## Achumawi Database: Summary for February 2021

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

When possible, I have advanced somewhat in cleaning up the lexicon. Mostly, this is by analyzing complex verbs and participles and then removing them as headwords. However, this month's work was largely directed by requests.

You will recall that I had received inquiries about Yana from a self-described amateur linguist, who sent me as a 'Christmas gift' a PDF rendition of a spreadsheet comparing words in the two Yana and two Yahi dialects to words in nine other languages. (The other languages are Achumawi, Atsugewi, Chimariko, Konkow, Nomlaki, Northeastern Maidu, Okwanuchu, Shasta, and Wintu, so clearly he is interested in relationships other than by inheritance.) I corrected the Achumawi entries for the first 13 of 25 pages, sent that much to him, and posted it in the December report. The remainder of the Swadesh list is in the final section below. The analysis that I have provided for most of these words should caution any comparativist to align morphemes as cognates, and not to compare entire complex words otherwise.

The other requests were for new vocabulary that Connor, Paul, and Lisa need for their work in language revitalization. California languages have historically been resistant to borrowing vocabulary from other languages, in keeping with a cultural value that I have called 'localism': that a given people, their customs, stories, and language "belong to" a certain land or territory, and that when one is there one speaks the language of that place. The disruption of settler colonialism is obvious, but we honor that cultural value by working to coin new words for new cultural realities. This has led to some very interesting developments.

In both cases, the Swadesh list and the new vocabulary, I have analyzed the words involved and have made rectification decisions to resolve inconsistencies in the record (always with Notes retaining the original transcript and in some cases additional clues). Pronominal prefixes, sometimes in complex combination, remain still as an unanalyzed residue, my fond hope of untangling them deferred. We'll get there.

1. Morphemes pt́a and sa. This analysis and rectification process frequently leads to creating entries for previously unidentified roots. In some cases, entries are changed or merged. An example is pta, now glossed "protect", which is usually followed by s "indefinite" (ticéptasci "watch", tisúptasci "watch over"), but is also seen in típti (glossed by Grandma Lela as "dodge bullets" and by de Angulo as "dodge arrows", a skill featured in ritual warfare to resolve e.g. boundary disputes). The $s$ is I think the same as that in e.g. $s$-waci vs. waci and in other places. I am now treating it as an allomorph of $s a$ "indefinite". However, that $s a$ has been considered a postposition ( $c^{h} \dot{u} s a$ aḿá ticcóo "do whatever you
want!", táq sa chú sa sṫuwwí "I don’t know what's the matter with me", cẃésthá sa "however many", ipháté sip tykwáámíwci $q$ wáýtu sa tykiỷi "he slipped down in front from nowhere"). If this is a particle that can appear within a stem, or a verb root which can appear in a phrase as a particle, are there other such cases? If not, it may be best to treat $s a$ and $s$ as distinct morphemes with like indefinite meaning, with implications for more remote history of the language. As Rachel Maddow says, watch this space.
2. Tooth-picking. Adding to Connor's tooth-brushing domain (begun in the January report), we looked at lásćaaḱké "toothpick" (la "linear motion/implement" + sćak̉ "stick into") and the related verbs for picking one's teeth. Lásćaaké could be used for any kind of pointed poking or picking implement, given a persuasive context. Here are other words with sćak:
cusc̉aakéé, tácusčaaké "fork"
yásćaak̉ícicilóo "thistle"
lásćaaké "arrow" ${ }^{1}$
ćeepí ú isčaakkí "porcupine's quills"
táćísćaak̉i "spurs"
isćaḱké "thorn" (e.g. on wild gooseberry plant)
isćaak̉ilóo unidentified plant sp. presumably $\mathrm{w} /$ thorns or stickers
síncusćaakí "I poke a hole in it"
tácusćaaké "pitchfork".
The verb "pick one's teeth" ends with -áké "reflexive". Morphologically, one would expect tilásçaakáké. My field record shows some uncertainty: tiláscááké (2/20/70), tilásčake, tillásćákí (2/24/71, accompanied by tilásćaakí "shoot an arrow"), tilásćááké (5/23/73, with walásćááké "he's picking his teeth", lásćaaké "arrow"). ${ }^{2}$ This is understandable with loss of the unstressed vowel in ḱák and obligatory short vowel before the resulting kُk cluster: tilásćaakáké > tilásćak̉ké. The silence before the final voiced ké is now ambiguous, but the alternatives all violate the need for the final ké to be voiced. The $k \dot{k} k$ cluster can be heard as a geminate:

1 An unrelated word for "arrow", laplé, has the same "make a line" morpheme la as we see in lásćaaké, but the main root looks like pla "tongue", perhaps alluding to the shape of the arrowhead (tippi), followed by the implement suffix -é. A similar substitution or metaphor in the sensitive domain of subsistence hunting may be seen in tóósi "deer", which is the participle tóósi "hunt" without its usual directional suffix.
2 Olmsted's Dictionary has -alájam-, but does not include tilajāki "shoot an arrow" which occurs in his published text. This is presumably -lá $+-s c ̧ a k+-k$ "hither" or $-m$ "thither". He attributes -alájam- to Radin, but it is not in the Radin mss. in the California Language Archive. One may speculate that not all the materials lent to him were returned. Perhaps they are with Olmsted's field record, also missing.
tilásćakké, as vowel length with preaspiration: tilásćaaké, and (on the analogy of lásćaaké "arrow") it can be heard as vowel length with prelaryngealization: tilásćaaké "arrow". The voiced $k$ contrasts with tilásćaakí "shoot an arrow" and (ti) lásćaaké "arrow".

I had my own sources of confusion. I think even as late as 1973, I had not fully realized that the duration of voicing is not always the salient cue to vowel length. The open vs. centralized vowel quality is the salient cue before a voiceless (plain or aspirated) stop preaspiration, and before a laryngealized stop because of prelaryngealization. If the laryngealized initial short vowel of -ḱkáké was inaudible to me, with the first $k{ }^{k}$ unreleased, I could easily have interpreted what sounded like phonetic [dilásća'gé] as sćaké.

There are then three choices to rectify the "pick one's teeth" participle: tilásćaakkáké, tilásćak̉ké, tilásćaaké. I have opted for tilásćak̉ké as doing least violence to the available facts. All that is needed is loss of a vowel, the conditions are plausible for that, and the recorded pronunciations follow from it fairly naturally. This is consistent with other examples of aphaeresis, e.g. the proposed tithalúúwami [dit ${ }^{h} \wedge$ lúúumi] "work".
3. Flossing teeth. For floss, we settled on talah' "string, thread". I recorded talah' "thread" and tal̉ahwwálu "thread plant" from Grandma Lela. ${ }^{3}$ Archival sources support this: Curtin (1888) talä'h "fish-line"; Radin (1919) dalar" "string" (evidently uncertain how to represent the final sound); Harrington tal̉ḥ̆ "thread" and tal̉ah ínnáácí" "[where] hemp thread [is] growing" (with a separate word for milkweed, but elsewhere he glossed talaḥ as milkweed). Bauman's tla'h may be a typo omitting the vowel.

Another word has been glossed "string". The word that I have entered as titaaýé occurs several times in the de Angulo story, where Kwán is rolling thread fibers on his leg to make cord for a net, but it occurs only there. De Angulo writes dittà'é, dìttà'é'wà, dìttà'è, dittàllè, always at the end of a sentence. The context (in de Angulo's original form):
tsikúíndzùtwálí qà dìttà'é
tsikùànéwàtí dittà'e'wà
tsìkùádзùtwálé táqábá qà dìttà'è
tsìkùáníyá qà dìttàllè
"he rolled the string"
"he measured with the string"
"he rolled the string again"
"he fixed/prepared the string"

[^0]The middle consonant is in question. De Angulo thought that $t, t^{h}$, and $\dot{t}$ were in free variation, so I looked for all three. Not to linger on the rejects, it turns out to be titthaayi. Qá titthaaỷi wa tóólol tykwin̉álúúyiimáty'í. "He tied them all up with string". Tykwatámillúúlí má ánca watthaaỷí tykwaathóq̉tí. "He drilled a hole and tied a string through it." sinááyá qa iiquaila qa wátwat tínítthaaỷi. "I'm making a net to snare rabbits."

So $t^{2 t t}{ }^{h} a a y i z$ is a heavier cord or binding, and talah is fiber, thread, or light-weight string, including floss. This sense of binding or constraint is in the "obey" part of the semantic range of the $t^{h} a / t^{h} e$ é roots which I called out in November and (in the Swadesh list) December. We may also suppose a sense of obligation and constraint in timuuthááỷi "cohabit" timúúthaaq̉í "marry", and múút ${ }^{h} a a q u a ́ l c a n ~ g i r l .{ }^{4}$

The English word "floss" referred originally to fiber or filaments, whence "dental floss", for which we can say simply "floss" because the less specific "fiber" sense now requires a specialized context. In Ó tissi, the elision is context dependent, we do not have this conventionalized usage. In the context of cleaning teeth we can say çé tuccóo ticaatúủíi qá talah. "don't break the thread/string/floss!", and in other contexts or where otherwise there is ambiguity we'd need to say something like iićá wa tal̉ah. or maybe iićá ú tal̉ah.
4. Brush, comb, tangle. We have a straightforward implement noun ticuphé "hairbrush" using the $p h$ root that was discussed last month in the search for a "toothbrush" word. Here are some verbs in the database using that root:

| sacuphá | I brush/comb it |
| :--- | :--- |
| wacuphá | he brushes it |
| lhacuph́á | we two brush it |
| lhicuphíumá | we brush it |
| ticuphé | brush |
| líphé | broom |
| takúphítca | brush dirt off |
| táphúphítca | blow dirt off |

The last example, with $p^{h} u$ "puff, blow" indicates that the "brush/sweep" gloss for $p h$ is not quite on the mark, but let it rest for now.

[^1]Bauman's upriver Dictionary includes (in his orthography) dajo'h'chaabage "hairbrush". My initial normalized transcription is ticuhćáápááké. A possible analysis is cu "by thrusting" + $\vec{h} \dot{c}$ "tangle" + pa"while throwing/dropping/putting it". There is nothing to support a reversal of meaning from "tangle" to "untangle" here or in any of the following "tangle" verbs:

| títámáhُći. | tangle |
| :--- | :--- |
| síntámáhćcááyí. | I tangled (threads) up |
| síntámáhćcaayáké. | I tangled myself up |
| wítámáhcá. | It's tangled up |
| wítámáhćááyí, | she tangled it up |
| wíntámáhćááyí. | she tangled it up (again) |

There is a negation or reversal of meaning in nam̉ ỷuwí tinóhćili qá itthú hímmál "My brain is not wrinkled/shrivelled yet" There may be another basis for it. In the analysis $n-+o-+\dot{h} \dot{c}+l(a)$ we see the $o-$ allomorph of $w a-$, that ubiquitous "stative" morpheme which in many cases signals a change of state. However, this analysis is far from ripe. Alternatively, tinóhćcili may be related to lóhُćiilíl "woman's dress" (we do sometimes see an alternation of $l$ with $n$ ), and either or both could be related to "toss" verbs like sinćíllóh̉ci "I tossed it", kancillóh́ćíci "you threw it up and away".

Returning to Bauman's dajo'h'chaabage, another possibility is to see ticuhcáápáké (plain c), as a 'tongue-twister' transposition of ticupháácáké "brush oneself". This places it comfortably among the "brush/comb" words above. ${ }^{5}$

Participles ending in the reflexive -áké are not used as nouns, so for "hairbrush" we stay with ticuphé, the regular word, which might be shortened to cuphé, parallel to tilíphé, líphé "broom". For Bauman's word, both ticuh'c̉áápááké "tangle oneself" (?) and ticuph̉áácáké "brush oneself" are now in the database.
5. Time. Students talk about how well their ó tissi practice has fared during the week. Here is some of the vocabulary that Connor and I developed.

5 One of Radin's glosses suggests that the "brush" words above could include "comb". The usual word is cuucé "comb" (sometimes transcribed cuuché, cucché) which seems to be cu "thrust, flow, cross" + c "do", with the final -é making it an implement.

- ćókca ak, ćókcak proposed coinage for "hour", based on the "time/season" morpheme.
- akk̉a proposed coinage for "minute"
- ćókca akk̉a, ćókcakk̉ka proposed coinage for "second"
- hak̉wíc tímaatíki "week" (seven days)
- múićim hak̉wíc tímaatílko’oy "last week" (múỉcim "yesterday")

Connor has been developing scripts for dialog with sentences like these:

- Chú ó issí tkiy̌́ qá páálá (qá) hak̉wíc tímaatíki? "How was your ó issí this week?"
- Cwُésthá ó kissiíní íssi wa ó tissi? "How much did you speak with native language?" (people's way)

The current script refers to Pit River Daycare in Burney. It has been given the name Munik'Chun Daycare, and we respect that. A more fully indigenous name might be Maníkan Tisúptascit or Ćilléq Tisúptascit.
6. Voiceless release vs. aspiration. In my January report, I noted that the $q$ in $s q a$ has a voiceless release which can be misperceived as aspiration. The phenomenon is an effect of devoicing and increased airflow for the preceding $s$. It is also heard in ćwéstá "how many, how much", cw̉estél "several", cw̉estélcan "a few". Until today, these were written cẃwésthá, cw̉est ${ }^{\text {hél, cw̉est }}{ }^{h}$ élsa, cwesthélcan. It occurs in the very first text that I transcribed with Grandma Lela, and it appears that thereafter I felt that it was a word I recognized and "knew how to spell". Having reviewed the audio record I have now rectified them.

Supporting this, cẃéstá appears to be a reduction of $c^{h} \dot{u}$ wistá "how many/much". That idiom is perhaps literally "how is it intended?", compare e.g. $q^{h} e ́ ~ s i s t a ́ ~ " I ~ m e a n ~ t h a t ~ o n e ", ~ i t ~ k i s t a ́ ~ " y o u ~ m e a n ~$ me? Did you 'hit' me?", ${ }^{6}$ and Táq chú tóóćé mistá qá lááquupii "what do you want with a sack?", Qá pi tóóćíímí sistá "I want it to put this in", all of which clearly concerns intent.

[^2]7. The remainder of the Swadesh list. The first part was posted in the December report.
swel
sun
moon
month
star
water
rain
tears
river
lake
sea, ocean
salt
stone, rock
sand
dust (in air), dirt
earth, land, territory
cloud
fog
it's getting foggy
sky
breeze blowing
wind
snow
ice [see freeze]
smoke
fire
ash
burn (intransitive)
burn brush, burn up
it burned to ash
içééwi
ćul
maahỉkcawí c̉ul ćúúlak
ćáámik
as
asci
aspi
acúmmá, acúúmá
alúpw̉am
lúúp ${ }^{h} u$
wáwá as
$t^{h}$ 'is
álisti
tás
táh̉ka
tílg̉aati
aalú
táátuuwúmci
táátuumúmci
cup w̉amícíci
asehlá
seh̉ seh ucí'
tihuumí
tí
lááq̉ać
maaqíc
málís
mámk̉o
mámk̉aap̉o
inuumáámí
inááli
winímmaapúúúti
ci rise + wa durative. Conditions for mid-vowel allomorphs TBD.
máhihí night +-k time of $+\mathrm{ca}(\mathrm{n})$ indiv. + wi having, belonging to -ak time of (appended to e.g., iiwwáámi go in > iiw̌áámak autumn)
as $+c$ do
as $+\dot{p}<\dot{p} a s ~ e y e, ~ f a c e ~$
cu thrust, flow $+-m$ thither +- a volitional
lúp converge, come together + wa durative $+-m$ thither
Upriver dial. var.
[Sparse evidence for laryngeal feature is in a monthly report I could send]
[No occurrence with 11 in my data.]
Appar. unrel.: iitáási stretch, smooth wrinkles, tas tas ucí' stretchy
NB initial $\mathfrak{t}$
quat consolidate
[Etymology TBD]
Upriver dial. var.
it's getting foggy
[In thie and in hu below what is salient is the feeling on the skin]
hu run; wind blows. [directionals typ. trs. east, west, north, south]
NB initial $\mathfrak{t}$
maqmu $=$ Curtin mäkmu, unique to his notes. ikuutáámi smoke tobacco.
Cp . ma heating, using heat

One occurrence, John Craig (Fall River)
Upriver dial., Jim Bauman's mam'kaa'po
n - iter./intensv. + ma heat, by fire + -m thither
nal TBD or n- iter./intensv. +1 İ TBD
ma by fire/heat [Radin wi'nima p'òtri, wi'nima|p'òt’i']

| road, trail, path | úitéw |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| mountain | aaq̉u/aaq̉o |  |
| hill | aaq̉uy, aaq̉úycan |  |
| red | $t^{h} a ́ q t^{h} a a q i ́$ |  |
|  | ah'ti wíccí' | lit. resembling blood |
| green/gold/tan/yellow | masúúq̉aatí | Cp. súúq̉at an impt. med. herb |
| yellow | tuksús | Perh. upriver dial. In de Angulo, but no one recognized it. Craven Gibson láylaayí just means light (color). |
| white | điwiúcí' | From tí snow + wiccí' acts/looks like. |
| black | hukiící' | From huk black + wiccí' acts/looks like. |
|  | hakúúcí' | Upriver dial. var. |
|  | máhh'í |  |
| night | máh'híkca(n) | máhhíl night + -k time of $+\mathrm{ca}(\mathrm{n})$ individual, discrete |
| day | máttíkca | [máttí not found.] |
| year | $p^{h}$ itúúwí | Phonetically, $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}}$ itúwwí is indistinguishable from ${ }^{\text {h }}$ itúúwí. |
|  |  | Short u is not centralized before w and m . Will hinge on morphology. |
| warm (weather) |  |  |


| sín̉mahhá | No form specifically for weather. Perh. mahhá possible? |
| :--- | :--- |
| yánmahha | I got warm; n- + ma heat + ha TBD, perh. cp. wáhhac bread |
| tínmahháýi | it's dry (from getting warm) |
| maph́a | thaw |
| astaq, astaaqí | This form is dubious. Only once (Bauman, upriver, source unnamed). |

asçáwa

| nip nip ỷuwí <br> ílaasámci | it's cold; relation to asćé TBD. <br> it's biting cold <br> feel cold |
| :---: | :---: |
| ascé |  |
| ahtúúki | $h$ htu increase - $k$ hither |
| pálááwí |  |
|  | [Olmsted]; pálá' already, manifestly + -wí belonging to, having. |
|  | Cp. páálá today, now; páláq immediately; páláqm̉i(m) already, long ago; |

Old (vs. new)
Old (vs. young)
good
bad áliihúk̛̉acî

| hazardous | çis | with copula or c do: cí tyánuwí, cís ucí' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| rotten | tup | uutuuṕi tyánuwí it's rotten; wituupí qa coillíq the children are rotten |
|  | táhka aamá |  |
| dirty | tỷánuwí | it's dirty (it's just/all dirt) |
| straight | cpu | icpuuyí straight; acpú tyánuwí it's true |
| round | lul | lul lul yuwi it's round; ilúull' rolling, round |
| sharp (e.g. knife) | ik'l̉aam'i' | sharp-edged; kil kil ucí zig-zag; kil kil ì ícici hairpin turn |
| dull (e.g. knife) | iqha, iqhooyi' |  |
|  | ittaalí | qhu/qho is in words for crush, crumble, as would dull a knapped edge. Curtin (alone) has yuq ${ }^{\text {h }}$ om stone knife. <br> [Derivation TBD] |
| smooth, slip | yoq |  |
|  |  | yóqyooqí smooth; yoq yoq ỷuwí slippery; ilíiyooqí stir liquid, li hand; icúúyooqí iron clothes, cu thrust; ilúúyooqí pluck feathers, lu pull |
|  | luy | Prob. lu pull +y TBD ; icíílúúyi smooth $\mathrm{w} /$ feet; itááluuỷi stretch |
| wet | istááqi' |  |
| wet, damp | ilééli, iláảli | wet |
| damp | ilehtaapı́ | get wet |
| dry | suć | ínáásuuci dry; wisuċci dried; suc̉ suc̉ uci' (cloth) dries \& shrinks |
| right (correct) | tistí |  |
| near, nearby | móhyam |  |
| far |  |  |
| far away; another | $p^{h}$ óc |  |
| direction | ánákaaýé | [Analysis TBD] |
| right (side) | wímmaçkátu | ma see + ċu lift(?) + kátu side. Cp. tímaçci learn, wímmac̉ci one knows |
| left (side) | áásiçkátu | si move quickly, jump + ċu lift(?) + kátu side. Vulnerable side? |
| at, on, by, etc. |  |  |
| (locative) | wáté, láté, etc. | $\mathrm{w} \sim 1$ after $\mathrm{V}, \mathrm{w}$ after m , or w ; assimilated to stem-final consonant, e.g. assáté in/on/by/to the water. |
|  |  | See "at". Radin's -wiyí (written -wiyi) is unexampled. |
| with (accompanying) | wal |  |
|  |  | Comitative. it wal mi wal you and I. |
|  | ċu | Milmú tatyíi wal miyí? is she with your mother? |
| with (instrumental) | ẇa | aayííc̉umí accompany, yi go; imáqc̉uumí follow tracks, maq travel Same allomorphy as for wáté "at". ćíkkohha with the foot. |
| and | má |  |
| and then | má ánca | As though one word, though that would require short V before CC. |
|  | mám | Reduced form, always unstressed. |


|  |  | Construction with irrealis verb juxtaposed to realis verb. mááthuukí Did he come? He might come. máát ${ }^{\text {h}} u u k i ́$ winímmáácí tsiýí I'd see him if he came. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| because | $a m q^{h}{ }^{\text {a }}$ |  |
|  | $a m q^{h}$ ááwáté $(m)$ <br> $a m q^{h} a ́ a ́ k a(m)$ <br> - $\mathfrak{w} a$ <br> ya (usu. emphasis) <br> ma | Indefinite referential: amqª́ tím twiýí that is indeed he. Cp. qháwwá. Often a discourse filler. <br> For that reason <br> Therefore; ka agentive allúúw̉a sóóliikacík qa wáhhac because of hunger I reach for bread mil mil suwí qá q'an' 'ó tissi ya I'm dizzy from so much talking [Only in certain syntactic constructions TBD.] |
| name, read, discern <br> I am named X | îliiq̉aati <br> $X$ îliiq̉aatáké tsiýí aapúúlé | li extending hand/arm + quat press against ... + -áké reflexive |
| house | ascúy |  |
| winter house | icuuhaaké, | Curtin says "lodge, temporary dwelling" |
| summer shelter | cuuhaaké | Cp. ascuy winter. |
| camp | tilúúci | luc clean, clear off. Upriver word for house. |
| wall |  | In Curtin's iséqqu the $q$ could be preaspiration, aspirate, spirant, fricative, or affricate. The mid vowel e suggests h or $q$ (phonetically affricated before consonant), but it could be issi middle áytu side of. |
|  |  | Obviously a participle of "hunt", probably euphemistic. |
| mouse | yeenííná | Atsuké word is čúmsi |
| rabbit, cottontail | hawát |  |
| jackrabbit | káník | káník upriver <br> táw upriver. [Perh. cogn. Y. 3uwa jackrabbit, small game animal, pan3uwa cottontail rabbit] |
| snowshoe rabbit eagle, bald | wátwat <br> hímáála <br> láámik |  |
| eagle, golden | lááwíca | "A high word for bald eagle." |
| spider | çah̉há | dim. = ćaháwaka |
| face | áásá, pas, ṗah' | See "eye" |
| body; meat |  |  |
| back side of entire | missuć |  |
| body | támíha |  |
| navel, umbilical cord | aalú | Olmsted glosses this as "navel", with no attribution. |
| finger | tuci | Participle of c "do". |



|  | tinawámmi |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| dream | tóósáqcami | sáq dream + ca in/through air +-m thither |
| cry | tóótílici | ti weep, cry + c do |
| yawn | tihastámci, tanhastámci | -hastám- unanalyzed. Root ha or has probable but not recurrent. |
| cook | titaaw̉ááẏi |  |
| roast | tám̉aaq̉i | ta using linear impl. way way move around, grind in mortar, stir, cook |
| grill on coals | támaaq̉áákí | ma heating, using fire + q̇a TBD |
| roast in pit | tinúúw̉i | ma heating, using fire $+\dot{q} a$ TBD $+-k$ hither; cp. timaaquáámi sweatbath nu inside $+-\dot{w}$ stative, change state |
| cook acorn | tiwáhtaac̉i | téhtac̉ black oak acorn; téh bird that feeds on same. [œ] vs. e.g. láh. |
| numbers 6-10 |  | compound, various forms. |
| yes | hi̇'̇ı, háá'á |  |
| not, no | ćé | Us. precedes negated verb or phrase; can stand alone. |


[^0]:    3 She rejected talah̉háálu, which suggests that this is not a suffix, or at any rate that it has a stronger boundary than e.g. - wáté. I also wrote táála "string" from her once in 1973, perhaps a mishearing.

[^1]:    4 This should probably be rectified to múúthaqááálucan, from múúthaaq̉áálu (cp. yuucáálu "old man", wiyáácáálu "old woman", etc.).

[^2]:    6 The 'hit' idiom, banter in the form of songs, and other playful biting humor experiences suggest something akin to what is called 'ritual insult' in US Black communities (originating in Africa) and in other public environments.

