

Achumawi Database

Summary of May 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/>

1. Expanding the project
2. Subclasses of roots
3. wá / óó and accidents
4. *ínt^hééyóóqi* 'feeling sorry, sad'

1. **Expanding the project.** A good deal of time this month has gone into writing and revising the “Description” section of a DEL proposal for submission in September. This is posted at <https://zelligharris.org/Achumawi/d.Description.pdf> for those in this limited distribution who would like to look at it. I am proposing an extension of the project to support a linguistics student working with Leonard Talmy to get all of his field record into an Atsugewi database comparable to our Achumawi database, in addition to completing the Achumawi analysis and producing a grammar, texts, and dictionary. No pressure! But activists in the ILN are expected to take over more of the work of producing pedagogical materials and activities drawing on the DB. Already, this requires less of my time and energy.

2. **Subclasses of roots.** A brief review first, for context. The basic verb stem template for Achumawi is currently understood as:

Periphery	By doing X	Do Y	While doing Z	Periphery
	CV	CVC	CV	

This template has been useful for sorting out the distributional ranges of Achumawi verb roots, and it gives a general sense of the construction of Achumawi verb stems. Important matters are relegated to the ‘periphery’. In the left periphery are the pronominal prefixes, the intensive/iterative *n-*, a *w-* prefix that (suwááśá ‘I sang’ sóósá ‘I drank’) and perhaps a *y-*

It provides three template locations or ‘slots’. Each slot has a distinctive semantic contribution to the meaning of the stem; or to put it another way, the semantic range of (the English gloss for) a given morpheme changes depending upon its location in the template. Omitting some detail, a stem with fewer than three roots leaves one or two slots empty; the central slot is always filled, and if a CVC root is present it goes there. Additional complexity in the ‘periphery’ is not considered here. The two examples below have roots in all three slots:

1. *wacasputćíci* ‘hand or wind tore the top off’
2. *wacasputćúci* ‘hand or wind uprooted it, tore it up by the roots’

Table 3. Two examples illustrating the Achumawi verb template

Periphery	By doing X	Do Y	While doing Z	Periphery
<i>wa-</i> ‘3 rd person’	<i>ca</i> ‘grasp’	<i>spút</i> ‘pluck’	<i>ćí</i> ‘be upon, on top’	<i>c -i</i> ‘do’
<i>wa-</i> ‘3 rd person’	<i>ca</i> ‘grasp’	<i>spút</i> ‘pluck’	<i>ćú</i> ‘lift, rise, move upward’	<i>c -i</i> ‘do’

In the approach which has become familiar in the literature, the morpheme *ca* in the first slot might well be classed an instrumental prefix and glossed “with the hand”. However, morphemes that occur in the first slot, even those like *ca* which seem most ‘instrumental’, can also occur as the main root of a verb: *icááci* “grasping, holding”; and we can say not only e.g. *sacaatásci* “I shake it out” but also *tas tas sacááci* “I smooth it, stretch out wrinkles”.

In the third slot, the morphemes *ćí* and *ćú* have ‘traditionally’ been considered direction/location suffixes, but they can also occur in the central slot as the main root, e.g. *ćí* in *sayyi yááćiitánki* “falling star” (with *tán* “down from above” and *k* “hither”), in *sááćiimí* “I fell” (with *m* “down to surface”), and *saáćiimiiyáámí* “I made it fall”; likewise e.g. *ćú* “lift, rise”, in *kip kip tićuumí* “skip”, and an allomorph of *ćú* in *tóóći* “build” (e.g. lifting the members of a permanent winter house, vs. *tánámmáqci* “put together” a temporary summer shelter with *maq* ‘touch, assemble’).

Even what seemed to be a directional *im, mi* “down to surface” can be the main root: *wamíći* “it’s on the ground”, *wamíćcaswaci* “it’s loaded down” (i.e. of a tree with fruit to the point of branches near breaking; *s* ‘indefinite’, *waci* the *c* auxiliary with stative 3rd person *w-*).

What carries the semantics of instrumentality is not a class of morphemes, the instrumental prefixes; it is a property of the first slot position, whichever root falls there. In e.g. *saciiqáali* “I kick it” *qal* “hit” is the main root and *ćí* ‘upon, atop’ has the appearance of an instrumental prefix ‘with the foot/feet’ (feet being what we stand upon and what places us atop things).

Hitherto, every root has been classed as Vroot. Now that this much is clear, I am starting the process of subclassifying the roots According to their privileges of occurrence and some aspects of morphophonemics.

R = CVC roots which occur only in slot 2 (the main slot).

Rcc = CVC roots that are reduced to CC when they occur other than in slot 2.

R2 = CV roots that occur in slot 1 or 3, or in slot 2 in the absence of R.

Rp = roots that occur in the near periphery.

This will make it easier to sort and analyze roots of each type.

Lexicon		Entries			
Lexicon Edit		Headword	Lexeme Form	Glosses	Grammatical Inf.
Browse		Show All	Show All	Show All	Vroot
Dictionary		allu	allu	hungry	Vroot
Collect Words				hungry	Adjective
Classified Dictionary		ám	ám	eat	Vroot
Bulk Edit Entries		asya	asya	cooperate	Vroot
Reversal Indexes		e	e	do	Vroot
Bulk Edit Reversal Entries		é	é	bite	Vroot
		e'ca	e'ca	interlace	Vroot
		haw	haw	light (weight); agile	Rcc
		háw	háw	constrain	Rcc
		hé	hé	tangle	Vroot
		hi	hi	use head	Vroot
				head toward	Vroot
				lead	Vroot
				put head on	Vroot
		hlup	hlup	strip loose	Vroot
				strip off	Vroot

This process has only begun. Other work cleaning up the lexicon proceeds with it.

3. wá / óó and accidents.

I bit off more than I could chew this month, embarking on a chase after some of the morphology in the left periphery between the pronominal prefixes and roots in the verb stem template. Not too much is yet ready to report. This investigation started with glosses that say something happened ‘by accident’. For years, I’ve puzzled over this. There was no obvious morpheme that meant ‘accidental’. So I decided to pull together the examples with “accident” in the gloss. This set stood out right away:

<i>sinaaqístumi</i>	‘I step on it accidentally’	<i>sawaaqístumi</i>	‘I step on it’
<i>ckyáása, yáása</i>	‘he sang’	<i>ckyáwáása</i>	‘he sang hard/purposefully’

Aha! If *wa* means ‘purposeful’, is everything without *wa* accidental? Going back to the set of “accidental” glosses was discouraging. There are twice as many examples with intensive/iterative *n-* marking the ‘accidental’ forms and no ‘purposeful’ *wa* (still a very small example set):

	Accidental		Purposeful
<i>n-</i>			
<i>síncuuq^hóóqátí</i>	I accidentally punched a hole	<i>ticuuq^hóóqá</i>	punch a hole in it!
<i>sinkúuyááqátí</i>	I accidentally Bumped it w/ s.t.		
<i>sincačíláyílaqci</i>	I accidentally twist it in two	<i>sakučíláyílaqci</i>	I twist with hand pressure
<i>tykwíntuutíisi</i>	he accidentally shot him	<i>sátuutíisi</i>	I shot him

Worse, here is a contrary example with *n-* on the ‘purposeful’ side:

	Accidental		Purposeful
<i>tilíqaci</i>	meet by accident	<i>tínalííqaaci</i>	meet, encounter

Others are even less clear.

	Accidental		Purposeful
<i>y- / e-</i>			
<i>sémáálíni</i>	I accidentally hit him	<i>támmááli</i>	hit (with something)
<i>wíluutuupí</i>	pulls weeds all the time/accidentally	<i>wáluutuúpí</i>	pulls weeds
<i>sálúúmáymí</i>	I accidentally spill	<i>sálúúmáámí; sálúúmámčí</i>	pour; spill nuts
<i>sl’úúčíyáq</i>	I might accidentally hit one		

Two of these might involve the *y- / e-* morphemes, which are somewhat parallel to *wa / o-*, and the third has *y* in the right periphery rather than the left periphery. All of this is so far quite inconclusive.

After some discouragement, I returned to the verbs with *wá* after the pronominal prefixes. In many verbs, *wá* and *ó* alternate:

<i>tóosiimi</i>	‘go out hunting’	<i>sáwaasiimí</i>	‘I go hunting’	<i>lhóosicka</i>	I hunt you ¹
<i>tóóqístumi</i>	‘step on something’	<i>sawaaqístumi</i>	‘I step on it’	<i>lhooqístumá</i>	I step on you
<i>tóóqícci</i>	‘step over’	<i>sawaaqícci</i>	‘I step over it’	<i>lhooqícci</i>	I step over you

To discern its semantic contribution, I found some verbs with and without a preceding *wá*.

		wa	‘intentional, for a purpose’
<i>yátwi</i>	‘he kills’	<i>yáwatwa</i>	‘murderer’
<i>ckyáása</i>	‘he sang’	<i>ckyáwáása</i>	‘he sang hard’
<i>táálooqí²</i>	‘peel’	<i>táwaalooqí</i>	‘peel bark off tree’
<i>saak^hááti</i>	‘I’m dead (cut off)’	<i>sánwaak^hááti</i>	‘I cut it (with a blade)’
<i>sáápá</i>	‘I throw’	<i>siwáápá</i>	‘I throw and hit’

1 With the directional *m* ‘thither’ this would be *lhóosiimicka*. *Lhóosiimi* ‘we go hunting’ has the alternate gloss ‘I hunt you, especially with volitional *-a* in *lhóosiimá* ‘I hunt you’. Conversely, the explicit 2nd person patient *-icka* may be avoided when cumbersome, as in *lhóóqístumicka* ‘I step on you’, *lhóóqíccicka* ‘I step over you’. There may be some pitch changes here that I’ve missed.

2 Incidental peeling; *yáálooqí* ‘it’s easy to peel’, *witáálooqí* ‘he’s peeling it’.

In the last two examples, *siwálléq̄q̄í* and *siwálléq̄mící*, a prior purpose is restored (the cover is supposed to be on, so put it back on).

		wa	'intentional, for a purpose'
<i>sááléq̄mící</i>	'I put it down'	<i>siwálléq̄mící</i>	'I put the cover back down'
<i>sááleq̄q̄í</i>	'I covered it'	<i>siwálléq̄q̄í</i>	'I covered it back up' (not supposed to be open)

A supposition from this is that the class of verbs with initial *tóó-* and *sáwá-* express a particular exercise of will, intention, or purpose, whether or not a corresponding verb with *tí-* / *si-* or *ta-* / *sá-* can be found in the database. Thus, for example, there are no trivial or purposeless dreams (*tóósáq̄cámi*, *sáwaasáq̄cámi*). This remains to be followed up.

The differentiation of *siśí* 'I said'; *suwáásá* 'I sang'; *sóósá* 'I drank' will be interesting to figure out.

4. *ínt^hééyóóq̄í* 'feeling sorry, sad'

The *yóq* root appears reduplicated in *yóqyooq̄í* 'smooth, slick', and in

- *tícuuyóóq̄í* 'ironing'
- *tíluúyóóq̄í* 'pluck feathers', *íluúyóóq̄aké'* 'plucked'
- *silúúyóóq̄umá* 'he's pulling my hair'

There's a similar root, *ýoq*, with glottalized *y* and low pitch:

- *tílí'ýooq̄í* 'stir, thresh (grains)'
- *tá lí'ýooq̄é* 'rake, stirrer, thresher'

This seems to be a metaphor on the 'pluck, pull hair out' meaning, where *li* 'extend hand/arm' might be a pointing finger:

- *silíyóóq̄umá* 'he scolded me, he bawled me out'

Back to *ínt^hééyóóq̄í* 'feeling sorry, sad'. The *t^hi* - *t^he* - *t^ha* family of roots generally has to do with making noise, hearing, and obeying. Seems like it more specifically means feeling sorry about something you heard, or after being chewed out.