Achumawi Database

Summary of March 2024 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 reporting a couple of days early, the evening of 3/29, because I will be traveling home from California tomorrow and the next day. As usual, I've moved some notes into the report for next month, in hope that I will be able to make them presentable then.

Development of the Atsugewi database has taken an important step with conversations that Paul, Connor, Lisa, and I have had with Len Talmy, enabling us to move forward much more freely in collaboration with him largely by telephone and email. The two languages appear to be more different from each other than I had thought. My description at SSILA claiming that their verb templates had parallel structure was mistaken, based on a misreading of Len's dissertation. Atsugewi appears to be more like Shasta than Achumawi.

There's a new and easier keyboard, easier in that you won't have to switch keyboards to alternate between typing English and Achumawi (or Atsugewi).

The sections in this report are

1. *Amqʰá*
2. *Icóócíínóo*
3. *Ánca*

1   Amqʰá

In my summary for February, to illustrate analysis of sentence-forms and adjunct-forms I offered a preliminary analysis this example (LR: From the Moon to the Earth:1.1.):

1.

qa D	*qa* N	V	*qa* N *wi*	N	| pro	*wáté* ptcp	| V
qa pálṁas	*qa tííɋaati*	*wacíʾ*	*qá mááɦíẏ ca wí*	*ċul,*	| *amqʰá* *wáté*	*icóócíínóo*	| *sticákasasẇacínóo.*
At first	the territory	was	the moon		| aforesaid at	doing/being	| he would shepherd us

There are two core sentences, *qa tííɋaati wacíʾ qá ċul* 'the territory was the moon' and *sticákasasẇacínóo* 'he would shepherd us'. The phrase *amqʰá wáté icóócíínóo* links them. As far as I analyzed it in February, this linking is done by the word *amqʰá*. I classified *amqʰá* 'the aforesaid' as a pro-form, the class of referential words that includes pronouns.

A pro-form stands for something said nearby (*pro* = 'for'), and in traditional grammar is said to 'refer' to it. It is a convenient abbreviation for repeating what is said in full elsewhere (or understood as though it had been said), together with a metalinguistic assertion that the two are existentially the

same. The magic of 'referring' is due to abbreviating the semantics of repetition and sameness in a single word.

However, *amqʰá* not only functions as a pronoun, it also functions as a conjunction linking two sentences. The first syllable *am-* appears to be an allomorph of *ma* 'and'. A frequent pronunciation is *mqʰá* with a syllabic *m* and when an initial vowel is heard it usually is a schwa, as you can hear in this sound file. The second syllable is the demonstrative pronoun *qʰá* 'that, that one', of which I will say more below. It refers to something in the first sentence, whence the gloss 'the aforesaid'. It is ambiguous but probably best refers to *ċul*, rather than to *tííɋaati*, though it really doesn't matter semantically since *wacíˀ* identifies one with the other.

Thus, a*mqʰá* has the same form as an English relative pronoun, which combines a conjunction *wh-* (taken to be an allomorph of *and*) and a pronoun, e.g. the *-ich* of *which*, the *-o* of *who*, etc. As we shall see, the resemblance is incomplete, but on this account I have used 'where' in the translation of this updated analysis:

1b.
qa D	*qa* N	V	*qa* N		C		pro	*wáté*	ptcp	V
qa pálm̓as	*qa tííɋaati*	*wacíˀ*	*qá*	*mááh̓í́ý ca wí ċul,*	|	*am*	|	*qʰá*	*wáté*	*icóóċíínóo*	*sticákasasẇacínóo.*
At first	the territory	was	the moon		|	and	|	that	at	doing/being	he would shepherd us

At first, the territory was the moon, where being active he would shepherd us.

The adjuncts *qa pálm̓as*, *mááh̓íý ca wí*, and *icóóċíínóo* were discussed in February. Excising them, we see:

1c.
qa N	V	*qa* N		C		pro	*wáté*	V
qa tííɋaati	*wacíˀ*	*qá*	*ċul,*	|	*am*	|	*qʰá*	*wáté*	*sticákasasẇacínóo.*
the territory	was	the moon		|	and	|	that	at	he would shepherd us

The territory was the moon, and there he would shepherd us.

The pro-form *qʰá*, which occurs as the second syllable of *amqʰá*, has several alternate forms: *qʰá, qʰahé, qʰahé, qʰehé, qhé* 'that, that one, that there, there, there yonder' with different degrees of emphasis. It occurs in a number of phrases and compounds, most frequently in the *qʰá* form, less frequently as *qʰé*:

qʰé wáté	in that place (cp. *amqʰá wáté*, above)
qʰaẏmi	right there
qʰaẏhé	right there
qʰahé, qhé	that one yonder
qʰé m̓im	just that
qʰaẏ tim, qʰé tim	same place again
qʰááwa, qʰáwwa	some, some of them
qʰé wa	with that, by that means
qʰaawéél̓a	in some places
qʰállí	whatsoever
pi qʰá	this there, this as mentioned
qʰé yá	that, those
qʰé yámá ẇiýí	she's right there!

qʰé ánca   him alone

The quantifiers *qʰaṁ* 'many, much' and *qʰammim* 'many individuals', may be related. (For *mim* compare *it mim* 'I myself', *hak̇ mim* 'just two, a pair, two of them', *tóólol mim* 'all of them', *ḣaw ḣaw tiṡi mim watʰééwini* 'he could hear even a whisper', *lohq̇á mim yánawááyí* 'he uses any old stick for a cane'.)

Other details:

- There may be an etymological (historical) relationship between *ma* 'and' and *ma* 'look, see, find', or possibly *ma ~ pa* 'throw, put, drop, lose'.

- The sentence-adjunct *qa pálṁas* and the noun-adjunct *mááḣíẏ ca wí* were explained last month. In appropriate context, even without that adjunct the noun *ċul* 'sun' can refer to the moon.

- *Mááḣíẏ ca wí* 'night-dwelling' can be analyzed further into centers and adjuncts, with *ca wí* in a gray area of enclitic postpositions, not quite suffixes, not quite free-standing words, and the stative root *íẏ* currently treated as a suffix.

- The gerund *icóóciinóo* has *-ín* past tense, in keeping with the temporal location for the sentence as a whole. The volitional *-a* or *-óo* occurs frequently other than in an imperative, emphasizing intentionality. Further analysis of those details is in a later section below. It is ambiguous, but neither the free translation nor the English retelling supports reading the subject as *s-* 'we'. The probable reading is 'he having been doing [things] there'. *Kwán* 'silver fox' is probably the 3rd-person subject, rather than Creator (*qa hééwíísí* or *Apóónikaha*), given his role in sentence 11 and in the subsequent story about re-creating a world on earth.

This example is sentence 2.3 from the text LR: Deer Man:

2. *tittʰimyi | ma | we   lóqṁi   ánca,   ma   úúlóqṁa   wíccí   am qʰá   ẇitúútaamátẏa.*
   V | C | D   D   Pro   C   D   V   C   Pro   V
   hired | and | so/then next day he   and   in evening resembles and that one available for work
   'Then they hired him, and so next day and getting on toward evening he was ready to work for hire.'

In the preceding sentence, one of a party of hunters gives the old man the contractual tobacco and says "I'll hire you if you'll tell us where to find deer".

There are actually three core sentences here. The first core sentence is the 3rd-person subordinate verb *tittʰimyi* 'hired him'. Then *ẇitúútaamátẏa* 'he was ready to work' occurs twice, but the first occurrence is unspoken because in context it contributes no additional information. It is reduced to zero phonemic content, but still understood to be present.[1] She starts to say *we lóqṁi ánca ẇitúútaamátẏa* 'so the next day he was ready to work', but before pronouncing the sentential verb she interrupts with the refinement *ma úúlóqṁa wíccí* 'and it was becoming evening'. Undoing that reduction, the more explicit form of the sentence is

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1   It is well established that we already have to have zero allomorphs, e.g. the plural of *sheep* in English. Extending that more broadly on the basis of low information makes for a simpler and more regular grammar.

2b.

we	lóqṁi	ánca	[ẇitúútaamátẏa],	ǀ ma	ǀ úúlóqṁa	wíccí	ǀ am	ǀqʰá	ẇitúútaamátẏa.
D	D	Pro	[V]	ǀ C	ǀ D	V	ǀ C	ǀPro	V
so/then	next day	he	[was ready]	ǀ and	ǀ in evening	resembles	ǀ and	ǀthat one	was ready

'Then they hired him, and so next day [he was ready] and getting on toward evening he was ready.'

A free-standing pronoun may be used in addition to the pronominal prefix for mere emphasis, but the effect of emphasizing some particular third person can be similar to the 'switch reference' phenomenon described in other languages. Here, *ánca* is an alert that the subject of *ẇitúútaamátẏa* is the old man, not the hunter who hired him. Then in the last conjunct the second pronoun *amqʰá* has its more basic meaning 'and that one' rather than functioning like a relative pronoun. It refers back to *ánca* in the immediately preceding conjunct. This is not a misstatement followed by a repair, because she needed to say both that it was the next day and that it was late in the day.

Details:

- I have omitted *má ánca we* before the first word *tittʰimyi*. This is a common filler, which I usually glossed 'and then'.

- The second conjunct sentence begins with *we*, an interjection with an inceptive nuance: *we İhúpta* 'OK, let's go!', *we ḣaẏ İúw* 'let me think!', *amqʰáwa we tyuwisayáámííní* 'well, he got tired of that'.

- *Lóqṁi* 'next day' is glossed 'tomorrow' in many contexts; its relationship to *úúlóqṁa* 'evening' is still obscure.

- The phrase N *wíccí* 'resembles N, approximates N' usually occurs with a final glottal stop, suggesting that the word is *wíccíẏ*, with *c* 'do' and stative *ẏ*. This generalization still needs to be tested.

LR: Bear Doctor cures a thief begins "Long ago, the people used to doctor." In sentence 2, *amqʰá* refers to that temporal and cultural context. The conjunction here is audible as comma intonation.

3.

am ǀqʰá	tyíícííní	haṁís	píláyuucóóluucan	ǀ, ǀ	tyanawámmííní	qa wiyáácáálu ú	támmi kúcí.
C ǀPro	V	A	N		C V	A	N
Then	was	one	young man	,	he stole	an old woman's	food

Telling the story to a less ignorant person, she would presumably have omitted the first sentence, *amqʰá*, and the conjoining with comma intonation, so that the story would have begun with *haṁís píláyuucóóluucan tyanawámmííní qa wiyáácáálu ú támmi kúcí*.

As always, analysis sometimes leads to further rectification. In (LR: Bear Doctor cures a thief: 4) I had written … *tinímmááci qa ticéptasẇaci qa qʰé qa píláyuucóólu cʰú sa aṁá ticci*. Checking the audio for intonation and rhythm, to verify the phrasing, I corrected *qa ticéptasẇaci*, which made no sense ("he saw the watching"?) to the conjoined sentence *ma ticéptasẇaci* …; and a slight drop in pitch and intensity, verified with Praat, led to correcting *qa píláyuucóólu cʰú sa aṁá ticci* ("") to the 'possessive' *qa píláyuucóólu u cʰú sa aṁá ticci* , again much more sensible. Here is the analysis of sentence 4:

4. C   Pro *ka*   Art N   *ka*   Pro   V

am qʰá kam qá aaq̇u   ʼka [qʰahé   tinímmááci],
and that agent the mountain agent [that one he saw]
And that mountain,

C Pro *ka*   Art N   *ka*   Pro   V
am qʰá kam qá aaṗóóha   ka   qʰahé   tinímmááci
and that agent the Burney Mountain agent that one he saw
and that Burney Mountain saw that fellow

C V   Art Pro Art N   *u* Pro post D   V
ma ticéṗasẃaci qa qʰé qa pĺáyuucóólu u cʰú sa   aaṁá ticci .
and watched   the that the young man   's pro indef but   he did
and watched whatever that young man did.

The status of *aaṁá* needs some work. Here, I've labeled it an adverb D, but in other instances it is glossed 'but'. De Ángulo glosses it 'always, ever'. Here are some examples illustrating a sense of closure, delimiting the complete set of possibilities for the referent.

ṫáqʰá tím aaṁá tsiẏí séét ʰuukí	I might not come back again at all.
amúúyá aaṁá	all mud, muddy, just mud
cʰú sa aaṁá ó mlís	let her say whatever [she wants]
ṫé wiśí aaṁá tkiẏí	you're the kind that talks that way
haṁis pá aaṁá	one at a time (*haṁis pá* another, *pá* indeed)
tínááta, má ánca qʰe qa ẏalyú aaṁá	And just that one man went. (He went, and he just that one man.)
aaṁá hák̇íl pʰitúúwí wíc ẏééwa	for something like two whole years
aaṁá cʰúúṫac	whenever
tʰúśýí aaṁá	just good ones, all good ones
styínsúúnééḣínóo aaṁá	they watched us all the time
ẏályú aaṁá ẃiccíẏ	mostly young men
stúúṁááta yá aaṁá	just let me sleep!

In sentence 7.2 of "LR: The first white men in GV" *amqʰá* seems best translated 'among them', referring to the 'young men' mentioned in sentence 7.1 of that text as follows:

5. *qʰaṁ wíccíʼ   ẃinííyaakíní, ẏályú   aaṁá wíccíʼ.*
   quant V   V   N
   many resembles came   young man only resembles
   A few more came, young men mostly.

hamís	*yályú*	*pə́ə́ni*	*íliiq̓aatáké'*	*am*	*qʰa*	*yíẏ.*
quant	N	name	ptcp	C	Pro	V
one	young man	Burney	designated		among them	he was

One young man named Burney was one of them.

The stative root *ẏ* functioning as copula usually has the stative/habitual *w-* as the 3rd person pronoun, but this is an ephemeral condition so we see *yíẏ*.

2. icóócíínóo

The past-tense participle *icóócíínóo* in the first example above (in the phrase *amqʰá wáté icóócíínóo*) is an unusual construction. It seems to begin with the nonsingular imperative *ic-*, as in *icupté!* 'go!' (dual or plural). At the end are *-ín* 'past tense' and *-óo* an imperative suffix. The stem *-óóc-* is *the* combination of *c* with *uwá*, a stative morpheme related to the copula *uw* which occurs with adjectives. This *-óóc-* alternates with *-uwáác-*, just as *c* 'do' sometimes is glossed as 'be', as though in alternation with *uw* 'be'. Examples: *cʰú stuwááci kúcí* 'what should I do?' (also: *cʰú stuwá tuci kúcí*), *cʰú ṁóóci kúcí* 'what should you do?', *cʰú tuwááci kúcí* 'what should he do?'. I have not looked into the conditions for the alternation. It is the same apparently stative alternation that we see in *e.g. tóósáqcami* 'dream', *sáwasáqcami* 'I dreamt'.

It can have a sense of approximation or incompletion:
ẏáncittásċíci 'he crawled to the top'
ẏáncittásċícoocí 'he crawled almost to the top'
yáálúpċici qá ċul 'the sun is touching upon the top' (it's sundown)
yáálúpċicoocí qá ċul 'the sun is almost touching' (it's getting late, almost sundown)

In *-icóóc-* the first *c* may be in the 'be' sense, followed by the auxiliary *c* 'do'. The 'future volitional' *ca* is another specialization which can follow even *-icóóc-*, e.g.: *cʰééwa slhicóócíica.* 'in what way can they do anything to me'

3. Ánca

Ánca 'so, thus, then' occurs rarely alone, and very frequently in the phrase *má ánca* 'and so, and then'. Its analysis is still unclear. It probably is a referential somewhat similar to *amqʰá*, so that *má ánca* has the meaning 'and relative to the aforesaid'.

Below are all the occurrences in the DB other than in the *má ánca* construction.[2]

Glossed 'just now', so perhaps signifying interruption of what had come before:

Lééċiitá ánca sinímmáácí. 'I see a magpie'

Pálṁas ánca sóótʰééwí. 'Now I hear it'

Glossed 'likewise', referring to the object of comparison:

ánúúkʰééwi ó tissi tíími ánca tyánuwí qa tístí "The proper (stories) are the same as talk descended from the High One."

Glossed 'only, particularly', contrasting with overt or implied prior context:

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2   Sometimes shortened to *m ánca*. Though it functions as a unit, the syllable canon prohibits a long vowel before a consonant cluster, so *máánca* must be two words, not one.

íssi wa ánca tilaháámíc kú tyánuwí ẖeẁ tuci kú tucci tyánuwí. "It's (about) talking business in the indigenous way, it's (a matter of) not forgetting."

pi ánca tʰúsẏí ẏuwí "This is a good one."

kʰéstam qa pʰííẁa we húkẏé pá we mów ánca. "That's all finished here, now over there oh you've done it! (oh you fixed it!)."

aa cʰútika woy woy, wé ánca mliiléẹ̇. (Song.) 'Oh ground squirrel, sob, sob, now thus she's going to conserve (the food)."

tittʰimyi ma we lóqṁi ánca, ma úúlóqṁa wíccí amqʰá ẁitúútaamátẏa. 'Then they hired him, and so next day pretty early in the evening (he was ready to) lend/work for hire."

qʰé ánca íyáwwawẏacóo qʰé ánca. 'Just to him you two give (meat), only to him.'

lóqmi ánca ml̇itawáẏ qa támmi kúci. "Tomorrow I'm going to look for food." (*ml̇itawáẏ kúci*, not *támmi kú*.)

qʰé mów ánca qá maaqíċ waacuċcí. "That seems to be smoke rising."

ís tuccóómé' ánca. "That's not for Indians."