

Notes on de Angulo's control of Achumawi in his KPFA recordings

Tape 4, running from 25.28 to 38.01

27:18 *yas* "weasel". The nonsense word *títíkí* I don't know, which he says is an annoying nickname. He says *yáas* "weasel" with a long vowel (which cannot occur in syllable ending in a consonant) and falling pitch. Compare Lela Rhoades in the initial "Mouse Brothers" part of the Pumice-Stone Man story.

27:35 *timathě* "Pine Marten"

He says *tamatháy* (last syllable as in "hi there", with strong stress) and *tamáthé'*

34:38 *čkittaawáálu* "female doctor"

He says *c^higitawáalu*

Tape 7, 14.40 to the end of Tape 7

15:56 *úúmaati' álisti wáté* "sleeping by/at/on rocks"

He says *úúmaadi' álistí wáádé'*

16:01. *úúmaati' acúmma wáté* "sleeping by/at/on the river"

He says *úúmaadi' waajúmáá wádé^h*

Her name may indeed have been *úúmaati' wacúmma wáté*, but that means "where it flows thither". The *w-* is a 3rd person pronoun used for habitual/characteristic/characterizing assertions and for forces of nature. *Acúmmá* is a participle, literally "flowing/thrusting/crossing thither", which when used as a noun is translated "river". I'm sure you know that Achumawi is an anglicization of a word meaning "river dweller".

17:12 *at waahúumi* "tule runner ('runs-in-tules')."

He says *aat wááhoumí'*

At is the small, round kind of tules after the brittle white outside has been peeled and they've been dried and have turned brown. They're used for tule mats. When they're green they're called *tásti*, and the plant is *tástílóu*. Perhaps they're used to make these tule sandals that he's talking about. If so, the name might mean that he runs in tule sandals.

His rendition of the boy's mispronunciation: *at wáhómmi'*. He's demonstrating that Achumawi has contrastive pitch and length. Unfortunately, this is not an example of it.

Pitch and length are frankly contrastive in nouns and some other word classes. In verb stems, pitch and length are largely a function of word derivation, a patterning that I am still working out.

There are two senses of the same root *hu*, "run" and "(wind) blow", and verbs with the two meanings are homophonous (attested by audio recordings as well as transcriptions). Articulation of the epiglottal spirant *h* changes the first part of the vowel, with the effect of a closing diphthong, and phonetically the final [w] glide can easily be misheard as lengthening of the *m*.

At least in some places, he's making the antelope people out as Pit River, and the bears are from up north.

21:37. I don't recognize "Old grandfather bop^húúga".

22:11. Moccasins called *reveraslí*. There's an *r* in Atsuge but not in Pit River; and there's no *v* in either.

27:26 *k^héstam yuwi*. *k^héstam* is an interjection or particle glossed "end, the end, finished" and the like; *yuwi* "it is". The only record of *k^héstam* in combination with a verb or copula is in de Angulo's Grammar.

27:43 *kóostaat* unknown word.

28:10 *amlóóqa* sandals

He says *almóóqa*. Speakers do sometimes transpose *ml* and *lm* clusters, almost a tongue-twister effect. This tells us that an analysis into constituent root morphemes is not transparent, and it may even be a loan word from Paiute or Modoc. (California languages generally resist borrowing, in part due to the language ideology of localism, in part because a foreign polysyllabic word cannot be analyzed into roots, which for Achumawi are monosyllabic). Achumawi has a 'dark' *l*, that is, with the dorsum of the tongue low in the oral cavity, as for the vowel *u*, which brings it into closer consonance with *m*. Note that with the light *l* of English (with the dorsum higher as in the vowel *i*) we do not transpose *almost* into *amlost*.

28:18 *q^hiláála* shoes

He says: *q^hilá'lá'*

29:20 *kano kweeda* in the "hunting song" is not Pit River. "Up north in my country" suggests Klamath.

31:47. *ámál ilááci*; *ámál* "flower, blossom"; *ilááci* "going to get X"

He says: *mał álaají*, and *mal* "for short" (without the final glottal stop). The low pitch of *mał* (with glottalized *l*) clearly contrasts with the following high pitch, so that he's actually saying *ámál* ("marmot", though everyone actually calls it "groundhog"), for which Bauman heard the upriver dialect variant [*m̀m̀ál'*] and transcribed *mał*. Likewise de Angulo produces the participle *ilááci* as *álaají* in a broad upriver drawl, the medial vowel and the affricate *c* fully voiced. However, the high and low tones are the mirror image of what I and others have heard and recorded (reversing high for low, low for high).

Remarkably, he goes on to contrast *mal'* and *mál'* as a pronunciation problem for the children.

35:31. *híiwá* "tapeworm", but he calls it "maggots" in the deer's head.

He says *hey'wá*, reflecting the effect that the epiglottal *h* has on an adjacent vowel.

Coyote had three maggots as pets and advisors, but in the text he sent to Boas they are three tapeworms, *híiwá*. Lela Rhoades confirmed this gloss, and that *ámuq'* "worm" includes maggots. In his story, they are working with the brains of the deer. There is a worm-like organ within the deer's head called *puusut*.

44:00. The story is not the creation but actually the re-creation of the world after the destruction of a prior world. He's drawing on the partial Alturas rendition by Jack Folsom, rather than the more complete Fall River version by Henry Wohl.

46:28. *úspútcan túnnóo* "clod, come here!"; *úspút* something you punch out or pry up; *ú* "rise, lift, move upward" + *spút* "pluck out" + *-can* the individuating suffix. Grandma Lela said you could use it

for a rotten stump or log lying on the ground. In homorganic and near-homorganic clusters like *tc* the initial consonant is not always released, with the effect of a geminate consonant.

He says: *tsàpútyà* (he transcribed it *tsàpótyà* in Folsom's text).

46:45. *kíncéépááha* “you should shut your eyes!”, the ‘polite’ imperative.

He says: * *kíncéépááha kújí* glossed “don’t look down until I tell you”. The future auxiliary *kúci* (low pitch on the *i*) cannot come after either form of the imperative, or if imperative would be *kúcóo*.

In the text from Folsom Kwan says *cé kúccí tímáátánumi* “Don’t look down” (lit. “you shouldn’t look down”, the ‘polite’ imperative). Then: *kínceepááhi áásá mám kíncéépááhaswací* “Shut your eyes and keep your eyes shut!”

46:57 *tykwapsíwci háy tucci la* “<unintelligible> he thought in his mind”. In my recording, I have substituted *táqmas* “whatchamacallit, something or other” for <unintelligible>.

He says <unintelligible> *c^higwapsyúújí .. haydujíla*

Folsom said *tas tas tucóo tykwapsíw háy tucci la*. “‘Stretch, stretch!’ he thought, by doing it mentally (with his mental faculties)”. *Tipsíwci* “think, imagine, try”; *háy* is a root concerning awareness and recollection, vs. *héw* for forgetting. Both of these seem to require an auxiliary verb in this form, but may turn out to be analyzed as *hi* “in or using the head” (related to *láh* “head”) plus one of the two stative morphemes *y* or *w*. The final *la* is an allomorph of the stative *wa* used here as the instrumental suffix.

By seeming to say “he thinks by thinking” the gloss misses a distinction which is not yet clear in my analysis. This *psiw* stem occurs in verbs glossed “imagine”, “try”, and “pretend” as well as “think,” and is very much concerned with the relation between the unmanifest and the manifest which is a core parameter of the semantics of this language and culture. Subject to further confirmation, *psiw* appears to comprise a root *ps* “differentiate finely, individuate; be one of a mass” plus the stative *w* (or possibly the reciprocal *íw*). Some other stems with *ps*: *psik* “having fragile crumbs” with diminutive *k*, *psit* “tear off” with *t* “motion in a direction; in sequence”, *psil* “eat with fingers” with *il* “reach with (*il*) hand”. It may occur in *tipsáayi* “gather with others, meet” (with stative *y*), *tapsíwti*, “winnowing basket” (given only in Bauman’s upriver pedagogical material), in *titapsáaya* “clean (game animal)!” in *tikypsáayi* “gather things together” (acorns, possessions). Glosses like *támmípsíla* “hurry and eat!”, *tóphípsíla* “bury it quick!” allude to manners of eating and of burying things that call for moving small amounts by repetitive hand/arm movements (*il*).

47:39 *kíncéépááhaswací* “(you should) keep your eyes shut!”

He says: *kínziipáaswáží*, glossed “shut your eyes again!”

47:46 **tímaacátok* (not a valid construction).

He says *tímaajádok*, glossed “look down!”. Folsom said *tímáátánóm* “look down!”

ma “see, look, find” + *c* “do” + *-a* “volitional” + *tu* “upon, down from above” + *-k* “hither” (should be *-m* “thither”). Placing the imperative form of the auxiliary *c* “do” before directional suffixes is anomalous. Cp. *tíamáca* “see!”, *tiimaatukí* “look under”, *tiimaatók* “look under it!”

49:12. *t^haaqílmási* (Atsugewi *t^haaqélməsi*) Bigfoot; monster

He says: *takílmáa(si)*, with the last syllable barely audible if at all. The word is similar in Achumawi, Atsuge, and Yana, and the initial aspirate is somewhat anomalous in all three. The pitch pattern is like the Atsuge and Yana stress patterns, unlike the Pit River word. He makes the initial aspirated *t^h* a plain

stop similar to English *d*. I have no evidence for how the Klamath-Modoc or Paiute neighbors pronounced it, if at all, but perhaps that is where he got it. I can't quite make out the name he gives to the speaker, Grandpa something? That might give a clue.

It's likely the word comes to all three languages from the Takelma people, whence Bigfoot stories appear to have originated, hence the close similarity. The Takelma are very distant (Penutian) relatives of the Wintu and Maidu, relatively recent arrivals a millennium or so ago, and so they probably had the same sedentary pattern of land use as they (Sundahl et al. on "small world systems"), by which their year-round presence gradually edged out the earlier populations to the margins of the most fertile river valleys— e.g. Shastan, Yana, Achumawi, Atsuge, Pomo, and others were displaced from the central Sacramento River valley by Wintu and from the Rogue River valley by Takelma—leaving the 'victors' on land most desirable to settler colonialists.

51:33 *áákááci tucóo t^hóllím!* "Live long!"

He says: *ákááji tuccóo tóllím*. Lengthening and devoicing of the *c* makes the auxiliary *tuccóo* negative: "Don't do it!", and he loses the aspirated *t^h* in *t^hóllím* "for a long time". His pitch contrasts are much more extreme than I heard from anyone, including Hammawi speakers Ike Leaf and Geraldine Wilson.

This is a new construction for me, but seems valid except for the absence of *ís*. I would expect *t^hóllím ís tiikáácóo!* The *ka* root has to do with agency and collective action, e.g. in words for herding or driving animals and as a postposition indicating which of several nouns is the agent. In talking about people living someplace or about somebody's life it is always combined with *ís*, "person".

tape 9, 14.30 to the end of the tape

15:21. *siwáásá sééni ćimmu* "I sang, I came home, wolf" not a

He says: *siwásá sééni tsimmu*

siwáásá I sang, *sééni* I came back/home, *ćimmu* wolf

sawasáqcámí "I dreamt", *sééni* "I came back", *ćimmu* "wolf"

He's probably misremembering this song (p. 152 of Boas/APS ms.)

álwi issi séémáálíni winíhhuúmi ka ćimmu

summer mid I hit while seeking power wolf

"while seeking power I hit a wolf (accidentally, with a stick or something)"

I re-elicited these song words with Grandma Lela.

The fronting of *ć* to *ts* seems to be his spelling pronunciation; he wrote *c*, *ć*, *c^h* indiscriminately as *ts*, and said they were in free variation (non-contrastive). In syllable-final position, the *c*, *ć* affricates are indeed fronted, especially before a stop consonant, and especially the laryngealized *ć*, but not in syllable-initial and word-initial position as in *ćimmu*.

17:20 *tsimmu*. the English word "man" ends with a glottal stop, suggesting that he intends a glottalized affricate, but there is none of the vowel laryngealization that characterizes laryngealized stops and affricate in this language.

Dialog here may refer to the McCloud River, and suggests the Bear people are Wintu or anyway from farther south in the central Sacramento valley. The Crane people are probably Pomo.

19:08. Just to be clear that he is saying the English word “singing” and not “sinking”.

21:27. *tálmóóma* place name east of Canby hot springs.

He says: *táámóómá*

John Craig, Craven Gibson, and Harvey Griffith all said *tálmóóma*. Kniffen has Dalmo'ma.

21:37. *astaaqíwa* “hot (springs) place”, name of Canby hot springs.

He says *astáíwa*, using *ʁ* to represent what might be a uvular flap though it is difficult to distinguish from a Spanish flapped *r* as in *astaríwa*, and not long enough in duration to sound like the French *ʁ*. It may be that the upriver dialects were that lax in their articulation; Kniffen (1928) called it *Astari'wa*, but it is very likely he was influenced by de Angulo. Cp. *astaq* “hot” with aspirated/spiranted [*qʰ*], *astaaqi* “hot” with plain *q* devoiced (downriver, perhaps a lenis voiced fricative upriver) + *wa* stative, here with the sense of “place of”.

21:41. *astaq* “hot”

He says *astáh* with an epiglottal spirant (still commonly mis-called pharyngeal) or a plain *h*. He surely intends the former, since in the 1931 grammar (p. 81) he says *àstàhíwàwí* the people who live near the Hot Springs at Canby (from *àstàhíwà* the local name of the place, from *àstàh* “hot”). The sound here is the upriver articulation of *q*, a uvular flap, which he seems to have remembered correctly in the former word (see 21:37 above) but not this one, which is consistent with his incorrect transcription.

The Wolf people are Pit River. Probably Madesi, since he brings in some material from Bill Halsey’s stories as told to Merriam and Harrington, or maybe Goose Valley or Burney Valley. He says he takes them on a ‘short cut’, but it only appeared so to de Angulo because he traveled only on Highway 299 as it follows the river canyon. The highway goes over Hatchet Mountain (“where spirits move”), but for the river people Goose Valley, Big Bend, and The Cove are on the north side of the mountain.

23:09-24:00 Two puberty songs.

I do not recognize any words. I doubt they are Pit River songs. Might be Paiute.

26:46. *tináluutáami yályú* “a charge-ahead man” *n-* iterative/intensive + *lu* “by pulling; as though pulled along” + *ta* “make a line, move in a direction” -*m* “thither”

yályú “man”; he produces a long vowel before the *ly* consonant cluster, where Achumawi requires a short vowel.

28:28-28:51. Paiute expiation song.

29:14. *pahhá* “epos root” + English -*s* plural.

He says: *baahaaz*

Antelopes are Paiute.

30:04 he has the Antelope (Paiute) woman tell Henry Wool’s ‘creation story’, who spoke a downriver Achumawi dialect (Ilmawi), but de Angulo’s pronunciation for her is upriver.

32:33-32:35. *cyééwa masúula ’áy kúci*. “How do you like it?” (Sentence 40 of Wool’s story.)

His transcription in the ms: *tsé’wà màsúlà ’áikúdzí*

He says: *chééwa másúúlaa 'i gújí* without translation. (What he says before this translates prior sentences.)

33:09-33:12 *mhníyístúyá*

This is in sentence 49 of Henry Wool's performance of the story.

mh- "I-you" + *n-* iterative/intensive + *y* stative/copula + *stu* "upon, upon the outside" + *-uy* benefactive
tíníyá fix it! = *ti-* + *n-* + *y* stative/copula + *-a* volitional

His transcription in the ms: *mihínídzústúyá* (pitches: low low high low high high)

He says, with pauses: *mihínii jus túyyá* (pitches: low high low low high high)

33:27 = sentence 52 in the text (2.2 in the database)

pi, táluuháw'cáo má áncá kuptéélí má áncá koohuukántíwí

"Here, put on (this) belt, take it with you, and run around"

His transcription:

bi' tillùhíùdzô' má ndza kùptéélí má ndza kòhò'kántùwí

He says: *tiluhéywicáo, máánja kuptéélí. hóókankántuwi*

33:36 sounds like he wants to say *tóólol qa tiiqaati* "all the land"

He says: *tóólol qa téékwá(y)áté*

34:31 *wáhhac túnnóo!* "Bread, come!"

He says: *wáhats dúnnóo*

The text (3.7 in the database): *wáhhac túlúltánók* "bread, come rolling down!"

35:24 **túnnóo tánumi* "Come down thither from above"

He says: *túnotánmi*

túnnóo "come!" *tánu* "down from above" (assimilated to *tánn* falling to low pitch on the long *nn*) + *-m* "thither".

The imperative ending must come at the end, after *tánumi* "down thither" and *tánuki* "down hither" (seen as *tánók* in the imperative at 34.31), and I have no occurrences of these occurring as free-standing words, only as directional modifiers in a verb stem, as e.g. *tykálúltánki* "it came rolling down" (3.8 in the text) or rarely as a stem.

35:59. *wáhhac túnnóo! támmi* "bread come! Eat"

He says: *wááhats! dúnnóo! dámmi*

támmi is the subordinate-clause 3rd person form which is often used as participle or infinitive (*támmitá* "I want to eat") or as a nominal (*támmitá kú* "food", *kú* "potential/future"). It has no place here.

37:07 *álisti túnnóo!* "Rocks, come!"

He says *álisté* and consistently writes it with high pitches and final *é*, but everyone else has pitches high-low-low and final *i*. Sapir, Harrington, Radin, and Bauman also recorded it this way.

In the real story Coyote uses the correct words, but they don't work. You may inquire why de Angulo felt it necessary to have him forget the word for bread and substitute that for rock.

38:13 *assa túnnóo!* "pine nuts, come!" These are sugar-pine nuts.

He says: *aasa dúnnóo!*

38:18 *k'héstam suwí* "I am ended/finished"

He says: *kístám suwí*

On p. 85 of his grammar de Angulo has the parenthetical comment “*kístám-sùwí* is not a "real" word, but it would mean "I am enough"). At that place he gives the correct expression *k^héstam yuwí* “that’s enough” with the comment that it “occurs frequently, and means "I have had enough"; and on p. 112 the volitional *k^héstam suwá* is translated “I’ve had enough (to eat)”. *k^héstam* can be “the end” “that’s all” at the end of a story, *k^héstam ó tissa!* “stop talking”, etc.

44:34 *qáč yáté* Ilmawi village in Fall River canyon, where Pit 1 power station is now.

46:29 *tííqaa^ti wánááwamá, as aawátca uupuulí wáté* “there was no land, only water in flood”

He starts Jack Folsom’s beginning of the (re)creation story.

His transcription (DB sentence 2):

té·qá·dé w-ánô·m-á, às àwátsà ù·pù·l-i-wádé

He says: *dííqáádí winóoma aas uupuulíwádé*

On p. 98 of his Grammar de Angulo has *tánóumi* “to be not”, *sánóumi* “I am not”, with “volitional lacking”, but it is patent that these are back-formations extrapolated from the *hapax legomenon* in Folsom’s text, *wínóoma/w-ánô·m-á*. I take it to be *ná* “go, move” + *wam* “separating, going into”.

Here, he appears to be drawing from another text that he did not send to Boas. Gui says she knows of no field notes or other such mss. To find them would be of great value. Maybe he destroyed them, as Dixon destroyed his notes.

46:35 *aapóónáha* was the only person living: *aapóónáha aawátca is tykáákááci*

He said: *aapóónáhá ’is awátsa ... c^hígáákáádzi*

In the many other examples of the idiom for living, being alive, etc. *is* “person” is inseparable from the verb. He stresses and lengthens the epenthetic vowel in the “mythical past hearsay” pronominal prefix that I write *tyk-*.

aapóóná cocoon, *aapóónáha* Cocoon-Man, *haapóónaha* cocoon rattle (though Harrington recorded initial *h* for “cocoon” as well). For Cocoon Man, Grandma Lela said *aapóónákáha*, where *ká* may be the agentive, suggesting that the final *ha* may be a suffix or postposition as well. As a ‘high word’ this may preserve some archaic features otherwise rare or unattested.

46:48. *talillámci winááwama*. “There was no dawn.”

He says *daliilám^dzi wánóama* “There was no sunlight to make shadows.”

This alludes to darkening of sky by volcanic ash and pyroclastic cloud. (See JPH notes.)

46:52 *yááciisukí* (?)

He says: *yáádzisugí* “it was hard dark”. I have not identified this word.

47:00 *hákista paláqmím*

He says: *hagista ’pilá’ mím*

On p. 87 of the Grammar he lists *hágistà* “during a long period of time”, likely *hapax legomenon* from this (lost) text. The “long time” meaning would be carried by *paláqmím* “long ago, long before”, which he probably intended instead of *pilá’*, *palá’* “already, a (little) while ago”, so this *hágistà* may be something entirely different. There is a verb stem *ist* (probably *s* “speak” plus the *t* of purposeful direction) seen with volitional *-a* in e.g. *q^hé sistá* “I mean that one”, *pálmás kistá?* “do you mean now?”, etc. but though the initial *l* of *lh-* is commonly elided (especially upriver), *lhkistá* “I mean with respect to you” seems an unlikely construction.

47:49. *túnníimaçi hay' tucci lá* “by thinking, make it come”

He says: *túnni hay' tucci la* “come by thinking”

After the mental state particles *çe* “no, not”, *hay'* “thinking”, *hew'* “forgetting” the *c* of *tuci* “do” is lengthened and devoiced. Better to add the causative *mac* (*ma* “see, find, appear” *c* “do”).

47:57. * *tit'únnóo*

This is a mash-up of *túnnóo* “come” and *tuut'úúki* “arrive hither”, *tuut'úúmi* “arrive thither”.

48:37. *malússil malússi p'itúwwi* lit. “ten times ten years”

He says: *málósi málósi p'ídúúwí*

49:16-49:37. The vocables in this song are not typical of Pit River vocables. There are no words, unless these are words of some other language.

51:44. *íníq'qatil* “small knife, pocket knife”; now: “folding knife, jackknife”.

He says “*annikadél*, that was his name. I don't know what it means.”

It occurs as a character name in stories told in English by Bill Halsey to Harrington and to C. Hart Merriam, and published in Merriam's book *An-nik-a-del*.

54:28. *aliyam'* “frog”.

He says: *ááliúm*.

54:44. *kwán* silver-gray fox

He says: *k'uwán*

54:58. *céémul* Coyote.

57:03. *tisunt'ótkéémé' tkiyí* “You are inattentive, not mindful”

He says *dísunt'átké ki'í* “you don't know how to do anything”

tisunt'ótkéémé' = *tisunt'ótke* “be mindful” + *-ámé'* “without, lacking”

sun “mental/emotional state” is in e.g. *c'ú misunwí* “how are you?”, *t'ús sisunwí* “I am well”, *çe suwí* *t'us tisunci* “I'm not in a good state, I don't feel good”.

t'ho/t'e/t'ha occurs in words having to do with hearing, minding, obeying.

tke has a meaning of readiness, immediacy, speed

57:22. *tím çe smóóci kúci*

He says: *dím je smóóji gúji* “What are we going to do?”

This is probably *tím çe smóóci kúci* “indeed what won't you do to me?”

In Folsom's story, he says *c'ú tlhóóci kúci*, but on p. 113 of the Grammar he has *c'ú tlhóóci kúcumá* (his transcription was *tcú-thó dz-ikúdzùmá*)

57:43. *allu suwí* “I'm hungry”