Achumawi Database:
Summary of July 2021 work

You can download the current backup from

- http://zelligharris.org/Achumawi/achumawi-db.html

Note that this is slightly changed from the previous location, so that all the files are in the Achumawi folder. The installation instructions now include Connor’s new, simpler keyboard. I have updated the webonary at

- https://www.webonary.org/odissi/

Requests continue to be a strong influence in the direction of my daily work, mostly requests from language teachers and language activists for new expressions. I no longer have the luxury of working in an orderly way and periodically reporting on advances in my understanding; based on my current understanding of what is in the database I must find and sometimes create words and phrases, and try to make them merit their implicit authority.

This report makes mention of the following parts of this month’s work:

1. Ćíniina “Tiger Lily”
2. Connor’s domains and conversations
3. Reflexive -áké
4. Revisiting Olmsted’s text
5. tke “ready, immediate, quick”
6. KPFA recordings of de Angulo
1. Číniina “Tiger Lily”

Early in the month, I got a request for a word for “tiger lily”. My first thought was, oh dear, isn’t that an import? The tiger lily that grows around here on the east coast and across much of the continent (and in Europe and England) is from Asia. I saw that we have words in the database for three different kinds of water lilies, but no generic 'lily'.

However, there’s a different “Tiger Lily” that grows in wet places in our Wintu and Pit River mountains. The following is from the CalScape site, lightly edited:

Tiger Lily (Lilium pardalinum), sometimes known as the panther lily or leopard lily, is a native of Oregon and California, where it usually grows in damp areas. In California it is found primarily in the central to northern part of the state in the Coast Ranges, Klamath mountains and Sierras. Typically it grows to about two meters [6.5 ft] high, the tallest and most vigorous plants can reach up to 2.5 meters [8.2 ft].

The flowers are Turk's-cap shaped, red-orange, with numerous brown spots, usually flowering in July. The plant grows from bulbs which are small, and many are usually clustered together on a rhizomatous stock. [Rhizomatous means it sends out rootstock, horizontal, usually underground stems that can send out roots and shoots from its nodes.]

At first, we decided to call it 'Panther's flower', tacháálá u amál. Panthers (tacháálá) hang out in the same kinds of places where this flower grows. Harrington recorded a place called tacháálá u titaačááho’oy "where panther slid into the water", and his name has chí “into liquid” and la “make a line”. This chí/cah is one of those CC/CVC roots which are sometimes one syllable and sometimes divided over two syllables, and in titaačááho’oy the vowel is lengthened. Harrington also mentions a waterfall with maidenhair fern that was called tacháálá u titáác’o’oy, "panther's old basket-makings" (titáácí "unfinished basket", with ta “linear sequence/implement”).
But then I found ćíniína in two archival sources:

- Harrington: te'ínina'-álússa, red waterlily cr. imm. e. of Hogback mt. Swhere.
- C. Hart Merriam: jā-ne'-nah "red tiger lily" (as copied in Olmsted’s Dictionary)

From Merriam’s stubborn orthography we could only guess the pronunciation, so we’re lucky to have Harrington’s phonetic transcription. (Alússa “creek” = lu “by pulling” + sa “move, propel”.) Best of all, near the end of the month I learned from Louise that she had learned this word ćíniína from her grandfather Willard Rhoades (Grandma Lela’s son), and it is the name she gave one of her granddaughters. Those who remember the words of their grandparents carry treasures to share. Don’t be shy. Bring them out.

2. Connor’s domains and conversations

Connor and I have been developing learning materials. I participated with Connor, Paul, Lisa, and Radley in the ‘Multilingual Institute’, which ran for two weeks ending on Friday the 2nd of this month. We practiced with simple conversations and specific household domains, some rather hastily put together. I refine and test them against analysis in the database. Those I have worked through thus far are in the ‘Interlinear Texts’ collection Revitalization: domains. I will add a ‘text’ collection for the conversation material when I get to it next month. There will be more.

3. Reflexive -áké

Some of the vocabulary that Connor has organized for learning domains and conversations describes things done to oneself or affecting one’s body or person. There is considerable freedom of expression here. For example, sacuucááké qá tʰiiyí, sacuucááké qá ittʰú tʰiiyí, sácuucí qa ittʰú tʰiyí are all ways to say “I comb my hair”. This work surfaced some questions about the -áké suffix.

It has been glossed as a reflexive suffix, doing something to or for oneself, but there is more to be said. There are three forms, -áké, and the two volitional forms -áka, and -acóóké. The -áké form is most frequent, e.g. in sinkuulúúcake qa áásá “I wipe off my face” (compare sinkuulúúci “I wipe it off, I clean it off”). The -áka form is the volitional, as seen in the humorous courtship song:
Where shall I throw myself away?"

"I'll throw myself away north."

"Don't throw yourself away north, 

"you'll freeze to death."

The volitional forms st’amalmaká and ml’amalmaka end with -áka, and the participle tammalmaké ends with -a. The -acóóké form is available for any verb with the auxiliary root c “do”: sinkuulúcak qa áásá “I wipe off my face”, síntállúcóóké “I cleaned myself” in the sense of pulling (lu) things off myself. Craven Gibson spoke with scorn of Indians who seem to say winilláátíwi sínípsíwcóóké “I imagine myself to be a white man”.2 He could have said winilláátíwi sínípsíwcaké “I imagine myself to be a white man”, but the volitional emphasizes their willfulness.

However, the ‘reflexive’ is not obligatory for talking about things you do to or for yourself. Lela Rhoads said of a bear doctor tykwacuucááké qa kac’h ú tiiyí “she was combing her hair”, but Henry Wool said tykwacuucí qa kwán qa kac’h ú tiiyí “Fox combed his hair”.

The k may be related to the directional -k, but rather than “hither” = “toward the speaker” it means ‘(back) toward’ whatever it is that the verb refers to, hence, ‘reflexive’.

The restricted distribution of e and o, and the neutralization of their contrast with the high vowels i and u adjacent to q, qʰ, q, ʰ, seems to support variability, e.g. when the reciprocal ówci is re-articulated with a glottal stop after a low vowel (tyktánáádíse’ówci “they parted from each other”), wíncuuce’ówci “flow together (confluence of tributary into river)”. Where the mid vowels are clearly contrastive (and invariant), they are presumed to be of secondary origin. Often o alternates with w + a (tóósáqcamí “dream”, sáwaasáqcamí “I dream”). The evidence is less obvious for deriving e from y + a or i + a.

The final vowel of -áké looks like the suffix that makes an implement, result, or product noun, e.g. líphé, típhé “broom” is an implement that is used to tilíphi “sweep” and talúuíwíste “a container” is an implement that is used to talúuíwísti “hold in container”; aat’hááké “(acorn) flour” is a product from aat’háakí “pounding (acorn)”. Ílííqaatáké “named, designated” has

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1 West, north, and east, in each direction she’s told of the bad things that will happen to her, so she settles for the south, wee sálíllaayíí qa sompelélló kanéwwi “I really like those sombrero hats.” The full song text is at http://zelligharris.org/Achumawi/LR_Courting-song.pdf.

2 Compare sínípsíwcí “I imagine; I think again; I ponder” (with n- “iterative / intensive”); sópsíwcí “I think about, I try” (with wa- “stative reduced to o).
been discussed as a reflexive (“naming oneself”) but in this light it can be seen as result or product of íliiqaatí “reading” someone’s character when a child is given a name (li “extending the hand” + qat “approach, press against”). This can account for nominal uses (tíicíiláê “possessions, money”, taapááïdáké “ornament, buckle”) and attributive uses (iiçʰúdpáké “tattooed”). Some more examples: ticuphe “hairbrush”, ticuphéáçáké “brushed”, ticuhéádpákí “tangle oneself”, ticuhéádpáké “tangled”. Ike Leaf’s invention for a baseball cap (with its bill visor) is particularly interesting: iplímémáké (iplí “tongue” ma “look, see” yéi “through” + -m “thither, away from”). In general, a participle may be glossed as a product or result nominalization in appropriate context. An example is aatʰaakí’ “pounding (acorn)” is also glossed “acorn flour”, i.e. “poundings” or “grindings”. (The glottal stop is optional at the end of a bare-stem participle.)

However, -é can occur in a finite verb, e.g. in the example above, síntýpsíwcáké, síntýpsíwcóóké “I imagine myself to be”. And -áké also occurs instead of -áka as an imperative, e.g. tacaõieqýáké qa čikkoň “wash your feet!”. It is these uses that sowed some confusion in the work for the Multilingual Institute. I thought that probably the finite verb forms should end with the default vowel i, but after I had time to research more carefully this turns out not to be the case.

Finally, to talk about doing something to or for oneself the possessive pronouns may suffice without using -áké: Grandma Lela said of a bear doctor, tykwacuucáéké qá kacʰú tʰiyí “she was combing her hair”, but Henry Wool said tykwácuucí qa kwán qa kacʰú tʰiyí “Fox combed his hair”.

This looks like variability of meaning for a given form and variability of forms for a given meaning, which might suggest speaker uncertainty and perhaps ongoing change in the language. I suspect it is at least equally a function of translation into English, a language in which unanalyzable loans and opaque etymologies are the norm.

4. Revisiting Olmsted’s text

The word ticaawááqake occurs in Omsted’s only Achumawi text, published ‘as-is’ in 1977. He transcribed Frank Winn’s very incomplete rendition of the Loon Woman story in 1953, with no tape recorder. Although he reported conducting fieldwork from time to time over the

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next 30 years or so, he never attempted to improve his transcription. It is a version of the “Loon Woman” incest catastrophe story that Dixon published in English in 1909. De Angulo and Freeland published a more coherent and complete (and probably somewhat embellished) version in English in 1931. Olmsted’s transcription poses severe challenges for recognition and rectification and I have entered only part of it into the database so far.

In connection with the work on -áké, I have extracted here the word ticaawáąqake and its immediate context, four brief assertions which Olmsted presents as a single sentence. For each, Olmsted’s transcription and gloss appear on the first line, and the rectified transcription and gloss on the second.

**Olmsted/Frank Winn: Loon, Coyote, and Fox, #1.23**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Olmsted’s transcription and gloss</th>
<th>Rectified transcription and gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>amq̑awa lātawkat nextijūji qepsi</td>
<td>So lataukat run-up punk (rotten wood)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amqʰáawa láítawqát néh tícúúcí qʰípsi</td>
<td>So láítawqát lightly (?) thrusted punk wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hitijawōkuke qepsi</td>
<td>he-put-around punk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘he’ ticaawáąqake qʰípsi</td>
<td>he hollowed out punk wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiti̊ni sūʔpʔa</td>
<td>he-started-to-come hurry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘he’ tíni súphá</td>
<td>he went home fast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hetēxhewmi.</td>
<td>run-run-away.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘he’ téēhuumi</td>
<td>he ran home</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**

tícúúcí: cū “thrust”. An ‘instrumental’ root is expected, as e.g. tiluucúúcí, tikuucúúcí
qʰípsi (de Angulo, Omsted: qepsi) “punk (rotten) wood”: qʰí “scratch out” + ps “pinch, tear”, presumed to be the common meaning of psí-t “tear”, psi-ḵ “fragile, crumb”, pič/ps “pinch”.
ticaawáąqake: ca “grasping, using fingers” + wáq “gape” + -ak “reflexive” + -é “result, product”. The point seems to be that he made a dummy or manikin of a soft ‘punk’ log.

The néh in the first phrase occurs in the following words:

- tisúúnehhi: sneak up on it
- tisúúnhqátí: stalk it
- timínéhmíci, tinúnehmíci: oversleep
- tínánéhmíci: freezing to death
tínéhhé  
poison
wánéhá  
toothache
ínéhyí  
spawning (head up, then die)
wínthåali wa  
where (salmon run) stops (at FRM falls)
neh, néhcăn  
baby talk for “mother”.
néhwuk  
woman’s female cousin
lúnnéhcăn  
parent who has lost a child

It is possible that neh is a variant (or a mishearing) of láh “head”.

5. tke “ready, immediate, quick”

This may be tí or ta “linear action, sequence” + k in the reflexive sense. I am still treating it as an unanalyzed morpheme. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tke</th>
<th>ready, immediate, quick</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mliwátka</td>
<td>I'll keep (food) for months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiwátké</td>
<td>food you can keep for months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiwatéké wa</td>
<td>pantry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tykwinámmacqátítékéli</td>
<td>he understood immediately</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tykáámítékéli; tykáámítékéela</td>
<td>hurry and eat!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sááwitkéélĺ</td>
<td>I gave it right away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>táwwítkéélĺ</td>
<td>hurry and give it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ticítúdoela</td>
<td>do it the right way right off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palá’ ticítkéli</td>
<td>already ready</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ticítkéélă hawáy ticítkéélă aamím</td>
<td>do it quickly (‘jumping up lightly’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>do it immediately</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White men (are always)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa wínilláátiwí itutisítkéli’</td>
<td>shooting right away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tísunt’ótké</td>
<td>be mindful, use good sense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tísuntótkeémé’</td>
<td>lacking good sense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tʰe/tʰa/tʰo hear, obey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ámé’ lacking, without</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
mállís tacuumítké  

poker  


cu + -m  

thrust thither/down  

tílúúúmetké  

run fast  

lu  

pull; as though pulled  

tykwilúúúmetke  

ran fast  

tywilúúúmetkééní  

ran fast  

kilúúúmetké  

run fast!  

silúúúmetkeeni  

I ran fast  

iipáć cwilúúúmetkeeni qá caahóm  

the horse ran very fast  

It may occur in the words translated “puberty”, but the speakers I recorded were inconsistent with this set of words. Craven: țiłiňaanáakáckééni, țılıňaanákácki. Johnny: țılıňaanácatke. Lela: țaltíľáqáci, țaltíľaqáci, țááltítááááci, țılıňááááči.  

6. KPFA recordings of de Angulo.  

I’ve been giving some assistance to Jerome McGann (UVA emeritus, now basing himself at U.C. Berkeley for research). I’m on the advisory board for his project to include de Angulo’s KPFA recordings and related written material in the CEDAR project:  

Critical Editions for Digital Analysis and Research (CEDAR) – A computational platform for building online critical editions. CEDAR (Critical Editions for Digital Analysis and Research) is a multi-project digital humanities initiative based at the University of Chicago.  

He identified where he thought de Angulo was speaking Achumawi words in the KPFA “Old Time Stories” recordings. I have excerpted his bits of Achumawi to separate files, each paired with a file containing my own (rectified) pronunciation.  

I’ve gone through the locations in the archive of KPFA recordings that McGann suggested to look for de Angulo’s renditions of Achumawi vocabulary. My list with commentary is below. In this dropbox folder you will find all the words and phrases that I found excerpted into 50 separate files, each paired with a separate file containing my rendition of what I believe he intended to say. The files with my voice use the same file name plus .B, making 100 .mp4 audio files in all. Let me know if you have any trouble accessing these.
I've long been aware of de Angulo’s recordings of his children’s stories in 1949 for broadcast by KPFA. You can download the recordings from the Internet Archive (f.k.a. the ‘wayback machine’) at

- [https://archive.org/details/canhpra_000044](https://archive.org/details/canhpra_000044)

I did not think that my listening through 40 hours of recordings for the occasional Achumawi word or phrase was a top priority for me. However, McGann sent me a list, indicating in which stretches of the archived tapes he thought I would find Achumawi.

De Angulo’s own commentary:

> I wrote these stories several years ago, for my children, when they were little. Some of them I invented out of my own head. Some of them I remembered—at least, parts, which I wove in and out. Some parts I actually translated almost word for word from my texts. I have not paid very much attention to scientific accuracy. I have mixed tribes that don't belong together [...] and many other differences .... So don't worry about it.

> —Jaime de Angulo, *Indian Tales* (pp. 4-5 of the 1974 Ballentine reprint).

Such petty details matter only to researchers and to indigenous people who want to recover their actual heritage. Some folks have been sorely misled. That said, de Angulo does seem to identify animal characters with particular tribes. Antelope people seem to be Paiute in these excerpts. Crane people are probably Hupa (white deer dance). Other such observations are included below at the places where the clues may be heard.

I have excerpted each word or phrase to a separate file, paired with a file containing my pronunciation, often of a rectified form as noted in the text. The names of the files correspond except for *B* on mine, e.g. 4-27.18-yas.mp3 is *yas* “weasel” on tape 4 at 27:18, and 4-27.18-yas.B.m4a is my pronunciation.

**Tape 4, running from 25.28 to 38.01**

27:18 *yas* "weasel".
He says *yáas*, long vowel, which cannot occur in syllable ending in a consonant, and falling pitch. After this is a nonsense word I don’t know, which he says is an annoying nickname.

27:35 *timathé* “Pine Marten”
He says *tamatháy* (last syllable as in “hi there”, with strong stress) and *tamáthé’*
34:38 ḋkittaawódálu “female doctor”
He says ḋigitawáalu

**Tape 7, 14.40 to the end of Tape 7**

15:56 úúrmáaití álistí wáté “sleeping by/at/on rocks”
He says úúrmáadí’ álistí wáád’é

16:01. úúrmáaití’ acúmmá wáté “sleeping by/at/on the river”
He says úúrmáadí’ waaajumáá wáádéʰ
Her name may indeed have been úúrmáaití’ wacúmmá 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 waahúumí “tule runner (‘runs-in-tules’).”
He says aat waahóoumí’
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 íastí, and the plant is íastílóu. 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 wáahóomí’. 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 ḡu, “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 ḥ 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 bopʰúúga”.

22:11. Moccasins called reveraslő. There’s an r in Atsuge but not in Pit River; and there’s no v in either language.

27:26 kʰéstam yuwi. kʰéstam is an interjection or particle glossed “end, the end, finished” and the like; yuwi “it is”. The only record of kʰéstam in combination with a verb or copula is in de Angulo’s Grammar.

27:43 kóóstaat 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. (However, California languages generally resist borrowing, in part due to the language ideology of localism, and 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 lighter l of English (with the dorsum higher as in the vowel i) we we have no tendency to transpose almost into amlost.

28:18 qʰiláála shoes
He says: qʰilá’lá’
29:20 *kano kweeda* in the “hunting song” is not Pit River. “Up north in my country” suggests Klamath.

31:47. *amál ilááci; amál* “flower, blossom”; *ilááci* “going to get X”
He says: *mal álaaají*, and *mal* “for short” (without the final glottal stop). The low pitch of *mal* (with glottalized ʃ) clearly contrasts with the following high pitch, so that he’s actually saying *ámal* (“marmot”, though everyone actually calls it “groundhog”), for which Bauman heard the upriver dialect variant [römal’] and transcribed *mal*. Likewise de Angulo produces the participle *ilááci* as *álaaají* 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. *hiiwá* “tapeworm”, but he calls it “maggots” in the deer’s head.
He says *heywá*, reflecting the effect that the epiglottal ŋ 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, *hiiwá*. Lela Rhoades confirmed this gloss, and that *amúq* “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 *puusút*.

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. *cuspútcan túnnóo* “clod, come here!”; *cuspút* something you punch out or pry up; *ču* “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: *tsápúttýa* (he transcribed it *tsápóttýa* in Folsom’s text).
46:45. **kińçeépááha** “you should shut your eyes!”, the ‘polite’ imperative. He says: *kińçeépááha 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 **če **kiń cí tímáátánumi** “Don’t look down” (lit. “you shouldn’t look down”, the ‘polite’ imperative). Then: **kińceépááhí áásá mám kińceépááhaswactí** “Shut your eyes and keep your eyes shut!”

46:57 **tykwapsíwci haý tucci la** “<unintelligible> he thought in his mind”. In my recording, I have substituted **táqmas** “whatchamacallit, something or other” for <unintelligible>. He says <unintelligible> **cʰigwapsyújí . haydujíla** Folsom said **tas tas tucóo tykwapsíw haý tucci la**. “Stretch, stretch!’ he thought, by doing it mentally (with his mental faculties)”. **Tipsíwci** “think, imagine, try”; **haý** 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 ([í]) hand”. It may occur in **tipsááyi** “gather with others, meet” (with stative **y**), **tapsíwtsí** “winnowing basket” (given only in Bauman’s upriver pedagogical material), in **titapsááya** “clean (game animal)!”, in **tikupsááyi** “gather things together” (acorns, possessions). Glosses like **támmípsiila** “hurry and eat!”, **tópípsiíla** “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: kíntšiptaswàží, glossed “shut your eyes again!”

47:46 *tímaacátok (not a valid construction).
He says tímaaajádok, glossed “look down!” Folsom said tímáátánóm “look down!”
ma “see, look, find” + c “do” + -á “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. títmáaca “see!”, tímaatukí “look under”, tímaatök “look under it!”

49:12. tʰaakílmási (Atsugewi tʰaaqélmesi) 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 tʰ 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 tʰollím! “Live long!”
He says: dkdáji tuccóo tóllím. Lengthening and devoicing of the c makes the auxiliary tuccóo
negative: “Don’t do it!”, and he loses the aspirated tʰ in tʰollím “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 tʰollím ís tiikácóo! 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. *siwásá sééni čimmu* “I sang, I came home, wolf” not a
He says: *siwásá sééni tsimmu*

*siwásá* I sang, *sééni* I came back/home, *čimmu* wolf

*sawasáqcámi* “I dreamt”, *sééni* “I came back”, *čimmu* “wolf”

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

*álwi issi séémáální wíníhúúní ka čimmu*
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 č to ts seems to be his spelling pronunciation; he wrote c, č, cʰ indiscriminately as ts, and said they were in free variation (non-contrastive). In syllable-final position, the c, č affricates are indeed fronted, especially before a stop consonant, and especially the laryngealized č, but not in syllable-initial and word-initial position as in *čimmu*.

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: táámnóómá
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 astaříwa, 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 astah 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 ąstahíwawí the people who live near the Hot Springs at Canby (from ąstahíwà the local name of the place, from ąstah “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. tinálutáámi 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.


He says: baahaha

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 masúúla’áy kúcl. “How do you like it?” (Sentence 40 of Wool’s story.)
His transcription in the ms: tséˑwà màsúlà’áíkúdʒí
He says: cʰééwa másúúlaa’í gují without translation. (What he says before this translates prior sentences.)

33:09-33:12 mhnííyístuyá
This is in sentence 49 of Henry Wool’s performance of the story.

mh- “I-you” + n- iterative/intensive + ý stative/copula + stu “upon, upon the outside” + -uy benefactive
tíniíya fix it! = ti- + n- + ý stative/copula + -a volitional
His transcription in the ms: mìhinúdzístuyá (pitches: low low high low high high)
He says, with pauses: mìhinii jús tíyyá (pitches: low high low low high high)

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

pi, túluwúncóo má ánca kuptéélí má ánca koohuukántiwí
“Here, put on (this) belt, take it with you, and run around”

His transcription:
bi’ tíllùhúudʒo mándʒa kúptéli mándʒa kóhò’kántùwí

He says: tiluhéywicóó, máánja kuptélí. hóókankántuwí

33:36 sounds like he wants to say tóólol qa tíí “all the land”
He says: tóólol qa téékwá(y)áté

34:31 wáhhac túnnóo! “Bread, come!”
He says: wáhais dúnnoo
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!” tánú “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. tykáülútánki “it came rolling down” (3.8 in the text) or rarely as a stem.

35:59. wáhhac túnnóo! tánmi “bread come! Eat”
He says: wáhais! dúnnoo! dámmi
támmi is the subordinate-clause 3rd person form which is often used as participle or infinitive (támmi wa súwí “I want to eat”) or as a nominal (támmi kú “food”, kú “potential/future”). It has no place here.

37:07 álisti túnnóo! “Rocks, come!”
He says álísté 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 kʰéstam suwí “I am ended/finished”
He says: kistám suwí

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

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

46:29 tííqáati wánááwamá, as aawátca uuϕuulí 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):
téqáˑdé w-ánôm-á, às àwátsà ù’pùˑl-íˑwádé
He says: dúqáˑdí wínóoma aas uuϕuulúwádí
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-ánôm-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: aapóónaha aawátca is tykáákááci
He said: *aapóónáhá 'is awátsa ... cʰígáákáádzí*

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 *aapóónákdáha*, 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. *talíllámci winááwama.* “There was no dawn.”

He says *daliilámdži 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 *yáácíísukí (?)*

He says: *yáádzísugí “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 *hágìstà “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 *hágìstà* 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. *qʰé sistá “I mean that one”, pálìmas kístá? “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. *túnnímaci ḟáy tucci lá “by thinking, make it come”*

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

After the mental state particles *če “no, not”, ḟáy “thinking”, ḟew “forgetting”* the *c* of *tuci “do”* is lengthened and devoiced. Better to add the causative *mac (ma “see, find, appear” c “do”).*
This is a mash-up of túnnőo “come” and tuutʰúuki “arrive hither”, tuutʰúumi “arrive thither”.

malússil malússi pʰitúwwi lit. “ten times ten years”
He says: málósi málósi pʰídúwwí

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

ínígqátíl “small knife, pocket knife”; now: “folding knife, jackknife”.
He says “anníkádel, 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.

aliyarí “frog”.
He says: áliráı́m.

kwán silver-gray fox
He says: kʰúwán

céémul Coyote.

tístuθótkéémé’ tkíí “You are inattentive, not mindful”
He says dístuθátké kíí “you don’t know how to do anything”
tístuθótkéémé’ = tístuθótké “be mindful” + -ámé’ “without, lacking”
sun “mental/emotional state” is in e.g. cʰú misunwí “how are you?”, tʰús sisunwí “I am well”, cᵉ suwí tʰus tisunci “I’m not in a good state, I don’t feel good”.
tʰo/tʰe/tʰa occurs in words having to do with hearing, minding, obeying.
tke has a meaning of readiness, immediacy, speed

tím cé smóócí kúći
He says: dím jé smóójí gújí “What are we going to do?”
This is probably tím cé smóócí kúći “indeed what won’t you do to me?”
In Folsom’s story, he says cʰú tlhóoci kúcí, but on p. 113 of the Grammar he has cʰú tlhóoci kúcumá (his transcription was tcú-thóˑdz-ikúdzùmá)

57:43. allu suwí “I’m hungry”