rather than the otherwise expected lax *e*. The words in (18) regularly have tense *e*. Note that this rule applies only to words of one syllable, including ALMOST all words beginning with *l* or *hl*.<sup>1</sup> The words in (18) are mostly dependent nouns, because many one-syllable possessed nouns happen to be dependent.

### 3.3 Dependent and independent nouns

Yurok has a class of nouns that cannot be used without a possessive prefix. An example is "father". You must say 'ne-psech "my or our father", k'e-psech "your father", or 'ue-psech "his or her father"; you cannot simply say †psech or †kue psech. Nouns that require a possessive prefix are called DEPENDENT (abbreviated *n dep* in the dictionary); others, called INDEPENDENT, may occur by themselves with no prefix. Almost all Yurok dependent nouns are body part terms or kinship terms.

Many body part terms are independent. Others are dependent nouns, requiring a possessive prefix whenever they are used. Among the numerous independent body part terms are *chekws* "heart", *'leptoyhl* "hair", *merterw* "butt", *pahtuen* "neck", *'errkerhl* "knee", and *'werrhker'* "bone", and many other nouns. Nearly all dependent body part terms are listed in Table 3.5 on page 26. In some cases, as in the first examples in Table 3.5, the prefixes appear in their shorter forms because the dependent nouns begin with vowels.

Independent kinship terms are in Table 3.6 on page 26, in five groups according to type of relation; many (but not all) end in *-os*, and many also have address terms, used in

<sup>1</sup> The only clear exception is 'ne-ley' "my (a woman's) brother" (and other possessed forms of this word), in which the prefix is unstressed and its vowel is therefore lax. In the case of 'ne-'lep "my hair", most speakers have stress and a tense *e* in the prefix but some speakers leave the prefix unstressed and its vowel lax.



## TERMS BEGINNING WITH VOWELS

<i>'n-aawech</i> "my back"	<i>'n-eeph</i> "my tongue"
<i>'n-ekwol</i> "my fishing place"	<i>'n-erp'ern</i> "my nose"
<i>'n-erp'ern</i> <i>'we-tohpew</i> "my nostril" (LIT. "nose hole")	

## CONSONANT-INITIAL TERMS

<i>'na-rkow</i> "my armpit"	<i>'na-rpehl</i> "my tooth, my teeth"
<i>'ne-hlp'ehl</i> "my eyelash"	<i>'ne-keek</i> "my hips"
<i>'ne-kwen</i> "my chest"	<i>'ne-leen</i> "my eye(s)"
<i>'ne-luehl</i> "my mouth"	<i>'ne-yah</i> "my stomach, my belly"
<i>'ne-'rep'</i> "my eyebrow"	<i>'ne-chkah</i> "my foot, my feet"
<i>'ne-leen</i> "my eye(s)"	<i>'ne-'rep'</i> "my eyebrow"
<i>'ne-seen</i> ~ <i>'ne-sen</i> "my arm"	<i>'ne-ykwet</i> "my (a little boy's) penis"

Table 3.5: Dependent body part terms

PARENTS (REFERENCE)	(ADDRESS)
<i>kokos</i> "mother" (familiar)	<i>kok</i> "mom"
<i>totos</i> "father" (familiar)	<i>tot</i> "dad"
GRANDPARENTS AND GRANDCHILDREN	(ADDRESS)
<i>kuechos</i> "grand- or great-grandmother"	<i>kuech</i> "grand- or great-grandmother"
<i>peechowos</i> "grand- or great-grandfather"	<i>peech</i> "grand- or great-grandfather"
<i>k'ep'ew</i> "grand- or great-grandchild"	<i>tos</i> "child or grandchild"
<i>kekchew</i> "deceased grandmother"	
<i>peychew</i> "deceased grandfather"	
SIBLINGS AND COUSINS (REFERENCE)	(ADDRESS)
<i>meechos</i> "older brother or male cousin"	<i>meet</i> "older brother"
<i>peenos</i> "older sister or female cousin"	<i>peen'</i> "older sister"
<i>cheechos</i> "much younger sibling"	<i>cheech</i> "younger sibling"
AUNTS AND UNCLES (REFERENCE)	(ADDRESS)
<i>tuelos</i> "aunt"	<i>tuel'</i> "aunt"
<i>cheemos</i> "uncle"	<i>cheem'</i> "uncle"
RELATIONS BY MARRIAGE (REFERENCE)	
<i>cheween</i> "mother-in-law"	
<i>paarew</i> "father-in-law"	
<i>chnaa</i> "woman's brother-in-law"	
<i>tey</i> "man's brother-in-law"	
<i>chneen</i> "sister-in-law (of a man or a woman)"	
<i>me'loh</i> "widow(er) living with a spouse's family"	

Table 3.6: Independent kinship terms: Reference terms (left) and address terms (right)

PARENTS AND CHILDREN	
<i>'ne-chek</i> "my mother"	<i>'ne-psech</i> "my father"
<i>'ne-mey'</i> "my (unmarried) daughter"	<i>'ne-merm</i> "my son"
<i>'ne-'moo</i> "my married daughter"	
SIBLINGS AND COUSINS	
<i>'ne-let</i> "my (a woman's) sister or female cousin"	<i>'ne-ley'</i> "my (a woman's) brother or male cousin"
<i>'ne-wey'</i> "my (a man's) sister or female cousin"	<i>'ne-paa</i> "my (a man's) brother or male cousin"
<i>'ne-ykew</i> "my younger sibling"	
NIECES AND NEPHEWS	
<i>'ne-romech</i> "my niece"	<i>'n-ekchuem</i> "my nephew"
RELATIONS BY MARRIAGE	
<i>'n-ahpew</i> "my wife"	<i>'ne-nos</i> "my husband"
<i>'ne-k'ep'ch'em</i> "my daughter-in-law"	<i>'ne-chne'wk'wos</i> "my son-in-law"
<i>'n-ahpemew</i> "my mate, my spouse"	<i>'ne-kwaa</i> "my more distant relative by marriage"
<i>'ne-chkar</i> "my relative by marriage after a connecting blood relative has died"	

Table 3.7: Dependent kinship terms

speaking directly to the person.<sup>1</sup> Dependent kinship terms are listed in Table 3.7, divided into four groups.

Finally, there is a significant difference between two possessive patterns in Table 3.8.

	DEPENDENT	INDEPENDENT
"my, our X"	<i>'n-erp'ern'</i>	<i>'ne-'errkerhl</i> ~ <i>'ner-'errkerhl</i>
"your X"	<i>k'-erp'ern'</i>	<i>k'e-'errkerhl</i> ~ <i>k'er-'errkerhl</i>
"her, his, its X"	<i>'w-erp'ern'</i>	<i>'we-'errkerhl</i> ~ <i>'wer-'errkerhl</i>
	"nose"	"knee"

Table 3.8: Two possessed noun patterns

Nouns like *'errkerhl* "knee" with an initial glottal stop (') have possessive forms like *'ne-'errkerhl* "my knee". But in *'n-erp'ern'* "my nose", there is no additional glottal stop.

### 3.4 Short forms

Many Yurok nouns have short, one-syllable alternative forms that are used in certain contexts. Short forms are listed in the Yurok dictionary (online and in print) whenever

<sup>1</sup> In Classical Yurok, the term *'ne-mey'* was apparently used only for unmarried daughters. With changes in family structure, it is now also used for married daughters and the term *'ne-'moo* has fallen out of use.



**Figure 3.1:** Weitchpec Frank, 1908. Frank worked extensively on Yurok linguistic and cultural documentation with A. L. Kroeber — sharing texts, translating recordings, and serving as an interpreter for many elders. Photo by Bruguiere Eisen.

they are known, but it is easy to invent new ones, since the patterns by which they are derived so straightforward.<sup>1</sup>

In words that have a short vowel in the first syllable, the short form usually consists of the word-initial consonant (or consonant group), the short vowel, and the immediately following consonant. This first pattern is illustrated in Table 3.9.

LONG FORM		SHORT FORM
<i>chahkwoh</i>	"pants"	<i>chah</i>
<i>ch'eeshah</i>	"dog"	<i>ch'eesh</i>
<i>lewet</i>	"net"	<i>lew</i>
<i>mehlkwehl</i>	"cane"	<i>mehl</i>
<i>meskwoh</i>	"medicine"	<i>mes</i>
<i>mohlkwoh</i>	"head"	<i>mohl</i>
<i>tewon</i>	"flesh"	<i>tew</i>

Table 3.9: Short forms of short-vowel nouns

The typical use of short forms is illustrated in (19). These examples, corresponding to the nouns in Table 3.9, are all possessed ("my", "your", etc.). Familiar nouns like these are commonly shortened when used in possessed phrases.

- (19) Examples of the short forms in Table 3.9
- (a) *K'e-chah* *cho' ko myootem'.*  
"Put on **your pants**." JJ 2006 (AG)
  - (b) *Kues kue k'e-ch'eesh?*  
"Where's **your dog**?" AF 2005 (JB)
  - (c) *Keech meweeemor 'ne-ch'eesh.*  
"**My dog** is now old (LIT. an old man)." YL 1951
  - (d) *Weetee 'olonekw 'ne-lew.*  
"**My net** (will) float there." JJ 2007 (LC)
  - (e) *'Ne-mehl mehl hegook'.*  
"I walk with **a cane** (LIT. **my cane**)."  
FS 1980 (PP)
  - (f) *Tue' o tegeruem' 'ue-mes kue meweeemor.*  
"The old man spoke **his medicine**."  
FS 1951 (YL)
  - (g) *Noohl . . . 'ue-mohl' ela kohtoo.*  
"Then he hit **its head**."  
FS 1951 (YL)
  - (h) *Neekee koosee lepe'hl 'ne-tew.*  
"**My body** aches all over." YL 1951

A second, related use of short forms is illustrated in Table 3.10 on page 30. In fixed phrases that are derived from longer nouns, especially fixed possessive phrases (like *'oohl 'ue-pop*, literally "Indian's bread"), familiar nouns are often shortened.

The examples in Tables 3.9–3.10 and (19) all involve short-vowel nouns. In words that have a long vowel in the first syllable, the short form usually consists of the word-initial consonant (or consonant group) and the long vowel (but not any following consonant). This second pattern is illustrated in Table 3.11 on page 30.

<sup>1</sup> Yurok short forms were studied in detail by Juliette Blevins, "Yurok syllable weight" (2003; for the full reference see the Bibliography on page 299).

LONG FORM		SHORT FORM	PHRASE CONTAINING SHORT FORM	
<i>'echkwoh</i>	"sea lion"	<i>'ech</i>	<i>nuemee 'ech</i>	"large light-colored sea lion" (LIT. "real sea lion")
<i>ka'a'n</i>	"blanket"	<i>ka'</i>	<i>'woogey 'ue-ka'</i>	"white man's blanket"
<i>nerhpery</i>	"berry"	<i>nerh</i>	<i>neekwech 'wer-nerh</i>	"red gooseberry" (LIT. "grizzly bear's berry")
<i>popsew</i>	"bread"	<i>pop</i>	<i>'oohl 'ue-pop</i>	"Indian bread"

Table 3.10: Short forms of short-vowel nouns, in phrases

LONG FORM		SHORT FORM	PHRASE CONTAINING SHORT FORM	
<i>loogeen</i>	"Kepel fish dam"	<i>loo</i>		
<i>serrnery</i>	"stream"	<i>serr</i>	<i>Hehlkue Serr</i>	"Maynot Creek" (LIT. "inland stream")
<i>terrkuen</i>	"fish head"	<i>terr</i>	<i>nepuy 'we-terr</i>	"salmon head"
<i>'woogey</i>	"white person"	<i>'woo</i>	<i>'woo 'u-wen</i>	"white woman"

Table 3.11: Short forms of long-vowel nouns

A long-vowel short form in a sentence is given in (20).

(20) *Noohl 'o tekwsee' kue 'we-terr.*

"Then **its** (a salmon's) **head** was cut off."

FS 1951 (YL)

While short forms are very common in natural speech, especially in reference to familiar people, places, and things, they are never obligatory.

# Chapter 4

## Articles and pronouns

Articles and pronouns belong to different word classes, as discussed in chapter 2, but they nonetheless share an important feature of meaning. Both can express meaning distinctions that involve proximity and distance, such as “near” vs. “far”, or “this” vs. “that”.<sup>1</sup>

### 4.1 Pronouns

#### 4.1.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns in Yurok are words that refer to speakers and addressees — the equivalent of English *I*, *me*, and *you*. Table 4.1 lists the personal pronouns that are documented in Modern Yurok.<sup>2</sup>

	SINGULAR	PLURAL	CONTRASTIVE	OBJECTIVE
1ST PERSON	<i>nek</i>	<i>nekah</i>	<i>nekee'</i>	<i>nekach</i>
2ND PERSON	<i>kel'</i>	<i>kelew</i>	<i>kelee'</i>	<i>kelach</i>

Table 4.1: Modern Yurok personal pronouns

The singular pronouns *nek* “I, me” and *kel'* “you” and their plural counterparts *nekah* “we, us” and *kelew* “you” are very common. They are not simply the equivalent of the English subject pronouns *I* and *you*. In addition to being used as subjects of sentences, they are used as objects of prepositions like *ho*, *mehl*, and *o*. This is illustrated in (21).

(21) Pronouns as objects of prepositions

- (a) *Tue' neemoksue megelook' ho kelew.*  
I am not coming **with you.**

YL 1951

<sup>1</sup> Linguists use the term DEIXIS as a cover term for such meaning distinctions. Deixis plays an important role in choices between different articles or pronouns.

<sup>2</sup> In addition, in Classical Yurok, what are called COMITATIVE forms in R. H. Robins’s book *The Yurok language* (1958; for the full reference see the Bibliography on page 299) were used: *neka'ahl* “to me”, *nekaanohl* “to us”, and *kela'ahl* “to you”. These forms have not yet been documented in Modern Yurok.

- (b) *Cho nue chwegeen mehl nek.*  
 “Go speak **for me.**” YL 1951
- (c) *Skuy’ soneenepek’ mehl kel’.*  
 I feel good **about you.**” JJ 2006 (AG)
- (d) *Neeko’hl kee ’ne-tensewok’ k’ee nepuy ’o kel’.*  
 “I will always catch more salmon **than you.**” JJ 2007 (LC)
- (e) *Heenoy cho’ ’orogoom’ ’o nek.*  
 “Walk behind **me.**” FS 1951 (RHR)

The contrastive singular pronouns *nekee* “I, me” and *kelee* “you” are not used very often, but they are appropriate when the speaker wishes to imply a contrast with someone else. Examples are in (22–23). In (22), the contrastive pronouns are subjects.

- (22) Contrastive pronouns used as subjects
- (a) *Nekee’ nahchesekek’.*  
 “**I** gave it to her.” AF 2001 (LJC)
- (b) *Nekee’ ruerowok’.*  
 “**I** am singing.” LT 1922 (GR)

In (23), the contrastive pronouns are not subjects. Some are possessives; for instance, in (23a), the speaker implies that it is *someone else’s* fishing place.

- (23) Contrastive pronouns used as non-subjects
- (a) *Mos kelee’ k’-ekwol.*  
 “It is not **your** fishing place.” FS 1951 (RHR)
- (b) *Kelee’ ’ne-tegeruechek’.*  
 “I’m talking to **you.**” FS 1951 (RHR)
- (c) *Mos nekee’ ’ne-ch’eesh.*  
 It is not **my** dog.” YL 1951
- (d) *Kues soo hesem’, Nekee’ ’ne-tektoh?*  
 “Why do you think, ‘This is **my** log?’” FS 1951 (RHR)

Finally, Table 4.1 includes two OBJECTIVE pronouns *nekach* and *kelach*. These are used when the object of a verb is “me” or “you (SG)” AND the verb has a third-person subject. Given in (24) are two examples with ordinary transitive verbs and the objective pronoun *kelach* “you (SG)”.

- (24) Examples of objective *kelach* “you (SG)”
- (a) *To’ hes kelach skewok kue mewasegoh?*  
 “Do the boys like **you?**” YL 1951
- (b) *Yo’ kelach ’o noo’repe’.*  
 “He followed **you** there.” YL 1951

Given in (25) are examples with objective *nekach* “me” and bipersonal verbs.

- (25) Examples of objective *nekach* “me”
- (a) *Kue mewah nekach ’o syaahkopeen’.*  
 “That boy kicked **me.**” JJ 2006 (EJW)

- (b) *Nekach newohpen' kue wenchokws.*  
 "The woman saw **me**." YL 1951
- (c) *Kue kel' k'e-too'mar nekach tokseepen'.*  
 "Your friend likes **me**." YL 1951

Finally, (26) shows an example with objective *nekach* as the object of a preverb *ho* "at, to".

- (26) *Nekach ho kweryerw'.*  
 "Someone whistled to **me**." FS 1980 (PP)

The singular pronouns *nek* "I" and *kel* "you (SG)" are NOT used as the objects of verbs with third-person subjects. As seen in (27), however, plural pronouns like *nekah* "we, us" ARE used in this context.

- (27) *Yo'hlkoh nekah sermeryerwery.*  
 "They will kill **us**." YL 1951

#### 4.1.2 Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns refer either to animals, things, or places (like English *it, that, this, here, there*), or to people other than the speaker or addressee (like English *he, she, they*). Yurok has an elaborate system of demonstrative pronouns in comparison with English; here only the main pronouns that can be used for people will be mentioned. These are summarized in Table 4.2.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
PROXIMAL	<i>wo'</i> or <i>wo'oot</i>	<i>wo'hlkoh</i>
NEUTRAL	<i>yo'</i> or <i>yo'oot</i>	<i>yo'hlkoh</i>

Table 4.2: Selected demonstrative pronouns

In the singular column, *wo'* and *yo'* are more common short forms of *wo'oot* and *yo'oot*, respectively, but the short and long forms have the same basic meaning.

The difference between the PROXIMAL and NEUTRAL forms is as follows. Proximal forms refer to someone (or something) who is nearby, or relatively close, especially if contrasted with someone (or something) farther away. Neutral forms refer to someone (or something) that is absent or farther away, or in contexts when no particular distance is implied. Because neutral forms are used when no particular distance is implied, they are far more common; they are used for "he, she, him, her, they, them" in most instances.

Examples of proximal demonstratives in sentences are in (28).

- (28) Proximal demonstrative examples
- (a) *Wo' tue' skewok kee k'e-tegerew.*  
 "**He** (this person) wants to talk to you." JJ 2007 (LC)
- (b) *Mos wo'oot, nek wee' serrhl.*  
 "Not **him** (this person), I did it." AF 2001 (JB)

Examples of neutral demonstratives in sentences are in (29).



Baskets	
Willow plate	Läh p'céng
Large basket bowl	Wai'küts
" pan	Pai'q'ko
" acorn basket	Päht'ekrij
Basket to carry wood in	Kéiwai
" " keep spoons & trinkets in	Rumitsikrij
" pot to boil acorns in	Mo'ri'p
" dipper	Keyün
Stirring stick for acorn soup	Héd'lag

**Figure 4.1:** A selection from Jeremiah Curtin's 1889 field notes. Working for the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of Ethnology, Curtin sent back to Washington 81 pages of transcriptions that are among the first extended written records of Yurok.

(29) Neutral demonstrative examples

- (a) *Yo' keech 'epo'.*  
 "That person over there is choking." GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (b) *Yo'oot kem megel'.*  
 "That person went along too." FS 1980 (PP)
- (c) *Yo'hlkoh hes kem keychek?*  
 "Are they tired too?" FS 1980 (PP)

The use of the proximal demonstrative pronouns can be clearly seen in examples with context. For instance, in a story about driving her father to the doctor when she was young, Florence Shaughnessy said that his friends asked him how he would get there. Mrs. Shaughnessy quoted his answer in (30); the language suggests that his daughter was nearby, and maybe he pointed her out.

- (30) *Kwelekw, wo'oot nekomuy. Wo'oot nekomuy kee 'ue-keromoh kue wer'yers.*  
 "Well, **she** knows how. **This** girl knows how to drive."  
 (LIT. "... **She** knows how to drive, **the** girl.") FS 1986 (JP)

In some cases, the implied contrast is between someone newly mentioned and other people in a story. The newly mentioned person is typically referred to as *wo'* or *wo'oot* "this one". An example is in (31a–b), consecutive parts of a single narrative.

- (31) (a) *Tue' wee 'o rek' een wenchokws, koleen **kue we'yon kue ho nergerykermeen.***  
 "Some women were sitting there, one was **the girl who was helping.**"
- (b) *Tue' **wo'oot** neekke 'ue-myah 'o 'erlermerkerhl kue 'ue-kery.*  
 "**She** jumped and untied her hair tie." FS 1951 (YL)

The girl had been mentioned earlier, but is re-introduced in (31a). The use of *wo'oot* in (31b) serves to convey a meaning like "the one just mentioned" or "this (girl)".

## 4.2 Articles

Yurok has two articles, *kue* and *k'ee*. Of these, *kue* is more common and is used in most contexts where English *the* would be used; it can mean "the one(s) we were talking about", "the one(s) you know about", or "that" or "those". The second article, *k'ee*, means "this" or "these", "the one(s) right here", or "the one(s) just mentioned".

### 4.2.1 Using *kue* and *k'ee*

Articles cannot be used on their own. They are used together with a noun, as in (32–34). Examples of *kue* are in (32) in singular contexts, and in (33) in plural contexts.

- (32) Singular *kue* examples
- (a) *Nek **kue mewah** meskwook'.*  
 "I'm treating **the boy** with medicine." GT 2007 (AG)
- (b) ***Kue pegerk** pa'aahl 'ee koo'.*  
 "**The man** is standing in the water." JJ 2007 (LC)
- (33) Plural *kue* examples
- (a) *Keech pemue' **kue ke'ween.***  
 "They are cooking **the eels.**"  
 (LIT. "**The eels** are being cooked.") JJ 2007 (LC)
- (b) *Keech hl'ewhl'ekw **kue 'weryhl.***  
 "**The eggs** broke." JJ 2006 (AG)

Examples of *k'ee* are in (34).

- (34) Examples of *k'ee*
- (a) *Nek megetohlkwook' **k'ee ch'eeshah.***  
 "I'm taking care of **this dog.**" FS 1980 (PP)
- (b) *Cho' negahchkem' **k'ee ahtemar.***  
 "Pass out **these papers.**" GT 2003 (YLCB)

If you are pointing or referring to something near you, or newly under discussion, use *k'ee*; otherwise use *kue*. The contrast between *k'ee* and *kue* is parallel to the contrast between the proximal demonstrative *wo'* (or *wo'oot*) and the neutral demonstrative *yo'* (or *yo'oot*). The article *k'ee* is proximal, and *kue* is neutral.

### 4.2.2 Articles and possessives

A major difference between English and Yurok concerns the use of articles with possessives. In English, you cannot say †*the my father* or †*the my leg*, but in Yurok, equivalent expressions are not only common but ordinary. In English, you can say *this leg of mine*, but nothing as simple as †*the my leg*. But in Yurok, you would ordinarily say *kue 'ne-psech* “my father” or *kue 'ne-meehl* “my leg”; *kue* implies familiarity, or that people know that the person or thing exists; this is ordinarily true of body parts and kin terms. You might say plain *'ne-psech* “my father” or *'ne-meehl* “my leg” in a situation where you hadn’t been talking about your father or your leg, or where their existence was even uncertain.<sup>1</sup>

- (35) Examples of *kue* with possessives
- (a) *Kue 'n-ekchuem 'o chkey.*  
“**My nephew** fell asleep.” AF 2002 (JB)
  - (b) *Kues kue 'ne-leen?*  
“Where are **my glasses**?” GT 2003 (YLCB)
  - (c) *Kues lootem' kue 'ne-'ekah?*  
“Where did you put **my hat**?” GM 2004 (AG)
  - (d) *Kue k'e-k'ep'ew ho negeen'.*  
“**Your granddaughter** was looking for you.” GT 2007 (LC)
- (36) Examples of *k'ee* with possessives
- (a) *Kee hekwsem' k'ee 'ne-ma'a.*  
“You will find **my spear**.” MM 1927 (YT)
  - (b) *Cho' myootem' k'ee k'e-no'oy.*  
“Put on **your shoes**.” JJ 2006 (AG)

This difference between Yurok and English is important because people often refer to family members, body parts, and familiar possessions like clothing. The article *kue* is usually used in such situations.

<sup>1</sup> As the examples in (19) on page 29 show, when short forms of nouns are used, the article is typically omitted: *'ne-lew* vs. *kue 'ne-lewet* “my net”.

# Chapter 5

## Basic verb formation

Broadly speaking, Yurok verbs are of two types:

- **NON-INFLECTED** verbs do not change their form depending on the subject or object. They are described in §5.2.
- **INFLECTED** verbs, do change their form, depending on whether their subjects are first person (“I, we”), second person (“you”), etc. They require much more discussion.

Every inflected verb belongs to one of four **VERB CLASSES**. The four classes are named according to the vowel that sometimes appears before the ending:

- *e*-class verbs
- *o*-class verbs
- *oo*-class verbs
- *aa*-class verbs

All four classes are described here in general terms. For details about individual verbs, consult Part II beginning on page 113 below. This includes information about usage and the forms of many common verbs. In general, when you learn a verb, you should learn its class (and its subclass if it is an *oo*-class verb), whether its usual plural is collective, whether it has any irregular forms, and its usage patterns.

### 5.1 Overview

Many details of verb formation are in chapters 5–6. First, an overview of some of the most important categories of inflected verbs may be useful. The specific categories identified pertain to **MOOD**, a linguistic term which refers broadly to the type of sentence or clause that a verb appears in. Yurok inflected verbs have four different moods, as follows:

- **INDICATIVE** (discussed in this chapter): used in most simple statements and questions
- **IMPERATIVE** (discussed in this chapter): used in direct commands
- **SUBJUNCTIVE** (§6.4): typically used when one verb is dependent on another verb
- **ATTRIBUTIVE** (§6.5): used in phrases that modify or stand in for nouns

The four moods have somewhat different endings, and are used in different ways. Given in (37) are forms of *hegook* ‘I walk, I go’: an indicative, an imperative, a subjunctive, and an attributive.

- (37) (a) INDICATIVE: *Nek keetee hegook* ‘so *Rek’woy*.  
 “I am going to go to Requa.” YL 1951
- (b) IMPERATIVE: *Hego’och* ‘so *kue muenchey nahko’!*  
 “Go to the white board!” GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (c) SUBJUNCTIVE: *Nek weet soneenepek’ kee ‘n-egook’*.  
 “I think I will go.” FS 1980 (PP)
- (d) ATTRIBUTIVE: *Soo smeykoluemee’ kue keech hegookween*.  
 “They miss the one who has gone.” FS 1980 (PP)

## 5.2 Non-inflected verbs

Non-inflected verbs (abbreviated *vn* in the dictionary) have no endings. They are shorter – sometimes a lot shorter – than their inflected counterparts; often they are used in very common expressions. Table 5.1 lists some common non-inflected verbs, together with their inflected counterparts.

NON-INFLECTED VERBS	INFLECTED COUNTERPARTS
<i>chahchew</i> ‘it’s difficult’	
<i>chween</i> ‘speak’	<i>chweenkepek’</i> ‘I speak’
<i>’ekonor</i> ‘keep safe’	<i>’ekonorkwook’</i> ‘I keep (people) safe’
<i>’e’gah</i> ‘eat a meal’ (collective)	<i>’e’gahspee’moh</i> ‘we drink’ (collective iterative)
<i>ha’p’ehl</i> ‘forget’	<i>ha’p’ehlkook’</i> ‘I forget’
<i>hlkyork</i> ‘watch’	<i>hlkyorkwek’</i> ‘I watch’
<i>hoh</i> ‘make’	<i>hohkuemek’</i> ‘I make’
<i>keychek</i> ‘be tired’	
<i>kom</i> ‘know’	<i>komchuemek’</i> ‘I know it’
<i>kweget</i> ‘visit’	<i>kwegetek’</i> ‘I visit her or him’
<i>myah</i> ‘jump’	<i>myaahlkepek’</i> ‘I jump’
<i>neeen’</i> ‘look’	<i>neee’nek’</i> ‘I look at it’ ~ <i>neee’nowok’</i> ‘I watch it’
<i>rohkor’</i> ‘roll’	<i>rohko’repek’</i> ‘I’m rolling’
<i>sa’ar</i> ‘be crazy’	<i>sa’arkeyek’</i> ‘I am crazy’
<i>skewok</i> ‘want, like’	<i>skewokseemek’</i> ‘I want, I like’
<i>soch</i> ‘say, speak’	<i>sochpeyewek’</i> ‘I say it’
<i>soo</i> ‘think’	<i>soosek’</i> ‘I think’
<i>serrhl</i> ‘do’	<i>serrhlerpek’</i> ‘I do’
<i>ten</i> ‘it’s raining’	<i>tenpewe’hl</i> ‘it’s raining’
<i>tewomehl</i> ‘be glad’	<i>tewomehllkook’</i> ‘I am glad’

Table 5.1: Some common Yurok non-inflected verbs

Examples in sentences are in (38).

- (38) (a) *Skewok kee ‘ne-newochek’*.  
 “I want to see you.” FS 1951 (RHR)

- 1 erew, down stream from sw.h. where  
now white house, used to be Indian house
- 2 tekor ✓ down hill from same sw.h.
- 3 getsget ✓ up stream from sw.h.
- 4 apyuuwer' jumping dance house  
4a the Indian house downstream from  
apyuuwer has no name
- 5 e'qeto, downstream from Jim's present  
house,  
down hill from graveyard
- 6 wāgi, ✓ up stream from apyuuwer, where  
bam now.
- 7 o'griigeratserwo, upstream from last, where  
Jabi's Indian house now.  
so called because start in  
jumping dance there, tie up  
hair there.
- 8 hiwan ✓ next up stream + above where  
Jabi's Indian house is now
- 9 lēkusa ✓ where Jim's Indian house  
so called because near exit (lēkusa)  
of sacred sw. house.

Figure 5.1: Pecwan house names transcribed by T. T. Waterman in fieldwork with Pecwan Jim, early 1900s.

- (b) *Mos nek kom.*  
 “I don’t know.” FS 1951 (RHR)
- (c) *Nek soo neemoksue nue nes ’o wee’shk’oh.*  
 “I don’t think he’ll come today.” FS 1951 (RHR)
- (d) *Keetee kol’ nue goh.*  
 “I’m going to work.” FS 1951 (RHR)

## 5.3 Singular indicative and imperative verbs

### 5.3.1 Singular *e*-class verbs

Table 5.2 shows how *e*-class verbs work for singular subjects, that is, where one person does the verbal action; either I do it (1 SG); you (one person) do it (2 SG); or he, she, or it does it (3 SG).

	“run”	“push (it)”	“swim”
1 SG	<i>ro’opek’</i>	<i>myootek’</i>	<i>kepoyuerek’</i>
2 SG	<i>ro’opem’</i>	<i>myootem’</i>	<i>kepoyuerem’</i>
3 SG	<i>ro’op’</i>	<i>myoot’</i>	<i>kepoyuer’</i>
IMPV SG	<i>ro’op’es</i>	<i>myoot’es</i>	<i>kepoyue’res</i>

Table 5.2: Singular *e*-class verbs

Most *e*-class verbs follow this regular pattern, but a few are irregular. For example, *hegolek’* (page 146) has several irregular forms, including *hem’* “he, she says, tells” and the imperatives *hach’es* and *heks’es* “tell him, her!”

### 5.3.2 Singular *o*-class verbs

The regular *o*-class pattern, shown in Table 5.3, is very similar to the *e*-class pattern — but with *o*, not *e*.

	“listen”	“sing”
1 SG	<i>chpe’royok’</i>	<i>ruerowok’</i>
2 SG	<i>chpe’royom’</i>	<i>ruerowom’</i>
3 SG	<i>chpe’roy’</i>	<i>ruerow’</i>
IMPV SG	<i>chpe’royos</i> or <i>hechpar’</i>	<i>ruero’wos</i>

Table 5.3: Singular *o*-class verbs

Similar *o*-class verbs include *hloypeyok’* “I taste it”, *nohsuenowok’* “I grow up (in a place)”, *tenpeyok’* “I overeat”, and *nee’nowok’* “I watch, look for”.

There are two common irregularities in the *o*-class singular. First, in the imperative form, verbs in *-ey-* or *-oy-* usually lack the imperative glottalization. For example, the imperative of *ko’moyok’* “I hear, I understand” is *ko’moyos*; another example is *chpe’royos* “listen!” in Table 5.3. Second, in the third-person singular of many verbs in *-owok’*, but not in *ruerowok’* above, the *-ow-* is absent. Examples are in Table 5.4 on page 41.

	“grow (up)”	“act or be (so)”
1 SG	<i>nohsuenowok'</i>	<i>sonowok'</i>
2 SG	<i>nohsuenowom'</i>	<i>sonowom'</i>
3 SG	<i>nohsuen'</i>	<i>son'</i>

Table 5.4: Third-person *o*-class verb forms without *-ow-*

### 5.3.3 Singular *oo*-class verbs

The *oo*-class pattern is more complex than that of *e*-class and *o*-class verbs. There are four main sub-patterns, differing in the 3rd person singular form. Representative verbs belonging to each of the four sub-patterns are given in Table 5.5.<sup>1</sup>

	“look after”	“come”	“go”	“paddle”
1 SG	<i>megetohlkwook'</i>	<i>wenook'</i>	<i>sootook'</i>	<i>rechook'</i>
2 SG	<i>megetohlkwoom'</i>	<i>wenoom'</i>	<i>sootoom'</i>	<i>rechoom'</i>
3 SG	<i>megetohlkwom'</i>	<i>wenok'w</i>	<i>sootok'w</i> or <i>sootol'</i>	<i>recho'</i>
IMPV SG	<i>megetohlk'wos</i>	<i>wenos</i>	<i>soot'os</i>	<i>rech'os</i>

Table 5.5: Singular *oo*-class verbs

The variety of *oo*-class forms means that for an *oo*-class verb you must learn its 3 SG form. There are some helpful generalizations; for example, the pattern of *sootook'* is followed by most verbs in *-echook'*, including common verbs like *kwomhlechook'* “I return”, *menechook'* “I disappear”, and *neskwechook'* “I arrive”. See Part II (chapters 11–25) for details about many of these individual verbs.

## 5.4 Plural indicative and imperative verbs

Plural verbs distinguish two kinds of formation: COLLECTIVE and NON-COLLECTIVE.<sup>2</sup> Collectives have an extra element inserted before the plural ending (such as *-e'e'm-* or *-e'm-*). When you learn a verb, you should also learn which plural it usually forms. If a verb has collective forms, these are the plural forms that are usually — though not always — used.

### 5.4.1 Plural *e*-class verbs

Plurals of *e*-class verbs are shown in Table 5.6 on page 42. Note that collective and non-collective plurals have different 2 PL endings: collectives have *-ow'*; non-collective *e*-class plurals have *-ue'*. Examples of *e*-class non-collective plurals are given in (39).

<sup>1</sup> Some speakers shorten the 1 SG *oo* to *o*, and sometimes even the 2 SG vowel, making the 1st and 2nd person forms identical to *o*-class forms. Shortened 1 SG *-ok'* is the only form reported in earlier publications such as R. H. Robins's book *The Yurok language* (1958; for the full reference see the Bibliography on page 299).

<sup>2</sup> Collectives were referred to as “pronominal-prefix verbs” (because they have prefixes) in R. H. Robins's book *The Yurok language* (1958; for the full reference see the Bibliography on page 299).



	"beat, kill"	"make"	"eat"	"dance"
1 SG	<i>sermertek'</i>	<i>hohkuemek'</i>	<i>nepek'</i>	<i>helomeyek'</i>
2 SG	<i>sermertem'</i>	<i>hohkuemem'</i>	<i>nepem'</i>	<i>helomeyem'</i>
3 SG	<i>sermert'</i>	<i>hohkuem'</i>	<i>nep'</i>	<i>helomey'</i>
IMPV SG	<i>sermert'es</i>	<i>ho'k'ues</i>	<i>nep's</i>	<i>helomes</i>
1 PL	<i>sermertoh</i>	<i>hohkuemoh</i>	<i>nepoh</i>	<i>helomeyoh</i>
2 PL	<i>sermertue'</i>	<i>hohkuemue'</i>	<i>nepue'</i>	<i>helomeyue'</i>
3 PL	<i>sermertehl</i>	<i>hohkuemehl</i>	<i>nepehl</i>	<i>helomeyehl</i>
IMPV PL	<i>sermertekw</i>	<i>hohkuemekw</i>	<i>nepekw</i>	<i>helomeyekw</i>
1 COLL			<i>nepee'moh</i>	<i>helomeye'moh</i>
2 COLL			<i>nepee'mow'</i>	<i>helomeye'mow'</i>
3 COLL			<i>nepee'mehl</i>	<i>helomeye'mehl</i>
IMPV COLL			<i>nepee'mekw</i>	<i>helomeye'mekw</i>

Table 5.6: Plural and collective *e*-class verbs

- (39) (a) *Nekah skewokseemoh yo'.*  
"We like him." YL 1951
- (b) *Kelew hes neekeechyue tokseemue' kue yo'hlkoh?*  
"Do you all admire them?" YL 1951
- (c) *Neekeechyue negemehl 'we-no'os.*  
"They are all packing baby baskets." AF 2001 (JB)
- (d) *Tee'neeshoo skewokseemehl?*  
"What do they want?" GT 2003 (YLCB)

Singular and plural imperatives of the same verb are contrasted in (40).

- (40) (a) SINGULAR: *Kol' nue' neps!*  
"Come eat!" MR ~1970 (MRo)
- (b) PLURAL: *Kol' nue nepee'mekw!*  
"Come eat!" GT 2003 (YLCB)

### 5.4.2 Plural *o*-class and *oo*-class verbs

Table 5.7 on page 43 shows collective and non-collective plurals of *o*-class and *oo*-class verbs (the two classes do not differ). Quite a few *oo*-class verbs have irregular collectives.

## 5.5 *aa*-Class verbs

Yurok has fewer than 20 *aa*-class verbs; most of them refer to cleaning, tidying, etc. Singular and plural patterns are in Table 5.8 on page 43.

## 5.6 Using collective and non-collective plurals

The most important practical rule governing the use of collectives is that if a verb has a collective, that is what is usually used when the subject is plural. From *nepek'* "I eat", for

	“look for”	“buy”	“sing”	“gather acorns”
1 SG	<i>neee’nowok’</i>	<i>kooychkwook’</i>	<i>ruerowok’</i>	<i>hlkook’</i>
2 SG	<i>neee’nowom’</i>	<i>kooychkwoom’</i>	<i>ruerowom’</i>	<i>hlkoom’</i>
3 SG	<i>neee’now’</i>	<i>kooychkwom’</i>	<i>ruerow’</i>	<i>hlko’</i>
1 PL	<i>neee’nowoh</i>	<i>kooychkwoh</i>	<i>ruerowoh</i>	<i>hlkoo</i>
2 PL	<i>neee’nowow’</i>	<i>kooychkwow’</i>	<i>ruerowow’</i>	<i>hlkoow’</i>
3 PL	<i>neee’nowohl</i>	<i>kooychkwohl</i>	<i>ruerowoo’mehl</i>	<i>hlkooehl</i>
IMPV PL	<i>neee’nowekw</i>	<i>kooychkwekw</i>	<i>ruerowoo’mekw</i>	<i>hlkekw</i>
1 COLL			<i>ruerowoo’moh</i>	<i>hlkuue’moh</i>
2 COLL			<i>ruerowoo’mow’</i>	<i>hlkuue’mow’</i>
3 COLL			<i>ruerowoo’mehl</i>	<i>hlkuue’mehl</i>
IMPV COLL			<i>ruerowoo’mekw</i>	<i>hlkuue’mekw</i>

Table 5.7: Plural and collective *o*-class and *oo*-class verbs

	“blink one’s eyes”	“rummage”	“put in order”
1 SG	<i>lo’p’aak’</i>	<i>hoolep’aak’</i>	<i>skeweep’aak’</i>
2 SG	<i>lo’paam’</i>	<i>hoolep’aam’</i>	<i>skeweep’aam’</i>
3 SG	<i>lo’p’a’</i>	<i>hoolep’a’</i>	<i>skeweep’a’</i>
1 PL	<i>lo’p’ah</i>	<i>hoolep’ah</i>	<i>skeweep’ah</i>
2 PL	<i>lo’paw’</i>	<i>hoolep’aw’</i>	<i>skeweep’aw’</i>
3 PL	<i>lo’p’aahl</i>	<i>hoolep’aahl</i>	<i>skeweep’aahl</i>

Table 5.8: Singular and plural *aa*-class verbs

example, collective *nepee’moh* and non-collective *nepoh* “we eat” are both documented, but the collective is far more common. For practical purposes, therefore, it is important for language learners to know whether a new verb has collective forms or not.

### 5.6.1 Verb types that regularly have collectives

The linguistic term COLLECTIVE refers to group activity, but it is not a perfect or precise description of the Yurok verbal category. Still, there are some common verb types that have collective verbs and that do refer to activities that people typically do together with other people. As illustrated in Table 5.9 on page 44, these include verbs that have to do with food preparation and consumption, verbs that refer to significant shared cultural activities, verbs referring to other common activities, and verbs of sickness and bodily states.

Many verbs that have to do with fishing, gathering, and hunting also have collectives, as illustrated in Table 5.10 on page 44.

Verbs that express motion (going, walking, running, etc.) routinely have collective forms. These are among the most common collectives in actual usage. Shown in Table 5.11 on page 44 are the collectives of verbs in *-ech-* and similar motion verbs, including the location verb *’ook’* “I am (in a certain place)”.

Related to the verbs in Table 5.11 are non-inflected collectives in *-o’omah* associated with verbs of running in *-o’repek’*. These are illustrated in Table 5.12 on page 45. Other

	SINGULAR	COLLECTIVE STEM		1ST PERSON COLLECTIVE	
A	<i>'ahspek'</i>	<i>'ahspeem'</i>	"drink"	<i>'ahspee'moh</i>	"we drink"
	<i>nepek'</i>	<i>nepeem'</i>	"eat"	<i>nepee'moh</i>	"we eat"
	<i>pewomek'</i>	<i>pewomem'</i>	"cook"	<i>pewome'moh</i>	"we cook"
B	<i>helomeyek'</i>	<i>helomeyem'</i>	"dance"	<i>helomeye'moh</i>	"we dance"
	<i>hlkyorkwek'</i>	<i>hlkyorkwem'</i>	"watch"	<i>hlkyorkwe'moh</i>	"we watch"
	<i>hookwchek'</i>	<i>hookwchem'</i>	"gamble"	<i>hookwche'moh</i>	"we gamble"
	<i>ruerowok'</i>	<i>ruerowoom'</i>	"sing"	<i>ruerowoo'moh</i>	"we sing"
C	<i>kepoyuerek'</i>	<i>kepoyuereem'</i>	"swim"	<i>kepoyueree'moh</i>	"we swim"
	<i>pyuerkerek'</i>	<i>pyuerkereem'</i>	"play"	<i>pyuerkeree'moh</i>	"we play"
	<i>roowosek'</i>	<i>roowosem'</i>	"smoke"	<i>roowose'moh</i>	"we smoke"
	<i>serrhlerperk'</i>	<i>serrhlerpeem'</i>	"do, act (so)"	<i>serrhlerpee'moh</i>	"we do, act"
D	<i>cheeweyek'</i>	<i>cheeweyeem'</i>	"be hungry"	<i>cheeweyee'moh</i>	"we're hungry"
	<i>chkeyek'</i>	<i>chkeem'</i>	"sleep"	<i>chkee'moh</i>	"we sleep"
	<i>kweskwesek'</i>	<i>kweskweseem'</i>	"have colds"	<i>kweskwesee'moh</i>	"we have colds"
	<i>telek'</i>	<i>telogem'</i>	"be sick"	<i>teloge'moh</i>	"we are sick"

Table 5.9: Collective verbs referring to (A) food preparation and consumption, (B) shared cultural activities, (C) common activities, and (D) sickness and bodily states

	SINGULAR	COLLECTIVE STEM		1ST PERSON COLLECTIVE	
	<i>chowonek'</i>	<i>chowonem'</i>	"fish with a seine net"	<i>chowone'moh</i>	"we fish . . ."
	<i>hlkook'</i>	<i>hlkuuem'</i>	"gather acorns"	<i>hlkuue'moh</i>	"we gather . . ."
	<i>holehllkesek'</i>	<i>holehllkesem'</i>	"gather hazel shoots"	<i>holehllkese'moh</i>	"we gather . . ."
	<i>kertkek'</i>	<i>kertkeem'</i>	"fish with a pole"	<i>kertkee'moh</i>	"we fish . . ."
	<i>lemolook'</i>	<i>lemoluuem'</i>	"hook eels"	<i>lemoluu'e'moh</i>	"we hook eels"
	<i>pee'eeyek'</i>	<i>pee'eeyem'</i>	"gather mussels"	<i>pee'eeye'moh</i>	"we gather . . ."

Table 5.10: Collectives of verbs of fishing, gathering, and hunting

	SINGULAR	COLLECTIVE STEM		1ST PERSON COLLECTIVE	
A	<i>heemechook'</i>	<i>heemem'</i>	"hurry"	<i>heeme'moh</i>	"we hurry"
	<i>kwomhlechook'</i>	<i>kwomhlem'</i>	"return"	<i>kwomhle'moh</i>	"we return"
	<i>menechook'</i>	<i>menem'</i>	"disappear"	<i>mene'moh</i>	"we disappear"
	<i>me'womechook'</i>	<i>me'womem'</i>	"come from"	<i>me'wome'moh</i>	"we come from"
	<i>neskwechook'</i>	<i>nuuem'</i>	"arrive"	<i>nuue'moh</i>	"we arrive"
	<i>pkwechook'</i>	<i>pkwem'</i>	"emerge"	<i>pkwe'moh</i>	"we emerge"
B	<i>hegook'</i>	<i>hoolem'</i>	"walk, go"	<i>hoole'moh</i>	"we walk"
	<i>sootook'</i>	<i>lem'</i>	"go, leave"	<i>le'moh</i>	"we go"
	<i>wenook'</i>	<i>weno'eem'</i>	"come"	<i>weno'ee'moh</i>	"we come"
C	<i>'ook'</i>	<i>'oolem'</i>	"be (there)"	<i>'oole'moh</i>	"we are (there)"

Table 5.11: Collectives of (A) motion verbs with *-ech-*, (B) other motion verbs, and (C) a location verb

SINGULAR	NON-INFLECTED COLLECTIVE	
<i>heemo'repek'</i>	<i>heemo'omah</i>	"run quickly"
<i>hl'o'repek'</i>	<i>hl'o'omah</i>	"stop running"
<i>raayo'repek'</i>	<i>raayo'omah</i>	"run past"
<i>ro'opek'</i>	<i>lo'omah</i>	"run"
<i>hooro'opek'</i>	<i>hoolo'omah</i>	"run around"

Table 5.12: Collectives of verbs of running, including in (A) some with *-o'rep-*

	SINGULAR	NON-INFLECTED COLLECTIVE	
A	<i>chweenkepek'</i>	<i>chweenkah</i>	"talk, pray"
	<i>herogepek'</i>	<i>herogah</i>	"tattoo oneself"
	<i>homtepek'</i>	<i>homtah</i>	"play"
	<i>hoyhlkepek'</i>	<i>hoyhlkah</i>	"flap, roll, wiggle"
	<i>huemonepek'</i>	<i>huemonah</i>	"be warm"
B	<i>komeenepek'</i>	<i>komeenah</i>	"feel"
	<i>mueleenepek'</i>	<i>mueleenah</i>	"be relieved of pain"
	<i>noweenepek'</i>	<i>noweenah</i>	"be happy"
	<i>saawogeenepek'</i>	<i>saawogeenah</i>	"feel cool, peaceful"

Table 5.13: Collectives of verbs with *-ep-*, including in (B) verbs of feeling with *-eenep-*

verbs like *kwomhlo'repek'* "I run back" may have similar non-inflected collectives (like *\*kwomhlo'omah*), but they are not documented. Given finally in Table 5.13 are non-inflected collective verb forms associated with other verbs that are formed with the suffix *-ep-*. It is a common pattern, especially for the verbs in *-eenepek'* that express bodily feeling, for there to be an associated non-inflected collective in *-(een)ah*.

## 5.6.2 Verbs without collectives

Some significant categories of verbs systematically lack collectives. For example, the perception verbs *newook'* "I see it" and *nee'nowok'* "I watch it" use only non-collective plurals, as illustrated in (41).<sup>1</sup>

- (41) (a) *Nekah keech poy newoh.*  
 "We saw them first." AF 2001 (JB)
- (b) *Nueme kue 'we-rek'woy so nee'nowohl.*  
 "They were looking right at the river mouth." FS 1951 (YL)

In addition, the verbs in *-okseemek'* that refer to thinking and states of mind never have collective forms. A couple of non-collective plural examples with such verbs are given in (42).

- (42) (a) *K'ee kwen cho skewokseemehl, kos'ela tenoo.*  
 "Whatever they want, may there be much (of it)." FS 1951 (YL)
- (b) *Kelew hes neekie chyue tokseemue' kue yo'hlkoh?*  
 "Do you all admire them?" YL 1951

<sup>1</sup> The perception verb *ko'moyok'* "I hear it" does have a collective, but the non-collective is documented as well.



**Figure 5.2:** Mary Marshall and two of her sons, 1904. A fluent Yurok speaker from Kepel, Mrs. Marshall lived in Hoopa and worked on Yurok documentation with A. L. Kroeber, T. T. Waterman, and Edward Sapir.

Similarly, verbs in *-uemek'* lack collective forms. A few non-collective plurals are illustrated in (43).

- (43) (a) *Pechue muehlcho' neemee soo komchuemehl.*  
 "Upriver perhaps they do not know this." FS 1951 (YL)
- (b) *Neekee keech ho'ohko'hl noohl hohkuemoh 'ne-'yoch.*  
 "We kept building our boats until nightfall."  
 (LIT. "It got to be night, then we made our boats.") FS 1951 (YL)
- (c) *Yo'hlkoh weesh ho laayoluemehl.*  
 "They are the ones who taught him." YL 1951

Since verbs in *-okseemek'* and *-uemek'* are frequent, it is useful to know that they lack collectives. A final verb category without collectives consists of passive verbs, which never form collectives. For example, in (44), two examples of *hlook'* "I grab it" are given: a collective *hloo'moh* in (44a), and a passive *hloyehl* in (44b). Here the important fact is that the passive is non-collective.

- (44) (a) *Hloo'moh 'o'lehl mehl yo'.*  
 "We got a house from him." YL 1951
- (b) *Keech hloyehl kue cheenes mehl heeko'ch'uek.*  
 "The young men were being carried from across the river." FS 1951 (YL)

### 5.6.3 Collectives without endings

A final useful rule is that collective verbs can be used with or without endings; endings are optional. Several collectives are illustrated in (45–47), without endings in the (a) examples and with them in the (b) examples.

- (45) Examples of *'oolem'* (collective of *'ook'* "I am (there)")
- (a) *Weet nee 'oolem' kue kwegeruer'.*  
 "The pigs live there." AF 2004 (AG)
- (b) *Wonew nee 'oole'mehl.*  
 "They live up in the hills." YL 1951
- (46) Examples of *hoolem'* (collective of *hegook'* "I walk, go")
- (a) *Raak nee ma hoolem'.*  
 "They went up the creek." FS 1980 (PP)
- (b) *Nekah kee hoole'moh kue 'ne-negeeen'.*  
 "We will all go and look for it." FS 1980 (PP)
- (47) Examples of *lem'* (collective of *sootook'* "I go, leave")
- (a) *Pechue keetee lem'.*  
 "They (salmon) are going to go upriver." AF 2004 (AG)
- (b) *Lekwsee le'mekw!*  
 "Go outside!" GT 2003 (YLCB)

## 5.7 Summary of verb inflections

Table 5.14 on page 48 presents a summary of *e*-class, *o*-class, and *oo*-class verb forms.

	E-CLASS	E-CLASS	O-CLASS	O-CLASS	OO-CLASS 3 SG -o'm	OO-CLASS 3 SG -ok'w	OO-CLASS 3 SG -o'
1 SG	ro'opek'	nepək'	nee'nowok'	ruerowok'	megetohlkwok'	hegook'	rechook'
2 SG	ro'openi'	nepem'	nee'nowom'	ruerowom'	megetohlkwom'	hegoom'	rechoom'
3 SG	ro'op'	nep'	nee'now'	ruerow'	megetohlkwom'	hegok'w	recho'
IMPV SG	ro'op'es	nep's	nee'no'wos	ruero'wos	megetohlk'wos	hego'och	rechio's
1 PL	(ro'opoh)	(nepoh)	nee'nowoh	(ruerowoh)	megetohlkwoh		rechoh
2 PL	(ro'opue')	(nepue')	nee'nowow'	(ruerowow')	megetohlkwow'		rechow'
3 PL	(ro'opehl)	(nepehl)	nee'nowohl	(ruerowohl)	megetohlkwohl		rechohl
IMPV PL	(ro'opekw)	(nepekw)	nee'nowekw	(ruerowekw)	megetohlkwekw		rechekw
1 COLL	lo'onah	nepet'moh		ruerowoo'moh		hoolet'moh	
2 COLL	lo'onah	nepet'mow'		ruerowoo'mow'		hoolet'mow'	
3 COLL	lo'onah	nepet'mehl		ruerowoo'mehl		hoolet'mehl	
IMPV COLL		nepet'mekw		ruerowoo'mekw		hoolet'mekw	
	"run"	"eat"	"look for"	"sing"	"look after"	"go, walk"	"paddle"

Table 5.14: Singular and plural patterns for *e*-class, *o*-class, and *oo*-class verbs. Parenthesized forms are rare.

## Chapter 6

# Additional verb types

This chapter introduces five common verb formations. Passive verb forms (§6.1) and bipersonal verb forms (§6.2) exist for most transitive verbs. Subjunctive verb forms (§6.4), attributive verb forms (§6.5), and iterative verb forms (§6.6) exist for almost every Yurok verb. Given here are basic descriptions of these categories — enough to begin using them and to help make sense of the examples in Part II (chapters 11–25).

### 6.1 Passive verbs

Most transitive verbs (verbs that have objects as well as subjects) have a set of PASSIVE forms.<sup>1</sup> These can be used to indicate that the speaker does not know who the (ordinary) subject of the verb is, or does not care, or generally that the discourse is oriented toward the object and not the subject. Yurok passives are broadly equivalent to English sentences like *I was hit with a rock* or *Mistakes were made*, but often the best translation is “somebody did (the verbal action)”.

#### 6.1.1 Forming passives

The most regular type of passive is formed as follows. For an *e*-class verb (1 SG *-ek'*), the passive is formed in a variety of semi-regular and sometimes irregular ways; often a suffix *-el-* or *-ey-* is used. For an *o*-class or *oo*-class verb (1 SG *-ok'* or *-ook'*), the passive is formed in *-oye-* (1 SG *-oyek'*). All passive verbs are themselves *e*-class verbs, whether they are passives of *e*-class, *o*-class, or *oo*-class verbs. Some of the patterns are illustrated in Table 6.1 on page 50. The 1 SG forms in this table have the meanings in (48).

- (48) (a) *myewoletelek'* “I am pushed under the water, somebody pushed me under the water”

<sup>1</sup> To describe these verb forms R. H. Robins used the term PASSIVE in his book *The Yurok language* (1958). In an article “Pragmatic convergence: Person hierarchies in northern California” (2002), Lisa Conathan has shown that they are what linguists would now call INVERSE verb forms; this explains some key differences from English passives. (For full references see the Bibliography on page 299.) Linguists may wish to note the following additional analytic point: while Robins treated these as inflectional forms of the verbs with which they are associated here, this may not be the correct analysis. It may instead be the case that “passive” forms are among a suite of derivationally related verbs with different argument-structure properties.



	E-CLASS (IRREGULAR)		O-CLASS	OO-CLASS
1 SG	<i>myewoletelek'</i>	<i>nahchelek'</i>	<i>nee'e'nowoyek'</i>	<i>tmooloyek'</i>
2 SG	<i>myewoletelem'</i>	<i>nahchelem'</i>	<i>nee'e'nowoyem'</i>	<i>tmooloyem'</i>
3 SG	<i>myewoletel'</i>	<i>nahchel'</i>	<i>nee'e'nowee'</i>	<i>tmoollee'</i>
1 PL	<i>myewoleteloh</i>	<i>nahcheloh</i>	<i>nee'e'nowoyoh</i>	<i>tmooloyoh</i>
2 PL	<i>myewoletelue'</i>	<i>nahchelue'</i>	<i>nee'e'nowoyue'</i>	<i>tmooloyue'</i>
3 PL	<i>myewoletelehl</i>	<i>nahchelehl</i>	<i>nee'e'nowoyehl</i>	<i>tmooloyehl</i>
	"immerse, push under water"	"give"	"watch"	"shoot"

Table 6.1: Passive verb formation

- (b) *nahchelek'* "I am given it, somebody gave it to me"  
(c) *nee'e'nowoyok'* "I am watched, somebody watched me"  
(d) *tmooloyek'* "I am shot, somebody shot me"

An especially common passive pattern for *e*-class verbs is shown in Table 6.2. In this pattern, the 3 SG passive form ends in *-ue'* and the other forms have a suffix *-el-*.

	<i>hekwssek'</i> "find"	<i>hohkuemek'</i> "make"	<i>laayoluemek'</i> "teach"	<i>nekek'</i> "put"
1 SG	<i>hekwssek'</i>	<i>hohkek'</i>	<i>laayoluemek'</i>	<i>nekek'</i>
2 SG	<i>hekwsselem'</i>	<i>hohkelem'</i>	<i>laayoluemelem'</i>	<i>nekelem'</i>
3 SG	<i>hekwsue'</i>	<i>hohkue'</i>	<i>laayoluemue'</i>	<i>nekue'</i>
1 PL	<i>hekwseloh</i>	<i>hohkeloh</i>	<i>laayoluemeloh</i>	<i>nekeloh</i>
2 PL	<i>hekwselue'</i>	<i>hohkelue'</i>	<i>laayoluemelue'</i>	<i>nekelue'</i>
3 PL	<i>hekwslehl</i>	<i>hohkelehl</i>	<i>laayoluemelehl</i>	<i>nekelehl</i>

Table 6.2: Passive verb forms in *-el-* and *-ue'*

The 1 SG forms in this table have the meanings in (49).<sup>1</sup>

- (49) (a) *hekwssek'* "I am found, somebody found me"  
(b) *hohkek'* "I am made, somebody made me"  
(c) *laayoluemek'* "I am taught, somebody taught me"  
(d) *nekek'* "I am put (somewhere), somebody put me (somewhere)"

In addition to the patterns in Tables 6.1–6.2, there are many irregular or semi-regular passive formation patterns that must be learned individually. See §6.3 for more discussion, and chapters 14–24 for details about some especially common verbs.

### 6.1.2 Using passives

The term BASIC SUBJECT may be useful to avoid ambiguity in referring to the subject of a non-passive verb.<sup>2</sup> For example, the basic subject of *newook'* "I see it" and *newoyek'* "I

<sup>1</sup> Note that passive forms like *hohkek'* need not have the unlikely meaning "somebody made or repaired me" (as if spoken by a boat or house); they could be used in a causative construction with meanings like "somebody made me (do something)". For this construction see §12.2 on page 121.

<sup>2</sup> Linguists might use the term UNDERLYING SUBJECT.



**Figure 6.1:** Aileen Figueroa and Jimmie James at the 2006 Yurok Language Celebration. Both Mrs. Figueroa and Mr. James used Yurok in their homes and taught the language to family members and in classes.

am seen” is the one who sees. In many examples, like those in (50), passive verbs are used when the basic subject is unknown or of no special interest in context.

- (50) (a) *Keech ho'omohtkoyek'*.  
 "I've been hurt." FS 1980 (PP)
- (b) *Neekee markwsewee'*.  
 "They were all killed." FS 1980 (PP)
- (c) *Kol' sook wee laamenetkwelesee'*.  
 "Something was being dragged along there." FS 1951 (YL)

In cases like (51), the basic subject is known but the focus of attention is the participant who is affected by the action. This is especially common for plural basic subjects that might be translated as “they” or “people” (in general).

- (51) (a) *Hesem' hes newoyem'?*  
 "Do you think they see you?"  
 (LIT. "Do you think you were seen?") AF 2001 (JB)
- (b) *Keech syaahlkoyem' hes?*  
 "Did they kick you?"  
 (LIT. "Were you kicked?") AF 2001 (JB)
- (c) *Keech nuemee sya'syaahlkoyek'*.  
 "They keep kicking me."  
 (LIT. "I am really being repeatedly kicked.") AF 2001 (JB)

As illustrated in (52), passives are also sometimes used when the basic subject is overtly expressed — *kue puesee* “that cat” in (52a) and *kue meges* “the doctor” in (52b). Typically, in such cases the focus of attention is not the basic subject but the participant who is affected by the action.

- (52) (a) *Newook' kue puesee sesomenoyem'*.  
 “I saw that cat scratch you.”  
 (LIT. “I saw you scratched (by) that cat.”) AF 2001 (LJC)
- (b) *Kue meges keech meskwoyek'*.  
 “The doctor is treating me with medicine.”  
 (LIT. “I am being treated with medicine (by) the doctor.”) AG 2007 (AG)

## 6.2 Bipersonal verbs

While the verbs discussed above have endings that indicate the subject, Yurok also has verbs with endings that indicate both the subject AND the object. These are called BIPERSONAL verbs, and can be used when the object of the verb refers to a person (or an animal behaving like a person, for example in a story). Examples are in (53–54). The verbs in (53) all end in *-chek'* and involve a subject “I” and an object “you”, such as *ko'moyochek'* “I hear you” in (53a).

- (53) (a) *Nek ko'moyochek'*.  
 “I heard you.” AF 2001 (JB)
- (b) *Nekee' meskwochek'*.  
 “I’m treating you with medicine.” GT 2007 (YLCB)
- (c) *Kee 'orechek'*.  
 “I’m going to owe you money.” FS 1980 (PP)

The verbs in (54) all end in *-pa'* and involve a subject “you” and an object “me”, such as *laayoluepa'* “you teach me”.

- (54) (a) *Skuy' soo laayoluepa'*.  
 “You teach me well.” JJ 2006 (AG)
- (b) *Cho' chpeenahpeepa' owookpaa!*  
 “Wait for me until the day after tomorrow.” YL 1951

Generally, if a verb’s object is a person — “me, you, her, him, us, them” — then a bipersonal form is usually used. Some speakers use them regularly only in examples like (53–54) where “I” and “you” are involved, especially in Modern Yurok, but most speakers use a broad range of bipersonal forms as appropriate. Full bipersonal paradigms of numerous individual verbs are given throughout chapters 14–24.

## 6.3 Specific verb types

Some specific and common types of verbs have systematically irregular forms. In other words, though the pattern for a specific type is irregular (compared with verbs generally), once you know the pattern you can easily form other verbs of that type.

### 6.3.1 Verbs in *-eemek'* and *-uemek'*

Verbs ending in *-eemek'* and *-uemek'* can have distinctive imperative singular, passive, and bipersonal forms. Generally, in these distinctive forms the consonant *-m-* is dropped. For *-eemek'* verbs, the imperative singulars end in *-es* rather than  $\dagger$ -*ee'mes*; the passives end in *-eyek'* (3 SG *-ee'*); and the bipersonals omit the *-m-*. Sample bipersonals are *ske-wokseechek'* "I like you" and *knokseepa'* "you leave me" (rather than  $\dagger$ *skewokseemechek'* and  $\dagger$ *knokseemepa'*); passives and singular imperatives are illustrated in Table 6.3.<sup>1</sup>

1 SG INDICATIVE		IMPV SG	PASSIVE 1 SG	PASSIVE 3 SG
<i>knokseemek'</i>	"I leave"	<i>knok'ses</i>	<i>knokseyek'</i>	<i>knokseek'</i>
<i>rohseemek'</i>	"I spear it"	<i>ro'ses</i>	<i>rohseyek'</i>	<i>rohsee'</i>
<i>skewokseemek'</i>	"I like it"	<i>skewok'ses</i>	<i>skewokseyek'</i>	<i>skewoksee'</i>

Table 6.3: Passives and singular imperatives of verbs in *-eemek'*

These forms are further illustrated for individual verbs in chapters 11–25 below.

For *-uemek'* verbs, the imperative singular forms end in *-ues*, not  $\dagger$ -*ue'mes*. Examples are *ho'k'ues* and *teyke'lues*, the imperative singulars of *hohkuemek'* "I make" and *teykelue-mek'* "I bite it". Such verbs also have bipersonals without *-m-*, as in *komchuechek'* "I know you" and *komchuepa'* "you know me" (not  $\dagger$ *komchuemechek'* and  $\dagger$ *komchuemepa'*). Verbs in *-uemek'* have distinctive passive forms as well, but the patterns are best learned individually.

### 6.3.2 Verbs in *-onemek'*

Verbs ending in *-onemek'* have distinctive imperative singular, passive, and bipersonal forms. In general, the suffix sequence *-em-* is dropped in these forms. The singular imperatives end in *-ones*, rather than or in addition to *-onemes*; the passives end in *-onoyek'* (3 SG *-onee'*); and the bipersonals end in *-onechek'*, etc. Sample bipersonals are *mehlonchek'* "I touch you" and *s'ooponechek'* "I punch you" (not  $\dagger$ *mehlonemechek'* and  $\dagger$ *s'ooponemechek'*); passives and singular imperatives are illustrated in Table 6.4.

1 SG INDICATIVE		IMPV SG	PASSIVE 1 SG	PASSIVE 3 SG
<i>'ekonemek'</i>	"I hold it"	<i>'ek'ones</i>	<i>'ekonoyek'</i>	<i>'ekonee'</i>
<i>mehlonemek'</i>	"I touch it"	<i>mehl'ones</i>	<i>mehlonoyek'</i>	<i>mehlonee'</i>
<i>ke'yonemek'</i>	"I release it"	<i>ke'yones</i>	<i>ke'yonoyek'</i>	<i>ke'yonee'</i>
<i>s'ooponemek'</i>	"I punch her/him"	<i>s'oop'ones</i>	<i>s'oop'onoyek'</i>	<i>s'oop'onee'</i>

Table 6.4: Passives and imperatives of verbs in *-onemek'*

<sup>1</sup> The passives and singular imperatives of *-eemek'* verbs are thus identical to the passives and singular imperatives of related verbs without the *-em-* suffix where such related verbs exist. For example, the passives and singular imperative of *rohseemek'* are identical to those of *rohsek'* "I throw".

### 6.3.3 Verbs in *-eyek'*, *-oyek'*, and *-owok'*

All passive verbs in *-eyek'* and *-oyek'*, and some other verbs in *-oyek'*, have distinctive 3 SG forms. As shown in Table 6.5, these end in *-ee'* rather than †*-ey'* and †*-oy'*.

1 SG		3 SG
<i>skewokseyek'</i>	"I am liked, somebody likes me"	<i>skewoksee'</i>
<i>s'ooponoyek'</i>	"I am punched, somebody punches me"	<i>s'ooponee'</i>
<i>hlkelomoyek'</i>	"I am dirty"	<i>hlkelomee'</i>
<i>meskwoyek'</i>	"I am treated wth medicine, somebody treats me"	<i>meskwee'</i>
<i>newoyek'</i>	"I am seen, somebody sees me"	<i>newee'</i>
<i>syaahlkoyek'</i>	"I am kicked, somebody kicks me"	<i>syaahlkee'</i>

Table 6.5: Passive and some other verbs in *-eyek'* and *-oyek'*: 3 SG forms

Verbs in *-owok'* also have a distinctive pattern. There are exceptions (like *ruerow'* "s/he sings"), but many have 3 SG forms without *-ow-*. Examples are in Table 6.6.

INDICATIVE 1 SG		3 SG
<i>hlmeyowok'</i>	"I am mean"	<i>hlmey'</i>
<i>kaamuenowok'</i>	"I grow badly, I am deformed"	<i>kaamuen'</i>
<i>sonowok'</i>	"I am (a certain way)"	<i>son'</i>
<i>weno'omuenowok'</i>	"I am (a certain) age"	<i>weno'omuen'</i>

Table 6.6: Verbs in *-owok'*: 3 SG forms

## 6.4 Subjunctive verbs

All Yurok verbs (inflected and non-inflected) have SUBJUNCTIVE forms in addition to the indicative and imperative forms described above.<sup>1</sup> Subjunctives have three main features. First, they use the prefixes that otherwise express possessive meanings (*'ne-*, *'ke-*, *'we-* ~ *'ue-*). Second, for inflected verbs, their singular endings are the same as indicative 1 SG endings. And third, they are used in special contexts (§6.4.2).

### 6.4.1 Forming subjunctives

The subjunctive prefixes and endings are shown in Table 6.7 on page 55. The forms in this table have prefixes; their endings make singular forms look like 1 SG verbs, but prefixes disambiguate key forms. Examples of subjunctive clauses (underlined) with *skewok* are given in (55) for statements and in (56) for questions.

<sup>1</sup> Subjunctive verbs were called PRONOMINAL-PREFIX VERBS in R. H. Robins's *The Yurok language* (1958; for the full reference see the Bibliography on page 299). A subjunctive non-inflected verb is in fact indistinguishable from a possessed noun; the word *'ue-pa'ah* may be interpreted as "for it to be wet" (non-inflected verb) or "its water" (noun). An alternative linguistic term for subjunctives might be SUBORDINATIVE, because they are associated with subordinate clauses.

	E-CLASS	O-CLASS	OO-CLASS	NON-INFLECTED
1 SG	'ne-nepek'	'ne-ruerowok'	'ne-neskwechook'	'ne-kweget
2 SG	k'e-nepek'	k'e-ruerowok'	k'e-neskwechook'	k'e-kweget
3 SG	'we-nepek'	'we-ruerowok'	'we-neskwechook'	'ue-kweget
1 PL	'ne-nepoh	'ne-ruerowoh	'ne-neskwechoh	'ne-kweget
2 PL	k'e-nepue'	k'e-ruerowow'	k'e-neskwechow'	k'e-kweget
3 PL	'we-nepohl	'we-ruerowohl	'we-neskwechohl	'ue-kweget
1 COLL	'ne-nepee'moh	'ne-nuue'moh	'ne-ruerowoo'moh	
2 COLL	k'e-nepee'mow'	k'e-nuue'mow'	k'e-ruerowoo'mow'	
3 COLL	'we-nepee'mehl	'we-nuue'mehl	'we-ruerowoo'mehl	
	"eat"	"sing"	"arrive"	"visit"

Table 6.7: Subjunctive verb formation

- (55) (a) *Skewok kee k'-egook'*.  
"You want to go." MM 1927 (ES)
- (b) *Skewok kee 'ne-hoorechuue'moh.*  
"We want to make baskets." AF 2002 (JB)
- (c) *Skewok kee 'ne-rekwoh skuuewolonee pa'ah.*  
"I want to drink soda." GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (56) (a) *Skewok hes kel' kee k'e-megelook'?*  
"Do you want to go along?" FS 1980 (PP)
- (b) *Tee'neeshoo skewok kee k'e-nepek'?*  
"What do you want to eat?" GT 2003 (YLCB)

### 6.4.2 Using subjunctives

There are many contexts where subjunctives are used. Only a few very common ones are described here. The most common context generally is when one verb is subordinated to another verb.<sup>1</sup> Examples of this type were given in (55–56) above: the verbs *skewok* "want" (non-inflected) and *skewokseemek'* "I want" (inflected) have only subjunctive complement clauses. Examples showing subjunctives with verbs that mean "thank you (for . . .)" or "I am glad (that . . .)" appear in (57).<sup>2</sup>

- (57) (a) *Tewomehl kee k'e-megelook'*.  
"I'm glad that you came with me." GT 2007 (LC)
- (b) *Wokhlew 'ne-newochek'*.  
"I'm glad to see you." MR ~1970 (MRo)
- (c) *Koweeshcho' k'ee ma k'er-nergery.*  
"Thank you for helping." FS 1951 (RHR)

<sup>1</sup> Strictly speaking, the type of subordination at issue is COMPLEMENTATION. Attributive verbs (§6.5) are used in another subordinate clause type, the relative clause.

<sup>2</sup> Learners will note that in Classical Yurok not all speakers used the words *wokhlew* and *koweeshcho'* in the same way they are used today.

Other instances of this pattern (subjunctive verbs subordinated to another verb in the context) are found with verbs like *nekomuy* “know how (to do something)” and *chahch-esek* “I am tired (of doing something)” and expressions like *keech 'ee roo* “it is time (to do something)” and *keech 'ee son'* “people are ready (to do something)”. These are illustrated in (58).

- (58) Subjunctive verbs subordinated to other verbs
- (a) *Nekomuy k'e-saa'agochek'*.  
“You know how to speak Yurok.” JJ 2006 (LC)
  - (b) *Nekomuy kee k'e-pemek' kegoth hes?*  
“Do you know how to make acorn soup?” GT 2003 (YLCB)
  - (c) *Chahchesek' 'ne-chpeenepek'*.  
“I'm tired of waiting.” GT 2003 (YLCB)
  - (d) *Keech 'ee roo kee 'ne-kemeye'moh.*  
“It's time for us to go home.” JVP 2001 (JB)
  - (e) *Keech hes 'ee son' kee k'-egook'?*  
“Are you ready to start?” FS 1951 (RHR)

Another common context is with *neeko'hl* and other similar words that mean “always”, as illustrated in (59).

- (59) Subjunctive verbs with *neeko'hl* “always”
- (a) *Ne-romech neeko'hl 'w-ahkwusek'*.  
“My niece is always laughing.” GT 2003 (YLCB)
  - (b) *Neeko'hl 'we-hlmeyowohl.*  
“They are always mean.” FS 1980 (PP)
  - (c) *Neeko'hl kol' nee k'-egook'*.  
“You are always going off somewhere.” YL 1951
  - (d) *Neeko'hl wee'eeet 'o 'we-chyuuek'wenek'*.  
“She was always sitting there.” MM 1927 (YT)

Finally, note that it is sometimes possible, as in (60), for the prefix in the subjunctive construction to be separated from the verb.

- (60) Separation of subjunctive prefix and verb
- (a) *Nek komchuemek' wee k'e-mehl hesek'*.  
“I know why you think so.” YL 1951
  - (b) *Mos keech newook' weet 'we-soo kaamopek'*.  
“I've never seen such rough water.”  
(LIT. “I've never seen it be bad water in this way.”) FS 1980 (PP)
  - (c) *Neeko'hl 'we-skuy' soneenepek'*.  
“He or she always feels good.” FS 1980 (PP)
  - (d) *Skewok kee 'we-skuy' soo ko'moyok'*.  
“She wants to hear it well.” JJ 2007 (LC)

This is especially common with the preverbs *mehl* as in (60a) and *soo* as in (60b).

## 6.5 Attributive verbs

Every inflected Yurok verb has ATTRIBUTIVE forms. These have distinctive endings and a set of uses that sometimes correspond to modifiers in English, sometimes to nouns, and sometimes to phrases with meanings like “the one who steals” or “the boy who ran fast”. The ATTRIBUTIVE PHRASES that are formed with attributive verbs can be understood informally as descriptive phrases; they serve to characterize or describe a noun or a referent under discussion.<sup>1</sup>

The most common patterns for forming attributive verbs are shown in Table 6.8.

	E-CLASS	E-CLASS	O-CLASS OR OO-CLASS	OO-CLASS (3 SG <i>-ok'w</i> )
1 SG	<i>komchuemoh</i>	<i>nepoh</i>	<i>megetohlkwoh</i>	<i>sootoh</i>
2 SG	<i>komchuemom</i>	<i>nepom</i>	<i>megetohlkwoomom</i>	<i>sootoomom</i>
3 SG	<i>komchuemeen</i>	<i>nepeen</i>	<i>megetohlkwomeen</i>	<i>sootokween</i>
1 PL	<i>komchuemoh</i>	<i>nepoh</i>	<i>megetohlkwoh</i>	
2 PL	<i>komchuemueh</i>	<i>nepueh</i>	<i>megetohlkwoomom</i>	
3 PL	<i>komchuemeen</i>	<i>nepeen</i>	<i>megetohlkwoomeen</i>	
1 COLL		<i>nepee'moh</i>		<i>le'moh</i>
2 COLL		<i>nepee'mow'</i>		<i>le'mow'</i>
3 COLL		<i>nepee'monee</i>		<i>le'monee</i>
	“know it”	“eat”	“take care of it”	“go, leave”

Table 6.8: Attributive verb paradigms

As the table shows, all first-person (singular and plural) attributives have an ending *-oh*, similar to the 1 PL ending of indicative verbs. Second-person attributives distinguish singular and plural endings, and have different patterns for *e*-class vs. *o*- and *oo*-class verbs. Note that *oo*-class verbs with 3 SG forms in *-ok'w* have 3 SG attributives in *-okween*. Collective first- and second-person attributives are identical to indicatives; the third-person forms are distinct.

By far the most common attributive forms in use are third-person forms (singular, plural, and collective). Their use to modify nouns is illustrated in (61–62). Given first, in (61), are examples with the pattern Attributive + Noun.<sup>2</sup>

(61) Attributive + Noun

- (a) *kerkue'yermercheen laayekws*  
 “a crooked trail” (*kerkue'yermercherk'* “I walk crookedly”) FS 1980 (PP)
- (b) *nuemee peleen leyes*  
 “a very big snake” (*peloyek'* “I am big”) AF 2001 (JB)

<sup>1</sup> Attributive verbs are used to form what linguists call RELATIVE CLAUSES. A relative clause that consists of only an attributive verb can function like an AGENT NOUN, the equivalent of English *baker*, *hunter*, etc. Note that a number of details of attributive formation and usage are omitted here. More information can be found in R. H. Robins's *The Yurok language* (1958) and Howard Berman's “Subordinate clauses in Yurok: A preliminary report” (1972); for full references see the Bibliography on page 299.

<sup>2</sup> Note that *che'lonee* in (61c) is strictly speaking a passive attributive, as *che'lee'* is passive.



- (c) *kue che'lonē nepuy*  
 "the smoked salmon" (*che'lee'* "it is dried") GT 2007 (LC)
- (d) *kue lekonee pegerk*  
 "the man who fell down" (*lekolek'* "I fall") YL 1951
- (e) *kue noorewonee wer'yers*  
 "the pretty girl" (*noorewok'* "I am pretty") JVP 2001 (JB)
- (f) *kue wee'eeet 'oole'monee 'oohl*  
 "the people who lived there" (*'ook'* "I am (in a place)") FS 1986 (JP)

In (62) are examples with the pattern Noun + *kue* + Attributive. These examples do not clearly show it, but in general the pattern in (62) is used for longer or more complex attributive phrases. The pattern in (61) tends to be used for shorter or one-word attributive phrases.

(62) Noun + *kue* + Attributive

- (a) *kue meweemor kue wee' megetohlkwomeen*  
 "the old man who looked after it" (*megetohlkwook'* "I look after it")  
 FS 1951 (YL)
- (b) *kue pekcheech kue tkwepeen*  
 "the short rope" (*tkwep'* "it is short") YL 1951
- (c) *kue pegerk kue lekonee*  
 "the man who fell down" (*lekolek'* "I fall") YL 1951

Given in (63) are examples of a pattern in which the attributive form (not modifying a noun) is interpreted as "one who does" whatever the verb refers to. Since they refer to the subjects of verbs, these can be called SUBJECT attributive phrases.

## (63) Subject attributive phrases

- (a) *kue keech hegookween*  
 "the one who has gone" (*hegook'* "I go") FS 1980 (PP)
- (b) *k'ee wek hopkuereen*  
 "this one who started to swim here"  
 (*hopkuerek'* "I start to swim") DW 1906 (ALK)
- (c) *komchuemeen k'ee 'ne-mes*  
 "one who knows this medicine of mine"  
 (*komchuemek'* "I know it") MM 1927 (YT)
- (d) *kue kee ro'opeen*  
 "the one who can run" (*ro'opek'* "I run") YL 1951

Given in (64) are OBJECT attributive phrases, whose overall interpretation is "the one" or "the thing" that somebody (else) did the verbal action to.

## (64) Object attributive phrases

- (a) *kue nek 'ne-psech ho nergerykermeeen*  
 "the one who my father helped" (*nergerykerrk'* "I help") FS 1951 (YL)
- (b) *kue perey sochpeyeween*  
 "the thing the old woman said" (*sochpeyewok'* "I say it") YL 1951



Figure 6.2: James Gensaw, Jr., Yurok language teacher at Eureka High School, 2014. Photo by Jim Wilson.

Finally, first-person and second-person attributive phrases are illustrated in (65). These occur in the same patterns as the third-person attributives, but are less often used.

- (65) First-person and second-person attributive phrases
- (a) *kue nek komchuemoh pegerk*  
 = *kue pegerk kue nek komchuemoh*  
 “the man I know” (*komchuemek* “I know him”) YL 1951
  - (b) *kue nekah kooychkwoh o’lehl*  
 “the house we bought” (*kooychkwook* “I buy it”) YL 1951
  - (c) *kue pegerk kue ma newoomom*  
 “the man you went to see” (*newook* “I see it”) YL 1951

## 6.6 Iterative verbs

Every Yurok verb has ITERATIVE forms. Usually these are used to express the meaning that an activity or situation involves multiple actions or events.<sup>1</sup> For example, a single person may do something on multiple occasions, or habitually; or multiple people may do something on the same occasion.

<sup>1</sup> In his book *The Yurok language* (1958), R. H. Robins used the term “intensive” to describe what are here called iterative verbs. These verbs were studied in detail by Andrew Garrett, “Reduplication and infixation in Yurok” (2001), and Esther Wood, *The semantic typology of pluractionality* (2007), chapter 4 (for full references see the Bibliography on page 299).

### 6.6.1 Forming iteratives

To form an iterative verb, in most cases the vowel-consonant sequence *-eg-* is inserted before the first vowel of the verb. (Equivalently, *-eg-* is inserted after the first consonant or group of consonants.) Some examples of this pattern are shown in Table 6.9.

	BASIC (NON-ITERATIVE) VERB		ITERATIVE VERB	
A	<i>chyuuek'wenek'</i>	"I sit down"	<i>chye<u>g</u>uuek'wenek'</i>	"I frequently sit down"
	<i>kohchewok'</i>	"I catch it"	<i>ke<u>g</u>ohchewok'</i>	"I frequently catch it"
	<i>nepek'</i>	"I eat"	<i>ne<u>g</u>epek'</i>	"I frequently eat"
	<i>saa'agochek'</i>	"I speak Yurok"	<i>se<u>g</u>aa'agochek'</i>	"I frequently speak Yurok"
B	<i>chahchew</i>	"be difficult"	<i>che<u>g</u>ahchew</i>	"be frequently difficult"
	<i>ho'omah</i>	"make a fire"	<i>he<u>g</u>o'omah</i>	"make a lot of fires"
	<i>ten</i>	"rain"	<i>te<u>g</u>en</i>	"frequently rain"
	<i>teykelew</i>	"bite"	<i>te<u>g</u>eykelew</i>	"bite a lot"

Table 6.9: Basic iterative verb forms (A inflected verbs; B non-inflected verbs)

As the examples show, iteratives can be formed from inflected or non-inflected verbs.

In addition to the basic pattern in Table 6.9, there are three variant iterative patterns for verbs of special forms. First, if a verb begins with a glottal stop ('), then the iterative verb inserts *-e'g-* rather than *-eg-*. Examples are in (66).

- (66) Iteratives formed from verbs beginning with a glottal stop (')
- 'ahspuemek'* "I drink it" → *'e'gahspuemek'*
  - 'oloyew* "call, hoot, make noise" → *'e'goloyew*
  - 'omeemoh* "speak Hupa" → *'e'gomeemoh*

Second, if a verb's first vowel is an *e* followed by *g* or *k* (including glottalized *k'*), then its iterative often changes the vowel to the long vowel *eee*. Examples are given in (67).

- (67) Iteratives formed from verbs with *-eg-*, *-ek-*
- chpegor'* "hold a race" (non-inflected) → *chpeeegor'*
  - kweget* "visit" (non-inflected) → *kweeeget*
  - nekek'* "I put it (somewhere)" → *neeegkek'*

Finally, if a verb's first vowel is an *e* followed by *kw* or *w* (including glottalized *k'w*, *'w*), then its iterative often changes the vowel to the long vowel *uue*. Examples are given in (67).

- (68) Iteratives formed from verbs with *-ekw-*, *-ew-*
- hew* "live, be healthy" (non-inflected) → *huuew*
  - pewomek'* "I cook" → *puuewomek'*
  - lekwo'hl* "it (a noise) fills the air" → *luuewekwo'hl*

### 6.6.2 Using iteratives

The examples in (69) show the use of iterative verbs to express repetition. Translations in context may include "always", "frequently", "a lot", and "off and on", among some other possibilities.

- (69) Iterative verbs in context: Multiple events
- (a) *Weet* 'o *chyeguuekwenek'*.  
"This is my sitting place."  
(LIT. "I always sit at this (place).") GM 2002 (JB)
  - (b) *Kee noohl megeykwel'weyek'*.  
"Then (forever) I will be mourning." FS 1951 (YL)
  - (c) *Keech swegoop'hl*.  
"It's raining really hard off and on." AF 2001 (JB)
  - (d) *Ko'see tegeykelew*.  
"It's been biting me all over." AF 2001 (LJC)

The examples in (70) illustrate the use of iterative verbs with multiple participants.

- (70) Iterative verbs in context: Multiple participants
- (a) *Keech kegeychek*.  
"We're all tired." JJ 2006 (AG)
  - (b) *Neekeechyue kegohchewohl kue nepuy*.  
"They were all catching salmon." AF 2001 (LJC)
  - (c) *Tenem' ue-kwegomhlehl*.  
"There are a lot (of birds) flying back and forth." FS 1980 (PP)
  - (d) *Keech schegep'oo*.  
"They're landing." FS 1980 (PP)

Iteratives are frequently used. Also related to iterative verbs are nouns of two types: plural nouns (like *pegerey* "old women"); and nouns with *-eg-* that name things with characteristic associations. Examples of the latter are *hega'p'oh* "cottonwood", named after *ha'p'oh* "pitch"; and *segep* "coyote", so named because coyotes are frequently in the *sepolah* "prairie, open high country". There are numerous animal and plant names with this pattern.



# Chapter 7

## Time reference with preverbs

Basic time reference is expressed in Yurok by preverbs and preverb combinations. It is also possible to use adverbs of time, words like *chmeyaana* “yesterday”, *we’yk’oh* “now”, and *’owook* “tomorrow”. These do not need to be pre-verbal, and they can stand on their own without a verb. But they supplement the basic system of preverbs, to make time reference more specific. The use of the most common preverbs for this purpose is the subject of this chapter.

### 7.1 Background

There are several important differences between the Yurok and English systems of time reference. One concerns BASIC TENSE CATEGORIES. In English, the basic categories are PAST VS. PRESENT VS. FUTURE: “I saw” vs. “I see” vs. “I will see”. Many languages have an English-style three-way set, but many other languages — including Yurok — have different systems. It is possible to distinguish past-time and future-time preverbs in Yurok, but the basic system is more nuanced.

A second important difference has to do with PRESENT VS. PAST TIME. In English, whenever you use a verb you must choose between a present-time form (*I see*) or a past-time form (*I saw*), among other verb forms. A distinction between present and past is obligatory in English grammar. But in Yurok, depending on context, verbs may express either present or past time; for example, *newook’* can mean either “I see” or “I (recently) saw”. The context will usually make the intended meaning clear.

A third important difference concerns ASPECT. Linguists use this term to describe such concepts as starting and completing an action, as well as the viewpoint that a speaker chooses on an action being described (for example, depicting it as ongoing or unitary). You do not need to know this terminology, but the concepts sometimes play a key role in Yurok preverb choice.

Table 7.1 on page 65 lists the eight Yurok categories of time reference described in this chapter, with the frequency of each preverb. By far the most frequent is *keech*; second is *kee*. Many preverbs of time are omitted from Table 7.1 and are not discussed here. They would be included in a complete study of Yurok grammar, though some are poorly documented, making it hard to understand all their nuances.



**Figure 7.1:** A. L. Kroeber in the early 1900s. Beginning in 1901, Kroeber worked with many Yurok elders and cultural leaders on linguistic and cultural documentation. He and his colleagues recorded over a dozen hours of Yurok narratives and songs using early recording technology, beginning in 1902; he also transcribed dozens of other narratives and much information about vocabulary and grammar. In the 1930s and 1940s he worked extensively with Robert Spott; they coauthored *Yurok narratives* in 1942.

REFERENCE	LABEL	PREVERB	ROUGH TRANSLATION	FREQUENCY
PAST (§7.2)	GENERAL	—	(past or present)	
	SITUATIONAL	<i>ho</i>	“was doing it”	387
	PUNCTUAL	<i>ma</i>	“went and did it”	146
PRESENT (§7.3)	GENERAL	—	(past or present)	
	DURATIVE	<i>’ochkaa,</i>	“right now”	73
		<i>wo’nee</i>		30
	RESULTATIVE	<i>keech</i>	“has done it, is now”	1,423
	INCEPTIVE	<i>keet</i>	“starting to”	70
PROSPECTIVE	<i>keetee</i>	“about to, going to”	186	
FUTURE (§7.4)	MODAL FUTURE	<i>kee</i>	“will, can, must”	918

Table 7.1: Basic preverbs of time reference; the FREQUENCY column indicates the number of examples of each preverb in a corpus of over 6,000 sentences (as of July 2014)

It is not essential to learn the terms in Table 7.1; the key point is how the preverbs are used. This is described in §§7.2–7.4; combinations of *keech* with other preverbs are described in §7.5.2. The categories of time reference in Table 7.1 also play a role in Yurok negation and directed motion, topics which will be discussed in §§8.2–8.3.

The first column in Table 7.1 identifies the REFERENCE time: past, present, or future. For example, *’ochkaa* is said to have present reference; it is present-referring. This term indicates the kind of adverb that can be used together with each category. Past-referring categories can be used with adverbs like *chmeyaan* “yesterday” or *heekon* “formerly”; present-referring categories can be used with adverbs like *we’yk’oh* “now, today”; and the future-referring preverb *kee* can be used with adverbs like *’owook* “tomorrow”. This is illustrated explicitly in (71–74).

The examples in (71) show that *ho* and *ma* have past reference. The adverbs *heekon* “long ago” and *kohchee* “once (one time)” explicitly anchor the reference to a past time.

- (71) Past-time adverbials with *ho* and *ma*
- (a) *Heekon wee’ mehl ho regueroom’.*  
 “Long ago they used to sing it (LIT. with it).” YL 1951
- (b) *Segep ma kweget kohchee Merkwteeks.*  
 “Once Coyote went visiting Crane.” MM 1927 (YT)

The examples in (72) show that *keech* has present reference. Here the adverb *we’yk’oh* “right now, today” anchors the time reference.

- (72) Present-time adverbials with *keech*
- (a) *We’yk’oh keech ’ne-neskwechok’.*  
 “Now I’ve come back.” MM 1927 (YT)
- (b) *Keech sya’am we’yk’oh.*  
 “I’m fixing it now.” AF 2005 (JB)

The examples in (73) show that *keet* too has present reference.

- (73) Present-time contexts for *keet*
- (a) *’O ko’moyom’ keet pegahchewom’ o’o’lepeek.*  
 “He heard her start moving around inside the house.” MM 1927 (YT)



- (b) *Newook' keet 'ne-lekoomelek'.*  
 "I saw I was about to be stabbed." YL 1951

In each example, the key point is that the verb with *keet* is the complement of a verb of perception (*ko'moyom' "he heard"*, *newook' "I saw"*). The situation described by *keet* must therefore be present at the time of perception.

Finally, the examples in (74) shows that *kee* has future reference.

- (74) Future-time adverbials with *kee*
- (a) *To' kee kem newochek' 'owook.*  
 "I'll see you again tomorrow." RS 1933 (PJS)
- (b) *'Owook kee kol' hohkuemek.*  
 "I have to work tomorrow." MR ~1970 (MRo)

## 7.2 Preverbs of past time: *Ho* and *ma*

Three past-referring categories are described in this section: the GENERAL PAST; and the SITUATIONAL and PUNCTUAL past, which are expressed through preverbs. These terms are explained in (75).<sup>1</sup>

- (75) (a) The term GENERAL PAST applies to verbs with no time-reference preverbs, which can refer generally to the present or the past. For example, *ko'moyok'* can mean "I heard it"; you might ask *ko'moyom' hes?* "did you hear it?"
- (b) The SITUATIONAL PAST preverb *ho* indicates that a past action or situation existed, but implies nothing about its ending. At the relevant past time, the action or situation might not have been over (it might have been continuing). *Ho* is used in the intended meaning "was doing (something)".
- (c) The PUNCTUAL PAST preverb *ma* indicates that a past action took place in one moment, or is understood as completed at a moment in the past. If the intended meaning is "went and did (something)", *ma* is used.

The general past category in (75a) is very frequent; sentences that refer to past time often lack preverbs of time, especially in narratives describing successive events. This is shown in (76) with consecutive sentences from a story told by Florence Shaughnessy.

- (76) (a) *Hehlkue nee raayor'.*  
 "He ran along the bank."
- (b) *Kwesee kolchee kol' 'okw' hehlkue, neskwee 'emehl raayor' kue 'yoch.*  
 "And once he was somewhere on the river bank, (and) the boat was passing near him." FS 1951 (YL)

Each verb in (76) refers to an event in a past-time narrative sequence; none occurs with a preverb of time.

One way to contrast the past-time preverbs *ho* and *ma* in (75b–c) is in their use in answering questions. This is shown in Table 7.2 on page 67. If you ask what was

<sup>1</sup> Linguists might use the terms IMPERFECTIVE and PERFECTIVE rather than SITUATIONAL and PUNCTUAL, but the terms used here may be clearer. Note that Yurok does have other past-time preverbs, such as *'ap*, but these are less frequent than the two discussed here.

QUESTION	ANSWER . . .
"What was going on?"	. . . may include <i>ho</i>
"What happened?"	. . . may include <i>ma</i>

Table 7.2: Basic preverbs of past time reference

happening (on some occasion or at some time), the answer may include *ho*; but if you ask what happened (next, for example, in a series of events), the answer may include *ma*.

Examples of *ho* are given in (77).

- (77) Basic examples of *ho*
- (a) **Ho** *nerrmeryek' nahschueh kue 'o melonee.*  
"I sang last night at the brush dance." JJ 2007 (LC)
  - (b) *Kue k'e-k'ep'ew ho negeeen'.*  
"Your granddaughter was looking for you." GT 2003 (YLCB)
  - (c) **Ho** *'ok'w 'ne-ka'ar ner'er'eryhl.*  
"We had two pets." AF 2002 (JB)
  - (d) *Yokmokee ho t'la'.*  
"It was raining big drops all around." FS 1980 (PP)
  - (e) *Wek ho 'oyhlke's.*  
"It was lying here." FS 1980 (PP)

Examples of *ma* are in (78).

- (78) Basic examples of *ma*
- (a) **Ma** *nohsepek' ku 'ne-slekwoh.*  
"I took off my shirt." JJ 2006 (AG)
  - (b) **Ma** *kooych 'ne-nepuy.*  
"I bought some salmon." YL 1951
  - (c) *Tee'neeshoo ma newoom'?*  
"What did you see?" YL 1951

With verbs like *kweget* "visit" and *tmegook'* "I hunt" that commonly occur with the directed-motion preverb *nue* (see §8.3 beginning on page 84), the use of *ma* is very common. This is illustrated in (79).

- (79) Punctual past *ma* instead of *nue*
- (a) **Ma** *tmegook'.*  
"I went hunting." YL 1951
  - (b) *Segep ma kweget kohchee Merkwteeks.*  
"One time Coyote went visiting Crane." MM 1927 (YT)

Compare the examples in (80). In the first example, the singing is described without any starting or ending point; in the second example, the implication is that the speaker started singing.

- (80) (a) **Ho** *ruerowok'.*  
"I sang." JJ 2003 (JB)

- (b) *Ma ruerowok'.*  
 "I came and sang." JJ 2003 (JB)

A good way to appreciate the function of *ho* is to examine its use in stories. Given in (81) are the first three sentences of a story told by Florence Shaughnessy.

- (81) (a) *Noohl heekon pecheek ho 'ok'w pery.*  
 "A long time ago upriver there was an old woman."  
 (b) *Tue' wo'oot ho 'ok'w 'ue-k'ep'ew.*  
 "She had a grandson."  
 (c) *Tue' o chahchew ho soo megetohlkwom' kue 'ue-k'ep'ew.*  
 "It was hard for her to take care of her grandson." FS 1951 (YL)

Each sentence in (81) uses *ho* because these first few sentences are setting the background for the story; *ho* is ordinarily used for information about what was happening prior to, or in the background of, the events of a story. After the third sentence, the narration shifts to the series of events and *ho* is not used.

A final specific situation where only *ho* is used is together with iterative verbs (§6.6), in the meaning "used to", as in (82). Each iterative verb in (82) has an inserted *-eg-*.

- (82) Iterative verbs with *ho*  
 (a) *Nek ho hegelomeyek'.*  
 "I used to dance." GT 2007 (YLCB)  
 (b) *Sloowehl tue' kem ho negepue'.*  
 "People also used to eat wild oats."  
 (LIT. "Wild oats also used to be eaten.") AS ~1962 (WB)  
 (c) *Keech cheenkee' kue ho legaaye'mow'.*  
 "The path where people used to pass has been changed." YL 1951

### 7.3 Preverbs of present time

There are four main present-oriented categories of time reference:

- GENERAL PRESENT. This refers to verbs that have no time-reference preverbs. Such verbs can refer generally to the present or the recent past. For example, *ko'moyok'* can mean "I hear it" or "I heard it", and you might ask somebody *ko'moyom' hes?* "did you hear it?"
- RESULTATIVE. The preverb *keech* indicates that something is so because it recently came to be and the new situation now exists. Somebody may have just done something, or a situation may have just come to exist. It implies that some action or event has been completed, and a new situation now exists. Good translations will vary depending on the verb; they may include the words "now" or "has X-ed".
- DURATIVE. The preverbs *ochkaa* and *wo'nee* indicate that an action is ongoing at the time of speaking, without implying anything about its duration or whether it recently started. Often a good translation is "doing it right now".
- INCEPTIVE. The preverb *keet* indicates that the action described by the verb is beginning. A good translation is usually "is starting".

The general present category is very frequent; in other words, it is common for present-referring sentences to lack preverbs of time. This is illustrated in (83), where (83b) in particular makes the present time reference clear with *we'yk'oh* "now".

- (83) (a) *Mewah heemar 'o koo'op' kue tepoo.*  
 "The boy is standing under the fir tree." JJ 2007 (LC)
- (b) *We'yk'oh 'elew kue 'ne-ch'wona'.*  
 "Now I am hanging my coat." JJ 2006 (AG)

The other present-oriented categories are described in sections §§7.3.1–7.3.4.

### 7.3.1 Durative *'ochkaa* and *wo'nee*

Two preverbs can refer to ongoing present-time actions. Examples of *'ochkaa* are in (84).

- (84) Examples of *'ochkaa*
- (a) *'Ochkaa helomey' kue pegerk.*  
 "The man is dancing **now**." YL 1951
- (b) *'Ochkaa kol' nepek'.*  
 "At the moment I am eating." YL 1951
- (c) *'Ochkaa hlk'yorkwek' kue tek'wonekws 'ue-kwerhl.*  
 "I'm watching the television." GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (d) *Nek 'ochkaa yek'woyekwoh 'ne-slekw.*  
 "I'm folding clothes." GT 2003 (YLCB)

Examples of *wo'nee* are in (85).

- (85) Examples of *wo'nee*
- (a) *Kel' kues wo'nee serrhlerpem'?*  
 "What are you doing **now**?" YL 1951
- (b) *Wo'nee kol' hohkuemek' we'yk'oh.*  
 "I'm working **right now**." FS 1951 (RHR)

Both *'ochkaa* and *wo'nee* are infrequent. They are used with verbs that express activities that have duration or take time, to highlight the ongoing nature of an action.<sup>1</sup>

### 7.3.2 Resultative *keech*

The resultative preverb *keech* is illustrated in (86–87). In the examples in (86), an event in the past created an effect that is still true in the present.

- (86) Examples of *keech*: Past event with present effect
- (a) *Keech sermertercherk'.*  
 "I have killed you." MM 1927 (ES)
- (b) *Keech kohchew' nepuy.*  
 "He caught a fish." GT 2003 (YLCB)

<sup>1</sup> The preverb *wo'nee* is derived from a combination of *wo'* "this (one)" + *nee* "in, around (there)", so it means literally "in (the middle of) this".

- (c) *Kue meweemor lekwseek keech sootok'w.*  
 "The old man went outside." FS 1951 (RHR)
- (d) *Wer'yers keech nohpew'.*  
 "The girl came in." FS 1951 (RHR)

In the examples in (87), a new situation has come into existence.

- (87) Examples of *keech*: New situation
- (a) *Kue 'n-uuek keech popel'.*  
 "My children are now big (they have become big)." YL 1951
- (b) *Nek poy keech sonowok'.*  
 "I am in charge now (I have come to be in charge)." FS 1951 (YL)
- (c) *Nek keech skeweenepek'.*  
 "I've had enough to eat (I have become full)." GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (d) *Keech ha'p'ehl.*  
 "I forgot (I have come to forget)." GT 2003 (YLCB)

Thus, *Keech tenpewe'hl* "it's raining" means more precisely "it's raining now (it might not have been raining before, it might have just started to rain)." This is also why *keech* is used in the expressions *keech 'ee roo* "it's time" and *keech 'ee son'* "we're ready".<sup>1</sup>

### 7.3.3 Inceptive *keet*

Examples of the inceptive future preverb *keet* are given in (88). A translation "start to" is often appropriate.

- (88) Basic examples of *keet*
- (a) *Keet po'oh 'ne-meehl.*  
 "My leg is healing." YL 1951
- (b) *Noohl keet saawelehr.*  
 "Then they start to cool off." YL 1951
- (c) *Keet hegehlpa'.*  
 "The water is rising." YL 1951
- (d) *Neekee ko'moy' kue keet 'we-ruerowoom'.*  
 "Then he heard them begin to sing." BF 1951 (YL)
- (e) *'Ne-chewes keet tmentmen.*  
 "My hand has started to throb." YL 1951

If the verb refers to an event that occurs at a clearly demarcated time, *keet* implies that the time is soon approaching. Examples with *markewech'* "he's dead" and *wook* "dawn" are in (89).

- (89) Examples of *keet*: Verbs with built-in endpoints
- (a) *Kwelekw keet markewech' kue meweemor.*  
 "The old man is starting to die." FS 1951 (YL)
- (b) *Keet 'o wook.*  
 "It is just before dawn." YL 1951

<sup>1</sup> Many or most clear examples of *keech* occur with what linguists would call TELIC verbs — those with built-in endpoints or transition points — and imply that the endpoint has recently been reached.

### 7.3.4 Prospective *keetee*

The prospective preverb *keetee* usually indicates that the action described by the verb is about to take place, or will take place very soon or in the near future.<sup>1</sup> Examples are in (90). As they show, sometimes *keetee* refers to an event that is just about to happen, and “about to” is a good translation.

- (90) Examples of *keetee*
- (a) *Kolo keetee me'lomek'.*  
 “I kind of feel like puking.”  
 (LIT. “It’s like I’m about to puke.”) GT 2003 (YLCB)
  - (b) *Keetee ho’oh.*  
 “It’s getting dark.”  
 (LIT. “It’s about to be dark.”) GT 2003 (YLCB)
  - (c) *Kwesee noohl keech roo keetee ye’womey’.*  
 “Then the time came when the sun was about to set.” LB 1951 (YL)
  - (d) *Keetee kol’ sonowom’.*  
 “You are about to die (LIT. do something).” DW 1907 (ALK)
  - (e) *Keetee sloyowon’.*  
 “The frost is going to come.” FS 1980 (PP)

As the examples above and in (91) show, the prospective reference can be immediate or farther in the future.

- (91) *Keetee tenpewe’hl.*  
 “It’s going to rain at any moment.” GT 2003 (YLCB)

In almost all cases, though, the preverb *keetee* is present-referring, meaning that there is something in the present situation that leads to the inference that the action of the verb will take place.

## 7.4 Future time: Modal *kee*

The MODAL FUTURE preverb *kee* can mean that the action described by the verb will take place sometime in the future, but it also commonly means that the subject of the verb CAN OR MUST do the action described by the verb. In other words, future reference is only a(n implied) part of the meaning of this preverb. A few examples that can be translated as future are in (92).

- (92) Examples of *kee* “will”
- (a) *Perwerh kee sootook’.*  
 “I will go south.” TP 1928 (TTW)
  - (b) *Kee s’oks’oop.*  
 “I’m going to pound (you).” GT 2003 (YLCB)

<sup>1</sup> Note that the meanings of “very soon” and “the near future” are subjective, depending on speaker’s point of view. Different speakers on different occasions may use these preverbs somewhat differently.



**Figure 7.2:** Maggie Pilgrim at Luffenholtz Beach in 1951. Mrs. Pilgrim was a respected cultural leader and fluent speaker of Yurok. She worked as an interpreter with A. L. Kroeber in the early 1900s, and taught Yurok to her family, including her daughter Aileen (Figueroa). Photo by Thelma Moore.

- (c) *To' kee laayoluechek'.*  
 "I will teach you." JJ 2007 (LC)
- (d) *'Owook koy kee nowonem' puuek.*  
 "Tomorrow morning he will bring deer (meat)." JJ 2007 (LC)

The future orientation of *kee* is also responsible for its use with verbs like *skewok* "want" in the construction in (93), whose complement lies in the future.

- (93) *Skewok kee 'ue-komchuemehl.*  
 "They want to know." JJ 2007 (LC)

The preverb *kee* is often best translated as "can" or "must". For example, in (94), the sense is not that something will happen in the future, but that it can or may happen.

- (94) Examples of *kee* "can"
- (a) *Kol' neemee hesek' kee ko'moyohl.*  
 "I don't think they can hear (you)." JJ 2007 (LC)
- (b) *K'ee regook tue' kem kee nepue'.*  
 "Trout can also be eaten." AS ~1962 (WB)
- (c) *Yo' kee saa'agoch'.*  
 "He can speak Yurok." YL 1951

In (95), the context seems to involve a sense of necessity or obligation.

- (95) Examples of *kee* "must"
- (a) *Kue . . . 'olehl kwelekw kee hohkue'.*  
 "That house must be repaired." YL 1951

- (b) *Chuehl tue' kee yuenoyohl.*  
 "Well, (we) must transform."

DW 1906 (ALK)

## 7.5 Preverb combinations and comparisons

### 7.5.1 Preverb comparisons

The differences in meaning among the time-reference categories above can be subtle. Differences between the following pairs are briefly described here:

- General present vs. resultative *keech*; see (96)
- Resultative *keech* vs. durative present *'ochkaa*; see (97–100)
- Durative present *'ochkaa* vs. inceptive *keet*; see (101)
- Resultative *keech* vs. inceptive *keet*; see (102–103)
- Inceptive *keet* vs. prospective *keetee*; see (104)
- Prospective *keetee* vs. modal future *kee*; see (105)

The difference between *keech* and the general present (with no preverb) is illustrated in (96).

- (96) (a) *Komchuechek'.*  
 "I know you." JJ 2004 (JB)
- (b) ***Keech*** *komchuechek'.*  
 "I know you now." JJ 2004 (JB)

The example in (96a) was given as a good, positive answer to the question *Komchuepa' hes?* "Do you know me?" The example in (96b) would be appropriate if the speaker at first could not remember the other person, and then suddenly recalled: "Oh, now I know you!" That is, *keech* signals a change of situation from not knowing to knowing.

The difference between *keech* and *'ochkaa* is illustrated in (97–100).

- (97) (a) ***Keech*** *swoo'mel'.*  
 "He stinks (from contact with something)." YL 1951
- (b) ***'Ochkaa*** *swoo'mel'.*  
 "He stinks (naturally)." YL 1951
- (98) (a) ***Keech*** *no'oyek'.*  
 "I have shoes on." JJ 2006 (AG)
- (b) ***'Ochkaa*** *no'oyek'.*  
 "I am putting on shoes." JJ 2006 (AG)
- (99) (a) ***Keech*** *teykelew.*  
 "Something bit me." FS 1980 (PP)
- (b) *Nek 'ochkaa* *teykelew.*  
 "I'm biting." GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (100) (a) ***Keech*** *nue mega'ahskeh.*  
 "They've gone spear-fishing." FS 1980 (PP)



- (b) *'Ochkaa kertkerk'*  
 "I'm pole-fishing." GT 2003 (YLCB)

In each case in (97–100), in the (a) example *keech* is appropriate because there was a recent change of state. In each (b) example, *'ochkaa* is appropriate because the action is presented as ongoing without a necessary starting or ending point.

The difference between *'ochkaa* and *keet* is illustrated by the example in (101), with two consecutive sentences.

- (101) *'Ochkaa pekwo luem' kue 'w-oleehl.*  
*Keet holeem' 'we-no'os.*  
 "She's peeling her hazel sticks.  
 She's starting to make a baby basket." JJ 2007 (LC)

The first sentence above, with *'ochkaa*, describes an ongoing action (peeling hazel sticks) that may have been underway for a while; the second sentence indicates that this action is the first step in making a baby basket.

The difference between *keech* and *keet* is illustrated by the examples in (102–103). The verb *kweskwesek'* in (102) means "I have a cold". In (102a) the situation has changed so that the speaker already has a cold, whereas in (102b) the speaker is starting to have a cold, or is about to have a cold.

- (102) (a) *Keech kweskwesek'*  
 "I have a cold." JJ 2006 (AG)  
 (b) *Keet kweskwesek'*  
 "I'm catching a cold." JJ 2006 (AG)

The verb *neskwechook'* in (103) means "arrive". In (103a), the situation has changed so that the addressee has now arrived and is here. In (103b), the subject is starting to arrive (LIT. "come near") but has not yet arrived; actually having arrived would be expressed with *keech*.

- (103) (a) *Keech neskwechoom'*  
 "(Finally) you've arrived." AF 2002 (JB)  
 (b) *Keet neskwechok'w.*  
 "He's coming." MM 1927 (ES)

The difference between *keet* and *keetee* is illustrated in (104).<sup>1</sup>

- (104) (a) *Keet kwechkeesh.*  
 "He's defecating." FD ~1962 (WB)  
 (b) *Keetee kwechkeeshek'.*  
 "I'm just about to defecate." FD ~1962 (WB)

As the translations indicate, *keetee* signifies that the verbal action has not yet begun, while *keet* means it has begun.

Finally, the future uses of *kee* differ from uses of *keetee* in two important ways. First, *kee* often has a nuance that suggests the English translation "shall" — it can convey a

<sup>1</sup> The speaker in these examples used a more colloquial English translation than the one printed in (104).



**Figure 7.3:** Lowana Brantner, a leader in Yurok cultural restoration, recorded important texts in Yurok and shared her cultural and linguistic knowledge with Arnold Pilling, R. H. Robins, and others.

desire or intention on the part of the speaker. For this reason, *kee* is especially common with first-person and second-person subjects. This is in contrast with *keetee*, which simply expresses a prediction about the future, and is typical with impersonal verbs or verbs with inanimate subjects.

Second, whereas *keetee* is often associated with a prediction for the near future or an impending event, and can thus often be translated “about to”, *kee* carries no such implication. For example, in (105), the syntactic context in each case makes the time of the verb with *kee* entirely indefinite.

- (105) (a) *Nek kwelekw neeme komchuemek' kwen kol' kee nepek'.*  
 “I don’t know when I will eat.” JJ 2007 (LC)
- (b) *To' kee yekchoh wey' mocho keech ho nuue'moh.*  
 “We will tell it (the place) to you when we have arrived.” YL 1951

### 7.5.2 Combinations of *keech* and another preverb

Resultative *keech* can be combined with past-time and future-time preverbs. In each case the meaning of the resulting combination is the sum of its elements: it means that the

subject of the verb is now in a state or circumstance (*keech*) in which he or she was doing (*ho*), did (*ma*), or can do (*kee*) something.

A common combination is *keech ho*. In many cases a good translation is just “have done it”. For example, if someone asks “What are you doing?”, you might answer with a *keech ho* sentence. Examples are in (106).

(106) Examples of *keech ho*

- |     |  |               |
|-----|--|---------------|
| (a) | <b><i>Keech ho</i></b> <i>nep' puuek.</i><br>“He’s been eating deer.”                | MM 1927 (ES)  |
| (b) | <i>Kel' hes keech ho helomeyem'?</i><br>“Have you danced yet?”                       | YL 1951       |
| (c) | <i>Kol' keech ho hohkuemek'.</i><br>“I’ve been working.”                             | FS 1951 (RHR) |
| (d) | <b><i>Keech ho</i></b> <i>sloyhlkek'.</i><br>“I’ve been flattening eels.”            | FS 1980 (PP)  |
| (e) | <b><i>Keech ho</i></b> <i>wey'w-o'omepek'.</i><br>“He had finished making his fire.” | DW 1906 (ALK) |

A second combination, *keech ma*, does not mean “have been doing it” but more simply “has done it”, somewhat analogous to the English expression. An event happened in the past (*ma*), but its effect is still present now (*keech*). Examples are in (107).

(107) Examples of *keech ma*

- |     |  |                |
|-----|--|----------------|
| (a) | <b><i>Keech ma</i></b> <i>saawekek'.</i><br>“I’ve gotten cold.”                | GT 2003 (YLCB) |
| (b) | <b><i>Keech ma</i></b> <i>markue' kue 'n-oolehl.</i><br>“My plants got eaten.” | FS 1980 (PP)   |
| (c) | <i>Yo' keech ma tohpekwtom'.</i><br>“He has made a hole.”                      | FS 1980 (PP)   |

The rarest combination is *keech kee*, which means “now (somebody) can (do something)”; the “can” part of the meaning comes from *kee* and the “now” part from *keech*. An example is in (108).

- |       |  |         |
|-------|--|---------|
| (108) | <b><i>Keech kee</i></b> <i>'na-'ahspee'moh.</i><br>“Now we can drink.” | YL 1951 |
|-------|--|---------|

## Chapter 8

# Using other preverbs

### 8.1 Using *cho'* in exhortations

The preverb *cho'* is mostly used with a second-person verb in commands directed by the speaker to the addressee. For this reason, an English imperative is usually a good translation. Singular non-bipersonal examples are in (109).

(109) Examples of *cho'* in commands: Singular subjects

- (a) *Cho' skeryterr'wenem'.*  
"Put on your dress." JJ 2006 (AG)
- (b) *Reeek'ew cho' raayuerem'.*  
"Swim by the shore." FS 1980 (PP)
- (c) *Cho' wek mehl hohkuemem' mestok.*  
"Make a mattress with this." FS 1980 (PP)

Alternatively, as in (110), the verb with *cho'* may be plural or collective.

(110) Examples of *cho'* in commands: Plural and collective subjects

- (a) *Cho' nee'nowow' mehl nepuy.*  
"Watch for salmon." FS 1951 (YL)
- (b) *Cho' nue pewahchkeye'mow' o raak.*  
"Go wash your faces in the stream." RS 1951 (YL)

Given in (111) are examples of *cho'* with bipersonal verbs.

(111) Examples of *cho'* in commands: Bipersonal verbs

- (a) *Cho' nahchesem'.*  
"Give it to her." AF 2001 (JB)
- (b) *Cho' laayoluepa'.*  
"Teach me." AF 2002 (JB)

But *cho'* is not precisely an "imperative" preverb. It can also be used in first- and third-person contexts, as in (112). In sentences like these, the addressee is not necessarily responsible for following an instruction.



**Figure 8.1:** Long-time Yurok language and culture teachers Florena Smoker, Georgiana Trull, Glenn Moore, Sr., and Ollie Foseide, at Mrs. Trull's 89th birthday party, Weitchpec, 2005. Photo by Leo Canez.

(112) Examples of *cho'* with first-person and third-person subjects

- (a) *Chue cho' nue ko wegesah.*  
 "Let's go have a bath." FS 1951 (YL)
- (b) *Cho' poy ko 'o key kue k'e-rahcheen, kel' cho' heenoy 'oolo'oh.*  
 "Your friend should sit in the front of the boat, you should stand behind." FS 1951 (YL)

Even more strikingly, in examples like (113), the subject of the verb is not in control of the action at all.

(113) Examples of *cho'* with non-agentive subjects

- (a) *'Eenee kee cho kwelekw tenoo kee mehl 'e'gah.*  
 "There is bound to be a lot more to eat." FS 1951 (YL)
- (b) *Wek kee cho rohsee' kue nepuy.*  
 "The salmon should be speared like this." FS 1951 (YL)
- (c) *Cho' nuuekwomee'.*  
 "It should be brought." FS 1980 (PP)

The best general translations of *cho'* are therefore "should", "ought to", "are/is to", and the like. These convey exhortation or urging but do not require a command directed at the addressee.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Linguists might refer to the construction in (109–113) as HORTATIVE or even OPTATIVE, and might call *cho'* a MODAL preverb. This would explain why *cho'* is used in the longer words *heep'encho'* and *muehlcho'*, which mean "maybe", as well as *mocho'* "if"; they share meanings of possibility or future-oriented uncertainty.

In addition to its very common use in (109–113), *cho'* is found in more specialized constructions. For example, as in (114), it is used in questions together with *kues* and *soo, son'*, etc. to ask how something is.

- (114) Examples of *kues cho'*
- (a) *Kues cho' son' k'e-kuechos?*  
"How is your grandma?" GT 2003 (YLCB)
  - (b) *Kues cho' soo newee' kee pa'ah?*  
"How does the water look?" GT 2003 (YLCB)
  - (c) *Kues cho' soosem'?*  
"What do you think of it?" YL 1951

As shown in (115), this preverb is also used in the construction *kee kwen cho'* to express the equivalent of English *whatever*.

- (115) Examples of *k'ee kwen cho'* "whatever"
- (a) *K'ee kwen cho' nue sootoom' kem tue' nee tenoo' errwerh.*  
"Wherever you go, there's a lot of grass there." YL 1951
  - (b) *K'ee kwen cho' kee yuenowonee kee skuenem'.*  
"Whatever can grow will grow well." FS 1951 (YL)

Finally, especially in Classical Yurok, *cho'* sometimes expresses a temporal relation between clauses. This is not common, but in this construction the *cho'* clause apparently expresses near-simultaneity. In the examples in (116), the clause with *cho'* is underlined.

- (116) Examples of *cho'* expressing temporal relation
- (a) *Keet hego'omah cho' nuue'mehl yo'hlkoh.*  
"We were starting to make fires (when) they arrived." YL 1951
  - (b) *Kue cho' plegohpeen kee yegook'.*  
"When the water is high I will go." YL 1951
  - (c) *Kue yo' keetee cho' sootoleen nek kee megelook'.*  
"When he is going to leave, I will go with him." YL 1951

## 8.2 Negation: Using *mos* and *neemee*

English negative sentences usually have *not* or *-n't*. Yurok negative sentences are usually formed with the words in (117).

- (117) Yurok negative words
- (a) the ordinary negative preverb *neemee*, or (especially in Classical Yurok) its variants *mee*, *'eemee*, and *keemee* "will not"
  - (b) the EMPHATIC negative particle *mos* (and a rare longer variant *mosee'*)

Note that *neemee* is a preverb that occurs before the verb together with other preverbs, while *mos* is a discourse particle that occurs, like *to'*, at the beginning of a sentence. In texts and spontaneous language use by fluent speakers, in the expression of negation *neemee* is more common; *mos* occurs in an important but restricted set of situations.

### 8.2.1 Ordinary and emphatic negation

The emphatic negative particle *mos* is used in four main situations.

First, *mos* is the usual negative word used to express meanings such as “nobody”, “nothing”, “not . . . anybody”, and “not anything”. As shown in (118), examples mostly have *mos kol’*.

- (118) Examples of *mos kol’*
- (a) **Mos kol’ soosek’.**  
“I’m not thinking about anything.” FS 1951 (YL)
  - (b) **Mos kol’ kee nee nosepe’.**  
“Nobody could marry there.” BF 1951 (YL)
  - (c) Q: *Neemee hes newoom’ kuech kue ‘ne-ka’ar?*  
A: *Paa, tos, mos k’ee we’yk’oh ‘u-wook kol’ o newook’.*  
“Haven’t you seen my pet, grandmother?”  
“No, child, I have not seen anything here this morning.” FS 1951 (YL)
  - (d) **Mos kwelekw wee’eeet kol’ mehl son’.**  
“That does not matter to me.” FS 1951 (YL)

Second, *mos* is the usual negative word used with the particle *cheetaa* “at all”. Examples of *mos cheetaa* “not at all” are shown in (119).

- (119) Examples of *mos cheetaa* “not at all”
- (a) **Mos cheetaa wo pahchew.**  
“It was not moving at all.” FS 1951 (YL)
  - (b) **Mos cheetaa kue ‘wo-o’hl.**  
“His house was no more.” FS 1951 (YL)
  - (c) *Kwesee mos cheetaa wo nee’nowee’.*  
“And no notice at all was taken of him.” FS 1951 (YL)

Sometimes the first two patterns are combined, with *mos cheetaa kol’*, as in (120).

- (120) Examples of *mos cheetaa kol’*
- (a) **Mos cheetaa kol’ osreer.**  
“There isn’t a sound anywhere.” FS 1980 (PP)
  - (b) **Mos cheetaa kol’ sook kee nee ‘oyhl.**  
“Nothing at all lay on it.” FS 1951 (YL)
  - (c) **Mos cheetaa koleen chweenkep’.**  
“Neither (of them) spoke at all.” FS 1951 (YL)

A third context for *mos* is when the intended meaning has a generalizing sense like “could not”, “would not”, “shall not”, or “never”, as in (121).

- (121) Generalizing *mos*
- (a) **Mos weet kee skuyen’ kee k’e-’wegahpemew.**  
“It would not be good for you to get married.” BF 1951 (YL)
  - (b) **Mos wey ‘ue-kertkerk’.**  
“He was never done fishing for trout.” FS 1951 (YL)

Finally, in (122), examples are given of a fourth context for *mos*. For instance, the emphasis in (122a) is clear from the emphatic pronoun *kelee'*: "this is absolutely not your fishing place!" The example in (122b) implies the meaning "any". In general, when the intended negative expresses or implies meanings such as "not at all" or "not any", then the emphatic negative particle *mos* is used.

(122) Emphatic *mos*

- (a) ***Mos kelee' k'-ekwol.***  
"It is not your fishing place." FS 1951 (YL)
- (b) ***Mos kee nahcheechek'.***  
"I won't give you any." FS 1951 (RHR)

By contrast, the ordinary negative preverb *neemee* is used in other situations. It is the default negative marker, and illustrated in (123).

(123) Examples of *neemee*

- (a) ***Neemee skuy' soneenepek'.***  
"I don't feel well." FS 1980 (PP)
- (b) ***Neemee nuemee rook'ws 'o we'eet.***  
"It's not very windy here." FS 1980 (PP)
- (c) ***Kue pa'aahl 'we-tmenomen neemee nepue'.***  
"The half of the salmon facing the water was not eaten." FS 1951 (YL)
- (d) ***Muehlcho' neemee soo komchuemehl.***  
"Perhaps they do not know." FS 1951 (YL)
- (e) ***Neemee hegohkuemehl stowstek' 'ue-'weskwen neemee mehl hego'omah.***  
"They did not pick fir branches and did not make fire with them." FS 1951 (YL)

The difference between *mos* and *neemee* comes out sometimes in the difference between *mos skuy'* and *neemee skuy'*. *Mos skuy'* means "not at all well" – implying "quite badly"; examples are in (124).

(124) Examples of *mos skuy'*

- (a) ***Mos skuy' kee k'e-teloyewek'.***  
"It's not (at all) good for you to lie." FS 1980 (PP)
- (b) ***Mos nuemee skuy' soo chweegen kue wenchokws.***  
"I really don't like to talk to that woman." JJ 2007 (LC)
- (c) ***Mos skuy' soo chkeyek' nahschueh.***  
"I didn't sleep well last night." JJ 2007 (LC)

By contrast, as in (125), *neemee skuy'* just means "not well".

(125) Examples of *neemee skuy'*

- (a) ***Neemee skuy' soo newee'.***  
"It doesn't look good." GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (b) ***Neemee skuy' soneenepek'.***  
"I don't feel well." FS 1980 (PP)

In (125a), for example, it is more polite to say something doesn't look good than to say that it looks bad ("not at all good"). Or compare "slept badly" in (124c) vs. "don't feel well" in (125b).



## 8.2.2 Negation and time reference

### 8.2.2.1 Negation and past time

A special past-time preverb *wo* is used in negative contexts. This is the most common way of expressing past time negation. The examples in (126) illustrate *wo* in sentences negated with *neemee*.

(126) Examples of *neemee wo*

- |     |  |              |
|-----|--|--------------|
| (a) | <i>Kwesee' neemee nuemee wo chpaa nohl helomey'.</i><br>"Coyote did not dance for a very long time." | MM 1927 (YT) |
| (b) | <i>Neemee wo hlee'.</i><br>"It was not accepted."  | BF 1951 (YL) |
| (c) | <i>Neemee wo weykee'.</i><br>"It was not finished."  | YL 1951      |
| (d) | <i>Neemee heenoy wo hoole'moh.</i><br>"We did not follow you."                                       | YL 1951      |
| (e) | <i>Neemee wo nahchelek' kee 'ne-hlkyorkwek'.</i><br>"I wasn't allowed to watch."                     | FS 1980 (PP) |
| (f) | <i>Neemee wo skeweenepek'.</i><br>"I didn't eat enough."   | FS 1980 (PP) |

In (126), all that is expressed is that something did not happen. By contrast, in (127), *wo* occurs in sentences negated with *mos*. In these examples, either *mos cheetaa* suggests the emphatic reading "none at all", or a verb like *ko'moyok'* suggests an interpretation like "they could not hear (anything)".

(127) Examples of *mos wo*

- |     |   |              |
|-----|---|--------------|
| (a) | <i>Kwesee mos cheetaa wo neee'nowee' kue wee 'o key.</i><br>"No notice whatever was taken of him where he sat." | FS 1951 (YL) |
| (b) | <i>Mos cheetaa wo pahchew.</i><br>"It did not move at all."   | FS 1951 (YL) |
| (c) | <i>Mos wo ko'moyohl.</i><br>"They did not hear."  | YL 1951      |

### 8.2.2.2 Negation and future time

To express future negation, two patterns are common; the modal future preverb *kee* is used with *mos* or *neemee*.<sup>1</sup> Typically, as in (128), *neemee kee* means "will not (won't)".

(128) Examples of *neemee kee* "will not"

- |     |  |              |
|-----|--|--------------|
| (a) | <i>Neemee kee kooych.</i><br>"I will not buy it."                      | YL 1951      |
| (b) | <i>Neemee kee skuy' soo hoole'mow'.</i><br>"You will not get on well." | FS 1951 (YL) |

As shown in (129), *mos kee* means "cannot (can't)".

<sup>1</sup> The prospective preverb *keetee* is not ordinarily used with negation.

- (129) Examples of *mos kee* “cannot”
- (a) *Mos kee nahcheechek’ we’yk’oh.*  
“I can’t pay you today.” FS 1951 (RHR)
- (b) *Mos kee kol’ nepek’.*  
“I cannot eat anything.” YL 1951

Notice the difference between the two otherwise similar examples in (130): “will not go” in (130a) vs. “cannot go” in (130b).

- (130) (a) *Neemee kee yegok’.*  
“I will not go.” YL 1951
- (b) *Mos kee yegok’w.*  
“He cannot go.” YL 1951

### 8.2.2.3 Negation and *keech*

With the resultative preverb *keech*, the negation may appear before or after *keech*; the difference is important. As seen in (131), negation + *keech* means “not yet”.

- (131) Negation + *keech* “not yet”
- (a) *Mos keech ’ee roo kee ’ue-kemeyeem’.*  
“It is not time to go home yet.” GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (b) *Mos keech hopkekom’.*  
“He has not started yet.” YL 1951
- (c) *Neemee keech lekon’.*  
“It has not fallen yet.” YL 1951

By contrast, as in (132), *keech* + negation means “now (something is) not” or “no longer”.

- (132) *Keech* + negation “no longer”
- (a) *Keech neemee skuyen’.*  
“Now it is no good.” YL 1951
- (b) *Keech mee chweenkep’.*  
“He stopped talking.” FS 1951 (YL)
- (c) *Keech mehl mok’w k’e-tewon.*  
“You no longer have flesh.” DW 1907 (ALK)
- (d) *Keech mee’ pyuech son’.*  
“He is not well now.” YL 1951

The idiom in (132d) means “he is dead”, clearly highlighting “no longer” interpretation.

### 8.2.2.4 Negation and iterative verbs

There is one situation in which *ho* is regularly used in referring to past time: if a verb is iterative, with the inserted element *-eg-* that means “always” or “regularly”, then *ho* is used to express the meaning “used to”. This is illustrated in (133).

- (133) (a) *Neemee ho negepue’ nepuy.*  
“Salmon used to be eaten.” FS 1951 (YL)

- (b) *Heekon neemee wee' mehl ho regoowo's 'oohl.*  
 "People didn't use to smoke with pipes like this." FS 1951 (YL)
- (c) *Chuelue mos ho legaay' 'oohl.*  
 "A person couldn't go through Bald Hills." AS ~1962 (WB)

### 8.3 Directed motion: Using *nue*

The preverb *nue* expresses a DIRECTED MOTION sense: "go (and do something)", "come (and do something)".<sup>1</sup> Usually it is implied that the subject is in motion toward the place where the verbal action will take place. Examples are in (134–135). In (134) the translation is "go" because the understanding in context is that motion is away from the speaker; in (135) the translation is "come" because the motion is toward the speaker.

- (134) Motion away from the speaker
- (a) *Nue hl'os.*  
 "Go get it!." GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (b) *Nue 'och'es k'e-ch'eeshah.*  
 "Go feed your dogs." LT 1922 (GR)
- (135) Motion toward the speaker
- (a) *Kol' nue' neps.*  
 "Come eat." GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (b) *See nue kweget.*  
 "You should come visit." YL 1951

Occasionally, as in (136), with multiple subjects going here and there, there is no clear overall direction.

- (136) *To' nue neenee tenem'.*  
 "There are a lot (of grasshoppers) going around." AS ~1962 (WB)

#### 8.3.1 Present and past time reference

The preverb *nue* is common in commands, as in (134a–b). It is not used in past-time sentences, and it is not used in sentences with the durative present preverb *'ochkaa*. But it is often used with the resultative preverb *keech* as in (137).

- (137) Examples of *keech nue* "have gone to do something"
- (a) *Keech nue kweget.*  
 "He's gone visiting." MM 1927 (ES)
- (b) *Kue pegerk keech nue hoh.*  
 "The men have gone to work." YL 1951
- (c) *Keech nue tmeego'.*  
 "They've gone hunting." YL 1951
- (d) *Keech nue tregepah.*  
 "They've gone dipnet-fishing." FS 1980 (PP)

<sup>1</sup> This is an example of a phenomenon that linguists generally call ASSOCIATED MOTION.



Figure 8.2: Carole Lewis teaching Yurok at Eureka High School, 2013. Photo by Robert Gauthier.

The preverb *nue* can also be used with the inceptive preverb *keet*, as in (138). This sentence literally means “I’m about to go gather seaweed” or “soon I’ll go gather seaweed”.

- (138) *Keet nue chege’lohsek’.*  
 “I am going to gather seaweed.” YL 1951

### 8.3.2 Future time reference

Directed motion also appears in future-time sentences. The preverb *nue* can be used together with the prospective preverb *keetee* or the modal future preverb *kee* to refer to “going and doing” something in future time. Examples appear in (139–140).

- (139) Examples of *keetee nue* “about to go do something”
- (a) *Keetee nue kepoyurek’.*  
 “I’m going swimming.” GT 2003 (YLCB)
  - (b) *Wonew keetee nue hegook’.*  
 “I’m going up in the hills.” YL 1951
  - (c) *Keetee nue tmegook’.*  
 “I’m going hunting.” JC 1889
- (140) Examples of *kee nue* “will go do something”
- (a) *Chyue puelekw kee nue hoo.*  
 “Let’s go down the road.” GT 2003 (YLCB)
  - (b) *Keech ’ee roo kee nue chkeyek’.*  
 “It’s time to go to sleep.” GT 2003 (YLCB)

- (c) 'O meguehl **kee nue** hegook'.  
"I'll go to the store." MR ~1970 (MRo)
- (d) *Nekah hesoh Kohpey* **kee nue** goo.  
"We decided to go to Crescent City." YL 1951

An alternative way of expressing directed motion with future time is to use special preverbs that combine the functions of *nue* plus either *keetee* or *kee*. These combining or contracted preverbs are common. The first is *keetue*, illustrated in (141).

- (141) Examples of *keetue* "about to go do something"
- (a) **Keetue** hlkuue'moh.  
"We're going acorn gathering." YL 1951
- (b) **Keetue** kweget 'ne-chek.  
"I'm going to visit my mother." GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (c) **Keetue** tmegook'.  
"I'm going hunting." GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (d) *Nek* **keetue** lewetek' 'o kue ha'aag.  
"I'm going to set my net on that rock." GT 2007 (LC)

The second contracted directed-motion preverb is *kue*, illustrated in (142). In (142a), note that *kue* is used with *skewok* instead of *kee*. This is a normal way of saying "want to go do something".

- (142) Examples of *kue* "will go do something"
- (a) *Skewok hes* **kue** k'e-kepoyurek' ?  
"Do you want to go swimming?" MR ~1970 (MRo)
- (b) *Kue meges* **kue** kweget.  
"I'm going to go visit the doctor." LC 2007 (LC)
- (c) *Kel'* **kue** lewetem' hes?  
"Are you going to go fishing?" GT 2007 (LC)
- (d) *Tue kegey* **kue** negeeen'.  
"We'll go look for an Indian doctor." GT 2003 (AQ)
- (e) *Chue* **kue** nergerh.  
"Let's go pick berries." GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (f) *Nek kem* **kue** hlkyorkwek'.  
"I'll go watch too." FS 1951 (YL)

The combined preverb sequence *mos kue* means "cannot go do it", as in (143).

- (143) **Mos kue** hlkyorkwem'.  
"You can't go watch it." GT 2003 (YLCB)

## 8.4 Three other common preverbs

Three other common preverbs are worth mentioning here. Two of them, *keetkwo* and *noo*, have time-related meanings; the other, *neenee*, has a basic spatial meaning.

### 8.4.1 Using *keetkwo* and *noo*

The preverb *keetkwo* can be translated “still”, or in combination with a negative “(not) yet”; examples are in (144).

(144) Examples of *keetkwo*

- (a) *Keetkwo nee cheeweyek’*  
 “I’m still hungry.” JVP 2001 (JB)
- (b) *Keetkwo mee ’ue hewecek’*  
 “I am not well yet.” YL 1951

The preverb *noo* expresses continued activity and can be translated as “keep (doing something)”. In combination with a negative, it can be translated as “stop (doing something)”; examples are in (145).

(145) Examples of *noo*

- (a) *Tue noo laay’*  
 “He kept going along.” DW 1907 (ALK)
- (b) *Kowecho’ noo chkeyem’*  
 “Stop sleeping.” (LIT. “Don’t keep sleeping.”) OB 1927 (ALK)

### 8.4.2 Using *neenee*

The preverb *neenee* has two main uses. First, it is used for actions that move around, or events that simultaneously take place, in a variety of places; “about” or “around” is often a good translation. Examples with verbs that are consistent with motion appear in (146).

(146) Examples of *neenee* “(going) around”

- (a) *Wee’ neenee kepoyuerek’*  
 “I swim about at random.” MM 1927 (ES)
- (b) *Kolo wee’ neenee hak’ws.*  
 “She was kind of laughing around there.” FS 1951 (YL)

With verbs that are inconsistent with motion, as in (147), the meaning of *neenee* is that multiple subjects or multiple objects are located in a variety of places.

(147) Examples of *neenee* “(multiple subjects or objects being) around”

- (a) *Wee’ neenee rek’eeen ’ue-kahchuuem’*  
 “They’re sitting around sewing.” FS 1980 (PP)
- (b) *To’ cho’ neenee nee’nowom’*  
 “You should look around.” DW 1906 (ALK)

Second, *neenee* expresses comparison and can be translated “more”, as in (148).

(148) Comparative *neenee*

- (a) *Cho’ neenee plerrsem’*  
 “Talk louder.” FS 1951 (YL)
- (b) *Nek neenee chey’o kel’*  
 “I am younger than you.” YL 1951

Note that even though the best translation may involve an English adjective (*louder*, *younger*), Yurok *neenee* is a preverb.



# Chapter 9

## Sentence patterns

### 9.1 Basic word order

Yurok word order is flexible. It is often possible to arrange the words in the same sentence in two or more different ways, all of them quite acceptable. The order that speakers choose may depend more on emphasis and the nature of their conversation or story than on purely syntactic rules. But several clear patterns can be noted here.

#### 9.1.1 Preverbs and adverbs

One obvious pattern is that preverbs come before the verb; this is why they are called PRE-verbs. For example, in (149), with preverbs in boldface and verbs underlined:

(149) Preverb position

- (a) ***Keech*** *ho* *nep'* *puuek*.  
"He's been eating deer." MM 1927 (ES)
- (b) *Ha'aag* ***keech mehl ho*** *retkah*.  
"You've made a wall with rocks." FS 1980 (PP)

In contrast, adverbs, even those with generally similar meanings, may be positioned before or after verbs. For example, in (150), the adverbs *chmeyaan* "yesterday", *owook* "tomorrow", and *wonekw* "above" occupy a position before the verb (and before the preverbs) in two sentences, and after the verb in two others.

(150) Adverb position

- (a) ***Wonekw*** *'o soonekw* *kue laas*.  
"The trail goes uphill." GM 2003 (AQ)
- (b) ***Chmeyaan*** *neskwechook' mehl Kohpey*.  
"Yesterday I came from Crescent City." YL 1951
- (c) *Kue pegerk no'p'en' meweehl* ***chmeyaan***.  
"The man chased an elk yesterday." YL 1951
- (d) *Kee lahchue' so Kohpey* ***owook***.  
"A voyage will be made to Crescent City tomorrow." YL 1951

Preverbs never show the word order flexibility of adverbs.



### 9.1.2 Nouns and verbs

It is uncommon for a sentence in ordinary usage to have more than one noun, and it is common for sentences to have no nouns. If there is a noun, it may be positioned either before or after its verb. As a rule, no more than one noun will be positioned before the verb. Any others will be positioned after the verb, and it is even possible that all nouns will be positioned after the verb.

If one noun at most is positioned before the verb, which noun is it? When are nouns positioned before their verbs? Two general rules about noun position are given in (151).<sup>1</sup>

(151) Noun position: Two general rules

- (a) A noun is usually **BEFORE** the verb if it is contrastive, emphasized, or new to the discourse.
- (b) A noun is usually **AFTER** the verb if it conveys old information, or if it is very long.

The rule in (151a) is illustrated in (152), consecutive sentences from a single story. These sentences have a series of three contrasting subjects: (a) everyone, (b) *kue lochom* "the toad", and (c) *kue negeneech* "the mouse".

- (152) (a) *Eekee toom' nue hlkeegor.*  
 "Everyone went to watch."  
 (b) *Kwesee **kue lochom** 'o ges, Nek kem kue hlkyorkwek'.*  
 "And **the toad** thought, "I too will go watch."  
 (c) ***Kue negeneech** tue' kem wee' 'o gegok'w.*  
 "**The mouse** too was staying there." FS 1951 (YL)

Each of the two contrasting nouns is positioned before its verb; the verbs are underlined and the preverbal nouns are in boldface.<sup>2</sup>

The rule in (151b) is illustrated in (153), a set of sentences that come later in the story quoted in (152). When the toad and mouse are mentioned again they are already known, so the position of the noun is after the verb.

- (153) (a) *Kwesee yem' **kue negeneech** . . .*  
 "Then **the mouse** said . . ."  
 (b) *Kwesee 'o te'noy' **kue lochom** ' . . .*  
 "And **the toad** was annoyed . . ."  
 (c) *Kwesee wee' neenee noo's **kue negeneech**.*  
 "And **the mouse** giggled around." FS 1951 (YL)

In each case the (boldface) noun follows rather than preceding the (underlined) verb.

## 9.2 Commands, exhortations, and requests

Three common strategies are used in commands and in requests for people to do something. They are listed in (154).

<sup>1</sup> Pronouns (like *nek*) are almost always preverbal.

<sup>2</sup> Note also that *kue negeneech* is explicitly marked as contrastive via the particle *tue'*, which can be translated "but" and highlights a contrasting noun.

- (154) Command and request strategies
- (a) Imperative verbs, with meanings like “Come eat something!”
  - (b) *cho'* + indicative forms, especially second-person forms, with meanings like “You should come and eat something!”
  - (c) *pekwsue hes* + second-person forms, with meanings like “Won’t you please eat something?”

Imperative verbs are common (and not at all impolite). The three strategies above are illustrated in (155–157), respectively.

- (155) Imperative verbs
- (a) *Yo'kwen soot'os*.  
“Get out of my way.” GT 2007 (LC)
  - (b) *Now soot'os*.  
“Go away.” FS 1951 (YL)
  - (c) *Yo'kwen loot'es koweesh*.  
“Throw the stick away.” MM 1927 (ES)
- (156) Exhortations with *cho'* (see §8.1 beginning on page 77)
- (a) *Cho' nergerykerm' kue k'e-let*.  
“You should help your sister.” GT 2007 (LC)
  - (b) *Kue 'ekah cho' o myootem'*.  
“You should put on the hat.” JJ 2006 (AG)
  - (c) *Cho' kwoychoom'*.  
“You should go quietly (slowly).” FS 1980 (PP)
- (157) Examples of *pekwsue hes*
- (a) *Pekwsue hes nekah kelew 'o megeluue'moh so Kohpey?*  
“May we not go with you to Crescent City?” YL 1951
  - (b) *Pekwsue hes pewomem'?*  
“Will you cook?” GT 2003 (YLCB)
  - (c) *Pekwsue hes kelew ko nergerykerpa'?*  
“Won’t you all help me?” YL 1951

Note that, strictly speaking, requests with *pekwsue hes* are yes–no questions. Also, as seen in (112–113) on pages 78–78 above, *cho'* can be used with first-person and third-person verbs to express exhortation (“must, should”).

Alternatively, to urge a group that includes the speaker to do something, a construction with *chyue kee* (or *chyue kue*) is often used. This is shown in (158).

- (158) Exhortations with *chyue kee*
- (a) *Chyue kee ma'ahskoh!*  
“Let’s spear it!” MM 1927 (ES)
  - (b) *Chyue kee chkee'moh!*  
“Let’s go to bed!” GT 2003 (YLCB)
  - (c) *Chyue kue nergerh!*  
“Let’s go pick berries!” GT 2003 (YLCB)

The literal meaning of this construction is “well (*chyue*), we’ll (*kee*) . . .”

Finally, as in (159), prohibitions or negative commands or prohibitions are formed using *kowecho’* with a second-person verb: “Don’t do it!”

(159) Negative commands

- |     |  |                |
|-----|--|----------------|
| (a) | <i>Kowecho’ moskem’ ’ne-muech ro’.</i><br>“Don’t borrow my car.” | AF 2004 (AG)   |
| (b) | <i>Kowecho’ kol’ sochpeyewem’.</i><br>“Don’t say anything.”      | FS 1951 (RHR)  |
| (c) | <i>Kowecho’ ’ahspem’ pa’ah.</i><br>“Don’t drink water.”          | LBy 1902 (ALK) |

## 9.3 Questions

Questions are of the following two types:

- In a YES–NO QUESTION, there are only a couple of natural answers. For example, the likely answers to the English question *Will you help me?* are either *Yes* or *No* (or some expansion or equivalent).
- In a CONTENT QUESTION, the range of likely answers is broader. For example, given the English question *Who will help me?*, there are numerous possible answers depending on the circumstances: *Alice, Bert, Charlie, Donna*, etc.

In many languages, yes–no questions and content questions are formed in different ways. In English, for example, content questions use a word such as *where?*, *what?*, *why?*, etc., while yes–no questions are formed by changing word order: *Can you hear me?* Yurok too has two different methods for forming the two types of questions.

### 9.3.1 Yes–no questions

Yes–no questions are formed using the question particle *hes*, positioned either at the end of the sentence (this is less common) or (more often) after the first word or phrase of the sentence. The examples below are divided into two groups: neutral questions, whose answer might be “yes” or “no” (§9.3.1.1), and questions whose expected answer is “no” (§9.3.1.2).

#### 9.3.1.1 Neutral yes–no questions

The most common position for *hes* is immediately after the first word of the sentence, as in (160).

(160) Questions with *hes* after the first word

- |     |  |              |
|-----|--|--------------|
| (a) | <i>Kel’ hes keech cherhkwerm’?</i><br>“Are you jumping center?”      | GT 2007 (AG) |
| (b) | <i>Skewok hes kee k’e-megelook’?</i><br>“Do you want to go with us?” | GT 2007 (LC) |



**Figure 9.1:** Minnie Reed around 1918 with her daughter Rena Lorraine, later the mother of language activists and teachers Kay Inong, Carole Lewis, and Margo Robbins.

- (c) *Matthew hes 'o tegeruesem' we'yk'oh kechoyhl?*  
 "Have you talked to Matthew today?" JJ 2007 (LC)
- (d) *'Ok'w hes mehl 'e'ga'?*  
 "Do you have a pencil?" GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (e) *Kel' hes kem newoom'?*  
 "Did you see it too?" FS 1980 (PP)

But as in (161), if a sentence begins with a preverb or two followed by a verb, then *hes* may be delayed to follow the verb. Yurok avoids interrupting the preverb–verb sequence.

- (161) Questions with *hes* after a preverb + verb group
- (a) *Keech 'ee son' hes kee kol' k'e-nepek'?*  
 "Are you ready to eat?" GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (b) *Keetee tenpewe'hl hes?*  
 "Is it going to rain?" GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (c) *Keech ko'moyom' hes?*  
 "Did you hear (me)?" MM 1927 (ES)

A different position for *hes* is illustrated in (162): *hes* is positioned at the end of the sentence. This is less common than the option in (160–161), but it is a well documented alternative, especially in Modern Yurok (and occasionally in Classical Yurok).

- (162) Questions with *hes* at the end of the sentence
- (a) *Pa'aahl keech 'oom' hes?*  
 "Are you in the water?" MM 1927 (ES)
- (b) *Nekomuy kee k'e-pemek' kegoh hes?*  
 "Do you know how to make acorn soup?" JJ 2007 (LC)
- (c) *Nekomuy k'e-holeemek' kue luemon hes?*  
 "Do you know how to make eel baskets?" GT 2003 (YLCB)

In (162c), subjunctive *k'-oleemek'* would have been possible instead of *k'e-holeemek'*.

### 9.3.1.2 Questions expecting a negative answer

Some questions presuppose that a negative answer is likely. An English example is *Don't you see the hawk?*, to which a likely answer is *No, I don't see it*. In Yurok, much as in English, such questions are formed with negatives. Examples are in (163).

- (163) Questions expecting a negative answer
- (a) *Neemee hes newoom' kuech kue 'ne-ka'ar?*  
 "Haven't you seen my pet, grandmother?" FS 1951 (YL)
- (b) *Kuech, nee mok'w hes 'oyhl kee nepek'?*  
 "Grandmother, isn't there anything lying here for me to eat?" FS 1951 (YL)
- (c) *Nee mok'w hes k'-ohsepek'?*  
 "Aren't you ashamed?" YL 1951

In (163c), the addressee may or may not actually be ashamed. In asking this question, the speaker assumes that the addressee should have been ashamed but isn't.

### 9.3.2 Content questions

Unlike yes–no questions, content questions seek a more open-ended answer to questions like “who?”, “when?”, “where?”, etc. They can be classified according to the type of information they seek, and also according to their form. In Yurok, content questions are formed using one of the question words *tee’now*, *tee’neeshoo*, and *kues*. Among these, *kues* is the most flexible.

#### 9.3.2.1 Who? What?

Questions that ask “who?”, as in (164), use the question word *tee’now*.

(164) Questions with *tee’now*

- |     |  |                |
|-----|--|----------------|
| (a) | <i>Tee’now</i> <i>puen’?</i><br>“Who farted?”                                | GT 2003 (YLCB) |
| (b) | <i>Tee’now</i> <i>swechohpen’ kue’ ahtemar’?</i><br>“Who opened the letter?” | LT 1922 (GR)   |
| (c) | <i>Tee’now</i> <i>helomey’?</i><br>“Who’s dancing?”                          | GT 2003 (YLCB) |
| (d) | <i>Tee’now</i> <i>ho helomey’?</i><br>“Who was dancing?”                     | YL 1951        |
| (e) | <i>Tee’now</i> <i>keech kweryerw’?</i><br>“Who whistled?”                    | FS 1980 (PP)   |

Questions that ask “what?”, as in (165), use the question word *tee’neeshoo*. As a rule, *tee’neeshoo* questions are used with verbs that ordinarily have a noun as their (missing) subject or object. In (165c), the missing noun is understood with *mehl* “about”.

(165) Questions with *tee’neeshoo*

- |     |   |                |
|-----|---|----------------|
| (a) | <i>Tee’neeshoo</i> <i>kee nepem’?</i><br>“What are you going to eat?”                 | GT 2003 (YLCB) |
| (b) | <i>Tee’neeshoo</i> <i>ho’yk’etem’?</i><br>“What did you lose?”                        | GT 2003 (YLCB) |
| (c) | <i>Tee’neeshoo</i> <i>mehl toh’?</i><br>“What are you (or they or we) talking about?” | GT 2003 (YLCB) |

*Tee’neeshoo* questions often have subjunctive verbs. Then they mean something like “What is it that . . .?” and may be emphasized with *weesh* or *wee’*. Examples are in (166).

(166) Questions with *tee’neeshoo* and subjunctive verbs

- |     |  |                |
|-----|--|----------------|
| (a) | <i>Tee’neeshoo</i> <i>mehl k’e-chwegeen’?</i><br>“What are you talking about?”<br>(LIT. “What is it that you’re talking about?”) | GT 2003 (YLCB) |
| (b) | <i>Tee’neeshoo</i> <i>weesh’ we-skewok’?</i><br>“What does he want?”<br>(LIT. “What is it that he wants?”)                       | GT 2003 (YLCB) |

### 9.3.2.2 Where? How?

In the simplest sentences with *kues*, as in (167), it usually means “where?”

- (167) Questions with *kues* “where?”
- |     |   |                |
|-----|---|----------------|
| (a) | <i>Kues kee le'moh?</i><br>“Where are we going?”                                | GT 2003 (YLCB) |
| (b) | <i>Kues me'womechoom'?</i><br>“Where do you come from?”                         | AF 2004 (AG)   |
| (c) | <i>Kues nekem'?</i><br>“Where did you put it?”                                  | FS 1980 (PP)   |
| (d) | <i>Kues keech roo?</i><br>“What time is it?”<br>(LIT. “Where is the sunlight?”) | JJ 2007 (LC)   |

With the preverb *soo* “thus, in that manner”, as in (d), questions are usually formed with *kues* because literally such questions mean “in what way?”

- (168) Questions with *kues soo* “how?”
- |     |   |              |
|-----|---|--------------|
| (a) | <i>Kues soo nekey'?</i><br>“What’s it called?”                            | YL 1951      |
| (b) | <i>Kues soo hegolem'?</i><br>“How do you say it?”                         | YL 1951      |
| (c) | <i>Kues soo hesem'?</i><br>“What do you think?” or “Why do you think it?” | FS 1951 (YL) |

The same pattern is found with relative roots in *soo-*, *so-*, and *serr-*, as in (169); see also §10.2.5 on page 105.

- (169) Relative-root questions with *kues*
- |     |  |                |
|-----|--|----------------|
| (a) | <i>Kues cho' sonowom'?</i><br>“How are you?”   | MR ~1970 (MRo) |
| (b) | <i>Kues soch? Kues sochpeyowom'?</i><br>“What did you say?”<br>(LIT. “How did you speak?”) | GT 2003 (YLCB) |
| (c) | <i>Kues wo'nee serrhlerpem'?</i><br>“What are you doing now?” <sup>1</sup>                 | YL 1951        |
| (d) | <i>Kues serrnerh?</i><br>“What color is it?”   | FS 1980 (PP)   |
| (e) | <i>Kues serrmerkws?</i><br>“How fast is the wind blowing?”                                 | FS 1980 (PP)   |

### 9.3.2.3 When? How far?

To ask when, two patterns are common: *kues cho'* and *kues noohl*. The difference between them is not certain, though probably *kues cho'* means “at what time?” while *kues noohl*

<sup>1</sup> At least one Modern Yurok speaker often used *tee'neeshoo*, not *kues*, with this verb.



**Figure 9.2:** Yurok elder Aileen Figueroa and linguist Juliette Blevins worked together on many aspects of grammar, pronunciation, and vocabulary between 2001 and 2005.

means “how long (ago or in the future)?” Questions with *kues noohl* or its equivalent *kues no’ohl* are more common in reference to future time, and questions with *kues cho’* are more common in reference to past time. Examples of the two constructions are given in (170–171).

- (170) Questions with *kues cho’* “when?”
- (a) *Kues cho’ nuuem’?*  
“When did they come?” FS 1980 (PP)
  - (b) *Kues cho’ neskwechok’w?*  
“When did he come?” YL 1951
- (171) Questions with *kues noohl* “when?”
- (a) *Kues noohl nes?*  
“When did you come?” JC 1889
  - (b) *Kues no’ohl kee kemeyem’?*  
“When are you going home?” YL 1951
  - (c) *Kues noohl ki kemeyem’?*  
“When will we go home?” FS 1951 (RHR)
  - (d) *Kues no’ohl kee kem nue nuuem’ yo’hkloh?*  
“When will they come again?” YL 1951

In addition, *kues noohl* can be used in a more literal way, as in (172), to mean “how far (in distance)”.



- (172) Questions with *kues noohl* "how far?"
- (a) ***Kues noohl wee' kee k'e-le'mow'?***  
"How far will you all go?" FS 1980 (PP)
- (b) ***Kues noohl ho wee'eeet'?***  
"How far is it to that place?" YL 1951

Finally, as (173) illustrates, a short version of *no'ohl* can also be used in questions with *kues no'*.

- (173) Questions with *kues no'* "when?"
- (a) ***Kues no' kue kepoyueree'moh'?***  
"When will we go swimming?" AF 2005 (JB)
- (b) ***Kues no' newoom' k'e-psech'?***  
"When did you see your father?" AF 2005 (JB)

#### 9.3.2.4 Why? How many? Which?

To ask "why?", *kues* ('we-)son' *mehl* (rarely without *mehl*) is used — literally, "because of how?" This is shown in (174).

- (174) Questions with *kues 'we-son' mehl* "why?"
- (a) ***Kues 'we-son' mehl tetomokseemem'?***  
"Why are you mad at me?" GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (b) ***Kues 'we-son' mehl mee' we-nuueem'?***  
"Why didn't they come before?" FS 1951 (YL)
- (c) ***Kues son' mehl ro'opem'?***  
"Why are you running?" AF 2005 (JB)
- (d) ***Kues son' mehl nes'?***  
"Why have you come?" YL 1951

Questions asking "how many?", as in (175), are formed using *kues* with the appropriate numeral question form (§10.3.1).

- (175) Questions with *kues choom'* "how many?"
- (a) ***Kues choom' k'-uuek'?***  
"How many children do you have?" YL 1951
- (b) ***Kues kee toom' k'e-lew kee lewetem'?***  
"How many nets are you going to fish with" GT 2007 (LC)

Finally, as in (176), to ask "which (of more than one)?", the combination *kues wee'* is found.

- (176) ***Kues wee' k'e-skewok kue nepuy'?***  
"Which salmon do you want?" JJ 2007 (LC)

Literally, this sentence means something like "Which is the salmon that you want?"

# Chapter 10

## Vocabulary patterns

### 10.1 Expressing “be”, “have”, and related meanings

In Yurok, meanings like “be” and “have” are expressed quite differently from the way they are expressed in English. There is no Yurok verb or other word that has the same range of uses as English *be* or *have*. Here a few important constructions that partly correspond to these English verbs are described: descriptive sentences (§10.1.1), nominal sentences (§10.1.2), posture constructions (§10.1.3), and possession sentences (§10.1.4).

#### 10.1.1 Descriptive sentences

In English, expressions like *I am tall*, *the boat is long*, and *my children are good* contain forms of the verb *be* and an adjective. But because Yurok has no adjectives, it ordinarily uses verbs to express meanings like the ones expressed by *be* + an adjective in English. Many Yurok verbs describe properties; sentences with such verbs can be called DESCRIPTIVE SENTENCES. Examples are in (177).

- (177) (a) *Noorew' kue chegemem.*  
“The hummingbird is pretty.” GM 2004 (AG)
- (b) *Yo' sega'agey'.*  
“She is rich.” GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (c) *Keech teytesek', keech hlmeyowok'.*  
“I am angry, I am mean.” FS 1980 (PP)

The translations given show that in these examples a Yurok verb is equivalent to an English *be* + adjective construction.

#### 10.1.2 Nominal sentences

In English, forms of the verb *be* are used in sentences like *This is a salmon*, *I am a doctor*, and *My pets are cats*. In such sentences, somebody or something is said to be a person or thing; a *be* + noun construction is used. In Yurok, by contrast, the noun itself is used with no verb that means “is” or “be” — a construction sometimes called a NOMINAL SENTENCE; the noun or noun phrase itself is sometimes called a PREDICATE NOMINAL. Examples are

in (178–179). It is common for nominal sentences to include the pronoun *wee'*, as in (178); the predicate nominal is underlined.

- (178) Examples of “X (is) Y” with *wee'*
- (a) *Segep wee' kue nepuy.*  
“That salmon (was) Coyote.” MM 1927 (YT)
  - (b) *Kel' kee nepuy wee'.*  
“You'll (be) a salmon.” MM 1927 (ES)
  - (c) *Lochom' kwel wenchokws wee'.*  
“A toad (is) a woman.” AS ~1962 (WB)
  - (d) *Nek kwelekw wee' neemuech 'ne-tektoh.*  
“(It is) my own log.” FS 1951 (YL)

In other cases, as in (179), *wee'* is omitted (for reasons that are unclear).

- (179) Examples of “X (is) Y” without *wee'*
- (a) *Kee nuemee peleen nepuy.*  
“(I) will (be) a very big salmon.” MM 1927 (YT)
  - (b) *Tokues kwel peeshkaahl 'o goore'mos.*  
“A pelican (is) a sea animal.” AS ~1962 (WB)

The construction in (178) also occurs with the causative use of *hohkuemek'* “I make” (non-inflected *hoh*). This is shown in (180).

- (180) Examples of “make X (be) Y” with *wee'*
- (a) *'Wer'errgerch' kwel yo'hlkoych' wee' hoh.*  
“Firewood is made out of alder.”  
(LIT. “(They) make alder (into) firewood.”) AS ~1962 (WB)
  - (b) *Nek ka'ar wee' kee yoh.*  
“I will make it a pet.” FS 1951 (YL)

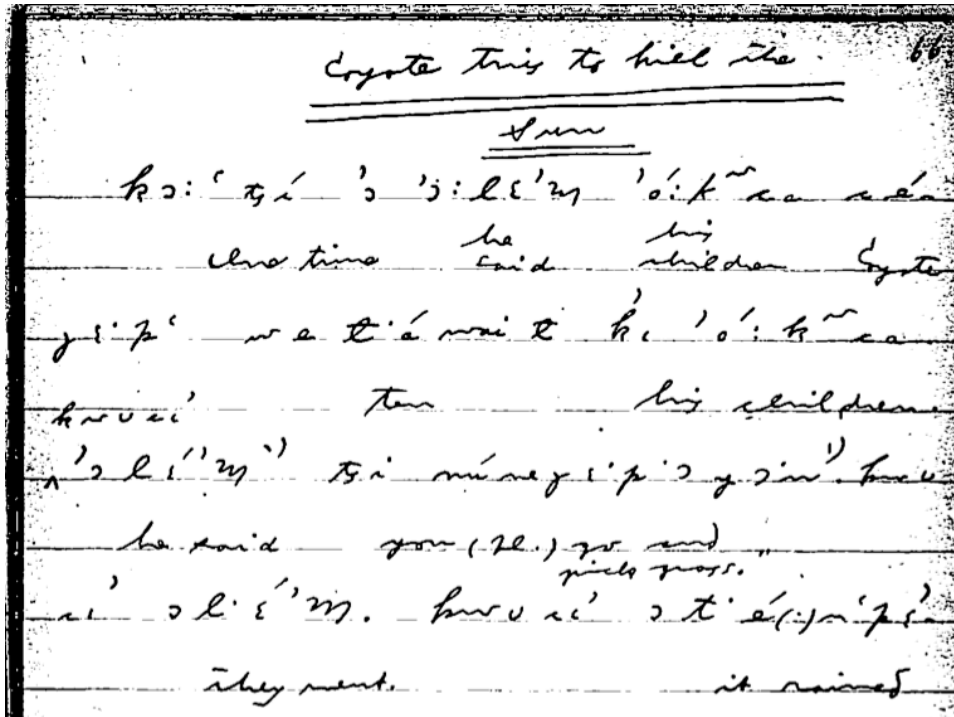
In (181), note the use of the past time preverb *ho* before a noun, meaning “former”.

- (181) (a) *Nek wee' kue ho k'e-ka'ar.*  
“I (am) your former pet.” FS 1951 (YL)
- (b) *Nek wee' ho 'ne-'yoch.*  
“(It is) my former boat, it was my boat.” YL 1951

In (178d) and (181b), the whole sentence is one nominal phrase: *nek . . . neemuech 'ne-tektoh* “my own log” in (178d), and *nek . . . ho 'ne-'yoch* “my former boat” in (181b). In these examples the pronoun *wee'* occurs between the first and second word of the phrase; in the other examples in (178), *wee'* follows the predicate noun (*Segep* “Coyote”, *nepuy* “salmon”, *wenchokws* “woman”).

### 10.1.3 Posture constructions

In English, to describe a location — where someone or something is — forms of the verb *be* are often used: *The dog is under the table*, *Those rocks are near the tree*, etc. But in Yurok, it is more common to use the POSTURE verbs in (182).



**Figure 10.1:** In 1927 Mary Marshall dictated a story about coyote trying to kill the sun. These are the first few lines of Edward Sapir's transcription.

(182) Yurok posture verbs expressing location

- (a) LIE: 'oyhl (animate or inanimate; or 'oyhlkesek'); see (183)
- (b) SIT: key (animate), tektee' "it sits" (inanimate; or tek); see (184)
- (c) STAND: 'oolo' (animate), tepon' "it stands" (inanimate; or tep or ro'oh); see (185)

These verbs, and other positional verbs not listed in (182), are discussed in more detail in chapter 23. Here, the posture verb construction is illustrated in (183–185).

(183) Posture verbs used to express location: Lying

- (a) Yoch 'ue-poyew nee 'oyhl 'ne-ch'wona.  
 "My coat is (LIT. **lying**) in the front of the boat." YL 1951
- (b) Nee mok'w hes 'oyhl kee nepek'  
 "Isn't there anything (LIT. **lying**) (here) to eat?" FS 1951 (YL)

(184) Posture verbs used to express location: Sitting

- (a) Kue wee' o key kue jackass skelee keech lechee'.  
 "The donkey **that was (LIT. sitting) there** had fallen down." FS 1986 (JP)
- (b) Nekah heekoh 'o lewetek' kue ha'aag 'o tek.  
 "We set our net across the river on the rock **that was (LIT. sitting) there.**"  
 GT 2007 (LC)

- (185) Posture verbs used to express location: Standing
- (a) *Neskwee kue 'oolo' keech laayekeek'.*  
 "It's flowing past **where (I) am** (LIT. where I stand)." FS 1980 (PP)
- (b) *Wee'eeet 'o tepon' stohstek'.*  
 "There's a young fir (LIT. **standing**) there." GM 2008 (AG)

Instead of (183a), it might be possible to say *Yoch 'ue-poyew ('ok'w) 'ne-ch'wona' "my coat (is) in front of the boat"*, with no posture verb, but the posture construction is common. In (183b), the literal translation with "lying" is much less idiomatic in English than simply "Isn't there anything here to eat?" The point in all these cases is that the Yurok posture construction is quite idiomatic.

### 10.1.4 Possession sentences

Yurok lacks a verb with the precise meaning of English *have*. (Verbs like *'ekonemek' "hold"* and *megetohlkwook' "take care of"* have more specific meanings.) Instead, to express the meaning of English sentences like *I have a brother* or *You have a pretty dress*, Yurok uses a form of the verb *'ook' "I am"*. This may seem counterintuitive to English-speaking students, and difficult to master, but it is one of the most common Yurok constructions.

Schematically, where X stands for some noun, the construction is this: *'ok'w 'ne-X* "I have an X". But the verb form *'ok'w* does not actually mean "have"; it is a third-person singular form of *'ook' "I am"*, and it means literally "there is". What the schematic sentence *'ok'w 'ne-X* means literally is "there is my X" or "my X exists". This is how Yurok (like many languages) expresses the meaning "have". Some examples are given in (186).

- (186) (a) *'Ok'w 'ner-erkerh.*  
 "I have a fishing rock."  
 (LIT. "My fishing rock exists.") FS 1980 (PP)
- (b) *Kel' 'ok'w skuyenee k'e-'yoch.*  
 "You have a good boat."  
 (LIT. "Your good boat exists.") YL 1951
- (c) *Pegoy 'ok'w 'ue-poy.*  
 "Yellowhammer has a tattoo."  
 (LIT. "Yellowhammer's tattoo exists.") YL 1951
- (d) *Kwesee 'ok'w 'ue-peechowos.*  
 "And he had a grandfather."  
 (LIT. "And his grandfather existed.") FS 1951 (YL)
- (e) *'Ok'w hes k'-ahpew?*  
 "Do you have a wife?"  
 (LIT. "Does your wife exist?") MM 1927 (ES)

Note the position occupied by modifiers of the noun: attributive modifiers like *skuyenee* "good" in (186b) appear after *'ok'w*; but nouns and pronouns that emphasize or identify the possessor, including *kel' "you"* in (186b) and *pegoy* "yellowhammer" in (186c), typically appear before *'ok'w*.

To negate sentences like those in (186), a similar construction is used with *neemok'w*



**Figure 10.2:** Lila M. O’Neale, an anthropologist and textile researcher, and Nellie Cooper, a Yurok basket weaver, on the Klamath River in 1929. O’Neale collaborated with many Yurok weavers to document their art, its social meanings, and related practices and vocabulary.

or *neemo’ok’w*, literally “it is not” or “there does not exist”.<sup>1</sup> Examples are in (187).

- (187) (a) *Neemok’w’ue-kerter’*.  
 “It has no lid.”  
 (LIT. “Its lid does not exist.”) FS 1980 (PP)
- (b) *Neemok’w’ne-cheek*.  
 “I don’t have any money.”  
 (LIT. “My money doesn’t exist.”) MR ~1970 (MRo)
- (c) *Keech neemok’w’we-tewon*.  
 “He no longer had any flesh.”  
 (LIT. “His flesh no longer exists.”) DW 1907 (ALK)

Finally, a similar construction is used to express the meanings “have a lot of” and “have little of”. The verbs used are *teno’* “there’s a lot of it” and *chkeno’* “there’s little of it”; examples are in (188).

- (188) (a) *Yo’ teno’ we-chegel’*.  
 “She has a lot of seaweed.”  
 (LIT. “That one’s seaweed is a lot.”) YL 1951
- (b) *Keech chkeno’ ke’mow*.  
 “Food is scarce.” YL 1951

<sup>1</sup> This is a contraction of *ok’w* with negative *neemee*: that is, *neemee’ok’w* → *neemo’ok’w* → *neemok’w*.

See pages 120 and 132 for more discussion of the verbs *chkeno'* and *teno'*, and page 124 for more discussion of *'ok'w* and other forms of the verb *'ook'*.

## 10.2 Relative roots

Yurok has many verbs beginning with *no'om-*, *son-*, *tom-*, or *weno'om-*, which are called RELATIVE ROOTS.<sup>1</sup> Such verbs have in common that a sentence containing one of them is incomplete unless a word or phrase is added to express a particular relation implied by the root. Details differ depending on the initial element, but this general profile is the same across all four roots.

### 10.2.1 Verbs in *no'om-* "how long"

Verbs that begin with the relative root *no'om-* answer (or ask) the question "how long?" They typically refer to a distance, as in the examples in (189), where *'oteesh* "a foot (in length)" and *k'e-yah* "your belly" indicate the length.

- (189) (a) *'Oteesh no'omel'*.  
 "It was a foot long." FS 1951 (YL)
- (b) *Mocho kee wohpeyem', kwesee k'e-yah kee no'omuel'*.  
 "If you cross, then it (the water) will be up to your belly." FS 1980 (PP)

As (190) shows, the distance can be in time as well as space.

- (190) *'Owook kerrmeek' kee no'omuen'*.  
 "Tomorrow he will be nine years old." VM 1994 (BJ)

### 10.2.2 Verbs in *son-* "how"

Verbs that begin with the relative root *son-* (or its variants *sern-*, *soo-*, or *serr-*) answer (or ask) the question "how?" They refer to a manner of being or doing, and must be used with a word or phrase that expresses the manner. For example, as in (191), the verb *serrnerh* "be (a particular) color, it is colored (thus)" requires an expression like *won* "differently".

- (191) *Won nee kee serrnerh k'e-wa'aw*.  
 "Your floor will be a different color." JJ 2006 (AG)

In the common expression in (192), *skuy'* "good" likewise expresses manner with the verb *soneenepek'* "I feel (a particular way)".

- (192) *Skuy' soneenepek'*.  
 "I feel good." JJ 2006 (AG)

And the verb *soonekw* "go (in a particular direction, of a trail)" in (193) requires an expression like *pechkue* "upriver" to express the direction.

- (193) *Pechkue soonekw kue laas*.  
 "The trail goes upriver." GM 2004 (AG)

<sup>1</sup> Linguists who study the Algonquian languages use this term because the meaning of elements like *son-*, *tom-*, or *weno'om-* is said to RELATE to the additional element in the sentence.

### 10.2.3 Verbs in *tom-* “how much”

Verbs that begin with the relative root *tom-* answer (or ask) the question “how much?” They typically refer to an amount or quantity, and require an amount expression or a place-holder like *kues* “how (much)?” or *wek* “this”. Examples of *tomoyek'* “I am (a particular age or size)” are given in (194a–b).

- (194) (a) *Wek tomoyek'*.  
 “I am this tall, I am this old.” FS 1980 (PP)
- (b) *Yo na'mee lok keech tom'*.  
 “He is now two years old.” YL 1951

Other similar verbs are *tomeek'* “it is (a particular depth)”, *tomonemek'* “I take (a particular amount)”, and *tompeyok'* “I eat (a particular amount)”. In all cases the implication of the root *tom-*, unless otherwise specified, is that the amount is relatively large.

### 10.2.4 Verbs in *weno'om-* “how far”

Verbs that begin with the relative root *weno'om-* answer (or ask) the question “how far?” They typically refer to a location (in space or time), and are used only in sentences where an additional word or phrase indicates the location. In (195a), for example, the location is indicated by *wee'* “that (place)”, and in (195b) it is expressed by *poyew noohl* “far ahead”.

- (195) (a) *Kel' kem wee' ho weno'omuereem'*.  
 “You too swam there.” YL 1951
- (b) *Poyew noohl weno'omor' kue mewah*.  
 “The boy is running far ahead.” YL 1951

The relative roots *no'om-* and *weno'om-* are similar; the difference is that *weno'om-* verbs express how far along something has moved, while *no'om-* expresses how long something is (not necessarily in motion). For example, while *no'omek'* means “it (a worm- or roped-shaped object) is long”, *weno'omoksee'hl* “it is a (specified) season” refers to the metaphorical motion of time.

### 10.2.5 Questions with relative roots

All three relative roots *son-*, *tom-*, and *weno'om-* with words like *wek*, *wee'*, and *wey'* (referring to “this” manner, quantity, or location), as shown in the sections above. In addition, all three are used with the question word *kues* rather than *tee'neeshoo*. Examples are in (196).

- (196) (a) *Kues no'omel'?*  
 “How long is it?” YL 1951
- (b) *Kues serrnerh?*  
 “What color is it?”  
 (LIT. “How is it colored?”) FS 1980 (PP)
- (c) *Kues tomeek' chaahl?*  
 “How deep is the sand?” FS 1980 (PP)
- (d) *Kues keech weno'omuereem'?*  
 “How far have they swum?” FS 1980 (PP)



	PEOPLE	ANIMALS (suffix <i>-er'eryhl</i> )	ROUND THINGS AND MONEY (suffix <i>-oh</i> )	NUMBERS OF TIMES
1	<i>koora'</i>	<i>kerhtery'</i>	<i>kohtoh</i>	<i>kohchee</i>
2	<i>nee'eehl</i>	<i>ner'er'eryhl</i>	<i>no'oh</i>	<i>na'mee</i>
3	<i>nahkseyl</i>	<i>nerhkser'eryhl</i>	<i>nahksoh</i>	<i>nahkseeme</i>
4	<i>cho'oneyhl</i>	<i>cher'erner'eryhl</i>	<i>to'onoh</i>	<i>choona'mee</i>
5	<i>merueh</i> <i>choom'</i>	<i>merueh</i> <i>termerwer'eryhl</i>	<i>merueh tomowoh</i>	<i>merueh chee</i>
6	<i>kohchew</i> <i>choom'</i>	<i>kohchew</i> <i>termerwer'eryhl</i>	<i>kohchew tomowoh</i>	<i>kohchew chee</i>
7	<i>cherwerseek'</i> <i>choom'</i>	<i>cherwerseek'</i> <i>termerwer'eryhl</i>	<i>cherwerseek' tomowoh</i>	<i>cherwerseek' chee</i>
8	<i>kneweteek'</i> <i>choom'</i>	<i>kneweteek'</i> <i>termerwer'eryhl</i>	<i>kneweteek' tomowoh</i>	<i>kneweteek' chee</i>
9	<i>kerrmeek'</i> <i>choom'</i>	<i>kerrmeek'</i> <i>termerwer'eryhl</i>	<i>kerrmeek' tomowoh</i>	<i>kerrmeek' chee</i>
10	<i>werhlerweryhl</i>	<i>werhlerwer'eryhl</i>	<i>wehlowaa tomowoh</i>	<i>wehlowaa chee</i>
Q	<i>Kues choom'?</i>	<i>Kues termerwer'eryhl?</i>	<i>Kues tomowoh?</i>	<i>*Kues chee?</i>

Table 10.1: Selected numerals from 1 to 10 (Q = question “How many?”)

## 10.3 Numerals and color terms

Words used for counting things (“one”, “two”, etc.) and words used to describe colors (“light-colored”, “red”, etc.) are mostly verbs in Yurok. (Recall that Yurok, unlike English, does not have any adjectives.) The most commonly-used forms are ATTRIBUTIVE verbs and NON-INFLECTED verbs.

A distinctive feature of Yurok numerals and color terms is that they change form depending on the meaning of what they are applied to; a different form of “two” or “light-colored” is used for snakes and for human beings. This is a CLASSIFICATORY system; it is how Yurok organizes phenomena in the world. Numerals show more different forms than color terms in Yurok, but both are classificatory.

### 10.3.1 Numerals

A few of the most common sets of numerals (from 1 to 10 only) are shown in Table 10.1 above and Table 10.2 on page 107. As the tables illustrate, the structure of Yurok numerals is as follows. Each numeral from 1 to 4 is a single word, changing its form according to the type of thing being counted. Above 5, the numerals consist of two (or more) words: the first word is usually an invariant form, like *kohchew* “six”, and the second word changes its form depending on what is being counted. The last line in each table shows the form used in questions: to ask “How many are there?” you need to know what kind of thing you are asking about.

Included in Tables 10.1–10.2 are the numerals for various classes: people; animals; round things and money (since coins are round); numbers of times (“once”, “twice”, etc.); things shaped like sticks; flat things; and sacks and bundles. Yurok has other sets of numerals as well: for things shaped like ropes or snakes, for plants and bushy things,

	STICKS AND STRAIGHT THINGS (suffix <i>-ar'</i> )	FLAT THINGS (suffix <i>-ok's</i> )	SACKS AND GROWING THINGS (suffix <i>-ep'</i> )
1	<i>kohtar'</i>	<i>kohtok's</i>	<i>kohtep'</i>
2	<i>na'ar'</i>	<i>no'ok's</i>	<i>na'ap'</i>
3	<i>nahksar'</i>	<i>nahksok's</i>	<i>nahksep'</i>
4	<i>to'onar'</i>	<i>to'onok's</i>	<i>to'onep'</i>
5	<i>merueh tomuer'</i>	<i>merueh tomowok's</i>	<i>merueh tomuep'</i>
6	<i>kohchew tomuer'</i>	<i>kohchew tomowok's</i>	<i>kohchew tomuep'</i>
7	<i>cherwerseek' tomuer'</i>	<i>cherwerseek' tomowok's</i>	<i>cherwerseek' tomuep'</i>
8	<i>kneweteek' tomuer'</i>	<i>kneweteek' tomowok's</i>	<i>kneweteek' tomuep'</i>
9	<i>kerrmeek' tomuer'</i>	<i>kerrmeek' tomowok's</i>	<i>kerrmeek' tomuep'</i>
10	<i>wehlowaa tomuer'</i>	<i>wehlerwerrwok's</i>	<i>wehlerwerr tomuep'</i>
Q	<i>Kues tomuer'?</i>	<i>Kues tomowok's?</i>	<i>Kues tomuep'?</i>

Table 10.2: Additional numerals from 1 to 10 (Q = question “How many?”)

for houses, for boats, for dentalium strings, and so on.<sup>1</sup> Eventually you will want to learn at least a dozen sets.

Yurok numeral usage is illustrated in (197).

- (197) (a) *Kee moksek' kohtoh k'e-cheeek.*  
 “I will borrow **one dollar** from you.” YL 1951
- (b) *Ho 'ok'w 'ne-ka'ar ner'er'eryhl.*  
 “We had **two pets**.” AF 2002 (JB)
- (c) *Nek nahkseme ho kweget.*  
 “I visited her **three times**.” YL 1951
- (d) *Merueh chee weesh serrhlerp'.*  
 “He did this **five times**.” FS 1951 (YL)
- (e) *Wehlowaa' chee hegok'w 'we-sa'awor.*  
 “**Ten times** its shadow appeared.” YL 1951
- (f) *Kues choom' k'-uuek?*  
 “How many children do you have?”  
 (LIT. “**How many** are your children?”) JJ 2007 (LC)
- (g) *Kues tomowoh ha'aag?*  
 “How many rocks are there?”  
 (LIT. “**How many** are the rocks?”) YL 1951
- (h) *Na'ap' ue-puueweesh 'we'yoh.*  
 “He has two sacks of wood.”  
 (LIT. “His sacks of wood **are two**.”) AF 2001 (JB)

<sup>1</sup> The fullest published description of these classes is by Lisa Conathan, “Classifiers in Yurok, Wiyot, and Algonquian” (2004); they are also discussed by Sean O'Neill, *Cultural contact and linguistic relativity among the Indians of northwestern California* (2008; for full references see the Bibliography on page 299).

	LIGHT, WHITE	DARK, BLACK	RED
GENERAL	<i>muenchey</i>	<i>lo'ogey</i>	<i>pekoyoh</i>
ANIMALS	<i>muent'er'ery</i>	<i>ler'ergery</i>	<i>perkeryer'ery</i>
HAIR	<i>muencher'ery</i>	<i>*ler'ergery</i>	<i>*perkeryer'ery</i>
TREES & STICKS	<i>muenchar'</i>	<i>lo'ogar'</i>	<i>pekoyar'</i>
ROUND	<i>muencherh</i>	<i>ler'ergerh</i>	<i>perkeryerh</i>
FLAT THINGS	<i>muenchok's,</i> ATTR <i>muenchokseen</i>		<i>pekoyok's,</i> ATTR <i>pekoyokseen</i>
WATER		<i>ler'ergerh</i>	<i>pekoyop',</i> ATTR <i>pekoyohpeen</i>

Table 10.3: Classificatory color terms

### 10.3.2 Color terms

Languages differ in the variety of terms used in referring to colors, and in the aspect of color they express (for example, hue vs. brightness). In many languages, while there are many terms for specific hues, only a few color terms are generally used. The traditional use of color terms in Yurok and other languages of northwestern California was probably of this type. Probably a few color terms were used to refer to general hues as well as brightness or saturation, with other color terms used to refer to specific hues.

Yurok color terms can be divided into the three categories in (198).

- (198) (a) CLASSIFICATORY color terms: Table 10.3 above  
 (b) TWO-FORM color terms: Table 10.4 (page 109)  
 (c) INVARIANT color terms: (201–202) below

The colors in Table 10.3 have a relatively rich classificatory structure, with many forms.<sup>1</sup> These were likely the most common color terms in Classical Yurok usage; the “light” and “dark” terms probably had a broader range of uses than English *white* and *black*. For example, they might have been used for hues with light or dark brightness or saturation that could be described as (*light*) *green* or (*dark*) *brown* in English usage. Some of the color terms in Table 10.3 are exemplified in (199–200).

- (199) Examples of DARK, BLACK and RED
- (a) *Kue 'we-'ekah pekoyoh 'esee lo'ogey.*  
 “His hat is red and black.” GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (b) *See kee lo'ogey.*  
 “It is almost black.” YL 1951
- (c) *Neekee pekoyoh kue wee' o teponee.*<sup>2</sup>  
 “All the trees are red.” FS 1980 (PP)
- (200) Examples of LIGHT, WHITE
- (a) *Newoom' muenchey 'ue-'wer'.*  
 “You see its white roots.” AS ~1962 (WB)

<sup>1</sup> An asterisk (\*) means this is surely the correct form, but no examples are actually recorded.

<sup>2</sup> The attributive phrase *wee' o teponee* “rooted there” is a very common way to say “tree”.

	GENERAL	ANIMALS	HAIR
REDDISH-BROWN, BROWN, BAY	<i>s'oktoy</i>	<i>s'erokter'ery</i>	
GRAY (like mold)	<i>polhkwen 'ue-son</i>	<i>perhkw'er'ery</i>	
GRAY (like ashes)	<i>pontet son</i>	<i>percherch,</i> <i>ponchech</i>	
LIGHT GRAY			<i>k'yerwerler'ery</i>
MANZANITA-COLORED	<i>pyaap't'ery</i>	<i>pyerrp't'ery</i>	
SPOTTED	<i>tege'yk'enee</i>	<i>terger'yk'er'ery'</i>	

Table 10.4: Color terms with two forms

- (b) *Keech muencher'ery'*.  
"He or she has white hair." FS 1980 (PP)
- (c) *Muenchey 'ue-'wers*.  
"Its skin is white." FS 1980 (PP)
- (d) *Newom' wee'eeet 'oyhl nuemee chey muencher'ery' kepcheneesh*.  
"He saw lying there a very small white fawn." FS 1951 (YL)

In contrast to the richer classificatory scheme in Table 10.3, the colors in Table 10.4 have only a couple of forms each; in most cases, one is used for animals (especially deer) and one for anything else.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, Yurok color terms that do not classify are in (201–202): (201) shows terms referring to brightness or saturation, other than those in Table 10.3, and (202) shows terms for specific hues.

(201) Yurok terms for brightness or saturation

- (a) BRIGHT: *cherhkee'* "it is bright" (*cherhkeryerhl* "they are bright-colored")
- (b) DULL, FADED: either *swerykerh* (non-inflected) or *sweykemee'* "it is dull" (*sweykemoyehl* "they are dull")

(202) Invariant Yurok color terms for hue

- (a) BLUE (like the sky): *skoyon son'* or *skoyon*
- (b) YELLOW-GREEN (like moss): *taanep*
- (c) YELLOW-GREEN (like porcupine quills or moss): *tee'npelah* or *tegee'n*
- (d) GREEN (like grass): *'errwerh son'*
- (e) ORANGE (like alder bark): *'wer'errgerch son'*
- (f) JET BLACK: *weeshew*

In (202) there is only form per color term; some terms are derived from the names of objects with the color. It is also possible to develop new terms for specific colors, using the pattern *X son'* "like X" (for example, *luuehl son'* "like wild iris, i.e. purple").

<sup>1</sup> The term for gray hair (possibly related to the word *k'yow* "swan", since immature swans are grayish) is included because it probably has other forms which are not yet documented. It is also very possible that all the terms in the ANIMALS column in Table 10.4 could refer to hair color.



## **Part II**

# **Basic verbs**



# Chapter 11

## Verb overview

Chapters 12–25 present detailed information concerning over 200 Yurok verbs. All are common; many are essential in everyday speech. They were chosen because of their frequency or importance in language use. The verbs included are also organized by verb class in Tables 11.1–11.4 on pages 116–117.

Beginning in chapter 12, each chapter lists the most common verbs in a single area of meaning. Several types of information are given for each verb, as follows.

### Grammatical description

Non-inflected verbs are identified as such. For other verbs, verb class (*e*-class, *aa*-class, *o*-class, or *oo*-class) is identified. For information about non-inflected verbs, see §5.2 on page 38 above. For information about verb classes, see §5.3–§5.4 beginning on page 40.

For *oo*-class verbs, the 3rd person singular ending (*-ok'w*, *-om'*, or *-o'*) is identified. For information about these endings, see §5.3 beginning on page 40.

Finally, impersonal verbs are identified as such. For all other verbs, transitivity status (intransitive, transitive, or optionally transitive) is identified. These terms are defined here:

- **INTRANSITIVE.** An intransitive verb has only a subject, and no object; for these terms see the Glossary beginning on page xix. Examples are English *run* and Yurok *ro'opek'* "I run".
- **TRANSITIVE.** A transitive verb has both a subject and an object. Examples are English *see* and Yurok *newook'* "I see it".
- **DITRANSITIVE.** A ditransitive verb has a subject and two objects. Most ditransitive verbs are verbs of transfer, like English *give* (for example, *I gave her a book*, with two objects *her* and *a book*). A Yurok ditransitive verb is *nahchek'* "I give it to her/him".
- **OPTIONALLY TRANSITIVE.** An optionally transitive verb can be intransitive or transitive. These are rare in Yurok.
- **IMPERSONAL.** An impersonal verb is one that has no subject; the event referred to happens without an expressed agent, cause, experiencer, or other participant. Examples are English *rain* (*it's raining*) and Yurok *tenpewe'hl* "it's raining".

See also the Glossary of terminology and symbols, beginning on page xix.



### Related verbs

Closely related verbs are sometimes shown. This means other verbs derived from the same root, but differing in form, meaning, or usage. This will often include non-inflected verbs. Examples of groups of closely related verbs include the verbs in (203) and the verbs in (204). Within these groups, non-inflected *megetohl* in (203) and *myah* in (204) are the most common individual forms. You will find them listed under *megetohlkwook'* (page 274) and *myaahlkepek'* (page 229).

(203) Verbs related to *megetohlkwook'* "I take care of it"

- (a) *megetohl* "take care of"
- (b) *megetohlkwepek'* "I take care of myself"

(204) Verbs related to *myaahlkook'* "I jump"

- (a) *myah* "jump"
- (b) *myaahlkepek'* "I jump"
- (c) *myaahlkahpeemek'* "I jump on him"

### Meaning and usage

Information about how a verb is used, and what it means, is always given, with example sentences.

### Verbs with similar meanings

It can be helpful to know how a verb differs from other verbs with similar meanings. For example, *hohkuemek'*, *serrhlerperk'*, and *sonowok'* can all sometimes be translated as "do". An attempt is made to explain the differences in such cases.

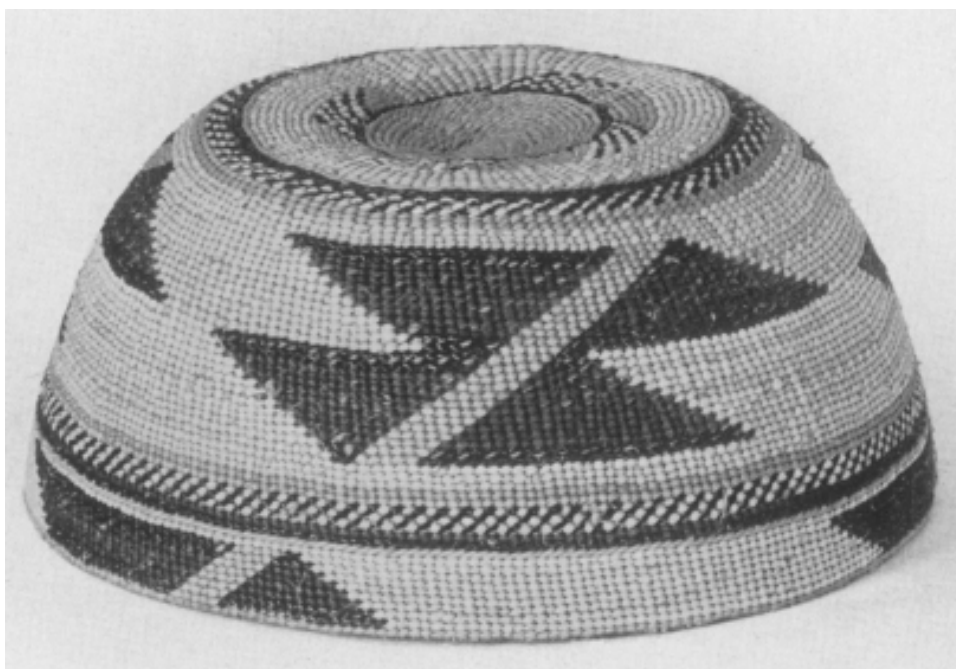
### Inflected forms

Every inflected verb in Yurok has numerous possible forms. Many of these are given for reference in the chapters that follow. Essential grammatical terminology is explained in chapter 5, beginning on page 37; see also the Glossary of terminology and symbols, beginning on page xix.

For all verbs, ordinary (INDICATIVE) forms are given, and in most cases SUBJUNCTIVE, ATTRIBUTIVE, and IMPERATIVE forms. For many verbs, collective plurals are included. For transitive verbs, PASSIVE and BIPERSONAL forms are often given.

Readers should note that *not every form cited here has been documented*. In fact, most of the forms cited have not been documented, but are presented according to the regular grammatical patterns of the Yurok language. On page 121, for example, the 1 PL subjunctive of *hohkuemek'* "I make" is given as *'n-ohkuemoh* even though this precise form has not been recorded. But other subjunctive forms are documented, and the formation of 1 PL subjunctives is quite regular as far as is known.

The use of predictable but undocumented forms is not desirable; ideally, every word in a book like this would be checked with a fluent first-language speaker. But this is unfortunately no longer possible. Academic researchers and others who prefer to make use of only those forms that were actually documented from a fluent first-language speaker should consult the corpus of Yurok data at [linguistics.berkeley.edu/~yurok](http://linguistics.berkeley.edu/~yurok).



**Figure 11.1:** Cap for a young Yurok girl

For some verbs, entire inflectional categories are undocumented: for example, subjunctives, attributives, imperatives, or plurals. This is noted with an asterisk (for example, \*ATTRIBUTIVE).

<i>'ahspek'</i> 192	<i>kaamege'hl</i> 296	<i>myootek'</i> 215	<i>sermerterk'</i> 288
<i>cheeweyek'</i> 168	<i>keemolahpelek'</i> 161	<i>nahchek'</i> 280	<i>serrhlerperk'</i> 126
<i>cheeweyetek'</i> 168	<i>keemolen'</i> 160	<i>negemek'</i> 216	<i>skewege'hl</i> 296
<i>che'looksek'</i> 169	<i>keemolepek'</i> 161	<i>nekek'</i> 217	<i>skewokseemek'</i> 173
<i>cheporege'hl</i> 296	<i>kege'ype'hl</i> 296	<i>neee'nek'</i> 250	<i>skuyahpelek'</i> 163
<i>cheykelek'</i> 158	<i>kemeyek'</i> 222	<i>nepek'</i> 193	<i>skuyen'</i> 164
<i>chkeyek'</i> 170	<i>kepoyuerk'</i> 223	<i>nohpewek'</i> 231	<i>sochpeyewek'</i> 150
<i>chperwerkseemek'</i> 241	<i>kertkerk'</i> 182	<i>noowehlkenek'</i> 202	<i>soneenepek'</i> 175
<i>chweenkepek'</i> 142	<i>keychekomoyek'</i> 171	<i>'ohchek'</i> 284	<i>soosek'</i> 258
<i>chyuuek'wenek'</i> 260	<i>keychokseemek'</i> 171	<i>'ooleenek'</i> 264	<i>ta'anoyek'</i> 176
<i>'ekonemek'</i> 204	<i>knokseemek'</i> 210	<i>'oyhkesek'</i> 266	<i>ta'anoy'hl</i> 296
<i>'erperk'</i> 144	<i>komchuemek'</i> 248	<i>pemek'</i> 194	<i>t'p'ohlkwek'</i> 165
<i>'erperyuemek'</i> 144	<i>koo'opek'</i> 262	<i>pelomoyek'</i> 286	<i>tegeruemek'</i> 152
<i>hegolek'</i> 146	<i>laayek'</i> 225	<i>peloyek'</i> 162	<i>tektee'</i> 268
<i>hegoosek'</i> 148	<i>lekolek'</i> 263	<i>pewomek'</i> 195	<i>telek'</i> 177
<i>hekwsek'</i> 205	<i>lewetek'</i> 186	<i>raayo'repek'</i> 233	<i>teloguemek'</i> 177
<i>helomeyek'</i> 136	<i>lohpee'hl</i> 296	<i>rohseemek'</i> 187	<i>tenpewe'hl</i> 296
<i>hesek'</i> 243	<i>lootek'</i> 212	<i>rohsek'</i> 187	<i>tepon'</i> 269
<i>hlkyorkwek'</i> 245	<i>melee'</i> 138	<i>ro'opek'</i> 234	<i>tomoyek'</i> 133
<i>ho'ohko'hl</i> 296	<i>menootek'</i> 213	<i>ruerek'</i> 235	<i>'werrgeryercherk'</i> 154
<i>hohkuemek'</i> 121	<i>moskek'</i> 276	<i>s'ooponemek'</i> 290	
<i>holemek'</i> 201	<i>muehlkochek'</i> 277	<i>saa'agochek'</i> 149	
<i>hookwchek'</i> 137	<i>myaahlkepek'</i> 229	<i>saawelek'</i> 172	

Table 11.1: *e*-Class verbs in chapters 12–25, with page references

<i>chpa'royok'</i> 240	<i>kohchewo(o)k'</i> 184	<i>neee'nowok'</i> 251	<i>sonowok'</i> 131
<i>hlmeyowok'</i> 159	<i>ko'moyok'</i> 246	<i>rekwohpeyok'</i> 196	
<i>huenowok'</i> 123	<i>kohchewok'</i> 184	<i>ruerowok'</i> 140	

Table 11.2: *o*-Class verbs in chapters 12–25, with page references

<i>'ahtemarkook'</i> (-om') 198	<i>nergerykerrk'</i> (-om') 282
<i>chkeno'</i> (-o') 120	<i>nekomuykook'</i> (-om') 254
<i>hegook'</i> (-ok'w, -ol') 220	<i>neskwechook'</i> (-ok'w, -ol') 230
<i>hlkook'</i> (-o') 200	<i>newook'</i> (-om') 255
<i>hlook'</i> (-om') 207	<i>'ook'</i> (-ok'w, -ol') 124
<i>kwomhlechook'</i> (-ok'w, -ol') 224	<i>pkwechook'</i> (-ok'w, -ol') 232
<i>kohchewo(o)k'</i> (-om') 184	<i>sonkook'</i> (-om') 128
<i>kooychkwook'</i> (-om') 272	<i>sootook'</i> (-ok'w, -ol') 236
<i>megelook'</i> (-ok'w, -ol') 226	<i>teno'</i> (-o') 132
<i>megetohlkwook'</i> (-om') 274	<i>tewomehlkook'</i> (-o') 178
<i>melook'</i> 138	<i>tmegook'</i> (-o') 188
<i>menechook'</i> (-ok'w, -ol') 227	<i>tmoolook'</i> (-o') 189
<i>me'womechook'</i> (-ok'w, -ol') 228	<i>wenook'</i> (-ok'w, -ol') 237
<i>muehlsook'</i> (-om') 214	<i>weykook'</i> (-om') 134

Table 11.3: oo-Class verbs in chapters 12–25 (3 SG in -o'; in -om'; or in -ok'w, -ol'), with page references

<i>'ahspah</i> 192	<i>hoh</i> 121	<i>loo</i> 212	<i>soch</i> 150
<i>'ahtemar</i> 198	<i>holeemew</i> 201	<i>nerrmery</i> 139	<i>son</i> 131
<i>che'look</i> 169	<i>hoo</i> 220	<i>'oolo'</i> 265	<i>soneenah</i> 175
<i>cheporeg</i> 296	<i>hookw</i> 137	<i>rekwoh</i> 196	<i>t'p'ohl</i> 165
<i>chey</i> 158	<i>kaameg</i> 296	<i>ro'oh</i> 269	<i>ta'</i> 296
<i>chween</i> 142	<i>keemolah</i> 161	<i>saa'agoh</i> 149	<i>tegerew</i> 152
<i>chweenkah</i> 142	<i>kegey'</i> 296	<i>sahksah</i> 295	<i>ten</i> 296
<i>'egah</i> 192	<i>kert</i> 182	<i>serrhl</i> 126	<i>tewomehl</i> 178
<i>'er'gerp</i> 144	<i>key</i> 261	<i>serrhlerh</i> 126	<i>wokhlew</i> 180
<i>'erperyerw</i> 144	<i>keychek</i> 171	<i>skeweg</i> 296	
<i>hegoo</i> 148	<i>koh</i> 184	<i>skewok</i> 173	
<i>ho'oh</i> 296	<i>kweget</i> 273	<i>skuyah</i> 163	

Table 11.4: Non-inflected verbs in chapters 12–25, with page references



## Chapter 12

# Verbs of being and doing

The verbs described in this chapter are listed below.

*chkeno'* "there's not many" (p. 120)

*hohkuemek'* "I make it" (p. 121)

*huenowok'* "I grow" (p. 123)

*'ook'* "I am" (p. 124)

*serrhlerperk'* "I do (so)" (p. 126)

*sonkook'* "I treat it (so)" (p. 128)

*sonowok'* "I am (so)" (p. 131)

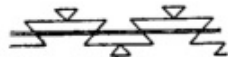
*teno'* "there's a lot" (p. 132)

*tomoyek'* "I am (a certain age)" (p. 133)

*weykook'* "I finish it" (p. 134)

Among the verbs that have to do with "being", the difference between the two most general is that *sonowok'* refers to being a certain way (such as well or poorly), while *'ook'* is used (for example) to identify the place where something is.

The most general verbs that have to do with "doing" are *hohkuemek'*, *serrhlerperk'*, and *sonkook'*. Of these, *hohkuemek'* is outcome-oriented (it refers to fixing, making, or preparing something), while *serrhlerperk'* and *sonkook'* are process-oriented; they refer to how a person is acting. The difference is that *serrhlerperk'* refers generally to acting in some way, while *sonkook'* means "act on something (do to something) in some way"; in both cases the way must be further specified.



## 12.1 *Chkeno'* "there's not many"

Grammatical description: intransitive *oo*-class verb

### Meaning and usage

This verb is used in the third person to refer to (lack of) quantity; it has only a few forms. The 3 SG *chkeno'* is usually used for masses like food, as in (205).

- (205) (a) *Nee ma chkeno' kee mehl 'ne-'é'gah.*  
 "There was little for us to eat." YL 1951
- (b) *Keech chkeno' ke'mow.*  
 "There's not much food now." YL 1951

The non-inflected collective form *chkenem'* is usually used for people or animals, as in (206).

- (206) *Keet chkenem' k'ee puuek 'o wee'eeet.*  
 "The deer are starting to get rare there." YL 1951

The use of *chkeno'* and *chkenem'* precisely parallels that of their antonyms (opposites) *teno'* and *tenem'* (page 132).

### Inflected forms

The main form of this verb is a collective *chkene'm*, whose presumed 3PL subjunctive form is unexpected (ending *-ek'*, not *-ehl*), as is the presumed attributive *chkenowonee* "scarce". (Neither is documented; they are inferred from *tenowonee* "numerous" and *'we-tene'mek'*, which are documented forms of *teno'*.)

	INDICATIVE		*SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE
3 SG	<i>chkeno'</i>	"there's not much of it"	<i>'we-chkenook'</i>	<i>chkenowonee</i>
1 COLL	<i>chkene'moh</i>	"there aren't many of us"	<i>'ne-chkene'moh</i>	<i>chkene'moh</i>
2 COLL	<i>chkene'mow'</i>	"there aren't many of you"	<i>k'e-chkene'mow'</i>	<i>chkene'mow'</i>
3 COLL	<i>chkene'mehl</i>	"there aren't many of them"	<i>'we-chkene'mek'</i>	<i>chkenowonee</i>

## 12.2 *Hohkuemek* ‘I make’

Grammatical description: transitive *e*-class verb

Related verbs

- *hoh* ‘make’ (non-inflected; iterative *hegoh*)
- *hohkepek* ‘I practice, I train’ (LIT. ‘I repair myself’)
- *laahohkuemek* ‘I make it alongside (something)’

### Meaning and usage

The verb *hohkuemek* has a range of related meanings that do not correspond to any single English verb. For example, it can refer to making (or doing) something, as in (207). There is always an object.

- (207) (a) *We’yk’oh* ‘*we-nahschewen kee kol’ hohkuemoh*.  
‘Tonight we’ll work (LIT. make something).’ GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (b) *Tee’neeshoo hoh?*  
‘What are you making?’ GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (c) *Tee’neeshoo wee’ o’ gohkuemem’?*  
‘What are you doing here?’ FS 1951 (YL)
- (d) *Ochkaa hohkue’ ue-poy*.  
‘Her tattooing is being done now.’ YL 1951

This verb can also refer to gathering or picking something (such as plants), as in (208).

- (208) (a) *Cho’ nue hohkuemem’ kue cheeshep’*.  
‘Go pick the flowers.’ AF 2002 (JB)
- (b) *Ne-kew nue hegoh’ yohlkoych’*.  
‘We went gathering wood in our burden basket.’ FS 1986 (JP)

The verb *hohkuemek* can refer to repairing something (that was already made earlier), as in (209a), or to making medicine, as in (209b).

- (209) (a) *Nek ko’oyuemek’ kee kem’ w-ohkue’ k’ee’ o’lehl*.  
‘I am paying for the house to be repaired.’ YL 1951
- (b) *Stone keetee yohkuem’ ue-meskwoh*.  
‘Stone will make his medicine.’ WF 1902 (ALK)

What is common to all these uses is that something (a manufactured object or a natural object) is made useful. Note that unlike many transitive verbs, *hohkuemek* requires an expressed or understood object. To say ‘I’m working’, you would say *Keech kol’ hohkuemek’*, not †*Keech hohkuemek’*.

A further use of *hohkuemek* is to express CAUSE, as in (210) on page 121. In this construction it is combined with a subjunctive verb to express the equivalent of English *make (somebody do something)*.

- (210) (a) *Nek hohkuemek’ kee’ ue-menechook’*.  
‘I make it disappear.’ FS 1980 (PP)



- (b) Keet *hohkuem'* 'ue-kaamopek' 'o puelekw.  
 "It started to make the mouth of the river rough." FS 1986 (JP)
- (c) Ch'ek'ch'ek' tue' kem *hegohkuem'* kee 'we-ten.  
 "A wren makes it rain." AS ~1962 (WB)

### Verbs with similar meanings

The verb *serrhlerperk'* (p. 126) means "act (in a certain way)" and highlights the MANNER of action, while *hohkuemek'* means "make" and highlights the RESULT of action.

### Inflected forms

This verb has no collective plural.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE	IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>hohkuemek'</i>	"I make"	'n-ohkuemek'	<i>hohkuemoh</i>	
2 SG	<i>hohkuemem'</i>	"you make"	k'-ohkuemek'	<i>hohkuemom</i>	<i>ho'k'ues</i>
3 SG	<i>hohkuem'</i>	"s/he makes"	'w-ohkuemek'	<i>hohkuemeen</i>	
1 PL	<i>hohkuemoh</i>	"we make"	'n-ohkuemoh	<i>hohkuemoh</i>	
2 PL	<i>hohkuemue'</i>	"you make"	k'-ohkuemue'	<i>hohkuemueh</i>	<i>hohkuemekw</i>
3 PL	<i>hohkuemehl</i>	"they make"	'w-ohkuemehl	<i>hohkuemeen</i>	

Third-person passive forms are also common:

	PASSIVE INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE
3 SG	<i>hohkue'</i>	"it is made"	'w-ohkue'
3 PL	<i>hohkelehl</i>	"they are made"	'w-ohkelehl

It is possible to have passive forms meaning "I am made" (*hohkelek'*), etc., and bipersonal forms meaning "I make you" (*hohkuechek'*), etc.; but such forms would be rare in actual use. They are not listed here.

## 12.3 *Huenowok* "I grow"

Grammatical description: intransitive *o*-class verb

### Meaning and usage

This verb means "grow", usually of plants. It is commonly used in the collective form. Some examples are given in (211).

- (211) (a) *Cheeshep' tue' huenem' nee wee'.*  
"Flowers too grew around there." FS 1986 (JP)
- (b) *Won son' 'o kue yok nee huenowonee.*  
It is different from those that grow here." YL 1951
- (c) *Skuy' soo huenowok'.*  
I was brought up well." YL 1951

The example in (211c) shows that *huenowok*' can refer to people, but usually it refers to plants.

### Verbs with similar meanings

A common verb that refers to people growing up is *nohsuenowok*', which is inflected like *huenowok*'. Other more specialized verbs that refer to growing are *heemuenowok*' "I grow fast, well", *kaamuenowok*' "I grow badly", and *me'womuenowok*' "I grow from (a place), I begin as (something)", and *skuenowok*' "I grow well".

### Inflected forms

This verb has an irregular collective stem *huenem*'.

	INDICATIVE		*SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>huenowok'</i>	"I grow"	<i>'n-uenowok'</i>	<i>huenowoh</i>
2 SG	<i>huenowom'</i>	"you grow"	<i>k'-uenowok'</i>	<i>huenowom</i>
3 SG	<i>huenow'</i>	"s/he grows"	<i>'-uenowok'</i>	<i>huenowonee</i>
1 PL	<i>huenowoh</i>	"we grow"	<i>'n-uenowoh</i>	<i>huenowoh</i>
2 PL	<i>huenowow'</i>	"you grow"	<i>k'-uenowow'</i>	<i>huenowow'</i>
3 PL	<i>huenowohl</i>	"they grow"	<i>'-uenowohl</i>	<i>huenowonee</i>
1 COLL	<i>huené'moh</i>	"we grow"	<i>'n-uené'moh</i>	<i>huené'moh</i>
2 COLL	<i>huené'mow'</i>	"you grow"	<i>k'-uené'mow'</i>	<i>huené'mow'</i>
3 COLL	<i>huené'mehl</i>	"they grow"	<i>'-uené'mehl</i>	<i>huené'monee</i>

## 12.4 'Ook' "I am"

Grammatical description: intransitive oo-class verb (3 SG -ok'w)

### Meaning and usage

The verb 'ook' has a wide range of meanings around "be" or "exist", especially with a locational sense. Many of its uses are idiomatic and are best learned construction by construction, or pattern by pattern. Here are a few examples with locations specified:

- (212) (a) *Pa'aahl keech 'ook'.*  
 "I am in the water." MM 1927 (ES)
- (b) *Pekwtuehl 'ok'w we'yon.*  
 "At Pekwtuehl there was a young woman." MM 1927 (YT)
- (c) *Wonew nee 'oole'mehl.*  
 "They are up in the hills (LIT. in above)." YL 1951

Attributive forms are commonly used to refer to "those who are (in a place)" or "those who live (there)", as the in the following examples:

- (213) (a) *Kues cho' sonowohl kue wee' 'oole'monee?*  
 "How are those who live there (with you)?" GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (b) *Keech tegoo'mehl kue nee 'ohkween cheenes.*  
 "They were together where the young man lived." FS 1951 (YL)

The 3 SG form 'ok'w is used in constructions expressing existence, as in (214).

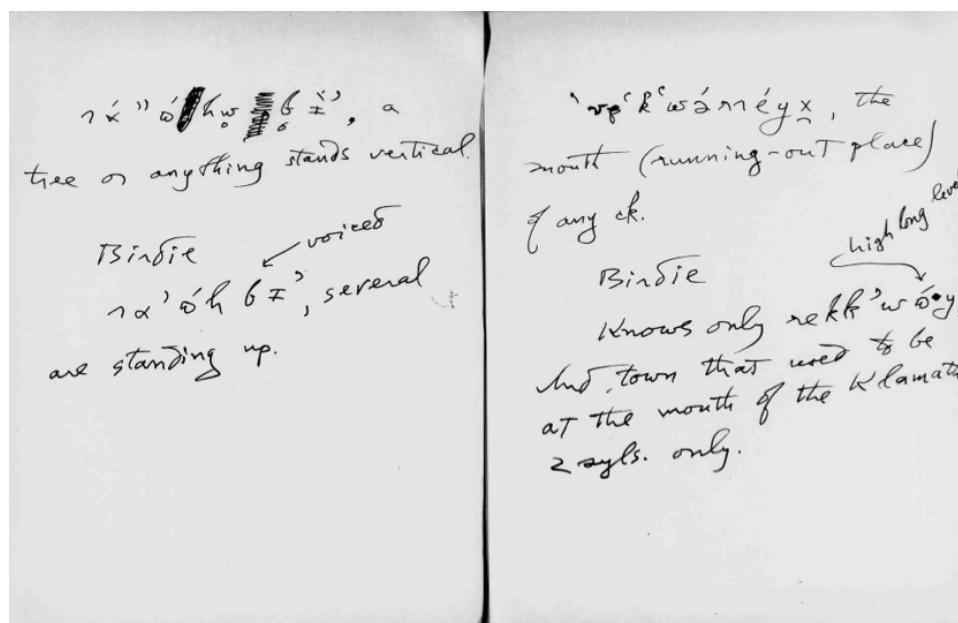
- (214) (a) *Yekwhl wo'eek 'ok'w o kue 'erplers.*  
 "There are maggots in the apples."  
 (LIT. "There are maggots inside in the apples.") GT 2003 (IM)
- (b) *Mos koma 'ok'w 'er'gerrch.*  
 "There's no longer a sweathouse." YL 1951

It is especially common in the possessive construction in (215).

- (215) (a) *Tue' 'ok'w 'we-rahcheen.*  
 "And he had a friend."  
 (LIT. "And his friend existed.") FS 1951 (YL)
- (b) *'Ok'w 'n-ahpew.*  
 "I have a wife."  
 (LIT. "My wife exists.") MM 1927 (ES)
- (c) *Keech 'oolem' '-uuek.*  
 "They have children."  
 (LIT. "Their children exist.") FS 1951 (YL)

### Verbs with similar meanings

Verbs whose uses come close to those of 'ook' are *hegook'* (page 220) and *me'womechook'* (page 228). The verb *me'womechook'* means "come from" a place, while 'ook' can mean



**Figure 12.1:** Two pages from J. P. Harrington's field notes. In 1942 he worked with Yurok speaker Charlie Williams and Wiyot and Yurok speaker Birdie James. These pages show place names and other vocabulary.

"be" or "live" in a place: you might come from Requa but live in Eureka. The verb *he-gook'* means "walk" or "go", not necessarily in any particular direction, so it can mean "go around (a place)", and this use is often better translated "be" in English.

### Inflected forms

The verb *'ook'* has an irregular collective *'oolem'* and a (less common) ordinary plural.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>'ook'</i>	"I am"	<i>'ne-'ook'</i>	<i>'ooloh</i>
2 SG	<i>'oom'</i>	"you are"	<i>k'e-'ook'</i>	<i>'oolom</i>
3 SG	<i>'ol'</i>	"s/he is"	<i>'we-'ook'</i>	<i>'ohkween</i>
	<i>'ok'w</i>	"there is"		(or <i>'ooleen</i> )
1 PL	<i>'oh</i>	"we are"	<i>'ne-'oh</i>	<i>'ooloh</i>
2 PL	<i>'ow'</i>	"you are"	<i>k'e-'ow'</i>	<i>'oolom</i>
3 PL	<i>'ohl</i>	"they are"	<i>'we-'ohl</i>	<i>'ohkween</i>
				(or <i>'ooleen</i> )
1 COLL	<i>'oolé'moh</i>	"we are"	<i>'ne-'oolé'moh</i>	<i>'oolé'moh</i>
2 COLL	<i>'oolé'mow'</i>	"you are"	<i>k'e-'oolé'mow'</i>	<i>'oolé'mow'</i>
3 COLL	<i>'oolé'mehl</i>	"they are"	<i>'we-'oolé'mehl</i>	<i>'oolé'monee</i>

## 12.5 *Serrhlerperk'* "I do (so)"

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb (with *er*-quality)

Related forms

- *serrhl* (non-inflected)
- *serrhlerh* "do (so)" (non-inflected)

### Meaning and usage

This verb means "do so" (or literally "act in a particular way"), where "so" ("in a particular way") refers to some manner of action that is usually further specified in the sentence; examples are in (216).

- (216) (a) *Teno' serrhlerperk'*.  
 "I am busy." (LIT. "I am doing a lot.") GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (b) *Nekomuy cheekol' ner-serrhlerh*.  
 "I know how to do things." AF 2004 (AG)

In the absence of other specification, as in (217), *weet serrhlerperk'* means "I do it" and the usual associated question is *Kues serrhlerperk'?*

- (217) (a) *Weet wo'nee serrhlerperk'*.  
 "I am doing that (LIT. acting in that way) now." FS 1980 (PP)
- (b) *Kues skewok kee k'e-serrhlerh?*  
 "What do you all want to do?" AF 2005 (JB)
- (c) *Chuuehl, cho' weet serrhlerperm'*.  
 "Go ahead, do it." MM 1927 (YT)

The examples in (216–217) also include related non-inflected verbs.

### Verbs with similar meanings

The verb *hohkuemek'* (page 121) means "make" and highlights the RESULT of action, while *serrhlerperk'* means "act (in a certain way)" and highlights the MANNER of action.

### Inflected forms

This verb has a collective stem *serrhlerpeem'*. Examples are shown in Table 12.1 on page 127.

	INDICATIVE	"I do (so)" "you ..." "s/he ..."	SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE	IMPERATIVE
1 SG	serrhlerperk'	"I do (so)"	'ne-serrhlerperk'	serrhlerperh	
2 SG	serrhlerpermi'	"you ..."	k'e-serrhlerperk'	serrhlerperm	serrhlerp'ers
3 SG	serrhlerp'	"s/he ..."	'we-serrhlerperk'	serrhlerpeen	
1 PL	serrhlerperh	"we ..."	'ne-serrhlerperh	serrhlerperh	
2 PL	serrhlerpue'	"you ..."	k'e-serrhlerpue'	serrhlerpueh	serrhlerperkw
3 PL	serrhlerperhil	"they ..."	'we-serrhlerperhil	serrhlerpeen	
1 COLL	serrhlerpee'moh	"we ..."	'ne-serrhlerpee'moh	serrhlerpee'moh	
2 COLL	serrhlerpee'mow'	"you ..."	k'e-serrhlerpee'mow'	serrhlerpee'mow'	serrhlerpee'mekw
3 COLL	serrhlerpee'mehl	"they ..."	'we-serrhlerpee'mehl	serrhlerpee'monee	

Table 12.1: Inflected forms of serrhlerperk' "I do (so)"

## 12.6 *Sonkook'* "I treat it (so)"

Grammatical description: transitive *oo*-class verb (3 SG -*om'*)

### Meaning and usage

This verb means "treat (it) in a specified way", for example "well" (*skuy'*) or "badly" (*keem'*). Sentences with *sonkook'* usually express both the object that is treated in some way, and the way in which it is treated. For example, in (218), *kue 'yoch* "the boat" is the object and the question word *kues* "how?" expresses the manner. The passive, illustrated in (219), is the most common form.

- (218) *Kues 'elekw sonkohl kue 'yoch?*  
 "What on earth did they do with (LIT. how did they treat) the boat?" YL 1951
- (219) (a) *Wee'eeet hewonee sonkee'.*  
 "This is done first." FS 1951 (YL)
- (b) *Kues sonkee' kue maageen kue nepuy?*  
 "What was done with the rest of the salmon?"  
 (LIT. "How was the rest of the salmon treated?") FS 1951 (YL)

### Verbs with similar meanings

A generally similar verb is *serrhlerperk'* "I act or behave (so)" (page 126), but this is intransitive. There are also more specific verbs like *keemkook'* "I treat it badly" (similar in meaning to *keem sonkook'*) and *skuykook'* "I treat it well" (like *skuy' sonkook'*).

### Inflected forms

There is no collective plural.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE	IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>sonkook'</i>	"I treat it so"	<i>'ne-sonkook'</i>	<i>sonkoh</i>	
2 SG	<i>sonkoom'</i>	"you treat it so"	<i>k'e-sonkook'</i>	<i>sonkoomom</i>	<i>sonk'os</i>
3 SG	<i>sonkom'</i>	"s/he treats it so"	<i>'we-sonkook'</i>	<i>sonkomeen</i>	
1 PL	<i>sonkoh</i>	"we treat it so"	<i>'ne-sonkoh</i>	<i>sonkoh</i>	
2 PL	<i>sonkow'</i>	"you treat it so"	<i>k'e-sonkow'</i>	<i>sonkoomom</i>	<i>sonkekw</i>
3 PL	<i>sonkohl</i>	"they treat it so"	<i>'we-sonkohl</i>	<i>sonkomeen</i>	

Passive forms are well attested, and shown below; bipersonal forms are in Table 12.2 on page 129.

	PASSIVE INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
3 SG	<i>sonkee'</i>	"it is treated so"	<i>'we-sonkoyek'</i>	<i>sonkonee</i>
3 PL	<i>sonkoyehl</i>	"they are treated so"	<i>'we-sonkoyehl</i>	<i>sonkonee</i>

SUBJECT	SINGULAR OBJECT		
	1 SG	2 SG	3 SG
1 SG	—	<i>sonkoček'</i> "I treat you (so)"	<i>sonkosek'</i> "I treat her/him so"
2 SG	<i>sonkopa'</i> "you treat me so"	—	<i>sonkosem'</i> "you treat her/him so"
3 SG	<i>sonkopen'</i> "s/he treats me so"	[A] <i>sonkoyem'</i> "s/he treats you so"	[B]
1 PL	—	<i>sonkočoh</i> "we treat you so"	<i>sonkosoh</i> "we treat her/him so"
2 PL	<i>sonkopa'</i> "you treat me so"	—	<i>sonkosem'</i> "you treat her/him so"
3 PL	<i>sonkopaahl</i> "they treat me so"	[A] <i>sonkoyem'</i> "they treat you so"	[B]

IMPERATIVE *sonkop'een* "(you) treat me so!"

SUBJECT	PLURAL OBJECT		
	1 PL	2 PL	3 PL
1 SG	—	<i>sonkoch'ó'</i> "I treat you so"	<i>sonkos'ó'</i> "I treat them so"
2 SG	[A] <i>sonkoy</i> "you treat us so"	—	[B]
3 SG	[A] <i>sonkoy</i> "s/he treats us so"	[A] <i>sonkoyem'</i> "s/he treats you so"	[B]
1 PL	—	<i>sonkoch'ó'</i> "we treat you so"	[B]
2 PL	[A] <i>sonkoy</i> "you treat us so"	—	[B]
3 PL	[A] <i>sonkoy</i> "they treat us so"	[A] <i>sonkoyem'</i> "they treat you so"	[B]

Table 12.2: Bipersonal forms of *sonkook'* "I see it"

[A] These passive and quasi-passive forms are regularly used in these slots.

[B] Ordinary non-bipersonal forms are used in these slots.





**Figure 12.2:** Domingo of Weitchpec, 1906. A celebrated singer, Domingo recorded songs, traditional stories, and other cultural knowledge. Photo by A. L. Kroeber.

## 12.7 *Sonowok* ‘I am (so)’

Grammatical description: intransitive *o*-class verb

Related verb

- *son* ‘be (so)’ (non-inflected)

### Meaning and usage

The verb *sonowok*’ means ‘I am’ or ‘I act’ in a certain way or manner. Usually the way or manner is further specified in the sentence; the iterative *segon*’ can be used to mean ‘it happens (in a certain way) regularly’. Some examples are in (220).

- (220) (a) *Kues tue’ segon*’?  
‘How is it done?’ GM 2002 (JB)
- (b) *Nek poy keech sonowok*’.  
‘I am in charge (LIT. in front) now.’ FS 1951 (YL)

A few important idiomatic usages are illustrated in (221); the idioms themselves are underlined.

- (221) (a) *Kues cho’ son’ k’e-kuechos*?  
‘How is your grandma?’ GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (b) *Keech kol’ son*’.  
‘He has died.’ FS 1980 (PP)
- (c) *Keech hes ’ee sonowom’ kee k’-egok*’?  
‘Are you ready to go?’ MR ~1970 (MRo)

### Inflected forms

This verb has a collective stem *sonowoom*’. In addition to the forms below, there is an alternate non-collective *sonem*’ and an alternative attributive *sonenee* or *soneenee*. The attributive form *sonowonee* is irregular; it means ‘kind, sort’.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>sonowok</i> ’	‘I am’	<i>’ne-sonowok</i> ’	<i>sonowoh</i>
2 SG	<i>sonowom</i> ’	‘you are’	<i>k’e-sonowok</i> ’	<i>sonowoomom</i>
3 SG	<i>son</i> ’	‘s/he is’	<i>’we-sonowok</i> ’	<i>sonowonee</i>
1 PL	<i>sonowoh</i>	‘we are’	<i>’ne-sonowoh</i>	<i>sonowoh</i>
2 PL	<i>sonowow</i> ’	‘you are’	<i>k’e-sonowow</i> ’	<i>sonowoomom</i>
3 PL	<i>sonowohl</i>	‘they are’	<i>’we-sonowohl</i>	<i>sonowonee</i>
1 COLL	<i>sonowoo’moh</i>	‘we are’	<i>’ne-sonowoo’moh</i>	<i>sonowoo’moh</i>
2 COLL	<i>sonowoo’mow</i> ’	‘you are’	<i>k’e-sonowoo’mow</i> ’	<i>sonowoo’mow</i> ’
3 COLL	<i>sonowoo’mehl</i>	‘they are’	<i>’we-sonowoo’mehl</i>	<i>sonowoo’monee</i>

## 12.8 *Teno'* "there's a lot"

Grammatical description: intransitive *oo*-class verb (3 SG -*o'*)

### Meaning and usage

This verb is used in the third person to refer to quantity; it has only a few forms. The examples in (222) illustrate the use of 3 SG *teno'* with masses and inanimate entities.

- (222) (a) *Yo' teno' 'we-chegel.*  
'She has a lot of seaweed.' YL 1951
- (b) *Teno' meraa mehl pueleek.*  
'There's a lot of smoke (coming) from downriver.' JJ 2007 (LC)
- (c) *Teno' yoncheek 'o mekwehl 'yohlkoych'.*  
'There's a lot of wood piled in the boat.' FS 1980 (PP)

The form *teno'* is also used with subjunctive verbs, as in (223), to indicate that an event happens a lot.

- (223) (a) *Teno' 'we-rookwsek.*  
'There's a lot of wind.' JJ 2006 (EJW)
- (b) *Teno' nue 'ue-kweget.*  
'He often comes to visit.' JJ 2006 (EJW)

Finally, given in (224) are examples of collective *tenem'* with animate entities.

- (224) (a) *Pegerk wenchokws huueksoh kem tenem'.*  
'There were lots of men, women, and children.' YL 1951
- (b) *Tenem' cheycheyes.*  
'There are a lot of mosquitos.' GT 2007 (LC)
- (c) *Kos cho 'ela tene'mehl k'ee nepuy 'ne-peeshkaahl.*  
'May there be many salmon in our sea.' FS 1951 (YL)

### Verbs with similar meanings

The verb *chkeno'* "there's not many" (page 120) is the antonym (opposite) of *teno'*.

### Inflected forms

The 3 PL subjunctive form is unexpected (ending *-ek'*), as is the third-person attributive.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>teno'</i>	"there's a lot of it"	<i>'we-tenook'</i>	<i>tenowonee</i>
1 COLL	<i>tene'moh</i>	"there's a lot of us"	<i>'ne-tene'moh</i>	<i>tene'moh</i>
2 COLL	<i>tene'mow'</i>	"there's a lot of you"	<i>k'e-tene'mow'</i>	<i>tene'mow'</i>
3 COLL	<i>tene'mehl</i>	"there's a lot of them"	<i>'we-tene'mek'</i>	<i>tenowonee</i>

## 12.9 *Tomoyek'* "I am (a certain age)"

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb

### Meaning and usage

This verb expresses the age (or size) of a person (or animal). The age (or size) is always specified by some further word or phrase in the sentence (see §10.2.3). Some examples will clarify its use:

- (225) (a) *Wey' keech tomoyek'*.  
"I am this old." FS 1980 (PP)
- (b) *Keech nahkseme lok tom'*.  
"He is three years old." YL 1951
- (c) *Kues tomoyem'?*  
"How old are you?" JVP (YD)
- (d) ATTRIBUTIVE PHRASE: *nahkseme lok keech tomeen 'n-uuek*  
"my child who is three years old" YL 1951

Note that *tomoyek'* uses the question word *kues* in (225c).

### Verbs with similar meanings

The verb *tomoyek'* refers to being a certain age, whether old or young. It is thus different in meaning from verbs like *peloyek'* "I am big" (page 162), which can refer to being old, or *cheykelek'* "I am small" (page 158), which can refer to being young. By itself, *tomoyek'* implies nothing about old or young age.

### Inflected forms

The verb *tomoyek'* has no collective. Note that the 3 SG form *tom'* is irregular, as is the 3 SG attributive form *tomeen*, and that there is an irregular repetitive (reduplicated) form, usually plural (*toktomoyehl*).

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>tomoyek'</i>	"I am (a certain age)"	<i>'ne-tomoyek'</i>	<i>tomoyoh</i>
2 SG	<i>tomoyem'</i>	"you are (a certain age)"	<i>k'e-tomoyek'</i>	<i>tomoyom</i>
3 SG	<i>tom'</i>	"s/he is (a certain age)"	<i>'we-tomoyek'</i>	<i>tomeen</i>
1 PL	<i>tomoyoh</i>	"we are (a certain age)"	<i>'ne-tomoyoh</i>	<i>tomoyoh</i>
2 PL	<i>tomoyue'</i>	"you are (a certain age)"	<i>k'e-tomoyue'</i>	<i>tomoyom</i>
3 PL	<i>tomoyehl</i>	"they are (a certain age)"	<i>'we-tomoyehl</i>	<i>tomeen</i>
	<i>toktomoyehl</i>	"they (a bunch) are (a certain age)"	<i>'we-toktomoyehl</i>	<i>toktomeen</i>

## 12.10 *Weykook'* "I finish it"

Grammatical description: transitive *oo*-class verb (3 SG -*om'*)

Related verb

- *wey* "finish" (non-inflected)

### Meaning and usage

This verb is usually construed with an activity, expressed with a subjunctive verb, as in (226).

- (226) (a) *Keech weykoom' kol' k'e-nepek'.*  
 "You're through eating (LIT. something)." MM 1927 (ES)
- (b) *Kues noohl kee weykoom' k'e-roowosek'?*  
 "When will you stop smoking?" AF 2005 (JB)
- (c) *Keech wey 'ne-chperwerk.*  
 'I stopped thinking (about it)". FS 1980 (PP)
- (d) *Keech ho wey 'w-o'omepek'.*  
 "He has finished making his fire." DW 1906 (ALK)

Sometimes, as in (227), the object is implied.

- (227) (a) *Nek keetee weykook'.*  
 "I'm about to finish." FS 1980 (PP)
- (b) *Neemee wo weykee'.*  
 "It was not finished." YL 1951

### Inflected forms

Note that the (active) attributive forms are not documented (but see below for *weykonee*).

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE	IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>weykook'</i>	"I finish it"	<i>'ne-weykook'</i>	<i>weykoh</i>	
2 SG	<i>weykoom'</i>	"you finish it"	<i>k'e-weykook'</i>	<i>weykoomom</i>	<i>weyk'os</i>
3 SG	<i>weykom'</i>	"s/he finishes it"	<i>'ue-weykook'</i>	<i>weykomeen</i>	
1 PL	<i>weykoh</i>	"we finish it"	<i>'ne-weykoh</i>	<i>weykoh</i>	
2 PL	<i>weykow'</i>	"you finish it"	<i>k'e-weykow'</i>	<i>weykoomom</i>	<i>weykekw</i>
3 PL	<i>weykohl</i>	"they finish it"	<i>'ue-weykohl</i>	<i>weykomeen</i>	

The only passive forms used are 3rd person forms, shown below, including passive attributive *weykonee* "finished".

	PASSIVE INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
3 SG	<i>weykee'</i>	"it is finished"	<i>'ue-weykoyek'</i>	<i>weykonee</i>
3 PL	<i>weykoyehl</i>	"they are finished"	<i>'ue-weykoyehl</i>	<i>weykonee</i>

## Chapter 13

# Verbs of ceremony, dance, and song

Among verbs referring to ceremonial activities, including dance and song, the following are the most common:

*helomeyek'* "I dance" (p. 136)

*hookwchek'* "I gamble" (p. 137)

*melook'* "I go to a brush dance" (p. 138)

*nerrmery* "sing in the brush dance" (p. 139)

*ruerowok'* "I sing" (p. 140)



### 13.1 *Helomeyek'* "I dance"

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb

#### Meaning and usage

The verb *helomeyek'* refers to any kind of dancing, as in (228).

- (228) (a) *Kue pegerk helomey'*.  
 "The man is dancing." YL 1951
- (b) *Nek kee helomeyek'*.  
 "I'm going to dance." GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (c) *Kelew hes ho helomeye'mow'?*  
 "Have you been dancing?" FS 1951 (RHR)
- (d) ATTRIBUTIVE PHRASE: *kue helomeyn we'yon*  
 "the girl who is dancing" YL 1951

#### Verbs with similar meanings

In addition to *helomeyek'*, there are verbs referring to participation in specific types of dance (such as *pyeweg* "there's a deerskin dance" or *remoh* "dance in a doctor dance"), specific roles at a dance (such as *cherhkwerk'* "I jump center"), or dances as events (such as *melee'* "there is a brush dance" on page 138).

#### Inflected forms

The verb *helomeyek'* has a common collective stem *helomeyem'*. Omitted below for reasons of space are the imperative forms: SG *helomes* or *helomeyes*, PL *helomeyekw*, COLL *helomeye'mekw*.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>helomeyek'</i>	"I dance"	<i>'n-elomeyek'</i>	<i>helomeyoh</i>
2 SG	<i>helomeyem'</i>	"you dance"	<i>k'-elomeyek'</i>	<i>helomeyom</i>
3 SG	<i>helomey'</i>	"s/he dances"	<i>'w-elomeyek'</i>	<i>helomeyn</i>
1 PL	<i>helomeyoh</i>	"we dance"	<i>'n-elomeyoh</i>	<i>helomeyoh</i>
2 PL	<i>helomeyue'</i>	"you dance"	<i>k'-elomeyue'</i>	<i>helomeyuh</i>
3 PL	<i>helomeyehl</i>	"they dance"	<i>'w-elomeyehl</i>	<i>helomeyn</i>
1 COLL	<i>helomeye'moh</i>	"we dance"	<i>'n-elomeye'moh</i>	<i>helomeye'moh</i>
2 COLL	<i>helomeye'mow'</i>	"you dance"	<i>k'-elomeye'mow'</i>	<i>helomeye'mow'</i>
3 COLL	<i>helomeye'mehl</i>	"they dance"	<i>'w-elomeye'mehl</i>	<i>helomeye'monee</i>

## 13.2 *Hookwchek'* "I gamble"

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb

Related verb

- *hookw* "gamble" (non-inflected)

### Meaning and usage

Traditionally, of course, the verb *hookwchek'* refers to Indian gambling, but it can refer to any kind of gambling nowadays. Two examples are in (229).

- (229) (a) *Nekah wo'nee hookwche'moh.*  
 "We were gambling at the time." YL 1951
- (b) *Kue 'o'rowee' kem 'o gookwch'.*  
 "The dove too was gambling." FS 1951 (YL)

The example in (230) illustrates the non-inflected form *hookw*.

- (230) *Heekon kue 'ela hoolé'monee neeké chyue 'o gookw.*  
 "Long ago those who went around were all gambling." FS 1951 (YL)

### Inflected forms

A very unusual feature of this verb is that it has DUAL forms, which refer specifically to two people who are gambling. There is also an alternative collective *hookwcheem'*; the collectives below can be changed accordingly. Omitted below for reasons of space are the imperative forms: SG *hook'wch'es*, PL *hookwchekw*, COLL *hookwche'mekw*.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>hookwchek'</i>	"I gamble"	<i>'n-ookwchek'</i>	<i>hookwchoh</i>
2 SG	<i>hookwchem'</i>	"you gamble"	<i>k'-ookwchek'</i>	<i>hookwchom</i>
3 SG	<i>hookwch'</i>	"s/he gambles"	<i>'w-ookwchek'</i>	<i>hookwcheen</i>
1 DUAL	<i>hookwche'loh</i>	"we 2 gamble"		
2 DUAL	<i>hookwche'lue'</i>	"you 2 gamble"		
1 PL	<i>hookwchoh</i>	"we gamble"	<i>'n-ookwchoh</i>	<i>hookwchoh</i>
2 PL	<i>hookwchue'</i>	"you gamble"	<i>k'-ookwchue'</i>	<i>hookwchueh</i>
3 PL	<i>hookwchehl</i>	"they gamble"	<i>'w-ookwchehl</i>	<i>hookwcheen</i>
1 COLL	<i>hookwche'moh</i>	"we gamble"	<i>'n-ookwche'moh</i>	<i>hookwche'moh</i>
2 COLL	<i>hookwche'mow'</i>	"you gamble"	<i>k'-ookwche'mow'</i>	<i>hookwche'mow'</i>
3 COLL	<i>hookwche'mehl</i>	"they gamble"	<i>'w-ookwche'mehl</i>	<i>hookwche'monee</i>



### 13.3 *Melook'* "I go to a brush dance"

Grammatical description: intransitive *oo*-class verb (3 SG unknown)

#### Meaning and usage

Examples of this verb are given in (231).

- (231) (a) *Keetue melook'*.  
 "I'm going to go to the brush dance." GT 2007 (AG)
- (b) *Skewok kee 'ne-meloo'moh*.  
 "We want to go to the brush dance." GT 2007 (AG)

The impersonal passive form *melee'* "there's a brush dance" is illustrated in (232).

- (232) (a) *Kee melee' o Wechpues*.  
 "There's going to be a brush dance at Weitchpec." VM 1994 (BJ)
- (b) *Nek ho hegoolew 'ue-meloyek'*.  
 "I used to dance when there was a brush dance." GT 2007 (AG)

#### Inflected forms

This verb has a collective stem *meloom'*. Note that the 3 SG form is unknown. For that reason, also, the (active) attributive forms are omitted.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>melook'</i>	"I go to a brush dance"	<i>'ne-melook'</i>	
2 SG	<i>meloom'</i>	"you go to a brush dance"	<i>k'e-melook'</i>	<i>me'los</i>
3 SG	— form unknown —		<i>'ue-melook'</i>	
1 PL	<i>meloh</i>	"we go to a brush dance"	<i>'ne-meloh</i>	
2 PL	<i>melow'</i>	"you go to a brush dance"	<i>k'e-melow'</i>	<i>melekw</i>
3 PL	<i>melohl</i>	"they go to a brush dance"	<i>'ue-melohl</i>	
1 COLL	<i>meloo'moh</i>	"we go to a brush dance"	<i>'ne-meloo'moh</i>	
2 COLL	<i>meloo'mow'</i>	"you go to a brush dance"	<i>k'e-meloo'mow'</i>	<i>meloo'mekw</i>
3 COLL	<i>meloo'mehl</i>	"they go to a brush dance"	<i>'ue-meloo'mehl</i>	

The impersonal passive forms are listed below, including attributive *melonee* "(being at) a brush dance". The attributive phrase *kue' o melonee*, literally "the (place) where there is a brush dance", can be used to mean "the brush dance".

	PASSIVE INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
3 SG	<i>melee'</i>	"there is a brush dance"	<i>'ue-meloyek'</i>	<i>melonee</i>

### 13.4 *Nerrmery* “sing in the brush dance”

Grammatical description: intransitive non-inflected verb

Related verbs

- *nerrmeryerk'* “I sing in the brush dance”
- *nerrmerypeyok'* “I sing in the brush dance”

#### Meaning and usage

The verb *nerrmery* refers to singing by a singer in the brush dance.

- (233) (a) *Tee'now nerrmery?*  
 “Who’s singing?” GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (b) *Ho nerrmeryek' nahschueh kue 'o melonee.*  
 “I sang last night at the brush dance.” JJ 2007 (LC)

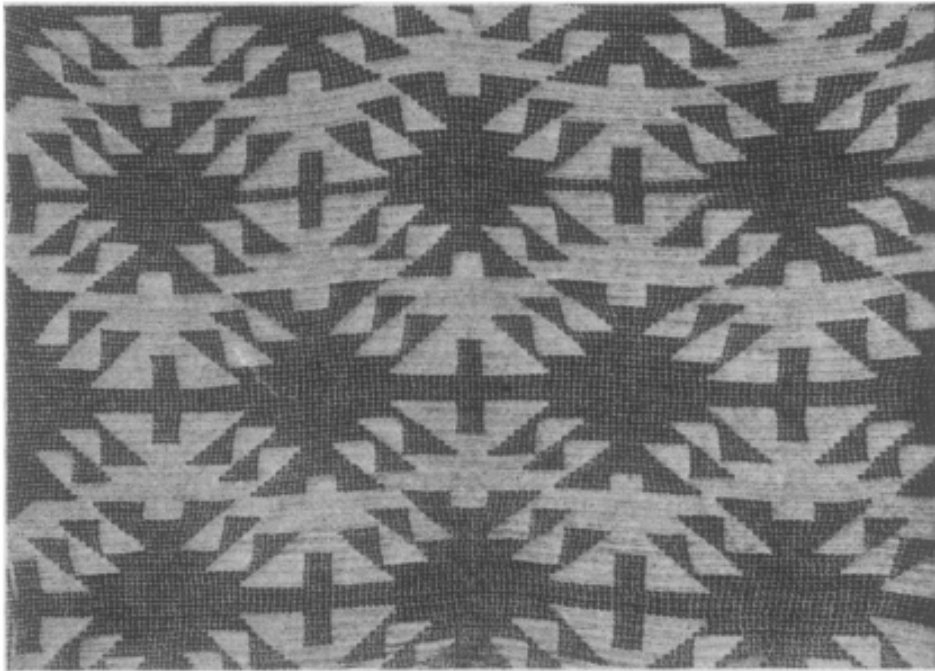


Figure 13.1: Bedspread crocheted in a basket pattern

### 13.5 *Ruerowok'* "I sing"

Grammatical description: intransitive *o*-class verb

#### Meaning and usage

The verb *ruerowok'* means "sing", nowadays including any kind of singing. It also means "boil over"; the metaphor is that the singing is like water coming to a boil and boiling over.

- (234) (a) *Nekee' ruerowok'*.  
 "I am singing." LT 1922 (GR)
- (b) *Kee chyue ruerowoo'moh*.  
 "We'll all sing." AF 2002 (JB)

#### Verbs with similar meanings

According to Weitchpec Frank (ALK), the verb *ruerowok'* referred originally to singing by "the second voice or accompanier", as opposed to *nerrmery* (page 139), referring to the leader of a (brush dance) song.

#### Inflected forms

The verb *ruerowok'* has a very common collective stem *ruerowoom'*. Omitted for reasons of space below are the following imperative forms: SG *rueo'wos*, PL *ruerowekw*, COLL *ruerowoo'mekw*.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>ruerowok'</i>	"I sing"	<i>'ne-ruerowok'</i>	<i>ruerowoh</i>
2 SG	<i>ruerowom'</i>	"you sing"	<i>k'e-ruerowok'</i>	<i>ruerowoomom</i>
3 SG	<i>ruerow'</i>	"s/he sings"	<i>'we-ruerowok'</i>	<i>ruerowonee</i>
1 PL	<i>ruerowoh</i>	"we sing"	<i>'ne-ruerowoh</i>	<i>ruerowoh</i>
2 PL	<i>ruerowow'</i>	"you sing"	<i>k'e-ruerowow'</i>	<i>ruerowoomom</i>
3 PL	<i>ruerowohl</i>	"they sing"	<i>'we-ruerowohl</i>	<i>ruerowonee</i>
1 COLL	<i>ruerowoo'moh</i>	"we sing"	<i>'ne-ruerowoo'moh</i>	<i>ruerowoo'moh</i>
2 COLL	<i>ruerowoo'mow'</i>	"you sing"	<i>k'e-ruerowoo'mow'</i>	<i>ruerowoo'mow'</i>
3 COLL	<i>ruerowoo'mehl</i>	"they sing"	<i>'we-ruerowoo'mehl</i>	<i>ruerowoo'monee</i>

## Chapter 14

# Verbs of communication

The following verbs are described in this chapter:

*chweenkepek* "I talk" (p. 142)

*'erperk* "I tell" (p. 144)

*hegolek* "I say" (p. 146)

*hegoosek* "I shout" (p. 148)

*saa'agochek* "I speak Yurok" (p. 149)

*sochpeyewek* "I say it" (p. 150)

*tegeruemek* "I talk to her or him" (p. 152)

*'werrgeryercherk* "I speak English" (p. 154)

Three of these eight verbs — *hegoosek* "I shout", *saa'agochek* "I speak Yurok", *'werrgeryercherk* "I speak English" — have specialized meanings that are easy to learn, but others may be harder. These five verbs have the general meaning "say, speak, talk": *chweenkepek*, *'erperk*, *hegolek*, *sochpeyewek*, and *tegeruemek*; but their precise usage is quite distinct.



## 14.1 *Chweenkepek' "I talk"*

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb

Related verbs

- *chween* "talk" (non-inflected; iterative *chwegeen* "have a conversation, talk a lot")
- *chweenkah* "talk (collective)" (non-inflected)
- *chweenkook'* "I answer"

### Meaning and usage

The verb *chweenkepek'* refers to talking, manners of talking (or languages), or praying.

- (235) (a) *Segep . . . keech mee chweenkep'.*  
 "Coyote did not talk." FS 1951 (YL)
- (b) *Nek nuemee skuy' soo chweenkepek'.*  
 "I spoke very softly." FS 1980 (PP)
- (c) *Kowecho 'eeyah chwegeenkepee'mow'.*  
 "Don't talk (ITERATIVE COLLECTIVE)." GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (d) *Cho' neenee plerrsem' k'e-chwegeen.*  
 "Talk louder."  
 (LIT. "Be louder in your talking.") JJ 2007 (LC)

### Verbs with similar meanings

In contrast to *chweenkepek'*, *'erperk'* (p. 144) means "tell (a story)", and *hegolek'* (p. 146) and *sochpeyewek'* "I say it" (p. 150) mean "say", while *tegeruemek'* refers to conversation. Non-inflected verbs with closely related meanings are *tohkow* or *toh*, used for manners of talking (or languages); and *chweenkah* for prayer.

### Inflected forms

A collective stem *chweenkepeem'* is documented, as illustrated in (235c) and in Table 14.1 on page 143.

	INDICATIVE	"I talk" "you talk" "s/he talks"	SUBJUNCTIVE	* ATTRIBUTIVE	IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>chweenkepek'</i>	"I talk"	<i>'ne-chweenkepek'</i>	<i>chweenkepoh</i>	
2 SG	<i>chweenkepem'</i>	"you talk"	<i>k'é-chweenkepek'</i>	<i>chweenkepom</i>	<i>chweenkep'es</i>
3 SG	<i>chweenkep'</i>	"s/he talks"	<i>'we-chweenkepek'</i>	<i>chweenkepeen</i>	
1 PL	<i>chweenkepoh</i>	"we talk"	<i>'ne-chweenkepoh</i>	<i>chweenkepoh</i>	
2 PL	<i>chweenkepue'</i>	"you talk"	<i>k'é-chweenkepue'</i>	<i>chweenkepueh</i>	<i>chweenkepek'w</i>
3 PL	<i>chweenkepehl</i>	"they talk"	<i>'we-chweenkepehl</i>	<i>chweenkepeen</i>	
1 COLL	<i>chweenkepee'moh</i>	"we talk"	<i>'ne-chweenkepee'moh</i>	<i>chweenkepee'moh</i>	
2 COLL	<i>chweenkepee'mow'</i>	"you talk"	<i>k'é-chweenkepee'mow'</i>	<i>chweenkepee'mow'</i>	<i>chweenkepee'mekw</i>
3 COLL	<i>chweenkepee'mehl</i>	"they talk"	<i>'we-chweenkepee'mehl</i>	<i>chweenkepee'monee</i>	

Table 14.1: Inflected forms of *chweenkepek'* "I talk"

## 14.2 'Erperk' "I tell"

Grammatical description: optionally transitive *e*-class verb (with *er*-quality)

Related verbs

- *'er'gerp* "tell a story" (iterative non-inflected)
- *'erperyerw* "tell, be told" (non-inflected passive)
- *'erperyuemek'* "I tell someone" (double iterative *'ee'ee'gerperyuemek'* "I am a tattletale, I always tell tales")

### Meaning and usage

This is the usual verb for telling a story. If there is an object, it is the person or people to whom the story is told, as in (236).

- (236) *Kee skuy' soo 'erperchek'.*  
 "I will tell you in full." FS 1951 (YL)

To tell (a story) ABOUT someone or something, the preposition-preverb *mehl* is used, as in (237).

- (237) *Cho 'er'gerp mehl nek.*  
 "Tell about me!" MM 1927 (ES)

### Inflected forms

Many inflectional categories of this verb are undocumented. There are no documented plural forms, for example, so it is unknown whether a collective exists or is used.

	INDICATIVE		*SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE	*IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>'erperk'</i>	"I tell"	<i>'ne-'erperk'</i>	<i>'erperh</i>	
2 SG	<i>'erperm'</i>	"you tell"	<i>k'e-'erperk'</i>	<i>'erperm</i>	<i>'erp'ers</i>
3 SG	<i>'erp'</i>	"s/he tells"	<i>'we-'erperk'</i>	<i>'erpeen</i>	
1 SG	<i>'erperh</i>	"we tell"	<i>'ne-'erperh</i>	<i>'erperh</i>	
2 SG	<i>'erpue'</i>	"you tell"	<i>k'e-'erpue'</i>	<i>'erpueh</i>	<i>'erperkw</i>
3 SG	<i>'erperhl</i>	"they tell"	<i>'we-'erperhl</i>	<i>'erpeen</i>	

Bipersonal forms are shown in Table 14.2 on page 145. Not many of the specific forms in the table are actually documented, and it is merely a conjecture that *'erperyerw* would serve the roles indicated. (It would not be wrong to use it, but there may also have been another form used.)

SUBJECT	SINGULAR OBJECT		
	1 SG	2 SG	3 SG
1 SG	—	'erpercherk' "I tell you"	'erpserk' "I tell her/him"
2 SG	'erperper' "you tell me"	—	'erpserm' "you tell her/him"
3 SG	'erperpern' "s/he tells me"	[A] 'erperyerw "s/he tells you"	[B]
1 PL	—	'erpercherh "we tell you"	'erpserh "we tell her/him"
2 PL	'erperper' "you tell me"	—	'erpserm' "you tell her/him"
3 PL	'erperperrhl "they tell me"	[A] 'erperyerw "they tell you"	[B]

IMPERATIVE 'erper'een "(you) tell me!"

SUBJECT	PLURAL OBJECT		
	1 PL	2 PL	3 PL
1 SG	—	'erperch'er' "I tell you"	'erpser'er' "I tell them"
2 SG	[A] 'erperyerw "you tell us"	—	[B]
3 SG	[A] 'erperyerw "s/he tells us"	[A] 'erperyerw "s/he tells you"	[B]
1 PL	—	'erperch'er' "we tell you"	[B]
2 PL	'erperyerw "you tell us"	—	[B]
3 PL	[A] 'erperyerw "they tell us"	[A] 'erperyerw "they tell you"	[B]

Table 14.2: Bipersonal forms of 'erperk' "I tell"

[A] These passive and quasi-passive forms are regularly used in these slots.

[B] Ordinary non-bipersonal forms are used in these slots.



### 14.3 *Hegolek'* "I say"

Grammatical description: optionally transitive *e*-class verb

#### Meaning and usage

This verb is used when someone wants to quote a person, as in the following examples:

- (238) (a) *Heksek'*, *Na'ch'es kue 'e'ga'*.  
 "I told him (or her), 'Give him (or her) the pencil.'" AF 2001 (LJC)
- (b) *Kwesee 'o legoyhl kue huueksoh, Cho' nue pewahchkeye'mow'*.  
 The children were told, 'Go and wash your faces.'" RS 1951 (YL)
- (c) *'O gem' 'o'rowee', To' kee kem ko gookwchek'*.  
 "The dove said, 'I will gamble again.'" FS 1951 (YL)
- (d) *Tue' kelew nee yegolue', Neeme megetohlkwee'*.  
 "You (white people) say, 'It (Indian land) isn't owned.'" DW 1907 (ALK)

A difference between this verb and *sochpeyewek'* "I say" is that *hegolek'* is used to introduce a quotation.

#### Inflected forms

The plural of *hegolek'* is rarely used, because 3 SG passive *hee'* or *hegee'* "it was said" is often used where English usage might prefer "they said (something)". There is no collective, and no attributives are known.

	INDICATIVE	SUBJUNCTIVE	IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>hegolek'</i> "I say"	<i>'n-egolek'</i>	
2 SG	<i>hegolem'</i> "you say"	<i>k'-egolek'</i>	<i>hach'es</i> (rare)
3 SG	<i>hem'</i> "s/he says"	<i>'w-egolek'</i>	
1 PL	<i>hegoloh</i> "we say"	<i>'n-egoloh</i>	
2 PL	<i>hegolue'</i> "you say"	<i>k'-egolue'</i>	
3 PL	<i>hegolehl</i> "they say"	<i>'w-egolehl</i>	

Bipersonal forms are in Table 14.3 on page 147. Passive forms (below) are irregular and very common:

	PASSIVE INDICATIVE	SUBJUNCTIVE
1 SG	<i>hegoyek'</i> "it is said to me, I am told"	<i>'n-egoyek'</i>
2 SG	<i>hegoyem'</i> "it is said to you, you are told"	<i>k'-egoyek'</i>
3 SG	<i>hee', hegee'</i> "it is said, he or she is told"	<i>'w-egoyek'</i>
1 PL	<i>hegoyoh</i> "it is said to us, we are told"	<i>'w-egoyoh</i>
2 PL	<i>hegoyue'</i> "it is said to you, you are told"	<i>'w-egoyue'</i>
3 PL	<i>hegoyehl</i> "it is said to them, they are told"	<i>'w-egoyehl</i>

SUBJECT	SINGULAR OBJECT		
	1 SG	2 SG	3 SG
1 SG	—	<i>hekchek'</i> "I tell you"	<i>heksek'</i> "I tell her/him"
2 SG	<i>hegepa'</i> "you tell me"	—	<i>hekse'm</i> "you tell her/him"
3 SG	<i>hegepen'</i> "s/he tells me"	[A] <i>hegoyem'</i> "s/he tells you"	[B]
1 PL	—	<i>hekchoh</i> "we tell you"	<i>heksoh</i> "we tell her/him"
2 PL	<i>hegepa'</i> "you tell me"	—	<i>hekse'm</i> "you tell her/him"
3 PL	<i>hegepaahl</i> "they tell me"	[A] <i>hegoyem'</i> "they tell you"	[B]

IMPERATIVE *hegep'een* "(you) tell me!"

SUBJECT	PLURAL OBJECT		
	1 PL	2 PL	3 PL
1 SG	—	<i>hekch'o'</i> "I tell you"	<i>heks'o'</i> "I tell them"
2 SG	[A] <i>hegoy</i> "you tell us"	—	[B]
3 SG	[A] <i>hegoy</i> "s/he tells us"	[A] <i>hegoyem'</i> "s/he tells you"	[B]
1 PL	—	<i>hekch'o'</i> "we tell you"	[B]
2 PL	[A] <i>hegoy</i> "you tell us"	—	[B]
3 PL	[A] <i>hegoy</i> "they tell us"	[A] <i>hegoyem'</i> "they tell you"	[B]

Table 14.3: Bipersonal forms of *hegolek'* "I say"

[A] These passive and quasi-passive forms are regularly used in these slots.

[B] Ordinary non-bipersonal forms are used in these slots.

## 14.4 Hegoosek' "I shout"

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb

Related verbs

- *hegoo* "shout" (non-inflected)
- *hegoosemek'* "I shout at her/him"

### Meaning and usage

The verb *hegoosek'* refers to shouting or yelling, as in (239).

- (239) (a) *Kowecho hegoosem'*.  
"Don't holler." GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (b) *Heekoch so hegoosek'*.  
"I am shouting across the water." YL 1951

The subjunctive form of the verb, as in (240), can be translated as an English noun (*shout, shouts*) or gerund (*shouting*).

- (240) (a) *Kolo 'ema lekwo'hl 'w-egoosem'*.  
Their shouting seemed to fill the air." YL 1951
- (b) *Noohl 'o kom' keech 'w-egoo*.  
"Then they heard shouting." FS 1951 (YL)

The verb *hegoosemek'* is not documented in sentences, but it would probably be used in sentences like *Kowecho' hegooseepa'* "Don't shout at me!"

### Inflected forms

The verb *hegoosek'* has a collective *hegoose'm*.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE	IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>hegoosek'</i>	"I shout"	<i>'n-egoosek'</i>	<i>hegoosoh</i>	
2 SG	<i>hegoosem'</i>	"you shout"	<i>k'-egoosek'</i>	<i>hegoosom</i>	<i>hegooses</i>
3 SG	<i>hegoo's</i>	"s/he grabs it"	<i>'w-egoosek'</i>	<i>hegooseen</i>	
1 PL	<i>hegoosoh</i>	"we shout"	<i>'n-egoosoh</i>	<i>hegoosoh</i>	
2 PL	<i>hegoosue'</i>	"you shout"	<i>k'-egoosue'</i>	<i>hegoosueh</i>	<i>hegoosekw</i>
3 PL	<i>hegoosehl</i>	"they shout"	<i>'w-egoosehl</i>	<i>hegooseen</i>	
1 COLL	<i>hegoose'moh</i>	"we shout"	<i>'n-egoose'moh</i>	<i>hegoose'moh</i>	
2 COLL	<i>hegoose'mow'</i>	"you shout"	<i>k'-egoose'mow'</i>	<i>hegoose'mow'</i>	<i>hegoose'mekw</i>
3 COLL	<i>hegoose'mehl</i>	"they shout"	<i>'w-egoose'mehl</i>	<i>hegoose'monee</i>	

## 14.5 *Saa'agohek'* "I speak Yurok"

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb

Related verb

- *saa'agoh* "speak Yurok" (non-inflected)

### Meaning and usage

The verb *saa'agohek'* refers to the Yurok language:

- (241) (a) *Cho' hloykoom' k'e-saa'agohek'*.  
 "Try to talk Yurok." FS 1980 (PP)
- (b) *Yo' kee saa'agoch'*.  
 "He can talk Yurok." YL 1951
- (c) *Mos tenem' kee saa'agoche'monee*.  
 "There are not many people who speak Yurok." YL 1951

### Verbs with similar meanings

There are similar verbs for speaking other languages: *kerger'ermercherk'* "I speak Karuk", *'omeemoh* "speak Hupa", *tolowoochek'* "I speak Tolowa", *'werrgeryercherk'* "I speak English ('woogey language)" (page 154). These verbs are mostly also formed with the suffix *-och-* (or *-erch-*), referring to speech or noises made with the voice.

### Inflected forms

The verb *saa'agohek'* has a collective stem *saa'agoche'm*. Omitted below for reasons of space are the imperatives: SG *saa'agoch'es*, PL *saa'agochekw*, COLL *saa'agoche'mekw*.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>saa'agohek'</i>	"I speak Yurok"	<i>'ne-saa'agohek'</i>	<i>saa'agochoh</i>
2 SG	<i>saa'agochem'</i>	"you speak Yurok"	<i>k'e-saa'agohek'</i>	<i>saa'agochom</i>
3 SG	<i>saa'agoch'</i>	"s/he speaks Yurok"	<i>'we-saa'agohek'</i>	<i>saa'agocheen</i>
1 PL	<i>saa'agochoh</i>	"we speak Yurok"	<i>'ne-saa'agochoh</i>	<i>saa'agochoh</i>
2 PL	<i>saa'agochue'</i>	"you speak Yurok"	<i>k'e-saa'agochue'</i>	<i>saa'agochuh</i>
3 PL	<i>saa'agochehl</i>	"they speak Yurok"	<i>'we-saa'agochehl</i>	<i>saa'agocheen</i>
1 COLL	<i>saa'agoche'moh</i>	"we speak Yurok"	<i>'ne-saa'agoche'moh</i>	<i>saa'agoche'moh</i>
2 COLL	<i>saa'agoche'mow'</i>	"you speak Yurok"	<i>k'e-saa'agoche'mow'</i>	<i>saa'agoche'mow'</i>
3 COLL	<i>saa'agoche'mehl</i>	"they speak Yurok"	<i>'we-saa'agoche'mehl</i>	<i>saa'agoche'monee</i>

## 14.6 *Sochpeyewek* “I say it”

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb

Related verb

- *soch* “say”

### Meaning and usage

This verb is used to refer to saying something not actually quoted; examples are in (242).

- (242) (a) *Kel' kues wee k'e-soo soch?*  
 “What do you mean?” (LIT. “Why are you saying it?”) YL 1951
- (b) *Teloguemek' kue perey sochpeyeween.*  
 “I am annoyed at what the old woman said.” YL 1951
- (c) *Nee kahseluemek' kee soch.*  
 “I don't know what to say.” RS 1942 (YN)
- (d) *Kowecho' kol' sochpeyewem'.*  
 “Don't say anything.” AF 2002 (JB)
- (e) *Kowecho mehl sochpeyuue'mow'!*  
 “Don't speak about it!” YL 1951

In questions, *kues* is more commonly used than *tee'neeshoo*. Examples are in (243).

- (243) (a) *Kues soch kue wen?*  
 “What did that woman say?” FS 1980 (PP)
- (b) *Kues sochpeyewem'?*  
 “What are you saying?” GT 2003 (YLCB)

### Verbs with similar meanings

This verb is used when what is said is not quoted; if it is quoted, *hegolek* “I say” is used. If the message is highlighted, *erperk* “I tell” is used; *chweenkepek* means “I speak”.

### Inflected forms

This verb has a collective *sochpeyuuem'*. Forms are given in Table 14.4 on page 151.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE	IMPERATIVE
1 SG	sochpeyewek'	"I say it"	'ne-sochpeyewek'	sochpeyewoh	
2 SG	sochpeyewem'	"you say it"	k'e-sochpeyewek'	sochpeyewom	sochpeyé'wes
3 SG	sochpeyew'	"s/he says it"	'we-sochpeyewek'	sochpeyeween	
1 PL	sochpeyewoh	"we say it"	'ne-sochpeyewoh	sochpeyewoh	
2 PL	sochpeyewue'	"you say it"	k'e-sochpeyewue'	sochpeyewueh	sochpeyewekw
3 PL	sochpeyewehl	"they say it"	'we-sochpeyewehl	sochpeyeween	
1 COLL	sochpeyuue'moh	"we say it"	'ne-sochpeyuue'moh	sochpeyuue'moh	
2 COLL	sochpeyuue'mow'	"you say it"	k'e-sochpeyuue'mow'	sochpeyuue'mow'	sochpeyuue'mekw
3 COLL	sochpeyuue'mehl	"they say it"	'we-sochpeyuue'mehl	sochpeyuue'monee	

Table 14.4: Inflected forms of sochpeyewek' "I say it"

## 14.7 *Tegeruemek* ‘I talk to her or him’

Grammatical description: transitive *e*-class verb

Related verbs

- *tegerew* ‘talk’ (non-inflected)
- *tegeruepek* ‘I talk to myself’

### Meaning and usage

This verb and its close relatives often refer to conversations involving people. They are also used for talking in prayer or medicines, as in (244a).

- (244) (a) *Tue* ‘o *tegeruem* ‘ue-mes *kue meweemor*.  
 “And the old man spoke his medicine.” FS 1951 (YL)
- (b) *To* ‘ *kee kem tegerew!*  
 “I’ll talk to you again.” YL 1951
- (c) *Kelee* ‘ *ne-tegeruechek*.  
 “I’m talking to you.” JJ 2007 (LC)

### Verbs with similar meanings

There are verbs for specific types of talking, like *saa’agochek* ‘I speak Yurok’ (page 149). But *tegeruemek* and related verbs also differ from the other general verbs for speaking or talking: *chweenkepek* (page 142) and related verbs refer simply to the act of speaking, whereas *tegeruemek* usually implies a conversation or at least a person being spoken to; *sochpeyewek* (page 150) and *soch* are intransitive verbs highlighting the manner of speaking, whereas *tegeruemek* highlights the person being spoken to.

### Inflected forms

There is no collective. Non-inflected *tegerew* is often used instead of an inflected passive. Bipersonal forms are in Table 14.5 on page 153.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE	*IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>tegeruemek</i>	‘I talk’	<i>‘ne-tegeruemek</i>	<i>tegeruemoh</i>	
2 SG	<i>tegeruemem</i>	‘you talk’	<i>k’e-tegeruemek</i>	<i>tegeruemom</i>	<i>tegerue’mes</i>
3 SG	<i>tegeruem</i>	‘s/he talks’	<i>‘we-tegeruemek</i>	<i>tegeruemeen</i>	
1 PL	<i>tegeruemoh</i>	‘we talk’	<i>‘ne-tegeruemoh</i>	<i>tegeruemoh</i>	
2 PL	<i>tegeruemue</i>	‘you talk’	<i>k’e-tegeruemue</i>	<i>tegeruemuh</i>	<i>tegeruemekw</i>
3 PL	<i>tegeruemehl</i>	‘they talk’	<i>‘we-tegeruemehl</i>	<i>tegeruemeen</i>	

SUBJECT	SINGULAR OBJECT		
	1 SG	2 SG	3 SG
1 SG	—	<i>tegeruechek'</i> "I talk to you"	<i>tegeruesek'</i> "I talk to her/him"
2 SG	<i>tegeruepa'</i> "you talk to me"	—	<i>tegeruesem'</i> "you talk to her/him"
3 SG	<i>tegeruepen'</i> "s/he talks to me"	[A] <i>tegerew</i> "s/he talks to you"	[B]
1 PL	—	<i>tegeruechoh</i> "we talk to you"	<i>tegeruesoh</i> "we talk to her/him"
2 PL	<i>tegeruepa'</i> "you talk to me"	—	<i>tegeruesem'</i> "you talk to her/him"
3 PL	<i>tegeruepaahl</i> "they talk to me"	[A] <i>tegerew</i> "they talk to you"	[B]

IMPERATIVE *tegerup'een* "(you) talk to me!"

SUBJECT	PLURAL OBJECT		
	1 PL	2 PL	3 PL
1 SG	—	<i>tegeruech'o'</i> "I talk to you"	<i>tegerues'o'</i> "I talk to them"
2 SG	[A] <i>tegerew</i> "you talk to us"	—	[B]
3 SG	[A] <i>tegerew</i> "s/he talks to us"	[A] <i>tegerew</i> "s/he talks to you"	[B]
1 PL	—	<i>tegeruech'o'</i> "we talk to you"	[B]
2 PL	[A] <i>tegerew</i> "you talk to us"	—	[B]
3 PL	[A] <i>tegerew</i> "they talk to us"	[A] <i>tegerew</i> "they talk to you"	[B]

Table 14.5: Bipersonal forms of *tegeruemek'* "I talk to her or him"

[A] These passive and quasi-passive forms are regularly used in these slots.

[B] Ordinary non-bipersonal forms are used in these slots.



## 14.8 'Werrgeryercherk' "I speak English"

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb (with *er*-quality)

Related verb

- 'werrgeryerch "speak English" (non-inflected)

### Meaning and usage

The verb 'werrgeryercherk', related to the noun 'woogey' 'white person', refers to the English language.

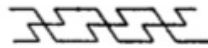
- (245) (a) *Nek kee 'werrgeryercherk'.*  
 "I'll speak English." JVP 2001 (JB)
- (b) *Tee'now kee 'werrgeryerch'?*  
 "Who will speak English?" GM 2002 (JB)

### Verbs with similar meanings

There are similar verbs for speaking other languages; see page 149 above.

### Inflected forms

This verb has a collective stem *werrgeryercherm'*. Forms are in Table 14.6 on page 155.



	INDICATIVE	*SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE	*IMPERATIVE
1 SG	'werrgeryercherk'	'ne-'werrgeryercherk'	'werrgeryercherh	
2 SG	'werrgeryerchermi'	k'e-'werrgeryercherk'	'werrgeryercherhm	'werrgeryercher's
3 SG	'werrgeryerch'	'ue-'werrgeryercherk'	'werrgeryercheen	
1 PL	'werrgeryercherh	'ne-'werrgeryercherh	'werrgeryercherh	
2 PL	'werrgeryerchue'	k'e-'werrgeryerchue'	'werrgeryerchueh	'werrgeryercherkw
3 PL	'werrgeryercherhl	'ue-'werrgeryercherhl	'werrgeryercheen	
1 COLL	'werrgeryercher'merh	'ne-'werrgeryercher'merh	s'werrgeryercher'merh	
2 COLL	'werrgeryercher'merw'	k'e-'werrgeryercher'merw'	'werrgeryercher'merw'	'werrgeryercher'merkw
3 COLL	'werrgeryercher'merhl	'ue-'werrgeryercher'merhl	'werrgeryercher'mernee	

Table 14.6: Inflected forms of 'werrgeryercherk' "I speak English"



## Chapter 15

# Verbs of description

The following verbs are described in this chapter:

*cheykelek* "I am small" (p. 158)

*hlmeyowok* "I am mean" (p. 159)

*keemolen* "it's bad" (p. 160)

*keemolepek* "I behave badly" (p. 161)

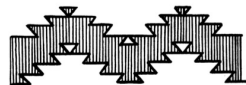
*peloyek* "I am big" (p. 162)

*skuyahpelek* "I behave well" (p. 163)

*skuyen* "it's good" (p. 164)

*t'p'ohlkwek* "I have sense" (p. 165)

Note that *keemolen* and *skuyen* generally refer to things, experiences, or situations being bad or good, while *keemolepek* and *skuyahpelek* generally refer to people behaving badly or well.



## 15.1 *Cheykelek'* "I am small"

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb

Related verb

- *chey* "be little" (non-inflected; iterative *chegey* used for plurals)

### Meaning and usage

The verb *cheykelek'* "I am small" refers to small size or young age (as of a child). Like its opposite *peloyek'* "I am big", it is unusual in that its most common form, by far, is the attributive *cheykenee*. But ordinary non-attributive (that is, indicative) forms are used, as in (246).

- (246) (a) ***Cheyken'*** *kue chyer'ery'*.  
 "The bear is small." AF 2001 (JB)
- (b) *Maageen chegyken'*.  
 "Some (slugs) are small." AF 2004 (AG)

As in (246b), the iteratives *chegyken'* and *chegykenee* are usually used in plural contexts. Examples of non-inflected *chey* "be little", also used as a noun "little one", are in (247).

- (247) (a) *Nek neenee chey 'o kel'*.  
 "I am younger than you." YL 1951
- (b) *Kues son' kue chey?*  
 "What's the matter with the little one?" FS 1980 (PP)

Note that *chey* can be combined with nouns to create diminutive expressions: for example, *mewah chey* "little boy" and *wer' chey* "little girl".

### Inflected forms

The verb *cheykelek'* has an irregular 3 SG form *cheyken'* "s/he is small" in addition to the regular form. But by far the most frequently used forms are the attributives. Imperatives are omitted because they would make little sense in actual usage. With this verb, note that iteratives generally function as plurals.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>cheykelek'</i>	"I am small"	<i>'ne-cheykelek'</i>	<i>cheykeloh</i>
2 SG	<i>cheykelem'</i>	"you are small"	<i>k'e-cheykelek'</i>	<i>cheykelom</i>
3 SG	<i>cheykel', cheyken'</i>	"s/he is small"	<i>'we-cheykelek'</i>	<i>cheykenee</i>
1 PL	<i>chegeykeloh</i>	"we are small"	<i>'ne-chegeykeloh</i>	<i>chegeykeloh</i>
2 PL	<i>chegeykelue'</i>	"you are small"	<i>k'e-chegeykelue'</i>	<i>chegeykelueh</i>
3 PL	<i>chegeykelehl, chegyken'</i>	"they are small"	<i>'we-chegeykelehl</i>	<i>chegykenee</i>

## 15.2 *Hlmeyowok* “I am mean, dangerous”

Grammatical description: intransitive *o*-class verb

Related verb

- *hlmeyerwerk* “I’m just a little unpleasant, slightly mean”

### Meaning and usage

This verb is conventionally translated “mean”, but its sense can range from “angry” to “dangerous”. Examples are in (248).

- (248) (a) *Wee’ chpee mehl pel’ soo hlmeyowok’*.  
 “I got terribly angry because of just that.” JJ 2006 (AG)
- (b) *Maageen hlmeyowoom’*.  
 “Some (snakes) are dangerous.” YL 1951
- (c) *Neeko’hl’we-hlmeyowohl*.  
 “They are always mean.” YL 1951

### Inflected forms

This verb has a collective stem *hlmeyowoom’*. Note that the third-person attributive form *hlmeyowonee* “mean, dangerous” is irregular.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>hlmeyowok’</i>	“I am mean”	<i>’ne-hlmeyowok’</i>	<i>hlmeyowoh</i>
2 SG	<i>hlmeyowom’</i>	“you are mean”	<i>k’e-hlmeyowok’</i>	<i>hlmeyowoomom</i>
3 SG	<i>hlmey’, hlmeyem’</i>	“s/he is mean”	<i>’we-hlmeyowok’</i>	<i>hlmeyowonee</i>
1 PL	<i>hlmeyowoh</i>	“we are mean”	<i>’ne-hlmeyowoh</i>	<i>hlmeyowoh</i>
2 PL	<i>hlmeyowow’</i>	“you are mean”	<i>k’e-hlmeyowow’</i>	<i>hlmeyowoomom</i>
3 PL	<i>hlmeyowohl</i>	“they are mean”	<i>’we-hlmeyowohl</i>	<i>hlmeyowonee</i>
1 COLL	<i>hlmeyowoo’moh</i>	“we are mean”	<i>’ne-hlmeyowoo’moh</i>	<i>hlmeyowoo’moh</i>
2 COLL	<i>hlmeyowoo’mow’</i>	“you are mean”	<i>k’e-hlmeyowoo’mow’</i>	<i>hlmeyowoo’mow’</i>
3 COLL	<i>hlmeyowoo’mehl</i>	“they are mean”	<i>’we-hlmeyowoo’mehl</i>	<i>hlmeyowoo’monee</i>

### 15.3 Keemolen' "it's bad"

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb

#### Meaning and usage

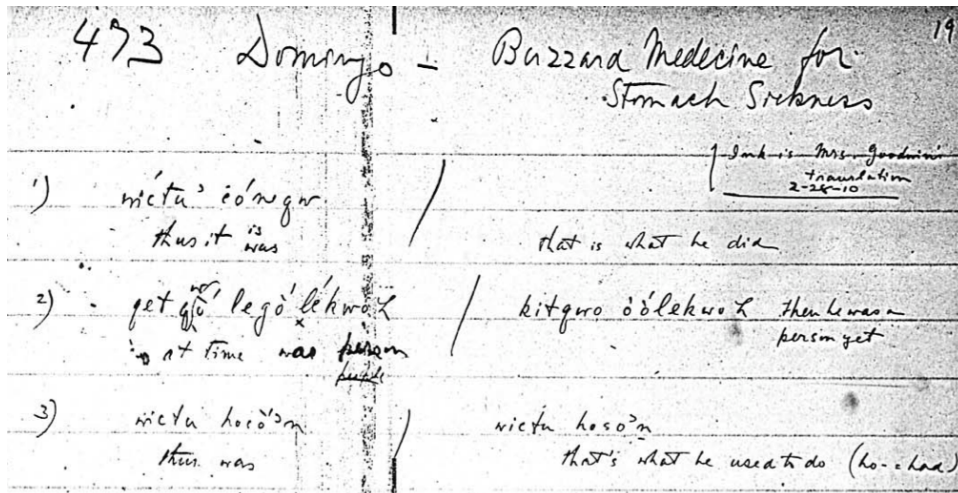
This verb has a somewhat restricted range of uses, because it refers to THINGS or SITUATIONS being bad rather than people acting badly. Examples are in (249).

- (249) (a) **Keemolen'** *k'ee 'we-hlkelonah*.  
 "Their country is bad." BF 1951 (YL)
- (b) *Nuemee keemolen'*.  
 "That's horrible." GT 2003 (YLCB)

The only documented forms of this verb are *keemolen'* and 3 SG attributive *keemolenee*; the 3 SG subjunctive should be *'ue-keemolen'*.

#### Verbs with similar meanings

This verb's antonym (opposite) is *skuyen'* "it's good" (page 164). The verb *keemolepek'* "I am bad" (page 161) refers to acting badly rather than simply being bad.



**Figure 15.1:** In 1907 Domingo of Weitchpec recorded a story about Buzzard's stomach sickness. These are the first lines of A. L. Kroeber's transcription, made in 1910 with the help of Yurok speaker Catherine Goodwin. The number "473" is the catalog number of the first wax cylinder record on which the recording was made.

## 15.4 *Keemolepek'* "I am bad, I behave badly"

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb

Related verbs

- *keemolah* "be bad, behave badly" (non-inflected)
- *keemolahpelek'* "I am bad, I behave badly"

### Meaning and usage

This verb and its synonym *keemolahpelek'* refer to behaving badly, making trouble, etc. Examples are in (250).

- (250) (a) *Keetee keemolepek'*.  
 "I'm going to start trouble." FS 1980 (PP)
- (b) *Keech keemolepek'*.  
 "I'm bad." GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (c) *Kowecho keemolahpelem'*.  
 "Don't be bad." GT 2003 (YLCB)

### Verbs with similar meanings

This verb refers to bad action or behavior, in contrast to *keemolen'* (page 160), which refers to a thing or situation simply being bad.

### Inflected forms

The plural is given below, though it is not documented; non-inflected *keemolah* might be used instead, or the collective forms of *keemolahpelek'* (such as *keemolahpelee'moh*).

	INDICATIVE		*SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>keemolepek'</i>	"I am bad"	<i>'ne-keemolepek'</i>	<i>keemolepoh</i>
2 SG	<i>keemolepem'</i>	"you are bad"	<i>k'e-keemolepek'</i>	<i>keemolepom</i>
3 SG	<i>keemolep'</i>	"s/he is bad"	<i>'ue-keemolepek'</i>	<i>keemolepeen</i>
1 PL	<i>keemolepoh</i>	"we are bad"	<i>'ne-keemolepoh</i>	<i>keemolepoh</i>
2 PL	<i>keemolepue'</i>	"you are bad"	<i>k'e-keemolepue'</i>	<i>keemolepueh</i>
3 PL	<i>keemolepehl</i>	"they are bad"	<i>'ue-keemolepehl</i>	<i>keemolepeen</i>



## 15.5 *Peloyek* ‘I am big’

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb

### Meaning and usage

This verb refers literally to being big or large, as in (251).

- (251) (a) *Nuemee pel' kue 'lahpsew.*  
 “The plate is very big.” AF 2001 (JB)
- (b) *Kue wenchokws popel' 'we-chewes.*  
 “That woman has big hands.” AF 2001 (JB)
- (c) *Maageen popeleen, maageen tue' chegeykenee nepuy.*  
 “Some are big, and some are small salmon.” AF 2004 (AG)

The examples in (252) show that this verb is also used to refer to being grown up or old (because living things generally get older as they get bigger).

- (252) (a) *Mos kom, keech peloyek'.*  
 “I don't know, I'm old.” JJ 2007 (LC)
- (b) *Mos kee koma hegohkuemem' mocho keech 'o peloyem'.*  
 “You cannot work hard when you are old.” YL 1951
- (c) *Kue 'n-uuek keech popel'.*  
 “My children have gotten big.” YL 1951
- (d) *Keech 'o pel' kue ka'ar.*  
 “The pet grew up.” FS 1951 (YL)

### Verbs with similar meanings

The root *pel-* ‘big’ is found in many different verbs referring to specific kinds of things: *ple'lee'* ‘it (a house) is big’; *pletelee'* ‘it (a boat) is big’; *plok's* ‘it (a flat thing) is big’; non-inflected *pler'ery* for animals or birds (plural *perpler'yery*); and others.

### Inflected forms

The 3rd person indicative and attributive forms are irregular; some plural forms are unclear. The imperative is omitted because it would not often be used.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>peloyek'</i>	“I am big”	<i>'ne-peloyek'</i>	<i>peloyoh</i>
2 SG	<i>peloyem'</i>	“you are big”	<i>k'e-peloyek'</i>	<i>peloyom</i>
3 SG	<i>pel'</i>	“s/he is big”	<i>'ue-peloyek'</i>	<i>peleen</i>
1 PL	<i>peloyoh</i>	“we are big”		
2 PL	<i>peloyue'</i>	“you are big”		
3 PL	<i>popel'</i>	“they are big”		<i>popeleen</i>

## 15.6 *Skuyahpelek'* "I am good, I behave well"

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb

Related verb

- *skuyah* "be good" (non-inflected)

### Meaning and usage

The verb *skuyahpelek'* refers to acting good or behaving well.

- (253) (a) *Cho' skuyahpelee'mow'*.  
 "You (folks) be good." GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (b) *Skuyahpelem' ho nekaanohl*.  
 "You are good to us." YL 1951

### Verbs with similar meanings

This verb refers to action or behavior, in contrast to *skuyen'*, which refers to (an inanimate thing) simply being good.

### Forms

This verb has a collective *skuyahpeleem'*; it is also possible to use the non-inflected verb *skuyah* in plural contexts. Omitted below, for reasons of space, are the (undocumented) imperative forms: SG *skuyahpe'les*, PL *skuyahpelee'mekw*, COLL *skuyahpelekw*.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>skuyahpelek'</i>	"I am good"	<i>'ne-skuyahpelek'</i>	<i>skuyahpeloh</i>
2 SG	<i>skuyahpelem'</i>	"you ..."	<i>k'e-skuyahpelek'</i>	<i>skuyahpelom</i>
3 SG	<i>skuyahpel'</i>	"s/he ..."	<i>'we-skuyahpelek'</i>	<i>skuyahpeleen</i>
1 PL	<i>skuyahpeloh</i>	"we ..."	<i>'ne-skuyahpeloh</i>	<i>skuyahpeloh</i>
2 PL	<i>skuyahpelue'</i>	"you ..."	<i>k'e-skuyahpelue'</i>	<i>skuyahpelueh</i>
3 PL	<i>skuyahpelehl</i>	"they ..."	<i>'we-skuyahpelehl</i>	<i>skuyahpeleen</i>
1 COLL	<i>skuyahpelee'moh</i>	"we ..."	<i>'ne-skuyahpelee'moh</i>	<i>skuyahpelee'moh</i>
2 COLL	<i>skuyahpelee'mow'</i>	"you ..."	<i>k'e-skuyahpelee'mow'</i>	<i>skuyahpelee'mow'</i>
3 COLL	<i>skuyahpelee'mehl</i>	"they ..."	<i>'we-skuyahpelee'mehl</i>	<i>skuyahpelee'monee</i>

## 15.7 *Skuyen'* "it's good"

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb

### Meaning and usage

This verb has a somewhat restricted range of uses, because it refers to THINGS or SITUATIONS being good rather than people acting good. Its only documented forms are 3 SG *skuyen'*, subjunctive '*we-skuyen'*', and attributive *skuyenee*.

- (254) (a) '*We-skery neeme skuyen'*.  
"Her dress is not good." LT 1922 (GAR)
- (b) *Noohl 'o hlom' skuyenee koweesh*.  
"Then she picked up a good stick." FS 1951 (YL)

### Verbs with similar meanings

The antonym (opposite) of *skuyen'* is *keemolen'* "it's bad" (page 160). The verb *skuyah-pelek'* "I am good" (page 163) refers to acting good rather than simply being good.



**Figure 15.2:** Children learning Yurok at the 2006 Yurok language camp. Photo by Andrew Garrett.

## 15.8 *T'p'ohlkwek'* "I have sense"

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb

Related verb

- *t'pohl* "have sense" (non-inflected)

### Meaning and usage

This verb means "have sense" or "be sensible" in the way that a mature adult is sensible, but a young child may not be.

- (255) (a) *Cho' t'p'ohlkwem'*.  
"Use good sense." GT 2003 (YCLB)
- (b) *Kolnee kee hoo'yk'etek' kue 'ne-t'p'ohlkwek'*.  
"I'm kind of going to lose my senses." JJ 2006 (AG)

As illustrated in (256), *t'p'ohlkwek'* is very often used with an overt negative in a meaning like "hasn't got any sense". (In this construction with a negative, it can also describe someone who has fainted.)

- (256) (a) *Neemee t'p'ohlkwem'*.  
"You've got no sense." YL 1951
- (b) *Neemee skuy' soo t'p'ohlkwee'mow'*.  
"You don't have good sense." GT 2003 (YCLB)
- (c) *Keech mee' t'pohl.*  
"You aren't thinking clearly." FS 1980 (PP)

### Inflected forms

This verb has a collective *t'p'ohlkweem'*. Note that the 2 PL forms end in *-kue'*, *-kueh*.<sup>1</sup> Omitted below, for reasons of space, are the (undocumented) imperative forms: SG *t'p'ohlkwes*, PL *t'p'ohlkwee'mekw*, COLL *t'p'ohlkwekw*.

		INDICATIVE	*SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>t'p'ohlkwek'</i>	"I have sense"	<i>'ne-t'p'ohlkwek'</i>	<i>t'p'ohlkwoh</i>
2 SG	<i>t'p'ohlkwem'</i>	"you have sense"	<i>k'e-t'p'ohlkwek'</i>	<i>t'p'ohlkwom</i>
3 SG	<i>t'p'ohlkw</i>	"s/he has sense"	<i>'we-t'p'ohlkwek'</i>	<i>t'p'ohlkween</i>
1 PL	<i>t'p'ohlkwoh</i>	"we have sense"	<i>'ne-t'p'ohlkwoh</i>	<i>t'p'ohlkwoh</i>
2 PL	<i>t'p'ohlkue'</i>	"you have sense"	<i>k'e-t'p'ohlkue'</i>	<i>t'p'ohlkueh</i>
3 PL	<i>t'p'ohlkwehl</i>	"they have sense"	<i>'we-t'p'ohlkwehl</i>	<i>t'p'ohlkween</i>
1 COLL	<i>t'p'ohlkwee'moh</i>	"we have sense"	<i>'ne-t'p'ohlkwee'moh</i>	<i>t'p'ohlkwee'moh</i>
2 COLL	<i>t'p'ohlkwee'mow'</i>	"you have sense"	<i>k'e-t'p'ohlkwee'mow'</i>	<i>t'p'ohlkwee'mow'</i>
3 COLL	<i>t'p'ohlkwee'mehl</i>	"they have sense"	<i>'we-t'p'ohlkwee'mehl</i>	<i>t'p'ohlkwee'monee</i>

<sup>1</sup> They do not end in †-kwue', †-kwueh, which would contain a sequence of sounds, -kwue-, that Yurok does not allow.



**Figure 15.3:** Fanny Flounder was a traditional doctor who participated in the documentation of cultural and linguistic knowledge of health and sickness (and many other topics).

## Chapter 16

# Verbs of feeling and sensation

The following verbs are described in this chapter:

*cheeweyek'* "I am hungry" (p. 168)

*che'looksek'* "I am thirsty" (p. 169)

*chkeyek'* "I am asleep" (p. 170)

*keychek* "be tired" (p. 171)

*saawelek'* "I feel cold" (p. 172)

*skewokseemek'* "I like it" (p. 173)

*soneenepek'* "I feel (so)" (p. 175)

*ta'anoyek'* "I feel hot" (p. 176)

*telek'* "I am sick" (p. 177)

*tewomehlkook'* "I am happy" (p. 178)

*wokhlew* "be thankful" (p. 180)

Most of these verbs have straightforward interpretations. The most general one, *soneenepek'*, means "feel a certain way", usually referring to physical feeling.

## 16.1 *Cheeweyek'* "I am hungry"

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb

Related verb

- *cheeweyetek'* "I am hungry for (a type of food)"

### Meaning and usage

The verb *cheeweyek'* refers to hunger.

- (257) (a) *Neemee cheeweyek'*.  
"I do not feel hungry." YL 1951
- (b) *Cheeweyee'mow' hes?*  
"Are you (PL) hungry?" GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (c) *Kolonee cheewey'*.  
"It (an animal) looks hungry." GM 2004 (AG)

The related verb *cheeweyetek'* is its transitive counterpart.

- (258) (a) *Cheeweyetek' kegoh*.  
"I am hungry for acorn soup." GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (b) *Nek kwehl cheeweyetek' nepuy*.  
"I want to eat salmon." JVP 2001 (JB)

### Inflected forms

The verb *cheeweyek'* has a collective stem *cheeweyem'*.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>cheeweyek'</i>	"I am hungry"	<i>'ne-cheeweyek'</i>	<i>cheeweyoh</i>
2 SG	<i>cheeweyem'</i>	"you are hungry"	<i>k'e-cheeweyek'</i>	<i>cheeweyom</i>
3 SG	<i>cheewey'</i>	"s/he is hungry"	<i>'we-cheeweyek'</i>	<i>cheeweyn</i>
1 PL	<i>cheeweyoh</i>	"we are hungry"	<i>'ne-cheeweyoh</i>	<i>cheeweyoh</i>
2 PL	<i>cheeweyue'</i>	"you are hungry"	<i>k'e-cheeweyue'</i>	<i>cheeweyueh</i>
3 PL	<i>cheeweyehl</i>	"they are hungry"	<i>'we-cheeweyehl</i>	<i>cheeweyn</i>
1 COLL	<i>cheeweyee'moh</i>	"we are hungry"	<i>'ne-cheeweyee'moh</i>	<i>cheeweyee'moh</i>
2 COLL	<i>cheeweyee'mow'</i>	"you are hungry"	<i>k'e-cheeweyee'mow'</i>	<i>cheeweyee'mow'</i>
3 COLL	<i>cheeweyee'mehl</i>	"they are hungry"	<i>'we-cheeweyee'mehl</i>	<i>cheeweyee'monee</i>

## 16.2 *Che'looksek'* "I am thirsty"

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb

Related verb

- *che'look* "be thirsty" (non-inflected)

### Meaning and usage

This verb refers to thirst.

- (259) (a) *Che'looksem' hes?*  
 Are you thirsty? GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (b) *Keech che'looksek'. Kos'ela rekwoh terperyerh pa'ah.*  
 "I'm getting thirsty. I wish I could drink cold water." AF 2002 (JB)

### Inflected forms

The verb *che'looksek'* has a collective plural *che'lookseem'*, exemplified below.

	INDICATIVE		*SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>che'looksek'</i>	"I am thirsty"	<i>'ne-che'looksek'</i>	<i>che'looksoh</i>
1 SG	<i>che'looksem'</i>	"you are thirsty"	<i>k'e-che'looksek'</i>	<i>che'looksom</i>
3 SG	<i>che'look's</i>	"s/he is thirsty"	<i>'we-che'looksek'</i>	<i>che'lookseen</i>
1 PL	<i>che'looksoh</i>	"we are thirsty"	<i>'ne-che'looksoh</i>	<i>che'looksoh</i>
2 PL	<i>che'looksue'</i>	"you are thirsty"	<i>k'e-che'looksue'</i>	<i>che'looksueh</i>
3 PL	<i>che'looksehl</i>	"they are thirsty"	<i>'we-che'looksehl</i>	<i>che'lookseen</i>
1 COLL	<i>che'looksee'moh</i>	"we are thirsty"	<i>'ne-che'looksee'moh</i>	<i>che'looksee'moh</i>
2 COLL	<i>che'looksee'mow'</i>	"you are thirsty"	<i>k'e-che'looksee'mow'</i>	<i>che'looksee'mow'</i>
3 COLL	<i>che'looksee'mehl</i>	"they are hungry"	<i>'we-che'looksee'mehl</i>	<i>che'looksee'monee</i>



### 16.3 *Chkeyek'* "I am asleep"

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb

#### Meaning and usage

Usually *chkeyek'* alone means "I am asleep, sleeping; I sleep", as in (260).

- (260) (a) *Ho skuy' soo chkeyem' hes nahschueh?*  
 "Did you sleep well last night?" JJ 2007 (LC)
- (b) *Keech chpaanee chke'y.*  
 "He or she overslept."  
 (LIT. "He or she slept for a long time.") FS 1980 (PP)

With the directed-motion preverb *nue*, as in (261), the meaning is "go sleep" or "go to bed".

- (261) *Keetee nue chkeyek'.*  
 "I am going to bed." GT 2003 (YLCB)

#### Inflected forms

The verb *chkeyek'* has an irregular collective *chkeem'*.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE	IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>chkeyek'</i>	"I am asleep"	<i>'ne-chkeyek'</i>	<i>chkeyoh</i>	
2 SG	<i>chkeyem'</i>	"you are asleep"	<i>k'e-chkeyek'</i>	<i>chkeyom</i>	<i>chkes</i>
3 SG	<i>chkey'</i>	"s/he is asleep"	<i>'we-chkeyek'</i>	<i>chkeyn</i>	
1 PL	<i>chkeyoh</i>	"we are asleep"	<i>'ne-chkeyoh</i>	<i>chkeyoh</i>	
2 PL	<i>chkeyue'</i>	"you are asleep"	<i>k'e-chkeyue'</i>	<i>chkeyueh</i>	<i>chkeyekw</i>
3 PL	<i>chkeyehl</i>	"they are asleep"	<i>'we-chkeyehl</i>	<i>chkeyn</i>	
1 COLL	<i>chkee'moh</i>	"we are asleep"	<i>'ne-chkee'moh</i>	<i>chkee'moh</i>	
2 COLL	<i>chkee'mow'</i>	"you are asleep"	<i>k'e-chkee'mow'</i>	<i>chkee'mow'</i>	<i>chkee'mekw</i>
3 COLL	<i>chkee'mehl</i>	"they are asleep"	<i>'we-chkee'mehl</i>	<i>chkee'monee</i>	

## 16.4 *Keychek* “be tired”

Grammatical description: intransitive non-inflected verb

Related verbs

- *keychekomoyek* “I am tired”
- *keychokseemek* “I am tired of it”

### Meaning and usage

The verb *keychek* refers to physical tiredness, as illustrated in two of the examples below. Related verbs are also illustrated here:

- (262) (a) *Neekee chyue keychek kue 'oohl.*  
 “All the people are tired.” AF 2002 (JB)
- (b) *Hl'os kue k'e-kergerwers . . . mee' kee shemee keychek.*  
 “Hold your wrist so that it will not get tired.” FS 1951 (YL)
- (c) *Keech keychekomoyehl.*  
 “They're tired.” FS 1980 (PP)
- (d) *Keychokseemek' k'ee ch'eeeshah.*  
 “I'm tired of that dog.” FS 1980 (PP)

But *keychek* is not used to express the meaning of English *tired of* (*doing something*). In that sense, either *keychokseemek* or (more often) *chahchesek* “I am tired of it” is used.



## 16.5 *Saawelek'* "I feel cold"

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb

### Meaning and usage

This verb refers to a person (or animal) feeling cold or cool:

- (263) (a) *Noohl keet saawelehr.*  
 "Then they began to cool off." FS 1951 (YL)
- (b) *Keech nuemee saawelek'.*  
 "I'm really cold." AF 2002 (JB)
- (c) *Keech ma saawelek'.*  
 "I got cold." GT 2003 (YLCB)

### Verbs with similar meanings

The verb *ta'anoyek'* (page 176) "I feel hot" is the opposite of *saawelek'*, while *saawon'* "it is cool" is a common verb usually referring to liquids.

### Inflected forms

The verb *saawelek'* has a collective *saawelem'* as well as a non-collective plural.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>saawelek'</i>	"I am cold"	<i>'ne-saawelek'</i>	<i>saaweloh</i>
2 SG	<i>saawelem'</i>	"you are cold"	<i>k'e-saawelek'</i>	<i>saawelom</i>
3 SG	<i>saawel'</i>	"s/he is cold"	<i>'we-saawelek'</i>	<i>saaweleen</i>
1 PL	<i>saaweloh</i>	"we are cold"	<i>'ne-saaweloh</i>	<i>saaweloh</i>
2 PL	<i>saawelue'</i>	"you are cold"	<i>k'e-saawelue'</i>	<i>saawelueh</i>
3 PL	<i>saawelehr</i>	"they are cold"	<i>'we-saawelehr</i>	<i>saaweleen</i>
1 COLL	<i>saawelee'moh</i>	"we are cold"	<i>'ne-saawelee'moh</i>	<i>saawelee'moh</i>
2 COLL	<i>saawelee'mow'</i>	"you are cold"	<i>k'e-saawelee'mow'</i>	<i>saawelee'mow'</i>
3 COLL	<i>saawelee'mehl</i>	"they are cold"	<i>'we-saawelee'mehl</i>	<i>saawelee'monee</i>

## 16.6 *Skewokseemek'* "I like it"

Grammatical description: transitive *e*-class verb

Related verb

- *skewok* "like" (non-inflected)

### Meaning and usage

The meaning of this verb ranges from "like" (for example, "like to have") to "want".

- (264) (a) *Skewok* *kee 'ne-nepek' kegoh.*  
 "I want to eat acorn soup." GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (b) *Skewokseemek'* *kue mewah.*  
 "I like the boy." GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (c) *Nek skewokseemek' pa'ah.*  
 "I want some water." YL 1951

### Verbs with similar meanings

The opposite of this verb is *kaamokseemek'* "I dislike it, I hate it" (non-inflected *kaamok* "dislike, hate"). There are also verbs referring to specific varieties of liking: *nooluemek'* "I love (someone)", *skuuwetek'* "I like eating it", *skuyerlerk'* "I like looking at it", etc.

### Inflected forms

This verb has only a non-collective plural, shown below. Passive and bipersonal forms are also common, as illustrated below and in Table 16.1 on page 174.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>skewokseemek'</i>	"I like it"	<i>'ne-skewokseemek'</i>	<i>skewokseemoh</i>
2 SG	<i>skewokseemem'</i>	"you like it"	<i>k'e-skewokseemek'</i>	<i>skewokseemom</i>
3 SG	<i>skewokseem'</i>	"s/he likes it"	<i>'we-skewokseemek'</i>	<i>skewokseemeen</i>
1 PL	<i>skewokseemoh</i>	"we like it"	<i>'ne-skewokseemoh</i>	<i>skewokseemoh</i>
2 PL	<i>skewokseemue'</i>	"you like it"	<i>k'e-skewokseemue'</i>	<i>skewokseemueh</i>
3 PL	<i>skewokseemehl</i>	"they like it"	<i>'we-skewokseemehl</i>	<i>skewokseemeen</i>

	PASSIVE INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE
1 SG	<i>skewokseyek'</i>	"I am liked"	<i>'ne-skewokseyek'</i>
2 SG	<i>skewokseyem'</i>	"you are liked"	<i>k'e-skewokseyek'</i>
3 SG	<i>skewoksee'</i>	"s/he is liked"	<i>'we-skewokseyek'</i>
1 PL	<i>skewokseyoh</i>	"we are liked"	<i>'ne-skewokseyoh</i>
2 PL	<i>skewokseyue'</i>	"you are liked"	<i>k'e-skewokseyue'</i>
3 PL	<i>skewokseyehl</i>	"they are liked"	<i>'we-skewokseyehl</i>

SUBJECT	SINGULAR OBJECT		
	1 SG	2 SG	3 SG
1 SG	—	<i>skewokseechek'</i> "I like you"	<i>skewokseesek'</i> "I like her/him"
2 SG	<i>skewokseepa'</i> "you like me"	—	<i>skewokseesem'</i> "you like her/him"
3 SG	<i>skewokseepen'</i> "s/he likes me"	[A] <i>skewokseyem'</i> "s/he likes you"	[B]
1 PL	—	<i>skewokseechoh</i> "we like you"	<i>skewokseesoh</i> "we like her/him"
2 PL	<i>skewokseepa'</i> "you like me"	—	<i>skewokseesem'</i> "you like her/him"
3 PL	<i>skewokseepaahl</i> "they like me"	[A] <i>skewokseyem'</i> "they like you"	[B]

IMPERATIVE *skewokseep'een* "(you) like me!"

SUBJECT	PLURAL OBJECT		
	1 PL	2 PL	3 PL
1 SG	—	<i>skewokseech'o'</i> "I like you"	<i>skewoksees'o'</i> "I like them"
2 SG	[A] <i>skewoksey</i> "you like us"	—	[B]
3 SG	[A] <i>skewoksey</i> "s/he likes us"	[A] <i>skewokseyem'</i> "s/he likes you"	[B]
1 PL	—	<i>skewokseech'o'</i> "we like you"	[B]
2 PL	[A] <i>skewoksey</i> "you like us"	—	[B]
3 PL	[A] <i>skewoksey</i> "they like us"	[A] <i>skewokseyem'</i> "they like you"	[B]

Table 16.1: Bipersonal forms of *skewokseemek'* "I see it"

[A] These passive and quasi-passive forms are regularly used in these slots.

[B] Ordinary non-bipersonal forms are used in these slots.

## 16.7 *Soneenepek'* "I feel (so)"

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb

Related verb

- *soneenah* "feel so" (non-inflected)

### Meaning and usage

This verb means to feel a particular way, which is usually expressed with an added adverbial expression like *skuy'* "well" or *keem'* "poorly"; see §10.2.2. This is illustrated in (265).

- (265) (a) *Heenoy nee soneenepek' 'o kel'*  
 "I feel inferior to you." YL 1951
- (b) *Skuy' soneenep'.*  
 "He feels good." FS 1980 (PP)
- (c) ATTRIBUTIVE PHRASE: *skuy' soneenepeen wenchokws*  
 "a healthy woman" YL 1951

As seen in (266), *soneenepek'* can be followed by a clause with a subjunctive verb.

- (266) *Nek weet soneenepek' kee 'n-egook'.*  
 "I feel that I will go."  
 (LIT. "I feel it that I will go.") FS 1980 (PP)

If the subject is plural, the non-inflected verb *soneenah* could also be used.

### Inflected forms

Imperative forms are not documented and not very likely in usage. Plural forms are not documented, but they too are shown below.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>soneenepek'</i>	"I feel (so)"	<i>'ne-soneenepek'</i>	<i>soneenepoh</i>
2 SG	<i>soneenepem'</i>	"you feel (so)"	<i>k'e-soneenepek'</i>	<i>soneenepom</i>
3 SG	<i>soneenep'</i>	"s/he feels (so)"	<i>'we-soneenepek'</i>	<i>soneenepeen</i>
1 PL	<i>soneenepoh</i>	"we feel (so)"	<i>'ne-soneenepoh</i>	<i>soneenepoh</i>
2 PL	<i>soneenepue'</i>	"you feel (so)"	<i>k'e-soneenepue'</i>	<i>soneenepueh</i>
3 PL	<i>soneenepehl</i>	"they feel (so)"	<i>'we-soneenepehl</i>	<i>soneenepeen</i>

## 16.8 *Ta'anoyek'* "I feel hot"

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb

Related verbs

- *ta'anoop'* "it (liquid) is hot"
- *ta'anoy'hl* "it is hot (weather)" (page 296)

### Meaning and usage

This verb refers to a person (or animal) feeling hot; examples are in (267).

- (267) (a) *Nek keech nuemee ta'anoyek'*.  
 "I'm very hot." JVP 2001 (JB)
- (b) *Nek chpeenah k'ee pa'ah kee 'we-ta'anoyek'*.  
 "I'm waiting for this water to get hot." FS 1980 (PP)

A metaphorical example is in (268).

- (268) *Ta'anee' n-ewechek'*.  
 "I am hot and bothered."  
 (LIT. "My living is hot.") YL 1951

### Inflected forms

This verb, which inflects like a passive verb, probably has no collective. No plural forms of any kind are documented at present.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>ta'anoyek'</i>	"I am hot"	<i>'ne-ta'anoyek'</i>	<i>ta'anoyoh</i>
2 SG	<i>ta'anoyem'</i>	"you are hot"	<i>k'e-ta'anoyek'</i>	<i>ta'anoyom</i>
3 SG	<i>ta'anee'</i>	"s/he is hot"	<i>'we-ta'anoyek'</i>	<i>ta'anoyn</i>
1 PL	<i>ta'anoyoh</i>	"we are hot"	<i>'ne-ta'anoyoh</i>	<i>ta'anoyoh</i>
2 PL	<i>ta'anoyue'</i>	"you are hot"	<i>k'e-ta'anoyue'</i>	<i>ta'anoyueh</i>
3 PL	<i>ta'anoyehl</i>	"they are hot"	<i>'we-ta'anoyehl</i>	<i>ta'anoyn</i>

## 16.9 *Telek* ‘I am sick’

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb

Related verb

- *teloguemek* ‘I am in pain, I am hurt by (a person), I am annoyed by (a person)’

### Meaning and usage

This verb can refer to sickness, an injury or wound, or any physical pain. Sometimes the specific location or source of pain is mentioned, either with a noun as in (269a) or a subjunctive verb as in (269b).

- (269) (a) *'Ne-yaa'cek 'o telek*'.  
 ‘I have a pain in my stomach.’ FS 1980 (PP)
- (b) *Telek' 'ne-meek'olew*.  
 ‘It hurts for me to swallow.’ GT 2003 (YLCB)

If no specific source is mentioned, as in (270), general sickness is implied.

- (270) (a) *Kolnee telek*'.  
 ‘I feel kind of sick.’ GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (b) *Kue meges ma hewolon kue teloge'monee*.  
 ‘The doctor cured the sick.’ YL 1951

The related verb *teloguemek* is illustrated in (271).

- (271) *Teloguemek' kue kel' ho soch*.  
 ‘I am hurt by what you said.’ YL 1951

### Inflected forms

The verb *telek* has an irregular collective plural *telogem*'. The non-collective plural is rarely used; the imperative is also naturally undocumented, and is not shown below.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>telek'</i>	‘I am sick’	<i>'ne-telek'</i>	<i>teloh</i>
2 SG	<i>telem'</i>	‘you are sick’	<i>k'e-telek'</i>	<i>telom</i>
3 SG	<i>tel'</i>	‘s/he is sick’	<i>'we-telek'</i>	<i>teleen</i>
1 PL	<i>teloh</i>	‘we are sick’	<i>'ne-teloh</i>	<i>teloh</i>
2 PL	<i>telue'</i>	‘you are sick’	<i>k'e-telue'</i>	<i>telueh</i>
3 PL	<i>telehl</i>	‘they are sick’	<i>'we-telehl</i>	<i>teleen</i>
1 COLL	<i>teloge'moh</i>	‘we are sick’	<i>'ne-teloge'moh</i>	<i>teloge'moh</i>
2 COLL	<i>teloge'mow'</i>	‘you are sick’	<i>k'e-teloge'mow'</i>	<i>teloge'mow'</i>
3 COLL	<i>teloge'mehl</i>	‘they are sick’	<i>'we-teloge'mehl</i>	<i>teloge'monee</i>



## 16.10 *Tewomehlkook* ‘I am happy’

Grammatical description: intransitive oo-class verb (3 SG -o’)

Related verb

- *tewomehl* ‘be happy’ (non-inflected)

### Meaning and usage

This verb is regularly translated ‘glad’ or ‘happy’, as in (272).

- (272) (a) *Nuemee tewomehlkook’*.  
 ‘I am very happy (I am very glad).’ GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (b) *Kue ch’uech’eesh keech ruerowohl soo tewomehlkohl*.  
 ‘The birds are singing, they’re so happy.’ JVP 2001 (JB)

To express the source of happiness, a subjunctive verb is used. Examples are in (273).

- (273) (a) *Tewomehl ’ne-newochek’*.  
 ‘I am glad to see you.’ RS 1940 (ALK)
- (b) *Tue’ nuemee tewomehlkook’ kee ’ne-komchuesek’*.  
 ‘And I’m very glad I know you.’ JJ 2007 (LC)
- (c) *Ch’uemey’ ne-tewomehl keech ’ne-kohchewochek’*.  
 (Speaking to a salmon:) ‘I am so glad that I have caught you.’ FS 1951 (YL)

The iterative *tuuewomehlkook’*, or the non-inflected iterative *tuuewomehl*, means ‘(I am) always happy’.

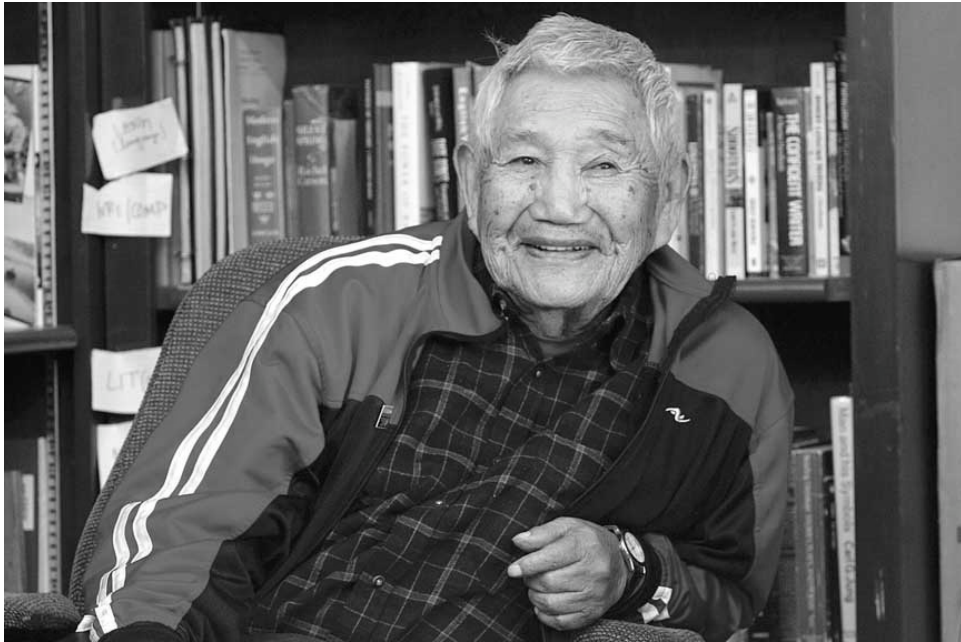
### Verbs with similar meanings

The non-inflected verb *wokhlew* ‘be thankful’ (page 180) can also mean ‘be glad’.

### Inflected forms

This verb does not have collective forms. Omitted below, for reasons of space, are the imperative forms: SG *tewomehlk’os*, PL *tewomehlkek’w*.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE		ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>tewomehlkook’</i>	‘I am happy’	<i>’ne-tewomehlkook’</i>	<i>tewomehlkoh</i>	
2 SG	<i>tewomehlkoom’</i>	‘you ...’	<i>k’e-tewomehlkook’</i>	<i>tewomehlkoomom</i>	
3 SG	<i>tewomehlko’</i>	‘s/he ...’	<i>’we-tewomehlkook’</i>	<i>tewomehlkomeen</i>	
1 PL	<i>tewomehlkoh</i>	‘we ...’	<i>’ne-tewomehlkoh</i>	<i>tewomehlkoh</i>	
2 PL	<i>tewomehlkow’</i>	‘you ...’	<i>k’e-tewomehlkow’</i>	<i>tewomehlkoomom</i>	
3 PL	<i>tewomehlkohl</i>	‘they ...’	<i>’we-tewomehlkohl</i>	<i>tewomehlkomeen</i>	



**Figure 16.1:** Archie Thompson, 2009. One of the last active first-language speakers of Yurok, he taught the language for years and was an enthusiastic participant in cultural revitalization. Photo by Bryant Anderson.

## 16.11 *Wokhlew* “be thankful”

Grammatical description: intransitive non-inflected verb

Variant: *wokhlew'* with a glottalized *w'*

Related verb

- Classical Yurok *wokhlee'* “it is pleasing”<sup>1</sup>

### Meaning and usage

In Modern Yurok, *wokhlew* is mostly used either as a general expression like English *thank you*, or more specifically to express thanks in prayer; some speakers use it only in prayer. In Classical Yurok, in addition to its use in prayers, it was used to mean “I am glad, grateful, or thankful”, often with a subjunctive verb expressing what the speaker is grateful for. Examples are in (274).

- (274) (a) ***Wokhlew*** *keech k'e-neskwechook'*.  
 “I am glad that you have come.” FS 1951 (YL)
- (b) ***Wokhlew*** *'ne-newochek'*.  
 “I am glad to see you.” MR ~1970 (MRo)

### Verbs with similar meanings

In Modern Yurok the word *koweeshcho'* “thank you (especially for food)” has similar uses, though it is not a verb. Similar in meaning to the Classical Yurok “be glad, thankful” are *tewomehlkook'* “I am happy” and *tewomehl* “be happy” (page 178).



<sup>1</sup> In origin this expression might have been an idiom *wok + hlee'* “it is taken (well)”. In a similar way, possibly, *wokhlew* originated as *wok + non-inflected hlew*.

## Chapter 17

# Verbs of fishing and hunting

The following verbs are described in this chapter:

*kertkerk'* "I fish (with a pole)" (p. 182)

*kohchewo(o)k'* "I catch it" (p. 184)

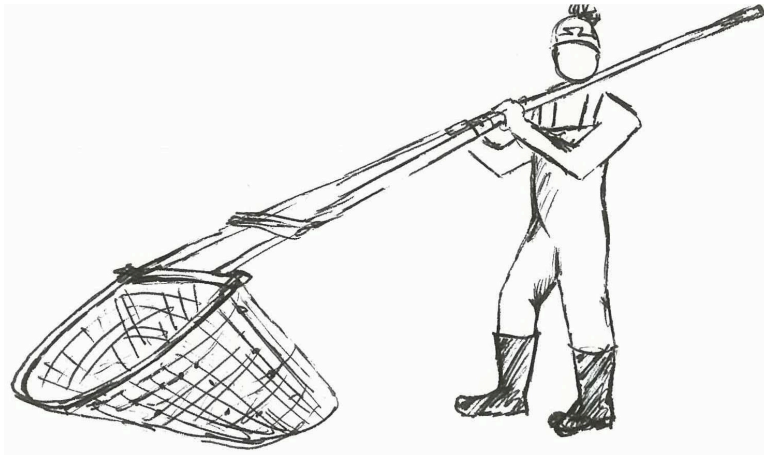
*lewetek'* "I fish (with a net)" (p. 186)

*rohsemek'* "I spear it" (p. 187)

*tmegook'* "I hunt" (p. 188)

*tmoolook'* "I shoot it" (p. 189)

Note that there is no general word that means "I fish". Each type of fishing has its own name, only a couple of which are given here.



## 17.1 *Kertkerk'* "I fish (with a pole)"

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb (with *er*-quality)

Related verb

- *kert* "fish (with a pole)" (non-inflected; iterative *kerkert*)

### Meaning and usage

This verb refers to pole-fishing; examples are in (275).

- (275) (a) *Keskee chpee nee yegok'w, mos wey 'ue-kertkerk'*.  
 "He only went down to the water, he never stopped fishing." FS 1951 (YL)
- (b) *Sega'anee tue' 'ue-kerkert*.  
 "He often goes fishing." JJ 2006 (EJW)

As illustrated in (276), *kertkerk'* is used with the directed-motion preverb *nue* (and its equivalents).

- (276) (a) *Sega'anee nue kertkek'*.  
 "I sometimes go fishing." JJ 2006 (EJW)
- (b) *Nue kert kue mewah*.  
 "The boy went fishing." LT 1922 (GR)

### Inflected forms

This verb has a collective *kertkeem'*.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE	*IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>kertkerk'</i>	"I fish"	<i>'ne-kertkerk'</i>	<i>kertkerh</i>	
2 SG	<i>kertkerm'</i>	"you fish"	<i>k'e-kertkerk'</i>	<i>kertkerm</i>	<i>kertk'ers</i>
3 SG	<i>kert'k'</i>	"s/he fishes"	<i>'ue-kertkerk'</i>	<i>kertkeen</i> or <i>kertkerne</i>	
1 PL	<i>kertkerh</i>	"we fish"	<i>'ne-kertkerh</i>	<i>kertkerh</i>	
2 PL	<i>kertkue'</i>	"you fish"	<i>k'e-kertkue'</i>	<i>kertkueh</i>	<i>kertkerkw</i>
3 PL	<i>kertkerhl</i>	"they fish"	<i>'ue-kertkerhl</i>	<i>kertkeen</i> or <i>kertkerne</i>	
1 COLL	<i>kertkee'moh</i>	"we fish"	<i>'ne-kertkee'moh</i>	<i>kertkee'moh</i>	
2 COLL	<i>kertkee'mow'</i>	"you fish"	<i>k'e-kertkee'mow'</i>	<i>kertkee'mow'</i>	<i>kertkee'mekw</i>
3 COLL	<i>kertkee'mehl</i>	"they fish"	<i>'ue-kertkee'mehl</i>	<i>kertkee'monee</i>	



**Figure 17.1:** Glenn Moore, Sr., above the mouth of the Klamath River, around 2006. He was a life-long advocate for Yurok cultural revitalization who participated actively in language teaching and documentation projects for many years.

## 17.2 *Kohchewo(o)k'* "I catch it (fish, game, etc.)"

Grammatical description: transitive *o*-class or *oo*-class verb (3 SG *kohchew'* or *kohchewom'*)

Related verb

- *koh* "catch" (non-inflected; iterative *kegoh*)
- *kohchuemek'* "I catch it"

### Meaning and usage

This verb can be used for any animal or fish that is caught; most examples involve fish.

- (277) (a) *Nek kohchewok' puuek.*  
"I caught a deer." GM 2004 (AG)
- (b) *Neekeechyue kegohchewohl kue nepuy.*  
"They were all catching salmon." AF 2001 (LJC)
- (c) *Koweecho noo kegohchewow' kahkah; ke'ween cho' chpee kegoh.*  
"Stop catching sturgeon; you should catch only eels." FS 1951 (YL)

### Inflected forms

For some speakers *kohchewo(o)k'* is an *o*-class verb; for others it is an *oo*-class verb. This verb has a non-collective plural. Passive forms are shown below, and bipersonal forms in Table 17.1 on page 185. The imperatives are SG *kohche'wos*, PL *kohchewekw*.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>kohchewo(o)k'</i>	"I catch it"	<i>'ne-kohchewo(o)k'</i>	<i>kohchewoh</i>
2 SG	<i>kohchewo(o)m'</i>	"you . . ."	<i>k'e-kohchewo(o)k'</i>	<i>kohchewoomom</i>
3 SG	<i>kohchew', kohchewom'</i>	"s/he . . ."	<i>'ue-kohchewo(o)k'</i>	<i>kohchewomeen</i>
1 PL	<i>kohchewoh</i>	"we . . ."	<i>'ne-kohchewoh</i>	<i>kohchewoh</i>
2 PL	<i>kohchewow'</i>	"you . . ."	<i>k'e-kohchewow'</i>	<i>kohchewoomom</i>
3 PL	<i>kohchewohl</i>	"they . . ."	<i>'ue-kohchewohl</i>	<i>kohchewomeen</i>

	PASSIVE INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>kohchewoyek'</i>	"I am caught"	<i>'ne-kohchewoyek'</i>	<i>kohchewoyoh</i>
2 SG	<i>kohchewoyem'</i>	"you are caught"	<i>k'e-kohchewoyek'</i>	<i>kohchewoyom</i>
3 SG	<i>kohchewee'</i>	"it is caught"	<i>'ue-kohchewoyek'</i>	<i>kohchewonee</i>
1 PL	<i>kohchewoyoh</i>	"we are caught"	<i>'ne-kohchewoyoh</i>	<i>kohchewoyoh</i>
2 PL	<i>kohchewoyue'</i>	"you are caught"	<i>k'e-kohchewoyue'</i>	<i>kohchewoyueh</i>
3 PL	<i>kohchewoyehl</i>	"they are caught"	<i>'ue-kohchewoyehl</i>	<i>kohchewonee</i>

SUBJECT	SINGULAR OBJECT		
	1 SG	2 SG	3 SG
1 SG	—	<i>kohchewochek'</i> "I catch you"	<i>kohchewosek'</i> "I catch her/him"
2 SG	<i>kohchewopa'</i> "you catch me"	—	<i>kohchewosem'</i> "you catch her/him"
3 SG	<i>kohchewopen'</i> "s/he catches me"	[A] <i>kohchewoyem'</i> "s/he catches you"	[B]
1 PL	—	<i>kohchewochoh</i> "we catch you"	<i>kohchewosoh</i> "we catch her/him"
2 PL	<i>kohchewopa'</i> "you catch me"	—	<i>kohchewosem'</i> "you catch her/him"
3 PL	<i>kohchewopaahl</i> "they catch me"	[A] <i>kohchewoyem'</i> "they catch you"	[B]

IMPERATIVE *kohchewop'een* "(you) catch me!"

SUBJECT	PLURAL OBJECT		
	1 PL	2 PL	3 PL
1 SG	—	<i>kohchewoch'o'</i> "I catch you"	<i>kohchewos'o'</i> "I catch them"
2 SG	[A] <i>kohchewoy</i> "you catch us"	—	[B]
3 SG	[A] <i>kohchewoy</i> "s/he catches us"	[A] <i>kohchewoyem'</i> "s/he catches you"	[B]
1 PL	—	<i>kohchewoch'o'</i> "we catch you"	[B]
2 PL	[A] <i>kohchewoy</i> "you catch us"	—	[B]
3 PL	[A] <i>kohchewoy</i> "they catch us"	[A] <i>kohchewoyem'</i> "they catch you"	[B]

Table 17.1: Bipersonal forms of *kohchewo(o)k'* "I catch it"

[A] These passive and quasi-passive forms are regularly used in these slots.

[B] Ordinary non-bipersonal forms are used in these slots.



### 17.3 *Lewetek* ‘I fish (with a net)’

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb

#### Meaning and usage

This verb can be translated as “fish with a net” or “set a net”. Examples are in (278).

- (278) (a) *Nekah heekoh 'o lewetek' . . .*  
 “We set our net across (the river).” GT 2007 (LC)
- (b) *Kues kee toom' kelew kee lewetem'?*  
 “How many nets will you set?” GT 2007 (LC)

Very commonly, as (279), this verb is used with *nue* and its equivalents to mean “go fish”.

- (279) (a) *Ma lewetek', 'o kohchewook' kahkah.*  
 “I went fishing, and I caught a sturgeon.” AF 2001 (JB)
- (b) *Skewok kue 'ne-lewetek'.*  
 “I want to go set my net.” JJ 2007 (LC)
- (c) *Keetue lewetek'.*  
 “I’m going to go fishing (with a net).” GT 2003 (YLCB)

#### Inflected forms

This verb has no documented collective.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE	*IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>lewetek'</i>	“I set a net”	<i>'ne-lewetek'</i>	<i>lewetoh</i>	
2 SG	<i>lewetem'</i>	“you set a net”	<i>k'e-lewetek'</i>	<i>lewetom</i>	<i>lewet'es</i>
3 SG	<i>lewet'</i>	“s/he sets a net”	<i>'ue-lewetek'</i>	<i>leweteen</i>	
1 PL	<i>lewetoh</i>	“we set net”	<i>'ne-lewetoh</i>	<i>lewetoh</i>	
2 PL	<i>lewetue'</i>	“you set net”	<i>k'e-lewetue'</i>	<i>lewetueh</i>	<i>lewetekw</i>
3 PL	<i>lewetehl</i>	“they set nets”	<i>'ue-lewetehl</i>	<i>leweteen</i>	

## 17.4 *Rohseemek'* "I spear it"

Grammatical description: transitive *e*-class verb

Related verb

- *rohsek'* "I throw"

### Meaning and usage

The verb *rohseemek'* is a transitive verb whose object is the target, as in (280).

- (280) (a) *Nek kee muech rohseemek' kue nepuy.*  
 "I will spear the salmon myself." FS 1951 (YL)
- (b) *Wek kee cho' rohsee' kue nepuy.*  
 "The salmon should be speared like this." FS 1951 (YL)

The difference between *rohseemek'* and *rohsek'* is that *rohseemek'* usually specifies the target. With both verbs, the object thrown is expressed in a prepositional phrase with *mehl*; an example is in (281).

- (281) *Rohsek' mehl 'ne-koweesh.*  
 "I threw my stick." (LIT. "I threw with my stick.") FS 1980 (PP)

### Verbs with similar meanings

The verb *lootek'* "I throw, toss, drop" (page 212) does not imply the kind of precisely targeted throwing that is done with a spear.

### Inflected forms

Inflected forms, including passives, are shown below.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE	IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>rohseemek'</i>	"I spear it"	<i>'ne-rohseemek'</i>	<i>rohseemoh</i>	
2 SG	<i>rohseemem'</i>	"you spear it"	<i>k'e-rohseemek'</i>	<i>rohseemom</i>	<i>ro'ses</i>
3 SG	<i>rohseem'</i>	"s/he spears it"	<i>'we-rohseemek'</i>	<i>rohseemeen</i>	
1 PL	<i>rohseemoh</i>	"we spear it"	<i>'ne-rohseemoh</i>	<i>rohseemoh</i>	
2 PL	<i>rohseemue'</i>	"you spear it"	<i>k'e-rohseemue'</i>	<i>rohseemueh</i>	<i>rohseemekw</i>
3 PL	<i>rohseemehl</i>	"they spear it"	<i>'we-rohseemehl</i>	<i>rohseemeen</i>	

	PASSIVE INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
3 SG	<i>rohsee'</i>	"it is speared"	<i>'we-rohseyek'</i>	<i>rohsonee</i>
3 PL	<i>rohseyehl</i>	"they are speared"	<i>'we-rohseyehl</i>	<i>ronsonee</i>

## 17.5 *Tmegook'* "I hunt"

Grammatical description: optionally transitive oo-class verb (3 SG -o')

Related verb

- *tmook'* "I shoot it"

### Meaning and usage

Strictly speaking, *tmegook'* is the iterative of *tmook'* (because hunting involves repeated shooting). But *tmegook'* is much more common than *tmook'*; the usual way to say "I shot it" is *tmoolook'*. Examples of *tmegook'* are in (282).

- (282) (a) *'Owook kue tmegook'*.  
 "I will go hunting tomorrow." GM 2004 (AG)
- (b) *We'yk'oh kwelekw 'ochkaa tmego'*.  
 "Right now he is hunting." YL 1951
- (c) *Ma tmegook'*.  
 "I went hunting." YL 1951

The iterative *tmeeegook'* is illustrated in (283). This can mean "I always hunt" ("I am a hunter") or, as in (283b), that several people are hunting.

- (283) (a) *Chpee nee 'we-tmeeegook' kue cheenes*.  
 "All the young man did was hunt." DW 1906 (ALK)
- (b) *K'ee pegerk nue tmeeego' puuek*.  
 "The men are deer hunting." YL 1951

Note also that (283b), unlike most examples of *tmegook'*, is a transitive sentence. (This is probably because of the generic meaning of the object *puuek* in context; the men are hunting for deer in general, not any specific deer.)

### Inflected forms

There are some irregular forms with a long vowel in the second syllable. Note that the iterative attributive *tmeeegomeen* can mean "hunter".

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE	*IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>tmegook'</i>	"I hunt"	<i>'ne-tmegook'</i>	<i>tmegoo</i>	
2 SG	<i>tmegoom'</i>	"you hunt"	<i>k'e-tmegook'</i>	<i>tmegoomom</i>	<i>tmego'os</i>
3 SG	<i>tmego'</i>	"s/he hunts"	<i>'we-tmegook'</i>	<i>tmegomeen</i>	
1 PL	<i>tmegoo</i>	"we hunt"	<i>'ne-tmegoo</i>	<i>tmegoo</i>	
2 PL	<i>tmegoow'</i>	"you hunt"	<i>k'e-tmegoow'</i>	<i>tmegoow'</i>	<i>tmegekw</i>
3 PL	<i>tmegoohl</i>	"they hunt"	<i>'we-tmegoohl</i>	<i>tmegomeen</i>	

## 17.6 *Tmoolook'* "I shoot it"

Grammatical description: transitive *oo*-class verb (3 SG -*o'*)

Related verb

- *tmoolpek'* "I shoot myself"

### Meaning and usage

This verb means "shoot (something)", whether successfully or not.

- (284) (a) *Keetee tmoolook' ch'uech'eesh.*  
 "I am going to shoot birds." JC 1889
- (b) *Keech tmoolook' kue k'e-jackass.*  
 "I've shot your donkey." FS 1986 (JP)

### Verbs with similar meanings

This verb, *tmoolook'*, is a transitive verb meaning "shoot it", while the relatively uncommon verb *tmook'* is an intransitive verb meaning just "shoot". (Its iterative *tmegook'* "I hunt" is common; see page 188.)

### Inflected forms

No collective is documented for this verb.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE	IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>tmoolook'</i>	"I shoot"	<i>'ne-tmoolook'</i>	<i>tmooloh</i>	
2 SG	<i>tmooloom'</i>	"you shoot"	<i>k'e-tmoolook'</i>	<i>tmooloomom</i>	<i>tmoo'los</i>
3 SG	<i>tmoolo'</i>	"s/he shoots"	<i>'we-tmoolook'</i>	<i>tmoolomeen</i>	
1 PL	<i>tmooloh</i>	"we shoot"	<i>'ne-tmooloh</i>	<i>tmooloh</i>	
2 PL	<i>tmoolow'</i>	"you shoot"	<i>k'e-tmoolow'</i>	<i>tmooloow'</i>	<i>tmoolokw</i>
3 PL	<i>tmoolohl</i>	"they shoot"	<i>'we-tmoolohl</i>	<i>tmoolomeen</i>	

Passive forms are documented, including non-inflected *tmooloy* and the forms below. Bipersonal forms are in Table 17.2 on page 190.

	PASSIVE INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>tmooloyek'</i>	"I am shot"	<i>'ne-tmooloyek'</i>	<i>tmooloyoh</i>
2 SG	<i>tmooloyem'</i>	"you are shot"	<i>k'e-tmooloyek'</i>	<i>tmooloyom</i>
3 SG	<i>tmoollee'</i>	"s/he is shot"	<i>'we-tmooloyek'</i>	<i>tmoolonee</i>
1 PL	<i>tmooloyoh</i>	"we are shot"	<i>'ne-tmooloyoh</i>	<i>tmooloyoh</i>
2 PL	<i>tmooloyue'</i>	"you are shot"	<i>k'e-tmooloyue'</i>	<i>tmooloyueh</i>
3 PL	<i>tmooloyehl</i>	"they are shot"	<i>'we-tmooloyehl</i>	<i>tmoolonee</i>

		SINGULAR OBJECT		
SUBJECT	1 SG	2 SG	3 SG	
1 SG	—	<i>tmoolochek'</i> "I shoot you"	<i>tmoolosek'</i> "I shoot her/him"	
2 SG	<i>tmoolopa'</i> "you shoot me"	—	<i>tmoolosem'</i> "you shoot her/him"	
3 SG	<i>tmoolopen'</i> "s/he shoots me"	[A] <i>tmooloyem'</i> "s/he shoots you"	[B]	
1 PL	—	<i>tmoolochoh</i> "we shoot you"	<i>tmoolosoh</i> "we shoot her/him"	
2 PL	<i>tmoolopa'</i> "you shoot me"	—	<i>tmoolosem'</i> "you shoot her/him"	
3 PL	<i>tmoolopaahl</i> "they shoot me"	[A] <i>tmooloyem'</i> "they shoot you"	[B]	

IMPERATIVE *tmoolop'een* "(you) shoot me!"

		PLURAL OBJECT		
SUBJECT	1 PL	2 PL	3 PL	
1 SG	—	<i>tmooloch'ó'</i> "I shoot you"	<i>tmoolos'ó'</i> "I shoot them"	
2 SG	[A] <i>tmooloy</i> "you shoot us"	—	[B]	
3 SG	[A] <i>tmooloy</i> "s/he shoots us"	[A] <i>tmooloyem'</i> "s/he shoots you"	[B]	
1 PL	—	<i>tmooloch'ó'</i> "we shoot you"	[B]	
2 PL	[A] <i>tmooloy</i> "you shoot us"	—	[B]	
3 PL	[A] <i>tmooloy</i> "they shoot us"	[A] <i>tmooloyem'</i> "they shoot you"	[B]	

Table 17.2: Bipersonal forms of *tmoolook'* "I shoot it"

[A] These passive and quasi-passive forms are regularly used in these slots.

[B] Ordinary non-bipersonal forms are used in these slots.

## Chapter 18

# Verbs of food and eating

The following verbs are described in this chapter:

*'ahspek'* "I drink" (p. 192)

*nepek'* "I eat" (p. 193)

*pemek'* "I cook" (p. 194)

*pewomek'* "I cook" (p. 195)

*rekwoh* "drink" (p. 196)

Note that *pemek'* and *pewomek'* have very similar meanings, as do *'ahspek'* and *rekwoh*. In each case the difference in meaning is not yet clear.



## 18.1 'Ahspek' "I drink (water)"

Grammatical description: optionally transitive *e*-class verb

Related verbs

- 'é'gah "have a meal together, share a meal" (non-inflected iterative collective)
- 'ahspah "be given food or drink" (non-inflected)
- 'ahspuemek' "I drink it"

### Meaning and usage

The verb 'ahspek' can be used intransitively, to refer to drinking (usually water), or transitively as in (285b), with a word (like *pa'ah* "water") that expresses what is being drunk:

- (285) (a) 'Ochkaa **ahspem'**.  
"You're drinking." MM 1927 (ES)
- (b) 'Ochkaa **a's pa'ah**.  
"He's drinking water." MM 1927 (ES)
- (c) *To' wee' keech no'ohl kee 'na-'ahspee'moh*.  
"It is time for us to drink." FS 1980 (PP)
- (d) *Cho' ko 'ahspah*.  
"Give him something to drink." FS 1980 (PP)

### Verbs with similar meanings

Yurok has two common verbs that mean "drink": inflected 'ahspek' and non-inflected *rekwoh* (page 196). Today *rekwoh* is more often used, especially if the object is named, but both are acceptable.

### Inflected forms

This verb has a collective 'ahspeem' and an irregular 3 SG 'a's. There is also a 3 SG passive form 'ahspue' "it is drunk, someone drinks it" (subjunctive 'we-'ahspue').

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE	IMPERATIVE
1 SG	'ahspek'	"I drink"	'ne-'ahspek'	'ahspoh	
2 SG	'ahspem'	"you drink"	k'e-'ahspek'	'ahspom	'a'sp'es
3 SG	'a's	"s/he drinks"	'we-'ahspek'	'ahspeen	
1 PL	'ahspoh	"we drink"	'ne-'ahspoh	'ahspoh	
2 PL	'ahspue'	"you drink"	k'e-'ahspue'	'ahspueh	'ahspekw
3 PL	'ahspehl	"they drink"	'we-'ahspehl	'ahspeen	
1 COLL	'ahspee'moh	"we drink"	'ne-'ahspee'moh	'ahspee'moh	
2 COLL	'ahspee'mow'	"you drink"	k'e-'ahspee'mow'	'ahspee'mow'	'ahspee'mekw
3 COLL	'ahspee'mehl	"they drink"	'we-'ahspee'mehl	'ahspee'monee	

## 18.2 *Nepek'* "I eat"

Grammatical description: transitive *e*-class verb

### Meaning and usage

The verb *nepek'* is always used together with some word(s) expressing what is eaten. The object *kol'* "something" is used, as in (286a), in sentences equivalent to English *I'll eat now* or *Let's eat*.

- (286) (a) *Cho' kol' nepem'*.  
"Eat." (LIT. "Eat something.") GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (b) *Nepuy skewok kee 'ne-nepek'*.  
"I want some salmon to eat." LB 1951 (YL)
- (c) *Nepuy 'ochkaa nepee'moh*.  
"We're eating salmon." GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (d) *Mos noo nep' kue maageen nepee'monee*.  
He did not eat what others ate." YL 1951
- (e) *Sloowehl tue' kem ho negepue'*.  
"People also used to eat wild oats." AS ~1962 (WB)

### Inflected forms

The verb *nepek'* has a collective *nepee'm*. All the inflectional categories below are documented:

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE		ATTRIBUTIVE	IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>nepək'</i>	"I eat"	<i>'ne-nepək'</i>	<i>nepoh</i>		
2 SG	<i>nepem'</i>	"you eat"	<i>k'e-nepək'</i>	<i>nepom</i>		<i>nep's</i>
3 SG	<i>nep'</i>	"s/he eats"	<i>'we-nepək'</i>	<i>nepeen</i>		
1 PL	<i>nepoh</i>	"we eat"	<i>'ne-nepoh</i>	<i>nepoh</i>		
2 PL	<i>nepue'</i>	"you eat"	<i>k'e-nepue'</i>	<i>nepueh</i>		<i>nepew</i>
3 PL	<i>nepehl</i>	"they eat"	<i>'we-nepehl</i>	<i>nepeen</i>		
1 COLL	<i>nepee'moh</i>	"we eat"	<i>'ne-nepee'moh</i>	<i>nepee'moh</i>		
2 COLL	<i>nepee'mow'</i>	"you eat"	<i>k'e-nepee'mow'</i>	<i>nepee'mow'</i>		<i>nepee'mekw</i>
3 COLL	<i>nepee'mehl</i>	"they eat"	<i>'we-nepee'mehl</i>	<i>nepee'monee</i>		

The third-person passive forms, below, are common. Bipersonals and other passives are also possible, but would be unusual in language use and are omitted here.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	
3 SG	<i>nepue'</i>	"it is eaten, someone eats it"	<i>'we-nepelek'</i>	
3 PL	<i>nepelehl</i>	"they are eaten, someone eats them"	<i>'we-nepelehl</i>	



### 18.3 *Pemek'* "I cook it"

Grammatical description: transitive *e*-class verb

#### Meaning and usage

This verb refers generally to any kind of cooking. The following examples in show that *pemek'*, as a transitive verb, has an explicit or implied object:

- (287) (a) *Keetee pemek' herhlkerh 'esee 'weryhl.*  
 "I'm going to cook potatoes and eggs." GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (b) *Kues kee sho pemem'?*  
 "How will you cook it?" AF 2005 (JB)
- (c) *Keech pemue' kue ke'ween.*  
 "People are roasting the eels."  
 (LIT. "The eels are being roasted.") JJ 2007 (LC)

#### Verbs with similar meanings

The verb *pewomek'* (page 195) is very similar or identical in meaning to *pemek'*. One difference between them is that *pemek'* is transitive and *pewomek'* is usually (but not always!) intransitive.

#### Inflected forms

Plural forms are given below, but they have not been documented (the passive is often used instead):

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE	IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>pemek'</i>	"I cook it"	<i>'ne-pemek'</i>	<i>pemoh</i>	
2 SG	<i>pemem'</i>	"you cook it"	<i>k'e-pemek'</i>	<i>pemom</i>	<i>pemes</i> or <i>p'ems</i>
3 SG	<i>pem'</i>	"s/he cooks it"	<i>'ue-pemek'</i>	<i>pemeen</i>	
1 PL	<i>pemoh</i>	"we cook it"	<i>'ne-pemoh</i>	<i>pemoh</i>	
2 PL	<i>pemue'</i>	"you cook it"	<i>'ne-pemue'</i>	<i>pemueh</i>	<i>pemekw</i>
3 PL	<i>pemehl</i>	"they cook it"	<i>'ne-pemehl</i>	<i>pemeen</i>	

Third-person passive forms are shown here:

	PASSIVE INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE
3 SG	<i>pemue'</i>	"it is cooked"	<i>'ue-pemue'</i>
3 PL	<i>pemelehl</i>	"they are cooked"	<i>'ue-pemelehl</i>

## 18.4 *Pewomek'* "I cook"

Grammatical description: intransitive (occasionally transitive) *e*-class verb

### Meaning and usage

This verb refers generally to any kind of cooking. As the examples in (288) illustrate, *pewomek'* is usually an intransitive verb:

- (288) (a) *Pekwsue hes pewomem'?*  
 "Would you cook?" GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (b) *Cho' heemekoom' k'e-pewomek'.*  
 "Hurry up with your cooking." YL 1951
- (c) *Mechee 'ee rek'een kue keech 'ue-wey 'ue-pewomue'.*  
 "They were sitting by the fire when the cooking was finished." YL 1951

The following is the only documented transitive example:

- (289) *Keetee pewomek' ke'ween.*  
 "I'm going to cook eels." MR ~1970 (MRo)

### Verbs with similar meanings

The verb *pemek'* (page 194) is very similar or identical in meaning to *pewomek'*. One difference between them is that *pemek'* is transitive and *pewomek'* is usually intransitive.

### Inflected forms

This verb has a collective *pewomuue'm'*, the imperatives SG *pewo'mes*, PL *pewomekw*, and COLL *pewomuue'mekw* (omitted for reasons of space), and the impersonal passive forms *pewomue'* "there is cooking" and its subjunctive *'ue-pewomue'*.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>pewomek'</i>	"I cook"	<i>'ne-pewomek'</i>	<i>pewomoh</i>
2 SG	<i>pewomem'</i>	"you cook"	<i>k'e-pewomek'</i>	<i>pewomom</i>
3 SG	<i>pewom'</i>	"s/he cooks"	<i>'ue-pewomek'</i>	<i>pewomeen</i>
1 PL	<i>pewomoh</i>	"we cook"	<i>'ne-pewomoh</i>	<i>pewomoh</i>
2 PL	<i>pewomue'</i>	"you cook"	<i>k'e-pewomue'</i>	<i>pewomueh</i>
3 PL	<i>pewomehl</i>	"they cook"	<i>'ue-pewomehl</i>	<i>pewomeen</i>
1 COLL	<i>pewomuue'moh</i>	"we cook"	<i>'ne-pewomuue'moh</i>	<i>pewomuue'moh</i>
2 COLL	<i>pewomuue'mow'</i>	"you cook"	<i>k'e-pewomuue'mow'</i>	<i>pewomuue'mow'</i>
3 COLL	<i>pewomuue'mehl</i>	"they cook"	<i>'ue-pewomuue'mehl</i>	<i>pewomuue'monee</i>

## 18.5 *Rekwoh* “drink”

Grammatical description: optionally transitive non-inflected verb

Related verb

- *rekwohpeyok* “I drink”

### Meaning and usage

This verb is optionally transitive: as shown in (290), it can be used with or without a direct object that expresses the liquid being drunk.

- (290) (a) *Wenos nue rekwoh k'e-pa'ah!*  
 “Come and drink your water!” YL 1951
- (b) *Skewok kee 'we-rekwoh.*  
 “He or she wants to drink.” FS 1980 (PP)

The meaning of *rekwoh* is close to that of *ahspek* “I drink”.

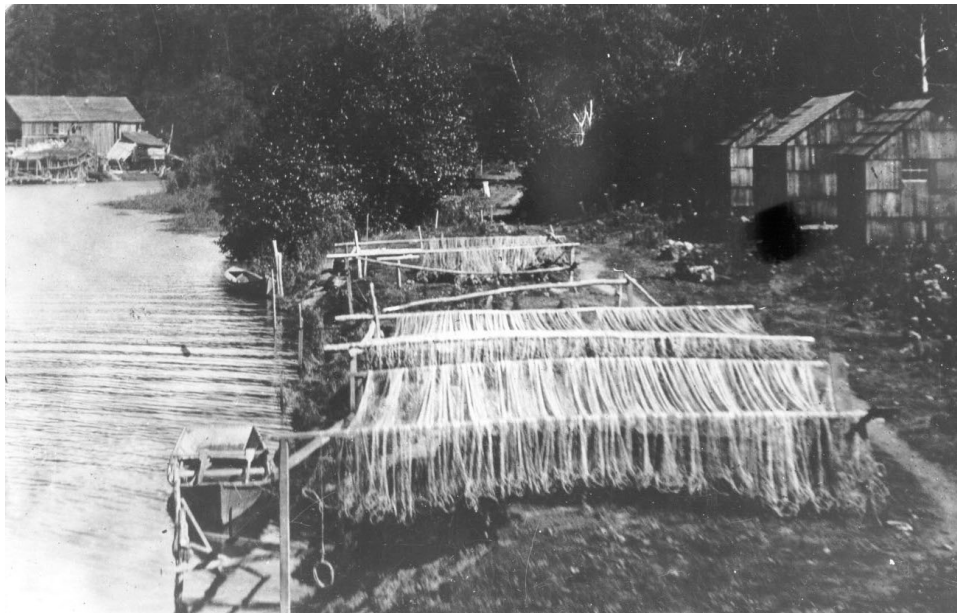


Figure 18.1: Fish nets drying along a Klamath River channel. Photo by Ruth Roberts.

## Chapter 19

# Verbs of gathering and weaving

Among verbs referring to the gathering of food and basket materials, and to the making of baskets, the following are the most common:

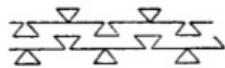
*'ahtemarkook'* "I make a design, draw, write" (p. 198)

*hlkook'* "I gather acorns" (p. 200)

*holeemek'* "I weave it, I make it (a basket)" (p. 201)

*noowehlkenek'* "I pick it up" (p. 202)

Note that *hohkuemek'* "I make" (page 121) can also be used to mean "gather" wood, plants, berries, etc. There are also other specific verbs like *chege'lohsek'* "gather seaweed", *holeehlkeseek'* "I gather hazel shoots", *nerhperyerk'* "I pick berries", *nergerserk'* "I gather sweathouse wood", *pee'eeyek'* "I gather mussels", and *yohlkoychek'* "I gather firewood", in addition to the ones above.



## 19.1 'Ahtemarkook' "I make a design, draw, write"

Grammatical description: intransitive oo-class verb (3 SG -om')

Variant: 'a'temarkook'

Related verb

- 'ahtemar "make a basket design, draw, write" (non-inflected; variant 'a'temar)

### Meaning and usage

This verb referred originally to making basket designs or to carving on rock. A common use today is for writing.

- (291) (a) Cho' 'a'temarkoom'.  
"Write a letter." AF 2002 (JB)
- (b) 'Ochkaa 'ahtemar.  
"I'm writing." GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (c) To' neekē chyue mehl 'a'temar.  
"You can all write with it." AF 2001 (LJC)

The non-inflected verb forms can also be used as nouns to refer to paper or writing.

### Inflected verbs

The forms given below show the variant 'ahtemarkook' with *h*; all of them could be replaced by forms of 'a'temarkook' with *'*. There is no documented collective.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE	IMPERATIVE
1 SG	'ahtemarkook'	"I write"	'ne-'ahtemarkook'	'ahtemarkoh	
2 SG	'ahtemarkoom'	"you . . ."	k'e-'ahtemarkook'	'ahtemarkoomom	'ahtemark'os
3 SG	'ahtemarkom'	"s/he . . ."	'we-'ahtemarkook'	'ahtemarkomeen	
1 PL	'ahtemarkoh	"we . . ."	'ne-'ahtemarkoh	'ahtemarkoh	
2 PL	'ahtemarkow'	"you . . ."	k'e-'ahtemarkow'	'ahtemarkoomom	'ahtemarkekw
3 PL	'ahtemarkohl	"they . . ."	'we-'ahtemarkohl	'ahtemarkomeen	



**Figure 19.1:** Alice Spott (Taylor) *'ese ner'er'eryhl'ue-ka'ar*. In the early 1960s she worked with her daughter Minnie Macomber and linguist William Bright to document Yurok animal names and their cultural meanings. Undated photo by Ruth Roberts.

## 19.2 *Hlkook'* "I gather acorns"

Grammatical description: intransitive *oo*-class verb (3 SG -*o'*)

### Meaning and usage

This verb refers generally to acorn gathering; examples are in (292).

- (292) (a) *Nue hlko'*.  
 "He or she went to gather acorns." JVP (YD)
- (b) *Keetee hlkook'*.  
 "I'm going to get acorns." GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (c) *Nekah neeko'hl ho 'ne-hlkuue'moh.*  
 "We always used to gather acorns." YL 1951

Note that while *gather* is a transitive verb in English (it has an object, such as *acorns*), the Yurok verb *hlkook'* is intransitive (by itself it means "gather acorns").

### Inflected forms

The verb *hlkook'* has a collective stem *hlkuuem'*. Omitted below for reasons of space are the (undocumented) imperative forms: SG *hlk'os*, PL *hlkek*, COLL *hlkuue'mekw*.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>hlkook'</i>	"I gather acorns"	<i>'ne-hlkook'</i>	<i>hlkoh</i>
2 SG	<i>hlkoom'</i>	"you gather acorns"	<i>k'e-hlkook'</i>	<i>hlkoomom</i>
3 SG	<i>hlko'</i>	"s/he gathers acorns"	<i>'we-hlkook'</i>	<i>hlkomeen</i>
1 PL	<i>hlkoo</i>	"we gather acorns"	<i>'ne-hlkoo</i>	<i>hlkoh</i>
2 PL	<i>hlkoow'</i>	"you gather acorns"	<i>k'e-hlkoow'</i>	<i>hlkoow'</i>
3 PL	<i>hlkoohl</i>	"they gather acorns"	<i>'we-hlkoohl</i>	<i>hlkomeen</i>
1 COLL	<i>hlkuue'moh</i>	"we gather acorns"	<i>'ne-hlkuue'moh</i>	<i>hlkuue'moh</i>
2 COLL	<i>hlkuue'mow'</i>	"you gather acorns"	<i>k'e-hlkuue'mow'</i>	<i>hlkuue'mow'</i>
3 COLL	<i>hlkuue'mohl</i>	"they gather acorns"	<i>'we-hlkuue'mohl</i>	<i>hlkuue'monee</i>

### 19.3 *Holeemek'* "I weave it, I make it (a basket)"

Grammatical description: transitive *e*-class verb

Related verb

- *holeemew* "be woven" (non-inflected)

#### Meaning and usage

The verb *holeemek'* refers to making any kind of basket. The basket is usually explicitly named (as the object of the verb); examples are in (293).

- (293) (a) *Keet holeem' we-no'os.*  
 "She's going to make a baby basket." JJ 2007 (LC)
- (b) *Nekomuy k'e-holeemek' kue luemon hes?*  
 "Do you know how to make eel baskets?" GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (c) *We'yk'oh 'ochkaa holeem' cheykenee we-no'os.*  
 "Right now she's making a little baby basket." JJ 2007 (LC)
- (d) *'Ekah holeem'.*  
 "She wove a basket cap." MM 1927 (ES)

#### Inflected forms

There is no evidence for a collective. Note that the attributive forms are not actually documented (but the 3 SG and 3 PL attributive forms should be *holeemeen*, according to the grammatical patterns, rather than †*holeemeen*).

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE	IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>holeemek'</i>	"I weave it"	<i>'n-oleemek'</i>	<i>holeemoh</i>	
2 SG	<i>holeemem'</i>	"you weave it"	<i>k'-oleemek'</i>	<i>holeemom</i>	<i>holee'mes</i>
3 SG	<i>holeem'</i>	"s/he weaves it"	<i>'w-oleemek'</i>	<i>holeemeen</i>	
1 PL	<i>holeemoh</i>	"we weave it"	<i>'n-oleemoh</i>	<i>holeemoh</i>	
2 PL	<i>holeemue'</i>	"you weave it"	<i>k'-oleemue'</i>	<i>holeemueh</i>	<i>holeemekw</i>
3 PL	<i>holeemehl</i>	"they weave it"	<i>'w-oleemehl</i>	<i>holeemeen</i>	

Instead of a passive, non-inflected *holeemew* "be woven" can be used.



## 19.4 *Noowehlkenek'* "I gather it, I pick it up"

Grammatical description: transitive *e*-class verb

Related verb

- *noowehlkeenek'* "I gather it, I pick it up"

### Meaning and usage

This verb can refer to gathering plants in the wild, or to picking up anything scattered. Examples are in (294).

- (294) (a) *Nek kue noowehlkenek' kue luuehl.*  
 "I will go gather wild iris." JVP 2001 (JB)
- (b) *Cho' noowehlkenem' 'ne-'yoh mehl kue mech.*  
 "Gather wood for my fire." AF 2001 (LJC)
- (c) *Noowehlke'nes kue cheek.*  
 "Pick up the money." AF 2002 (JB)

The example in (294c) shows that sometimes a translation "pick up" is more appropriate than "gather".

### Inflected forms

No collective is documented. Omitted below for reasons of space are the imperative forms: SG *noowehlke'nes*, PL *noowehlkenekw*.

	INDICATIVE		*SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>noowehlkenek'</i>	"I gather it"	<i>'ne-noowehlkenek'</i>	<i>noowehlkenoh</i>
2 SG	<i>noowehlkenem'</i>	"you gather it"	<i>k'e-noowehlkenek'</i>	<i>noowehlkenom</i>
3 SG	<i>noowehlken'</i>	"s/he gathers it"	<i>'we-noowehlkenek'</i>	<i>noowehlkeneen</i>
1 PL	<i>noowehlkenoh</i>	"we gather it"	<i>'ne-noowehlkenoh</i>	<i>noowehlkenoh</i>
2 PL	<i>noowehlkenue'</i>	"you gather it"	<i>k'e-noowehlkenue'</i>	<i>noowehlkenueh</i>
3 PL	<i>noowehlkenehl</i>	"they gather it"	<i>'we-noowehlkenehl</i>	<i>noowehlkeneen</i>

Passive forms, inferred from the patterns of similar verbs, are shown here:

	*PASSIVE INDICATIVE		*SUBJUNCTIVE
3 SG	<i>noowehlkenee'</i>	"it is gathered, picked up; somebody gathers it, picks it up"	<i>'we-noowehlkeneyek'</i>
3 PL	<i>noowehlkeneyehl</i>	"they are gathered, picked up; somebody gathers them, ..."	<i>'we-noowehlkeneyehl</i>

## Chapter 20

# Verbs of handling and holding

The following verbs are described in this chapter:

*'ekonemek'* "I hold it" (p. 204)

*hekwisek'* "I find it" (p. 205)

*hlook'* "I grab it" (p. 207)

*knokseemek'* "I leave it" (p. 210)

*lootek'* "I throw it" (p. 212)

*menooteek'* "I pull it" (p. 213)

*muehlsook'* "I wipe it" (p. 214)

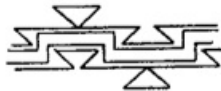
*myooteek'* "I push it" (p. 215)

*negemek'* "I bring it" (p. 216)

*nekek'* "I put it" (p. 217)

The most general verbs of handling and holding are *'ekonemek'*, *hlook'*, and *negemek'*, whose usage partly overlaps. Of these, *hlook'* refers to the initial event of possession: grabbing or taking an object. The verb *negemek'* refers to taking or carrying something, usually in transit from one place to another, while *'ekonemek'* refers simply to holding something (usually in one's hands).

Other verbs in this chapter that are especially confusable are *lootek'* and *nekek'*. Both involve releasing: *nekek'* refers to relatively precise placement (of something in a specified location or direction), while *lootek'* refers to less precise, less directed placement (tossing, dropping, etc.).



## 20.1 'Ekonemek' "I hold it"

Grammatical description: transitive *e*-class verb

Related verb

- 'ekonepek' "I hold myself back, I hold on, I hang on"

### Meaning and usage

This verb can be translated "carry, hold, keep", as in (295).

- (295) (a) *Cho' skuy' soo 'ekonemem'*.  
 "Get a good hold on it." FS 1951 (YL)
- (b) *Nekah wee' chpee 'ekonee' kue nepuy.*  
 "The salmon is held by us alone." FS 1951 (YL)

### Verbs with similar meanings

This is the primary verb that means "hold (in the hand)", as opposed to "pick up, grab" (*hlook'*, page 207) and "carry" (*negemek'*, page 216).

### Inflected forms

There is no collective plural.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE	IMPERATIVE
1 SG	'ekonemek'	"I hold it"	'ne-'ekonemek'	'ekonemoh	
2 SG	'ekonemem'	"you hold it"	k'e-'ekonemek'	'ekonemom	'ek'ones
3 SG	'ekonem'	"s/he holds it"	'we-'ekonemek'	'ekonemeen	
1 PL	'ekonemoh	"we hold it"	'ne-'ekonemoh	'ekonemoh	
2 PL	'ekonemue'	"you hold it"	k'e-'ekonemue'	'ekonemueh	'ekonemekw
3 PL	'ekonemehl	"they hold it"	'we-'ekonemehl	'ekonemeen	

Plurals are not ordinarily used. As in (295b) above, passive forms like the following are commonly used instead of plurals:

	PASSIVE INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE
3 SG	'ekonee'	"it is held, someone holds it"	'we-'ekonoyek'
3 PL	'ekonoyehl	"they are held, someone holds them"	'we-'ekonoyehl

Other passive forms can be used (for example, 'ekonoyek' "I am held, someone holds me"), but are not common because usually things rather than people are held.

## 20.2 *Hekwsek* ‘I find it’

Grammatical description: transitive *e*-class verb

### Meaning and usage

Examples of this verb are given in (296).

- (296) (a) *Kues 'ema hekwssem' kue ha'aag?*  
 “Where did you find the rock?” AF 2002 (JB)
- (b) *Chahchew kee 'w-ekwsue'.*  
 “It’s difficult to find.” JJ 2006 (EJW)
- (c) *Temaloh negeeen' kue kel' k'e-rahcheen, tue' 'eemee wo gekwsesoh.*  
 “We looked for your friend a long time, but we did not find him.” YL 1951

### Inflected forms

No collective is documented for this verb.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE	IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>hekwssek'</i>	“I find it”	<i>'n-ekwssek'</i>	<i>hekwssoh</i>	
2 SG	<i>hekwssem'</i>	“you find it”	<i>k'-ekwssek'</i>	<i>hekwsom</i>	<i>hek'wses</i>
3 SG	<i>hek'ws</i>	“s/he finds it”	<i>'w-ekwssek'</i>	<i>hekwsseen</i>	
1 PL	<i>hekwssoh</i>	“we find it”	<i>'n-ekwssoh</i>	<i>hekwssoh</i>	
2 PL	<i>hekwsue'</i>	“you find it”	<i>k'-ekwsue'</i>	<i>hekwsueh</i>	<i>hekwssek</i>
3 PL	<i>hekwssehl</i>	“they find it”	<i>'w-ekwssehl</i>	<i>hekwsseen</i>	

A passive collective stem *hekwsseem'* occurs (below); bipersonals include irregular forms (Table 20.1 on page 206).

	PASSIVE INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>hekwsselek'</i>	“I am found”	<i>'n-ekwsselek'</i>	<i>hekwsseloh</i>
2 SG	<i>hekwsselem'</i>	“you are found”	<i>k'-ekwsselek'</i>	<i>hekwsselom</i>
3 SG	<i>hekwsue'</i>	“s/he's found”	<i>'w-ekwsue'</i>	<i>hekwsseleen</i>
1 PL	<i>hekwsseloh</i>	“we are found”	<i>'n-ekwsseloh</i>	<i>hekwsseloh</i>
2 PL	<i>hekwssehue'</i>	“you are found”	<i>k'-ekwssehue'</i>	<i>hekwssehueh</i>
3 PL	<i>hekwsselehl</i>	“they're found”	<i>'w-ekwsselehl</i>	<i>hekwsseleen</i>
1 COLL	<i>hekwsselee'moh</i>	“we are found”	<i>'n-ekwsselee'moh</i>	<i>hekwsselee'moh</i>
2 COLL	<i>hekwsselee'mow'</i>	“you are found”	<i>k'-ekwsselee'mow'</i>	<i>hekwsselee'mow'</i>
3 COLL	<i>hekwsselee'mehl</i>	“they're found”	<i>'w-ekwsselee'mehl</i>	<i>hekwsselee'monee</i>

SUBJECT	SINGULAR OBJECT		
	1 SG	2 SG	3 SG
1 SG	—	<i>hekwsechek'</i> "I find you"	<i>hekwsesek'</i> "I find her/him"
2 SG	<i>hekwspa'</i> "you find me"	—	<i>hekwsesem'</i> "you find her/him"
3 SG	<i>hekwspen'</i> "s/he finds me"	[A] <i>hekwselem'</i> "s/he finds you"	[B]
1 PL	—	<i>hekwsechoh</i> "we find you"	<i>hekwsesoh</i> "we find her/him"
2 PL	<i>hekwspa'</i> "you find me"	—	<i>hekwsesem'</i> "you find her/him"
3 PL	<i>hekwspaahl</i> "they find me"	[A] <i>hekwselem'</i> "they find you"	[B]

IMPERATIVE *hekwsp'een* "(you) find me!"

SUBJECT	PLURAL OBJECT		
	1 PL	2 PL	3 PL
1 SG	—	<i>hekwsech'ó'</i> "I find you"	<i>hekwses'ó'</i> "I find them"
2 SG	[A] <i>hekwsel</i> "you find us"	—	[B]
3 SG	[A] <i>hekwsel</i> "s/he finds us"	[A] <i>hekwselem'</i> "s/he finds you"	[B]
1 PL	—	<i>hekwsech'ó'</i> "we find you"	[B]
2 PL	[A] <i>hekwsel</i> "you find us"	—	[B]
3 PL	[A] <i>hekwsel</i> "they find us"	[A] <i>hekwselem'</i> "they find you"	[B]

Table 20.1: Bipersonal forms of *hekwsek'* "I find it"

[A] These passive and quasi-passive forms are regularly used in these slots.

[B] Ordinary non-bipersonal forms are used in these slots.

### 20.3 *Hlook'* "I grab it"

Grammatical description: transitive oo-class verb (3 SG -om')

#### Meaning and usage

The verb *hlook'* has various translations in context, including "get", "grab", "take", and even "arrest", but it usually means to take hold of something (or someone). Examples are in (297).

- (297) (a) *Kel' hes hloom' kue 'ne-pegem?*  
Did you take my knife? GT 2007 (LC)
- (b) *'O hlom' 'we-chye'wol.*  
"He took out his flute." DW 1906 (LCC)
- (c) *Hl'os k'e-kergerwers mehl kue koleen k'e-chewes.*  
"Hold your wrist with your other hand." FS 1951 (YL)

This verb is common with *nue* and equivalent preverbs ("go get"), as in (298).

- (298) (a) *Nue hl'os!*  
"Go get it!" GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (b) *Keech nue hlee' kegey.*  
"Somebody's gone to get the doctor." AF 2001 (JB)
- (c) *Nek kue hlook' kue 'yohlkoych'.*  
"I will go get wood." JVP 2001 (JB)

The examples in (299–300) show that while *hlook'* usually refers to taking something physically (grabbing it with the hands), it can also be used metaphorically. In (299) the verb means "obtain possession, acquire ownership", with the source expressed by *mehl*.

- (299) *Hloo'moh 'o'lehl mehl yo'.*  
"We got the house from him." YL 1951

In (300), *hlook'* means "accept" (3 SG passive *hlee'* "it is accepted").

- (300) *Neemee wo hlee' kue k'e-we'yonesek'.*  
"Your offer of a bride price has not been accepted." AF 2001 (JB)

The iterative *hlegook'* can mean "repeatedly grab", so the iterative attributive *hlegomeen* ("one who grabs habitually") can refer to the police (those who habitually take people).

#### Verbs with similar meanings

Other verbs whose uses are similar to *hlook'* include *'ekonemek'* "I hold it" (page 204) and *negemek'* "I bring it" (page 216). The difference is that *hlook'* always refers to taking hold of something (or someone) — grabbing it, fetching it, etc. By contrast, *'ekonemek'* simply means "hold" (not "take hold of"), and *negemek'* implies bringing or carrying something from one place to another.

**Inflected forms**

The verb *hlook'* has a non-collective plural, but the collective plural *hloom'* is more common; both are shown below. There are some irregular forms, usually involving a long vowel or *h* in the second syllable.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE	IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>hlook'</i>	"I grab it"	<i>'ne-hlook'</i>	<i>hloo</i>	
2 SG	<i>hloom'</i>	"you grab it"	<i>k'e-hlook'</i>	<i>hloomom</i>	<i>hl'os</i>
3 SG	<i>hlom'</i>	"s/he grabs it"	<i>'we-hlook'</i>	<i>hlomeen</i>	
1 PL	<i>hloo</i>	"we grab it"	<i>'ne-hloo</i>	<i>hloo</i>	
2 PL	<i>hloow'</i>	"you grab it"	<i>k'e-hloow'</i>	<i>hloomom</i>	<i>hlekw</i>
3 PL	<i>hloohl</i>	"they grab it"	<i>'we-hloohl</i>	<i>hlomeen</i>	
1 COLL	<i>hloo'moh</i>	"we grab it"	<i>'ne-hloo'moh</i>	<i>hloo'moh</i>	
2 COLL	<i>hloo'mow'</i>	"you grab it"	<i>k'e-hloo'mow'</i>	<i>hloo'mow'</i>	<i>hloo'mekw</i>
3 COLL	<i>hloo'mehl</i>	"they grab it"	<i>'we-hloo'mehl</i>	<i>hloo'monee</i>	

Passive forms are quite common:

	PASSIVE INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE
1 SG	<i>hloyek'</i>	"I am grabbed, someone grabs me"	<i>'ne-hloyek'</i>
2 SG	<i>hloyem'</i>	"you are grabbed, someone grabs you"	<i>k'e-hloyek'</i>
3 SG	<i>hlee'</i>	"s/he is grabbed, someone grabs her/him"	<i>'we-hloyek'</i>
1 PL	<i>hloyoh</i>	"we are grabbed, someone grabs us"	<i>'ne-hloyoh</i>
2 PL	<i>hloyue'</i>	"you are grabbed, someone grabs you"	<i>k'e-hloyue'</i>
3 PL	<i>hloyehl</i>	"they are grabbed, someone grabs them"	<i>'we-hloyehl</i>

Bipersonal forms are shown in Table 20.2 on page 209.

SUBJECT	SINGULAR OBJECT		
	1 SG	2 SG	3 SG
1 SG	—	<i>hloček'</i> "I grab you"	<i>hlosek'</i> "I grab her/him"
2 SG	<i>hlohpa'</i> "you grab me"	—	<i>hlosem'</i> "you grab her/him"
3 SG	<i>hlohpen'</i> "s/he grabs me"	[A] <i>hloyem'</i> "s/he grabs you"	[B]
1 PL	—	<i>hlochoh</i> "we grab you"	<i>hlosoh</i> "we grab her/him"
2 PL	<i>hlohpa'</i> "you grab me"	—	<i>hlosem'</i> "you grab her/him"
3 PL	<i>hlohpaahl</i> "they grab me"	[A] <i>hloyem'</i> "they grab you"	[B]

IMPERATIVE *hlo'peen* "(you) grab me!"

SUBJECT	PLURAL OBJECT		
	1 PL	2 PL	3 PL
1 SG	—	<i>hloch'ó'</i> "I grab you"	<i>hlos'ó'</i> "I grab them"
2 SG	[A] <i>hloy</i> "you grab us"	—	[B]
3 SG	[A] <i>hloy</i> "s/he grabs us"	[A] <i>hloyem'</i> "s/he grabs you"	[B]
1 PL	—	<i>hloch'ó'</i> "we grab you"	[B]
2 PL	[A] <i>hloy</i> "you grab us"	—	[B]
3 PL	[A] <i>hloy</i> "they grab us"	[A] <i>hloyem'</i> "they grab you"	[B]

Table 20.2: Bipersonal forms of *hlook'* "I grab it"

[A] These passive and quasi-passive forms are regularly used in these slots.

[B] Ordinary non-bipersonal forms are used in these slots.



## 20.4 *Knokseemek'* "I leave it"

Grammatical description: transitive *e*-class verb

### Meaning and usage

This verb means "leave" or "leave behind"; it can refer to people or things. Examples are in (301).

- (301) (a) *Cho' emehl knokseemem' k'e-peesh'on.*  
 "Leave (some of) your scales there." FS 1951 (YL)
- (b) *Keetee knokseechek'.*  
 "I am going to leave you." RS 1942 (YN)
- (c) *Kwelekw paas ko knokseyek'.*  
 "Well, I will not be left behind." FS 1951 (YL)

### Inflected forms

This verb does not have a collective.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE	IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>knokseemek'</i>	"I leave it"	<i>'ne-knokseemek'</i>	<i>knoksemoh</i>	
2 SG	<i>knokseemem'</i>	"you leave it"	<i>k'e-knokseemek'</i>	<i>knoksemom</i>	<i>knok'ses</i>
3 SG	<i>knokseem'</i>	"s/he leaves it"	<i>'ue-knokseemek'</i>	<i>knoksemeen</i>	
1 PL	<i>knokseemoh</i>	"we leave it"	<i>'ne-knokseemoh</i>	<i>knokseemoh</i>	
2 PL	<i>knokseemue'</i>	"you leave it"	<i>k'e-knokseemue'</i>	<i>knokseemueh</i>	<i>knokseemekw</i>
3 PL	<i>knokseemehl</i>	"they leave it"	<i>'ue-knokseemehl</i>	<i>knoksemeen</i>	

Passive forms of *knokseemek'* are shown below.

	PASSIVE INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE
1 SG	<i>knokseyek'</i>	"I am left, someone leaves me"	<i>'ne-knokseyek'</i>
2 SG	<i>knokseyem'</i>	"you are left, someone leaves"	<i>k'e-knokseyek'</i>
3 SG	<i>knoksee'</i>	"s/he is left, someone leaves her/him"	<i>'ue-knokseyek'</i>
1 PL	<i>knokseyoh</i>	"we are left, someone leaves us"	<i>'ne-knokseyoh</i>
2 PL	<i>knokseyue'</i>	"you are left, someone leaves you"	<i>k'e-knokseyue'</i>
3 PL	<i>knokseyehl</i>	"they are left, someone leaves them"	<i>'ue-knokseyehl</i>

Bipersonal forms are given in Table 20.3 on page 211.

SUBJECT	SINGULAR OBJECT		
	1 SG	2 SG	3 SG
1 SG	—	<i>knokseechek'</i> "I leave you"	<i>knokseesek'</i> "I leave her/him"
2 SG	<i>knokseepa'</i> "you leave me"	—	<i>knokseesem'</i> "you leave her/him"
3 SG	<i>knokseepen'</i> "s/he leaves me"	[A] <i>knokseyem'</i> "s/he leaves you"	[B]
1 PL	—	<i>knokseechoh</i> "we leave you"	<i>knokseesoh</i> "we leave her/him"
2 PL	<i>knokseepa'</i> "you leave me"	—	<i>knokseesem'</i> "you leave her/him"
3 PL	<i>knokseepaahl</i> "they leave me"	[A] <i>knokseyem'</i> "they leave you"	[B]

IMPERATIVE *knokseep'een* "(you) leave me!"

SUBJECT	PLURAL OBJECT		
	1 PL	2 PL	3 PL
1 SG	—	<i>knokseech'o'</i> "I leave you"	<i>knoksees'o'</i> "I leave them"
2 SG	[A] <i>knoksey</i> "you leave us"	—	[B]
3 SG	[A] <i>knoksey</i> "s/he leaves us"	[A] <i>knokseyem'</i> "s/he leaves you"	[B]
1 PL	—	<i>knokseech'o'</i> "we leave you"	[B]
2 PL	[A] <i>knoksey</i> "you leave us"	—	[B]
3 PL	[A] <i>knoksey</i> "they leave us"	[A] <i>knokseyem'</i> "they leave you"	[B]

Table 20.3: Bipersonal forms of *knokseemek'* "I leave it"

[A] These passive and quasi-passive forms are regularly used in these slots.

[B] Ordinary non-bipersonal forms are used in these slots.

## 20.5 *Lootek'* "I throw it"

Grammatical description: transitive *e*-class verb

Related verb

- *loo* "be thrown" (non-inflected)

### Meaning and usage

The verb *lootek'* refers to throwing, or more generally any tossing or dropping of an object whose path is not completely controlled. Good translations may include "throw" or "drop", especially for the expression *skelee lootek'* "I throw it down" in (302b); *wohpue lootek'* means "I drown him" as in (302c).

- (302) (a) *Kwesee pa'aahl 'o loot' kue ekah.*  
 "He threw the cap in the water." MM 1927 (YT)
- (b) *Keech skelee lootek'.*  
 "I dropped it." FS 1980 (PP)
- (c) *Keech hlee' kue pegerk kue wohpue looteen mewah.*  
 "The man who drowned a boy has been caught." YL 1951

Non-inflected form *loo* can be used instead of a passive, as in (303).

- (303) (a) *Kwesee hlow hlkelee 'o loo.*  
 "And finally they threw him (LIT. he was thrown) on the ground." MM 1927 (YT)
- (b) *Yoncheek 'ema loo.*  
 "He was thrown into the boat." FS 1951 (YL)

### Verbs with similar meanings

Common verbs with similar meanings include *rohseemek'* and *rohsek'* (page 187), which refer to a more controlled type of throwing motion in which there is a target at which the subject aims, as well as *lehlkenek'* "I scatter them (for example, seeds)".

### Inflected forms

The verb *lootek'* does not have collectives. In lieu of a passive, non-inflected *loo* is used.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE	IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>lootek'</i>	"I throw it"	<i>'ne-lootek'</i>	<i>lootoh</i>	
2 SG	<i>lootem'</i>	"you throw it"	<i>k'e-lootek'</i>	<i>lootom</i>	<i>loot'es</i>
3 SG	<i>loot'</i>	"s/he throws it"	<i>'we-lootek'</i>	<i>looteen</i>	
1 PL	<i>lootoh</i>	"we throw it"	<i>'ne-lootoh</i>	<i>lootoh</i>	
2 PL	<i>lootue'</i>	"you throw it"	<i>k'e-lootue'</i>	<i>lootueh</i>	<i>lootekw</i>
3 PL	<i>lootehl</i>	"they throw it"	<i>'we-lootehl</i>	<i>looteen</i>	

## 20.6 *Menootek* “I pull it”

Grammatical description: transitive *e*-class verb

Related verbs

- *menoo* “pull”
- *menoochek* “I pull it”
- *menomenootek* “I pull it repeatedly” (repetitive)

### Meaning and usage

The verb *menootek* is typically used for boats or ropes, but can refer to any pulling.

- (304) (a) *Menootek* *es kue pekcheech*.  
 “Pull that rope.” AF 2001 (JB)
- (b) *Mos kee nohtenek* ‘*ne-menootek*’.  
 “I can’t pull it.” AF 2001 (JB)
- (c) *Kowecho* *sekeenem* *k’e-menootek*’.  
 “Don’t pull on it hard.” FS 1980 (PP)

### Verbs with similar meanings

The antonym (opposite) of this verb is *myootek* “I push it” (page 215).

### Inflected forms

This verb has no collective.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE	IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>menootek</i>	“I pull it”	<i>’ne-menootek</i>	<i>menootoh</i>	
2 SG	<i>menootem</i>	“you pull it”	<i>k’e-menootek</i>	<i>menootom</i>	<i>menootek</i>
3 SG	<i>menoot</i>	“s/he pulls it”	<i>’ue-menootek</i>	<i>menooteen</i>	
1 PL	<i>menootoh</i>	“we pull it”	<i>’ne-menootoh</i>	<i>menootoh</i>	
2 PL	<i>menootue</i>	“you pull it”	<i>k’e-menootue</i>	<i>menootueh</i>	<i>menootekw</i>
3 PL	<i>menootehl</i>	“they pull it”	<i>’ue-menootehl</i>	<i>menooteen</i>	

An irregular passive formation is documented, below; bipersonals are undocumented.

	PASSIVE INDICATIVE		*SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>menootelek</i>	“I am pulled”	<i>’ne-menootelek</i>	<i>menooteloh</i>
2 SG	<i>menootelem</i>	“you are pulled”	<i>k’e-menootelek</i>	<i>menootelom</i>
3 SG	<i>menootel</i>	“s/he is pulled”	<i>’ue-menootelek</i>	<i>menooteleen</i>
1 PL	<i>menooteloh</i>	“we are pulled”	<i>’ne-menooteloh</i>	<i>menooteloh</i>
2 PL	<i>menootelue</i>	“you are pulled”	<i>k’e-menootelue</i>	<i>menootelueh</i>
3 PL	<i>menootelehl</i>	“they are pulled”	<i>’ue-menootelehl</i>	<i>menooteleen</i>

## 20.7 *Muehlsook'* "I wipe it"

Grammatical description: transitive *oo*-class verb (3 SG -*om'*)

### Meaning and usage

The verb *muehlsook'* refers to wiping any surface or object; in context it can also be translated "erase" or "lick". The verb is transitive, and its object can refer either to the surface or to whatever is removed. Usually cleaning is the purpose.

- (305) (a) *Noohl 'errwerh mehl muehlsom'*.  
 "Then she wiped it (a salmon) with grass." FS 1951 (YL)
- (b) *Mue'hlsos k'er-mert*.  
 "Wipe your nose." AF 2001 (JB)
- (c) *Nek 'ochkaa muehlsook' kue perncherch*.  
 "I am dusting."  
 (LIT. "I am wiping the dust.") GT 2003 (YLCB)

### Verbs with similar meanings

Most verbs in *muehl*- and *mewol*- are distantly related to *muehlsook'*, and have similar meanings, but they are generally more specific: *mewole'eweyek'* "I wipe my eyes", *mewoletewek'* "I wipe my hands", *mewoluehlek'* "I wipe my mouth", simple *mewol'* "it is swept clean", and non-inflected *muehlpey* "lick".

### Inflected forms

This verb has no (documented) collective.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE	IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>muehlsook'</i>	"I wipe it"	<i>'ne-muehlsook'</i>	<i>muehlsoh</i>	
2 SG	<i>muehlsoom'</i>	"you wipe it"	<i>k'e-muehlsook'</i>	<i>muehlsoomom</i>	<i>mue'hlsos</i>
3 SG	<i>muehlsom'</i>	"s/he wipes it"	<i>'ue-muehlsook'</i>	<i>muehlsomeen</i>	
1 PL	<i>muehlsoh</i>	"we wipe it"	<i>'ne-muehlsoh</i>	<i>muehlsoh</i>	
2 PL	<i>muehlsow'</i>	"you wipe it"	<i>k'e-muehlsow'</i>	<i>muehlsow'</i>	<i>muehlsekw</i>
3 PL	<i>muehlsohl</i>	"they wipe it"	<i>'ue-muehlsohl</i>	<i>muehlsomeen</i>	

Third-person passive forms can also be used:

	PASSIVE INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
3 SG	<i>muehlsee'</i>	"it is wiped, someone wipes it"	<i>'ue-muehlsoyek'</i>	<i>muehlsonee</i>
3 PL	<i>muehlsoyehl</i>	"they are wiped, . . ."	<i>'ue-muehlsoyehl</i>	<i>muehlsonee</i>

## 20.8 *Myootek'* "I push it"

Grammatical description: transitive *e*-class verb

### Meaning and usage

The verb *myootek'* can mean "push, shove" or, in an extension of that meaning, "put (clothes) on". That is, in Yurok, you "push" your clothes on. Examples are in (306).

- (306) (a) *Myoot'* *koweesh so sleleek*.  
 "He pushed the pole down." YL 1951
- (b) *Keech myootek'*.  
 "I have shoved it." FS 1980 (PP)
- (c) *Cho' myootem' k'ee k'e-slekwoh*.  
 "Put on your shirt." JJ 2006 (AG)
- (d) *K'e-chah ko myoot'es*.  
 "Put on your pants." JJ 2006 (AG)

### Verbs with similar meanings

Other verbs are more specific, like *'ekahporek'* "I put my hat on" and *myewolesook'* "I push it under water". The opposite is *menootek'* "I pull it" (page 213).

### Inflected forms

This verb has no collective. An irregular passive formation is documented, below; the difference in meaning or usage between the two 3 SG passive forms is unknown.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE	IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>myootek'</i>	"I push it"	<i>'ne-myootek'</i>	<i>myootoh</i>	
2 SG	<i>myootem'</i>	"you push it"	<i>k'e-myootek'</i>	<i>myootom</i>	<i>myoot'es</i>
3 SG	<i>myoot'</i>	"s/he pushes it"	<i>'ue-myootek'</i>	<i>myooteen</i>	
1 PL	<i>myootoh</i>	"we push it"	<i>'ne-myootoh</i>	<i>myootoh</i>	
2 PL	<i>myootue'</i>	"you push it"	<i>k'e-myootue'</i>	<i>myootueh</i>	<i>myootekw</i>
3 PL	<i>myootehl</i>	"they push it"	<i>'ue-myootehl</i>	<i>myooteen</i>	

	PASSIVE INDICATIVE		*SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>myootelek'</i>	"I am pushed"	<i>'ne-myootelek'</i>	<i>myooteloh</i>
2 SG	<i>myootelem'</i>	"you are pushed"	<i>k'e-myootelek'</i>	<i>myootelom</i>
3 SG	<i>myootel',</i> <i>myootue'</i>	"s/he is pushed"	<i>'ue-myootelek',</i> <i>'ue-myootue'</i>	<i>myooteleen</i>
1 PL	<i>myooteloh</i>	"we are pushed"	<i>'ne-myooteloh</i>	<i>myooteloh</i>
2 PL	<i>myootelue'</i>	"you are pushed"	<i>k'e-myootelue'</i>	<i>myootelueh</i>
3 PL	<i>myootelehl</i>	"they are pushed"	<i>'ue-myootelehl</i>	<i>myooteleen</i>

## 20.9 *Negemek'* "I bring it"

Grammatical description: transitive *e*-class verb

### Meaning and usage

This verb can mean "bring, carry along, pack, take" and the like.

- (307) (a) *Cho' negemem' ha'aag.*  
"Take a rock." SW 1902 (ALK)
- (b) *Kue nepuy wee' keech negem'.*  
"That salmon took it." MM 1927 (YT)
- (c) *Cho' negemem' k'er-merw.*  
"Take your lunch." FS 1980 (PP)
- (d) *Ne'ges 'ne-muech ro'.*  
"Borrow my car." AF 2004 (AG)
- (e) *Weet kee neeegemue'.*  
"People will always carry it." DW 1907 (ALK)

The verb in (307e) is the 3 SG passive of the iterative *neeegemek'* "I always carry it".

### Verbs with similar meanings

This must once have been the iterative of a verb †*nemek'*, related to the suffix *-onem-* found in verbs of manipulation, such as *'ekonemek'* "I hold it" (page 204) and *mehlone-mek'* "I touch it"; probably *negemek'* is the most general of these. Other common verbs that can mean "bring" are *hlook'* "I get it" (page 207) and *nowonemek'* "I fetch it".

### Inflected forms

This verb does not have a collective. Third-person passive forms, below, are common.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE	IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>negemek'</i>	"I bring it"	<i>'ne-negemek'</i>	<i>negemoh</i>	
2 SG	<i>negemem'</i>	"you bring it"	<i>k'e-negemek'</i>	<i>negemom</i>	<i>ne'ges</i>
3 SG	<i>negem'</i>	"s/he brings it"	<i>'we-negemek'</i>	<i>negemeen</i>	
1 PL	<i>negemoh</i>	"we bring it"	<i>'ne-negemoh</i>	<i>negemoh</i>	
2 PL	<i>negemue'</i>	"you bring it"	<i>k'e-negemue'</i>	<i>negemueh</i>	<i>negemekw</i>
3 PL	<i>negemehl</i>	"they bring it"	<i>'we-negemehl</i>	<i>negemeen</i>	
	PASSIVE INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE		
3 SG	<i>negemue'</i>	"it is brought, someone brings it"		<i>'we-negemue'</i>	
3 PL	<i>negemelehl</i>	"they are brought, someone brings them"		<i>'we-negemelehl</i>	

## 20.10 *Nekek'* "I put it (in a certain place)"

Grammatical description: transitive *e*-class verb

### Meaning and usage

This is the ordinary verb to express the meaning "put" or "place". It is typically used with an expressed (or questioned) location where something is put. Expressions associated with locations are underlined in (308): *kue 'lahpsew* "the plate" in (308a), *pa'aahl* "water" in (308b), *wee'* "here" in (308c), and *kues* "where?" in (308d).

- (308) (a) *Kue 'lahpsew nek' kue nepuy.*  
 "He put the salmon on the plate." FS 1951 (RHR)
- (b) *Pa'aahl nekue' kue 'yoch.*  
 "The boat was put in the water." GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (c) *Wee' nek'es kue rego'oh.*  
 "Put the feather here." AF 2002 (JB)
- (d) *Kues nekem'?*  
 "Where did you put it?" GT 2003 (YLCB)

It is not necessary to introduce the location with a preverb (such as *o*): *kue 'lahpsew nek'* in (308a) means "he put it on the plate", and *pa'aahl nekue'* in (308b) means "it was put in the water".

Two special combinations are shown in (309–310). The combination *kes nekek'* "I put it down" as in (309) can be used to mean "I misplaced it".

- (309) *Keech kes nekek'.*  
 "I misplaced it." JVP (YD)

As in (310), *skelee nekek'* or *hlkelee nekek'* "I put it on the ground" can just mean "I put it down".

- (310) *Cho' nuemee skuy' soo skelee nekem'.*  
 "Put the spear down carefully." FS 1951 (YL)

### Verbs with similar meanings

The most common verb whose meaning is close to *nekek'* is the verb *lootek'* "I throw it, I toss it, I put it (somewhere) loosely" (page 212). The basic difference between these two verbs is that *nekek'* implies relatively precise placement, as when you are holding something until it is finally in place, while *lootek'* implies loss of contact and less precision in the location expressed. Another verb with a similar meaning is *leketek'* "I pick it up, I put it somewhere", but this verb does not require a location to be expressed.

### Inflected forms

Forms are on page 218. Plural forms of *nekek'* are not actually documented; the passive is used instead. Note that the passive forms of *nekek'* have a stem *nekel-*, except the 3 SG form *nekue'*.





**Figure 20.1:** An immersion lesson on plant names, taught by Annelia Hillman at the Yurok language camp at *Ohpoh*, 2014.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE	IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>nekek'</i>	"I put it"	<i>'ne-nekek'</i>	<i>nekoh</i>	
2 SG	<i>nekem'</i>	"you put it"	<i>k'e-nekek'</i>	<i>nekom</i>	<i>nek'es</i>
3 SG	<i>nek'</i>	"s/he puts it"	<i>'we-nekek'</i>	<i>nekeen</i>	
1 PL	<i>nekoh</i>	"we put it"	<i>'ne-nekoh</i>	<i>nekoh</i>	
2 PL	<i>nekue'</i>	"you put it"	<i>k'e-nekue'</i>	<i>nekueh</i>	<i>nekek'w</i>
3 PL	<i>nekehl</i>	"they put it"	<i>'we-nekehl</i>	<i>nekeen</i>	
	PASSIVE INDICATIVE			SUBJUNCTIVE	
3 SG	<i>nekue'</i>	"it is put, somebody put it"		<i>'we-nekue'</i>	
3 PL	<i>nekelehl</i>	"they are put, somebody put them"		<i>'we-nekelehl</i>	

# Chapter 21

## Verbs of motion

The verbs described in this chapter are listed below. They can be divided into two groups: the very general verbs, and the ones with slightly more specialized meanings.

<i>hegook'</i> "I go" (p. 220)	<i>neskwechook'</i> "I arrive" (p. 230)
<i>kemeyek'</i> "I go home" (p. 222)	<i>nohpewek'</i> "I enter" (p. 231)
<i>kepoyuerek'</i> "I swim" (p. 223)	<i>pkwechook'</i> "I emerge" (p. 232)
<i>kwomhlechook'</i> "I return" (p. 224)	<i>raayo'repek'</i> "I run past" (p. 233)
<i>laayek'</i> "I pass by" (p. 225)	<i>ro'opek'</i> "I run" (p. 234)
<i>megelook'</i> "I go along" (p. 226)	<i>ruerek'</i> "I swim" (p. 235)
<i>menechook'</i> "I disappear" (p. 227)	<i>sootook'</i> "I go" (p. 236)
<i>me'womechook'</i> "I come from" (p. 228)	<i>wenook'</i> "I come" (p. 237)
<i>myaahlkepek'</i> "I jump" (p. 229)	

The slightly more specialized verbs include *kemeyek'* "I go home", *kepoyuerek'* "I swim", *kwomhlechook'* "I return", *laayek'* "I pass by", *megelook'* "I go along", *menechook'* "I disappear", *me'womechook'* "I come from", *myaahlkepek'* "I jump", *neskwechook'* "I arrive", *nohpewek'* "I enter", *pkwechook'* "I emerge", *raayo'repek'* "I run past", *ro'opek'* "I run", and *ruerek'* "I swim". These identify specific manners of motion (such as flying or swimming) or specific directions or paths (such as "emerging" or "past").

The most important general motion verbs are *hegook'*, *sootook'*, and *wenook'*. Of these, *hegook'* can refer to walking as a manner of motion, but more commonly it is just the most general verb meaning "go", not necessarily in any particular direction; it can be used if someone is going to a place, but also if someone is just around an area. By contrast, *sootook'* "I go" and *wenook'* "I come" are directional: *sootook'* implies motion away from some understood reference point, and *wenook'* implies motion toward it.

## 21.1 *Hegook'* "I walk, I go"

Grammatical description: intransitive *oo*-class verb (3 SG *-ok'w*)

Related verb

- collective plural *hoo* (non-inflected)

### Meaning and usage

The most basic meaning of this verb is "walk", as in (311). It may refer to the ability to walk, or it may describe the manner of motion.

- (311) (a) *Keech ho'omoh, tue' neemoksue nohten' 'w-egook'*.  
 "He is hurt, and he is not able to walk." YL 1951
- (b) *'Ne-mehl mehl hegook'*.  
 "I walk with a cane." FS 1980 (PP)

More generally, as in (312), *hegook'* can mean "go, be around, travel (in the area)". In this sense it may refer to undirected motion ("walk around").

- (312) (a) *Kol' lekwseek 'o hegok'w*.  
 "Something is moving around outside." GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (b) *Wee' neenee hegook'*.  
 "I walk about, here and there; I'm around." MM 1927 (ES)

Sometimes the best English translation is "be", "stay", or "be around", as in (313).<sup>1</sup>

- (313) (a) *Kue nek noo hegoaloh, kwelekw nee teloge'mow'*.  
 "Where I was staying, people were sick." FS 1951 (RHR)
- (b) *Ho tenem' kohchee kwegeruer'. Cheekol' nee hoolem'*.  
 "There were once a lot of pigs. They were everywhere." GM 2004 (AG)

This verb can also be used with an expressed goal or direction, as in (314). In this case, a directed-motion preverb like *nue* or *ma* is often used.

- (314) (a) *Nek 'o meguehl kee nue hegook'*.  
 "I am going to the store." GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (b) *Wonew keetee nue hegook'*.  
 "I am going up in the hills." YL 1951

To refer to plural subjects, a collective form or the non-inflected verb *hoo* is usually used, as in (315).

- (315) (a) *Kues hoole'mow'?*  
 "Where are you going?" FS 1980 (PP)
- (b) *Chue yo'k'wen kee nue hoo*.  
 "Let's go someplace." GT 2003 (YLCB)

<sup>1</sup> The word *hegoaloh* in (313a) is the iterative of an alternative 1 SG attributive form *hooloh*.



**Figure 21.1:** Aileen Figueroa, with her daughter Kathleen (Vigil, obscured), drying surf fish at Luffenholtz Beach in 1951. For many years Mrs. Figueroa taught Yurok in community classes and schools, as Mrs. Vigil also does; they also founded the Yurok Elder Wisdom Preservation Project. Photo by Thelma Moore.

### Verbs with similar meanings

The main difference between *hegook'* and *sootook'* (page 236) is that *hegook'* refers to motion that may have no specific direction ("walk, go around"), while *sootook'* refers to motion in a specific direction (from a place, in most cases: "go from here").

### Inflected forms

The verb *hegook'* has an irregular collective stem *hoolem'*; a non-collective plural is not documented. Notably, for this verb, there are dual forms — forms that refer specifically to two people who are going or walking — and the singular imperative is irregular. Note finally the unexpected third-person collective subjunctive ending.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE	IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>hegook'</i>	"I go"	<i>'n-egook'</i>	<i>hegoh</i>	
2 SG	<i>hegoom'</i>	"you go"	<i>k'-egook'</i>	<i>hegoomom</i>	<i>hego'och</i>
3 SG	<i>hegok'w</i>	"s/he goes"	<i>'w-egook'</i>	<i>hegokween</i>	
1 DUAL	<i>hegoo'loh</i>	"we two go"			
2 DUAL	<i>hegoo'lue'</i>	"you two go"			
1 COLL	<i>hoolé'moh</i>	"we go"	<i>'n-oole'moh</i>	<i>hoolé'moh</i>	
2 COLL	<i>hoolé'mow'</i>	"you go"	<i>k'-oole'mow'</i>	<i>hoolé'mow'</i>	<i>hoolé'mekw</i>
3 COLL	<i>hoolé'mehl</i>	"they go"	<i>'w-oole'mek'</i>	<i>hoolé'monee</i>	

## 21.2 *Kemeyek'* "I go home"

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb

### Meaning and usage

This verb's meaning is straightforward: "go home". Related verbs mean "take home" or "bring home".

- (316) (a) *Nek kee kemeyek'*.  
"I am going to go home." GT 2007 (LC)
- (b) *Yo' skewok kee 'ue-kemeyek'*.  
"He wants to go home." FS 1980 (PP)
- (c) *Keech 'ee roo kee 'we-kemeye'mehl*.  
"It's time for them to go home." JVP 2001 (JB)
- (d) *Chue kee keme'yoh*.  
"Let's both go home." FS 1951 (YL)

### Verbs with similar meanings

The root *kemey-* refers to going home, so many verbs with this root have related meanings, including especially *kemeyonemek'* "I take her or him home" and *kemeyuuelesek'* "I bring it (a load) home".

### Inflected forms

The verb *kemeyek'* has a collective. In addition, it has DUAL forms — forms that refer specifically to two people who are going home. Omitted below for reasons of space are the imperative forms: SG *kemes*, PL *kemeyekw*, COLL *kemeye'mekw*.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>kemeyek'</i>	"I go home"	<i>'ne-kemeyek'</i>	<i>kemeyoh</i>
2 SG	<i>kemeyem'</i>	"you go home"	<i>k'e-kemeyek'</i>	<i>kemeyom</i>
3 SG	<i>kemey'</i>	"s/he goes home"	<i>'ue-kemeyek'</i>	<i>kemeyn</i>
1 DUAL	<i>keme'yoh</i>	"we two go home"		
2 DUAL	<i>keme'yue'</i>	"you two go home"		
1 PL	<i>kemeyoh</i>	"we go home"	<i>'ne-kemeyoh</i>	<i>kemeyoh</i>
2 PL	<i>kemeyue'</i>	"you go home"	<i>k'e-kemeyue'</i>	<i>kemeyueh</i>
3 PL	<i>kemeyehl</i>	"they go home"	<i>'ue-kemeyehl</i>	<i>kemeyn</i>
1 COLL	<i>kemeye'moh</i>	"we go home"	<i>'ne-kemeye'moh</i>	<i>kemeye'moh</i>
2 COLL	<i>kemeye'mow'</i>	"you go home"	<i>k'e-kemeye'mow'</i>	<i>kemeye'mow'</i>
3 COLL	<i>kemeye'mehl</i>	"they go home"	<i>'ue-kemeye'mehl</i>	<i>kemeye'monee</i>

## 21.3 *Kepoyuerek* ‘I swim’

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb

### Meaning and usage

This verb refers to swimming as an activity (swimming around, swimming for fun) rather than an ability or skill.

- (317) (a) *Nek hesek' kue **kepoyuerek'***.  
 “I think I’ll go swimming.” FS 1980 (PP)
- (b) *Keech 'ee roo kue **k'e-kepoyuerek'***.  
 “It is time for you to go swimming.” YL 1951
- (c) *Skewok kee '**ne-kepoyuerek'** keeshen.*  
 “I like to swim in summer.” GT 2003 (YLCB)

### Verbs with similar meanings

For other verbs that refer to swimming, see page 235.

### Inflected forms

This verb has a collective *kepoyuereem'*. Omitted below for reasons of space are the imperative forms: SG *kepoyue'res*, PL *kepoyuerekw*, COLL *kepoyueree'mekw*.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>kepoyuerek'</i>	“I swim”	<i>'ne-kepoyuerek'</i>	<i>kepoyueroh</i>
2 SG	<i>kepoyuerem'</i>	“you ...”	<i>k'e-kepoyuerek'</i>	<i>kepoyuerom</i>
3 SG	<i>kepoyuer'</i>	“s/he ...”	<i>'ue-kepoyuerek'</i>	<i>kepoyuereen</i>
1 PL	<i>kepoyueroh</i>	“we ...”	<i>'ne-kepoyueroh</i>	<i>kepoyueroh</i>
2 PL	<i>kepoyuerue'</i>	“you ...”	<i>k'e-kepoyuerue'</i>	<i>kepoyuerueh</i>
3 PL	<i>kepoyuerehl</i>	“they ...”	<i>'ue-kepoyuerehl</i>	<i>kepoyuereen</i>
1 COLL	<i>kepoyueree'moh</i>	“we ...”	<i>'ne-kepoyueree'moh</i>	<i>kepoyueree'moh</i>
2 COLL	<i>kepoyueree'mow'</i>	“you ...”	<i>k'e-kepoyueree'mow'</i>	<i>kepoyueree'mow'</i>
3 COLL	<i>kepoyueree'mehl</i>	“they ...”	<i>'ue-kepoyueree'mehl</i>	<i>kepoyueree'monee</i>

## 21.4 *Kwomhlechook'* "I return"

Grammatical description: intransitive oo-class verb (3 SG -ok'w)

Related verbs

- *kwomhlenek'* "I bring it back"
- *laakwomhlechook'* "I return by a certain route"

### Meaning and usage

This verb means "come back", "go back", or "return"; examples are in (318).

- (318) (a) *Keech kwomhlechook'w.*  
 "He turned back." MM 1927 (ES)
- (b) *Kwomhlechos!*  
 (To a dog that follows you from home:) "Go back!" FS 1980 (PP)

To express the destination or the place from which one is returning, respectively, *so* or *mehl* can be used, as in (319).

- (319) (a) *Kwomhle'moh mehl hehlkeek.*  
 "We returned from inland." LB 1951 (RHR)
- (b) *Kee kwegomhlem' so mer'wermery.*  
 "They (salmon) will always return to the headwaters." LB 1951 (YL)

### Inflected forms

The verb *kwomhlechook'* has an irregular collective *kwomhlem'*; the non-collective plural is rare. Omitted below for reasons of space are the imperative forms: SG *kwomhlechos*, PL *kwomhlechekw*, COLL *kwomhle'mekw*.

	INDICATIVE	SUBJUNCTIVE		ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>kwomhlechook'</i>	"I return"	<i>'ne-kwomhlechook'</i>	<i>kwomhlechoh</i>
2 SG	<i>kwomhlechoom'</i>	"you return"	<i>k'e-kwomhlechook'</i>	<i>kwomhlechoomom</i>
3 SG	<i>kwomhlechook'w</i>	"s/he returns"	<i>'ue-kwomhlechook'</i>	<i>kwomhlechokween</i>
1 PL	<i>kwomhlechoh</i>	"we return"	<i>'ne-kwomhlechoh</i>	<i>kwomhlechoh</i>
2 PL	<i>kwomhlechow'</i>	"you return"	<i>k'e-kwomhlechow'</i>	<i>kwomhlechow'</i>
3 PL	<i>kwomhlechohl</i>	"they return"	<i>'ue-kwomhlechohl</i>	<i>kwomhlechokween</i>
1 COLL	<i>kwomhle'moh</i>	"we return"	<i>'ne-kwomhle'moh</i>	<i>kwomhle'moh</i>
2 COLL	<i>kwomhle'mow'</i>	"you return"	<i>k'e-kwomhle'mow'</i>	<i>kwomhle'mow'</i>
3 COLL	<i>kwomhle'mehl</i>	"they return"	<i>'ue-kwomhle'mek'</i>	<i>kwomhle'monee</i>

## 21.5 *Laayek* “I pass by”

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb

### Meaning and usage

This verb usually means specifically “pass by” or “go alongside (something)”, with a named location as in (320); or it can be translated “go on one’s way” or “keep going”, implying “by” or “alongside” the location of speech or some other implied location as in (321).

- (320) (a) *Reek’ew ’o laay’ so puel.*  
 “Along the edge of the river he went downstream.” MM 1927 (YT)
- (b) *Kerkue’yermercheen laayekws ma laayek’.*  
 “I walked along a crooked trail.” FS 1980 (PP)
- (321) (a) *Koweecho kem nuek’wo laayem’!*  
 “Don’t come here again!” FS 1951 (YL)
- (b) *Kwahhley ’oohl wonue kee ’we-laayek’.*  
 “It is forbidden for a person to pass over it.” YL 1951

### Verbs with similar meanings

All verbs that begin with *laay-*, *raay-*, or *maay-* have to do with passing. Some examples are *laayolek’* “I fly past”, *laayonemek’* “I bring it past”, *maayek’* “I pass by”, *maayor’* “run past”, and *raayuerek’* “I swim by”, as well as *raayo’repek’*, *raayor’*, and *raayo’omah* (page 233). There are many others, but *laayek’* is the most common general verb in this area.

### Inflected forms

The verb *laayek’* has a collective stem *laayem’*; note the irregular 3 PL collective subjunctive form.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE	*IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>laayek’</i>	“I pass by”	<i>’ne-laayek’</i>	<i>laayoh</i>	
2 SG	<i>laayem’</i>	“you pass by”	<i>k’e-laayek’</i>	<i>laayom</i>	<i>laa’yes</i>
3 SG	<i>laay’</i>	“s/he passes by”	<i>’we-laayek’</i>	<i>laayn</i>	
1 PL	<i>laayoh</i>	“we pass by”	<i>’ne-laayoh</i>	<i>laayoh</i>	
2 PL	<i>laayue’</i>	“you pass by”	<i>k’e-laayue’</i>	<i>laayueh</i>	<i>laayekw</i>
3 PL	<i>laayehl</i>	“they pass by”	<i>’we-laayehl</i>	<i>laayn</i>	
1 COLL	<i>laaye’moh</i>	“we pass by”	<i>’ne-laaye’moh</i>	<i>laaye’moh</i>	
2 COLL	<i>laaye’mow’</i>	“you pass by”	<i>k’e-laaye’mow’</i>	<i>laaye’mow’</i>	<i>laaye’mekw</i>
3 COLL	<i>laaye’mehl</i>	“they pass by”	<i>’we-laaye’mek’</i>	<i>laaye’monee</i>	



## 21.6 *Megelook'* "I go along"

Grammatical description: intransitive *oo*-class verb (3 SG *-ok'w*); but *megelook'* sometimes has *o*-class forms (such as 3 SG *megel'*)

### Meaning and usage

This verb is often used in the singular to mean "accompany me, us, you, her, him, or them" — referring to whoever is salient in the discourse. Examples are in (322); a good translation is often "come along".

- (322) (a) *To' kee megelook'*.  
 "I'll go (with you)." MM 1927 (YT)
- (b) *Skewok kelew kee k'e-megelow'*.  
 "I want you all to come (with me)." YL 1951

If it is necessary to specify, the preposition *ho* can be used as in (323a–b); or *'o* as in (323c). The difference between *ho* and *'o* in this construction is unclear.

- (323) (a) *Megel' ho nekah*.  
 "He comes with us." YL 1951
- (b) *Tue' neemoksue megelook' ho kelew*.  
 I am not coming with you." YL 1951
- (c) *Keech megelok'w Merkwteeks 'o kue 'w-ahpewehl*.  
 "Crane went with his wives." MM 1927 (YT)

The patterns in (323) are uncommon in comparison with the common pattern of (322).

### Inflected forms

The verb *megelook'* has two collective variants, *megeluuem'* (below) and *megeloom'* (not shown), but the non-collective plural is at least as common in documented examples. Omitted below for reasons of space are the imperative forms: SG *mege'los*, PL *megelekw*, COLL *megeluue'mekw*.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>megelook'</i>	"I go along"	<i>'ne-megelook'</i>	<i>megeloh</i>
2 SG	<i>megeloom'</i>	"you go along"	<i>k'e-megelook'</i>	<i>megeloomom</i>
3 SG	<i>megelok'w</i>	"s/he goes along"	<i>'ue-megelook'</i>	<i>megelokween</i>
1 PL	<i>megeloh</i>	"we go along"	<i>'ne-megeloh</i>	<i>megeloh</i>
2 PL	<i>megelow'</i>	"you go along"	<i>k'e-megelow'</i>	<i>megelueh</i>
3 PL	<i>megelohl</i>	"they go along"	<i>'ue-megelohl</i>	<i>megelokween</i>
1 COLL	<i>megeluue'moh</i>	"we go along"	<i>'ne-megeluue'moh</i>	<i>megeluue'moh</i>
2 COLL	<i>megeluue'mow'</i>	"you go along"	<i>k'e-megeluue'mow'</i>	<i>megeluue'mow'</i>
3 COLL	<i>megeluue'mehl</i>	"they go along"	<i>'ue-megeluue'mehl</i>	<i>megeluue'monee</i>

## 21.7 Menehook' "I disappear"

Grammatical description: intransitive *oo*-class verb (3 SG *-ok'w*)

### Meaning and usage

This verb conveys the sense "disappear" or "vanish", not simply "go away". It can refer to people or to anything else that can move and vanish:

- (324) (a) *Keech menechok'w kue 'ne-ka'ar.*  
 "My pet has disappeared." FS 1951 (YL)
- (b) *Naageen cho' menech'os!*  
 "Move out of the way!" FS 1980 (PP)
- (c) *Noohl 'o mene'mehl so heer.*  
 "Then they disappeared inland." FS 1951 (YL)

The phrase *kue ho menechoh* "where it disappears to" (containing an alternative 3 SG attributive form *menechoh*) refers to "the west", where the sun sets.

### Inflected forms

The verb *menehook'* has two collective stems: *menem'* (below) and *menechuuem'* (not shown here).

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE	IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>menehook'</i>	"I disappear"	<i>'ne-menehook'</i>	<i>menechoh</i>	
2 SG	<i>menechoom'</i>	"you disappear"	<i>k'e-menehook'</i>	<i>menechoomom</i>	<i>menech'os</i>
3 SG	<i>menechok'w</i>	"s/he disappears"	<i>'ue-menehook'</i>	<i>menechokween</i>	
1 PL	<i>menechoh</i>	"we disappear"	<i>'ne-menechoh</i>	<i>menechoh</i>	
2 PL	<i>menechow'</i>	"you disappear"	<i>k'e-menechow'</i>	<i>menechow'</i>	<i>menechekw</i>
3 PL	<i>menechohl</i>	"they disappear"	<i>'ue-menechohl</i>	<i>menechokween</i>	
1 COLL	<i>menem'moh</i>	"we disappear"	<i>'ne-menem'moh</i>	<i>menem'moh</i>	
2 COLL	<i>menem'mow'</i>	"you disappear"	<i>k'e-menem'mow'</i>	<i>menem'mow'</i>	<i>menem'mekw</i>
3 COLL	<i>menem'mehl</i>	"they disappear"	<i>'ue-menem'mehl</i>	<i>menem'monee</i>	

## 21.8 *Me'womechook'* "I come from (a place)"

Grammatical description: intransitive oo-class verb (3 SG -ok'w)

Related verbs

- *mew'* "come from" (non-inflected)
- *me'womey* "come from" (non-inflected)
- *mue'monek'* "I bring (it) from (a place)"

### Meaning and usage

This verb can refer to the place where a person originally comes from, or to the place where one happens to be traveling from. The place is named or questioned, and requires no additional preposition or preverb:

- (325) (a) *Kues me'womechoom'? Muerekw me'womechook'.*  
 "Where do you come from? I come from Muerekw." GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (b) *Noohl 'O Chaahl 'we-Repokw me'womechok'w 'oohl.*  
 "Then a man came from 'O Chaahl 'we-Repokw." FS 1951 (YL)
- (c) *Heekoch me'womem'.*  
 "They came from across (the river)." FS 1980 (PP)
- (d) *Rek'woy 'ne-mew'.*  
 "I come from Requa." AF 2004 (AG)

### Verbs with similar meanings

More specialized verbs include *me'wop'* "it (liquid) comes from" and *me'womuenowok'* "I grow from (a place)", as well as *mer'wermeryk'* "it (a stream or river) comes from (a place or direction)" and *mer'wermerk'ws* "it (the wind) blows from (a place or direction)".

### Inflected forms

The verb *me'womechook'* has a collective stem *me'womem'*.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>me'womechook'</i>	"I come from"	<i>'ne-me'womechook'</i>	<i>me'womechoh</i>
2 SG	<i>me'womechoom'</i>	"you come from"	<i>k'e-me'womechook'</i>	<i>me'womechoomom</i>
3 SG	<i>me'womechok'w</i>	"s/he comes from"	<i>'ue-me'womechook'</i>	<i>me'womechokween</i>
1 PL	<i>me'womechoh</i>	"we come from"	<i>'ne-me'womechoh</i>	<i>me'womechoh</i>
2 PL	<i>me'womechow'</i>	"you come from"	<i>k'e-me'womechow'</i>	<i>me'womechoomom</i>
3 PL	<i>me'womechohl</i>	"they come from"	<i>'ue-me'womechohl</i>	<i>me'womechokween</i>
1 COLL	<i>me'wome'moh</i>	"we come from"	<i>'ne-me'wome'moh</i>	<i>me'wome'moh</i>
2 COLL	<i>me'wome'mow'</i>	"you come from"	<i>k'e-me'wome'mow'</i>	<i>me'wome'mow'</i>
3 COLL	<i>me'wome'mehl</i>	"they come from"	<i>'ue-me'wome'mehl</i>	<i>me'wome'monee</i>

## 21.9 *Myaahlkepek'* "I jump"

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb

Related verbs

- *myah* "jump" (non-inflected)
- *myaahlkah* "jump" (non-inflected)
- *myaahlkahpeemek'* 'I jump at it'
- *laamyahlkepek'* 'I jump in front of it'

### Meaning and usage

The verb *myaahlkepek'* and the common non-inflected *myah* mean "jump", as in (326).

- (326) (a) *Kowecho' wo'eek ho myaahlkepem'*.  
"Don't jump in the middle." AF 2001 (JB)
- (b) *Kwesee neekke 'ue-myaahlkepek' kue wergers.*  
"And then the fox jumped." FS 1951 (YL)
- (c) *Newook' cheer'ery pa'aahl ho myah 'o heekoh.*  
"I saw a bear jump into the river." GT 2007 (LC)

As shown in (327), inanimate objects can also be said to "jump" using this verb. Iterative *myegah* in (327b) expresses the repeated jumping as the rock bounces down a hillside.

- (327) (a) *Heekoch hes 'o myah kue 'we-le'loyhl pa'aahl?*  
"Did the fire jump across the water?" JJ 2007 (LC)
- (b) *Keskeek so myegah ha'aag.*  
"A rock was jumping down (a hillside)." FS 1980 (PP)

### Inflected forms

There is a collective *myaahlkepeem'*; or non-inflected *myah* is used in plural contexts. Imperatives are omitted to save space below: SG *myaahlkep'es*, PL *myaahlkepekw*, COLL *myaahlkepee'mekw*.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>myaahlkepek'</i>	"I jump"	<i>'ne-myaahlkepek'</i>	<i>myaahlkepoh</i>
2 SG	<i>myaahlkepem'</i>	"you jump"	<i>k'e-myaahlkepek'</i>	<i>myaahlkepom</i>
3 SG	<i>myaahlkep'</i>	"s/he jumps"	<i>'ue-myaahlkepek'</i>	<i>myaahlkepeen</i>
1 PL	<i>myaahlkepoh</i>	"we jump"	<i>'ne-myaahlkepoh</i>	<i>myaahlkepoh</i>
2 PL	<i>myaahlkepue'</i>	"you jump"	<i>k'e-myaahlkepue'</i>	<i>myaahlkepueh</i>
3 PL	<i>myaahlkepehl</i>	"they jump"	<i>'ue-myaahlkepehl</i>	<i>myaahlkepeen</i>
1 COLL	<i>myaahlkepee'moh</i>	"we jump"	<i>'ne-myaahlkepoh</i>	<i>myaahlkepee'moh</i>
2 COLL	<i>myaahlkepee'mow'</i>	"you jump"	<i>k'e-myaahlkepee'mow'</i>	<i>myaahlkepee'mow'</i>
3 COLL	<i>myaahlkepee'mehl</i>	"they jump"	<i>'ue-myaahlkepee'mehl</i>	<i>myaahlkepee'monee</i>

## 21.10 *Neskwehook* ‘I come, I arrive’

Grammatical description: intransitive *oo*-class verb (3 SG *-ok’w*)

Related verb

- *nes* ‘come, arrive’ (non-inflected)

### Meaning and usage

This common verb means ‘go nearby’ (*neskwenee* ‘nearby’) and can often be translated ‘arrive, come, get there’. In examples like (328) the destination is understood in context.

- (328) (a) *Wokhlew k’ee ma k’e-nuue’mow’.*  
 ‘Thank you for coming.’ GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (b) *Keech ’ela ’e’gah kue nuue’monee.*  
 ‘Those who had arrived were having a meal.’ YL 1951

To specify a destination or source, respectively, *ho* or *mehl* can be used as in (329).

- (329) (a) *’O neskwechok’w ho mer’wermery.*  
 ‘He came to the headwaters.’ LB 1951 (YL)
- (b) *Noohl wonekuek ho neskwechoom’.*  
 ‘Then you arrive uphill.’ GM 2008 (AG)
- (c) *Chmeyaan neskwechook’ mehl Kohpey.*  
 ‘Yesterday I came from Crescent City.’ YL 1951

### Inflected forms

This verb has an irregular collective *nuuem’*. Omitted below for reasons of space are the (undocumented) imperative forms: SG *neskwech’os*, PL *neskwechekw*, COLL *nuue’mekw*.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>neskwechook’</i>	‘I arrive’	<i>’ne-neskwechook’</i>	<i>neskwechoh</i>
2 SG	<i>neskwechoom’</i>	‘you arrive’	<i>k’e-neskwechook’</i>	<i>neskwechoomom</i>
3 SG	<i>neskwechok’w</i>	‘s/he arrives’	<i>’ue-neskwechook’</i>	<i>neskwechokween</i>
1 PL	<i>neskwechoh</i>	‘we arrive’	<i>’ne-neskwechoh</i>	<i>neskwechoh</i>
2 PL	<i>neskwechow’</i>	‘you arrive’	<i>k’e-neskwechow’</i>	<i>neskwechoomom</i>
3 PL	<i>neskwechohl</i>	‘they arrive’	<i>’we-neskwechohl</i>	<i>neskwechokween</i>
1 COLL	<i>nuue’moh</i>	‘we arrive’	<i>’ne-nuue’moh</i>	<i>nuue’moh</i>
2 COLL	<i>nuue’mow’</i>	‘you arrive’	<i>k’e-nuue’mow’</i>	<i>nuue’mow’</i>
3 COLL	<i>nuue’mehl</i>	‘they arrive’	<i>’we-nuue’mehl</i>	<i>nuue’monee</i>

## 21.11 *Nohpewek'* "I enter"

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb

Related verb

- *noh* "enter" (non-inflected)

### Meaning and usage

This verb refers to entering a house, or (traditionally) to "half-marriage" (in which the husband moved into his wife's family's household).

- (330) (a) *Keech nohpewek'*.  
"I went inside." FS 1980 (PP)
- (b) *Kos'elson ma ko 'ne-nohpewek'*.  
"I wish I had gone in." YL 1951
- (c) *Wer'yers keech nohpew'*.  
"The girl came in." FS 1951 (RHR)
- (d) *Nohp'ewes nue rekwoh k'er-ler'ergerh*.  
"Come in and drink some coffee." GT 2003 (YLCB)

### Verbs with similar meanings

To express the meaning "go in", expressions like *wo'EEK hegook'* "I went in" are also possible. Of course the word *o'lomah* "come in!" also has a similar meaning in its restricted (command) context.

### Inflected forms

This verb has a collective stem *nohpewee'm'*. Omitted below for reasons of space are the imperative forms: SG *nohpewes*, PL *nohpewekw*, COLL *nohpewee'mekw*.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>nohpewek'</i>	"I enter"	<i>'ne-nohpewek'</i>	<i>nohpewoh</i>
2 SG	<i>nohpewem'</i>	"you enter"	<i>k'e-nohpewek'</i>	<i>nohpewom</i>
3 SG	<i>nohpew'</i>	"s/he enters"	<i>'we-nohpewek'</i>	<i>nohpeween</i>
1 PL	<i>nohpewoh</i>	"we enter"	<i>'ne-nohpewoh</i>	<i>nohpewoh</i>
2 PL	<i>nohpewue'</i>	"you enter"	<i>k'e-nohpewue'</i>	<i>nohpewueh</i>
3 PL	<i>nohpewehl</i>	"they enter"	<i>'we-nohpewehl</i>	<i>nohpeween</i>
1 COLL	<i>nohpewee'moh</i>	"we enter"	<i>'ne-nohpewee'moh</i>	<i>nohpewee'moh</i>
2 COLL	<i>nohpewee'mow'</i>	"you enter"	<i>k'e-nohpewee'mow'</i>	<i>nohpewee'mow'</i>
3 COLL	<i>nohpewee'mehl</i>	"they enter"	<i>'we-nohpewee'mehl</i>	<i>nohpewee'monee</i>

## 21.12 *Pkwehook'* "I emerge"

Grammatical description: intransitive oo-class verb (3 SG -ok'w)

Related verb

- *pkwenek'* "I bring (it) out (of a place)"

### Meaning and usage

This verb can refer to plants sprouting out of the ground, hidden people coming into view, or the emergence of any absent or invisible thing. Examples are in (331).

- (331) (a) *Keech kyue 'o pkwechok'w.*  
"He came into view there." GT 2007 (AG)
- (b) *Keech chyue pkwe'mehl.*  
"They all came into view." FS 1980 (PP)
- (c) *Keech pkwem'.*  
(Of new plants:) "They have sprouted." FS 1980 (PP)

### Inflected forms

The verb *pkwehook'* has an irregular collective plural *pkwem'* as well as a less frequent regularly formed collective *pkwechoom'*, not shown below.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE	IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>pkwehook'</i>	"I emerge"	<i>'ne-pkwehook'</i>	<i>pkwechoh</i>	
2 SG	<i>pkwechoom'</i>	"you emerge"	<i>k'e-pkwehook'</i>	<i>pkwechoomom</i>	<i>pkwech'os</i>
3 SG	<i>pkwechok'w</i>	"s/he emerges"	<i>'ue-pkwehook'</i>	<i>pkwechokween</i>	
1 PL	<i>pkwechoh</i>	"we emerge"	<i>'ne-pkwechoh</i>	<i>pkwechoh</i>	
2 PL	<i>pkwechow'</i>	"you emerge"	<i>k'e-pkwechow'</i>	<i>pkwechoomom</i>	<i>pkwechekw</i>
3 PL	<i>pkwechohl</i>	"they emerge"	<i>'ue-pkwechohl</i>	<i>pkwechokween</i>	
1 COLL	<i>pkwe'moh</i>	"we emerge"	<i>'ne-pkwe'moh</i>	<i>pkwe'moh</i>	
2 COLL	<i>pkwe'mow'</i>	"you emerge"	<i>k'e-pkwe'mow'</i>	<i>pkwe'mow'</i>	<i>pkwe'mekw</i>
3 COLL	<i>pkwe'mehl</i>	"they emerge"	<i>'ue-pkwe'mehl</i>	<i>pkwe'monee</i>	



## 21.13 *Raayo'repek'* "I run past"

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb

Related verbs

- *raayor'* "run past" (non-inflected)
- *raayo'omah* "run past" (non-inflected collective)

### Meaning and usage

This verb means "run along" or "run past", and usually expresses the place along which the subject runs. Examples are in (332).

- (332) (a) *Segep reek'ew 'o raayo'rep'*.  
"Coyote ran along the shore." MM 1927 (YT)
- (b) *Hehlkue nee raayor'*.  
"He ran along the bank." FS 1951 (YL)

The subject of *raayo'repek'* can be an inanimate entities like a boat as in (333a) or even water as in (333b).

- (333) (a) *'Emehl raayor' kue 'yoch*.  
"The boat was passing near by there." YL 1951
- (b) *Cho' nue tohpew weet kee raayor' kue pa'ah*.  
"Go dig a hole where the water runs past." FS 1980 (PP)

See page 234 for other verbs meaning "run".

### Inflected forms

The verb *raayo'repek'* has a non-inflected collective *raayo'omah*; non-inflected *raayor'* can also be used.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE	IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>raayo'repek'</i>	"I run past"	<i>'ne-raayo'repek'</i>	<i>raayo'repoh</i>	
2 SG	<i>raayo'repem'</i>	"you run past"	<i>k'e-raayo'repek'</i>	<i>raayo'repom</i>	<i>raayo'rep'es</i>
3 SG	<i>raayo'rep'</i>	"s/he runs past"	<i>'we-raayo'repek'</i>	<i>raayo'repeen</i>	
1 PL	<i>raayo'repoh</i>	"we run past"	<i>'ne-raayo'repoh</i>	<i>raayo'repoh</i>	
2 PL	<i>raayo'repue'</i>	"you run past"	<i>k'e-raayo'repue'</i>	<i>raayo'repueh</i>	<i>raayo'repek'w</i>
3 PL	<i>raayo'repehl</i>	"they run past"	<i>'we-raayo'repehl</i>	<i>raayo'repeen</i>	
1 COLL	<i>raayo'omah</i>	"we run past"	<i>'ne-raayo'omah</i>		
2 COLL	<i>raayo'omah</i>	"you run past"	<i>k'e-raayo'omah</i>		
3 COLL	<i>raayo'omah</i>	"they run past"	<i>'we-raayo'omah</i>		



## 21.14 *Ro'opek'* "I run"

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb

Related verbs

- *ro'* "run" (non-inflected)
- *lo'omah* "run" (non-inflected collective)

### Meaning and usage

*Ro'opek'* is the most common verb meaning "run". It may refer to the activity of running, or it may express direction or location.

- (334) (a) *Puuek ro'op'*.  
"The deer was running." YL 1951
- (b) *Tepoonohl keech ro'op'*.  
"It ran into the timber." FS 1980 (PP)
- (c) *Keech wey 'we-ro'*.  
"It stopped running." AF 2001 (JB)
- (d) *Keech lo'omah*.  
"They're all running." AF 2001 (JB)



### Verbs with similar meanings

Other verbs with similar meanings include *ro'onek'* "I run" and *ro'onepek'* "I run", as well as many verbs with more specific meanings, such as *hooror'* "run around" and *weno'omor'* "run (in a relative position)".

### Inflected forms

The non-inflected collective plural *lo'omah* is almost always used as the plural of *ro'opek'*.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE	IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>ro'opek'</i>	"I run"	<i>'ne-ro'opek'</i>	<i>ro'opoh</i>	
2 SG	<i>ro'opem'</i>	"you run"	<i>k'e-ro'opek'</i>	<i>ro'opom</i>	<i>ro'op'es</i>
3 SG	<i>ro'op'</i>	"s/he runs"	<i>'we-ro'opek'</i>	<i>ro'opeen</i>	
1 PL	<i>ro'opoh</i>	"we run"	<i>'ne-ro'opoh</i>	<i>ro'opoh</i>	
2 PL	<i>ro'opue'</i>	"you run"	<i>k'e-ro'opue'</i>	<i>ro'opueh</i>	<i>ro'opekw</i>
3 PL	<i>ro'opehl</i>	"they run"	<i>'we-ro'opehl</i>	<i>ro'opeen</i>	
1 COLL	<i>lo'omah</i>	"we run"	<i>'ne-lo'omah</i>		
2 COLL	<i>lo'omah</i>	"you run"	<i>k'e-lo'omah</i>		
3 COLL	<i>lo'omah</i>	"they run"	<i>'we-lo'omah</i>		

## 21.15 *Ruerek* ‘I swim’

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb

### Meaning and usage

This verb refers to swimming as an ability or skill.

- (335) (a) *Kues no' nekomuy k'e-ruerek'?*  
 “When did you learn to swim?” AF 2005 (JB)
- (b) *Chpaanee' hes k'e-ruerek'?*  
 “Is it too far for you to swim?” FS 1980 (PP)
- (c) *Mos kee nohtenek' 'ne-ruerek'.*  
 “I am unable to swim.” YL 1951

### Verbs with similar meanings

It should not be surprising that Yurok has many verbs that refer to swimming. The three most common are *kepuyuerék* (page 223), *ruerek* ‘I swim’, and *weno'omuerek* ‘I swim (in a certain direction or location)’. The last of these refers to a direction or location of swimming; other verbs in *weno'om-* are used in similar ways. The difference between *kepuyuerék* and *ruerek* is that *ruerek* refers to swimming as an ability or skill, while *kepuyuerék* means ‘go swimming (for fun)’. There are also more specific verbs in this area, including *raayuerek* ‘I swim by’, *sekoyuerék* ‘I swim quickly’, and others.

### Inflected forms

This verb has a collective stem *ruereem'*.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE	*IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>ruerek'</i>	“I swim”	<i>'ne-ruerek'</i>	<i>rueroh</i>	
2 SG	<i>ruerem'</i>	“you swim”	<i>k'e-ruerek'</i>	<i>ruerom</i>	<i>rué'res</i>
3 SG	<i>ruer'</i>	“s/he swims”	<i>'we-ruerek'</i>	<i>ruereen</i>	
1 PL	<i>rueroh</i>	“we swim”	<i>'ne-rueroh</i>	<i>rueroh</i>	
2 PL	<i>ruerue'</i>	“you swim”	<i>k'e-ruerue'</i>	<i>ruerueh</i>	<i>ruerekw</i>
3 PL	<i>ruerehl</i>	“they swim”	<i>'we-ruerehl</i>	<i>ruereen</i>	
1 COLL	<i>rueree'moh</i>	“we swim”	<i>'ne-rueree'moh</i>	<i>rueree'moh</i>	
2 COLL	<i>rueree'mow'</i>	“you swim”	<i>k'e-rueree'mow'</i>	<i>rueree'mow'</i>	<i>rueree'mekw</i>
3 COLL	<i>rueree'mehl</i>	“they swim”	<i>'we-rueree'mehl</i>	<i>rueree'monee</i>	

## 21.16 *Sootook'* "I go, I leave"

Grammatical description: intransitive *oo*-class verb (3 SG *-ok'w*)

Related verb

- *soot'* "s/he goes, leaves" (3 SG form of an otherwise undocumented verb, presumably either *o*-class *sootook'* or *e*-class *sootek'*)

### Meaning and usage

This verb means "go" generally, or more specifically "leave". As seen in (336), a direction or destination is ordinarily expressed in sentences with *sootook'*:

- (336) (a) *Lekwsee soot'os!*  
"Go outside!" GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (b) *Nekah pechue keetee le'moh.*  
"We're going upriver." FS 1951 (RS)
- (c) *Pa'aahl'o sootook'.*  
"I'll go into the water." MM 1927 (YT)
- (d) *Kues keech soot'? . . . To' Was'ey sootok'w.*  
"Where has he gone? He went to Was'ey." RS 1933 (PJS)
- (e) *Perwerhkuek kee sootook'.*  
"I will go south along the coast." BW 1907 (YM)

### Verbs with similar meanings

The main difference between *hegook'* (page 220) and *sootook'* is that *hegook'* refers to motion that may not have a specific direction ("go around"), while *sootook'* refers to motion in a specific direction (from a place, in most cases: "go from here").

### Inflected forms

The verb *sootook'* has an irregular collective plural *lem'*.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE	IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>sootook'</i>	"I go"	<i>'ne-sootook'</i>	<i>sootoh</i>	
2 SG	<i>sootoom'</i>	"you go"	<i>k'e-sootook'</i>	<i>sootoomom</i>	<i>soot'os</i>
3 SG	<i>sootok'w</i>	"s/he goes"	<i>'we-sootook'</i>	<i>sootokween</i>	
1 PL	<i>sootoh</i>	"we go"	<i>'ne-sootoh</i>	<i>sootoh</i>	
2 PL	<i>sootow'</i>	"you go"	<i>k'e-sootow'</i>	<i>sootow'</i>	<i>sootekw</i>
3 PL	<i>sootohl</i>	"they go"	<i>'we-sootohl</i>	<i>sootokween</i>	
1 COLL	<i>le'moh</i>	"we go"	<i>'ne-le'moh</i>	<i>le'moh</i>	
2 COLL	<i>le'mow'</i>	"you go"	<i>k'e-le'mow'</i>	<i>le'mow'</i>	<i>le'mekw</i>
3 COLL	<i>le'mehl</i>	"they go"	<i>'we-le'mehl</i>	<i>le'monee</i>	

## 21.17 *Wenook'* "I come"

Grammatical description: intransitive *oo*-class verb (3 SG *-ok'w*)

### Meaning and usage

This verb means "come", expressing motion toward what linguists call the DEICTIC CENTER — the speaker, or whatever location is contextually understood as a central reference point. Examples are in (337).

- (337) (a) *To' kee kem wenook'*.  
 "I will come again." LT 1922 (GR)
- (b) *Newook' kue wenchokws 'ue-wenook'*.  
 "I saw the woman coming." JVP 2001 (JB)

The examples in (338) show that the destination can be expressed with a simple adverbial or noun phrase.

- (338) (a) *Neskwee keech wenok'w*.  
 "He is coming near." YL 1951
- (b) *Wenos 'o heetoy*.  
 "Come here." YL 1951
- (c) *Weno'e'mekw kue nekah 'no-o'hl*.  
 "Come to our house." FS 1951 (YL)

### Inflected forms

The verb *wenook'* has an irregular collective *weno'eem'*, with an alternative *weno'em'* as in (338c). To save space below, imperative forms are omitted: SG *wenos*, PL *wenekw*, COLL *weno'ee'mekw*.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>wenook'</i>	"I come"	<i>'ne-wenook'</i>	<i>wenoh</i>
2 SG	<i>wenoom'</i>	"you come"	<i>k'e-wenook'</i>	<i>wenoomom</i>
3 SG	<i>wenok'w</i>	"s/he comes"	<i>'ue-wenook'</i>	<i>wenokween</i>
1 PL	<i>wenoh</i>	"we come"	<i>'ne-wenoh</i>	<i>wenoh</i>
2 PL	<i>wenow'</i>	"you come"	<i>k'e-wenow'</i>	<i>wenow'</i>
3 PL	<i>wenohl</i>	"they come"	<i>'ue-wenohl</i>	<i>wenokween</i>
1 COLL	<i>weno'ee'moh</i>	"we come"	<i>'ne-weno'ee'moh</i>	<i>weno'ee'monoh</i>
2 COLL	<i>weno'ee'mow'</i>	"you come"	<i>k'e-weno'ee'mow'</i>	<i>weno'ee'monow'</i>
3 COLL	<i>weno'ee'mehl</i>	"they come"	<i>'ue-weno'ee'mehl</i>	<i>weno'ee'monee</i>



**Figure 21.2:** Captain Spott, 1907. A very knowledgeable elder in the 19th century and early 20th century, and the adoptive father of Alice and Robert Spott, he recorded songs and stories for A. L. Kroeber and taught him about the Yurok language. Photo by J. A. Meiser.

## Chapter 22

# Verbs of perception and thinking

The following verbs are described in this chapter:

<i>chpa'royok'</i> "I listen" (p. 240)	<i>ko'moyok'</i> "I hear it" (p. 246)
<i>chperwerkseemek'</i> "I remember him" (p. 241)	<i>nee'nek'</i> "I look at it" (p. 250)
<i>hesek'</i> "I think" (p. 243)	<i>nee'nowok'</i> "I watch it" (p. 251)
<i>hlkyorkwek'</i> "I watch it" (p. 245)	<i>nekomuykook'</i> "I know how" (p. 254)
<i>komchuemek'</i> "I know it" (p. 248)	<i>newook'</i> "I see it" (p. 255)
	<i>soosek'</i> "I think (so)" (p. 258)

The most general verbs of thinking are *hesek'* "I think" and *soosek'* "I think (so)", which differ in that *hesek'* highlights the content of a thought and *soosek'* highlights the type of thought. The four main perception verbs above can be classified as shown in the following table:

	SOURCE-ORIENTED		EXPERIENCER-ORIENTED	
HEARING	<i>ko'moyok'</i>	"I hear it"	<i>chpa'royok'</i>	"I listen"
SIGHT	<i>newook'</i>	"I see it"	<i>nee'nek'</i>	"I look at it"

In each modality — hearing and sight — there is a source-oriented verb as well as an experiencer-oriented verb. The source-oriented verb highlights the source of the sound or sight; you do not usually choose whether to hear or see something. The experiencer-oriented verb highlights the activity of the subject, who can try to listen or look at something of interest. The English translations also convey the same meaning.

## 22.1 *Chpa'royok' "I listen"*

Grammatical description: optionally transitive o-class verb

Related verb

- *chpegar'* "hear" (non-inflected iterative; also functions as a noun "ear")

### Meaning and usage

This verb means "I listen", with a meaning like that of its English translation. An example with no overt object is in (339).

- (339) *Kel' cho' chpa'royom'*.  
 "You should listen (to me)." JVP 2001 (JB)

What the subject listens to can be expressed as a subjunctive phrase, as in (340).

- (340) (a) *Yo'hlkoh chpa'royohl 'ne-chwegeen.*  
 "They listen to me talk." GT 2003 (YLCB)  
 (b) *Cho' nuemee chpa'royom' k'ee nekee' soch.*  
 "Listen carefully to what I say." FS 1951 (YL)

Perhaps unexpectedly, the iterative *chpega'royok'* means "I ask, I inquire, I question", as in (341).

- (341) *Noohl 'o chpega'roy' kue 'ne-psech ho kue meweemor.*  
 "Then my father asked (LIT. to) the old man." FS 1951 (YL)

### Verbs with similar meanings

The verb *ko'moyok'* "I hear it" (page 246) differs in that *chpa'royok'* is experiencer-oriented while *ko'moyok'* is source-oriented (see page 239).

### Inflected forms

This verb has a collective stem *chpa'royoom'*. Imperative forms are omitted below to save space: SG *hechpar'* (irregular) or *chpa'royos*, PL *chpa'royekw*, COLL *chpa'royoo'mekw*.

	INDICATIVE		*SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>chpa'royok'</i>	"I listen"	<i>'ne-chpa'royok'</i>	<i>chpa'royoh</i>
2 SG	<i>chpa'royom'</i>	"you listen"	<i>k'e-chpa'royok'</i>	<i>chpa'royoomom</i>
3 SG	<i>chpa'roy'</i>	"s/he listens"	<i>'we-chpa'royok'</i>	<i>chpa'royomeen</i>
1 PL	<i>chpa'royoh</i>	"we listen"	<i>'ne-chpa'royoh</i>	<i>chpa'royoh</i>
2 PL	<i>chpa'royow'</i>	"you listen"	<i>k'e-chpa'royow'</i>	<i>chpa'royow</i>
3 PL	<i>chpa'royohl</i>	"they listen"	<i>'we-chpa'royohl</i>	<i>chpa'royomeen</i>
1 COLL	<i>chpa'royoo'moh</i>	"we listen"	<i>'ne-chpa'royoo'moh</i>	<i>chpa'royoo'moh</i>
2 COLL	<i>chpa'royoo'mow'</i>	"you listen"	<i>k'e-chpa'royoo'mow'</i>	<i>chpa'royoo'mow</i>
3 COLL	<i>chpa'royoo'mehl</i>	"they listen"	<i>'we-chpa'royoo'mehl</i>	<i>chpa'royoo'monee</i>

## 22.2 *Chperwerkseemek* ‘I remember her or him’

Grammatical description: transitive *e*-class verb (with *er*-quality)

Related verbs

- *chperwerkserk* ‘I remember’
- *chperwerk* ‘remember’ (non-inflected)

### Meaning and usage

This verb and its close relatives refer to thinking about something (or someone) that has been directly experienced. In context it can ‘remember’, or ‘think about’, ‘miss’, or ‘be lonely for’ someone or something.

- (342) (a) *Keech chperwerk* ‘*ne-chek*.  
‘I am lonely for my mother.’ GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (b) *Keech pel’ soo chperwerkseechek*.  
‘I miss you very much.’ JJ 2006 (AG)
- (c) *Nek neeko’hl* ‘*ne-chperwerk kue* ‘*we-hlkelonah*.  
‘I always remember that place.’ YL 1951

### Inflected forms

This verb has no collective.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>chperwerkseemek</i>	‘I remember . . .’	<i>’ne-chperwerkseemek</i>	<i>chperwerkseemoh</i>
2 SG	<i>chperwerkseemem</i>	‘you . . .’	<i>k’e-chperwerkseemek</i>	<i>chperwerkseemom</i>
3 SG	<i>chperwerkseem</i>	‘s/he . . .’	<i>’we-chperwerkseemek</i>	<i>chperwerksermeen</i>
1 PL	<i>chperwerkseemoh</i>	‘we . . .’	<i>’ne-chperwerkseemoh</i>	<i>chperwerkseemoh</i>
2 PL	<i>chperwerkseemue</i>	‘you . . .’	<i>k’e-chperwerkseemue</i>	<i>chperwerkseemueh</i>
3 PL	<i>chperwerkseemehl</i>	‘they . . .’	<i>’we-chperwerkseemehl</i>	<i>chperwerksermeen</i>

Passive forms (undocumented) are listed below.

	*PASSIVE INDICATIVE		*SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>chperwerkseryerk</i>	‘I’m remembered’	<i>’ne-chperwerkseryerk</i>	<i>chperwerkseryerh</i>
2 SG	<i>chperwerkseryerm</i>	‘you . . .’	<i>k’e-chperwerkseryerk</i>	<i>chperwerkseryerm</i>
3 SG	<i>chperwerksee</i>	‘s/he . . .’	<i>’we-chperwerkseryerk</i>	<i>chperwerkseryn</i>
1 PL	<i>chperwerkseryerh</i>	‘we . . .’	<i>’ne-chperwerkseryerh</i>	<i>chperwerkseryerh</i>
2 PL	<i>chperwerkseryue</i>	‘you . . .’	<i>k’e-chperwerkseryue</i>	<i>chperwerkseryueh</i>
3 PL	<i>chperwerkseryerhl</i>	‘they . . .’	<i>’we-chperwerkseryerhl</i>	<i>chperwerkseryn</i>

Bipersonals are in Table 22.1 on page 242.



SUBJECT	SINGULAR OBJECT		
	1 SG	2 SG	3 SG
1 SG	—	<i>chperwerkseechek'</i> "I remember you"	<i>chperwerkseesek'</i> "I remember her/him"
2 SG	<i>chperwerkseepa'</i> "you remember me"	—	<i>chperwerkseesem'</i> "you remember her/him"
3 SG	<i>chperwerkseepen'</i> "s/he remembers me"	[A] <i>chperwerkseeryerm'</i> "s/he remembers you"	[B]
1 PL	—	<i>chperwerkseechoh</i> "we remember you"	<i>chperwerkseesoh</i> "we remember her/him"
2 PL	<i>chperwerkseepa'</i> "you remember me"	—	<i>chperwerkseesem'</i> "you remember her/him"
3 PL	<i>chperwerkseepaahl</i> "they remember me"	[A] <i>chperwerkseeryerm'</i> "they remember you"	[B]

IMPERATIVE *chperwerkseep'een* "(you) remember me!"

SUBJECT	PLURAL OBJECT		
	1 PL	2 PL	3 PL
1 SG	—	<i>chperwerkseech'o'</i> "I remember you"	<i>chperwerksees'o'</i> "I remember them"
2 SG	[A] <i>chperwerkseery</i> "you remember us"	—	[B]
3 SG	[A] <i>chperwerkseery</i> "s/he remembers us"	[A] <i>chperwerkseeryerm'</i> "s/he remembers you"	[B]
1 PL	—	<i>chperwerkseech'o'</i> "we remember you"	[B]
2 PL	[A] <i>chperwerkseery</i> "you remember us"	—	[B]
3 PL	[A] <i>chperwerkseery</i> "they remember us"	[A] <i>chperwerkseeryerm'</i> "they remember you"	[B]

Table 22.1: Bipersonal forms of *chperwerkseemek'* "I remember her/him"

[A] These passive and quasi-passive forms are regularly used in these slots.

[B] Ordinary non-bipersonal forms are used in these slots.

## 22.3 *Hesek* “I think”

Grammatical description: optionally transitive *e*-class verb

### Meaning and usage

The verb *hesek* means “I intend, I have in mind, I think”, implying or expressing a specific intention or thought. If the intention or thought is expressed, as in (343), it is usually a direct quotation:

- (343) (a) *Kues soo hesem*, *Nekee* ‘*ne-tektoh*?  
 “Why did you think, ‘It is my log?’” FS 1951 (YL)
- (b) *Nekah hesoh Kohpey kee nue goo*.  
 “We decided to go to Crescent City.”  
 (LIT. “We think, ‘(We) will go to Crescent City.’”) YL 1951
- (c) *Yo’ kwelekw ma he’s kue kepoyuerek*.  
 “He decided to go swimming.”  
 (LIT. “He thought, ‘I will go swimming.’”) YL 1951

An additional striking construction involves the subjunctive of *hesek*, with another verb of perception or thinking, to introduce the thought, as in (344). This construction is common in stories but not well documented in casual speech.

- (344) (a) *Neemee komchuemek*, ‘*n-esek*’, *Kwelekw muehlcho’ kue ue-wen muehlcho’ kue pegerk k’ee roowo’s mehl ho gohkue*.  
 “I do not know if it (medicine) was made with the female or the male pipe.”  
 (LIT. “I do not know, thinking, ‘Maybe the female, maybe the male pipe it was made with.’”) FS 1951 (YL)
- (b) *Tue’ neemee wo hewon newom*, ‘*w-esek*’, *Kwelekw kolo hlkehl wee*.  
 “He was not the first to see that it looked like land.”  
 (LIT. “He did not first see, thinking, ‘It looks like land.’”) FS 1951 (YL)

Finally, passives usually occur as 3 SG forms meaning “it is thought”, followed by an expression of the thought, as in (345a–b). Sometimes, as in (345c), the passive is construed to mean that the subject is thought to be doing whatever the following verb expresses.

- (345) (a) *Noohl’ o gesee*, *Kwelekw, mos kee ee ye’ mehl*.  
 “Then they thought (LIT. it was thought), ‘They won’t leave.’” FS 1986 (JP)
- (b) *Neemee hesee’ weet’ ela keetee son*.  
 “It was not thought that it would happen like this.” YL 1951
- (c) *Ko geseyek’ skuy’ ne-son*.  
 “I will be thought to be doing right.” YL 1951

### Verbs with similar meanings

The two most common verbs meaning “think” are *hesek* and *soosek* (page 258). The verb *hesek* expresses the nuance “have in mind, intend”, referring to a thought, while *soosek* refers to a manner of thought, and can express thinking about something or

someone (probably it originated as a combination of *soo* “thus, in a certain way” and *hesek'*). Also relatively common are *chpoksek'* “I think hard, meditate, study” and the related verbs *chperwerksek'*, *chperwerkseemek'*, and *chpwerwerk* (page 241), all of which refer to having something (a person or thought) in mind, especially as a memory.

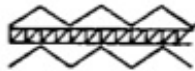
### Inflected forms

This verb has no collective. An imperative is not documented (and would be unlikely in usage), nor is an attributive.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE
1 SG	<i>hesek'</i>	“I think”	<i>'n-esek'</i>
2 SG	<i>hesem'</i>	“you think”	<i>k'-esek'</i>
3 SG	<i>hes'</i>	“s/he thinks”	<i>'w-esek'</i>
1 PL	<i>hesoh</i>	“we think”	<i>'n-esoh</i>
2 PL	<i>hesue'</i>	“you think”	<i>k'-esue'</i>
3 PL	<i>hesehl</i>	“they think”	<i>'w-esehl</i>

Passive forms are used either impersonally (“it is thought, there is a thought”) or in a construction that can be translated “I am thought (to be)”, etc., as in (345c) above.

	PASSIVE INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE
1 SG	<i>heseyek'</i>	“I am thought (to be)”	<i>'n-eseyek'</i>
2 SG	<i>heseyem'</i>	“you are thought (to be)”	<i>k'-eseyek'</i>
3 SG	<i>hesee'</i>	“it is thought, s/he is thought (to be)”	<i>'w-eseyek'</i>
1 PL	<i>heseyoh</i>	“we are thought (to be)”	<i>'n-eseyoh</i>
2 PL	<i>heseyue'</i>	“you are thought (to be)”	<i>k'-eseyue'</i>
3 PL	<i>heseyehl</i>	“they are thought to be”	<i>'w-eseyehl</i>



## 22.4 *Hlkyorkwek* ‘I watch it’

Grammatical description: optionally transitive *e*-class verb

Related verb

- *hlkyor* ‘watch’ (non-inflected; iterative *hlkyegor*, double iterative *hlkeegor*)

### Meaning and usage

This verb refers to watching a ceremony, a performance, a show (such as a movie or television show), or a similar event that is *hlkyorweeshon* ‘enjoyable to watch’.

- (346) (a) *Nek kem kue hlkyorkwek’*.  
 “I will go watch too.” FS 1951 (YL)
- (b) *Kwerhl kee hlkyorkwee’*.  
 “There’s going to be a movie.” GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (c) *Nekah keech ho hlkyorkwe’moh kee ’w-elomeyem’*.  
 “We have seen them dancing.” YL 1951

### Inflected forms

This verb has a collective stem *hlkyorkwem’*. Omitted below for reasons of space are the imperative forms: SG *hlkyork’wes*, PL *hlkyorkwekw*, COLL *hlkyorkwe’mekw*.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>hlkyorkwek’</i>	“I watch”	<i>’ne-hlkyorkwek’</i>	<i>hlkyorkwoh</i>
2 SG	<i>hlkyorkwem’</i>	“you watch”	<i>k’e-hlkyorkwek’</i>	<i>hlkyorkwom</i>
3 SG	<i>hlkyork’w</i>	“s/he watches”	<i>’we-hlkyorkwek’</i>	<i>hlkyorkween</i>
1 PL	<i>hlkyorkwoh</i>	“we watch”	<i>’ne-hlkyorkwoh</i>	<i>hlkyorkwoh</i>
2 PL	<i>hlkyorkwue’</i>	“you watch”	<i>k’e-hlkyorkwue’</i>	<i>hlkyorkwueh</i>
3 PL	<i>hlkyorkwehl</i>	“they watch”	<i>’we-hlkyorkwehl</i>	<i>hlkyorkween</i>
1 COLL	<i>hlkyorkwe’moh</i>	“we watch”	<i>’ne-hlkyorkwe’moh</i>	<i>hlkyorkwe’moh</i>
2 COLL	<i>hlkyorkwe’mow’</i>	“you watch”	<i>k’e-hlkyorkwe’mow’</i>	<i>hlkyorkwe’mow’</i>
3 COLL	<i>hlkyorkwe’mehl</i>	“they watch”	<i>’we-hlkyorkwe’mehl</i>	<i>hlkyorkwe’monee</i>

Third-person passive forms are also used:

	PASSIVE INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
3 SG	<i>hlkyorkwee’</i>	“it is watched, someone watches it”	<i>’we-hlkyorkweyek’</i>	<i>hlkyorkwonee</i>
3 PL	<i>hlkyorkweyehl</i>	“they are watched, . . .”	<i>’we-hlkyorkweyehl</i>	<i>hlkyorkwonee</i>

## 22.5 *Ko'moyok'* "I hear it"

Grammatical description: transitive *o*-class verb

Related verb

- *kom'* "hear" (non-inflected)

### Meaning and usage

This verb means "I (am able to) hear it", as in (347a–c). The complement (what is heard) is usually expressed as a subjunctive clause (underlined below).

- (347) (a) *Ko'moyok'* yo' 'we-teget.  
"I heard him crying." FS 1980 (PP)
- (b) *Noohl 'o kom' keech 'w-egoo.*  
"Then they heard them shouting." FS 1951 (YL)
- (c) *Mos wo ko'moyohl k'ee kwenee 'we-soch.*  
"They could not hear what he was saying." YL 1951

The iterative means "understand". An example is in (348), where the underlined complement is a non-inflected subjunctive phrase (*toh* "talk").

- (348) *Nek neeme kego'moyok' teekues 'we-soo toh.*  
"I don't understand the Italian language." FS ~1970 (HB)

### Verbs with similar meanings

This verb is source-oriented; *chpa'royok'* "I listen" (page 240) is experiencer-oriented.

### Inflected forms

The verb *ko'moyok'* has no collective forms.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>ko'moyok'</i>	"I hear it"	<i>'ne-ko'moyok'</i>	<i>ko'moyoh</i>
2 SG	<i>ko'moyom'</i>	"you hear it"	<i>k'e-ko'moyok'</i>	<i>ko'moyoomom</i>
3 SG	<i>ko'moy'</i>	"s/he hears it"	<i>'ue-ko'moyok'</i>	<i>ko'moyomeen</i>
1 PL	<i>ko'moyoh</i>	"we hear it"	<i>'ne-ko'moyoh</i>	<i>ko'moyoh</i>
2 PL	<i>ko'moyow'</i>	"you hear it"	<i>k'e-ko'moyow'</i>	<i>ko'moyoomom</i>
3 PL	<i>ko'moyohl</i>	"they hear it"	<i>'ue-ko'moyohl</i>	<i>ko'moyomeen</i>

This verb has passive forms (below) and bipersonals (Table 22.2, page 247).

	PASSIVE INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>ko'moyoyek'</i>	"I am heard"	<i>'ne-ko'moyoyek'</i>	<i>ko'moyoh</i>
2 SG	<i>ko'moyoyem'</i>	"you are heard"	<i>k'e-ko'moyoyek'</i>	<i>ko'moyom</i>
3 SG	<i>ko'moy'</i>	"s/he is heard"	<i>'ue-ko'moyoyek'</i>	<i>ko'moyonee</i>
1 PL	<i>ko'moyoyoh</i>	"we are heard"	<i>'ne-ko'moyoyoh</i>	<i>ko'moyoh</i>
2 PL	<i>ko'moyoyue'</i>	"you are heard"	<i>k'e-ko'moyoyue'</i>	<i>ko'moyueh</i>
3 PL	<i>ko'moyoyehl</i>	"they are heard"	<i>'ue-ko'moyoyehl</i>	<i>ko'moyonee</i>

SUBJECT	SINGULAR OBJECT		
	1 SG	2 SG	3 SG
1 SG	—	<i>ko'moyochek'</i> "I hear you"	<i>ko'moyosek'</i> "I hear her/him"
2 SG	<i>ko'moyopa'</i> "you hear me"	—	<i>ko'moyosem'</i> "you hear her/him"
3 SG	<i>ko'moyopen'</i> "s/he hears me"	[A] <i>ko'moyoyem'</i> "s/he hears you"	[B]
1 PL	—	<i>ko'moyochoh</i> "we hear you"	<i>ko'moyosoh</i> "we hear her/him"
2 PL	<i>ko'moyopa'</i> "you hear me"	—	<i>ko'moyosem'</i> "you hear her/him"
3 PL	<i>ko'moyopaahl</i> "they hear me"	[A] <i>ko'moyoyem'</i> "they hear you"	[B]

IMPERATIVE *ko'moyop'een* "(you) hear me!"

SUBJECT	PLURAL OBJECT		
	1 PL	2 PL	3 PL
1 SG	—	<i>ko'moyochi'o'</i> "I hear you"	<i>ko'moyos'o'</i> "I hear them"
2 SG	[A] <i>ko'moyoy</i> "you hear us"	—	[B]
3 SG	[A] <i>ko'moyoy</i> "s/he hears us"	[A] <i>ko'moyoyem'</i> "s/he hears you"	[B]
1 PL	—	<i>ko'moyochi'o'</i> "we hear you"	[B]
2 PL	[A] <i>ko'moyoy</i> "you hear us"	—	[B]
3 PL	[A] <i>ko'moyoy</i> "they hear us"	[A] <i>ko'moyoyem'</i> "they hear you"	[B]

Table 22.2: Bipersonal forms of *ko'moyok'* "I hear it"

[A] These passive and quasi-passive forms are regularly used in these slots.

[B] Ordinary non-bipersonal forms are used in these slots.

## 22.6 *Komchuemek* “I know it”

Grammatical description: transitive *e*-class verb

Related verbs

- *kom* “know” (non-inflected)
- *komchewok* “I know it”

### Meaning and usage

This verb can refer to knowing a person, as in (349), or a fact, as in (350).

- (349) (a) *Mos nek komchuemek*’.  
“I don’t know her or him.” GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (b) *Nuemee tewomehlkook’ kee ’ne-komchuechek*’.  
“I am very glad I know you.” JJ 2007 (LC)
- (350) (a) *Nek kwelekw komchuemek’ mueschen k’e-serhkermerypewk*’.  
“Well, I know that really you are homesick.” FS 1951 (YL)
- (b) *Keech komchuemehl keech ’ne-nah*’.  
“They know that they are mine.” LB 1951 (YL)
- (c) *Noohl ’o kom kee ’ue-pel’ soo ten*’.  
“Then we know it will rain hard.” JJ 2006 (EJW)

Usually, as in (350), when this involves knowing a fact, the second verb is subjunctive; the subjunctive phrase is underlined in each example.

### Verbs with similar meanings

Two main verbs refer to knowledge: *komchuemek*’ “I know”, which means knowing a person or fact; and *nekomykook*’ (page 254), which means knowing how to do something. The antonym (opposite) of *komchuemek*’ is *kahseluemek*’ “I don’t know” (a person or fact).

### Inflected forms

This verb does not have collective forms.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>komchuemek</i> ’	“I know it”	<i>’ne-komchuemek</i> ’	<i>komchuemoh</i>
2 SG	<i>komchuemem</i> ’	“you know it”	<i>k’e-komchuemek</i> ’	<i>komchuemom</i>
3 SG	<i>komchuem</i> ’	“s/he knows it”	<i>’ue-komchuemek</i> ’	<i>komchuemeen</i>
1 PL	<i>komchuemoh</i>	“we know it”	<i>’ne-komchuemoh</i>	<i>komchuemoh</i>
2 PL	<i>komchuemue</i> ’	“you know it”	<i>k’e-komchuemue</i> ’	<i>komchuemueh</i>
3 PL	<i>komchuemehl</i>	“they know it”	<i>’ue-komchuemehl</i>	<i>komchuemeen</i>

Bipersonals are in Table 22.3 on page 249.

SUBJECT	SINGULAR OBJECT		
	1 SG	2 SG	3 SG
1 SG	—	<i>komchuechek'</i> "I know you"	<i>komchuesek'</i> "I know her/him"
2 SG	<i>komchuepa'</i> "you know me"	—	<i>komchuesem'</i> "you know her/him"
3 SG	<i>komchuepen'</i> "s/he knows me"	[A]	[B]
1 PL	—	<i>komchuechoh</i> "we know you"	<i>komchuesoh</i> "we know her/him"
2 PL	<i>komchuepa'</i> "you know me"	—	<i>komchuesem'</i> "you know her/him"
3 PL	<i>komchuepaahl</i> "they know me"	[A]	[B]

SUBJECT	PLURAL OBJECT		
	1 PL	2 PL	3 PL
1 SG	—	<i>komchuech'o'</i> "I know you"	<i>komchues'o'</i> "I know them"
2 SG	[A]	—	[B]
3 SG	[A]	[A]	[B]
1 PL	—	<i>komchuech'o'</i> "we know you"	[B]
2 PL	[A]	—	[B]
3 PL	[A]	[A]	[B]

Table 22.3: Bipersonal forms of *komchuemek'* "I know it"

(a) It is unclear which forms would be used in these slots, because the passive of *komchuemek'* is not documented.

Ordinary non-bipersonal forms are always acceptable.

[B] Ordinary non-bipersonal forms are used in these slots.



## 22.7 *Nee'nek* "I look at it"

Grammatical description: transitive *e*-class verb

Related verbs

- *neeen'* "look, watch" (non-inflected; iterative *negeeen'* "look for")
- *nee'nowok'* "I watch it" (page 251)

### Meaning and usage

The most common form of this verb is the singular imperative *nee'nes!* "look, look at it!" This is because, in contrast to *nee'nowok'* "I watch it", *nee'nek'* signifies a quick turn to look at something. Typical examples are in (351).

- (351) (a) *Nee'nek' 'ne-'yoch.*  
"I see my boat." AF 2005 (JB)
- (b) *Nee'nes kue noorewonee wer'yers.*  
"Look at the pretty girl." JVP 2001 (JB)
- (c) *Hehl nee'nes, kuech, kwelekw keech kohchewok'.*  
"Look, grandmother, I have caught it." FS 1951 (YL)

Non-inflected *neeen'* is common. Note that some examples of this verb correspond to *nee'nek'* "I look at it", as in (352), whereas some others correspond to *nee'nowok'* "I watch it".

- (352) (a) *Hehl neeen', keech moomo'oh.*  
"Look, they (stones) are round." AF 2001 (LJC)
- (b) *Cho' hoo nue neeen', to's keech t'uenem'.*  
"Go see, are they (new plants) out yet?" FS 1980 (PP)

### Inflected forms

This verb has no collective; no passive is documented.

	INDICATIVE		*SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE	IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>nee'nek'</i>	"I look at it"	<i>'ne-nee'nek'</i>	<i>nee'noh</i>	
2 SG	<i>nee'nem'</i>	"you look at it"	<i>k'e-nee'nek'</i>	<i>nee'nom</i>	<i>nee'nes</i>
3 SG	<i>neeen'</i>	"s/he looks at it"	<i>'we-nee'nek'</i>	<i>nee'neen</i>	
1 PL	<i>nee'noh</i>	"we look at it"	<i>'ne-nee'noh</i>	<i>nee'noh</i>	
2 PL	<i>nee'nue'</i>	"you look at it"	<i>k'e-nee'nue'</i>	<i>nee'nom</i>	<i>nee'nekw</i>
3 PL	<i>nee'nehl</i>	"they look at it"	<i>'we-nee'nehl</i>	<i>nee'neen</i>	

## 22.8 *Neeenowok* ‘I watch it’

Grammatical description: transitive *o*-class verb

Related verbs

- *neeen* ‘look, watch’ (non-inflected; iterative *negeeen* ‘look for’)
- *neee’nek* ‘I (quickly) look at it, I turn my gaze to it’ (page 250)

### Meaning and usage

The verb *neee’nowok* means ‘engage in the activity of looking’, so it can be translated ‘gaze’, ‘guard’, ‘look intently at’, or ‘watch’; examples are in (353).

- (353) (a) *Kues son’ mehl ma neee’nowopa’?*  
 “Why didn’t you look at me?” AF 2005 (JB)
- (b) *Kee na’mee neee’nowok’.*  
 “I’ll watch for a long time.” CS 1907 (ALK)

Iterative *negeee’nowok* means ‘I look for it’, as in (354).

- (354) (a) *Chyue kue negeeen’ kermserhl.*  
 “Let’s go look for mushrooms.” AF 2002 (JB)
- (b) *Cho’ negeee’nowom’ kue welogoo.*  
 “Look for the pitchy part (of wood).” FS 1980 (PP)

### Inflected forms

The verb *neee’nowok* has a non-collective plural. Omitted below, for reasons of space, are the imperative forms: SG *neee’nowos*, PL *neee’nowekw*.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>neee’nowok’</i>	“I watch it”	<i>’ne-neee’nowok’</i>	<i>neee’nowoh</i>
2 SG	<i>neee’nowom’</i>	“you watch it”	<i>k’e-neee’nowok’</i>	<i>neee’nowoomom</i>
3 SG	<i>neee’now’</i>	“s/he watches it”	<i>’we-neee’nowok’</i>	<i>neee’nowomeen</i>
1 PL	<i>neee’nowoh</i>	“we watch it”	<i>’ne-neee’nowoh</i>	<i>neee’nowoh</i>
2 PL	<i>neee’nowow’</i>	“you watch it”	<i>k’e-neee’nowow’</i>	<i>neee’nowoomom</i>
3 PL	<i>neee’nowohl</i>	“they watch it”	<i>’we-neee’nowohl</i>	<i>neee’nowomeen</i>

Passive forms are below; bipersonals are in Table 22.4 on page 252.

	PASSIVE INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>neee’nowoyek’</i>	“I am watched”	<i>’ne-neee’nowoyek’</i>	<i>neee’nowoyoh</i>
2 SG	<i>neee’nowoyem’</i>	“you are watched”	<i>k’e-neee’nowoyek’</i>	<i>neee’nowoyom</i>
3 SG	<i>neee’nowee’</i>	“s/he is watched”	<i>’we-neee’nowoyek’</i>	<i>neee’nowonee</i>
1 PL	<i>neee’nowoyoh</i>	“we are watched”	<i>’ne-neee’nowoyoh</i>	<i>neee’nowoyoh</i>
2 PL	<i>neee’nowoyue’</i>	“you are watched”	<i>k’e-neee’nowoyue’</i>	<i>neee’nowoyueh</i>
3 PL	<i>neee’nowoyehl</i>	“they are watched”	<i>’we-neee’nowoyehl</i>	<i>neee’nowonee</i>

		SINGULAR OBJECT		
SUBJECT	1 SG	2 SG	3 SG	
1 SG	—	<i>nee'nowochek'</i> "I watch you"	<i>nee'nowosek'</i> "I watch her/him"	
2 SG	<i>nee'nowopa'</i> "you watch me"	—	<i>nee'nowosem'</i> "you watch her/him"	
3 SG	<i>nee'nowopen'</i> "s/he watches me"	[A] <i>nee'nowoyem'</i> "s/he watches you"	[B]	
1 PL	—	<i>nee'nowochoh</i> "we watch you"	<i>nee'nowosoh</i> "we watch her/him"	
2 PL	<i>nee'nowopa'</i> "you watch me"	—	<i>nee'nowosem'</i> "you watch her/him"	
3 PL	<i>nee'nowopaahl</i> "they watch me"	[A] <i>nee'nowoyem'</i> "they watch you"	[B]	

IMPERATIVE *nee'nowop'een* "(you) watch me!"

		PLURAL OBJECT		
SUBJECT	1 PL	2 PL	3 PL	
1 SG	—	<i>nee'nowoch'ó'</i> "I watch you"	<i>nee'nowos'ó'</i> "I watch them"	
2 SG	[A] <i>nee'nowoy</i> "you watch us"	—	[B]	
3 SG	[A] <i>nee'nowoy</i> "s/he watches us"	[A] <i>nee'nowoyem'</i> "s/he watches you"	[B]	
1 PL	—	<i>nee'nowoch'ó'</i> "we watch you"	[B]	
2 PL	[A] <i>nee'nowoy</i> "you watch us"	—	[B]	
3 PL	[A] <i>nee'nowoy</i> "they watch us"	[A] <i>nee'nowoyem'</i> "they watch you"	[B]	

Table 22.4: Bipersonal forms of *nee'nowok'* "I watch it"

[A] These passive and quasi-passive forms are regularly used in these slots.

[B] Ordinary non-bipersonal forms are used in these slots.



**Figure 22.1:** Minnie Reed, 1948. Mrs. Reed made pedagogical recordings and helped document conversation.

## 22.9 *Nekomuykook'* "I know how"

Grammatical description: intransitive oo-class verb (3 SG -om')

Related verb

- *nekomuy* "know how" (non-inflected)

### Meaning and usage

This verb means "know how (to do something)", as illustrated in (355).

- (355) *Kel' nekomuykoom'*.  
 "You know how to do it." AF 2004 (AG)

A subjunctive verb expresses what the subject knows how to do, as in (356).

- (356) (a) *Nekomuy k'e-saa'agochek'*.  
 "You know how to speak Yurok." JJ 2006 (AG)
- (b) *Nekomuy 'n-o'opek'*.  
 "I know how to build a fire." FS ~1970 (HB)

### Verbs with similar meanings

Two main verbs refer to knowledge: *komchuemek'* "I know it" (page 248), meaning to know a person or fact; and *nekomuykook'*, meaning to know how to do something. The antonym (opposite) of *nekomuykook'* is *hoo'yk'ohl* "don't know how".

### Active forms

This verb has no documented collective.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>nekomuykook'</i>	"I know how"	<i>'ne-nekomuykook'</i>	<i>nekomuykoh</i>
2 SG	<i>nekomuykoom'</i>	"you know how"	<i>k'e-nekomuykook'</i>	<i>nekomuykoomom</i>
3 SG	<i>nekomuykom'</i>	"s/he knows how"	<i>'we-nekomuykook'</i>	<i>nekomuykomeen</i>
1 PL	<i>nekomuykoh</i>	"we know how"	<i>'ne-nekomuykoh</i>	<i>nekomuykoh</i>
2 PL	<i>nekomuykow'</i>	"you know how"	<i>k'e-nekomuykow'</i>	<i>nekomuykow'</i>
3 PL	<i>nekomuykohl</i>	"they know how"	<i>'we-nekomuykohl</i>	<i>nekomuykomeen</i>

## 22.10 *Newook* ‘I see it’

Grammatical description: transitive *oo*-class verb (3 SG *-om*)

Related verb

- *new* ‘see’ (non-inflected)

### Meaning and usage

The verb *newook*’ means ‘see it’ or ‘be able to see it’. It can refer to a person or thing, as in (357).

- (357) (a) *Newoom*’ *hes*?  
 ‘Did you see it?’ FS 1980 (PP)
- (b) *Neemee wo newook*’ *k’ee o’lehl*.  
 ‘I did not see the house.’ YL 1951
- (c) ATTRIBUTIVE PHRASE: *kue pegerk kue newomeen mewah*  
 ‘the man who saw the boy.’ YL 1951

This verb can also refer to seeing an event, as in (358); the verb that expresses the event is usually subjunctive.

- (358) (a) *Nek newook*’ *kel’ k’e-psech ’w-egook*’.  
 ‘I saw your father go.’ YL 1951
- (b) *Noohl puelekws ’o newom*’ *kyue’ nee ’ue-ko’oh*.  
 ‘Then at the mouth of the river he saw them standing there.’ FS 1951 (YL)
- (c) *Chyue newook*’ *kue wenchokws ’w-elomeye’mek*’.  
 ‘I saw all the women dancing.’ AF 2002 (JB)

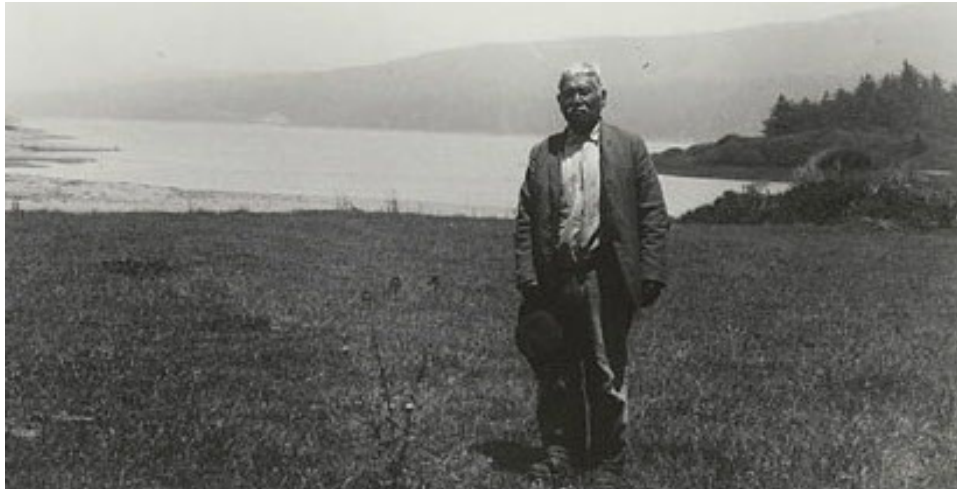
In (358c), note the position of the preverb *chyue* ‘all’ before *newook*’ rather than before *’w-elomeye’mek*’.

The passive can mean ‘be seen’, as in (359), or ‘appear (a particular way)’, as in (360).

- (359) (a) *Hesem*’ *hes newoyek*’?  
 ‘Do you think they see me?’ (LIT. ‘Do you think I am seen?’) AF 2001 (JB)
- (b) *Mo neemee wo newoyem*’ *hes*?  
 ‘Did they not see you?’ (LIT. ‘Were you not seen?’) YL 1951
- (360) (a) *Kues soo newoyek*’?  
 ‘How do I look?’ AF 2001 (LJC)
- (b) *Tmenomee newee*’.  
 ‘It was half visible.’ FS 1951 (YL)

The non-inflected verb *new* is sometimes used in contexts where it can even be translated as ‘lo and behold’, or as ‘and then (he saw)’. Examples are in (361).

- (361) (a) *Kwesee wonekw ’o ho nuuem*’, *’ap new wee*’ *’o key Todd Horn*.  
 ‘And when they arrived above, (they saw) Todd Horn sitting there.’ FS 1986 (JP)
- (b) *Kue meguehl ma nee ’n-egook*’, *ho ma new weet*’ *’o goolem*’.  
 ‘When I went to the store, (I saw) they were there.’ JJ 2006 (EJW)



**Figure 22.2:** Trinidad Pete (Pete Peters), Big Lagoon, 1928. Born in Trinidad in 1860, Pete was one of only a few speakers of Coast Yurok whose speech was recorded or transcribed in surviving documentation. Photo by T. T. Waterman.

### Verbs with similar meanings

This verb refers to the ability to see something rather than an active attempt to look; the latter is expressed by *nee'nek'* "I look at it" and *nee'nowok'* "I watch it".

### Inflected forms

The verb *newook'* has a non-collective plural. There are irregular forms with a long vowel or *h* in the second syllable, as shown below. Imperatives are unlikely in actual usage.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>newook'</i>	"I see it"	<i>'ne-newook'</i>	<i>newoo</i>
2 SG	<i>newoom'</i>	"you see it"	<i>k'e-newook'</i>	<i>newoomom</i>
3 SG	<i>newom'</i>	"s/he sees it"	<i>'we-newook'</i>	<i>newomeen</i>
1 PL	<i>newoo</i>	"we see it"	<i>'ne-newoo</i>	<i>newoo</i>
2 PL	<i>newoow'</i>	"you see it"	<i>k'e-newoow'</i>	<i>newoomom</i>
3 PL	<i>newoohl</i>	"they see it"	<i>'we-newoohl</i>	<i>newomeen</i>

Passive forms, below, are common. Bipersonals are in Table 22.5 on page 257.

	PASSIVE INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>newoyek'</i>	"I am seen"	<i>'ne-newoyek'</i>	<i>newoyoh</i>
2 SG	<i>newoyem'</i>	"you are seen"	<i>k'e-newoyek'</i>	<i>newoyom</i>
3 SG	<i>newee'</i>	"s/he is seen"	<i>'we-newoyek'</i>	<i>newonee</i>
1 PL	<i>newoyoh</i>	"we are seen"	<i>'ne-newoyoh</i>	<i>newoyoh</i>
2 PL	<i>newoyue'</i>	"you are seen"	<i>k'e-newoyue'</i>	<i>newoyom</i>
3 PL	<i>newoyehl</i>	"they are seen"	<i>'we-newoyehl</i>	<i>newonee</i>

SUBJECT	SINGULAR OBJECT		
	1 SG	2 SG	3 SG
1 SG	—	<i>newochek'</i> "I see you"	<i>newosek'</i> "I see her/him"
2 SG	<i>newohpa'</i> "you see me"	—	<i>newosem'</i> "you see her/him"
3 SG	<i>newohpen'</i> "s/he sees me"	[A] <i>newoyem'</i> "s/he sees you"	[B]
1 PL	—	<i>newochoh</i> "we see you"	<i>newosoh</i> "we see her/him"
2 PL	<i>newohpa'</i> "you see me"	—	<i>newosem'</i> "you see her/him"
3 PL	<i>newopaahl</i> "they see me"	[A] <i>newoyem'</i> "they see you"	[B]

IMPERATIVE *newo'peen* "(you) see me!"

SUBJECT	PLURAL OBJECT		
	1 SG	2 SG	3 SG
1 SG	—	<i>newoch'ó'</i> "I see you"	<i>newos'ó'</i> "I see them"
2 SG	[A] <i>newoy</i> "you see us"	—	[B]
3 SG	[A] <i>newoy</i> "s/he sees us"	[A] <i>newoyem'</i> "s/he sees you"	[B]
1 PL	—	<i>newoch'ó'</i> "we see you"	[B]
2 PL	[A] <i>newoy</i> "you see us"	—	[B]
3 PL	[A] <i>newoy</i> "they see us"	[A] <i>newoyem'</i> "they see you"	[B]

Table 22.5: Bipersonal forms of *newook'* "I see it"

[A] These passive and quasi-passive forms are regularly used in these slots.

[B] Ordinary non-bipersonal forms are used in these slots.



## 22.11 *Soosek* ‘I think (so)’

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb

Related verb

- *soo* ‘think (so)’ (non-inflected)

### Meaning and usage

This verb can be translated ‘I think (that . . .)’, ‘I think so’, ‘I think about it’, etc. Typically included is a manner expression, like *kol’* or *keem’* in (362a–c) or the questioned manner *kues* ‘how?’ in (362d).

- (362) (a) *Mos kol’ soosek’*.  
 ‘I have nothing on my mind.’ (LIT. ‘I don’t think anything.’) FS 1951 (YL)
- (b) *Kowecho’ kol’ soosem’ mehl nek*.  
 ‘Don’t think (LIT. anything) about me.’ MM 1927 (ES)
- (c) *Keem’ soosek’*.  
 ‘I am thinking a bad thought.’ FS 1980 (PP)
- (d) *Kues soosem’ mehl wee’?*  
 ‘What (LIT. How) do you think about it?’ YL 1951

The content of the thought may take the place of the manner expression, as in (363).

- (363) *Nek soo kel’ kee chkeyem’*.  
 ‘I think you will sleep.’ FS 1951 (YL)

By itself, *soosek’* cannot mean ‘I was thinking’ or the like.

### Verbs with similar meanings

The most common verbs for thinking are *hesek’* ‘I have in mind, intend’ (page 243) and *soosek’*. Also common are *chpoksek’* ‘I think hard, I meditate, I study’ and related verbs *chperwerksek’*, *chperwerkseemek’*, and non-inflected *chpwerwerk*, all of which refer to having something (a person or thought) in mind, especially as a memory.

### Inflected forms

This verb has no collective.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE	*IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>soosek’</i>	‘I think (so)’	<i>’ne-soosek’</i>	<i>soosoh</i>	
2 SG	<i>soosem’</i>	‘you think (so)’	<i>k’e-soosek’</i>	<i>soosom</i>	<i>soo’ses</i>
3 SG	<i>soos’</i>	‘s/he thinks (so)’	<i>’we-soosek’</i>	<i>sooseen</i>	
1 PL	<i>soosoh</i>	‘we think (so)’	<i>’ne-soosoh</i>	<i>soosoh</i>	
2 PL	<i>soosue’</i>	‘you think (so)’	<i>k’e-soosue’</i>	<i>soosueh</i>	<i>soosekw</i>
3 PL	<i>soosehl</i>	‘they think (so)’	<i>’we-soosehl</i>	<i>sooseen</i>	

## Chapter 23

# Verbs of position and posture

The following verbs are described in this chapter.

<i>chyuuek'wenek'</i> "I sit down" (p. 260)	<i>'oolo'</i> "stand" (p. 265)
<i>key</i> "sit" (p. 261)	<i>'oyhlkeseek'</i> "I lie down" (p. 266)
<i>koo'opek'</i> "I stand up" (p. 262)	<i>tektee'</i> "it sits" (p. 268)
<i>lekolek'</i> "I fall" (p. 263)	<i>tepon'</i> "it stands" (p. 269)
<i>'ooleenek'</i> "I lie down" (p. 264)	

For human beings and animals, there are six main verbs of posture: three that refer to being (continuing to be) in a position, and three that refer to change of position. They fall into three groups — standing, sitting, lying — with the following usage patterns:

	CHANGE OF POSITION	POSITION IN A LOCATION
SIT	<i>chyuuek'wenek'</i> (~ <i>chyuuk'w</i> ~ <i>rek'een</i> )	ANIMATE <i>key</i> (~ <i>keychek'eenek'</i> ) INANIMATE <i>tektee'</i> (~ <i>tek</i> )
STAND	<i>koo'opek'</i> (~ <i>koo'</i> ~ <i>ko'oh</i> )	ANIMATE <i>'oolo'</i> (~ <i>'oolo'oh</i> ~ <i>'oolo'opek'</i> ) INANIMATE <i>tepon'</i> (~ <i>tep</i> ~ <i>ro'oh</i> )
LIE	<i>'ooleenek'</i>	<i>'oyhlkeseek'</i> (~ <i>'oyhl</i> )

Verbs in the CHANGE OF POSITION column are used when the subject assumes the position (for example, standing up from a sitting position) or moves to a new position. Verbs in the POSITION IN A LOCATION column are used as background or to identify the location of the subject — for example, answering the question "Where is it?"

In two of the categories above, Yurok distinguishes between two verbs for POSITION IN A LOCATION. For example, *key* refers to animates (people, animals, birds) sitting, and *tek* refers to inanimates (such as rocks and plants) sitting. And *'oolo'* refers to animates standing, while *tepon'* refers to inanimates (usually trees) standing. Note that inanimates include plants and trees; the "animates" are really things that are not fixed in location.

## 23.1 *Chyuuek'wenek'* "I sit down"

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb

Related verb

- *chyuuek'w* "sit down" (non-inflected)

### Meaning and usage

This verb usually refers to changing to a sitting position; examples are in (364).

- (364) (a) *Kee chyuek'wenek'*.  
"I'll sit my self down." MM 1927 (ES)
- (b) *Kue k'e-cheek'war soot'os 'o chyuek'we'nes*.  
"Go to your chair and sit down." GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (c) *Kwesee 'o te'noy' kue lochom', kwesee wok 'ee so chyuek'wen'*.  
"The toad was annoyed, and sat down at one side." FS 1951 (YL)

The iterative *chyeguuek'wenek'* can refer to habitual sitting in some place, as in (365).

- (365) (a) *Nek kwelekw k'ee nee pegarkohl 'we-heemech kee ko nee chyeguuek'wenek'*.  
"I, however, will sit in front of where people live." RS 1951 (YL)
- (b) *Kwenometeesh 'o chyeguuek'w*.  
"He always sat in front of the sweathouse exit." DW 1906 (LCC)

### Verbs with similar meanings

In contrast to *chyuek'wenek'*, non-inflected *key* (page 261) means "be sitting (in a position or location)".

### Inflected forms

This verb has a non-inflected collective *rek'een* (also with inflected forms: *rek'eenowoh* "we sit down", etc.). Omitted below for reasons of space are imperative SG *chyuek'we'nes* and PL *chyuek'wenekw*.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>chyuek'wenek'</i>	"I sit down"	<i>'ne-chyuuek'wenek'</i>	<i>chyuek'wenoh</i>
2 SG	<i>chyuek'wenem'</i>	"you sit down"	<i>k'e-chyuuek'wenek'</i>	<i>chyuek'wenom</i>
3 SG	<i>chyuek'wen'</i>	"s/he sits down"	<i>'we-chyuuek'wenek'</i>	<i>chyuek'weneen</i>
1 PL	<i>chyuek'wenoh</i>	"we sit down"	<i>'ne-chyuuek'wenoh</i>	<i>chyuek'wenoh</i>
2 PL	<i>chyuek'wenu'e'</i>	"you sit down"	<i>k'e-chyuuek'wenu'e'</i>	<i>chyuek'wenu'eh</i>
3 PL	<i>chyuek'wenehl</i>	"they sit down"	<i>'we-chyuuek'wenehl</i>	<i>chyuek'weneen</i>
1 COLL	<i>rek'een</i>	"we sit down"	<i>'ne-rek'een</i>	
2 COLL	<i>rek'een'</i>	"you sit down"	<i>k'e-rek'een</i>	
3 COLL	<i>rek'een</i>	"they sit down"	<i>'ue-rek'een</i>	

## 23.2 Key “sit”

Grammatical description: intransitive non-inflected verb

Related verb

- *keychek'eenek'* “I sit”

### Meaning and usage

This verb means “sit” in the sense “be (remain) in a sitting position” (not change position). It is used for people, animals, or birds, but not inanimate objects. Examples are in (366); underlined phrases identify the location.

- (366) (a) *Mewah heemar 'o **key** kue s'e'goh 'o tep.*  
 “The boy is sitting under the madrone tree.” JJ 2007 (LC)
- (b) *Eemee 'we-chween wee 'o **key**.*  
 “He sat there not speaking.” FS 1986 (JP)
- (c) *Yoncheesh keech 'o **key** 'o poyew kue 'we-rahcheen, 'o nee'e'now'.*  
 “His friend sat in the boat in front, and watched.” FS 1951 (YL)

A very common construction with *key*, typically used to provide background description of an animate being *wee' o key* “sitting there”, is shown in (367).

- (367) (a) *'O nee'e'now' kue wee 'o **key**, kwesee twegoh.*  
 “He looked at what was sitting there, and (it was the) coon.” FS 1951 (YL)
- (b) *Keech nerrlerykerhl k'ee ch'eeshah k'ee wee 'o **key**.*  
 “The dog who is sitting there is getting weak.” FS 1980 (PP)
- (c) *Noohl kue 'ne-psech 'o **key** 'ap nek' kue 'ue-ma'ah.*  
 “Then he put the spear where my father was sitting.” FS 1951 (YL)

In this construction the location “there” is expressed with *wee' o*. Seen here are several variations, literally *kue wee' o key* “that (thing) sitting there” in (367a), *k'ee ch'eeshah k'ee wee' o key* “this dog that's sitting there” in (367b), and *kue 'ne-psech 'o key* “where my father's sitting” in (367c).

### Verbs with similar meanings

The difference between *chyuuek'wenek'* and *key* is that *chyuuek'wenek'* is a change-of-position verb, while *key* refers to position in a location. The difference between *key* and *tektee'* is that *key* refers to animate entities, while *tektee'* refers to inanimate objects like rocks.

### 23.3 *Koo'opek'* "I stand up"

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb

Related verbs

- *koo'* "stand up" (non-inflected)
- *ko'oh* "stand up" (non-inflected plural)

#### Meaning and usage

This verb refers to people or animals, and usually refers to standing up (changing position), though it can refer to remaining standing. Non-inflected forms are common, as in (368d–e), especially in the plural, as in (368e), where *ko'oh* is almost always used.

- (368) (a) *Noohl 'o koo'op' kue mewemor.*  
"Then the old man stood up." FS 1951 (YL)
- (b) *Lekwseek 'o koo'op'es.*  
"Stand outside." FS 1980 (PP)
- (c) *Mewah heemar 'o koo'op' kue tepoo.*  
"The boy is standing under the fir tree." JJ 2007 (LC)
- (d) *Keech 'ee yo koo'.*  
"I've been standing here." YL 1951
- (e) *Noohl reek'ew nee ko'oh kue 'we-negeee'nowohl.*  
"Then they stood on the shore to look at it." FS 1951 (YL)

#### Verbs with similar meanings

In contrast with *koo'opek'*, non-inflected *'oolo'* (page 265) never refers to changing position (standing up); it can refer to standing or living in a place.

#### Active forms

Inflected *koo'opek'* is common in the singular; non-inflected *ko'oh* is the usual plural.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE	IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>koo'opek'</i>	"I stand up"	<i>'ne-koo'opek'</i>	<i>koo'opoh</i>	
2 SG	<i>koo'opem'</i>	"you stand up"	<i>k'e-koo'opek'</i>	<i>koo'opom</i>	<i>koo'op'es</i>
3 SG	<i>koo'op'</i>	"s/he stands up"	<i>'ue-koo'opek'</i>	<i>koo'opeen</i>	
1 SG	<i>koo'opoh</i>	"we stand up"	<i>'ne-koo'opoh</i>	<i>koo'opoh</i>	
2 SG	<i>koo'opue'</i>	"you stand up"	<i>k'e-koo'opue'</i>	<i>koo'opueh</i>	<i>koo'opekw</i>
3 SG	<i>koo'opehl</i>	"they stand up"	<i>'ue-koo'opehl</i>	<i>koo'opeen</i>	
1 COLL	<i>ko'oh</i>	"we stand up"	<i>'ne-ko'oh</i>		
2 COLL	<i>ko'oh</i>	"you stand up"	<i>k'e-ko'oh</i>		
3 COLL	<i>ko'oh</i>	"they stand up"	<i>'ue-ko'oh</i>		

## 23.4 *Lekolek'* "I fall"

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb

### Meaning and usage

This is the most general and neutral verb meaning "fall". Examples are in (369).

- (369) (a) *Keech lekolek'*, *keech ho'omoh*.  
"I fell, I got hurt." AF 2001 (JB)
- (b) *Ma lekolem'*.  
"You fell." FS 1980 (PP)
- (c) *Kol' soo 'ne-leeneek lekone'*.  
"Something fell in my eye." AF 2001 (JB)
- (d) *Kue lekonee pegerk keech kol' son'*.  
"The man who fell has died." YL 1951

With *skelee* "down" or *hlkelee* "on the ground", as in (370a), this verb means "fall down".  
With a word like *wohpuek*, as in (370b), it means "drown".

- (370) (a) *Kwesee' hlkelee 'o lekone' kue wonewsleg*.  
"And the sun fell on the ground." MM 1927 (YT)
- (b) *Kwesee hlow wohpuek 'o lekone' kue twegoh*.  
"And finally the raccoon drowned (LIT. fell in the water)." FS 1951 (YL)

### Inflected forms

This verb has no documented collective; imperatives are omitted below as unlikely in actual discourse. Note that the 3 SG indicative and attributive forms are irregular.

	INDICATIVE		*SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>lekolek'</i>	"I fall"	<i>'ne-lekolek'</i>	<i>lekoloh</i>
2 SG	<i>lekolem'</i>	"you fall"	<i>k'e-lekolek'</i>	<i>lekolom</i>
3 SG	<i>lekone'</i>	"s/he falls"	<i>'we-lekolek'</i>	<i>lekonee</i>
1 PL	<i>lekoloh</i>	"we fall"	<i>'ne-lekoloh</i>	<i>lekoloh</i>
2 PL	<i>lekolue'</i>	"you fall"	<i>k'e-lekolue'</i>	<i>lekolueh</i>
3 PL	<i>lekolehl</i>	"they fall"	<i>'we-lekolehl</i>	<i>lekonee</i>

## 23.5 'Ooleenek' "I lie down"

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb

### Meaning and usage

This verb refers to a person, animal, or thing that changes position to lie down; examples are in (371). A location (underlined below) is usually expressed.

- (371) (a) *Keetee hlkelee nue 'ooleenek'*.  
 "I'm going to go lie down." GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (b) *Kem 'o nuuem' skeleesh 'o 'ooleenehl*.  
 "They came back again and lay down." FS 1951 (YL)
- (c) *Cho' wek 'ooleenem'*.  
 "Lie down here." FS 1980 (PP)

In sentences that convey iteration or the meaning "always", like (372), 'ooleenek' can express position without change. The same pattern was also noted for *chyuuek'wenek'* "I sit down" in (365) on page 260.

- (372) *Chpee hlkeleesh 'wo-'ooleenek'*.  
 "All she does is lie down." OB 1927 (ALK)

### Verbs with similar meanings

In contrast to 'oyhlkesek', 'ooleenek' is a change-of-position verb. Where 'oyhlkesek' expresses position ("I lie, I am lying"), 'ooleenek' expresses a change ("I lie down").

### Inflected forms

This verb has a collective stem 'ooleenem'. Omitted below for reasons of space are the imperative forms: SG 'oolee'nes, PL 'ooleenekw, COLL 'ooleenee'mekw.

	INDICATIVE		*SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	'ooleenek'	"I lie down"	'ne-'ooleenek'	'ooleenoh
2 SG	'ooleenem'	"you lie down"	k'e-'ooleenek'	'ooleenom
3 SG	'ooleen'	"s/he lies down"	'we-'ooleenek'	'ooleenee
1 PL	'ooleenoh	"we lie down"	'ne-'ooleenoh	'ooleenoh
2 PL	'ooleenue'	"you lie down"	k'e-'ooleenue'	'ooleenueh
3 PL	'ooleenehl	"they lie down"	'we-'ooleenehl	'ooleenee
1 COLL	'ooleenee'moh	"we lie down"	'ne-'ooleenee'moh	'ooleenee'moh
2 COLL	'ooleenee'mow'	"you lie down"	k'e-'ooleenee'mow'	'ooleenee'mow'
3 COLL	'ooleenee'mehl	"they lie down"	'we-'ooleenee'mehl	'ooleenee'mee

## 23.6 'Oolo' "stand"

Grammatical description: intransitive non-inflected verb

Related verbs

- 'oolo'oh "stand" (non-inflected)
- 'oolo'opek' "I stand"

### Meaning and usage

This means (for a person, animal, or bird) to be or remain standing, or be standing in a place, and thus it can also mean "be located" more generally. Examples are in (373); underlined words or phrases express the location.

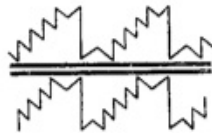
- (373) (a) *Weesh nee 'oolo' kue 'ne-psech.*  
 "My father stood there." YL 1951
- (b) *Kowecho poyew 'oolo' 'oohl.*  
 "Don't stand in front of a person." FS 1980 (PP)
- (c) *Wek nee 'oolo'oh puuek!*  
 "There's a deer!" FS 1986 (JP)

The phrase *kue 'oolo'* means "the (place where I) live" in examples like (374).

- (374) *Neskwee kue 'oolo' keech laayekeek'.*  
 "It's flowing past where I live." FS 1980 (PP)

### Verbs with similar meanings

The most common verbs with a similar meaning are *koo'opek'* "I stand up" and the non-inflected forms *koo'* and *ko'oh* (page 262). The difference between these verbs and 'oolo' (*'oolo'oh, 'oolo'opek'*) is that 'oolo' means "be standing, be located (in a standing position)" and is therefore used for describing or identifying the location of a person (or animal or bird), whereas *koo'opek'* and its close relatives mean "assume a standing position" or "move to a standing position" and thus usually involve some change.





## 23.7 'Oyhlkesek' "I lie down"

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb

Related verb

- 'oyhl "lie down" (non-inflected)

### Meaning and usage

This verb refers to a person, animal, or thing that is in a lying posture. A location is usually expressed:

- (375) (a) *Yoch 'ue-poyew nee 'oyhl 'ne-ch'wona.*  
 "My coat is lying in front of the boat." YL 1951
- (b) *Wee' keech 'oyhl k'ee ma'ahskeh.*  
 "The spear is lying here." FS 1951 (YL)
- (c) *Hlkelee 'oyhlke's.*  
 "He is lying down." JVP (YD)

### Verbs with similar meanings

The pair of verbs *kmoyhlkesek'* and *kmoyhl* have meanings very similar to 'oyhlkesek' and 'oyhl, all of them referring to being in a lying position. By contrast, 'ooleenek' (p. 264) "I lie down" refers to a change of position. Someone who is standing up would use 'ooleenek', for example to say "now I am going to lie down", while someone who is already lying down could use 'oyhlkesek' or 'oyhl.

### Inflected forms

This verb has a collective stem 'oyhlkesee'm. Omitted below for reasons of space are the (undocumented) imperative forms: SG 'oyhlke'ses, PL 'oyhlkesekw, COLL 'oyhlkesee'mekw.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	'oyhlkesek'	"I lie down"	'ne-'oyhlkesek'	'oyhlkesoh
2 SG	'oyhlkesem'	"you lie down"	k'e-'oyhlkesek'	'oyhlkesom
3 SG	'oyhlkes'	"s/he lies down"	'we-'oyhlkesek'	'oyhlkeseen
1 PL	'oyhlkesoh	"we lie down"	'ne-'oyhlkesoh	'oyhlkesoh
2 PL	'oyhlkesue'	"you lie down"	k'e-'oyhlkesue'	'oyhlkesueh
3 PL	'oyhlkesehl	"they lie down"	'we-'oyhlkesehl	'oyhlkeseen
1 COLL	'oyhlkesee'moh	"we lie down"	'ne-'oyhlkesee'moh	'oyhlkesee'moh
2 COLL	'oyhlkesee'mow'	"you lie down"	k'e-'oyhlkesee'mow'	'oyhlkesee'mow'
3 COLL	'oyhlkesee'mehl	"they lie down"	'we-'oyhlkesee'mehl	'oyhlkesee'monee



**Figure 23.1:** Jimmie James, cultural leader and fluent Yurok speaker, with his granddaughter Victoria Carlson, then a learner and now a language teacher, at the Yurok language camp, Tuley Creek, 2006. Photo by Andrew Garrett.

## 23.8 *Tektee'* "it sits"

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb

Related verb

- *tek* "sit" (non-inflected)

### Meaning and usage

This verb is often best translated "sit", but it is used only for immobile things such as plants, rocks, houses, and heavy objects that are not especially tall. (Tall objects might be described with *tepon'* "it stands" or *ro'oh* "stand"). Examples are in (376).

- (376) (a) *Pa'aahl' o tek kohtoh ha'aag.*  
 "One rock sits in the water." YL 1951
- (b) *Cheenkee' k'ee' o'lehl' o tek.*  
 "The house site (LIT. where the house sits) was changed." YL 1951
- (c) *K'ee kwen cho' o tektonee m-ekwol, kem' emehl knokseem' ue-peesh'on.*  
 "Wherever there was a fishing rock (LIT. wherever a fishing rock sat), it (a salmon) left its scales." FS 1951 (YL)
- (d) *'Eemok'w wo pyekwchenee sonem' 'we-tektoyek' wee' k'ee' O Schegep'.*  
 "It did not look right sitting there at 'O Schegep'." CS 1907 (ALK)

The phrase *wee' o tek* "sitting there" in (377) is precisely parallel to *wee' o key* on page 261.

- (377) (a) *Weet' o tek ha'aag.*  
 "There's a rock sitting there." FS 1980 (PP)
- (b) *To' wee' o tek kue kaap' o pegah.*  
 "The plant was sitting there." DW 1907 (ALK)

### Verbs with similar meanings

The difference between *tektee'* and *key* is that *tektee'* refers to inanimate objects (including plants), while *key* refers to animate entities such as people, animals, and birds.

### Inflected forms

Since this verb is used for inanimates only, it has only third-person forms. The following attributive forms are regular for a verb (like *tektee'*) that patterns like a passive:

	PASSIVE INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
3 SG	<i>tektee'</i>	"it sits"	<i>'we-tektoyek'</i>	<i>tektonee</i>
3 PL	<i>tektoyehl</i>	"they sit"	<i>'we-tektoyehl</i>	<i>tektonee</i>

## 23.9 *Tepon'* “it stands”

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb

Related verb

- *tep* “stand” (non-inflected)

### Meaning and usage

This verb is often best translated “stand”, but it is used only for immobile things — prototypically, for trees. Non-inflected *ro'oh* functions as its plural. Examples are in (378).

- (378) (a) *Wee'eeet 'o tepon' s'e'goh.*  
 “There’s a madrone (LIT. standing) there.” GM 2008 (AG)
- (b) *Wee'eeet 'o ro'oh kue teptepoh.*  
 “There are some trees (LIT. standing) there.” GM 2008 (AG)
- (c) *Na'an' wee' 'o ro'oh 'ne-cheeshep'.*  
 “I have two flowers (LIT. standing) there.” FS 1980 (PP)

More generally, the verb refers to anything that sticks out at a 90-degree angle: a sharp protrusion from a pack in (379a), for example, or Coyote’s erect “limb” in (379b).

- (379) (a) *'N-aawech keech 'o tepon'.*  
 “It’s sticking into my back.” FS 1980 (PP)
- (b) *'Ue-'wes wonues tepon'.*  
 “His ‘limb’ was sticking up.” GM 2004 (AG)

Attributive *teponee* as in (380a) occurs in a phrase *wee' 'o teponee* “tree” (LIT. “standing there”); non-inflected *tep* is also common in place names as in (380b).

- (380) (a) *Neekee pekoyoh kue wee' 'o teponee.*  
 “All the trees are red.” FS 1980 (PP)
- (b) Place name: *Keehl 'o tep*  
 a place downriver from *'Ohpoh* (LIT. “where redwood stands”) YG 1920

### Verbs with similar meanings

While *tepon'* refers to fixed things, *'oolo'* (page 265) refers to animate entities.

### Inflected forms

Since this verb is used for inanimates only, it has only third-person forms:

	PASSIVE INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
3 SG	<i>tepon'</i>	“it stands”	<i>'we-teponek'</i>	<i>teponee</i>
3 PL	<i>ro'oh</i>	“they stand”	<i>'we-ro'oh</i>	



## Chapter 24

# Verbs of social interaction

The verbs described in this chapter are listed below. Note that *nahchek'* refers to giving of anything (including food), while *'ohchek'* refers specifically to feeding or giving food.

*kooychkwook'* "I buy it" (p. 272)

*kweget* "visit" (p. 273)

*megetohlkwook'* "I take care of it" (p. 274)

*moskek'* "I borrow it" (p. 276)

*muehlkochek'* "I sell" (p. 277)

*'n-ew* "I am named" (p. 279)

*nahchek'* "I give" (p. 280)

*nergerykerrk'* "I help" (p. 282)

*'ohchek'* "I give (food) to you" (p. 284)

*pelomoyek'* "I fight" (p. 286)

*sermerterk'* "I kill it" (p. 288)

*s'ooonemek'* "I punch her or him" (p. 290)



## 24.1 *Kooychkwook'* "I buy it"

Grammatical description: transitive *oo*-class verb (3 SG -*om'*)

Related verb

- *kooych* "buy" (non-inflected)

### Meaning and usage

This verb means "buy", as illustrated in (381). It often occurs with the directed-motion preverb *nue* and its equivalents (such as *ma* and *kue*).

- (381) (a) *Ma kooych 'ne-nepuy.*  
"I bought some salmon." YL 1951
- (b) *Kue kooychkwook' k'ee 'yoch.*  
"I'll go buy this canoe." MM 1927 (ES)
- (c) *Kue nekah kooychkwoh 'o'lehl kwelekw kee hohkue'.*  
"The house that we bought has to be repaired." YL 1951
- (d) *Kooychkwook' mehl 'ne-me'y.*  
"I bought it for my daughter." FS 1980 (PP)

As seen in (381d), *mehl* is used with the person you buy something "for".

### Inflected forms

The verb *kooychkwook'* has a non-collective plural. Omitted below, for reasons of space, are the imperative forms: SG *kooychk'wos*, PL *kooychkwekw*.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE		ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>kooychkwook'</i>	"I buy it"	<i>'ne-kooychkwook'</i>	<i>kooychkwoh</i>	
2 SG	<i>kooychkwoom'</i>	"you buy it"	<i>k'e-kooychkwook'</i>	<i>kooychkwoomom</i>	
3 SG	<i>kooychkwom'</i>	's/he buys it'	<i>'ue-kooychkwook'</i>	<i>kooychkwomeen</i>	
1 PL	<i>kooychkwoh</i>	"we buy it"	<i>'ne-kooychkwoh</i>	<i>kooychkwoh</i>	
2 PL	<i>kooychkwow'</i>	"you buy it"	<i>k'e-kooychkwow'</i>	<i>kooychkwoomom</i>	
3 PL	<i>kooychkwohl</i>	"they buy it"	<i>'ue-kooychkwohl</i>	<i>kooychkwomeen</i>	

Passive forms are used. Passive forms other than third-person forms would be unusual (since people are not usually bought), as would bipersonals; they are omitted here.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE		ATTRIBUTIVE
3 SG	<i>kooychkwee'</i>	"it is bought"	<i>'ue-kooychkwoyek'</i>	<i>kooychkwonee</i>	
3 PL	<i>kooychkwoyehl</i>	"they are bought"	<i>'ue-kooychkwoyehl</i>	<i>kooychkwonee</i>	

## 24.2 *Kweget* “visit” (non-inflected)

Grammatical description: optionally transitive non-inflected verb

Related verb

- *kwegetek* ‘I visit’ (bipersonal *kwegetechek* ‘I visit you’)

### Meaning and usage

The optionally transitive verb *kweget* is usually used as in (382), with no object (person visited).

- (382) (a) *Keech nue kweget.*  
 “He went visiting.” MM 1927 (ES)
- (b) *See nue kweget.*  
 “You ought to visit.” YL 1951
- (c) *Keech kweget kue 'ne-ley.*  
 “My brother is visiting.” FS 1980 (PP)

Alternatively, as in (383), this verb can be used with the person visited as its object.

- (383) *Kue meges kue kweget.*  
 “I’m going to go visit the doctor.” JJ 2007 (LC)

As illustrated in (384), the iterative *kweeget* is used in plural contexts.

- (384) (a) *Chyue pueleek kee nue kweeget.*  
 “Let’s go visiting downriver.” YL 1951
- (b) *Kues son kelew keech mehl mee’ kweeget?*  
 “Why don’t you all come visiting now?” YL 1951

As the examples suggest, the intransitive use is more common.



### 24.3 *Megetohlkwook* “I take care of it”

Grammatical description: transitive *oo*-class verb (3 SG -*om*)

Related verbs

- *megetohl* “take care of” (non-inflected)
- *megetohlkwepek* “I take care of myself”

#### Meaning and usage

This verb can refer to taking care of anyone or anything, or it can be translated “own”.

- (385) (a) *Wechpues* ‘o *megetohlkwook* ‘*ne*-‘*yoch*.  
 “I keep my boat at Weitchpec.” AF 2005 (JB)
- (b) *Nek* *megetohlkwook* ‘*k’ee* *ch’eeshah*.  
 “I am taking care of this dog.” FS 1980 (PP)
- (c) *Nek* *wee’ kee* *megetohl* *mehl yo’*.  
 “I will hold onto it for him.” FS 1980 (PP)
- (d) *Nuemee skuy’ soo nee* *megetohlkwee* ‘*k’ee* *hlkehl*.  
 “The land was cared for very well.” DW 1907 (ALK)

#### Inflected forms

This verb has no documented plurals; passives are used. Omitted for reasons of space below are the (undocumented) imperatives: SG *megetohlk’wos*, PL *megetohlkwekw*.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>megetohlkwook</i> ‘	“I take care of it”	‘ <i>ne</i> - <i>megetohlkwook</i> ‘	<i>megetohlkwoh</i>
2 SG	<i>megetohlkwoom</i> ‘	“you . . .”	<i>k’e</i> - <i>megetohlkwook</i> ‘	<i>megetohlkwoomom</i>
3 SG	<i>megetohlkwom</i> ‘	“s/he . . .”	‘ <i>ue</i> - <i>megetohlkwook</i> ‘	<i>megetohlkwomeen</i>
1 PL	<i>megetohlkwoh</i>	“we . . .”	‘ <i>ne</i> - <i>megetohlkwoh</i>	<i>megetohlkwoh</i>
2 PL	<i>megetohlkwow</i> ‘	“you . . .”	<i>k’e</i> - <i>megetohlkwow</i> ‘	<i>megetohlkwoomom</i>
3 PL	<i>megetohlkwohl</i>	“they . . .”	‘ <i>ue</i> - <i>megetohlkwohl</i>	<i>megetohlkwomeen</i>

Passive forms are shown below, and bipersonal forms are in Table 24.1 on page 275.

	PASSIVE INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>megetohlkwoyek</i> ‘	“I’m cared for”	‘ <i>ne</i> - <i>megetohlkwoyek</i> ‘	<i>megetohlkwoh</i>
2 SG	<i>megetohlkwoyem</i> ‘	“you . . .”	<i>k’e</i> - <i>megetohlkwoyek</i> ‘	<i>megetohlkwoomom</i>
3 SG	<i>megetohlkwee</i> ‘	“s/he . . .”	‘ <i>ue</i> - <i>megetohlkwoyek</i> ‘	<i>megetohlkwonee</i>
1 PL	<i>megetohlkwoyoh</i>	“we . . .”	‘ <i>ne</i> - <i>megetohlkwoyoh</i>	<i>megetohlkwoh</i>
2 PL	<i>megetohlkwoyue</i> ‘	“you . . .”	<i>k’e</i> - <i>megetohlkwoyue</i> ‘	<i>megetohlkwoomom</i>
3 PL	<i>megetohlkwoyehl</i>	“they . . .”	‘ <i>ue</i> - <i>megetohlkwoyehl</i>	<i>megetohlkwonee</i>

SUBJECT	SINGULAR OBJECT		
	1 SG	2 SG	3 SG
1 SG	—	<i>megetohlkwochek'</i> "I care for you"	<i>megetohlkwosek'</i> "I care for her/him"
2 SG	<i>megetohlkwopa'</i> "you care for me"	—	<i>megetohlkwosem'</i> "you care for her/him"
3 SG	<i>megetohlkwopen'</i> "s/he cares for me"	[A] <i>megetohlkwoyem'</i> "s/he cares for you"	[B]
1 PL	—	<i>megetohlkwochoh</i> "we care for you"	<i>megetohlkwosoh</i> "we care for her/him"
2 PL	<i>megetohlkwopa'</i> "you care for me"	—	<i>megetohlkwosem'</i> "you care for her/him"
3 PL	<i>megetohlkwopaahl</i> "they care for me"	[A] <i>megetohlkwoyem'</i> "they care for you"	[B]

IMPERATIVE *megetohlkwop'een* "(you) care for me!"

SUBJECT	PLURAL OBJECT		
	1 PL	2 PL	3 PL
1 SG	—	<i>megetohlkwoch'ó'</i> "I care for you"	<i>megetohlkwos'ó'</i> "I care for them"
2 SG	[A] <i>megetohlkwoy</i> "you care for us"	—	[B]
3 SG	[A] <i>megetohlkwoy</i> "s/he cares for us"	[A] <i>megetohlkwoyem'</i> "s/he cares for you"	[B]
1 PL	—	<i>megetohlkwoch'ó'</i> "we care for you"	[B]
2 PL	[A] <i>megetohlkwoy</i> "you care for us"	—	[B]
3 PL	[A] <i>megetohlkwoy</i> "they care for us"	[A] <i>megetohlkwoyem'</i> "they care for you"	[B]

Table 24.1: Bipersonal forms of *megetohlkwook'* "I care for it"

[A] These passive and quasi-passive forms are regularly used in these slots.

[B] Ordinary non-bipersonal forms are used in these slots.

## 24.4 *Moskek'* "I borrow it"

Grammatical description: transitive *e*-class verb

Related verbs

- *mos* "borrow" (non-inflected)
- *moskoček'* "I lend it (to her or him)"

### Meaning and usage

This verb means "borrow", as illustrated in (386).

- (386) (a) *Skewok kee 'ne-moskek'*.  
 "I want to borrow it." AF 2004 (AG)
- (b) *Yo' mos 'ne-muech ro'*.  
 "He borrowed my car." AF 2004 (AG)

As shown in (386b) and (387), to express the person from whom one is borrowing something, a possessive construction is used ("borrow someone's thing", whatever the thing is).

- (387) (a) *Kee moskek' kohtoh k'e-cheek*.  
 "I will borrow one dollar from you." YL 1951
- (b) *'Ne-cheemos kee moskek' 'we-cheek*.  
 "I will borrow my uncle's money." GT 2003 (YLCB)

### Inflected forms

No (collective or non-collective) plurals of this verb happen to be documented.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE	*IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>moskek'</i>	"I borrow it"	<i>'ne-moskek'</i>	<i>moskoh</i>	
2 SG	<i>moskem'</i>	"you borrow it"	<i>k'e-moskek'</i>	<i>moskom</i>	<i>mosk'es</i>
3 SG	<i>mosk'</i>	"s/he borrows it"	<i>'ue-moskek'</i>	<i>moskeen</i>	
1 PL	<i>moskoh</i>	"we borrow it"	<i>'ne-moskoh</i>	<i>moskoh</i>	
2 PL	<i>moskue'</i>	"you borrow it"	<i>k'e-moskue'</i>	<i>moskom</i>	<i>moskek'w</i>
3 PL	<i>moskehl</i>	"they borrow it"	<i>'ue-moskehl</i>	<i>moskeen</i>	

## 24.5 *Muehlkocek* 'I sell'

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb

Related verbs

- *muehl* "sell" (non-inflected)
- *muehlkoh* "sell" (non-inflected)

### Meaning and usage

This verb refers to selling, but is used differently from English *sell*. The Yurok verb is intransitive and the thing sold is expressed with *mehl*.

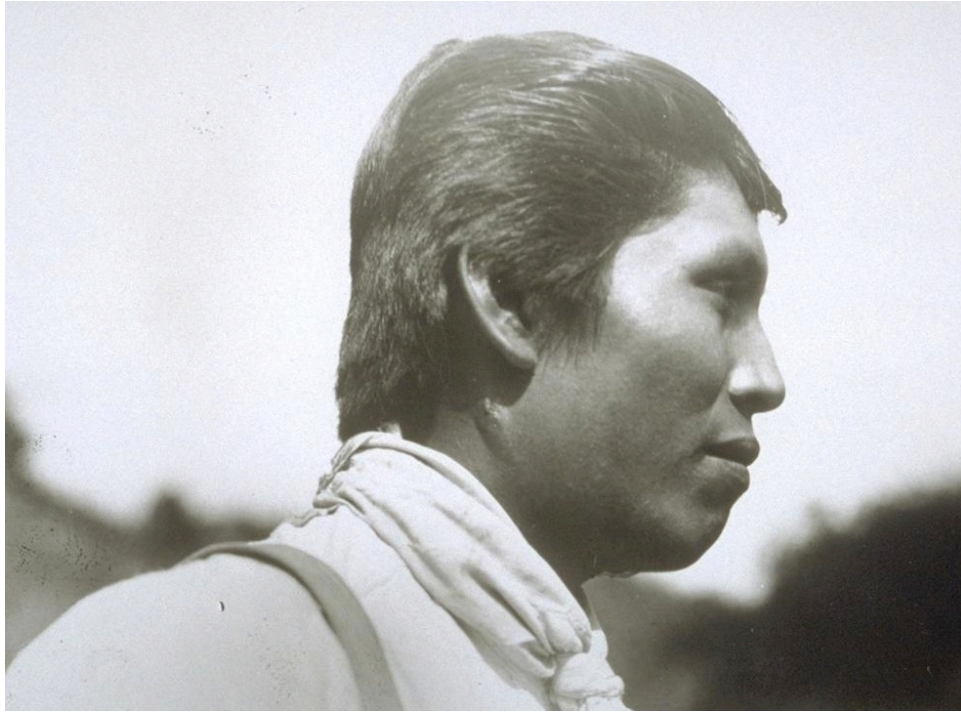
- (388) (a) *Kue k'e-nepuy hes mehl muehlkochem'?*  
 "Did you sell your salmon?" JJ 2007 (LC)
- (b) *Kues kee shoo mehl muehl?*  
 "How will you sell them?" YL 1951

A literal translation of a sentence with *muehlkocek*' might be "I make a sale (with it)".

### Inflected forms

The verb *muehlkocek*' has non-collective plurals.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE	*IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>muehlkocek'</i>	"I sell"	<i>'ne-muehlkocek'</i>	<i>muehlkochoh</i>	
2 SG	<i>muehlkochem'</i>	"you sell"	<i>k'e-muehlkocek'</i>	<i>muehlkochom</i>	<i>muehlkoch'es</i>
3 SG	<i>muehlkoch'</i>	"s/he sell"	<i>'ue-muehlkocek'</i>	<i>muehlkocheen</i>	
1 PL	<i>muehlkochoh</i>	"we sell"	<i>'ne-muehlkochoh</i>	<i>muehlkochoh</i>	
2 PL	<i>muehlkochue'</i>	"you sell"	<i>k'e-muehlkochue'</i>	<i>muehlkochom</i>	<i>muehlkocekw</i>
3 PL	<i>muehlkochehl</i>	"they sell"	<i>'ue-muehlkochehl</i>	<i>muehlkocheen</i>	



**Figure 24.1:** Robert Spott, 1907. The adoptive son of Captain Spott, Robert wrote *Yurok narratives* (1940) with A. L. Kroeber and also worked with the linguist R. H. Robins. Photo by A. L. Kroeber.

## 24.6 'N-ew "I am named"

Grammatical description: intransitive non-inflected subjunctive verb

Related verb

- 'n-ewolek' "I am named" (subjunctive)

### Meaning and usage

The verb 'n-ew is the non-inflected counterpart of 'n-ewolek' (common in Classical Yurok). Both verbs occur only as subjunctives, with prefixes, as in (389).

- (389) (a) *Kues 'w-ew kue we'yon?*  
"What is that girl's name?" YL 1951
- (b) *Mary 'w-ew.*  
"Her name is Mary." GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (c) *Keech hoo'yk'ohl 'w-ew kue wenchokws.*  
"I've forgotten that woman's name (LIT. how that woman is named)." AF 2002 (JB)
- (d) *Neekee chyue 'ok'w 'w-ewolek'.*  
"Everything has a name." DW 1907 (ALK)

### Verbs with similar meanings

The verbs *wegenook'* "I call it, I mention it" and *nekey'* "call" (non-inflected) are similar to 'n-ew. But 'n-ew refers to a name; the other verbs refer to what a thing is called. For instance, the sentences in (390) appear in a story told by Florence Shaughnessy.

- (390) (a) *Pewolew 'o Meweemor weet soo nekey'.*  
"He was called the Old Man of Pewolew." FS 1951 (YL)
- (b) *Pewolew 'ue-Mey' soo wegenee'.*  
"She was called the Daughter of Pewolew." FS 1951 (YL)

### Inflected forms

Strictly speaking, as a non-inflected verb, 'n-ew has no inflected forms. But because it is a subjunctive verb, it differs from person to person; and 'n-ewolek' has inflected forms.

	NON-INFLECTED		INFLECTED
1 SG	'n-ew	"I am named"	'n-ewolek'
2 SG	k'-ew	"you are named"	k'-ewolek'
3 SG	'w-ew	"s/he is named"	'w-ewolek'
1 PL	'n-ew	"we are named"	'n-ewoloh
2 PL	k'-ew	"you are named"	k'-ewolue'
3 PL	'w-ew	"they are named"	'w-ewolehl

## 24.7 *Nahchek'* "I give it to her or him"

Grammatical description: ditransitive *e*-class verb

### Meaning and usage

The verb *nahchek'* "I give it" also means "allow, permit". The "give" sense is illustrated in (391).

- (391) (a) *Noohl 'o na'ch' kue 'ue-ma'a'.*  
 "Then he gave him his spear." MM 1927 (YL)
- (b) *Kee nahchesem' hes?*  
 "Will you give it to her?" AF 2001 (JB)
- (c) *Na'ch'een kue 'e'ga'.*  
 "Give me the pencil." AF 2001 (LC)
- (d) *Nek kwelekw 'ok'w kee 'ne-nahchesek'.*  
 "I have something that I want to give you." GT 2007 (LC)

The "allow" sense of *nahchek'* is shown with a passive example in (392).

- (392) *Neemee wo nahchelek' kee 'ne-hlkyorkwek'.*  
 "I was not allowed to watch." YL 1951

### Inflected forms

This verb has no collective. The imperative forms (omitted below to save space) are SG *na'ch'es*, PL *nahchekw*.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>nahchek'</i>	"I give it to her/him"	<i>'ne-nahchek'</i>	<i>nahchoh</i>
2 SG	<i>nahchem'</i>	"you give it to her/him"	<i>k'e-nahchek'</i>	<i>nahchom</i>
3 SG	<i>na'ch'</i>	"s/he gives it to her/him"	<i>'we-nahchek'</i>	<i>nahcheen</i>
1 PL	<i>nahchoh</i>	"we give it to her/him"	<i>'ne-nahchoh</i>	<i>nahchoh</i>
2 PL	<i>nahchue'</i>	"you give it to her/him"	<i>k'e-nahchue'</i>	<i>nahchueh</i>
3 PL	<i>nahchehl</i>	"they give it to her/him"	<i>'we-nahchehl</i>	<i>nahcheen</i>

Passive forms are given below.

	PASSIVE INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>nahchelek'</i>	"it is given to me"	<i>'ne-nahchelek'</i>	<i>nahcheloh</i>
2 SG	<i>nahchelem'</i>	"it is given to you"	<i>k'e-nahchelek'</i>	<i>nahchelom</i>
3 SG	<i>nahchel'</i>	"it is given to her/him"	<i>'we-nahchelek'</i>	<i>nahcheleen</i>
1 PL	<i>nahcheloh</i>	"it is given to us"	<i>'ne-nahcheloh</i>	<i>nahcheloh</i>
2 PL	<i>nahchelue'</i>	"it is given to you"	<i>k'e-nahchelue'</i>	<i>nahchelueh</i>
3 PL	<i>nahchelehl</i>	"it is given to them"	<i>'we-nahchelehl</i>	<i>nahcheleen</i>

Bipersonal forms, which are common (because giving involves a recipient), are in Table 24.2 on page 281.

SUBJECT	SINGULAR OBJECT		
	1 SG	2 SG	3 SG
1 SG	—	<i>nahchechek'</i> "I give it to you"	<i>nahchesek'</i> "I give it to her/him"
2 SG	<i>nahcha'</i> "you give it to me"	—	<i>nahchesem'</i> "you give it to her/him"
3 SG	<i>nahchen'</i> "s/he gives it to me"	[A] <i>nahchelem'</i> "s/he gives it to you"	[B]
1 PL	—	<i>nahchechoh</i> "we give it to you"	<i>nahchesoh</i> "we give it to her/him"
2 PL	<i>nahcha'</i> "you give it to me"	—	<i>nahchesem'</i> "you give it to her/him"
3 PL	<i>nahchepaahl</i> "they give it to me"	[A] <i>nahchelem'</i> "they give it to you"	[B]

IMPERATIVE *na'ch'een* "(you) give it to me!"

SUBJECT	PLURAL OBJECT		
	1 PL	2 PL	3 PL
1 SG	—	<i>nahchech'ó'</i> "I give it to you"	<i>nahches'ó'</i> "I give it to them"
2 SG	[A] <i>nahchel</i> "you give it to us"	—	[B]
3 SG	[A] <i>nahchel</i> "s/he gives it to us"	[A] <i>nahchelem'</i> "s/he gives it to you"	[B]
1 PL	—	<i>nahchech'ó'</i> "we give it to you"	[B]
2 PL	[A] <i>nahchel</i> "you give it to us"	—	[B]
3 PL	[A] <i>nahchel</i> "they give it to us"	[A] <i>nahchelem'</i> "they give it to you"	[B]

Table 24.2: Bipersonal forms of *nahchek* "I give it to her or him"

[A] These passive and quasi-passive forms are regularly used in these slots.

[B] Ordinary non-bipersonal forms are used in these slots.



## 24.8 *Nergerykerrk'* "I help"

Grammatical description: transitive *oo*-class verb (3 SG *-erm'*, with *er*-quality)

Related verb

- *nergery* "help" (non-inflected)

### Meaning and usage

This verb means "help (somebody do something)". It can be used with just an object (a person helped), with a clause naming the activity, or by itself.

- (393) (a) *Kos'elson nonee ho 'we-nergerykerpaahl.*  
 'I wish they had helped me more.' YL 1951
- (b) *To' hes kee nergery kue 'ne-lewet kee 'ne-hoh?*  
 'Will you help me fix my net?' GT 2007 (LC)

### Verbs with similar meanings

Another verb that can express a similar meaning is *noosonowok'* "I am useful, I take part (with others), I am helpful", which means literally "I act like others" (*noo-* means "like others, in the same way").

### Inflected forms

The verb *nergerykerk'* has no collective.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE	IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>nergerykerrk'</i>	"I help"	<i>'ne-nergerykerrk'</i>	<i>nergerykerh</i>	
2 SG	<i>nergerykerrm'</i>	"you help"	<i>k'e-nergerykerrk'</i>	<i>nergerykerrmerm</i>	<i>nergerykers</i>
3 SG	<i>nergerykerm'</i>	"s/he helps"	<i>'we-nergerykerrk'</i>	<i>nergerykermeen</i>	
1 PL	<i>nergerykerh</i>	"we help"	<i>'ne-nergeryerh</i>	<i>nergerykerh</i>	
2 PL	<i>nergerykerw'</i>	"you help"	<i>k'e-nergerykerw'</i>	<i>nergerykerrmerm</i>	<i>nergerykerkw</i>
3 PL	<i>nergerykerhl</i>	"they help"	<i>'we-nergerykerhl</i>	<i>nergerykermeen</i>	

The passive forms below are inferrable, though not documented (non-inflected *nergery* is often used instead).

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>nergerykeryerk'</i>	"I am helped"	<i>'ne-nergerykeryerk'</i>	<i>nergerykeryerh</i>
2 SG	<i>nergerykeryerm'</i>	"you are helped"	<i>k'e-nergerykeryerk'</i>	<i>nergerykeryerm</i>
3 SG	<i>nergerykee'</i>	"s/he is helped"	<i>'we-nergerykeryerk'</i>	<i>nergerykeryernee</i>
1 PL	<i>nergerykeryerh</i>	"we are helped"	<i>'ne-nergerykeryerh</i>	<i>nergerykeryerh</i>
2 PL	<i>nergerykeryue'</i>	"you are helped"	<i>k'e-nergerykeryue'</i>	<i>nergerykeryueh</i>
3 PL	<i>nergerykeryerhl</i>	"they are helped"	<i>'we-nergerykeryerhl</i>	<i>nergerykeryernee</i>

Bipersonal forms are in Table 24.3 on page 283.

SUBJECT	SINGULAR OBJECT		
	1 SG	2 SG	3 SG
1 SG	—	<i>nergerykercherk'</i> "I help you"	<i>nergerykerserk'</i> "I help her/him"
2 SG	<i>nergerykerper'</i> "you help me"	—	<i>nergerykerm'</i> "you help her/him"
3 SG	<i>nergerykerpern'</i> "s/he helps me"	[A] <i>nergerykeryerm'</i> "s/he helps you"	[B]
1 PL	—	<i>nergerykerchoh</i> "we help you"	<i>nergerykerserh</i> "we help her/him"
2 PL	<i>nergerykerper'</i> "you help me"	—	<i>nergerykerm'</i> "you help her/him"
3 PL	<i>nergerykerpaahl</i> "they help me"	[A] <i>nergerykeryerm'</i> "they help you"	[B]

IMPERATIVE *nergeryker'een* "(you) help me!"

SUBJECT	PLURAL OBJECT		
	1 PL	2 PL	3 PL
1 SG	—	<i>nergerykerch'er'</i> "I help you"	<i>nergerykers'er'</i> "I help them"
2 SG	[A] <i>nergerykery</i> "you help us"	—	[B]
3 SG	[A] <i>nergerykery</i> "s/he helps us"	[A] <i>nergerykeryerm'</i> "s/he helps you"	[B]
1 PL	—	<i>nergerykerch'er'</i> "we help you"	[B]
2 PL	[A] <i>nergerykery</i> "you help us"	—	[B]
3 PL	[A] <i>nergerykery</i> "they help us"	[A] <i>nergerykeryem'</i> "they help you"	[B]

Table 24.3: Bipersonal forms of *nergerykerk'* "I help her or him"

[A] These passive and quasi-passive forms are regularly used in these slots.

[B] Ordinary non-bipersonal forms are used in these slots.

## 24.9 'Ohchek' "I give (food) to you"

Grammatical description: ditransitive *e*-class verb

Related verbs

- 'ohpuemek' "I feed her or him"
- 'ohpuemew "be fed" (non-inflected)

### Meaning and usage

This verb has primarily bipersonal and passive forms (since its meaning requires a personal recipient).

- (394) (a) *Nue 'o'ch'es k'e-ch'eeshah!*  
 "Go feed your dogs!" LT 1922 (GR)
- (b) *'O'p'een kee kol' soo 'ne-nepek.*  
 "Give me something to eat." FS 1951 (RHR)
- (c) *Kee 'ohsek' pa'ah.*  
 "I will give him some water." YL 1951

### Inflected forms

The only non-bipersonals are passives, below, with the sole exception of the imperative 'o'ch'es "give (food) to her/him!"

	PASSIVE INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	'ohpelek' "I am given food"		'ne-'ohpelek'	'ohpeloh
2 SG	'ohpelem' "you are given food"		k'e-'ohpelek'	'ohpelom
3 SG	'ohpel' "s/he is given food"		'we-'ohpelek'	'ohpeleen
1 PL	'ohpeloh' "we are given food"		'ne-'ohpeloh	'ohpeloh
2 PL	'ohpelue'	"you are given food"	k'e-'ohpelue'	'ohpelueh
3 PL	'ohpelehl' "they are given food"		'we-'ohpelehl	'ohpeleen

Bipersonals are in Table 24.4 on page 285.

SUBJECT	SINGULAR OBJECT		
	1 SG	2 SG	3 SG
1 SG	—	<i>'ohchek'</i> "I give to you"	<i>'ohsek'</i> "I give to her/him"
2 SG	<i>'ohpa'</i> "you give to me"	—	<i>'ohsem'</i> "you give to her/him"
3 SG	<i>'ohpen'</i> "s/he gives to me"	[A] <i>'ohpelem'</i> "s/he gives to you"	[B]
1 PL	—	<i>'ohchoh'</i> "we give to you"	<i>'ohsoh'</i> "we give to her/him"
2 PL	<i>'ohpa'</i> "you give to me"	—	<i>'ohsem'</i> "you give to her/him"
3 PL	<i>'ohpaahl'</i> "they give to me"	[A] <i>'ohpelem'</i> "they give to you"	[B]

IMPERATIVE *'op'een* "(you) give me!"

SUBJECT	PLURAL OBJECT		
	1 PL	2 PL	3 PL
1 SG	—	<i>'och'ó'</i> "I give to you"	<i>'ós'ó'</i> "I give to them"
2 SG	[A] <i>'ohpel'</i> "you give to us"	—	[B]
3 SG	[A] <i>'ohpel'</i> "s/he gives to us"	[A] <i>'ohpelem'</i> "s/he gives to you"	[B]
1 PL	—	<i>'och'ó'</i> "we give to you"	[B]
2 PL	[A] <i>'ohpel'</i> "you give to us"	—	[B]
3 PL	[A] <i>'ohpel'</i> "they give to us"	[A] <i>'ohpelem'</i> "they give to you"	[B]

Table 24.4: Bipersonal forms of *'ohchek'* "I give (food) to you"

[A] These passive and quasi-passive forms are regularly used in these slots.

[B] Ordinary non-bipersonal forms are used in these slots.

## 24.10 *Pelomoyek* ‘I fight’

Grammatical description: intransitive *e*-class verb

Variant: *pelomeyek*’

Related verbs

- *pelomek*’ ‘I fight’
- *pelomew* ‘fight’ (non-inflected)
- *pelomewpeyok*’ ‘I fight’

### Meaning and usage

Singular forms means that one person fights; plurals can mean people fight one another.

- (395) (a) *Keech wey* ‘*ne-pelomoyek*’.  
 “I’ve stopped fighting.” FS 1980 (PP)
- (b) ‘*Ochkaa pelomoyek*’.  
 “I’m fighting.” GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (c) ATTRIBUTIVE PHRASE: *k’ee pelomoye’ monee pegerk*  
 “the men who are fighting” YL 1951

The cause of a fight (what you fight over) is expressed with *mehl*, as in (396).

- (396) *Kue kego’sneg ’emsee k’err’ weesh mehl pelomoyehl*.  
 “The seagulls and crows fight over it.” FS 1951 (YL)

The usage of a related verb is illustrated in (397).

- (397) *Nek pelomew ho yo*’.  
 “I fought him.” YL 1951

### Inflected forms

This verb has a collective stem *pelomoyem*’. Omitted below, for reasons of space, are the imperative forms: SG *pelomoyes*, PL *pelomoyekw*, COLL *pelomoye’mekw*.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE		ATTRIBUTIVE	
1 SG	<i>pelomoyek</i> ’	“I fight”	<i>’ne-pelomoyek</i> ’	<i>pelomoyoh</i>		
2 SG	<i>pelomoyem</i> ’	“you fight”	<i>k’e-pelomoyek</i> ’	<i>pelomoyom</i>		
3 SG	<i>pelomoy</i> ’	“s/he fights”	<i>’ue-pelomoyek</i> ’	<i>pelomoyn</i>		
1 PL	<i>pelomoyoh</i>	“we fight”	<i>’ne-pelomoyoh</i>	<i>pelomoyoh</i>		
2 PL	<i>pelomoyue</i> ’	“you fight”	<i>k’e-pelomoyue</i> ’	<i>pelomoyueh</i>		
3 PL	<i>pelomoyehl</i>	“they fight”	<i>’ue-pelomoyehl</i>	<i>pelomoyn</i>		
1 COLL	<i>pelomoye’ moh</i>	“we fight”	<i>’ne-pelomoye’ moh</i>	<i>pelomoye’ moh</i>		
2 COLL	<i>pelomoye’ mow</i> ’	“you fight”	<i>k’e-pelomoye’ mow</i> ’	<i>pelomoye’ mow</i> ’		
3 COLL	<i>pelomoye’ mehl</i>	“they fight”	<i>’ue-pelomoye’ mehl</i>	<i>pelomoye’ monee</i>		



Figure 24.2: School children learning Yurok

## 24.11 *Sermerterk'* "I kill it"

Grammatical description: transitive *e*-class verb (with *er*-quality)

Related verbs

- *serm* "kill" (non-inflected)
- *sermerterperk'* "I kill myself"

### Meaning and usage

The verb *sermerterk'* often means "kill", as in (398). It can also mean "beat" — just as in English, to describe either physical beating, like hitting someone with a rock, or beating someone in a game, as in (399).

- (398) (a) *Yo' ha'aag mehl sermert' ch'uech'eesh.*  
"He killed the bird with a stone." YL 1951
- (b) *'O lem', Kee sermerterk' k'ee hegor.*  
"He said, I'll kill the Sun." MM 1927 (YT)
- (399) (a) *Sermeryerwee' 'o k'ee werhperh.*  
"He was beaten in the stick game." YL 1951
- (b) *Kol' tee'neeshoo serm?*  
"Who seems to be winning?" JJ 2007 (LC)

### Inflected forms

No collective form exists.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE	IMPERATIVE
1 SG	<i>sermerterk'</i>	"I kill it"	<i>'ne-sermerterk'</i>	<i>sermerterh</i>	
2 SG	<i>sermerterm'</i>	"you kill it"	<i>k'e-sermerterk'</i>	<i>sermerterm</i>	<i>sermert'ers</i>
3 SG	<i>sermert'</i>	"s/he kills it"	<i>'we-sermerterk'</i>	<i>sermerteen</i>	
1 PL	<i>sermerterh</i>	"we kill it"	<i>'ne-sermerterh</i>	<i>sermerterh</i>	
2 PL	<i>sermertue'</i>	"you kill it"	<i>k'e-sermertue'</i>	<i>sermertueh</i>	<i>sermerterkw</i>
3 PL	<i>sermerterhl</i>	"they kill it"	<i>'we-sermerterhl</i>	<i>sermerteen</i>	

Two passive patterns, shown below, are documented; the "alternative" is more recently recorded. Bipersonals are in Table 24.5 on page 289.

	PASSIVE INDICATIVE		ALTERNATIVE PASSIVE
1 SG	<i>sermeryerweryerk'</i>	"I am killed"	<i>sermeryerwerk'</i>
2 SG	<i>sermeryerweryerm'</i>	"you are killed"	<i>sermeryerwerm'</i>
3 SG	<i>sermeryerwee'</i>	"s/he is killed"	<i>sermeryerw'</i>
1 PL	<i>sermeryerweryerh</i>	"we are killed"	<i>sermeryerwerh</i>
2 PL	<i>sermeryerweryue'</i>	"you are killed"	<i>sermeryerwerw'</i>
3 PL	<i>sermeryerweryerhl</i>	"they are killed"	<i>sermeryerwerhl</i>

SUBJECT	SINGULAR OBJECT		
	1 SG	2 SG	3 SG
1 SG	—	<i>sermertercherk'</i> "I kill you"	<i>sermerterserk'</i> "I kill her/him"
2 SG	<i>sermerter'</i> "you kill me"	—	<i>sermerterserm'</i> "you kill her/him"
3 SG	<i>sermertern'</i> "s/he kills me"	[A] <i>sermerterweryerm'</i> "s/he kills you"	[B]
1 PL	—	<i>sermertercherh</i> "we kill you"	<i>sermerterserh</i> "we kill her/him"
2 PL	<i>sermerterper'</i> "you kill me"	—	<i>sermerterserm'</i> "you kill her/him"
3 PL	<i>sermerterpaahl</i> "they kill me"	[A] <i>sermerterweryerm'</i> "they kill you"	[B]

IMPERATIVE *sermert'een* "(you) kill me!"

SUBJECT	PLURAL OBJECT		
	1 PL	2 PL	3 PL
1 SG	—	<i>sermerterch'er'</i> "I kill you"	<i>sermerters'er'</i> "I kill them"
2 SG	[A] <i>sermeryerwery</i> "you kill us"	—	[B]
3 SG	[A] <i>sermeryerwery</i> "s/he kills us"	[A] <i>sermerteryerm'</i> "s/he kills you"	[B]
1 PL	—	<i>sermerteech'ó'</i> "we kill you"	[B]
2 PL	[A] <i>sermeryerwery</i> "you kill us"	—	[B]
3 PL	[A] <i>sermeryerwery</i> "they kill us"	[A] <i>sermerteryerm'</i> "they kill you"	[B]

Table 24.5: Bipersonal forms of *sermerterk'* "I kill it"

[A] These passive and quasi-passive forms are regularly used in these slots.

[B] Ordinary non-bipersonal forms are used in these slots.



## 24.12 *S'ooponemek'* "I punch her or him"

Grammatical description: transitive *e*-class verb

Related verb

- *s'oks'ooponemek'* "I punch her or him repeatedly" (repetitive verb)

### Meaning and usage

The verb *s'ooponemek'* means "punch" or "hit with the fists"; examples are in (400).

- (400) (a) *Keetee s'ooponechek'*.  
"I'm going to punch you." GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (b) *Kel' s'ooponoyem'*.  
"Somebody hit you." JC 1889
- (c) *'We-luehl' o s'ooponee'*.  
"Somebody hit him in the mouth." JJ 2004 (JB)

The repetitive verb *s'oks'ooponemek'* "I punch her or him repeatedly" is seen in (401).

- (401) (a) *S'oks'ooponoyem'*.  
"Somebody's going to hit you (more than once)." AF 2001 (JB)
- (b) *Tenem' kue 'we-s'oks'ooponoy.*  
"He's hitting a bunch of people." JJ 2006 (EJW)

### Inflected forms

There is no collective. Passives are below, and bipersonals are in Table 24.6 on page 291. Omitted below, for reasons of space, are the imperatives: SG *s'oop'ones*, PL *s'ooponemekw*.

	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>s'ooponemek'</i>	"I punch her/him"	<i>'ne-s'ooponemek'</i>	<i>s'ooponemoh</i>
2 SG	<i>s'ooponemem'</i>	"you punch her/him"	<i>k'e-s'ooponemek'</i>	<i>s'ooponemom</i>
3 SG	<i>s'ooponem'</i>	"s/he punches her/him"	<i>'we-s'ooponemek'</i>	<i>s'ooponemeen</i>
1 PL	<i>s'ooponemoh</i>	"we punch her/him"	<i>'ne-s'ooponemoh</i>	<i>s'ooponemoh</i>
2 PL	<i>s'ooponemue'</i>	"you punch her/him"	<i>k'e-s'ooponemue'</i>	<i>s'ooponemueh</i>
3 PL	<i>s'ooponemehl</i>	"they punch her/him"	<i>'we-s'ooponemehl</i>	<i>s'ooponemeen</i>

	PASSIVE INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE
1 SG	<i>s'ooponoyek'</i>	"I am punched"	<i>'ne-s'ooponoyek'</i>	<i>s'ooponoyoh</i>
2 SG	<i>s'ooponoyem'</i>	"you are punched"	<i>k'e-s'ooponoyek'</i>	<i>s'ooponoyom</i>
3 SG	<i>s'ooponee'</i>	"s/he is punched"	<i>'we-s'ooponoyek'</i>	<i>s'oopononee</i>
1 PL	<i>s'ooponoyoh</i>	"we are punched"	<i>'ne-s'ooponoyoh</i>	<i>s'ooponoyoh</i>
2 PL	<i>s'ooponoyue'</i>	"you are punched"	<i>k'e-s'ooponoyue'</i>	<i>s'ooponoyueh</i>
3 PL	<i>s'ooponoyehl</i>	"they are punched"	<i>'we-s'ooponoyehl</i>	<i>s'oopononee</i>

SUBJECT	SINGULAR OBJECT		
	1 SG	2 SG	3 SG
1 SG	—	<i>s'ooponechek'</i> "I punch you"	<i>s'ooponesek'</i> "I punch her/him"
2 SG	<i>s'ooponepa'</i> "you punch me"	—	<i>s'ooponesem'</i> "you punch her/him"
3 SG	<i>s'ooponepen'</i> "s/he punches me"	[A] <i>s'ooponoyem'</i> "s/he punches you"	[B]
1 PL	—	<i>s'ooponechoh</i> "we punch you"	<i>s'ooponesoh</i> "we punch her/him"
2 PL	<i>s'ooponepa'</i> "you punch me"	—	<i>s'ooponesem'</i> "you punch her/him"
3 PL	<i>s'ooponepaahl</i> "they punch me"	[A] <i>s'ooponoyem'</i> "they punch you"	[B]

IMPERATIVE *s'ooponep'een* "(you) punch me!"

SUBJECT	PLURAL OBJECT		
	1 PL	2 PL	3 PL
1 SG	—	<i>s'ooponech'o'</i> "I punch you"	<i>s'oopones'o'</i> "I punch them"
2 SG	[A] <i>s'ooponoy</i> "you punch us"	—	[B]
3 SG	[A] <i>s'ooponoy</i> "s/he likes us"	[A] <i>s'ooponoyem'</i> "s/he likes you"	[B]
1 PL	—	<i>s'ooponech'o'</i> "we punch you"	[B]
2 PL	[A] <i>s'ooponoy</i> "you punch us"	—	[B]
3 PL	[A] <i>s'ooponoy</i> "they punch us"	[A] <i>s'ooponoyem'</i> "they punch you"	[B]

Table 24.6: Bipersonal forms of *s'ooponemek'* "I punch her or him"

[A] These passive and quasi-passive forms are regularly used in these slots.

[B] Ordinary non-bipersonal forms are used in these slots.



## Chapter 25

# Verbs of weather and time

The verbs in this chapter refer to types of weather or events. They are called *IMPERSONAL* because their subjects cannot be people, animals, etc. (a person cannot rain or be windy); they only have 3 SG forms.

One or two surprising features of impersonal verbs are illustrated in this chapter. First, impersonal verbs have subjunctive forms that may surprise learners, because they seem to contain 1 SG endings (as if they meant “I am bad weather”, etc.). This is simply a consequence of how subjunctives are formed. Second, as illustrated for *ror* “it snows”, it is possible for an impersonal verb to have an impersonal passive.



## 25.1 Roo “be a (certain) time”

Grammatical description: intransitive non-inflected verb

Related verbs

- *rootah* “sun shines (to somewhere)” (non-inflected)
- *rootep’* “it is a (particular) time”

### Meaning and usage

As shown in (402a), *roo* can be used without a complement expressing what it is time for. When a complement is present, as in (402b–c), a subjunctive verb is used.

- (402) (a) *Kues keech roo?*  
 “What time is it?” YL 1951
- (b) *Keech ‘ee roo kee ‘we-‘e’gah.*  
 “It’s time for them to eat.” GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (c) *Keech ‘ee roo kue k’e-kepoyuerek’.*  
 “It is time for you to go swimming.” YL 1951

The verb *roo* is a shorter form of non-inflected *rootah* (and inflected *rootep’*), which conveys a very similar meaning in examples like the following:

- (403) *Kues rootah?*  
 “Where is the sun shining to?” FS 1980 (PP)

Traditionally, time measurement would have been by the angle of the sun and the length of shadows. In effect, therefore, the sentence in (403) asks what time it is.

## 25.2 Snow, wind, and hail

The non-inflected verb *sahksah* in (404) refers to hail.

- (404) *Noohl 'o sahksah.*  
 "Then the hail comes." FS 1980 (PP)

Verbs that refer generally to wind and snow have a variety of forms. For wind, the basic verb is *rookws* "it's windy" (subjunctive '*we-rookwsek*', undocumented attributive *rookwseen*), which has a related non-inflected form *rookw*. These forms are illustrated in (405).

- (405) (a) *Neemee nuemee rook'ws 'o we'eet.*  
 "It's not very windy here." FS 1980 (PP)  
 (b) *Neeko'hl 'we-rookwsek' 'o we'eet.*  
 "It's always windy here." FS 1980 (PP)  
 (c) *Neeko'hl 'we-rookw.*  
 "It's always windy." FS 1980 (PP)

For snow, the basic verb is *ror'* (subjunctive '*we-rorek*' and attributive *roreen*), illustrated in (406).

- (406) (a) *Ho ror'.*  
 "It's been snowing." GM 2004 (AG)  
 (b) *Keech ror'.*  
 "It's snowing, it's just now beginning to snow." GT 2003 (YLCB)

Perhaps surprisingly, this impersonal verb *ror'* "it's snowing" has an impersonal passive form *roree'* "there is snow", illustrated in (407).

- (407) *Keech roree'.*  
 "It's snowing." GT 2003 (YLCB)

### 25.3 Verbs in *-hl-*

Given here are a set of verbs whose inflected forms have suffixes ending in *-hl-*. In most cases inflected forms exist as well as non-inflected forms (VN). Attributives are given even though mostly they are undocumented. All inflected forms below are 3 SG forms; *kege'ype'hl* is an iterative, because it refers to multiple flashes of lightning.

INDICATIVE (WITH EXAMPLE REFERENCE)	SUBJUNCTIVE	*ATTRIBUTIVE	VN
<i>cheporege'hl</i> "it's cold (weather)" (409)	' <i>we-cheporegehlek'</i>	<i>cheporegehleen</i>	<i>cheporeg</i>
<i>ho'ohko'hl</i> "it's dark" (410)	' <i>w-ohkohlek'</i>	<i>ho'ohkohleen</i>	<i>ho'oh</i>
<i>kaamege'hl</i> "it's bad weather" (411)	' <i>ue-kaamegehlek'</i>	<i>kaamegehleen</i>	<i>kaameg</i>
<i>kege'ype'hl</i> "there's lightning" (412)	' <i>ue-kege'ypehlek'</i>	<i>kege'ypehleen</i>	<i>kegey'</i>
<i>lohpee'hl</i> "it's cloudy" (408)	' <i>we-lohpeehlek'</i>	<i>lohpeehleen</i>	
<i>skewege'hl</i> "it's good weather" (413)	' <i>we-skewegehlek'</i>	<i>skewegehleen</i>	<i>skeweg</i>
<i>ta'anoy'hl</i> "it's hot (weather)" (414)	' <i>we-ta'anoyhlek'</i>	<i>ta'anoyhleen</i>	<i>ta'</i>
<i>tenpewe'hl</i> "it's raining" (415)	' <i>we-tenpewehlek'</i>	<i>tenpewehleen</i>	<i>ten</i>

In one case above only inflected forms are known. An example of *lohpee'hl* "it's cloudy" is given in (408); if there is a related non-inflected verb, it is probably \**loh*, but this has not been documented.

- (408) *Peeshkaahl mehl lohpee'hl.*  
 "The clouds are coming in from the sea." YL 1951

Other inflected and non-inflected verbs above are compared in (409–415) below.

- (409) (a) *Kolnee cheporege'hl.*  
 "It's kind of cold." GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (b) *Neeko'hl 'we-cheporeg.*  
 "It is always cold." YL 1951
- (410) (a) *Keech ho'ohko'hl.*  
 "It's getting dark." MM 1927 (ES)
- (b) *Keech ho'oh we'ykoh.*  
 "It's dark now." JVP 2001 (JB)
- (411) (a) *Kolo keetee nuemee kaameg.*  
 "It looks like it will be very bad weather." YL 1951
- (b) *Keech kaamege'hl.*  
 "It's very bad weather." FS 1980 (PP)
- (412) (a) *Kege'y.*  
 "There's lightning." AF 2001 (JB)
- (b) *To' newook' 'ue-kege'ypehlek'.*  
 "I did see the lightning." AF 2001 (JB)
- (413) (a) *Keech skewege'hl.*  
 "It's good weather out." GM 2004 (AG)
- (b) *Keech skeweg.*  
 "It's a nice day." GT 2003 (YLCB)

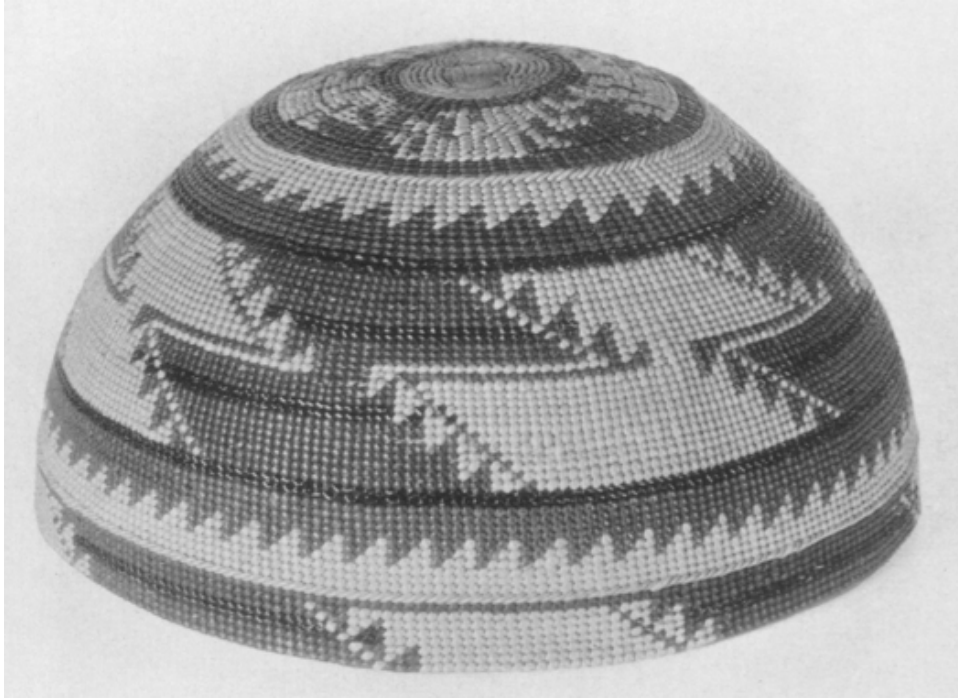


Figure 25.1: 'Oohl 'we-'ekah

- (414) (a) *Keech nuemee ta'anoy'hl.*  
 "It's very hot." GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (b) *Mos nuemee ta'.*  
 "It's not very hot." JJ 2006 (AG)
- (415) (a) *Keetee tenpewe'hl hes?*  
 'Is it going to rain?' GT 2003 (YLCB)
- (b) *Neeko'hl 'we-tenpewehlek'.*  
 "It is always raining." YL 1951
- (c) *Nek soo keetee ten.*  
 "I think it will rain." YL 1951





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## Abbreviations:

- UC(B) = University of California (Berkeley)
- BLC = Berkeley Language Center, UCB
- PAHMA = Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, UCB
- *IJAL* = *International Journal of American Linguistics*
- *UCPAAE* = *UC Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* (available online: [dpg.lib.berkeley.edu/webdb/anthpubs/search?journal=1](http://dpg.lib.berkeley.edu/webdb/anthpubs/search?journal=1))

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# English index of Yurok verbs

The English translations below are rough approximations. For a better sense of what these Yurok words mean and how they are used, read the detailed discussions in the text above.

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