Achumawi Database

Summary of September 2021 work

You can download the current backup from

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

I have updated the webonary at

•  https://www.webonary.org/odissi/

I am using the latest stable release, FieldWorks 9.0.17. All versions 9.x.y should be compatible. (Release 9.1.5 is currently in beta test.)

I am in process of rewriting “Why Proto-Palaihnihan is neither” from the bottom up, reflecting understanding of Achumawi morphology that I did not have when I submitted the first version to IJAL. A central point is that historical reconstruction is impossible without prior morphological analysis of Atsugewi.

Aligned with this, I have also begun to organize a DEL proposal to be submitted approximately one year from now, in September 2022. It will include proposed funding for a linguistics student to work with archival material and build an Atsugewi language database, in addition to requesting continued support for morphological, semantic, and syntactic analysis of Achumawi. Morphological analysis and a search for the morpheme-level cognates that are necessary for reconstruction of the prehistory of these languages.

This month, I have collaborated further with Connor on language for domains and conversations which he is developing to support each family that is establishing their home as a language nest. Much of this material still needs to be added to the database, and I expect to do this in the coming month.

I have been able to return to the long process of cleaning up the lexicon, where I have progressed as far as the bare-stem “-ing” participles beginning with i-.

To my embarrassment, I discovered that I had not finished entering one of de Angulo’s stories into the database. I will aim to complete that in October as well.
I note here only a few topics from this month’s work. Shaping up a report always leads to further discovery and refinement of the database so I try to write draft material daily, but this month the writing up was too much deferred by other demands. The first two topics concern intention or will bringing something into manifestation from a potential, latent, or unmanifest state. This principle features prominently in traditional stories, in ‘doctoring’ practices, gambling, concepts of luck and omens, and similar matters. The three topics are:

1. \( a + c \) (cause, purpose, result)
2. Intention and the two ‘copulas’ \( y \) and \( w \)
3. \( h_y / h_{ay} \) “constrain”

### 1. \( a + c \) (cause, purpose, result)

The pervasive use of \( c \) “do” as an auxiliary root forming verb stems is familiar, as is the use of \(-a\) “volitional”. In English, the combination \( ac \) (generally after a directional) has two senses which are orthogonal.\(^1\)

One is a sense of incompleteness: \( s\acute{a}\acute{a}t^h_u m a c\acute{i} “I almost arrived there”\); \( s\acute{a}\acute{a}t^h_u u k a c\acute{i} “I almost arrived here”\) (cp. \( s\acute{a}\acute{a}t^h_u m i “I arrived there”, s\acute{a}\acute{a}t^h_u u k i “I arrived here”\)). One word for “dawn” is \( \acute{a}l\acute{ıll}a y k i, \) but \( \acute{a}l\acute{ıll}a y k a c\acute{i} w\acute{at}é “near daylight”\). Other examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{s\acute{a}\acute{a}q\acute{a}\acute{a}l a m a c\acute{i}, s\acute{a}\acute{a}q\acute{a}\acute{a}l a k a c\acute{i} } & \quad \text{I packed it almost there/here (s\acute{a}\acute{a}q\acute{a}\acute{a}l a m i)} \\
\text{s\acute{u}w\acute{a}\acute{a}d\acute{a}\acute{a}l u m a c\acute{i}, s\acute{u}w\acute{a}\acute{a}d\acute{a}\acute{a}l u k a c\acute{i} } & \quad \text{I walked almost there/here (s\acute{u}w\acute{a}\acute{a}d\acute{a}\acute{a}l u m i)} \\
\text{s\acute{a}\acute{a}q\acute{a}\acute{a}l u w a y m a c\acute{i}, s\acute{a}\acute{a}q\acute{a}\acute{a}l u w a y k a c\acute{i} } & \quad \text{I drove over almost there/here (s\acute{a}\acute{a}q\acute{a}\acute{a}l u w a y m i)} \\
\text{t\acute{a}\acute{a}m m i t / t\acute{a}\acute{a}m m a s u t w i t y\acute{a}\acute{a}t^h_u m a c\acute{i}. } & \quad \text{It’s almost time to eat / rest. (y\acute{a}\acute{a}t^h_u m i)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The other sense is causative or concerns the purpose or result: \( t u s k\acute{i} m a c\acute{i} “sit down on ground”, t u s k l i m a c\acute{i} “cause to sit down”; s\acute{o}\acute{o}m a a k i “I saw/found it hither”, s\acute{o}\acute{o}m\acute{a}\acute{a}k a c\acute{i} “I came to see” \) (i.e. with that purpose or to cause that result). Examples of this “causative” translation are more common than the inchoative sense:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{t\acute{a}\acute{n}n\acute{n}i m a c\acute{i} } & \quad \text{draw a mark (\( \acute{a}n\acute{u} m i “extending” \))} \\
\text{t i l \acute{u} l a a m a c\acute{i} } & \quad \text{“steparent, stepchild” (\( t i l \acute{u} l a a c\acute{i} “stay home” \))} \\
\text{y\acute{a}\acute{s}\acute{p} i m a c\acute{i} t\acute{w}i\acute{y}i} & \quad \text{“He’s taming him” (\( \acute{y}a\acute{s}\acute{p} i m c\acute{i}. “he’s tame” \))}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^1\) This construction is not attached to a verb stem in \( t\acute{a}\acute{n}\acute{c}i k a c\acute{i} s\acute{\acute{a}}n\acute{u}m m a d\acute{a}m i “it’s this kind that’s burning me”; t\acute{a}\acute{n}\acute{c}i l m a c\acute{i} s\acute{\acute{a}}n\acute{u}m m a d\acute{a}m i “it’s that kind that’s burning me”. Verbs with \( l q \) “turn” are deceptively similar, e.g. \( w u k u u s l q a c\acute{i} “he (over)turns it by pushing”, cp. l\acute{\acute{u}}k u u t l q i “I’ll push her over” with no \( c \) auxiliary.\]
cwinákasaymácíní  “herded animals together”
(= caused to push together by collective agency ka)
ayíímací  “in good shape” (y “stative”)
káyyíímací qá mi títʰalúúwumi.  “Do your work well.”
ayíímacóóké’ t w̓i yí.  “It’s well made.”
táyíímacóó  “make yourself look good!”
tyk w̓i nééyíímacóóké  “He made himself look big and strong”
(n- iterative/intensive + yi)
tyúúcíímacíní  “she cherished her, put her on a pedestal”
(či lift, rise, be upon)
winúúcíímacóóke’ t w̓i yí.  “He values himself.”

Sóóliikací  “I come for a handout” can be interpreted either way. In the first, the handout is not yet consummated. In an unattested but reconstructed Sóóliikí (li “extend hand/arm” + -k “hither” s- “I, me”), no particular agent is specified; an explicit 3rd person agent would be syóóliiki (OSV pronoun order). For that reason the second interpretation is probably preferable: I (s-) cause or obtain the result of a hand being extended toward me (-k). This is borne out by alluíúwa sóóliikací qa wáhhac where the gloss “because of hunger I came to ask for bread” is an “Englishing” of something like “I cause/seek the result of a handout.” (The most natural order for the translating of the roots is usually from right to left in the verb template, analogous to the OSV order.)

All of these verbs involve insertion of a between a directional k “thither” or m “hither” and the auxiliary c. The a + c construction occurs also in tinímmáácaci  “teach” (tinímmááci  “see, find”) with no directional morpheme, but a sense of directionality implicit in looking and seeing. Elsewhere in verb morphology, a signals what de Angulo called the ‘Volitional’ mode. All of these examples have a sense of intention or will bringing something into manifestation from a potential, latent, or unmanifest state.

2. Intention and the two ‘copulas’ ý and w

The connection between ıpsóci “thinking” tuci “doing” in Achumawi is closer than that in English. “He tried to poke it through” is l’ásptúttéima tykwapsóci, literally “‘I’ll poke it through!’ he thought.” “He tried to shut it up quick” is lýičkaakáp tykwapsóci’, literally “‘I’ll shut it up’ he thought”. To express an act in the volitional mode, even to express it so in thought, is to begin or at least attempt

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2 Wakuusááctaci  “he pushes it on top” (wakuusááci  “he pushes it up”) probably has the CV root ta  “make a line, move linearly”, but could be analyzed with ta + a merged (ta is reduced to t in some other words). Two resemblant words wamíncaci  “appears, manifests” and yínací  “(plant) grows there” are not examples (there is no timínci or tinci).
the execution of it. The connection of thought and result is very direct the description of what a
doctor does, as epitomized in stories of the creative acts of Kwán, Silver-gray fox. In the recreation of
the world, tyktú tůd̓ú yá̑í mi h̓á̑t tůcci la “He made it manifest by thinking”. How potentialities become
manifest is expressed in various ways in this language.

There are two forms of the ‘copula’, which I have thought of as animate vs. inanimate. The uw
form as used with adjectives (allu kw̓ú “are you hungry?” is augmented with n- “iterative/intensive”
when used with an inanimate noun, and typically with the initial t- which seems to be evidential, i.e.
referring to something manifest: aswú t̓yúnuwí “it’s a tree”, aswú čé yánuwí phỉwú “there are no trees
here”. The y form also has that initial t- when it is translated as the copula: maňhoq tǔyí “it’s an
animal”. Occurrences without t- are translated as the copula only with an attributive, generally a
locative expression: phỉwú w̓i “he’s over here”, aapúúlm w̓i “he’s inside the house” (aapúúlé
“house”). The agentive distinction is seen in e.g. húkýe w̓i qa maníkcan “the child is yonder” vs.
húkýe w̓úyí as “there’s water yonder”.

The stative meaning of y may be less evident in some occurrences without the initial t-, e.g.:
c̓ökca ców̓i w̓i “he has small bones”, álisti aapúúlé w̓i “he has a stone house”. The y- 3rd-person
prefix does not occur with the y root. With the w- 3rd-person prefix, these may be translated more
literally: “he is a small-bone one” and “he is a stone-house person”, where the more conventional
English asserts possession. It expresses the culturally important notion of inalienable possession and
its reciprocal sense, belonging to. Expressed as localism, qačcáté is tsiyí “I am a Pit 1 canyon person”,
or more colloquially “I’m from Qačcáté”, can be translated “I belong to Qačcáté” and I have even
heard expressions like “Qačcáté owns me”. Both can occur in the same sentence with the same 3rd-
person referent, requiring either possession or a relative clause in English: icaáltí tʰ̓íyí w̓i tǔyí “he
has curly hair”, i.e. “he is one who has curly hair”, “he is a curly-hair one”. In this attributive form it
expresses inalienable family relations: iitʰú w̓aaqí w̓i qačcáté is tsiyí “My father is a Qačcáté
person”, hé tykísíyí qa tat̩̑í títíyí “his mother said ‘OK’”.

When the subject pronoun of a copula refers to a verbal expression used attributively
(corresponding to a relative clause in English if translated literally) then the uw copula is used rather
than the y copula, regardless of the subject of the subordinate verb: hakcan wíńí maníkcan w̓i tǔyí
tyktúw “they each had two children”, yátwádké tyktúwí qa tatʰ̓íyí títíyí “his mother was killed”.

The appropriate distinction, semantically, may be that y is is for those things that are capable of
will to manifest intentions and uw is for those that are not. The uw root by itself assigns an attribute

3 Note that yátwádké cannot mean she killed herself, so -d̓é needs more than a simple gloss of “reflexive”.
4 The reason that the pronoun in kac ya? “how about him?”, kac w̓úwí “he’s the one!” is an exception may be
   because it may refer to either. Expressions like línímamn̓í qa kac “I want to look at myself” suggest that kac
like hunger or cold, and with the *n-* “iterative/intensive” morpheme it identifies an object like a tree, a leaf, a cloud. The *y* root by itself identifies an agent capable of intention, and with *n-* we get *tínááyá* “manifest, make, prepare”, *winááya* “he makes”, *wináy* “maker”, *cáhúm skínáýáya* “you treated me like a slave”. Porcupine even says *qláála sinááyá* “I manifested shoes” after trading his woven tule shoes (*almóóqa*) for Coyote’s sturdy leather shoes (*qláála*). All of these have the volitional -a at the end. The vowel after *n-* is variable, usually *i*. Does the *a* vowel here reiterate the intention to bring something from the unmanifest into the manifest? There are a few examples where *ni-* has similar meaning: *wíníya* “he repairs something”, and even *wíníyacwí* “he finished creating” in *kwán qa tiqáááti wíníyacwí* ‘ka má ánca tôólol tykwàmmaakántíwí* “having finished (-cw) creating the earth, then Fox looked around at everything”. (Note the use of the *w-* prefix in a subordinate clause.) When Coyote comes back with his head bashed by rocks, he asks Fox to “fix my head” (*stinííya ittʰú láh*); Fox, being a doctor, does. With -*aymi* we get that which needs fixing by the exercise of a doctor’s intentionality: *intíyaymi yályú* “a sick man”.

I have two examples with the *ac* “cause; result” construction described in the first section above, both in a single sentence towards the end of the “Pumice-Stone Man” story: *tyktanííyádí má tôólóollí* qá kacʰú tippi’i amqʰá palá’ intíyaácóóké’ tykwúwwi* “They prepared bundles (*tyktanííyádí*). But all his arrowheads were already bundled up (*intíyaácóóké*).”

Additional examples:

*tykwánááyá qa aswú má qa pʰááta.* He created the trees and the brush
*týtínááyúní* They two had children
*áümme’ tytínaáyúma* He married two women
*miñnéka aka kinááya* You’re the only one not related to him.

Lit: You manifest him as other than yours [your family]

*al áümme winááya* He’s giving a fish-eating feast
*lupwíísé / qússi suwá sinááyá* I make a child’s/adult’s bow (wood from *qússiimálóo* juniper)
*sinááyá qa iiqíílía* I’m making a net (to catch snowshoe rabbits)

**3. *h̓y / ʰay* “constrain”**

Henry Wool was an elder when de Angulo recorded a story from him in the late 1920s. (He was the grandfather mentioned in Willard Carmony’s autobiographical sketch (in the database as “Reminiscences of an Achumawi youth”). In this story, de Angulo has *dílóhyúdi* which he glosses “belt” (sentence 2.1 = sentence 49 in his ms.). This is the participle “bind together”, and when used
as a noun should end with -é. Grandma Lela was familiar with the form łożhááwé, so you see both that word and tıluhítwcé glossed “belt” in the database.

At that time, she provided a number of other words contain lu “by pulling” + ḥ́́, which I now recognize as an allomorph of ḥ́́ “constrain”:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tıluhíthica</td>
<td>lead it with a leash!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tıluhímcie</td>
<td>pull down to ground, pull down by tether</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tıluhíwci</td>
<td>bind together; pull back with tether; kite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tıluhíntíwa</td>
<td>hold it by a strap or leash!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This may be because the y is difficult to hear after the epiglottal spirant, especially before i, but my record is quite consistent, and icalúhí “you two steal it!” is a rectification of Radin’s idjalɔ’héi (with superscript i at end after the length dot, the usual dipthong pronunciation of i after the epiglottal spirant). However, de Angulo also recorded ḥ́́ from Mary Martin (Sukmit’s mother) in tykwáaluhyá “(tule shoes) chafed (his feet)” (tsikúdáluhyá in his transcription).

Bauman’s upriver tıluuháyi “pull around on tether”, tıluuháye “kite” (doooloa’hayi in his transcription) indicates that this is one of the CC/CVC roots which are syllabified in different ways, and supports ḥ́́ as the underlying form.

The participle inéhí “spawning” is reconstructed from inéhítá “spawning place” (Harrington: neh-yaté, ’enéyadé, ’inéyadé). It probably refers to shallow spawning waters where the fish are constrained and easier to catch. A spawning bed is a place with clean, flowing, oxygen-rich water and a gravel bottom free of silt. These are found in the shallower waters at the back end of a pool, in a tributary creek, or at the head of a riffle. Among Harrington’s placenames are a number of riffles in the river, so they were clearly resources important enough to be known by name. If the underlying form of the root were ḥ́́ then the word for “spawning place” would be inéhítáé.
cihe

A number of nouns are derived from adjectival expressions by adding cihe or cihev, signifying “that kind” of person or thing. Thus, alongside isçuupi” “sharp (like a knife point)” we have isçupcihev “skinny ‘sharp’ (person)”. It occurs where a verb-forming c cannot, after a phrase, e.g. in aaqo isçákcihe “sharp-pointed mountain”, paacáwílóÚúlímcic “black manzanita kind of ridge”. This is distinct from apposition, as in paacáwílóúúlíimi “manzanita ridge”.

In some cases, a consonant is added to the stem: ęüssáwcic “male animal” from ęussá “testicles”, tʰúsýkcihe “a nice one, pretty one” from tʰúsýt “good”. Further investigation is needed to distinguish epenthetic consonants from morphophonemically preserved consonants as probably in e.g.

A possible analysis is the individuating morpheme ca plus hi “head”, with unstressed ca sounding like ci or ce before hi. This ca is sometimes used in place names, and that combination is seen in e.g. aatímcahe “Person from Maple Creek” (aatímca, “Maple Creek”), cústámcic “Person from cústán” (name of the hot spring North of Day, between Fall River and Big Valley).5

The h vs. hi distinction is sometimes difficult to discern, and ambivalence of cihe/cihev is also due to it being unstressed with low-pitch vowels, obscuring the acoustic cues. For now, it is unanalyzed in the database.

5 LR related this to custi “sweet anise root”. Cp. Harrington custínóoma, custiwílóoma “place where sweet anise grows”.
\[ \text{t} \text{aq, t} \text{aqʰá, t} \text{aqʰí} \]

*Cihé* occurs in various combinations with *táq* “extent, size, bigness”, such as *mi\text{tiaqcihe}, pʰi\text{tiaqcihe} “one this big”. Compare *mitiaqca tím “just this far”, pʰi\text{táq “this big”, mítiač “at the same time, at that time”}.* (In addition to *pʰi “this”, which appears here to have an alternant form *mi*, there is *ki e.g. in ki\text{tiaqca “that far”}.* Other examples: *cʰú t\text{aqca táníimí “how deep?”}, cʰú t\text{aqca ttánu wʰí “how far is it?”}, cʰú t\text{aqyé “how big?”}, t\text{aqca yáníimí “it’s so deep!”}, wʰ\text{iaqca “as long as, as far as”, mitiaqca tím “just this far”, mitiaqcihe amqʰá “equal”, ittʰú tálílláqti wʰ\text{iaqca “as long as I want, as much as I want”, pi \text{t\text{aqca “this far/big/much”, kít\text{aqca aawátca wimp\text{macqáti tsyiít “that’s as far as I know”}. }

Voiceless release of final *q* is expected where the root *t\text{aq is reduplicated in *táq t\text{aq tuci “it’s floppy, flabby” (i.e. stretched bigger than would fit or hang firmly), but not before a vowel. Nevertheless, it is clearly aspirated in t\text{aqʰá “again”, t\text{aqʰápá “yet again; nevertheless”, t\text{aqʰápá láttíw pʰítúw “five more years”, t\text{aqʰʰ “high”, t\text{aqʰʰwál “that big kind” (LR1: Fox, Coyote, and the Cyclone, at 3:50 in Shirley Silver’s CLA recording LA 124.001). Radin has (in his transcription) t\text{a}q\text{yúw “it is big”, ___ɔ me’kdjɔni “bigger” (where the underscore is his way of repeating the same stem, here changing only the final vowel). In accord with the above, I have rectified this as t\text{aqʰ “it is big”, t\text{aqʰ “bigger”.}

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6 *Cp. mè\text{kc\text{ihe more than in e.g. wawá mè\text{kc\text{ihe “bigger”, huutá mè\text{kc\text{ihe “after a longer while”; perhaps related: mè\text{stʰé wín “in equal parts each”. This me may be from mi/pi, above. }

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ictán\text{cihe [name: WalterMoody’s mo] ictan, i\text{ctan}

taliimúci. mark something there  \text{li} + m + c
talilímci. mark, point out with a sign  \text{li} + m + c
tánálítánki make a mark down  \text{n-} + \text{li} + \text{tán} + -k

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6 Cp. mè\text{kc\text{ihe more than in e.g. wawá mè\text{kc\text{ihe “bigger”, huutá mè\text{kc\text{ihe “after a longer while”; perhaps related: mè\text{stʰé wín “in equal parts each”. This me may be from mi/pi, above.}