

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 Zalmay Zahir (Zeke). Connor has created material in the following domains and conversations:

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

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 *waawá*, *hííí*, *t^húsýí* 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'a* with creaky voice, and then tapping the lips or tongue appropriately for *aa^hpa*, *aa^hta*, etc. Everyone was surprised to learn that English has a soft *ɣ* sound in an unemphasized pronunciation of “cigarette”. The sound of the voiced allophone of plain *q* in e.g. *qa*, *qítwí*, *qás^wá* 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 t^hiyí*, 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:

- *yáátáwsi* “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’ k^hip tykitáwáátáwsi*. “Had already jumped aside”
(*ta* make a line + *wá* 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 *waqtánumi* “deep”, *ámúúyá wa sáácóóqáki* “I spread mud on myself”, *syúúccóóqumá* “he rubbed it on me”.

Strictly speaking, *wíncuutáwsi qá t^hiyí* 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 *částíl tíncuutáwsa qá t^hiyí*.

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:

- ___ *líiqaatáké* having been designated/named ___ (*tlíiqaati* point at, *li* extend hand *qat* approach)
- *póc yaapaamáké čul* 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* :

- *hamíssa mlítáátéémáka* I'll fly out by myself (*mlít-* 1st person future volitional + *ta* make a line, fly + *te* move laterally + *-m* thither + *-ák* + *-a* volitional)
- *c^héyé sl'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 sáácóóqáki* "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*.

- *tacahyeqqáké 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:

- *sakuutúlwálcóóké* "I wash myself"
- *winámmaacácóóké*. "He's learning"; *tinámmaacácóókat*. "Learning place" (vs. *titaapp^háácít* "teaching place").
- *itt^húuni tinaásatwácóókét* "our work time" (locative used to specify time period)
- *winílláatiwí sínípsíwcóóké* "I think of myself as a white man" (*tipsíwci* "think, imagine")

1 In context: *assaté titámmáčháki tyuwini máacíní qa itt^hú tatýl wíloo*. Freely: "They found my mother in the water where she had dropped into a ditch."

- *sił walúúccóóké kac^hú tuphááci*. “She slipped off her skirt.”
- *yáámálgicóóké* “he dropped himself back down” (*pa/ma* “fall, drop, lose”)
támmámccóóké “place self on ground” (*pa/ma* + *-m* “down to ground”)
- *qa kac^hú halloq titáákééwí qa halač tucóóké wa*.
“He cleared his throat to make her look at him”
- *tykwááluuicícóóké* “(the elk) pulled itself up, reared up”
- *titapwaacóóké wa twiyí yáátaamátýí*, “They’re meeting for (to get) help”
- *tílípwaacóóké wa múwí sópsíwci*, “I thought he might want help”
kícílípwaacooci “you two help him”
- *kíl kíl acuumóóké*’ “made like zig-zag (*acuumóóké*’ “flowing itself thither”)
- *ahmúpmicóóké*’. “covered up”; *yánahmúpmicóóké*. “He hid himself quick”
hamuḥ hamuḥ. “put it down and cover it quick”; *činahmúúpá* “grasshopper”
- *wínkuutlqicóóké* “He turns himself backward”.

Among forms newly in this month’s update are, *ticupháácaki* “brush oneself”, *ticupháácáké* “brushed” (cp. *líphé* “broom”, *ticuphé* “brush”), *ticuhčáápaki* “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*) *icupháácáké* “(all) brushed”, *Sacaḥyeqáqaki qá t^hiíyí* “I wash(ed) my hair”. If I say *Sacaḥyeqáqí qá t^hiíyí* “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 FLE_x, I changed representations to treat *kú* as a separate postposition or enclitic, because it lacks the morphophonemic alternants seen with *wáté*, *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 *lhoskímci kúcumá* “we will sit down”, *lhóomat kúcumá* “we will sleep”, *kimáatuwáya 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 *tiláqyé* “razor” (Bauman), *tilaqyi* “scrape (shavings)” (de Angulo), analyzed as *la* “linear motion” + *qy* “scrape”. It seemed to him necessary to include *-áke* to distinguish shaving yourself from shaving or scraping something else, so he proposed **síláqyáke kú qa tóómaami*. However, this should better be *síláqyaki kúci qa tóómaami*. If the context provides enough information, one need only say *síláqyaki kúci*. In the bathroom context, if someone asks *táq c^hu miyí* “what are you doing”, a simple *síláqyi* is enough, or *síláqyi 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*.

- *síláqyi kúci* “I’ll shave it”

The simple *kú* is used with question words:

- *cýééwa stuptel kú* how will I carry it away?

With the copula:

- *allu kú suwá* I will be hungry
- *(qa tóómaami) tiláqyi kú suwá* I will shave (my face)

And in a subordinate clause:

- *sínímmác kú qa tííqaati mhikú mátsiwáyá, ...* When I find land I will wake you
- *qa wátwat yuut^hum ku ma kícíwáácí, ...* when the rabbits get here, you should shout
- *yuućímcí kú má áncá mlúnná.* If it rains, I’ll come
- *ćé yucci kú tuućímc mámm mlúnná.* If it doesn’t rain, I’ll come
- *c^hú stissii kú qá yuut^huk amq^há?* What should I say if he comes?
- *kétwí kú qa tóósi, ...* if you kill a deer ...

Unless after a *t-* participle

- *káákúuwác kúci itt^hú tíni kúci wítać.* You should be here when I come

There is an apparent exception before the negative *tuccí*. (The *c* is geminate and devoiced after *ćé*, *hew*, *hay* and a few other particles, whereupon a preceding *ćé* may be zeroed and the geminated allomorph carries the meaning of negation.)

- *titámmak kú tuccí amq^hákam lhtámmak 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 kuci kuwá* You will be hungry
- *c^hú stuwá tuci kúci* What should I do?

- *malússi tuci kúci hańís sa ánci* nine (potential 10 lacking 1)

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 *tilállámčúci he kút imíci* .
 sunrise asleep being on the ground
 ptcp onom ptcp

Free At sunrise she was fast asleep on the ground.

Note *talilāmjoji heqot?imíji*

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.

- *hańís hi tuuk^héémi* "one went up"
- *amq^hááwa appóónáha hi tílááluútawáyi, amq^háka hi sip^h ticááláqci kac^hú tóósóqce*
 "Cocoon man pulled his piss around and slipped it backwards".²

In this sentence, *kút* "asleep, conked out" is an onomatopoeic root, as seen in e.g. *kút smuwí* "I seem to have conked out". Two other possible rectifications of Olmsted's *heqot?imíji* say nothing about sleep and do not explain why Olmsted heard a glottal stop:

- Some sort of dual prefix + *ku* "press" + *te* "lateral, broad" + *-míci*.
- Some sort of dual prefix + *qat* "approach, compress" + *míci*.

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

2 Cocoon Man thus protected his son from committing incest with his sister. Olmsted's published transcription and gloss: *amqāwa apōnāhā hitilālūtawai amqāqahi hisiptijālāqji kasutosokji* "But Butterfly he-cracked that-way he-cut-off lover (penis)."