Achumawi Database: Summary for June 2021

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

This summary is late for a number of reasons. Some of you know my wife broke her wrist, followed by consultation then surgery in Boston. Much of my time this month has been devoted to helping Connor, Paul, and Lisa with development of domains and conversational dialogues and then being a resource for them in the Multilingual Institute (MLI) organized at the University of Oregon by Zalmai Zahir (Zeke). Connor has created material in the following domains and conversations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domains</th>
<th>Conversations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01-Sink Phrases</td>
<td>01a How is your O tissi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02-Wash Hands Phrases</td>
<td>01b Greetings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03-Brush Teeth Phrases</td>
<td>01c departures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04-Flossing Phrases</td>
<td>02 Where did you go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05-Brush Hair Phrases</td>
<td>03 Who Did You See</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06-Wash Hair</td>
<td>04 Who did you talk to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07-Bathing</td>
<td>05 What did you talk to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08-Drying</td>
<td>06 Who did you eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09-Urinating</td>
<td>07 What did you buy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-Defecate</td>
<td>08 [missing]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-How is my hair</td>
<td>09 What did you do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-Shaving face</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-Cleaning Bathroom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-Hair gel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-Hair pulled back</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 [missing]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17-Braid hair</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Keeping up with this rapid development would have been a challenge under the best of circumstances. We had to coin some new vocabulary, sometimes hastily, most of which is not yet in the database, and all of which requires more careful review. Individuals and families are and will be using these materials in their homes, so I know my most immediate work for July, the need to get it right (or as right as I can) lays some urgency on it.
In this two-week program, the sharpening of pronunciation has been excellent, getting a feel for the rhythms of heavy syllables (CVC, CVV) and light syllables (CV), singing the pitch correctly (many people have been dropping to low pitch in *waaːwá, híːtʰ, tʰúːsíː* as though they were English words with a stressed first syllable). For the laryngealized stops, I recommend practicing a glottal stop with creaky voice before and after, e.g. *aa’á* with creaky voice, and then tapping the lips or tongue appropriately for *aa’pá, aa’tá*, etc. Everyone was surprised to learn that English has a soft γ sound in an unemphasized pronunciation of “cigarette”. The sound of the voiced allophone of plain *q* in e.g. *qa, qítʰví, qáśwa* is similar, though back near the uvula. (Geminate or after long vowel the plain stops are voiceless, and syllable-finally they are voiceless-released.)

Much that Connor needed was already in the database. Some of the newly coined words and examples are now in the collection Revitalization: misc (beginning with item 8), but others still need to be added. The process has highlighted a good number of areas that need work.

1. **táws**. Wanting to talk about separating hair for braiding, Connor found CG 894 *wíncuutáwsi qá tʰíiyí*, he’s parting (his) hair. The *cu* “thrust, cross” is straightforward. Leaving **táws** unanalyzed for the moment, and glossed “part, divide”, here are some occurrences:

- *yádtáwsi* “separated, divorced”
- *tátaatáwsi* “give equal shares (to)”, *wataatáwsi* “he divides in the middle”  
  (*ta make a line + táws + -i*)
- *lhataatáwsi* “we two divide it” (see Radin 2213-2217)
- *palá’ kʰi̯p tykitáawátáwsi*. “Had already jumped aside”  
  (*ta make a line + wa stative + táws + -i*)
- *aqtáwsu* “on either side” (*q extend + táwsu*)

The *u* of *aqtáwsu* suggests an etymology of **táws** as *ta* “make a line, linear motion” + *w* “stative” + *su* “seize”, *su* having an *s* allomorph when a stem-final *i* is added, and presumably also for volitional *a*, etc. For *q* “extend” see *waqtánúmi* “deep”, *ámúúyá wa sáácóóqáki* “I spread mud on myself”, *syúúwcóóqumá* “he rubbed it on me”.

Strictly speaking, *wíncuutáwsi qá tʰíiyí* seems to mean making a part, i.e. into two parts. However, I don’t see a better candidate, and after all to get three strands we divide in two and then divide in two again. To be more explicit, we might say *cáístíl tíncuutáwsa qá tʰíiyí*. 
2. -áké, -áka, -áki, cóóké. I have called -áké a reflexive suffix, and indeed there is a sense of having acquired the specified attribute or having placed oneself (or itself) in the specified condition:

- __ íliiqaatáké having been designated/named ___ (tíliiqaati point at, li extend hand qat approach)
- póc yaapaamáké ćul afternoon (sun is close to having pa fallen or dropped -m down)
- uuwááké having been uuwi marked, written on

These are adjectival constructions. They may be analogous to nouns derived from verb stems with final -é, which we are familiar with. However, when the stem is used as a verb, it ends with a low-pitch vowel a or i:

- haríissa mílitáátémáka I'll fly out by myself (míli- 1st person future volitional + ta make a line, fly + íe move laterally + -m thither + -ák + -a volitional)
- cʰéýé sĺ’ámmalmaká Where should I throw myself away?
- titámmáčháki “… where she had dropped into water” (ti- subordinate clause 3rd person + tá make a line + mmá allomorph of pa drop, fall + chá into liquid + k + -i).¹
- ámúúyá wa sááócóóqáki “I spread mud on myself”

Nonetheless, though the volitional forms above end with -áka, the imperative -áké is apparently indistinguishable from the nominal/adjectival -áké.

- tacahyeqáqáké qa číkkoḥ “Wash your feet!” (LR 1971 26-27: 12/30, item 1.12)

Far more common in the database than any of these is the combination of c “do” + volitional ó + -áké, resulting in cóóké. Some examples:

- sakuutúlwálwácóóké “I wash myself”
- winámmaacácóóké. “He’s learning”; tinámmaacácóókat. “Learning place” (vs. titaappʰáácít “teaching place”).
- ittʰúúni tínáásatwácóókét “our work time” (locative used to specify time period)
- winílláátiwí sínípsíwcóóké “I think of myself as a white man” (tipsíwci “think, imagine”)

¹ In context: assáté titámmáčháki tyuwinimáácíní qa ittʰú tatýí wílóo. Freely: “They found my mother in the water where she had dropped into a ditch.”
• sił walúúcóóké kacʰú tuphááci. “She slipped off her skirt.”
• yádmálqicóóké “he dropped himself back down” (pa/ma “fall, drop, lose”)
támmámcóóké “place self on ground” (pa/ma + -m “down to ground”)
• qa kacʰú ḥalloq titáákéewí qa ḥalač tucóóké ḻa.
  “He cleared his throat to make her look at him”
• tykwáálqicóóké “(the elk) pulled itself up, reared up”
• titaqwaacóóké ḻa twiṖ yáátaamátỳí, “They’re meeting for (to get) help”
• títlápwaacóóké ḻa níuíwí sósíwći, “I thought he might want help”
kìtítlápwaacoocí “you two help him”
• kílí kil’ acuumóóké’ “made like zig-zag (acuumóóké’ “flowing itself thither”)
• ahmúpmícóóké’. “covered up”; yánahmúpmícóóké. “He hid himself quick”
  hamúp hamúp. “put it down and cover it quick”; ċínahmúúpá “grasshopper”
• wínuutlqícóóké “He turns himself backward”.

Among forms newly in this month’s update are, ticupháácaki “brush oneself”,
ticupháácáké “brushed” (cp. líphé “broom”, ticuphé “brush”), ticuhčáapká “tangle oneself”,
ticuhčáápáké “tangled”. Other words from Connor’s material need to be reviewed,
updated in his documents where necessary, and entered in a ‘revitalization’ collection, e.g. (tóólol)
ícupháácáké “(all) brushed”, Sacaḥyeqjáqi qá tʰiiyí “I wash(ed) my hair”. If I say Sacaḥyeqjíqi
qá tʰiiyí “I wash(ed) hair” it is presumed to be mine unless specified otherwise by context.

3. kú. I had not worked out usage of kú “future, unmanifest” when Connor started this work.
While illustrating this, below, we can also continue the discussion begun under (2) above.

A number of years ago, before I had grasped the means of controlling allomorphs in FLEX,
I changed representations to treat kú as a separate postposition or enclitic, because it lacks the
morphophonemic alternants seen with wáte, wá, etc. Arguing against this decision, and
complicating it, verb-final morphology can follow kú, including the auxiliary root c and the
patient suffixes -umá and -icka, as for example lhóómat kúcumá “we will sit down”, lhóómat
kúcumá “we will sleep”, kimáátuweya kúcicka “someone will wake you up”. As you can see,
kú occurs sometimes alone and sometimes in combination with the auxiliary root c “do”. (The
conditions for omitting the stem-final vowel before ku are TBD.)
To create vocabulary for shaving (in the bathroom domain), Connor drew upon tiláqýé “razor” (Bauman), tilaqýi “scrape (shavings)” (de Angulo), analyzed as la “linear motion” + qý “scrape”. It seemed to him necessary to include -áké to distinguish shaving yourself from shaving or scraping something else, so he proposed *sláqyáké kú qa tóómaami. However, this should better be sláqyaki kúci qa tóómaami. If the context provides enough information, one need only say sláqyaki kúci. In the bathroom context, if someone asks táq cʰú miį́ “what are you doing”, a simple sláqyí is enough, or sláqyí qa tóómaami, unless there’s a possibility you might be e.g. shaving your legs or scraping paint off the tiles.

In an ordinary clause a verb with personal pronouns is typically followed by kúci.

- sláqyí kúci  “I’ll shave it”

The simple kú is used with question words:
- cyéewa stuptel kú how will I carry it away?

With the copula:
- allú kú suwá I will be hungry
- (qa tóómaami) tilaqyí kú suwá I will shave (my face)

And in a subordinate clause:
- sínímmác kú qa tiiqaatí mhikúmátsiwayá, ... When I find land I will wake you
- qa wátwat yuutʰum ku ma kícíwááci, ... when the rabbits get here, you should shout
- yuucímcí kú má ánca mlúnná. If it rains, I’ll come
- cʰú stissii kú qá yuutʰuk amqʰá? What should I say if he comes?
- kétwi kú qa tóósi, ... if you kill a deer ...

Unless after a t-participle
- káákuwac kúci itʰú tííni kúci wítač. You should be here when I come

There is an apparent exception before the negative tucí. (The c is geminate and devoiced after cé, héw, haʔ̂ and a few other particles, whereupon a preceding cé may be zeroed and the geminated allomorph carries the meaning of negation.)
- titámmak kú tucí amqʰákm ʔhtámmak kú ya. This isn’t to tell, but I’ll tell you anyway

This is not a general restriction against two successive occurrences of c:
- allu tuci kući kuwá You will be hungry
- cʰú stuwá tuci kúci What should I do?
4. Another blow to word categories? We've been assuming that -m "down to the ground" (seen in the ímci and míci endings) is a directional suffix like -m "thither" and -k "hither". (It is possible that "thither" and "down to" are in the range of meaning of a single morpheme.)

Olmsted is not the best witness, but if my rectification is correct for sentence 1.22 (shown below) in the text Olmsted/Frank Winn: Loon, Coyote, and Fox, then -im is a root which can appear with c “do”.

1.22 tilíllámcéúci he kút ímíci .

sunrise asleep being on the ground
ptcp onom ptp

Free At sunrise she was fast asleep on the ground.

Note talilâmjojí heqotímíji
Note Daybreak sleep-pressing

(The first note has Olmsted’s transcription, and the second has his gloss.) Mr. Winn inserted the English pronoun "he" a number of times in place of pronominal prefixes, e.g.

• haḿís hi tuukʰéémi “one went up”
• amqʰááwa appóónáha hi tílááitutawáïí, amqʰáka hi sip ticááláqci kacʰú tóósóqce
  “Coccoon man pulled his pisser around and slipped it backwards”.²

In this sentence, kút “asleep, conked out” is an onomatopoeic root, as seen in e.g. kút smuwi “I seem to have conked out”. Two other possible rectifications of Olmsted’s heqotímíji say nothing about sleep and do not explain why Olmsted heard a glottal stop:

• Some sort of dual prefix + ku "press" + ʰte "lateral, broad" + -ḿíci.
• Some sort of dual prefix + qat "approach, compress" + míci.

I will stop here (volitional) so as not to delay this longer.

² Coccoon Man thus protected his son from committing incest with his sister. Olmsted’s published transcription and gloss: amqāwa apōnáhā hitilálátawai amqāqahi hisiptijálāqji kasutosokji “But Butterfly he-cracked that-way he-cut-off lover (penis).”