

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. *hy / hay* “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: *sáát^huumací* “I almost arrived there”; *sáát^huukací* “I almost arrived here” (cp. *sáát^huumí* “I arrived there”, *sáát^huukí* “I arrived here”). One word for “dawn” is *álíllayki*, but *álíllaykacíwáté* is “near daylight”. Other examples:

<i>sááqáálamací, sááqáálakací</i>	I packed it almost there/here (<i>sááqáálami</i>)
<i>súwááqíílumací, súwááqíílukací</i>	I walked almost there/here (<i>súwááqíílumi</i>)
<i>sááqááluwaymací, sááqááluwaykací</i>	I drove over almost there/here (<i>sááqááluwaymi</i>)
<i>támmít / tímáásútwít yáát^huumací.</i>	It’s almost time to eat / rest. (<i>yáát^huumí</i>)

The other sense is causative or concerns the purpose or result: *tuskímaci* “sit down on ground”, *tuskímaci* “cause to sit down”; *sóomaakí* “I saw/found it hither”, *sóomáakací* “I came to see” (i.e. with that purpose or to cause that result). Examples of this “causative” translation are more common than the incompletive sense:

<i>tánnímaci</i>	draw a mark (<i>áními</i> “extending”)
<i>tilúúlaamací</i>	“stepparent, stepchild” (<i>tilúúlaaci</i> “stay home”)
<i>yáspímací twiyí.</i>	“He’s taming him” (<i>yáspímací.</i> “he’s tame”)

1 This construction is not attached to a verb stem in *íancítkaci sánúmmáámí* “it’s this kind that’s burning me”; *íancímaci sánúmmáámí* “it’s that kind that’s burning me”. Verbs with *lq* “turn” are deceptively similar, e.g. *wakuusáqlaci* “he (over)turns it by pushing”, cp. *líkuutíqlí* “I’ll push her over” with no *c* auxiliary.

<i>cwinákasaymáciní</i>	“herded animals together” (= caused to push together by collective agency <i>ka</i>)
<i>ayímací</i>	“in good shape” (<i>y</i> “stative”)
<i>káyyímací qá mimú títt^halúúwumi.</i>	“Do your work well.”
<i>ayímacóóké’ twiyí.</i>	“It’s well made.” <i>táyímacóo</i> “make yourself look good!”
<i>tykwiñééyímacóóké</i>	“He made himself look big and strong” (<i>n</i> - iterative/intensive + <i>yi</i>)
<i>tyúúćímacíní</i>	“she cherished her, put her on a pedestal” (<i>ći</i> lift, rise, be upon)
<i>winúúćímacóóke’ twiyí.</i>	“He values himself.”

Sóólíikací “I come for a handout” can be interpreted either way. In the first, the handout is not yet consummated. In an unattested but reconstructed *Sóólíikí* (*li* “extend hand/arm” + *-k* “hither” *s-* “I, me”), no particular agent is specified; an explicit 3rd person agent would be *syóólíiki* (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 *allúúwa sóólíikací 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.² 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’ *y* and *w*

The connection between *ipsíwci* “thinking” *tuci* “doing” in Achumawi is closer than that in English. “He tried to poke it through” is *l’áspúttéima tykwapsíwci*, literally “ ‘I’ll poke it through!’ he thought.” “He tried to shut it up quick” is *líicaakáp tykwapsíwci’*, 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

2 *Wakuusáćtaci* “he pushes it on top” (*wakuusáćci* “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 *wamínaci* “appears, manifests” and *yínaci* “(plant) grows there” are not examples (there is no *timínci* or *tínci*).

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, *tykwáánááyámí háy tucci 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 kúwí* “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 tyánuwí* “it’s a tree”, *aswú cé yánuwí p^hítúwa* “there are no trees here”. The *y* form also has that initial *t-* when it is translated as the copula: *ma^hhoq twiyí* “it’s an animal”. Occurrences without *t-* are translated as the copula only with an attributive, generally a locative expression: *p^hítúwa wiyí* “he’s over here”, *aapúúlm wiyí* “he’s inside the house” (*aapúúlé* “house”). The agentive distinction is seen in e.g. *húkyé wiyí qa maníkcan* “the child is yonder” vs. *húkyé yuwí as* “there’s water yonder”.

The stative meaning of *y* may be less evident in some occurrences without the initial *t-*, e.g.: *çókca cíwci wiyí* “he has small bones”, *álisti aapúúlé wiyí* “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, *qáčcáté ís tsiyí* “I am a Pit 1 canyon person”, or more colloquially “I’m from *Qáčcáté*”, can be translated “I belong to *Qáčcáté*” and I have even heard expressions like “*Qáčcáté* owns me”. Both can occur in the same sentence with the same 3rd-person referent, requiring either possession or a relative clause in English: *icaalí’ t^hiyí wiyí twiyí* “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: *itt^hú waayí wiyí qáčcáté ís twiyí* “My father is a *Qáčcáté* person”, *hé tykisýí qa tatýí tíyí* “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 winín maníkcan wiyí tyktúw* “they each had two children”, *yátwááké tykúúw qá tat^hýí tíyí* “his mother was killed”.³

The appropriate distinction, semantically, may be that *y* is for those things that are capable of will to manifest intentions and *uw* is for those that are not.⁴ The *uw* root by itself assigns an attribute

3 Note that *yátwááké* cannot mean she killed herself, so *-áké* needs more than a simple gloss of “reflexive”.

4 The reason that the pronoun in *kac ya?* “how about him?”, *kac yuwí* “he’s the one!” is an exception may be because it may refer to either. Expressions like *línínmamèn qá 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 *tinááya* “manifest, make, prepare”, *winááya* “he makes”, *wináy* “maker”, *cahhúm skínáyya* “you treated me like a slave”. Porcupine even says *qláála sínááyá* “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: *wínítýa* “he repairs something”, and even *wínítýacwí* “he finished creating” in *kwán qa tíqááatí wínítýacwí ’ka má ánca tóólol tykwánmaakántíwí* “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” (*stinítýa itt’ú láh*); Fox, being a doctor, does. With *-aymi* we get that which needs fixing by the exercise of a doctor’s intentionality: *ínítýaymí 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: *tyktanítýááci má tóóloołíní qá kac’ú tipp’i amq’á palá’ inítýáácóóké’ tykúwwí* “They prepared bundles (*tyktanítýááci*). But all his arrowheads were already bundled up (*inítýáácóóké’*).”

Additional examples:

<i>tykwanááya qa aswú má qa p’ááta.</i>	He created the trees and the brush
<i>tytinááyúíní</i>	They two had children
<i>lúmmé’ tytinááyúuma</i>	He married two women
<i>mímééka aka kinááya</i>	You’re the only one not related to him.
	Lit: You manifest him as other than yours [your family]
<i>al ámmé winááya</i>	He’s giving a fish-eating feast
<i>lupwútsé / qússi suwá sinááyá</i>	I make a child’s/adult’s bow (wood from <i>qússiimáloo</i> juniper)
<i>sinááyá qa iiquíla</i>	I’m making a net (to catch snowshoe rabbits)

3. *h’y / háy* “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 *dílòhyúdzí* which he glosses “belt” (sentence 2.1 = sentence 49 in his ms.). This is the participle “bind together”, and when used

is not simply a 3rd person pronoun. Is there a connection to *-áké*?

as a noun should end with -é. Grandma Lela was familiar with the form *lóh'hááwé*, so you see both that word and *tíluh'íwcé* glossed “belt” in the database.

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

<i>tíluh'hítca</i>	lead it with a leash!
<i>tíluh'hímci</i>	pull down to ground, pull down by tether
<i>tíluh'híwci</i>	bind together; pull back with tether; kite
<i>tíluh'híntíwa</i>	hold it by a strap or leash!

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

Bauman’s upriver *tíluuh'áyi* “pull around on tether”, *tíluuh'áye* “kite” (*dooloa'hayi* in his transcription) indicates that this is one of the CC/CVC roots which are syllabified in different ways, and supports *h'y* as the underlying form.

The participle *inéh'íyí* “spawning” is reconstructed from *inéh'íyáté* “spawning place” (Harrington: *neh-yaté*, *'enehyadé*, *inéhyadé*). 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 *h'h* then the word for “spawning place” would be *inéh'háté*.

cihe

A number of nouns are derived from adjectival expressions by adding *cihe* or *ci^he*, signifying “that kind” of person or thing. Thus, alongside *iscuupí* “sharp (like a knife point)” we have *iscup^hcihe* “skinny ‘sharp’ (person)”. It occurs where a verb-forming *c* cannot, after a phrase, e.g. in *aaqo iscá^hcihe* “sharp-pointed mountain”, *paacáwíloo úúl^hmcihe* “black manzanita kind of ridge”. This is distinct from apposition, as in *paacáwíloo úúliimi* “manzanita ridge”.

In some cases, a consonant is added to the stem: *qussáwcihe* “male animal” from *qussá* “testicles”, *t^hús^hí^hcihe* “a nice one, pretty one” from *t^hús^hí* “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. *aaít^hmahe* “Person from Maple Creek” (*aaít^hma*, “Maple Creek”), *cústámcihé* “Person from *cústám*” (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/ci^he* 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 *custinóoma*, *custiwílóoma* “place where sweet anise grows”.

ʔaq, ʔaqʰá, ʔaqʰíʔ

Ciʰe occurs in various combinations with *ʔaq* “extent, size, bigness”, such as *míʔtaqcihe*, *píʔtaqcihéʔ* “one this big”. Compare *míʔtaqca tím* “just this far”, *píʔtaq* “this big”, *míʔtaç* “at the same time, at that time”. (In addition to *pi* “this”, which appears here to have an alternant form *mi*, there is *ki* e.g. in *kíʔtaqca* “that far”.) Other examples: *cʰú ʔaqca tániimí* “how deep?”, *cʰú ʔaqca ttánuwí* “how far is it?”, *cʰú ʔaqyé* “how big?”, *ʔaqca yániimí* “it’s so deep!”, *wíʔtaqca* “as long as, as far as”, *míʔtaqca tím* “just this far”, *míʔtaqcihe amqʰá* “equal”, *ittʰú tálláqti wíʔtaqca* “as long as I want, as much as I want”, *pi ʔaqca* “this far/big/much”, *kíʔtaqca aawátca wímmacqáti tsiyí* “that’s as far as I know”.

Voiceless release of final *q* is expected where the root *ʔaq* is reduplicated in *ʔaq ʔaq 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 *ʔaqʰá* “again”, *ʔaqʰápá* “yet again; nevertheless”, *ʔaqʰápá láttíw pʰitúwwí* “five more years”, *ʔaqʰíʔ* “high”, *ʔaqʰítwálo* “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) *ʔaqì yuwi* “it is big”, *___ɔ meʔkdjɔni* “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 *ʔaqʰíʔ yúwí* “it is big”, *ʔaqʰá meqcaníʔ* “bigger”.⁶

icʔáncihe [name: WalterMoody’s mo] *icʔan*, *icʔtan*

taliimúci. mark something there *li + m + c*

talilímci. mark, point out with a sign *li + m + c*

tánáliitánki make a mark down *n- + li + tán + -k*

⁶ Cp. *mékcihe* more than in e.g. *wawá mékcihe* “bigger”, *húuítá mékcihe* “after a longer while”; perhaps related: *méstʰé wínín* “in equal parts each”. This *me* may be from *mi/pi*, above.