Achumawi Database: Summary for May 2020

The current backup can be downloaded (with instructions) from the usual location at http://zelligharris.org/achumawi-db.html

- 1. My DEL grant resumes Monday 1 June. Work since 1 June last year has given me a head start on the morphological analysis, though the primary intention has been to clean things up so the analysis can proceed more efficiently.
- 2. I've continued working through the lexicon, merging duplicate entries, allomorphs, and dialectal variants, and cleaning up inconsistencies. Sometimes I have to reconsider (again) whether a given morpheme is a suffix or a word. Examples that I now consider postpositions include wáka, ka "agentive", wa "by, with", wáté "at, on, ...", wáýtu "from", ċó "plural", can "individual, discrete, several". All of these except ċó have allomorphs that extend a preceding word-final consonant.

When I come to an entry with a complex word, such as an inflected verb, I use the Show Entry in Concordance function. After I break each of the concorded items down in the Analysis view, I remove that entry from the lexicon, unless it has some marked irregularity of form or meaning, or a prominent function (e.g. the names of the bands). When a given morpheme within a word is not in the lexicon yet, so that I can't analyze the word completely, I go on a search for instances of that morpheme and create an entry for it. In this way, inflected verbs and other complex words are coming out of the lexicon, and individual morphemes are being added to the lexicon. It's a slow process with lots of rabbit holes to chase through, but when I do get to the entries for verbs it will go more quickly because the "show entries in concordance" function doesn't find any if I have already analyzed them.

I'm up to the H section of the lexicon, where I found some verbs beginning with h-, the shortened form of lh-, hence the next topic.*

3. I've been setting the complexity of pronominal affixes aside for later analysis, but this month I've worked out a bit more of their semantics. You may be familiar with how prefixes refer to the subject or agent and (for transitive verbs) the object or patient. For example, s- says that I, the speaker, am involved, k- involves you, sk- says you are the agent and I the patient (skituuitisi "you shot me"). (This suggests OSV word order, which is typologically very rare.) In 1st person the nonsingular is lh-/h-(lháámá "you and I ate", slháámá "he and I ate"), and in 2nd person it is k- + c- (káámá "you ate", kicámmá "you two ate"). Nonsingular is sometimes used as plural. With transitive verbs, the lh- or h-prefix says that I and one or more other people are involved, but is ambiguous as to number and as to which is the agent. The 1st person prefix s- in slh- asserts that the other person or persons indicated by lh- are on my side, not yours. Because the s- prefix identifies who is included, not who is excluded, the conventional 'inclusive/exclusive' label contradicts the semantics.

The -umá suffix (-tumá after vowel) asserts that some additional 3rd person is involved as an agent. With intransitive verbs, or when no patient is asserted, adding -uma to the nonsingular makes it plural (lhámmíumá "We ate", kicámmíumá "You pl. ate"). With a transitive verb, the additional 3rd person is the agent and the prefix identifies the patient (witapphááci "he's teaching, he's a teacher,"

^{*} The 1st person nonsingular lh- (with epenthetic schwa) is reduced to h- downriver sometimes, upriver always, but slh- becomes sah- upriver.

yitappháácumá, "he's teaching him"; sóócá "I bit it", síícíumá "something bit me"). Less frequently, this agent may even be pleonastically indicated by a 3rd person prefix in OSV pronoun order (syétwíumá "he killed me", syituutíísumá "he shot me"). These transitives cannot be construed as plural, because the 3^{rd} person plural ending is the reciprocal -*iwci*, and the 1^{st} person nonsingular is *lh*-.

In the H section of the lexicon there were some transitive verbs beginning with h-, designating a 1st person participant plus at least one other, and ending with -icka (-ticka after vowel). Below is a subset of the examples of -icka in the database (and you can search for more). As with -umá, there is a relatively simple path through the appearance of confusing complexity. A description follows the examples.

I gave it to you

1	haṁísqʰám	hínímmáácicka	I saw you alone,	just you

2 hakmim hínímmáácicka I saw you two 3 itt^hééka lháwwicka

4 ithúúlééka slháwwicka we gave it to you two/plural

5 hiikhááticka I cut you (the t is in the root $k^h \acute{a}t$)

6 hicóókhááticka I cut you pl.

7 hicínímmáácicka we two saw you 8 hakmim hicínímmáácicka I saw you two

hicínímmáácicka tóólol I saw you all

10 tóólol wákam hicínímmáácicka they and I saw you 11 hakmim tóólol wákam hicínímmáácicka they and I saw you two

12 hicínímmáácicka hak wákam you two saw me 13 itt^húúlééka lhcááwááticka we gave it to you

14 ithúúlééka yá tlhcááwícka we gave it to you plural

15 itthééka lháwwicka I'm the one who gave it to you 16 micist^hú lhcáwwícka. I gave it to you two/plural

17 tóólol lhcááwícka. I gave it to you all

18 itt^húúlééka lhcááwícka we gave it to you

19 lhcááwicka he and I gave it to you and him 20 itt^húúlééka lhcááwááticka we're the ones who gave it to you

21 micisthú lhcáwwicka I gave it to you two 22 tóólol lhcáwwicka I gave it to you all

23 itthééka lháwwicka I'm the one who gave it to you

24 itthúúlééka (yá) lhcáwwícka we gave it to you plural 25 itt^húúlééka lhcááwááticka we gave it to you plural

26 lhituuttisicka I shot you

27 kituuttisicka he shot you

28 kíliisuuyáticka he's pointing at you

29 *kánwaak^hááticka* he cut you

30 kisááticka you were told, one told you

The -icka suffix adds a 2^{nd} person patient to a transitive verb with a 1^{st} person subject. It makes a 2^{nd} person prefix the patient relative to an implicit 3^{rd} person agent.

The *lh-..-icka* construction asserts that the participants are 1st and 2nd person, but is ambiguous as to which is plural. Because the *-icka* suffix places the 2nd person in the patient role, *lh-..-icka* asserts the 'exclusive we' as agent (1st person + 3rd person) and *slh-* (the usual exclusive form) does not usually occur. However, in (4) *ithuúlééka slháwwicka* "we gave it to you two/plural" the *s-* may affirm that both the 1st and 2nd persons are plural, or it could also be the pleonastic emphasis that we saw in *syétwíumá*. That's the only example of *slh-..-icka* in the database, but considering e.g. *micisthuúlééka skicááwá* "you plural gave it to me" I think the corresponding verb with roles reversed would be *micisthuúlééka slháwwicka* "you plural gave it to me/us" and probably *itthu có micisthuúlééka slháwwicka* "you plural gave it to us". Context usually resolves the ambiguity of these constructions, so that an independent pronoun like *itthééka* "1st person agent" has or can have the effect of emphasis: "I'm the one who gave it to you."