

# Achumawi Database

## Summary of January 2022 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/>

There have been some changes incidental to my work on the Achumawi-Atsugewi-Shastan monograph, now titled ‘Prequisites for reconstructing Shastan’. I have submitted a reformatted and somewhat revised copy to *IJAL*. It is probably getting a first look from the editors before being sent to reviewers. The updated lists of roots in that paper are replicated in the last section of this report. Those tables do not include all of information in the first four short sections below.

- *t̥ap* ‘soft, feathery, resilient’
- *qap/qp* ‘crawl’
- *c<sup>h</sup>i* ‘suck’
- *qup̣* vs. *q̣up*
- *Lists of roots*

### ***t̥ap* ‘soft, feathery, resilient’**

This root *t̥ap* occurs in *t̥ap t̥ap wálaatíwí*, said of a bird that’s flopping along on the ground, trying to fly. (In the story of the ‘flying geese’ basket pattern, the mother does this before she flies away.)

There is a participle *iit̥apí*, which Grandma Lela glossed “tough, it doesn’t break”. Without context, this gloss is misleading. The English phrase “doesn’t break” suggests the stiffness of a stick that doesn’t break, or the hardness of a rock or nut that doesn’t break. But

she was referring to willow withes as basket material. In weaving withes into a basket the relevant perception is that it's springy and can be bent without breaking and recover.

Archival material frequently lacks crucial context. Curtin wrote *eqtäpi* "soft". As a worker for the Bureau of American Ethnography, he used the standard alphabet devised by William Dwight Whitney (published in Powell's *Introduction to the study of Indian languages* in 1877, with some revisions in 1880). In this 'Powell alphabet', *q* was 'officially' supposed to represent the voiceless palatal spirant that is written today with *x*. (Perversely enough, *x* was supposed to be the voiced equivalent that we now write with *ɣ*, which de Angulo sometimes wrote for the voiced allophone of Achumawi *q*, as in *qa* and *qás'wa* 'digging stick'!) For Curtin, *q* served for any 'guttural' ('throaty') sound that he didn't know what else to do with. In Achumawi, one of the things he used it for was the devoiced second mora of a long vowel <sup>h</sup> before a voiceless consonant. So his *eqtäpi* "soft" is *iítaapi'*. Unfortunately, we don't know what Curtin and his consultant were referring to. Two other possible examples are: *walít'piíl'* 'breaks up (built structure)', *walít'píltanki* 'breaks down, tears down (built structure)'

### ***qap/qp* 'crawl'**

This was discussed in January email. The name *iqpiimí* "Wintu" has been one of those puzzles with no etymology. It looks like a bare-stem participle (like *ámmí'* "eating"). There is no *q* prefix. The *im* at the end is the familiar "down/thither". The discovery of CVC/CC roots suggested that I should look for a word with *qap* as its root, and that led to *qap qap wálaatíwí* 'he crawls around'. That indicates the participle *iqpiimí* "crawling down/thither". This did not seem promising.

Then I recalled how in a Pit River *ascúy* only children and frail people crawled through the ventilation/draft tunnel at the end, and the proper way in and out was by ladder through the smoke hole in the roof. Going out, you found yourself standing on a small hill.

And yes, Wintu family houses were smaller were described as conical. The big roundhouse or sweathouse was dug in the ground a bit, but not like a Pit River *ascúy*

- <https://projectarchaeology.org/2020/09/23/investigating-a-wintu-roundhouse-meet-ms-elaine-sundahl/>

My conjecture is that this verb was used to talk about how old people, children, and dogs might come and go through the ventilation tunnel, and so to the Pit River folks the Wintu newcomers were ‘that kind’ of people who came and went through the side door.

### ***chi* ‘suck’**

The root *chi* ‘suck, suckle’ occurs in *tuchííci* ‘suck, suckle’ (with *c* ‘do’); *tuchííci* ‘whirlpool’; perh. *tilííimi* ‘bad luck’ (with *li* ‘extend hand’ with *m* ‘thither, down’). The nice discovery is that it is also the root in *íccíit* ‘breast, milk’ (lit. ‘place for suckling’).

### ***qup* ‘sack, bag, enclose’ vs. *qup* ‘snap, prune, break off’**

Sound symbolism here is hard to prove, unless it generalizes to other roots, but something like sound symbolism provides a useful mnemonic for remembering which is which. The first of this minimal pair, *qup*, proceeds from a lax, open voiced *q* through creaky voice to glottal closure in *p*, and it has the meaning of enclosure, even entrapment:

*tííúqupí*      put in a sack

*qup qup yuwí*      is in a sack (the image was of a dog struggling, closed up in a sack)

The second root, *qup*, beginning with closure in the glottis as well as in the very back of the mouth near the uvula, proceeds to a freely released final *p*, with its audible puff of air, and it refers to events that proceed from constraint to freedom with that kind of abrupt pop:

*qup qup yuwí*      ‘(stick, carrot) breaks’

*wálaaqúúpí*      ‘he prunes (tree)’

*wáluqúpk<sup>h</sup>ayki*      ‘pulls top of plant off’

*talaaqúúpake kú suwa*      ‘I’m going to clip my fingernails’

*waluuqúpk<sup>h</sup>ayki*      ‘he pulls it out’ (hard to pull out, can break)

*waluuqúpk<sup>h</sup>aykáké*      ‘had his teeth pulled out’

<i>waluuqúptánuní</i>	‘pushed it down & broke it off’ (‘push’ with <i>lu</i> is unexpected)
<i>tićwaaqúúpa</i>	‘eat it! Snap it up!’
<i>imááqúpýe</i>	‘stump’ ( <i>qúp</i> ‘broken off’ by <i>ma</i> ‘burning’)
<i>qúp</i>	‘stump’

## ***Lists of roots***

These are updates to the lists of roots which I have previously posted in these reports, excerpted from a paper that I submitted to *IJAL* this week. Because of lost context, the table numbering is a bit incoherent.

A few Achumawi roots are perhaps best thought of as fitting a VC canon; some Achumawi roots of this type to which Atsugewi roots are obviously comparable are shown in Table 4.

*Table 4. A few Achumawi VC roots with Atsugewi cognates*

Achumawi		Atsugewi	
<i>am</i>	eat	<i>yam, wam</i>	eat
<i>is, óós</i>	drink	<i>ij, wij</i>	drink
<i>iṣ</i>	say	<i>iss</i>	say
<i>eś, iwáṣ</i>	sing	<i>iej</i>	sing
<i>ic̣</i>	bite	<i>ic̣<sup>i</sup></i>	bite

In Achumawi, these VC verb roots have limited and highly specialized combinability with other roots. An example is *tímáámááyi* ‘warm food up’ (*ma* ‘heat’ + *ma* ‘eat’ + *y* ‘change state’). Some may best be understood as simply C, as for example *ṣ* ‘speak, say’ in *tiṣcúúci* ‘talk volubly, prattle, chatter’ with *cu* ‘thrust, flow’ and *tiṣlahúúyi* ‘whistle’ with *la* ‘make a line’, *hu* ‘wind blows’, *y* ‘stative’.

Table 7 lists Achumawi CV roots with correlated CV core affixes from Table 6. The Atsugewi forms that seem not to be cognate are in parentheses. More complex affixes from Table 7 are in tables for CVC roots, below.

Table 7. Achumawi CV roots with corresponding Atsugewi affixes

<i>Achumawi</i>		<i>Atsugewi</i>	
<i>ca</i>	‘grasp, use fingers’ ( <i>c</i> ‘do’)	( <i>ci</i> )	hands manipulating
<i>ca</i>	‘air moves; move through air’	<i>ca</i>	‘by wind blowing’
<i>ċa</i>	‘stand upright; move upward’		
<i>ce</i>	‘seeing, using visual modality’	<i>ce</i>	‘eyes’
<i>c<sup>h</sup>i</i>	‘suck, suckle’		
<i>ci</i>	‘being limp, floppy’		
<i>ċi</i>	‘lift, rise, be on top, use feet’ ( <i>ċikkoh</i> ‘feet’)	( <i>ma</i> )	‘feet’
<i>ċwa</i>	‘use teeth’ (possibly stative <i>w</i> )	<i>wi</i>	‘teeth’
<i>iċ</i>	‘bite’ (VC root)	<i>iċ<sup>i</sup></i>	‘bite’
<i>cu</i>	‘thrust, flow, cross over’	<i>cu</i>	‘by water/liquid flowing’
<i>ċu</i>	‘rise, lift, go along with’		
<i>ĥi</i>	‘head (toward), lead, use head’ ( <i>láh</i> ‘head’)		
<i>ĥu</i>	‘wind blows; run’		
<i>ka</i>	‘act collectively, herd, live, be agent’		
<i>ku</i>	‘press, push’		
<i>la</i>	‘move linearly, put in line, make a line, fly’		
<i>li</i>	‘extend hand/arm, reach; carry with’		
<i>lu</i>	‘pull (including gravity);	<i>ru</i>	‘pull with cord, tendon, current’

<i>Achumawi</i>		<i>Atsugewi</i>	
	‘as though pulled’		
<i>ma</i>	‘burn, heat’	<i>miw-</i> <i>mu-</i>	‘by heat, fire’ ‘by one applying heat, fire’
<i>mi</i>	‘go down to surface’	<i>mic-</i> <i>pim</i>	‘down onto the ground’ ‘fall’
<i>na</i>	‘go, travel’		
<i>nu</i>	‘go in, be inside’		
<i>pa</i>	‘fall, drop, place, lose’		
<i>p<sup>h</sup>u</i>	‘puff, blow with lips’	<i>p<sup>h</sup>u-</i> <i>-pu</i>	‘by blowing, spitting’ ‘by mouth pressing, touching’
<i>ps</i>	‘differentiate within a mass’		
<i>qa</i>	‘carry on back, pack’		
<i>sa</i>	‘push, propel’		
<i>sa</i>	‘unable, lacking; indefinite, unmanifest’		
<i>si</i>	‘go quickly, jump’		
<i>su</i>	‘have feeling, sense, discern’ (cp. <i>sun</i> )		
<i>su</i>	‘hurry, rush’		
<i>ta</i>	‘make a line, use implement in linear way’		
<i>te</i>	‘flatten, make broad, be broad’	<i>t</i>	‘planar object’
<i>ti</i>	‘use whole body or inspecific body part, e.g.	<i>ti</i>	‘buttocks’

<i>Achumawi</i>		<i>Atsugewi</i>	
	‘buttocks’		
<i>tu</i>	‘taste’		
<i>tu</i>	‘place upon, emplant’		
<i>tu</i>	‘strike with fist’		
<i>wi</i>	‘contain; be in state’		
<i>yi</i>	‘go into, follow, change state’		

In Achumawi, the CVC forms of roots occur in the main (central) slot of the template, and when those roots occur in the other slots they are resyllabified with vowel loss and epenthesis; there is some evidence of this in Atsugewi.

When CVC roots occur other than in the main (central) slot of the verb stem, they may undergo vowel loss resulting in a CC cluster plus vowel epenthesis to associate one of the two consonants with either a preceding or a following syllable. Such CCV and VCC alternant syllabication forms may be available for all CVC roots. They have been identified in the database for the CVC roots shown in Table 8. One cognate is included from Talmy’s list of instrumental prefixes. In Talmy’s data, Atsugewi roots are not constrained to be monosyllabic. Talmy does not provide a list of root morphemes (those in the central slot). These may be extracted from his field notes and organizational file slips<sup>1</sup> but they are glossed only indirectly, in the glosses of example verbs listed after each, so materials for comparative analysis will have to wait until an Atsugewi database has been developed comparable to the Achumawi database.

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1 At [www.cla.berkeley.edu](http://www.cla.berkeley.edu).

Table 8. Achumawi CVC roots for which resyllabification is attested<sup>2</sup>

<i>Achumawi</i>		<i>Atsugewi</i>	
<i>čáh/čh</i>	‘in liquid’	<i>ičt</i>	‘into liquid’
<i>caw/acw</i>	‘complete, go to limit; perfective’		
<i>čwa</i>	‘use teeth’ (possibly stative <i>w</i> )	<i>wi</i>	‘teeth’
<i>ič</i>	‘bite’	<i>ič<sup>i</sup></i>	‘bite’
<i>h̄aw/h̄w</i>	‘breath, whisper, light weight, agile’		
<i>h̄ay/h̄y</i>	‘constrain’		
<i>k<sup>h</sup>ay/ky</i>	‘up from below’		
<i>k̄il/k̄l</i>	‘sharp bend’		
<i>laq/lq</i>	‘turn backward’		
<i>pah/ph̄</i>	‘move loose stuff off surface’		
<i>p̄ah/p̄h̄</i> <i>p̄as/ps</i>	‘affect eyes, face’		
<i>pic/p̄c̄</i>	‘pinch’		
<i>qah/qh̄</i>	‘knock, bang together, crush’		
<i>q̄at/q̄t</i>	‘approach, compress’		
<i>qay/q̄y</i>	‘scratch, itch’		
<i>saq/sq</i>	‘arrange, delimit, enclose, dream’		

2 The *čwa*, *ič* pair does not fit the CVC/CC pattern, but when *can* ‘individual, severally’ is used to pluralize *iicá* a *w* is preserved: *iicáwcan* ‘teeth’. Radin was fishing for plural morphology. Nouns are ambiguously singular or plural, and an explicit plural would more commonly be *iicá có* ‘teeth’.



Table 9 presents Achumawi CVC roots for which alternant forms have not yet been identified. (Some have an initial *sC* cluster.) Cognate Atsugewi morphemes are listed which Talmy distinguishes as instrumental prefixes (first slot), ‘move/be located’ roots (second slot) and path morphemes (third slot). If the parallel to Achumawi holds, the semantics of instrumentality, movement/location, or eventuality, which Talmy writes in the gloss of each root severally, is a specialization or narrowing of the root’s meaning due to its template location. To preserve these distinctions the second- and third-slot morphemes are also listed in Tables 11 and 12, respectively.

*Table 9. Achumawi CVC roots for which reduction to CCV is not attested, with Atsugewi correlates*

<i>Achumawi</i>		<i>Atsugewi</i>	
<i>cay</i>	‘mix, mingle’		
<i>čaỵ</i>	‘stretch’		
<i>c<sup>h</sup>ip</i>	‘tattoo’		
<i>c<sup>h</sup>oq</i>	‘paint’		
<i>čil</i>	‘seep, dampen’		
<i>hamuḅ</i>	<i>hamuḅ hamuḅ tuci</i> ‘cover quickly’	<i>hmuḅ</i>	‘a cover for a horizontal surface’
<i>hmup̣</i>	<i>ahmúḅmí</i> ‘covering up’		
<i>ḳap</i>	‘shut fast’		
<i>ḳat</i>	‘taper off’		
<i>k<sup>h</sup>at</i>	‘cut, chop’	<i>kat</i>	‘chop’ ( <i>mokat, yokat, yohkat, yo’kat</i> ) ‘cut’ ( <i>ya’at</i> )
<i>ḷaṭ</i>	‘slice, split’		
<i>leḅ</i>	‘flatten, be flat’		
<i>lul</i>	‘roll, be round’		
<i>lup</i>	<i>uulúḅćici</i> ‘sun setting’	<i>lup</i>	‘small shiny spherical object’
<i>maḅ</i>	‘touch, assemble’		

<i>Achumawi</i>		<i>Atsugewi</i>	
<i>meḡ</i>	‘smash a structure’		
<i>mēḡ</i>	‘bend, crumple, wrinkle, fold, crease’	<i>miḡ</i>	‘for a house-like structure to move into a non-integral shape’
<i>miċ</i>	‘blink’		
<i>m̄ul</i>	<i>ticaam̄úúla</i> ‘milk it!’		
<i>pal</i>	‘overturn, flip’		
<i>paĭ</i>	‘float, foam, flood’		
<i>paḡ</i>	‘hit/bounce round object’		
<i>p̄il</i>	‘braid, curl, tangle’		
<i>poq</i>	‘dusty, jumpy, boiling’	<i>puq</i>	‘for dust to move off a surface (into a cloud)’
<i>qac</i>	‘close, lock’		
<i>qap</i>	‘efface’		
<i>qeh</i>	‘form crotch or fork’	<i>caqih</i>	‘leg-set on a creature in open shape’
<i>ḡeq</i>	‘tear’		
		<i>qput</i>	‘dirt-like’
<i>quḡ</i>	‘enclose, sack, bag’		
<i>ḡup</i>	‘break off, prune, snap’		
<i>qus</i>	‘back up to’ ( <i>iqqús</i> ‘back’)		
<i>sċaċ</i>	‘sharp-pointed’	<i>sċaċ</i>	‘for a sharp pointed linear object to move axially with its point into the substance of yielding material’
<i>slaċ</i>	‘drive in, hammer, screw, plug’		

<i>Achumawi</i>		<i>Atsugewi</i>	
<i>s'íaq</i>	‘mushy, mucky, flabby’	<i>s'íaq</i>	‘mucky, mushy, flabby, dough-like’
<i>soq</i>	‘urinate’		
<i>sun</i>	‘have feeling, sense, discern’ (cp. <i>su</i> )		
<i>suy</i>	‘contact, designate’		
<i>ías</i>	‘stretch’		
<i>teh</i>	‘tear’		
<i>teq̣</i>	‘lean against’		
<i>ieq̣</i>	‘stick onto surface; pile flat objects’		
<i>ís</i>	‘shoot, project’ (cp. <i>íís</i> ‘semen’)		
<i>tuḷ</i>	‘foam, suds’		
<i>tup̣</i>	‘rot’		
<i>tuy</i>	‘sting’		
<i>tuỵ</i>	‘be angry’		
<i>wal</i>	‘turn, twist, flap’		
<i>wáy</i>	‘move around, stir, change state’		
<i>yaq̣</i>	‘add onto, stick onto’		
<i>yas</i>	‘be fragile’		
<i>yoq</i>	‘slip, be slick’		
<i>yuí</i> <i>yup̣</i>	‘squish’		

<i>Achumawi</i>		<i>Atsugewi</i>	
<i>wam</i>	‘separate, be several, go into’ <sup>3</sup>		

Table 10 lists roots in CCV form for which CVC forms in the central slot happen not to be attested. One cognate is included from Talmy’s list of instrumental prefixes (but note the additional disparate meanings of *pri* in Table 6).

Table 10. *Achumawi* CVC roots for which only the resyllabified CCV form is attested

<i>Achumawi</i>		<i>Atsugewi</i>	
<i>h̄ca</i>	‘tangle’		
<i>p̄li</i> , <i>p̄la</i>	‘use tongue or mouth’ ( <i>ip̄li</i> ‘tongue’)	<i>pri-</i>	‘with the mouth inward; by taste or smell’
<i>p̄ta</i>	‘protect’		
<i>psi</i> , <i>psa</i>	‘differentiate mass of individuals’		
<i>ski</i>	‘sit, locate, focus upon’		
<i>sqa</i>	‘delimit, arrange, enclose’		
<i>stu</i>	‘go upon, be upon’ (perh. <i>s</i> + <i>tu</i> )		
<i>tke</i>	‘be immediately ready’		

Many other roots have not yet been analyzed. There may be back formations from nouns (which in turn have derivations), e.g. *tikalaqh̄óymíci* ‘fall on elbow/knee’, *qohwáȳ* ‘elbow, knee’, *qah/qh̄* ‘bang together, club, crush’.

Table 11 lists the few *Atsugewi* second-slot ‘move/be located’ roots that I have found in (Talmy 1972: 429-467). If the parallel to *Achumawi* holds, the ‘move/be located’ semantics, which Talmy

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3 A number of morphemes like this express the important semantics of crossing thresholds (out of/into house, into fire, across to neighbor, etc.).

writes in the gloss of each root severally, is a property of the template location. (There is some repetition of Atsugewi forms in Table 9.)

Table 11. Some Atsugewi ‘move/be located’ verb roots with Achumawi cognates

<i>Atsugewi</i>		<i>Achumawi</i>	
<i>swal</i>	‘limp material’		
<i>staq</i>	‘runny, icky material’	<i>staq</i>	‘mucky, mushy, flabby, dough-like’
<i>lup</i>	‘small shiny spherical object’	<i>lup</i>	<i>uulúpćíci</i> ‘sun setting’
<i>hmuṗ</i>	‘a cover for a horizontal surface’	<i>hamuṗ</i> <i>hmuṗ</i>	<i>hamuṗ hamuṗ tuci</i> ‘cover quickly’ <i>ahmúpǰmí</i> ‘covering up’
<i>ṭ</i>	‘planar object’	<i>ṭe</i>	<i>ṭíteqỵíćíwa</i> ‘scrape out (pot)!’ <i>iịtééleq̣q̣ị́ṛ</i> ‘flattening’ ( <i>leq̣</i> ‘flat’)
<i>ṃur</i>	‘for fluid to come out of a biological membranous sack’	<i>ṃul</i>	<i>ticaaṃúúla</i> ‘milk it!’
<i>sc̣aḳ</i>	‘for a sharp pointed linear object to move axially with its point into the substance of yielding material’	<i>sc̣aḳ</i>	<i>isc̣aaḳị́ṛ</i> ‘sharp-pointed’ <i>ḷáṣcaake</i> ‘arrow’ <i>tiḷáṣcake</i> ‘pick teeth’
<i>puq</i>	‘for dust to move off a surface (into a cloud)’	<i>poq</i>	‘dusty, turbulent, jumpy’
<i>miq̣</i>	‘for a house-like structure to move into a non-integral shape’	<i>ṃẹq̣</i>	‘bend, fold, crease, wrinkle, crumple’
<i>caqih</i>	‘leg-set on a creature in open shape’	<i>qeh</i>	‘form a crotch or fork’
<i>qput</i>	‘dirt-like’		

Table 12 lists a few examples of morphemes that Talmy (1972) identifies with the Path slot of the Atsugewi template.

Table 12. Some Atsugewi Path morphemes with Achumawi cognates

<i>Atsugewi</i>		<i>Achumawi</i>	
<i>ičt</i>	into liquid	<i>čah/čh</i>	in or into liquid (including mud)
<i>wam</i>	down into container	<i>wam</i>	separating, severally, going into
<i>wamm</i>	into circumscribed area	<i>wam + im</i>	going into + down/thither
<i>mič</i>	down to/into surface	<i>im/mi/m</i>	down to/into surface