

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. *Ćiniina* “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 tictaacááho'oy* "where panther slid into the water", and his name has *ch* “into liquid” and *la* “make a line”. This *ch/cah* is one of those CC/CVC roots which are sometimes one syllable and sometimes divided over two syllables, and in *tictaacááho'oy* the vowel is lengthened. Harrington also mentions a waterfall with maidenhair fern that was called *tacháálá u titááco'oy*, "panther's old basket-makings" (*titááci* "unfinished basket", with *ta* “linear sequence/implement”).

But then I found *ćniina* in two archival sources:

- Harrington: *tc'ínina-'alússa*, red waterlily ck. 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. (*Alússá* "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 *ćniina* 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 t^hiyyí*, *sacuucááké qá itt^hú t^hiyyí*, *sácuucí qá itt^hú t^hiyyí* are all ways to say "I comb my hair". This work surfaced some questions about the -*aké* 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 qá 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:

c^héyé sl'ámmalmaká?

“Where shall I throw myself away?”

sállíl mlámmalmáka

“I’ll throw myself away north.”

cé kucí támmalmáké sállíl

“Don’t throw yourself away north,

innánéhríci tkiyí

“you’ll freeze to death.”¹

The volitional forms *sl'ámmalmaká* and *mlámmalmáka* end with *-áka*, and the participle *támmalmáké* ends with *-áké*. The *-acóóké* form is available for any verb with the auxiliary root *c* “do”: *sinkuulúúcake qa áásá* “I wipe off my face”, *síntállúúúacóóké* “I cleaned myself” in the sense of pulling (*lu*) things off myself. Craven Gibson spoke with scorn of Indians who seem to say *winílláátiwí sínípsíwacóóké* “I imagine myself to be a white man”.² He could have said *winílláátiwí sínípsíwacáké* “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 qá kac^hú t^hiíyí* “she was combing her hair”, but Henry Wool said *tykwácuucí qa kwán qa kac^hú t^hiíyí* “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*, *q^h*, *q̣*, *ḥ*, seems to support variability, e.g. when the reciprocal *íwci* is re-articulated with a glottal stop after a low vowel (*tyktánááse’éwci* “they parted from each other”), *wíncuuce’éwci* “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* (*tóósáqcami* “dream”, *sáwaasáqcami* “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*, *tilíphé* “broom” is an implement that is used to *tilíphi* “sweep” and *talúúwíste* “a container” is an implement that is used to *talúúwísti* “hold in container”; *aat^hááké* “(acorn) flour” is a product from *aat^hááki* “pounding (acorn)”. *Íliiqaatáké* “named, designated” has

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 sállílaayáyi 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 *sínípsíwci* “I imagine; I think again; I ponder” (with *n-* “iterative / intensive”); *sópsíwci* “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 *íliiqaati* “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 (*tiičiiláké* “possessions, money”, *taapáqtáké* “ornament, buckle”) and attributive uses (*iic^híipáké* “tattooed”). Some more examples: *ticiphéhé* “hairbrush”, *ticipháácáké* “brushed”, *ticu^hááapaki* “tangle oneself”, *ticu^hááapáké* “tangled”. Ike Leaf’s invention for a baseball cap (with its bill visor) is particularly interesting: *iplí iméimáké* (*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 *aat^haakí* “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, *sínípsíwacáké*, *sínípsíwacóóké* “I imagine myself to be”. And *-áké* also occurs instead of *-áka* as an imperative, e.g. *tacah^hyeqááké qa cíkko^h* “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, *tykwacuucááké qá kac^hú t^hiyí* “she was combing her hair”, but Henry Wool said *tykwácuucí qa kwán qa kac^hú t^hiyí* “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 Olmsted’s only Achumawi text, published ‘as-is’ in 1977.³ 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

³ *Northern California Texts*, edited by Victor Golla and Shirley Silver, *IJAL Native American Text Series* vol. 2, no. 2, 1977

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 *ticaawááqake* 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

amqāwa lātaawkæt nextijūji qepsi	So lataukat run-up punk (rotten wood)
amq ^h ááwa láttawqát neh̄ ticúúci q ^h psi	So láttawqát lightly(?) thrust punk wood

hitijawōkuke qepsi	he-put-around punk
‘he’ ticaawááqake q ^h psi	he hollowed out punk wood

hitī·ni sū?p?a	he-started-to-come hurry
‘he’ tíni súphá	he went home fast

hetēxhewmi.	run-run-away.
‘he’ tééhuumi	he ran home

Notes:

ticúúci: *cú* “thrust”. An ‘instrumental’ root is expected, as e.g. *tiluucúúci*, *tikuucúúci* *q^hpsi* (de Angulo, Olmsted: *qepsi*) “punk (rotten) wood”: *q^hiy* “scratch out” + *ps* “pinch, tear”, presumed to be the common meaning of *psí-t* “tear”, *psi-k̄* “fragile, crumb”, *pic̄/ps* “pinch”.
ticaawááqake: *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 *neh̄* in the first phrase occurs in the following words:

<i>tisúúnehhi</i>	sneak up on it
<i>tisúúnehqáti</i>	stalk it
<i>timínéhmíci</i> , <i>tinúnehmíci</i>	oversleep
<i>tínnánéhmíci</i>	freezing to death

<i>tínéhhé</i>	poison
<i>wánéhá</i>	toothache
<i>inéhyí</i>	spawning (head up, then die)
<i>wíníhaaít wa</i>	where (salmon run) stops (at FRM falls)
<i>neh , néhcan</i>	baby talk for “mother”.
<i>nehwuk</i>	woman’s female cousin
<i>línnehcan</i>	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 *ti* or *ta* “linear action, sequence” + *k* in the reflexive sense. I am still treating it as an unanalyzed morpheme. Examples:

<i>tke</i>	ready, immediate, quick		
<i>mliwátka</i>	I’ll keep (food) for months	-a	volitional
<i>tiwátké</i>	food you can keep for months	<i>wa</i>	
<i>tiiwatké wa</i>	pantry	<i>wa</i>	Stative
		-wa/-ma	Place
<i>tykwinámmacqátítkééli</i>	he understood immediately ate right away	-l	make a line, sequence
<i>tykáámítkééli; tykáámítkééla</i>	hurry and eat!		
<i>Sááwítkééli</i>	I gave it right away		
<i>táwwítkééla</i>	hurry and give it!		
<i>ticítkééla</i>	do it the right way right off		
<i>palá’ ticítkééli</i>	already ready		
<i>íicítkééla hawáy’ íicítkééla aamím</i>	do it quickly (‘jumping up lightly’)		
	do it immediately		
	White men (are always)		
<i>qa wínílláatiwí itutisítkééli’</i>	shooting right away		
<i>tísunt^hótke</i>	be mindful, use good sense	<i>t^he/t^ha/t^ho</i>	hear, obey
<i>tísuntótkéémé’</i>	lacking good sense	-ámé’	lacking, without

<i>mállís tacuumítke</i>	poker	<i>cu + -m</i>	thrust thither/down
<i>tílúúmetké</i>	run fast	<i>lu</i>	pull; as though pulled
<i>tykwilúúmetke</i>	ran fast		
<i>tywílúúmetkééní</i>	ran fast		
<i>kílúúmetké</i>	run fast!		
<i>silúúmetkeeni</i>	I ran fast		
<i>iipác cwilúúmetkeeni qá caahóm</i>	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: *ílii’haakáckéémí*, *tíli’haakácki*. Johnny: *tílii’haacátke*. Lela: *táliháacqáci*, *táliháacqáci*, *táliháací*, *tílihááci*.

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 childrens' 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

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 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 *čkittaawáálu* “female doctor”

He says *c^higitawáalu*

Tape 7, 14.40 to the end of Tape 7

15:56 *úúmaati’ álisti wáté* “sleeping by/at/on rocks”

He says *úúmaadi’ álistí wáádé’*

16:01. *úúmaati’ acúmma wáté* “sleeping by/at/on the river”

He says *úúmaadi’ waajúmáá wádé^h*

Her name may indeed have been *úúmaati’ wacúmma 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. *Acúmma* 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 waaḥuumí* “tule runner (‘runs-in-tules’).”

He says *aat wááhoumí’*

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 *tasti*, and the plant is *tastílóu*. 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 wáhómmí’*. 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 *ḥu*, “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 h 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 $bop^húúga$ ".

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

27:26 *k^héstam yuwí*. *k^héstam* is an interjection or particle glossed "end, the end, finished" and the like; *yuwí* "it is". The only record of *k^héstam* 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 *q^hiláála* shoes

He says: *q^hilá'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: *mal̥ álaají*, and *mal* “for short” (without the final glottal stop). The low pitch of *mal̥* (with glottalized *l̥*) clearly contrasts with the following high pitch, so that he’s actually saying *ámál* (“marmot”, though everyone actually calls it “groundhog”), for which Bauman heard the upriver dialect variant [*m̥m̥àl̥*] and transcribed *mal̥*. Likewise de Angulo produces the participle *ilááci* as *álaají* 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 *mal̥* and *mál̥* as a pronunciation problem for the children.

35:31. *híiwá* “tapeworm”, but he calls it “maggots” in the deer’s head.

He says *hey’wá*, reflecting the effect that the epiglottal *h̥* 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, *híiwá*. Lela Rhoades confirmed this gloss, and that *ámuq̣* “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 *puusut̥*.

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. *ćuspútcan túnnóo* “clod, come here!”; *ćuspút* something you punch out or pry up; *ću* “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: *tsàpútyà* (he transcribed it *tsàpótyà* in Folsom’s text).

46:45. *kíncéépááha* “you should shut your eyes!”, the ‘polite’ imperative.

He says: * *kíncéépááha 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 *cé kuccí tímáátánumi* “Don’t look down” (lit. “you shouldn’t look down”, the ‘polite’ imperative). Then: *kínceepááhí áásá mám kíncéépááhaswací* “Shut your eyes and keep your eyes shut!”

46:57 *tykwapsíwci háy tucci la* “<unintelligible> he thought in his mind”. In my recording, I have substituted *táqmas* “whatchamacallit, something or other” for <unintelligible>.

He says <unintelligible> *c^higwapsyúújí .. haydujila*

Folsom said *ías ías tucóo tykwapsíw háy tucci la*. “Stretch, stretch!’ he thought, by doing it mentally (with his mental faculties)”. *Tipsíwci* “think, imagine, try”; *háy* is a root concerning awareness and recollection, vs. *hew* for forgetting. Both of these seem to require an auxiliary verb in this form, but may turn out to be analyzed as *hí* “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*), *tapsíwti*, “winnowing basket” (given only in Bauman’s upriver pedagogical material), in *titapsááya* “clean (game animal)!”), in *tikupsááyi* “gather things together” (acorns, possessions). Glosses like *támmípsíla* “hurry and eat!”, *tóphípsíla* “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 *kíncééḗááhaswací* “(you should) keep your eyes shut!”

He says: *kínžiiḗpáaswáží*, glossed “shut your eyes again!”

47:46 **tíímaacátok* (not a valid construction).

He says *tíímaajádok*, glossed “look down!”. Folsom said *tímáátánóm* “look down!”
ma “see, look, find” + *c* “do” + *-a* “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. *tíímáaca* “see!”, *tiimaatukí* “look under”, *tiimaatók* “look
under it!”

49:12. *t^haaḗkilmási* (Atsugewi *t^haaḗlmesí*) Bigfoot; monster

He says: *takíilmaa(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 *t^h* 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 t^hóllím!* “Live long!”

He says: *ákááji tuccóo tóllím*. Lengthening and devoicing of the *c* makes the auxiliary *tuccóo*
negative: “Don’t do it!”, and he loses the aspirated *t^h* in *t^hóllím* “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 *t^hóllím ís tiikáácóo!* 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. *siwáásá sééni ċimmu* "I sang, I came home, wolf" not a

He says: *síwásá sééni tsimmu*

siwáásá I sang, *sééni* I came back/home, *ċimmu* wolf

sawasáqcámí "I dreamt", *sééni* "I came back", *ċimmu* "wolf"

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

álwi issi séémáálíní wíníh'úúmí ka ċimmu

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 *ċ* to *ts* seems to be his spelling pronunciation; he wrote *c, ċ, c^h* indiscriminately as *ts*, and said they were in free variation (non-contrastive). In syllable-final position, the *c, ċ* affricates are indeed fronted, especially before a stop consonant, and especially the laryngealized *ċ*, but not in syllable-initial and word-initial position as in *ċimmu*.

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: *táámóómá*

John Craig, Craven Gibson, and Harvey Griffith all said *tálmóóma*. Kniffen has Dalmo'ma.

21:37. *astaaqúwa* “hot (springs) place”, name of Canby hot springs.

He says *astawíwa*, using *ʋ* 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 *ʋ*. 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 *astaḥ* 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 *àstàḥíwàwí* the people who live near the Hot Springs at Canby (from *àstàḥíwà* the local name of the place, from *àstàḥ* “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. *tináluutáámi 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.

28:28-28:51. Paiute expiation song.

29:14. *pahhá* “epos root” + English *-s* plural.

He says: *baahaaz*

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. *cýééwa masúúla’áy kúcí*. “How do you like it?” (Sentence 40 of Wool’s story.)

His transcription in the ms: *tséwà màsùlà’áikúdzí*

He says: *c^hééwa másúúlaa’í gújí* without translation. (What he says before this translates prior sentences.)

33:09-33:12 *mhníyistúyá*

This is in sentence 49 of Henry Wool’s performance of the story.

mh- “I-you” + *n-* iterative/intensive + *y* stative/copula + *stu* “upon, upon the outside” + *-uy* benefactive

tíníyá fix it! = *ti-* + *n-* + *y* stative/copula + *-a* volitional

His transcription in the ms: *mihínídzùstúyá* (pitches: low low high low high high)

He says, with pauses: *mihínii jus túyyá* (pitches: low high low low high high)

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

pi, táluuháw’cóo má áncá kúptéélí má áncá koo’huukántiwí

“Here, put on (this) belt, take it with you, and run around”

His transcription:

bì' tllùhùdzô' má'ndza kùptéélí má'ndza kòhò'kántùwí

He says: *tiluhéywicóo, máánja kùptéélí. hóókankántuwí*

33:36 sounds like he wants to say *tóólol qa tííqaati* “all the land”

He says: *tóólol qa téékwá(y)áté*

34:31 *wáhhac túnnóo!* “Bread, come!”

He says: *wáhaís dúnnóo*

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!” *tánu* “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. *tykálúltánki* “it came rolling down” (3.8 in the text) or rarely as a stem.

35:59. *wáhhac túnnóo! támmi* “bread come! Eat”

He says: *wáahaís! dúnnóo! dámmí*

támmi is the subordinate-clause 3rd person form which is often used as participle or infinitive (*támmí wá súwi* “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 *álisté* 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 *k'héstam suwí* "I am ended/finished"

He says: *kistám suwí*

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

44:34 *qac' yaté* Ilmawi village in Fall River canyon, where Pit 1 power station is now.

46:29 *tííqaati wánááwamá, as aawátca uup'uulí 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):

téqá'dé w-ánô'm-á, às àwátsà ù'pù'l-í-wádé

He says: *dííqáádí wínóoma aas uupuulíwádé*

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-ánô'm-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: *aapóónáha aawátca ís tykáákááci*

He said: *aapóónáhá* 'is *awátsa* ... *c^hígáákáádzí*

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 coccoon, *aapóónáha* Coccoon-Man, *haapóónaha* coccoon rattle (though Harrington recorded initial *h* for “coccoon” as well). For Coccoon Man, Grandma Lela said *aapóónákáha*, 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 *daliilámdzi 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: *yáádzíísugí* “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. *q^hé sistá* “I mean that one”, *pálmhas kístá?* “do you mean now?”, etc. but though the initial *l* of *lh-* is commonly elided (especially upriver), *lhkístá* “I mean with respect to you” seems an unlikely construction.

47:49. *túnníimaci háy tucci lá* “by thinking, make it come”

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

After the mental state particles *ce* “no, not”, *háy* “thinking”, *hew* “forgetting” the *c* of *tuci* “do” is lengthened and devoiced. Better to add the causative *mac* (*ma* “see, find, appear” *c* “do”).

47:57. * *tit^húnnóo*

This is a mash-up of *túnnóo* “come” and *tuut^húúki* “arrive hither”, *tuut^húúmi* “arrive thither”.

48:37. *malússil malússi p^hítúwwi* lit. “ten times ten years”

He says: *málósi málósi p^hídúúwí*

49:16-49:37. The vocables in this song are not typical of Pit River vocables. There are no words, unless these are words of some other language.

51:44. *íníq̄q̄atil* “small knife, pocket knife”; now: “folding knife, jackknife”.

He says “*anníkadél*, 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*.

54:28. *aliyam̄* “frog”.

He says: *áálúum*.

54:44. *kwán* silver-gray fox

He says: *k^huwán*

54:58. *céémul* Coyote.

57:03. *tísunt^hótkéémé’ tkiyí* “You are inattentive, not mindful”

He says *dísunt^hátké ki’í* “you don’t know how to do anything”

tísunt^hótkéémé’ = *tísunt^hótke* “be mindful” + *-ámé’* “without, lacking”

sun “mental/emotional state” is in e.g. *c^hú misunwí* “how are you?”, *t^hús sisunwí* “I am well”,

cé suwí t^hus tisunci “I’m not in a good state, I don’t feel good”.

t^ho/t^he/t^ha occurs in words having to do with hearing, minding, obeying.

tke has a meaning of readiness, immediacy, speed

57:22. *tím cé smóoci kúci*

He says: *dím jé smóoji gújí* “What are we going to do?”

This is probably *tím cé smóoci kúci* “indeed what won’t you do to me?”

In Folsom's story, he says *c^hú tlhóoci kúci*, but on p. 113 of the Grammar he has *c^hú tlhóoci kúcumá* (his transcription was *tcú-thó'dz-ikúdzùmá*)

57:43. *allu suwí* "I'm hungry"