Achumawi Database

Summary of work during July 2024

You can download the current Achumawi backup from

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

I have updated the webonary at

- https://www.webonary.org/odissi/

This month I submitted a year-end report as mandated by NSF, and I have begun preparing an abstract for SSILA in January. The SSILA meeting will be entirely by Zoom, due to the difficult funding arrangements for a joint meeting with the LSA. I have completed the triage syntactic analysis of the story 'Father Finds the Deer' and will proceed to the next story in the database. A two-week hiatus for a family gathering in South Dakota presented some interruptions.

The sections in this report are

1. Syntactic Triage
2. Periphrastic construction with *c*
3. More on a*mqʰá*
4. Verbs as arguments of higher-order verbs
5. New construction with *wa* as argument indicator
6. Paul and Lisa's report on language learning and on the Atsugewi database

1. Syntactic triage

The syntactic triage continues in the spreadsheet file +Adjuncts.ods. I finished working through the story 'How my father found the deer'.

2. Periphrastic construction with *c*

Here are some examples of a periphrastic construction with *c*.

1.2	*wíiyúmci twicííní. amqʰáákam … l̇áásac̣ tuci.*	There was one lived with us. That one … was happy.
		[Stative *w-* as English relative clause: one who lived with us]
3.34.	*amqʰá twicííní*	Thus it was
	qá ittʰú wayi̇́ wíl̇óo qá yassíy̆ kam ploq̇ ploq̇ w̆aakʰaykíní qá aḣti.	while my late father sang blood spurted up
3.36.	*qa ḣuṁééw̆aka tcwáácííní cwanúúmáámíní*	the little snake it was [who] was burned within [its mouth]
3.37.	*amqʰá tyáácííní qá ittʰú wayi̇́ wíl̇óo cwincuukʰaykíní qá aḣti, qa qʰé ú*	That one it was my late father vomited blood, that [snake]'s vomit indeed.
	ticuukʰayki ya.	[blood spurting from mouth: V = 'intensive flow up from below'.]
3.52	*amqʰáákam qá piqʰá qá ḣuuṁééw̆aka qá tíq̇q̇aati ílaṁúsc̣umr̆*	In contrast to [others' fear] the little snake which burrows in the earth
	amqʰáka twáácíní tyáániiníní qa tóósi.	that one it was who brought back the deer.
3.53	*ma ánca we twaacííní we sl̇hínéémííníumá qa tóósi.*	And then/thus it was we ate deer [meat] again.

1.2	*wíiyúmci twicííní.*	There was one [who] lived with us.
3.38.	*mám cwaasííní, tííq̇áálaki wíc wisuncííní qa winaasúúcíní we.*	And he said, it felt like the one holding it carried it back.
3.44.	*waasííní qá assí kam, ikʰim yáásííní, má ánca twaacííní wíntámmaakí.*	He sang, the one singing, just sang, and it was he [who] narrated
3.50.	*má ánca qa qʰé qá ímmaatánmír̆,*	Those looking down into the house,
	qa witúw̆áá̇yr̆ ímmaatánmí,	the searchers looking down in,
	amqʰá palá' qa hatáácí ituuṫís kúcí tyáácííní qa qʰé qa y̆ályú ka	of them that man already was going to shoot the heart,
	qa icépṫaswací ,	the one guarding,
	qa w̆ísamáálíy̆ qa tóósi u cíw̆ci.	who would never surrender the deer bones.

2. More on amqʰá

Amqʰá might be glossed 'speaking of that; saying more about that'. The pronoun *qʰá* identifies a continued topic. I am revisiting the list of lexicon entries that I posted in my update for February this year.

- *amqʰá* 'that (one), for that reason, thus, that's why, therefore, so, but, or else …' (*amqʰá 'ú ty̓ánuwí* 'it was his)

Adding *ka* says that the topic referenced by *qʰa* is agentive in what follows.

- *amqʰááka* 'in that way, therefore, but'

The long *aa* and voiceless plain *k* is as expected, since long *aa* occurs before *wa* and *wáté*

- *amqʰááwa* (*amqʰá wa*) 'by means of the same; that's why'
- *amqʰááwáté* (*amqʰá wáté*) 'located as mentioned; while'; in that way; because'

However, this also occurs with short *a* and voiced *k*.

- *amqʰáka* 'same as mentioned (agent)'

Except for *wa*, each of these can occur with *m*

- amqʰákam 'thence'
- amqʰáákam 'thence from that mentioned (agent); however'
- amqʰááwátém 'nevertheless; but'

That final *m* could be the familiar 'thither; down to' root. It occurs after a number of other word-final morphemes with a localizing sense, for example after possessive *u* in e.g. *Céémul 'um* 'Coyote's place, Coyote's side', etc. and after *ka* in

3.34.   *amqʰá twicííní*   Thus it was

      q̓á ittʰú way̓í wílóo q̓á yassíy̓ kam ploq̓ ploq̓ ẇaakʰaykíní q̓á aḣti.   while my late father sang blood spurted up

Amqʰááka 'consequently'

Amqʰááka	Example	Gloss
Consequently	*cʰééwa, cʰéẏé smóóci kúci ckwapsíwci qa kwán,*	How, where might I do, thought Fox,
	amqʰááka ckyááśá, títayaḣcátí ẁa ckyáwáása.	so he sang, he sang to find out.
	amqʰááka ckyááśá tíntámmaakúyaké ẁa ḣaẏ tucóo;	So he sang to tell himself "Think!
	slínálííqaací ckwapsíw.	Would that I would encounter someone!" he thought.
	ticỉlwílmíícámé' twiẏí tyíísííní qa kwán.	"They're troublemakers" said Fox.
	amqʰááka qa tinísĺícóciká m̀á sẏiicínnímááci ckiśí.	So they might do something to us again if they find us, he said
	laṫtáwciẏ ka amqʰááka aawátca ṫé iicí' tsííwáátuma, ckwapsíwci	Pittville people, only those would do that way to me, he thought.

Amqʰáka 'that one, those'

Amqʰáka	Example	Gloss
	amqʰáka twáácíní tyáániiníní qa tóósi.	that one it was went to the deer.
	ṫáqʰápá tyatẁiini ham̀ís tóósi, ṫáqʰá tyuqqáálaamíní.	again he killed one deer, again he packed it down.
	amqʰáka tʰús ma ĺáásaċ ṫáqʰápá pálm̀as ánca mów stííĺac	That one good & happy "this time it might be they will share with me"
	kúcumá tywapsíwcíní.	he thought
	amqʰá walípċuumíní. amqʰáka ẁísanaaẏííní.	That one he sent out, that one looked for them.
		[Nice contrast of *ka* 'agentive'. as if a case ending.]
	… qá piqʰá qá ḣuum̀ééẁaka qá tíq̇qaati ílam̀úsċumí'	… this little burrowing snake
	amqʰáka twáácíní tyáániiníní qa tóósi.	that one it was went to the deer.
	salííyaacíní ẁisuntʰótké ka,	I observed closely as one able to understand,
	amqʰáka cyóócíní síntʰéésáámíní qa pi.	I listened to these things that one [= her father] did.
Mis-glossed "but"	*haĺaċ sĺití ckwapsíwci. amqʰáka ċé ckitúwwíumá haĺaċ ticci.*	"She'll direct a glance" he thought. That one wasn't making a glance to him
	ma ánca ticéécʰástéimámé' amqʰááwa, qa táqm̀as,	And unable to see through by that, the whatsis,

Amqʰáka	Example	Gloss
	amqʰáka páw wa tyitálleeq̇ínó mam qa ticéécʰaalás kucámé.	that one [=Coyote], by elkhide covered, so unable to see through.
	yalyúúcan ẇal múútʰaaq̇álcan ẇal	A boy and a girl
	amqʰá mánik̇can wiẏí cktúw. amqʰáka ís cktáákáácí.	they the born ['made'] children were. Those lived [together].

Amqʰáákam 'however, but'. Also *amqʰáákam … amqʰáákam* 'he on the one hand … however on the other hand'

amqʰáákam 'but'	Example	Gloss
	hílissuyyáticka **amqʰáákam** *ćé skuwí tinímmááci*	I pointed at you, but you didn't see me.
Paired *amqʰáákam*	*wííyúmci twicííní.*	There was one [who] dwelled [with us],
… amqʰáákam	**amqʰáákam** *qa tóósi tétẇi, tííq̇áálami, l̇áásaċ tuci.*	that one, [when] a deer [was] killed, carried down, was happy
'On one hand, he X	*ma tʰúsẏí l̇inímmíc kú suwwá qa páálá tywapsíwcíní.*	And he thought "I'll eat well today"
he X but Y	**amqʰáákam** *má ánca lóqṁi tyalílláywatíní, , támmááméẏ kam.*	but then the next day morning light came around without [him] eating.
he X but Z.	*sáámi kúcí qa míssuċ kacʰú tipsíwci aymi, kacʰú l̇áásaċ tuci.*	"I'll eat meat" his thought continuing, his being happy [his happy do],
	amqʰáákam *qa lóqṁim kí wáli ú ticííwálmí tucci.*	but him in the morning nobody visited [anybody's visit not do]
	má ánca we cappaak̇á ka wintuwááẏíní.	And then a screech owl searched.
	amqʰáákam *yáátʰuukíní q̇á cappaak̇á ámím.*	But the screech owl returned immediately.
	qʰé tʰáyuwí sinímmááćí wasín. **amqʰáákam** *astaaqí ẏuwí wasín.*	It's there, I found it, he sang, but it's hot, he sang.
	ḣééwís cwammák̇yasẇacíní …	He was watching from below …
	amqʰáákam *ẇincépṫasẇací ka ṁaacínní tipl̇aasák̇yukí …*	but that one [who] must have been looking carefully pulled one down
	haṁís amáẏtu tʰálictiik̇ínní má tyáánííní.	One likewise was afraid and went.
	amqʰáákam *q̇á piqʰá q̇á ḣuuṁééwak̇a q̇á tíq̇q̇aati ílaṁúsċumí*	But this little burrowing snake
	amqʰáka *twáácíní tyáániiníní qa tóósi.*	that one it was went to the deer.
	má sannúúmáámí qa áp mám tyíísííní wasín.	"'and I burned my mouth' he said" he sang.

amqʰáákam 'but'	Example	Gloss
because of that	*amqʰáákam we sanáq̓taalí wásííní, haṁís áásá sanáq̓taalí.*	'because of that I'm blind' he said, 'I'm blind in one eye'.
	ma ánca ticéécʰástéimámé' amqʰááwa, qa táqṁas,	And unable to see through by that, the whatsis,
	amqʰáka páw wa tyitálleeq̓ínó mam qa ticéécʰaalás kucámé'.	that one [=Coyote], by elkhide covered, so unable to see through.
	amqʰáákam láttíl pʰitúwwí ċé tyúúcííní tuuṁááti qa céémul.	But Coyote didn't sleep for five years.
	náṁ píláyuucóólu ċé suucííní titʰanííẇáácí.	I didn't listen well when I was still young
	amqʰáákam qa páálá máátíỷ can tóólol qʰé wammíínaci qá kacʰú	but today all that he said is manifesting.
	ó tissóó'oy.	

Amqʰákam 'however, but'

amqʰákam 'but'	Example	Gloss
	mám ckwaat̓uỷcí qá woḣ, má ánca l̓uukʰá ckwapsíwci,	And the bear was angry, and thought to climb up
	amqʰákam ṁá ckyááċíítánki.	and she fell down however.
	qa áásáwáté ckaaċístumí, amqʰákam ċé ckúuwí ṁiċ tici.	[sand] fell in her eye, but she didn't twitch.
	qʰééwáté ís tiikááco'oyí twiỷí qá ittʰú íssílóo.	There my people used to live.
	amqʰákam piqʰááwáté ís sl̓háákaací we ẇisííní.	But we live here now indeed, he said.
	áliihúkẇací ka amqʰákam tinimác kú styóóẇáátumá	when the evil one however will find us
	haỷ tinúúcí tuccííwáté	in a state of not thinking about [him]
	amqʰá tíítʰuk kú ỷuwá	that one will come back.

With one exception, *hílissuyyáticka* **amqʰáákam** *ċé skuwí tinímmááci* (Craven, November 1970), the short form *amqákam* introduces a contrasting clause within a sentence, and the longer *amqʰáákam* form is the first word in a separate sentence making a contrast with prior context. Craven may have been speaking with extra care.

Amqʰááwáté 'at that place/time'

Amqʰááwáté is straightforward, the pro-form *amqʰá* with *wáté* either locational ('at that place') or temporal ('at that time, while, when, meanwhile'). No short **amqʰáwáté* occurs in the database.

There is a problematic passage at the end of LR: From the Moon to the Earth (9.1, 9.2), where both *amqʰááwáté* and *qʰééwáté* were glossed as 'in that way'. The construction is a bit complex. I have changed the gloss of *amqʰááwáté* to 'in that situation' and *qʰééwáté* to 'in the way that'.

Amqʰááwáté

má ánca we tóólolĺíní aka iicˀ tyúúcííní, tóólolĺíní aka iicˀ tyúúcííní.	And they did all kinds of things, they did all kinds of things.
amqʰááwa tyíícííní qa aapóóníkáha ˀka kacʰú ticusqáápááẏíní tóólol.	For that (reason) was Coccoon Man's drowning all.
amqʰááwáté Ĺhiiċíumá qa páálá ís tikkááci tyááтʰuumí.	In that situation we are becoming today [our] life is returning.
qʰééwáté qa ittʰúni piláqmi ís tiikááco'oy tíuwí,	In that way that our first life existed.
ĺhíícíílamí wíc wittʰánuwí qa páálá máátíẏ ca wáẏtu.	we're turning into it, it sounds like, from today on.

More loosely, we might read this as "They messed around, they messed around, that's why Coccoon Man drowned them all. It sounds like our life from now on is going back to the way our first life was." *Áka* looks like a gerund form of the agentive auxiliary *wáka (*with the root *ka*), suggesting willfulness. In phrases like *áka wiýí* 'he's done everything' it just indicates variety, a Jack of all trades, but phrases like *áka wás* 'joker' could include mischief or transgressive behavior, and the usage above seems to intend self-interest unconstrained by social obligations.

There are pauses between the phrases delineated above. In the audio, she said *amqʰááwáté Ĺhiiċíumá qa páálá ís tikkááci we*, and (because she later inserted a verb) she evidently intended to say something more but interrupted with the louder and more emphatic phrase *qʰééwáté qa ittʰúni piláqmi ís tiikááco'oy tíuwí*, because at transcription time she inserted *tyááтʰuumí* 'it evidently arrives' after *Ĺhiiċíumá qa páálá ís tikkááci*. I assume that the adverb *qa páálá* [*máátíẏcan*] 'today' could remain with *ĺhiiċíumá* 'we become', but if this reconstruction of her intention is correct it probably goes with the inserted verb *tyááтʰuumí* 'it arrives'. My gloss is ambiguous in this respect.

Amqʰááwátém occurs only once:

tʰúsẏí támmi kúci sa kiċċááẃácí,	Please keep setting up good things to eat
amqʰááwatém allu smhuuci	because we get hungry.

3. Verbs as arguments of higher-order verbs

A sentence may be reduced to an adjunct in one of a few 'participle' forms:

-V-   A verb stem sans pronouns (a 'gerund'). Frequently functions as As (a derived adjective) or Ds (a derived adverb)

t-V, *w*-V, *y*-V   A verb with one of the 3rd-person prefixes *t*-, *w*-, occasionally *y*-. Frequently functions as Ns (derived noun).

In the formulaic expressions for examples, in this stage of syntactic analysis, I am ignoring pronominal prefixes except for those mentioned above. Where an argument word is represented by N, I ignore the automatic presence of *qa*. As more analyses accumulate, the details will undoubtedly be refined.

   In the following examples, the second line gives a source for a

	amqʰá tyáácííní qá ittʰú wayí wílóo cwincuukʰaykíní qá aḣti,	Thence it was my father vomited blood,
pro [N] *u t*-V	*qa qʰé* [*qa ḣuuṁé*] *ú ticuukʰayki ya*	that [snake]'s vomit.
pro [N] V N	*qa qʰé* [*qa ḣuuṁé*] *cwincuukʰaykíní qá aḣti,*	that [snake] vomited blood.

	waatʰimyíní qá cappaaká amqʰá tísanaayi kúci	He hired an owl therefore to look for
D N *u t*-V	*qa cʰéyé qa tóósi ú tupte.*	where the deer had gone.
D V N	*cʰéyé yápti qa tóósi .*	The deer went in some direction.

For the use of the interrogative words as indefinites, compare e.g. *cʰéyé tuptééméy kam* 'without going anywhere' (*tupté ámé y*).

pro N *u ka t*-V	*wáási kúcí sİhiicíumá qá ittʰú ká támmá,*	We are ones who hunt what we eat (we can hunt for ourselves).
	wáási sa kúcí qa ís; amqʰá ís sİhiicíumá; suwáásá qá ittʰú ká támmá	People hunt; they we are; we hunt our eatings

I am using *amqʰá* for the metalanguage assertion of same reference, but this use of *amqʰá* in turn goes back to some form of *ś* 'say', as in 'said people we are'.

Other examples of this form:

w-V	*qa qʰé qa witawááy̓i kúcí.*	those who search

w-V	*tííqáálaki wíc wisunciíní qa winaasúúcíní we*	it felt like the holder carried it back.

The verb *tííqáálaki* has the 'subordinate' prefix *t-* because it is in the argument of Vs *wíc wisunciíní* 'it felt like'. The argument of Vs *wíc wisunciíní* 'it felt like' is *tííqáálaki qa winaasúúcíní* 'the one who held it packed it back'. The argument of *tííqáálaki* in turn is, on the surface, the Ns *qa winaasúúcíní* 'the one who held it'. There is no equivalent of the relative pronoun 'who' here, and indeed in elders' English the relative pronoun was typically omitted: "He was the one looked for him". We can analyze it down to a source for that derived Ns: *tííqáálaki kíímas; amqʰá winaasúúcíní* .

qa [N] -V-y̓	*má ánca qa qʰé qá ímmaatánmíy̓,*	And that [person] looking down
qa Ns -V-y̓	*qa witúwááy̓í ímmaatánmíy̓,*	the one [who] searches looking down
	amqʰá palá' qa hatáácí ituut̓ís kúcí tyáácííní qa qʰé qa y̓ályú ka	that one, that man already would shoot the heart
qa [N] -V-y̓	*qa icép̓tasẃací*	the [man] watching guard
qa [N] w-V-y̓ N	*qa ẃisamáálíy̓ qa tóósi u cíẃci.*	the one [who] refuses to surrender the deer bones

The analyses of *qá ímmaatánmíy̓*, *qa icép̓tasẃací* , *qa ẃisamáálíy̓ qa cíẃci*, are along the same lines.

3.32	*ḣééẃís cwammákẏasẃacíní*	He was looking up from below
	má ánca cwalúúciikasẃacíní palá qá tituut̓íísítkél kúci.	and already holding his bow drawn ready to shoot

The Ns *qá tituut̓íísítkél kúci* must be in the argument of a Vs verb that has been zeroed.

3.33	*amqʰáákam ẃincép̓tasẃací ka ṁaacínní tipl̓aasákẏukí*	That one, looking carefully, pulled [one] down with his mouth,
	mám síp tipl̓áátánmi.	and slipped it down in his mouth.

4. New construction with *wa* as argument indicator

We're familiar with *wa* as a postposition in e.g. *As tissí ẃa síuwi*. 'I want to drink water'. This example suggests a broader usage:

3.46   *čé skícúccí hȧẏ tucci qa táwwawẏací ẃa.*   'Don't think of giving us some'.

       ckyáášá tíntámmaakúyaké wa hȧẏ tucóo   'He sang to tell himself "think!"'

If *ẃa* can serve as argument indicator under Vs verbs generally, we should be able to say:

      hȧẏ suwí táwwawẏací ẃa qa tóósi   'I'm thinking of giving some of the deer'.

      ẃeẃ stáuwí qa túnni ẃa   'I forgot to come.'

5. Paul & Lisa's report on language learning and on the Atsugewi database

'Acẃuké· database project

. July's task with Atsugewi was starting a new PDF file Talmy.002.001.pdf from Leonard Talmy's collection. This new file is an extensive file of verb roots with various locative directional suffixes using a couple of pronouns for context, and a list of examples using the root. When I enter an example in the database, I separate the morphemes on the Analysis tab according to the phase of analysis that Leonard Talmy left off at, and I create a lexicon entry for each root, prefix, and suffix. This metadata assists with future file entries by automatically recognizing what has been entered previously.

At the annual Medicine Lake Tribal Gathering, we shared the old-time handgame song sound file with L. Jenkins and L, Snooks. This song now revitalized into a dance song to be sung during dance ceremonies. The revitalized song made its re-entry to the dance circle bringing in the dancers on a beautiful Saturday evening by the sacred ceremonial fire amongst the tribal community.

As this month ends, we welcome in the annual Ancestral Run, but sadly, due to the Park Fire, Lassen National Park was closed, and staff evacuated. The park being the end location of both the Runs, the original leg of the run was cancelled to keep runners safe. However, the other leg, the Upriver

Run, will continue with prayers as each step is laid down and ends in Atsuke land with a feast and feather dancing.

Acúmmá 'ó tiṡ́si classes

Returning to the family domain, the two classes this month consisted of learning extended family. Worksheets were given out to assist during class as a follow-along, as well as an aid in helping for self-guided practice outside class.