

Pit River Languages Project

Summary of work during June 2025

You can download the current Achumawi backup from

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

I have updated the automatically generated Achumawi webonary at

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

The sections in this report are as follows:

1. Acwúké' database project
2. Acúmmá 'ó tiši íímacci'
3. A draft lexicon of Achumawi verb prefixes

The two sections reporting work by Paul Cason and Lisa Craig are placed at the beginning because of the length and complexity of the draft dictionary of prefixes in the third section. If you wish to print this, be mindful that pages 1-5 of this report are in portrait orientation, and pages 6-34 are in landscape orientation. You would do better to download [prefix-dictionary.odt](#) and print it separately in landscape orientation.

This and all prior monthly summaries are archived under a [Monthly Reports](#) link at <https://zelligharris.org/Achumawi/achumawi-db.html>.

1 'Acwúké' database project

Our team maintained consistent data entry into the FLEx database, ensuring the ongoing documentation and accessibility of Atsuge language materials. Routine data entry and updates were completed throughout the month, contributing to the long-term integrity and usability of our linguistic archive.

2 Acúmmá 'ó tiši íímacci'

June 2025 marked continued progress in our language revitalization efforts, with steady advancement in both routine and collaborative initiatives.

Community Engagement and Volunteer Coordination: Several committed participants from our bi-weekly community language classes have volunteered to assist with camp coordination. Their involvement has expanded our capacity to deliver a diverse and engaging program, and reflects growing community ownership of the revitalization process.

Seasonal Tribal Activities: With summer underway, additional tribal events are being scheduled for the coming months. These gatherings will further support intergenerational language use and cultural exchange, reinforcing the broader goals of our revitalization initiative.

Impact: The momentum generated in June reflects both the dedication of our core team and the increasing engagement of community members. These developments position us well for a successful summer season and continued progress toward our long-term language preservation goals.

3 A draft lexicon of Achumawi verb prefixes

A draft lexicon of Achumawi verb prefixes is presented in the following pages. It is incomplete for at least two reasons.

First, I have not yet pursued the analysis of occurrences with initial *t-* alone, not in combination with another of these prefixes.¹ Forms in which *t-* occurs in combination with other prefixes are included in the ‘dictionary’ tables below. It will be seen that these support the hypothesis that *t-* is an argument indicator, a morpheme that is associated with a verb, phrase, or sentence when a higher-order operator (verb, adverb, etc.) V_s enters upon it.

For example in English, in *I think that he should go to the meeting*, the word *that* is an argument indicator on the sentence *he should go....* The parallel construction *I want that I should go* is conventionally reduced to *I want to go*, where *to* is the argument indicator. In English, other changes may occur when a verb occurs in the argument of another verb. Under *should* and in the reduction into the infinitive with *to* there is no *-s* (or other tense) on the verb *go*, as compared e.g. with *he goes*. The most common argument indicator in Achumawi is the *t-* prefix. It occurs with questions, commands, and modal or aspectual constructions where the higher-level V_s either is explicitly present or is implicit in context both in the English gloss and in Achumawi.

In general, when the information borne by words can be recovered from context, those words may be reduced in form. The reduction may be merely lowered stress and amplitude. Some of the phonemes may be less fully articulated or reduced even to zero (*He’s gonna go* vs. *He is going to go*). Entire words may be reduced to zero phonemic content. The condition for zeroing is that, contextually or by convention, there is no loss of information. We are familiar with historically conventionalized zero allomorphs, for example in *sheep* singular and *sheep* plural. Recognizing this as a pervasive phenomenon resolves many difficulties and greatly simplifies the grammar.

Because of the diversity of contexts for reduction, the *t-* argument indicator appears to have a diversity of specialized meanings. The hypothesis being tested is that these are the meanings of diverse higher-order operator which have been zeroed. Recovering these is beyond the scope of this month’s report. It will be the next step after the collection of *t-* words has been partitioned according to those differences of meaning.

This draft is incomplete for a more fundamental reason. The combinability of the individual prefix morphemes appears to be open-ended, or nearly so. We cannot now ask elders what novel combinations might mean, but the language community may establish meanings for such combinations if they turn out to be needed in collective usage.

Finally, this draft is incomplete because there are many open questions. There always will be, of course, no grammar is ever ‘finished’, ‘complete’, or truly ‘exhaustive’. Among these open questions in the near term is the interpretation of de Ángulo’s verb forms. We do not have his original field

1 These *t-* forms are usually classified as participles in the database. Product or result nominalizations ending with *-e* are classified as nouns.

notes, with the trivial exception of a few pages written in company with Hans Uldall. There are few clues about the contexts in which speakers produced the words that he reproduced in the published *Grammar*. Only in the very few texts in the Boas collection do we see the verb forms in syntactic context.

The pronominal prefix data in his *Grammar* are in the form of labels on the rows and columns of paradigms. The missing glosses, and especially the missing contexts of usage, are crucially essential evidence not only for the meanings of these prefix morphemes but in many cases even for identifying which morphemes he is representing. Below, I reproduce the paradigm on p. 113 of de Ángulo's *Grammar*. (You may download a searchable PDF [here](#).)

(III) THE VERB "TO BE" ("ESSENTIAL" FORM).

	INDICATIVE		SUBORDINATE		OPTATIVE	VOLITIONAL	
	Present.	Past.	Present.	Past.		Present	Future
I	<i>tsii</i>	<i>tsidzòóí</i>	<i>stii</i>	<i>stàkii</i>	<i>tslii</i>	<i>tli</i>	<i>tmáli</i>
thou	<i>tkii</i>	<i>tkidzòóí</i>	<i>tmii</i>	<i>tkùmií</i>	<i>tligi</i>	<i>tidzò</i>	<i>tkidzi</i>
he	<i>twii</i>	<i>twidzòóí</i>	<i>tií</i>	<i>tàkii</i>	<i>tlii</i>	<i>tsáli</i>	<i>tmáli</i>
we both ..	<i>thii</i>	<i>thidzòóí</i>	<i>sthii</i>	<i>tskiií</i>	<i>tlihi</i>	<i>tlihi</i>	<i>tmihí</i>
ye both ..	<i>tkidzií</i>	<i>tkidzòóí</i>	<i>tmidzií</i>	<i>tkùmidzií</i>	<i>tliktsí</i>	<i>dzidzi</i>	<i>dzidzi</i>
they both	<i>tèii</i>	<i>tèidzòóí</i>	<i>tidii</i>	<i>tkidii</i>	<i>tliidí</i>	<i>tsindí</i>	<i>tmidí</i>
we all ...	<i>thidzi'má</i>	<i>thidzòóyá</i>	<i>sthidzi'má</i>	<i>tkihidzi'má</i>	<i>tlihidzi'má</i>	<i>tlihidzi'dzà</i>	<i>tmihidzi'dzà</i>
ye all ...	<i>tkidzi'má</i>	<i>tkidzidzòóyá</i>	<i>tmididzi'má</i>	<i>tkùmidzitsí'má</i>	<i>tligidzidzi'má</i>	<i>dzidzò</i>	<i>dzidzi</i>
they all ..	<i>twàdzyúdzi</i>	<i>twidzidzyúdzòóí</i>	<i>twàdzyúdzi</i>	<i>tkùwàdzyúdzi</i>	<i>tliwàdzyúdzi</i>	<i>tsindidzi'dzà</i>	<i>tmididzi'dzà</i>
I-thee ...	<i>thiwáaditskà</i>	<i>thidzòóyá</i>	<i>thiwáaditskà</i>	<i>stàkiwáaditskà</i>	<i>tlihiwáaditskà</i>	<i>tlihidrúyá</i>	<i>tmihidrúyá</i>
he-thee ..	<i>tkiwáaditskà</i>	<i>tkidzòóyá</i>	<i>tmiwáaditskà</i>	<i>tkùmúaditskà</i>	<i>tligiwáaditskà</i>	<i>tsimidzúyí</i>	<i>tmàdidzúyí</i>
thou-me ..	<i>tskii</i>	<i>tskidzòóí</i>	<i>tsmii</i>	<i>tkùsmii</i>	<i>tslii</i>	<i>stidzúyá</i>	<i>skidzúyí</i>
he-me ...	<i>tsiwádùumá</i>	<i>tsidzòóyá</i>	<i>stidiwádùumá</i>	<i>stàkiwádùumá</i>	<i>tsliidí</i>	<i>tsindidzúyí</i>	<i>tsmididzúyí</i>

DENOMINATIVE: *tidzi*
PARTICIPLE: *tidzi*

To bring just one problem area into focus, under 'Indicative Present' in the table above, in the first row, de Ángulo's *tsii* is *tsiyí* [*c^hi'yí*] 'I am'. The clusters *ts* (in *it tsiyí* 'it's me, I'm the one') and *ty* (in *táq tyíci tmiyí tilmáqci* 'What might it be you are traveling (for)?') overlap phonetically with the voiceless preconsonantal allophone of the *c* affricate in the 'remote past' *ck*.²

In the last row of that 'Indicative Present' column, the row with the gloss 'he-me', we see *tsiwádùumá*. This presently appears in the database as *tsíiwáátumá*.

amq^háka té iici' tsíiwáátumá 'They're the ones who would be doing that way to me.'

In light of the present analysis, I will rectify this to *t- + s- + y- + uw* in *tsíyuwáátumá*.³ 'they are w.r.t. me' or 'they are toward me'.⁴ The *umá* makes it plural, so that line of de Ángulo's table should be glossed 'they-me', and on the 'he-me' line we should see *tsyuwí*.

2 These three may be distinguished in careful pronunciation, and in some postvocalic contexts the *t* is released in the coda of the preceding syllable.

3 LR: Pumice-Stone Man: 2.13. The *íy* allomorph of *y-* contrasts with the low pitch of the *uw* copula, with the effect phonetically of a falling pitch: [*tšú^wá^h*] ~ [*tšúú^wá^h*].

4 The *t* in *áátumá* is a directional in the *ti – ta – tu* family. In glosses I use w.r.t. to abbreviate "with respect to".

The initial *t-* is the argument indicator under a second-order *V_s*. In this example, we have some hint in the word ‘would’ in the English gloss. Without the initial *t-*, *síwáátumá* occurs a number of times in the database, but transcribed in several slightly different ways. In one occurrence,⁵ written *syuwáátumá*, a phonetic note transcribed from a comment in the field record reports “higher pitch on the *y*, [*síyuwá ‘tumá*’]” before the contrastive low pitch on the following *uw* root, which is the stative *w* glossed as the English copula ‘be’.

tíimaçqát kú syuwáátumá ‘They’ll find out [what] I am to them.’

Most occurrences of this form are written *siwáátumá*. I will rectify them to *síyuwáátumá*. As above, The *íy* allomorph of the 3rd person *y-* contrasts with the low pitch of the *uw* copula, with the effect phonetically of a falling pitch: [*šíù^{wá}*] ~ [*š^{yù}ù^{wá}*].

I will need to re-examine all occurrences of long vowels with high pitch as the initial stem vowel after *s-* in light of this recognition. By default, 1st person *s-* is followed by a short, unstressed vowel, usually low pitch (though this may be overridden by intonation).

Other prefix combinations are omitted from de Ángulo’s paradigm, such as the 3rd person transitive relations he-him, he-them, and they-him, e.g.

q^hé ka tyíwáátumá íyámmáálumá ‘That’s the one who hit her.’

Under ‘Volitional Present’, he writes initial *ts* on the ‘he’, ‘they both’, ‘they all’, ‘he-thee’, and ‘he-me’ lines. These all begin with *t-* (argument indicator under a second-order *V_s* expressing the ‘volitional’ meaning) plus the 3rd person prefix *y-*. This usage of *t-* as apparent 3rd person pronoun occurs by itself in *tííyí* in the following example:

c^hú tííyí má tííyí tuut^huuki tucci ‘Where is he, why doesn’t he come?’⁶

The stative root *iy* has a range of glosses, including ‘be, do’, and with *in* ‘go, iterate, intensify’ in *winááyá* ‘make’. It appears to be the root in *waáyí* ‘father’, at least etymologically.

In the second column of the table, under ‘Past Indicative’, in the last two rows at the bottom, we see *tskidzòói* ‘thou-me’ and *tsidzòóyá* ‘he-me’ (evidently a typo for *tskidzòóyá*). Other evidence suggests that these are reversed.

íhilúllayco ’óóyá má lhooqántiwó ’óóyá ‘I used to lullaby you and I used to carry you around’⁷

c^héyé ání titápte ’óyí ckwap síwci.

má ánca ckwaat^hááçi c^héyé tmcóóco ’óóyí ckiší.

‘I wonder where they two went’, she thought.

And then she shouted, ‘which way have you two got to?’ she said.⁸

The meaning of ’oy is clearly perfective, referring to a state completed in the past. (Its analysis or

5 LR: From the Moon to the Earth: 1.22.

6 LR: Pumice-Stone Man: 22.3.

7 LR: Pumice-Stone Man: 3.11.

8 LR: Bear, Deer, and their children: 9.4.

etymology is as yet unclear, perhaps combining the *w* and *y* stative morphemes.) Its most frequent use is with a *t*- participle, as in *titápte'óyí*, above, and e.g. *q^hééwáté ís tiikááco'oyí twiyí* 'they used to live in that place'.

In such ways, the deepening disclosure of the prefixes and their relationships drives re-analysis of morphology and even revision of prior rectification.

The draft dictionary of prefixes is presented in the following sections:

<i>c</i>	Hearers (nonsing. 2nd person; you)
<i>ck < tyk</i>	remote past
<i>h</i>	+ other (we; I > you); pair?
<i>k</i>	Hearer (second person; thou, you)
<i>l</i>	Intention, will, emotion
<i>m</i>	unmanifest (might be)
<i>ma</i>	<i>ma</i> V- <i>a</i> future volitional
<i>s</i>	Speaker (first person; I, we)
<i>t</i>	V _s <i>t</i> -
<i>t^ha</i>	Proclaimed (news [to speaker?])
<i>w</i>	Durative state: characteristic, habitual, durative condition
<i>y</i>	3 rd person
<i>'</i>	Potential (ought to be)

<i>c</i>	Hearers (nonsing. 2nd psn; you)		
<i>ic</i>	hearers	<i>icámmí</i> <i>icámmá</i>	Eat! (you two) Eat! (plural)
<i>kic</i>	hearer + hearers	<i>kicáámá.</i> <i>kicámmíumá.</i> <i>kicáámaatí. kicináámáátumá.</i>	You 2 ate. Did you 2 eat? You pl. ate. Did you pl. eat? You slept. Did you sleep?
<i>mc, mc</i>	unmanifest + hearers	<i>c^hú mcálilláqti sáttít tááyíicúmi wa.</i>	Would you 2 like to go to Glass Mountain?
<i>sc</i>	speaker + hearers [speaker + 3 rd person agent] but 1 st pl. incl. [or: speaker + V _s evidential + y)	<i>scóónáykumá</i> <i>scóót^hééwi</i> <i>tétwí kú scáuwáátumá</i> <i>tiilac kú scááwáátumá qa missuc'</i> <i>tóólol scááwíumá.</i> <i>scakááleećuminóo</i> <i>sciínáásúúćinóo</i>	She's chasing us 2 He heard us 2 They'll kill us They'll give us handouts of meat. He gave it to all of us. They drove us 2 back with them They caught us
<i>sic</i>	speaker + hearers + [V _s command] [cp. <i>ic</i> -]	<i>sicáwwá!</i> <i>ćé skicúccí háy tucci qa táwwawýací wa.</i> <i>micist^húúka skicááwá, micist^húúlééka skicááwá</i> <i>micist^húúlééka tskiciyí skicááwá</i> <i>micist^húúlééka tskiciyí skicáwwíumá</i> <i>mímééka skicááwá; mímééka skicáwíumá</i> <i>mímééka ya má tskiciyí skicintámakúyí qa tiliyahtúúmi</i> <i>skicáwwá</i> <i>micist^húúlééka tikuusaymi kú skicuwáátumá</i> <i>micist^húúlééka tikuusaymi kú skicuwáátumá</i> <i>tikuusaymi kú skicuwáátumá</i> <i>micist^hú skicááwá</i> <i>micist^húúlééka skicááwá; micist^húúlééka skicáwwíumá</i>	Give us two (exclusive) some! [epenthetic vowel < stress or prosody] Don't think about giving a share to us You two gave it to me You two gave it to us two. You two gave it to us (pl.). It's you who gave it to us (sg.; pl.) You're the one who told us an old story. Someone gave it to you & me (to divide). You pl. will push us You pl. will push me you will push us You two gave it to me. You pl. gave it to me.
<i>skc</i>	speaker + hearer + hearers = we, us (incl.) = you nonsg. > me		
<i>slc</i>	speaker + will + hearers = you-us	<i>lhúit^himyac mám kú slícíntámmaakóo</i> <i>ćé slícááci tilúmmaáwi</i>	I'll hire you, whereupon you tell us Don't leave us behind!
<i>stic</i>	speaker + [V _s] + hearers	<i>sticákasaswacínóo</i>	He shepherded us

<i>c</i>	Hearers (nonsing. 2nd psn; you)
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<i>ckmc</i>	[de Ángulo <i>tkmc</i>]	<i>c^hú ckmcáámá</i>
<i>tlikc</i>	[V _s] + will + hearer + hearers [de Ángulo]	<i>tlikcíy'</i> <i>tlkiciciiúma</i>
<i>tmc</i>		<i>tmcáámá</i>

Did you (nonsingular) eat?

You might be; are you? (Nonsingular)

You might be; are you? (plural)

You two are eating. You must have eaten it!

<i>ck</i>	remote past	<i>ckápté</i> (also <i>ckyáp</i>) In the forms written with <i>ts</i> that he places on the ‘he’, ‘they both’, ‘they all’, ‘he-thee’, and ‘he-me’ lines under ‘Volitional Present’ all begin with <i>ty-</i>. <i>tsiìí</i> <i>tsìwádù má</i> <i>tskìdzòóí</i> <i>tsìdzòlýá</i> (evidently a typo for <i>tskìdzòóyá</i>) <i>te</i>) <i>tykáámaatí</i> <i>tykíši</i> = <i>ckíši</i> <i>ché ckíuwí míc tici</i> <i>ckéét^huumí</i> <i>qá tuutáámít amq^há tóólol yoq yoq ckiciúwí ílla.</i> <i>álictíikí wíc ckicéuwí</i> <i>áw witt^halúumí ckíyí qá accát qá tóh^yí kúci.</i> <i>qá iiváámak immáák^húúti’ ckíyí.</i>	went He was sleeping. He went to sleep. he / she said did not blink arrived home W/ hands flowed the entry all smooth He looked scared. Sq was identified as woodworker for fires. In the fall he would ring-burn trees.
<i>ck</i> [<i>tyk</i> ?]	some time ago		
<i>ckh</i>		<i>ckháámá</i> <i>ckihicíumá</i> [de <i>Á tkihìdzí má</i>]	Did we both eat?
<i>ckl</i>	<i>ck + l</i> emotion?	<i>hacéq^h ckluw</i>	he gasped
<i>ckm</i>		<i>c^hú ckmaámá</i> <i>ckmiyí</i> [de <i>Á tkùmìí</i>] <i>ckmuwááticka</i> [de <i>Á tkùmùádìtskà</i>]	Did you eat? [de <i>Ángulo</i> ’s gloss] thou, 'Essential' be, Sub. Past
<i>ckmc</i>		<i>c^hú ckmcáámá</i> [de <i>Á tkmc</i>] <i>ckmicíyí</i> [de <i>Á tkumìdzìí</i>] <i>ckmiciccíumá</i> [de <i>Á tkùmìdzìtsí má</i>]	Did you (nonsingular) eat?
<i>cksm</i>		<i>ckismi^yí</i> [de <i>Á tksm, tkùsmìí</i>]	thou-me, 'Essential' be, Subordinate Past

<i>ck</i>	remote past		
<i>ckt</i>	<i>ck + t</i> dual 3 rd person dual remote past [de Á Subordinate Past <i>tk</i>]	<i>cktiši</i> <i>támmáame 'kam ckitáámaatí</i> <i>cktatiwwalmíwci</i> <i>cktáák^hé</i> <i>palá' cktiçwaatápqácuma</i> <i>tííçaalí wá ckyúuwí amq^hákam, çé cktuwi tiniíçaalí.</i> <i>tííqaati ckinánca</i> <i>qa céémul ckititíuwááyíumá.</i> <i>kináçqálumi ckitisáátumá</i> <i>ckwiñissá qa aminínca. qa séqtánááwaka ckitiniisíumá.</i> <i>cktiyí</i> [also de Á <i>tkidi</i>] <i>c^hú ckitáámá</i>	2 said Without eating they went to bed. were neighbors 2 climbed up had already seized in teeth Wanted t hide them, but couldn't hide them. There was no land. Coyote was looking for him. “Did you fall down?” he asked him. o.w. drank it up, lizard was drunk up with it Was he? Did they two eat?
<i>ckw</i>	<i>ck + w</i> stative	<i>ckwatíiyiimí</i> <i>tim ckwamííci ckwincúamááha</i> <i>ckwapsíwci</i> <i>çé ckiuwí míc' tici < ck + w[á] + uw</i> <i>ckwááciwci</i> [de Á <i>tkiwwádzyúdzí</i>]	she ran after them (was running?) became dusk, got dark thought, imagined, tried she didn't blink
<i>cky</i>	<i>ck + y</i> back, back home back <i>ta{+y}twí > tétwí</i>	<i>ckyápté</i> <i>ckiyáásá</i> <i>ckyááçíitánki, ckyááçíitánmi</i> <i>wánéhá ckyúuwí</i> <i>palá' ckyátwa</i> <i>tííçaalí wá ckyúuwí amq^hákam, çé cktuwi tiniíçaalí.</i> <i>amq^hákam kac^hú wác^húuwí tííçaalí wá ckiuwí.</i> <i>ckiyí</i> [de Á <i>tàkìi</i>]	went back, went home He sang fell back down had a toothache she had already killed her Wanted to hide them, but couldn't hide them. But her grandmother wanted to hide them.
<i>sck</i>	speaker + V _s <i>t-</i> + hearer [de Ángulo: = <i>tsk-</i> ?]	<i>sckuwááticka</i> [<i>stakiwáditska</i>] <i>sckiyí</i> [de Á <i>stàkìi</i>] <i>sckuwááticka</i> [de Á <i>stàkiwáditskà</i>] <i>sckuwáátumá</i> [de Á <i>stàkiwádùmá</i>]	I-thee, 'Essential' be, Subordinate Past I, 'Essential' be, Subordinate Past
<i>sckh</i>	speaker + V _s <i>t-</i> + hearer +	<i>c^hú sckháámá</i> <i>sckihiyí</i> [de Á <i>tskìhiì</i>]	Did we eat?

<i>h</i>	[speaker-]other (we; I > you)
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<i>h</i>	[speaker +] other = hearer	<i>hílaháámi</i> <i>hílaháámíicumá</i> <i>çitil çitil hicááwíumá</i>	You & I are talking; let's talk! you & I & other(s) are talking we curl it
<i>ckh</i> <i>sckh</i>	remote past + [speaker+] other = hearer speaker + remote past + other ⁹	<i>ckháámá</i> <i>sckháámá</i> [de Á addenda 29]	Did you and I eat? Did he and I eat?
<i>lh ~ lḥ</i> <i>slh ~ sḷh</i>	volition ¹⁰ + [speaker+] other = hearer speaker + volition + other	<i>lháámá</i> <i>lháwwicka</i> <i>lháwwi kúcicka</i> <i>tóólol wáka lháwwíumá.</i> <i>tóólol wáka slháwwíumá.</i> <i>itt^húúléeke slháwwicka</i> <i>itt^húúléeke yá tlhcááwicka</i> <i>lhcááwicka</i> <i>micist^húúléeke skicáwwíumá</i> <i>lhúpta</i> <i>lhiçál</i> <i>lháák^háata</i> (vs. <i>mh-...-a</i> , <i>mh-...-i</i>) <i>mhálilláqticka</i> <i>ṃhépta</i> <i>mhinímmááciwci</i> <i>mhinímmáácóo</i> <i>mhinímmááci? mhinímmááticka?</i> <i>mhinímmááciwci?</i> <i>kést^ham lhuwááticka mhinímmááticka</i> <i>ṃhinímmác kúcóo amq^há hamíssa ṃlítaátéémáka</i> <i>mhinímmá</i> (mis-glossed “I’d like to go see him!”)	You and I ate. I gave it to you. I will give it to you. You all and I gave it. They and I (my side) give They and I gave it to you They and I gave it to you pl. He and I gave it to you two You pl. gave it to me Let’s go! Let’s hide it! I’ll cut you! Let’s cut it!
<i>mh, ṃh</i>	It may be that + I + you It may be that + I > you Is it the case that + I > you?		Do I like you? We 2 will go home! We saw each other I’ll see you! Will I see you? Will we see each other? I won’t see you any more When I see you I’ll move apart alone Let’s go see him!

9 Without *s-*, involvement of the speaker is implicit, and the ‘other’ is implicitly the hearer. When *s-* is explicit, it asserts ‘my side’ vs. ‘your (the hearer’s) side’, but the hearer is still addressed, whence ‘other’ is 3rd person.

10 I excessively rectified *-h* to *lḥ-*. Where volition is clearly absent, it should be *h-*, but *lháámá* here could be OK.

<i>h</i>	[speaker-]other (we; I > you)		
<i>sckh</i>	We 2 excl?	<i>cʰú sckháámá</i>	Did we eat?
<i>sh</i>	speaker + 3 rd person	<i>shúúsaayínóo (sihúúsaayínóo)</i> <i>shííwaaminí</i> <i>shišííní</i> <i>shéétʰuumi</i>	We two dug. We got tired. We said. We arrived.
<i>slʰ, slh</i>	speaker + 3 rd person	<i>slháámá.</i> <i>slhám!</i> <i>slhinááwaqʷámca</i> <i>ittʰú ká slhiyí; qʰám slhiciumá</i> <i>wáási kúci slhiiciumá qá ittʰú ká támamá</i> <i>slhináámáátumá</i>	he and I ate We are going to eat! (not you) let's go play! there's two of us; there's a bunch of us We can hunt for our food We (they & I) slept
<i>smʰ, smh</i>		<i>smháámá</i> <i>smhináámáátumá</i>	Did we eat?
<i>stlh</i>		<i>stlháátíwci</i> <i>cé stlhuwíumá tʰús tisunci.</i> <i>táq stlhiiciumá?</i>	We must have had a fight Seems likely we didn't feel good. What are we?
<i>stʰah</i>	we pl. + news to speaker	<i>cé stʰahuwíumá tʰús tisunci.</i>	Seems likely we didn't feel good.
<i>tih</i>	speaker + hearer +	<i>hew tihuuwícka.</i> <i>Cókcám aqʷuumi' tihiyí is tlhaakááci pi qʰá wáté.</i> <i>Ascuy tí uci wáté tihiyí</i> <i>cʰú tihóóci kúci</i>	I forgot you. We are living a short while here. We were in winter snow what will we do?
<i>tlh</i>		<i>cókcám aqʷuumi' tihiyí is tlhaakááci pi qʰá wáté</i>	We live here a short while
<i>tmh</i>		<i>ittʰú tmihiyí</i>	Is it you and me? (e.g. looking at a photo.)
<i>tsh</i>		<i>tsihammíumá</i>	We ate (<i>lhammíumá</i> 'we ate')
<i>tskh</i>	[de Á Subordinate Past]	<i>tskihiyí</i>	We were (nonsingular)
<i>tslh</i>		<i>slhóhpááci tslhiyí</i> <i>slhimáámááyí tslhiyí,</i> <i>má tslhiyí cé slhuwwí túúsaayi</i>	He and I are taking a bath. [state/condition] We were letting it ripen, that's why we weren't digging it.

<i>k</i>	Hearer (second person; thou, you)		
<i>k</i>		<i>káámi, káámá</i>	you're eating
<i>kic</i> <i>kicin</i>		<i>kicáámá.</i> <i>kicámmiumá.</i> <i>kicáámaati. kicináámáátumá.</i>	You 2 ate. Did you 2 eat? You pl. ate. Did you pl. eat? You slept. Did you sleep?
<i>ḳ</i>	<i>k + ' > ḳ</i> Possible derivation?	<i>ḳáámá</i> <i>ḳámmi</i> <i>ḳááná</i> <i>ḳínni</i> <i>kámmítkéeli</i> <i>stacállúccíca c'wéstá sa ya amá kinúúsááyí amq'há</i>	did you eat it? you should eat it! ('polite imperative') did you come? you should come. you should eat it right away! feed me however many you might have dug
<i>k'w</i>	he-you	<i>k'wacállúccícas'waci</i> <i>ca + luc + ci + c + as + waci</i>	Has he been cleaning roots & feeding you?
<i>lk</i>		<i>lkáákaawáci</i> <i>píiq'há lkám</i> <i>ó lkís.</i> <i>íssi wa amá ó lkís.</i> <i>c'hú lkís?</i> <i>c'hú lkíllaatiw, timáásut'wa, timáásút'wa yá'</i>	I wish that you would stay Do you want to eat this kind? You ought to talk. You should talk Pit River all the time. What would you say? How can you go around [gathering]? Rest!
<i>lk'</i>		<i>lka'áámá</i> <i>lka'ámmicka</i> <i>c'hú lkí</i> <i>qamíç umá lkíç'iláka</i> <i>lkímmaamac</i>	You would like to eat. If you eat, ... If someone ate you. He'd [like to] eat you. What would you do? What can you do? You must have lice You should go see
<i>mak</i>		<i>qhé yá makuwá páálá kátaawaayúyí.</i>	I thought you were going to cook for her.
<i>sk</i>	hearer agent, speaker patient	<i>hay' skínúuwí.</i> <i>hew' skínúúwicka.</i>	I remember you. I forgot you. <i>ks-</i> is not available, and the <i>-icka</i> makes the <i>k</i> the patient rather than the agent.
<i>skc</i> <i>sḳ</i>		<i>çé skícúccí hay' tucci qa táwwawýací wa.</i> <i>hay' skínúúci.</i>	Don't think about giving a share to us You should remember me.

<i>k</i>	Hearer (second person; thou, you)
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<i>slk, slk</i>		<i>słkálilláqti</i> <i>assíica slkíila.</i> <i>it q'áléléwa hay' slkínúw.</i>	If you would want me Could you give me a little water? At least you ought to think about me.
<i>stk</i>	[de Á] I, 'Essential' be, Subordinate Past <i>k</i> remote past	<i>stkuwááticka</i> <i>stkiyi</i> <i>c'hú stkáámá</i> <i>stkuwáátumá</i>	Was I w.r.t. you? Am I? Did I eat? Was he w.r.t. me?
<i>stkh</i>	We 2 excl?	<i>c'hú stkháámá</i> <i>c'hú stkhámmíumá</i>	Did we eat? (nonsingular exclusive) Did we eat? (plural exclusive)
<i>tk</i>		<i>mícist'húulééka tkiyi kicááwá</i> <i>c'hú tkáámá</i>	You 2 gave it (to him/them) Did he eat?
<i>tkh</i>		<i>c'hú tkháámá</i> <i>c'hú tkhámmíumá</i> <i>c'hú tkhámmicka</i>	Did we 2 (incl.) eat? Did we pl. incl. eat? Did I eat you?
<i>tkm</i>		<i>c'hú tkmáámá</i>	Did you eat?
<i>tkmc</i>		<i>c'hú tkmcáámá</i>	Did you 2 eat?
<i>tkt</i>	[de Á Subordinate Past]	<i>tktiyi</i> <i>c'hú tkitáámá</i>	Was he? Did they two eat?
<i>tlk</i>	[de Ángulo]	<i>tlkiyi</i> <i>tlkuwááticka</i>	You might be He might be wrt you
<i>tlikc</i>	[de Ángulo]	<i>tlikciy'</i> <i>tlkicicíiúma</i>	You might be; are you? (Nonsingular) You might be; are you? (plural)
<i>tsk</i>		<i>pámmé tskiyi</i> <i>tskicoo'óóyi</i> <i>c'hú tskimáámá</i> <i>mícist'húulééka tskiciyi skicááwá</i> <i>mícist'húulééka tskiciyi skicáwwíumá</i> <i>mimééka ya má tskiciyi skicáwwíumá.</i> <i>mimééka ya má tskiciyi skicíntámakúyi qa tiliyahtúúmi</i> <i>mimééka ya má tskiciyi skicáwwíumá</i>	You don't know me You were/had been w.r.t. me Did you eat me? You 2 gave it to us 2 You 2 gave it to us pl. You're the one who gave it to us. It's you who told us 2 an old story You gave it to us 2.
<i>stkh</i>	[de Á Subordinate Past]	<i>tskihiyi</i>	We were (nonsingular)

<i>k</i>	Hearer (second person; thou, you)
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tskm

c^hú tskimáámá

Did you eat me?

<i>ḷ, l</i>	Intention, will, emotion
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<i>l ~ ḷ</i>	intention; emotion?	<i>laahuumá</i> <i>lám</i> <i>lám sópsiwci.</i> <i>lháámá</i> <i>lháwwicka</i> <i>lháwwi kúcicka</i> <i>tóólol wáka lháwwiumá.</i> <i>tóólol wáka slháwwiumá.</i> <i>itt^húulééka slháwwicka</i> <i>itt^húulééka yá tlhcááwicka</i> <i>lhcááwicka</i> <i>micist^húulééka skicáwwiumá</i> <i>lhúptq</i> <i>lhičál</i> <i>lháák^hááta</i> (vs. <i>mh--a</i> , <i>mh--i</i>)	I'll run! I'll eat! I tried to eat. You and I ate. I gave it to you. I will give it to you. You all and I gave it. They and I (my side) give They and I gave it to you They and I gave it to you pl. He and I gave it to you two You pl. gave it to me Let's go! Let's hide it! I'll cut you! Let's cut it!
<i>lh ~ ḷh</i> <i>slh ~ sḷh</i>	volition ¹¹ + [speaker+] other = hearer speaker + volition + other	<i>lkáákaqwáci</i> <i>piiq^há lkám</i> <i>lka'áámá</i> <i>lka'ámmicka</i> <i>c^hú lkí</i> <i>qaámíc' umá lkííciiláka</i> <i>lkímmaamac</i>	I wish that you would stay Do you want to eat this kind? You would like to eat. If you eat, ... If someone ate you. He'd [like to] eat you. What would you do? What can you do? You must have lice You should go see
<i>ḷk</i>		<i>lka'áámá</i> <i>lka'ámmicka</i> <i>c^hú lkí</i> <i>qaámíc' umá lkííciiláka</i> <i>lkímmaamac</i>	You would like to eat. If you eat, ... If someone ate you. He'd [like to] eat you. What would you do? What can you do? You must have lice You should go see
<i>lk'</i>		<i>lka'áámá</i> <i>lka'ámmicka</i> <i>c^hú lkí</i> <i>qaámíc' umá lkííciiláka</i> <i>lkímmaamac</i>	You would like to eat. If you eat, ... If someone ate you. He'd [like to] eat you. What would you do? What can you do? You must have lice You should go see
<i>ḷy</i>		<i>ḷyíiná</i> <i>táq l'ám</i> <i>táhka aamá umá l'úw</i> <i>c^hááwá l'uskím qá pi q^há</i> <i>l'áspúttéima</i> <i>tóólolllíni l'áspúttéima ckwapswci</i> <i>q^hañ wáka l'íimaćqát qá piq^há</i>	He might come back What is she going to eat? It might be dirty Where might he sit down? he might poke a hole! everywhere he might try to poke a hole. If everybody would understand this
<i>l'</i>		<i>táq l'ám</i> <i>táhka aamá umá l'úw</i> <i>c^hááwá l'uskím qá pi q^há</i> <i>l'áspúttéima</i> <i>tóólolllíni l'áspúttéima ckwapswci</i> <i>q^hañ wáka l'íimaćqát qá piq^há</i>	He might come back What is she going to eat? It might be dirty Where might he sit down? he might poke a hole! everywhere he might try to poke a hole. If everybody would understand this

11 I excessively rectified *-h* to *ḷh-*. Where volition is clearly absent, it should be *h-*, but *lháámá* here could be OK.

<i>í, i</i>	Intention, will, emotion		
<i>ml, ml, ml, ml</i>	may he be he might be he would	<i>mil mlúw</i> <i>mhuuk^háátam</i> <i>álistiíca mlappástuma hamíssáte c^ha sa umá illáásí ka</i> <i>c^hú sa aamá ó mlís</i> <i>aa c^hútika woy woy, wé áncia mliiléq</i> <i>m^huut^huuka wiśí qa páálá.</i>	May he be confused! (dizzy) She might have fainted Whoever lives should put a little rock on top Let her say whatever she wants! g.s. would cover it up (LR71k:1.2) He said he would be here today
<i>ma í</i>	future volitional (malís.jpg) <Sentence> <i>ma í</i> -<stem> The context motivates the volition later.	<i>mil malúw</i> <i>malám</i> <i>malímmáçhacpiimi</i> <i>maláq</i> <i>malilúmmóóyáma</i> <i>malámmááyamí</i> <i>malíç tuci kú suwá</i> <i>malíçwaaqaacuka kasta?</i> <i>qóówís can átém malí yááçúúlama.</i> <i>té slíyí amq^há</i>	I will be confused! (dizzy) I will eat! I will look down into the water! I will walk! (<i>qí</i> ‘step’) I will make him lose (<i>yám</i> aux. ‘cause’) I will feed him! I’m going to bite him ‘I will shut her off’ you meant? = why didn’t you shut her off? I will live out my life even with a hippo.
<i>sl, sl</i>			I can do that!
<i>slç</i>		<i>lhúit^himiyac mám kú slíçintámmaakóo</i> <i>çé slíçááci tilúmmááwi</i>	I’ll hire you, whereupon you tell us Don’t leave us behind!
<i>sl’, sl’</i>		<i>sl’áámá</i> <i>íçisúpsaayáke tímcan sl’úw</i> <i>c^hú sa sl’íy</i>	I might eat. Would that I eat. Be careful if something bad happens to me What should I do?
<i>slh, slh</i>		<i>slháámá.</i> <i>slhám!</i> <i>slhinááwaq^hwámca</i> <i>itt^hú ká slhiyí; q^hám slhiçiumá</i> <i>wáási kúçí slhiçiumá qá itt^hú ká támamá</i> <i>slhináámáátumá</i>	he and I ate We are going to eat! (not you) let’s go play! there’s two of us; there’s a bunch of us We can hunt for our food We (they & I) slept
<i>slk, slk</i>		<i>slkálilláqti</i> <i>assiíca slkiíla.</i> <i>it q^háléléwa hay’ slkínúw.</i>	If you would want me Could you give me a little water? At least you ought to think about me.

<i>í, l</i>	Intention, will, emotion		
<i>st</i>		<i>as stáwwá</i> <i>stiilacóo wáhhac</i> <i>stacáálúccíca</i>	Give me water! Pass me bread, give me bread! Clean (roots) and lift them to me (feed me).
<i>stlh</i>		<i>stlháátíwci</i> <i>cé stlhwíumá t^hús tisunci.</i> <i>táq stlhiiccíumá?</i>	We must have had a fight Seems likely we didn't feel good. What are we?
<i>tl</i>	[de Ángulo]	N <i>tliý</i> <i>tlicáál</i> <i>tliýí</i>	Let me be N! Volitional Present Let me hide! He might be; is he?
<i>tlh</i>		<i>cóckam aq^cuumí' tihíyí is tlhaakáací pi q^há wáté</i>	We live here a short while
<i>tlk</i>	[de Ángulo]	<i>tlkiýí</i>	You might be
<i>tlikc</i>	[de Ángulo]	<i>tlikciý</i> <i>tlkicicíiiuma</i>	You might be; are you? (Nonsingular) You might be; are you? (plural)
<i>tlit</i>	[de Ángulo]	<i>tlitiý</i>	They might be; are they? (Nonsingular)
<i>tl'</i>		<i>is tl'áácá</i>	I wish there were people (here)
<i>tml</i>	[de Ángulo]	N <i>tmlí</i>	I will be N! volitional future
<i>tslh</i>		<i>slhóhpááci tslhiýí</i> <i>slhimáámááyí tslhiýí,</i> <i>má tslhiýí cé slhuwwí túúsaayi</i>	He and I are taking a bath. [state/condition] We were letting it ripen, that's why we weren't digging it.
<i>tsl</i>		<i>tsliýí</i>	I might be; 'Essential' be, Optative
<i>tyl</i> [<i>c^hil</i>]		<i>tylám</i> <i>tylámmitw</i> <i>t^húsýí wa tyilináátaamatýí qa is</i>	let him eat! let them eat! May the people meet together in a good way!
<i>ckl</i>	remote past + <i>l</i> volitional emotion	<i>hacéq ckluw</i>	he gasped

<i>m̃, m</i>	unmanifest (might be)
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<i>m, m̃</i>		<i>m̃ááćímcí kúci.</i> <i>m̃ááćímcí kúci umá.</i> <i>m̃ááćímcí kúci umá qa tí.</i>	Will it rain? It might rain. It might rain, maybe. It might snow.
<i>mc, m̃c</i>		<i>cʰú mcálilláqti sáttít tááyíćumí wá.</i> <i>mhálilláqticka</i> <i>m̃hépta</i> <i>mhínímmá</i>	Would you 2 like to go to Glass Mountain? Do I like you? We 2 will go home! I'd like to go see him!
<i>mh, m̃h</i>		<i>mhínímmááćíwci</i> <i>mhínímmááćóo</i> <i>késtʰam lhuwááticka mhínímmááticka</i> <i>m̃hínímmác kúćóo amqʰá hamíssa m̃litaáćéémáka</i>	We saw each other I'll see you. Let's see each other. I won't see you any more When I see you I'll move apart alone
<i>ml, m̃l, m̃l̃, m̃l̃̃</i>	may he be he might be he would	<i>mil m̃lúw</i> <i>mluukʰáátam</i> <i>álistíica m̃lappástuma hamíssáte cʰa sa umá illáási ka</i> <i>cʰú sa aamá ó m̃lís</i> <i>aa cʰútika woy woy, wé áncá m̃liiléq̃</i> <i>m̃luutʰuuka wiśi qa páálá.</i>	May he be confused! (dizzy) She might have fainted Whoever lives should put a little rock on top Let her say whatever she wants! g.s. would cover it up (LR71k:1.2) He said he would be here today
<i>mal̃</i>	future volitional (malís.jpg) <Sentence> <i>ma l̃</i> -<stem> The context motivates the volition later.	<i>mil mal̃úw</i> <i>malám</i> <i>malímmáćʰacpiimi</i> <i>maláq̃</i> <i>malilúmmóóyáma</i> <i>malámmááyamí</i> <i>malíć tuci kú suwá</i> <i>mal̃kićwaaqaacuka kasta?</i> <i>qóówis can átém malí yááćúúlama.</i>	I will be confused! (dizzy) I will eat! I will look down into the water! I will walk! (<i>q̃i</i> 'step') I will make him lose (<i>yám</i> aux. 'cause') I will feed him! I'm going to bite him 'I will shut her off' you meant? = why didn't you shut her off? I will live out my life even with a hippo.

<i>m̃, m</i>	unmanifest (might be)
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<i>sm̃, sm</i>		<i>smáámá</i> <i>cʰú smĩsi</i> <i>smálictik̃ kúci.</i>	Did I eat? What might you say to me? I might get scared.
<i>sm̃h, smh</i>		<i>smháámá</i> <i>smhináámáátumá</i>	Did we eat?
<i>smt</i>		<i>haỹ smítinnúw.</i> [< <i>smítinnúuwí</i>] <i>cé smítuwíumá ticépli.</i> <i>cé smítuwíumá haỹ tinúúci.</i> <i>smtánás̃</i> <i>it smítuwá smítaakʰáátíyuma?</i>	Tell him to remember me. He didn't give me a share. I guess he didn't think about me. Let her sing a love song to me! Is he cutting it for me?
<i>stm</i>	You ev. wrt me	<i>stmuwá stmóólaaci</i>	You evidently are feeding me
<i>tʰám</i>	<i>tʰá + m</i>	<i>qa áámĩc̃ qʰám̃ tʰámĩyí</i>	Oh, there must be lots of lice!
<i>ckm</i>		<i>cʰú ckamáámá</i> <i>ckmĩyí [tkùmìi]</i>	Did you eat? [de Ángulo's gloss] thou, 'Essential' be, Sub. Past
<i>ckmc</i>	[de Ángulo <i>tkmc</i>]	<i>cʰú ckmcáámá</i>	Did you (nonsingular) eat?
<i>cksm</i>	[de Ángulo <i>tksm</i>]	<i>cksmĩyí</i>	thou-me, 'Essential' be, Subordinate Past
<i>tm</i>		<i>tmáápaami</i>	You lost it
<i>tmc</i>		<i>tmcáámá</i>	You two are eating. You must have eaten it!
<i>tmh</i>		<i>ittʰú tmihĩyí</i>	Is it you and me? (e.g. looking at a photo.)
<i>tml</i>	[de Ángulo]	N <i>tmlí</i>	I will be <i>N!</i> volitional future
<i>tmt</i>	[de Ángulo]	N <i>tmti</i>	They two will be <i>N!</i> volitional future
<i>tskm</i>		<i>cʰú tskimáámá</i>	Did you eat me?
<i>tsm</i>		<i>ís aatóq̃ti tsmĩyí</i> <i>it tsmĩyí</i>	Am I Indian(-leaning)? Is it me?

<i>ṃ, m</i>	unmanifest (might be)
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		<i>tymáák^hááti</i>	He'll cut you! [de Ángulo vol.]
		<i>ó tymiśi</i>	let him say to you!
		<i>ís tymi'yí</i>	I hear you're an Indian
<i>tym</i> [not = <i>cm</i> ?]		<i>tymáátiwei</i>	you were fighting (hearsay)
			(I've evidence that you had one)
		<i>tóólol tymissawíni</i>	(fire) all went out
		<i>mínmissááwi?</i>	did the fire go out?
		<i>cmíctáh</i>	[eyelid (<i>míç</i> 'blink')]
<i>m'</i>	deAGr 97b	<i>m'áámá</i>	that you eat; interrogative; perfective

<i>ma + l̥</i>	‘volitional future’ 1 st person	< ‘lo!’, ‘look, see, find’
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tóósiwcan aawátca malám
ma litawáy qa tám̥mi kúci
té ticci kú malhuwáticka
malúptéécuma
cé malúw tit^halúumi

I will eat just a bit of deer (meat).
 I will make the rounds (to gather) food
 I will do thus to you
 I will go (home) back across
 I won’t work!

The other ‘volitional future’ forms on p. 91
 of the *Grammar* are a confused mess. Some
 have *m-* 3rd person, some have *-ca* ‘go ahead
 and __’, some repeat the ‘indicative’ forms.

s Speaker (first person; I, we)			
<i>s</i>	speaker	<i>sáámá.</i> <i>sápti</i>	I ate. I'm going
		<i>scóónáyikumá</i> <i>scóót^hééwi</i>	She's chasing us He heard us
<i>sc</i> [<i>sty</i>]	speaker + hearers [speaker + 3 rd person agent] but 1 st pl. incl.	<i>tétwí kú scáuwaátumá</i> <i>tiilac kú scááwáátumá qa missuc'</i> <i>tóólol scááwíumá.</i> <i>scakááleećuminóo</i> <i>sciináásúúcinóo</i>	They'll kill us They'll give us handouts of meat. He gave it to all of us. They drove us back with them They caught us
<i>sh</i>	speaker + other	<i>shúúsaayínóo</i>	We two dug
<i>sk</i>	hearer agent, speaker patient	<i>hay' skínúuwí.</i> <i>hew' skínúúwicka.</i>	I remember you. I forgot you. <i>ks-</i> is not available, and the <i>-icka</i> makes the <i>k</i> the patient rather than the agent.
<i>skc</i>	hearer-speaker-nonsingular	<i>ćé skicúccí hay' tucci qa táwwawýací wa.</i> <i>micist^húúléeka tskiciyí skicááwá</i> <i>míicist^húúléeka tskiciyí skicáwwíumá</i> <i>mímééka ya má tskiciyí skicáwwíumá.</i> <i>mímééka ya má tskiciyí skicintámakúyí qa tiliyahtúúmi</i> <i>mímééka ya má tskiciyí skicáwwíumá</i>	Don't think about giving a share to us You 2 gave it to us 2. You 2 gave it to us (plural). You're the one who gave it to us. You're the one who told us 2 an old story. You gave it to us 2.
<i>skm</i>		<i>skimáámá</i> [Unattested]	You might have eaten me.
<i>tskm</i>		<i>c^hú tskimáámá</i> [<i>tsú tskmá má</i>]	Did you eat me?
<i>sk'</i>	hearer-speaker-potential	<i>hay' skínúúci.</i> <i>hay' skínúúci?</i>	You should remember me. Do you remember me?
<i>sl', sl</i>	speaker + volition (+ potential)	<i>té slíyí amq^há</i> <i>slínáliiqaací</i>	I can do that! Would that I could meet someone!
<i>sl'c</i>	speaker + volition (+ potential) + nonsing.	<i>lhiit^himiyac mám kú slícintámmaakóo</i> <i>ćé slícáací tilúmmaááwi</i>	I'll hire you, whereupon you tell us Don't leave us behind!
<i>sl', sl'</i>	speakerspeaker + volition + potential	<i>sl'áámá</i> <i>ícisúpsaayáke tímcan sl'úw</i> <i>c^hú sa sl'íy</i>	I might eat. Would that I eat. Be careful if something bad happens to me What should I do?

s	Speaker (first person; I, we)
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<i>slh, slh</i>	speaker + volition (+ potential) + other ¹²	<i>slháámá.</i> <i>słhám!</i> <i>slhinááwaq'wámca</i> <i>itt'u ká slhiyí; q'ám slhiciumá</i> <i>wáási kúci slhiiciumá qá itt'u ká támamá</i> <i>slhináámáátumá</i>	he and I ate We are going to eat! (not you) let's go play! there's two of us; there's a bunch of us We can hunt for our food We slept
<i>slh ~ slh</i>	speaker + volition ¹³ + other	<i>tóólol wáka slháwwiumá.</i> <i>itt'uúlééka slháwwicka</i> <i>micist'uúlééka skicáwwiumá</i>	They and I (my side) give They and I gave it to you You pl. gave it to me
<i>slk, slk</i>	hearer-speaker + volition	<i>slkálilláqti</i> <i>assíica slkiíla.</i> <i>it q'álééwa hay' slkinúw.</i>	If you would want me Could you give me a little water? At least you ought to think about me.
<i>sm, sm</i>	speaker + unmanifest	<i>smáámá</i> <i>c'u smiíi</i> <i>smálictik kúci.</i>	Did I eat? What might you say to me? I might get scared.
<i>smh, smh</i>	speaker + unmanifest + other	<i>smháámá</i> <i>smhináámáátumá</i>	Did we eat? Did we sleep?
<i>smt</i>	speaker + unmanifest + V _s t-	<i>hay' smitinnúw. [smitinnúw < smitinnúuwí]</i> <i>cé smítuúwiumá ticépli. [smítuúwiumá]</i> <i>cé smítuúwiumá hay' tinúúci. [smítuúwiumá]</i> <i>smtánás</i> <i>it smítuúwá smítaak'áátúyuma?</i>	Tell him to remember me. He didn't give me a share. I guess he didn't think about me. Let her sing a love song to me! Is he cutting it for me?
<i>st</i>	speaker + V _s t-	<i>as stáwwá</i> <i>stitinímmáácumá,</i> <i>sticéptáswáacumá [stiti- ?]</i>	Give me water! They must have seen me, they must have been watching me
<i>stw</i>	I am in state of Ving; I had Ven	<i>stwinúnnéhmici</i> <i>stwatúúla 'áyí</i> <i>hay' stwinúuwí</i> <i>múicim hay' stwinúuwí</i>	I overslept. It tastes so very good! (can't leave it alone) I remembered (old memory) I remembered yesterday

12 When *s-* is explicit, it asserts 'my side' vs. 'your (the hearer's) side', and the hearer is implicitly addressed, whence 'other' is 3rd person. In *lh-* without *s-*, involvement of the speaker is implicit, and the 'other' is implicitly the hearer.

13 I excessively rectified *-h* to *lh-*. Where volition is clearly absent, it should be *h-*, but *lháámá* here could be OK.

s Speaker (first person; I, we)			
<i>st^há</i>	speaker + news	<i>čé st^háyuwí hay' tucci té tiici kúci</i> <i>hew' st^háyuwí</i> <i>čé st^háyuwí hay' tucci qa tiniliqqaaci wa</i> <i>st^háyáátíwci</i>	I never thought it would turn out this way I forgot! Didn't I think about meeting someone! I must have had a fight!
<i>stic</i>	speaker + V _s t- + hearers	<i>sticákasaswácinóo</i>	He shepherded us
<i>sck</i>	speaker + V _s t- + hearer [de Ángulo: = <i>tsk</i> - ?]	<i>sckuwááticka</i> [stakiwáðitska] <i>sckiyí</i> [stàkii]	I-thee, 'Essential' be, Subordinate Past I, 'Essential' be, Subordinate Past
<i>sckh</i>	speaker + V _s t- + hearer +	<i>č^hú sckháámá</i>	Did we eat?
<i>stlh</i>		<i>stlháátíwci</i> <i>čé stlhuwíumá t^hús tisunci.</i> <i>táq stlhiicciumá?</i>	We must have had a fight Seems likely we didn't feel good. What are we?
<i>stm</i>	You ev. wrt me	<i>stmuwá stmóólaaci</i>	You evidently are feeding me
<i>st'</i>	[de Ángulo]	<i>st'áámá</i> <i>čé suwiciíni t-V (čé suwiciíni tinissúúci)</i>	I already ate I never Ved, I wasn't able to V (seize)
<i>sw</i>	Speaker + state/condition	<i>tiniíci kú kuwáati</i> <i>tiniíci kú suwáati</i> <i>tikuusaymi kú suwáátumá</i> <i>q^hé suwá suwáhtaacúúyí</i>	Are you going to move? I'm going to move Will push me I will cook acorn for that one.
<i>sy</i>		<i>syáčtiisumá</i> <i>syáápaami</i> <i>syétwíumá; syétwí kúcumá</i> <i>syééyiilamá; syééyiilakumá.</i> <i>syúúqaatáyma kúcumá.</i>	I was whipped [someone whipped me] I lost it [=it dropped away from me] She killed me; she will kill me. He follows me; he follows me hither He will pay me
<i>st^hááy</i>	high pitch contrasting with <i>uw</i> (cp. <i>syiuwí</i>)	<i>hew' st^háyuwí</i>	I forgot [remembering now is news]
<i>st^hay</i>		<i>st^háyáámá</i> <i>st^háyáátíwci</i>	I must have eaten it! I must have had a fight!
<i>cksm</i>		<i>ckismiýí</i> [de Á tksm, tkùsmi]	thou-me, 'Essential' be, Subordinate Past
<i>ts</i>		<i>it tsiýí</i> <i>malúúsíhwi p^hitíuúwí' ckiý tsicciíni.</i> <i>puwwááwí aacáátumí tsicciíni</i>	It's me I was ten years of age. I was a bull rider

s	Speaker (first person; I, we)		
<i>tsh</i>		<i>tsihammíumá</i>	We ate (<i>lhammíumá</i> 'we ate')
<i>tsk</i>		<i>pámmé tskiyí</i> <i>tskicoo'óoyí</i>	You don't know me You were/had been w.r.t. me
	[de Ángulo]	<i>tskicoo'óoyí</i> <i>micist^húúlééka tskiciyí skicááwá</i>	thou-me, 'Essential' be, Indicative Past You 2 gave it to us 2.
<i>tskc</i>		<i>míicist^húúlééka tskiciyí skicáwwíumá</i>	You 2 gave it to us (plural).
		<i>mímééka ya má tskiciyí skicáwwíumá.</i>	You're the one who gave it to us.
		<i>mímééka ya má tskiciyí skicíntámakúyí qa tiliyahtúúmi</i>	You're the one who told us 2 an old story.
		<i>mímééka ya má tskiciyí skicáwwíumá</i>	You gave it to us 2.
<i>tskh</i>	[de Á Subordinate Past]	<i>tskihiyí</i>	We were (nonsingular)
<i>tskm</i>		<i>c^hú tskimáámá</i>	Did you eat me?
<i>tsl</i>		<i>tsliyí</i>	I might be; 'Essential' be, Optative
		<i>slhóhpááci tslhiyí</i>	He and I are taking a bath.
<i>tslh</i>		<i>slhímáámááyí tslhiyí,</i> <i>má tslhiyí cé slhuwwí túúsaayi</i>	[Asserts state/condition] We were letting it ripen, that's why we weren't digging it.
<i>tsl</i>		<i>tsliyí</i>	I might be; 'Essential' be, Optative
<i>tsm</i>		<i>ís aatóqti tsmiyí</i> <i>it tsmiyí</i>	Am I Indian(-leaning)? Is it me?
<i>tst</i>		<i>ki wáli tsti'yí</i>	Who am I? Who are we?

<i>t</i>	Argument indicator under V _s		
<i>t</i>	[participle]	[examples in separate file]	
<i>t</i>	3 rd person		
<i>ckt</i>	<i>ck</i> + <i>t</i> dual 3 rd person dual remote past [de Á Subordinate Past <i>tk</i>]	<i>cktiśi</i> <i>támmáame 'kam ckitáámaati</i> <i>cktatiwwalmiwei</i> <i>cktáák^hé</i> <i>palá' cktiçwaatápqácuma</i> <i>tíícaali wa ckyúuwi amq^hákam, cé cktuwi tiniícaali.</i> <i>tííqaati ckinánca</i> <i>qa céémul ckititúwááyíumá.</i> <i>kináçqálumi ckitisáátumá</i> <i>ckwiníissá qa aminínca. qa séqtánaáwaka ckitiniísiumá.</i> <i>cktiyi</i> [also de Á <i>tkidi</i>] <i>c^hú ckitáámá</i>	2 said Without eating they went to bed. were neighbors 2 climbed up had already seized in teeth Wanted t hide them, but couldn't hide them. There was no land. Coyote was looking for him. “Did you fall down?” he asked him. o.w. drank it up, lizard was drunk up with it Was he? Did they two eat?
	<i>tl</i>	[de Ángulo]	N <i>tliy'</i> <i>tlicál</i> <i>tliyi</i>
<i>tlit</i>	[de Ángulo]	<i>tlitiy'</i>	They might be; are they? (Nonsingular)
<i>tl'</i>		<i>is tl'áacá</i>	I wish there were people (here)
<i>tm</i>		<i>tmáapaami</i>	You lost it (It must have dropped from you)
<i>tml</i>	[de Ángulo]	N <i>tmlí</i>	I will be N! volitional future
<i>tmt</i>	[de Ángulo]	N <i>tmti</i>	They two will be N! volitional future
<i>tt</i>		<i>Táq ttánuwi qa q^hé?</i> <i>Ki ú cahnááqi ttánuwi qá pi?</i> <i>q^hé tím ttiyi ttápté</i> <i>táq wáli ttuwi tiwísiimááké</i> <i>má ttiśi</i>	What's that? Whose hat is this? Right there is where they've gone! What does he think he is, to talk [that way]?
		<i>táq sa ya ttúuwí</i> <i>c^héy'é ttápté?</i>	What in the world is going on? Which way did they go?
<i>ttit</i>	Perh. epenthetic, as in <i>it ká tsiyi</i> [it' gá t' c ^h i?yi']	<i>hakcá yá ttiyi</i> <i>c^hééwa ttiyi tuut^huuki?</i>	It's those two. How did they get here?

<i>t</i>	Argument indicator under V _s		
<i>tw</i>		<i>wit^hahwí twaaciíni amq^háka wíyáací ka</i> <i>waaśíini qá assí kam, ik^him yáásiini, má áncá twaaciíni</i> <i>wintámmaaki.</i> <i>allu wa twítyuumíini tóólol.</i>	He couldn't hear well because he was old. He spoke while singing, he just sang, and then he was narrator. they all died of hunger. [hearsay]
<i>tyw</i> (<i>cw</i> vs. <i>ckw</i> ?)	Personally remembered events. Also Moon to Earth does not have <i>ck</i> +	<i>tywálúúciikaswáciní</i> <i>tywammákyaswáciní</i> <i>mákmaáka ka tywááciini</i> <i>tóólol tywakassaymíni,</i> <i>má áncá tywináácaalíni,</i> <i>má áncá we tywinahyíinátini qa cíwci.</i> <i>tywinááciúulamíni (winááciúulamí)</i>	holding bowstring pulled back looking up for anything The pileated woodpecker it was drove them all away and then hid them and then bunched the bones together lived & died there. (Lives out his days)
<i>ty ty</i> (<i>cy</i> vs. <i>cky</i> ?)	Personally remembered events.	<i>tyúúciin</i> , <i>(tywinahyíinátini)</i> <i>má táq úm ticáqti kú tucci tyááciini qa cíwci.</i> <i>[aaqo wáté] tyúútasécúciní</i> <i>amq^hákam allu wa twítyuumíini tóólol.</i> <i>qa cóónikcan qá aswú tyáák^háátini,</i> <i>má áncá tyááp^húúliní</i> <i>tyáámaati</i> <i>tykáámaati / ckáámaati</i> <i>tyáápaami (syáápaami)</i> <i>c^hééwa, cyééwa, cyé</i>	was (He bunched them) so that nothing could touch the bones. They went to the top of the mountains, but despite that they all died of hunger. They cut small ones, trees, and trimmed them He's sleeping (evidently; hearsay). He was sleeping (some time ago). He (I) lost it. [It dropped away from ____] which way? where?
<i>tyl</i>		<i>tylám</i> <i>tylámmitw</i> <i>t^húsyi wa tyilináataamatyi qa ís</i>	let him eat! let them eat! May the people meet together in a good way!
<i>tym</i>		<i>tymáák^háati</i> <i>ó tymiśi</i> <i>ís tymiyi</i> <i>tymáátíwci</i> <i>tóólol tymissawíni</i> <i>mínmissááwi?</i> <i>cmićtáh</i>	He'll cut you! [de Ángulo vol.] let him say to you! I hear you're an Indian you were fighting (hearsay) (I've evidence that you had one) (fire) all went out did the fire go out? [eyelid (<i>mić</i> 'blink')]

<i>t</i>	Argument indicator under V _s
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		<i>tytám</i> <i>tytápti</i> <i>tytaptééni</i>	let them 2 eat! they've gone (recently) they went (remote past) (I believe it, I'm telling you) they asked their grandmother again they two made (children) he made 2 (wives=married two) women desired him
<i>tyt</i> [not = <i>ct</i> ?]		<i>íaq^hápá tytóót^híklí qa kac^húni wáac^huuwí</i> <i>tytinááyíini</i> <i>lúmmé' tytinááyíuma</i> <i>ámit^héwcan wáka ctállílláqtínó.</i>	
	The very large collection of <i>t</i> - participles is not included here, subject to further analysis.		
<i>tyw</i>		<i>tywilúpsááyí</i> <i>k^hókcam wilúpsááyí</i> <i>c^hááwá tyilúpsááyí</i> <i>amq^há ú tilúpsááyí,</i> <i>yúpsááyí wíc icééci'</i> (Cp. <i>tilúpsa</i> 'Pile it up in one place!')	They're gathering together. There weren't many gathering there. Where's the party? By milling around, they looked like a crowd.
<i>t'</i>	deAGr 97b	<i>t'áámá</i>	that you eat; interrogative; perfective
<i>t-</i>	as though 3 rd person	<i>c^héyé tíuwi, c^hááwá tíuwi</i>	Which way are they, where are they?

<i>t</i>	Manifest (news to hearer); query		
<i>tih</i>	3 rd psn + other (speaker-hearer)	<i>hew' tihuuwícka.</i> <i>Cóckam aq'uumí' tihíyí is tlhaakáací pi q'á wáté.</i> <i>Ascuy íi uci wáté tihíyí</i> <i>c'hú tihóóci kúci</i>	I forgot you. We are living a short while here. We were in winter snow what will we do?
<i>tk</i>	hearer	<i>cuutínmic tkiyí</i> <i>titt'héewámé tkiyí</i> <i>húúta ka iicí tkuwááticka</i> <i>yatwí tkuwááticka</i>	You're sinking; you're going to sink. You don't listen (hear, obey). A rattlesnake might bite you. He'll kill you. (Someone will, 'they' will.)
<i>tk'</i>	hearer + potential/unmanifest	<i>is tkiyí?</i> <i>sáwtu umá tkíuwí</i>	Are you Indian? Maybe you're pregnant.
<i>tkc</i>		<i>q'hé ka tkuwwááticka kicámmáálicka tóólol</i> <i>q'he ka tkicúwááticka kicámmáálicka tóólol.</i> <i>t'hús is tkíckááací</i> <i>tkicináákoowácumá</i>	That's who hit all of you That's the one you were all hit by Live well (nonsingular) Are you sitting around? (you and them)
<i>tlh</i>	3 rd psn + will + other	[with <i>tih</i> -]	We live here a short while
<i>tlk</i>	[de Ángulo]	<i>tlkiyí</i>	You might be
<i>tlikc</i>	[de Ángulo]	<i>tlikeyí</i> <i>tlkicicíiúma</i>	You might be; are you? (Nonsingular) You might be; are you? (plural)
<i>tmc</i>		<i>tmcáámá</i>	You two are eating. You must have eaten it!
<i>tmh</i>		<i>itt'hú tmihiyí</i>	Is it you and me? (e.g. looking at a photo.)
<i>ts</i>		<i>it tsiyí</i> <i>malúúsílwí p'itíúúwí' ckiy' tsicciíni.</i> <i>puwwááwí aacáátumí tsicciíni</i>	It's me I was ten years of age. I was a bull rider
<i>tsh</i>		<i>tsihammíumá</i>	We ate (<i>lhammíumá</i> 'we ate')
<i>tsk</i>		<i>pámmé tskiyí</i> <i>tskicoo'óoyí</i>	You don't know me You were/had been w.r.t. me

<i>t</i>	Manifest (news to hearer); query		
	[de Ángulo]	<i>tskicoo'óoyí</i> <i>micist^húúlééka tskiciyí skicááwá</i>	thou-me, 'Essential' be, Indicative Past You 2 gave it to us 2.
<i>tskc</i>		<i>micist^húúlééka tskiciyí skicáwwíumá</i> <i>mimééka ya má tskiciyí skicáwwíumá.</i> <i>mimééka ya má tskiciyí skicíntámakúyí qa tiliyahtúúmi</i> <i>mimééka ya má tskiciyí skicáwwíumá</i>	You 2 gave it to us (plural). You're the one who gave it to us. You're the one who told us 2 an old story. You gave it to us 2.
<i>tskh</i>	[de Á Subordinate Past]	<i>tskihiyí</i>	We were (nonsingular)
<i>tskm</i>		<i>c^hú tskimáámá</i>	Did you eat me?
<i>tsl</i>		<i>tsliyí</i>	I might be; 'Essential' be, Optative
<i>tslh</i>		<i>slhóhpááci tslhiyí</i> <i>slhimáámááyí tslhiyí,</i> <i>má tslhiyí cé slhuwwí túúsaayi</i>	He and I are taking a bath. [state/condition] We were letting it ripen, that's why we weren't digging it.
<i>tsm</i>		<i>ís aatóq̣ti tsmiyí</i> <i>it tsmiyí</i>	Am I Indian(-leaning)? Is it me?
<i>tst</i>		<i>ki wáli tstiyí</i>	Who am I? Who are we?
<i>ty</i>		<i>iqpiimí tyíyí</i>	I hear he's Wintu
<i>tyl</i>		<i>t^húsyí wa tylináátaamatyí qa ís</i>	May the people meet together in a good way!

<i>tʰa</i>	Proclaimed (news [to speaker?])
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<i>tʰá</i>		<i>túúsááya tʰániši</i> <i>acpuuyí tʰánišiini</i> N <i>tʰániciini</i> N <i>tʰáninúulaakini</i> <i>tʰániicúmcini</i> <i>éleplaaláwi tʰániyi</i>	“Dig!” he must have told you! I know he spoke the truth. came from, is of, belongs to N N came hither into (valley)
<i>tʰááy, tʰáy</i>	New information [two words <i>tʰá</i> + V]	<i>tʰááyuwí</i> <i>sapti tʰáyuwi</i> <i>qʰé tʰáyuwi</i> <i>is tʰáyuwi</i>	He has broken speech So it is It’s a flood It’s there (I found it). There must be people here!
<i>stʰááy</i>	high pitch contrasting with <i>uw</i> (cp. <i>syiuwí</i>)	<i>hew stʰááyuwí</i>	I forgot [remembering now is news]
<i>stʰay</i>		<i>stʰayáámá</i> <i>stʰayáátiwci</i>	I must have eaten it! I must have had a fight!
<i>tʰám</i>	<i>tʰá + m</i>	<i>qa áámič qʰám tʰámiyi</i>	Oh, there must be lots of lice!

<i>w</i>	Durative state: characteristic; durative or habitual condition
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<i>w-</i>		<i>wáluuk^háátí</i> <i>cum cum wámííci</i>	weeps hysterically It's dripping
	Like a nominalization	<i>kí íaq ca q^hám wímmacqáti tsiyí</i> <i>lúpwíísé wa wáási tsiyí.</i>	That's as far as I know (=I am a knower) I hunt with a bow (hunter with bow)
	Conventionalized as a noun	<i>winilláátiwí</i>	White colonist (One who moves around place to place)
<i>k'w</i>	he-you	<i>k'wacállúc'ícaswaci</i> <i>ca + luc + éi + c + as + waci</i>	Has he been cleaning roots & feeding you?

y	3 rd person
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sy	syétwíumá.	She kills me
ty'	syétwí kúcumá,	she will kill me,
y'	má tyúúci kú,	lo it will fall,
y'	yúúciitánki kú	it will fall down
y'	palá' yátwá itt ^h úni tatýí wilóo,	She already killed our late mother,
y'	yátwá	killed her
y'	má yáámá	and is eating her.
ty	iqpiimí tyítyí	I hear he's Wintu.
	tyáámá	He must have eaten it.
	táq tyíci tmiyí tíimáqci	What might it be you are traveling (for)?
ty'	q ^h é tím tyánuwí itt ^h ú kláála	Those are indeed my shoes.
	q ^h é ka tyúwáátumá iyámmáálumá qa q ^h é c'ó	That's the bunch that hit her.
	[q ^h é·kàt ^h 'i·wá·tù·má 'iyámá·lù·má qà q ^h é·c'ó·]	
	wáámááké tyánuwí	It's planted. (So keep out!)

,	Potential (ought to be)
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<i>l'</i>		<i>táq l'ám</i> <i>íáhka aamá umá l'úw</i> <i>c^hááwá l'uskím qá pi q^há</i> <i>l'áspúttéima</i> <i>tóólolllíni l'áspúttéima ckwapstwci</i> <i>q^ham wáka l'ímacqát qá piq^há</i>	What is she going to eat? It might be dirty Where might he sit down? he might poke a hole! everywhere he might try to poke a hole. If everybody would understand this
<i>lk'</i>		<i>lka'áamá</i> <i>lka'ámmicka</i> <i>c^hú lkí</i> <i>qamíc umá lkíicúiláka</i> <i>lkímmaamac</i>	You would like to eat. If you eat, ... If someone ate you. He'd [like to] eat you. What would you do? What can you do? You must have lice You should go see
<i>m'</i>	deAGr 97b	<i>m'áamá</i>	that you eat; interrogative; perfective
<i>sl', sl'</i>		<i>sl'áamá</i> <i>ícisúpsaayáke tímcan sl'úw</i> <i>c^hú sa sl'íy</i>	I might eat. Would that I eat. Be careful if something bad happens to me What should I do?
<i>tl'</i>		<i>ís tl'áácá</i>	I wish there were people (here)
<i>st'</i>	Gr. 97b <i>st-ă-m-á</i> Subordinate 'amplf. stem' Gr. 90a <i>stă-má</i>	<i>st'áamá</i>	... that I eat I ate once before
<i>t'</i>	deAGr 97b	<i>t'áamá</i>	that you eat; interrogative; perfective