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## THE ACHUMAWI LANGUAGE.

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### I. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.

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### II. INTRODUCTION.

Achumawi is one of the languages which form the SHASTAN FAMILY, as it was denominated years ago by Prof. Roland B. Dixon who first brought together Shasta, Achumawi, Atsugewi, Okwanuchu, Konomihu, and New River Shasta.

All of them are languages of the northeastern part of California, and are adjacent. The last three named above are now extinct. Shasta is now only spoken by a mere remnant of the tribe: perhaps a score. Achumawi and Atsugewi, on the contrary, are at the present time in full force.<sup>1</sup>

The terms Achumawi and Atsugewi are words coined by ethnologists which have their ultimate source in Indian words. This is a matter of ethnology which does not

<sup>1</sup> How little decadent, how still full of force Achumawi is, can be gauged by the fact that all the parts of a modern automobile have been rechristened in excellent Achumawi, such as *hàdàtsì* for "battery" (literally: heart), *dáhò-wàymì* for "engine" (lit.: the one who makes it run), "trolley car" is *dìdà'lámázi-wà-ùpté* (lit. going by lightning), etc.

concern the present linguistic study.<sup>1</sup> Neither the Indians nor the local whites would recognize them. To them, the only English term which conveys any meaning is "Pit River Indian". For the purposes of ethnology however, Achumawi and Atsugewi are excellent terms.

The Achumawi and Atsugewi may be considered as forming one single tribe, as far as culture is concerned. Their languages however are different; as different as Spanish and French — perhaps even more. The Achumawi are the more numerous: there are probably four times as many Achumawi as there are Atsugewi. An estimate is very difficult, because they intermarry *ad libitum*. The Achumawi are strung in a number of local groups (socially ill-defined) all the way from where the Pit River takes its sources in the Werner Range near Nevada, to nearly its confluence with the Sacramento River: some hundred miles. The Atsugewi, on the contrary, are limited to two subsidiary valleys well out of the main route of travel.

The majority of Atsugewi (or at least a goodly number of them) speak Achumawi as well, while very few Achumawi understand Atsugewi. At all common meetings the speeches are always in Achumawi, and not translated.

It is rather interesting, in view of the frequency with which languages in California are broken up into a great number of dialects, that Achumawi remains constant (as also does Atsugewi) over all of its territorial distribution. The differences between the two extremes of the territory are mini-

<sup>1</sup> The term Achumawi can be referred ultimately to *wàdzùm·á* = "flowing river", hence *àdzù·má·wí* = "river people", the name by which the several groups who live on the lower reaches of the Pit River, where it becomes a stream navigable to canoes, are known to the rest of the tribe. The term Atsugewi is made in imitation of "Achuma-wi" from *àtsùgé*, the name given to themselves by the people of Hat Creek.

nal: not more than the differences between the French of Paris and that of Tours.

One point which is of interest in the relation of language in general to culture is that the Achumawi represent one of the most primitive stages of human culture, — fully as low as any that have yet been recorded. As will be shown in the present study, their language is fully as complex in forms as Latin is.

### PHONOLOGY.

*Vowels.* The vowel system of Achumawi is simple. *i, e, o,* and *u* are open and relaxed. *a* is between "broad" and "flat", somewhat like the average Spanish *a*.

Rounded front vowels *ü, ö* are entirely lacking. The unrounded back vowels *ï, ê*, so characteristic of the neighbouring languages, Paiute and Maidu, are also entirely absent.

Nasalized vowels are absent.

Reduplicated or "echo-vowels" are absent.

*Consonants.* *p, t, k* are true "intermediates". The same person will pronounce either *p* or *b*, either *t* or *d*, either *k* or *g*, in the same words, under the same circumstances. We have not made any attempt to unify the spelling of our field-notes, and the reader is therefore warned to expect inconsistencies.

*t* is alveolar. It is not pronounced with marked breath.

*p* is pronounced by some people with a good deal of breath. In those cases we have written it *ph*.

*k* is never pronounced with marked breath.

The stops *p, t, k* are not glottalized, except when pronouncing an isolated word distinctly and with care.

*q* is pronounced with marked breath, sometimes even with a tinge of uvular trill. It is very apt to degenerate, in rapid speech, into *x* as pronounced in the Spanish of Castille (i. e. with mixed uvular trill). It

must not be confused with the *h* to be discussed later.

Neither *t* nor *k* show any tendency towards palatalization.

*s* and *c* are interchangeable. Some speakers show a preference for the former, other speakers for the latter, without any regard to locality. The *s* is sometimes emphasized (or "glottalized"?) in a peculiar fashion; after the noise has begun, the epiglottis is closed and the tongue is raised, thus forcing the air through the opening between the blade of the tongue and the alveolar process with greater friction. The effect is sometimes almost that of *sts*.

The affricates *ts*, *tc*, *dz*, *dj*, are interchangeable. They are extremely frequent in Achumawi.

The sounds *f*, *v*, *z*, *γ* do not occur. *j* is found in but one word, *àm téljèn* "young woman" (contrasted to *àm itèùdzàn* "grown woman").

The *f* in English words is mispronounced by most Achumawi Indians as *p* with marked breath. The English *v* as *b* or *p*.

*m* and *n* are common and call for no comment. The velar *ŋ* is absent.

*r*, so common in Atsugewi, is replaced by *l* in Achumawi. The Achumawi Indians however find no difficulty in pronouncing the ordinary American *r* without trill.

The surd *l*, so common in the neighbouring Wintun, is entirely lacking in Achumawi.

The *h* is highly characteristic of Achumawi. It is entirely laryngeal, and is made like an ordinary English *h* except that the walls of the larynx are strongly constricted while at the same time the epiglottis is pressed against the rim of the glottis, so that the air is pushed through with a marked noise of friction. It is also of much longer duration than the ordinary *h*. The ordinary *h* occurs in Achumawi, but appears to be only a softening of the former. Corresponding words in Atsugewi have an ordinary *h*. Corresponding words in Shasta have *x*.

There is in Achumawi a "sonant" equi-

valent of the *h*. It is produced exactly like the *h*, except that the vocal cords are made to vibrate at the same time. It sounds exactly like the Arabic "raïn". It is quite a distinct sound, phonetically, from the *γ*, but since the true *γ* does not occur in Achumawi we have used this symbol to represent it. It occurs but rarely.

The "glottal catch" is extremely strong. It is not merely a strong attack before a vowel, or a sudden closure of the epiglottis after a vowel. The walls of the larynx are pressed together tightly (with the epiglottis also closed firmly) for quite a long time. Then everything is released suddenly, so that some of the air in the mouth cavity is sucked backward into the larynx with a sort of click. In Shasta and in Atsugewi this noise is usually replaced by *k*. In Achumawi, when this glottal catch is followed by a vowel, the effect is sometimes undistinguishable from the *γ* described above. Examples *sèsù'pá'í* I hurry, *tindzè'pá'á* shut your eyes!, *tillásimí'ì* a myth.

*t*, *k*, *p*, *l*, *m*, when in final position, are not released. In the case of *t*, *k*, and *p*, the noise is made by the "implosion", but there is no "explosion", the contact remaining closed for a period of silence, until the next word begins. In the case of *l* and *m*, the contact is closed after a rather short period of sound, and remains closed for a period of silence until the next word begins. The effect is somewhat that of *p'*, *m'*. Examples: *sát* knife, *àp* soap-root, *tsùl* sun, *là'm* ice. We have sometimes written these words as *sátt*, *àpp*, *tsùl'*, *là'm'*.

Whenever the combinations *lh*, *th*, *sh*, etc., are found in this work, it is to be understood that both sounds are separate.

In the sound *w* the consonantal element is less strong than the vocalic. There is very little rounding of the lips. The back of the tongue is pretty much relaxed and away from the palate. This sound might almost as well be written *ua*, *ui*, etc., were it not that such combinations would give the

effect of diphthongs. Yet, even in the most pronounced Achumawi *w* there is a certain feeling of diphthongization.

Similarly with the *y* sound. It could almost as well be written *ia*, *iu*, etc.

The *w* and the *y* are very easily confused and interchanged in Achumawi. The reason for this is not very clear. The same person will say one time *síntálú·mú·yí* "I work for him", and the next moment *síntálú·mú·wí*. When asked which is the really correct form, he will be totally at a loss, although he will probably recognize them as phonetically distinct.

*Pitch-tone.* Pitch-tone is extremely important in Achumawi. There are two main tones: high (´), and low (˘). The difference in pitch between them is about that of a fourth.

Besides the high and the low tone, we also find a descending tone (ˆ), and an ascending tone (ˇ). The descending tone falls from the level of the high tone down nearly to the level of the low tone. The ascending tone starts almost at the level of the high tone.

*Quantity.* Quantity is as important in Achumawi as pitch-tone. Long vowels last about four or five times as long as short ones.

Quantity is also applied to consonants. In a word like *ittú* ("my"), after the initial implosion caused by closing the contact between the tongue and the alveolar process, there is a long period of silence, then follows the explosion caused by the release of the contact. The explosion is merged into the initiation of the vibrations of the following vowel *u*. In a word like *itt* ("I"), after the implosion, the contact between tongue and alveolar process is kept closed for an indefinite period of time, and there is no explosion until a new word is started. In a word like *allù* ("hungry"), the voicing of the *l* is maintained for a period as long as in *ittú*. The total duration of a word like *allù* is the

same as that of a word like *à·lú* ("cloudy"), i. e. the *ll* is equivalent to *·l*.

The total duration of a word like *à·lú* ("umbilical cord") is equal to that of *allù*, or of *à·lú*. The "glottal catch" in such a case has a duration value. The difference between *à·lú* and *à·lú* is that in the latter case the voicing is continued for a long period until the beginning of the *l*, while in the former, shortly after the beginning of the *a* the voice is abruptly stopped and there is a long period of silence before the *l* begins.

In a great many words it is a matter of indifference whether the long vowel is kept up or stopped by a glottal catch, as long as the duration of the whole syllable is not shortened. Thus, *wí·tù·pí* or *wí·tù·pí* or *wí·tù·pí* ("rotten").

The general effect produced by the succession of short and long syllables is very reminiscent of the ticking of a telegraph key.

The succession of high-tone and low-tone syllables (ascending and descending tones are much less frequent than the level tones) imparts to ordinary speech a certain monotony. It is worthy of note that in making speeches, chiefs are apt to adopt a peculiar style: every syllable is uttered in the high tone.

In Atsugewi and in Shasta pitch-tone is still present, but fast changing in the direction of "stress accent" (i. e. the merging together of greater volume, high pitch, and longer duration).

The Achumawi Indians themselves are only vaguely aware of the presence of tone in their language. They seem unable to distinguish between quantity and pitch, although in simple word like *lám* ("ice") and *lám* ("I will eat") they readily recognize that one is high and the other is low. Atsugewi informants who knew both languages have often made the remark that many words "are the same in our language except that you dont have to sing them".

## IV. MORPHOLOGY.

## THE NOUN.

## STEMS AND DERIVATIVES.

(1) *Noun-stems*. — The noun, in Achumawi, is often found as a radical alone. Words of one syllable occur, but the greater number of stems are dissyllabic or trisyllabic. The tone and length of each syllable are absolutely invariable, under all circumstances. Compounding of stems never occurs.

<i>té'qá'de</i>	earth
<i>àsèhlá</i>	sky
<i>às</i>	water
<i>má'lis</i>	fire
<i>á'listé</i>	stone
<i>ís</i>	person
<i>á'lá'mùgi</i>	dog
<i>dzé'mùl</i>	coyote

(2) *Number*. — Number is not expressed in the noun by any grammatical process. If it is desirable to indicate number, independent adjectives or numerals are used.

<i>hámis dzé'mùl</i>	one coyote
<i>qám á'lá'mùgi</i>	many dogs
<i>íó'lól ís</i>	all the people

(3) *Gender*. — There is no gender in Achumawi. There are, however, a number of terminal elements which characterize different groups of nouns. In some words they are easily detachable. In others, they are so closely welded with the stem that the latter never appears without them. These terminal elements are quite irregular. Each one appears in many phonetic variations. Sometimes the phonetic variation is easily explained on mechanical grounds, e. g. the change of *-dzan* to *-tsan* after a consonant. Sometimes the variation is used as a semantic device to indicate a slight change of meaning, but this is irregular and does not follow any general rule. These terminal elements may possibly be the remnants of an old system of noun classes.

(4) *The ending -wi*. — One of these terminal elements is the ending *-wi*. It is probably derived from the verb "to be" *-uw-* (see Sec. 91C).

This element is found in the names of several tribal groups,

<i>ádzimá'wi</i>	the people who live on the Pit River (from <i>w-ádzim-á</i> "it flows", i. e. "river")
<i>hámá'wi</i>	(etymology unknown) the "Hammawi"
<i>ástá'hiwá'wi</i>	the people who live near the Hot Springs at Canby (from <i>ástá'hiwá</i> the local name of the place, from <i>ástá'h</i> "hot")
<i>qòsàlétá'wi</i>	the people who lived on the juniper covered slopes north of Alturas (from <i>qòsàlétá</i> a hillside covered with junipers, from <i>qòsì</i> "juniper")
<i>hewisá'dé'wi</i>	the people who lived north of the <i>Qosalektawi</i> (etymology unknown)
<i>hádá'wí'wi</i>	(sometimes <i>hádá'ú'wi</i> ) the people who lived on Hat Creek (one of the subdivisions of the Atsugewi, who call themselves in their own language: <i>átsúgélé</i> ) (etymology unknown; perhaps related to the "hat" of Hat Creek)
<i>ilmá'wi</i>	the people who lived along the Pit River between the Adzumawi and the Itsatawi (etymology unknown).
<i>ítsátá'wi</i>	the people who lived on the Pit River between the Ilmawi and the Madesi (etymology unknown)

The same ending appears in Atsugewi as *-warí*.

It is perhaps worthy of notice that the names bestowed on neighboring tribes do not end in *-wi*:

<i>lütüá'mi</i>	the "Modocs" proper (from <i>lütüám</i> , the name of "Tule Lake", on the shores of which they lived, related etymologically to <i>átwám</i> "valley")
<i>álámí</i>	the "Klamath" branch of the Modoc tribe (etymology unknown)
<i>páhá'mà'li</i>	the "Northern Maidu" (etymology unknown)
<i>ítsáydzí</i>	the "Northern Yana" (etymology unknown — Prof. Sapir suggests <i>íts</i> "salt")
<i>èhpi'mí</i>	the "Northern Wintun" (etymology unknown)
<i>ápúy</i>	the "Northern Paiute" (etymology unknown)

(5) *Relationship terms*. — The *-wi* ending may also be added to any one of the relationship terms of the following classes; sibling, grandfather (reciprocal), uncle (reciprocal). But it is not necessary. Thus,

*ittú ápún* or *ittú ápúnwi* my paternal grandfather

It is inseparable from the stem in the word *wàttà-wí* "daughter".

The ending *-wí* is inseparable from the stem in the two following words,

*qòssá-wí* "buck" (or the male of any kind of quadrupeds)  
*yáwwí* "cock" (or the male of any kind of birds)

The ending *-wí* is also found in the word *tóllí-wí* "old-timer" (see *tóllim* "always", *tó-lól* "all").

(6) *The endings -dzà, -dzàn, etc.* — Another frequent terminal ending to the names of "men" and "persons" (in contradistinction to "animals") is *-dzà*, and its many variations (*-dzàn, -tsà, -tsàn, -dzí, -tsí, -ts-*). It is probably connected with the *-dz-* ending characteristic of the verbs of the Fifth Conjugation (see Sec. 88, p. 107), an ending which has more or less the meaning of "to be" as an auxiliary.

The same ending appears in Atsugewi as *-dzar*.

This ending may be added (in lieu of *-wí*, see Sec. 5, p. 81) to any one of the relationship terms (with the possible exception of *wáí*, one of the terms for "father"), and *dátí* one of the terms for "mother". Thus, *ittú wéh* or *ittú wéhdzà* (or *wéhdzàn*) my father  
*ittú néh* or *ittú néhdzà* (or *néhdzàn*) my mother  
*ittú àpún* or *àpúndzà*, or *àpúndzàn* my grandfather

The ending *-dzà* (or *-dzàn*) may be added (but is not necessary) to the word *wèhé-lu* "chief".

The ending *-dzàn* (or *-tsàn*) is inseparable from the following words,

*àmítéúdzàn* a grown-up woman  
*tsílwístsàn* bachelor

The ending *-dzàn* (or *-tsàn*), appears to have a diminutive function (and also is inseparable from the stem) in the words,

*míkttsàn* child  
*ùmítéldzàn* girl (often pronounced *ùmítéljèn*, and undoubtedly connected with *àmítéúdzàn* "a grown woman").  
*yáliyúdzàn* little boy (often pronounced *éliyúdzèn*, derived from *yáliú* "a grown man")  
*tsísí-tsàní* a little girl

It is probably the same element which occurs in the word *bólá-tsí* "son". This word never takes any other ending.

(7) *Endings -lò, -lù, -á-lò, -wá-lò, etc.* — There is another ending which occurs in many words connected with men (but never with animals, even when personified). This ending is nearly always inseparable from the stem, and on that account it is difficult to determine exactly which is the primary form,

<i>yàhàndàwá-lù</i>	a childless woman
<i>yáhà-wá-lù</i>	hermaphrodite
<i>tsìgì-wá-lù</i>	shaman (man)
<i>tsìgìttàwá-lù</i>	shaman (woman)
<i>wèhé-lù</i>	chief (perhaps connected with <i>wàh</i> "grizzly bear")
<i>sùmp-tá-lò</i>	orphan
<i>yátsú-má-lò</i>	widower
<i>dzùtsì-má-lò</i>	divorcé (or divorcée)
<i>tùqùtsá-lò</i>	old man
<i>wíyátsá-lò</i>	old woman (derived from the adjective <i>wíyá-tsí</i> "old")

It must be the same element which is encountered in many names of plants, but is there often separable from the stem.

<i>qòsì-mí-lò</i>	juniper tree (the berries are called <i>pá'yúts</i> ). (Cf. Atsugewi <i>máhà-wòp</i> "juniper tree")
<i>ìsmí-lò</i>	yellow pine (This term is now considered "old-time language". <i>ìsmí</i> are properly the pine nuts from this tree. The tree itself is usually called now <i>às'ú</i> ). (Cf. Atsugewi <i>qántìsò</i> "pine nuts", <i>átswí</i> "pine tree")
<i>àssà-lò</i>	sugar pine (from <i>àssà</i> the pine nuts). (Cf. Atsugewi <i>átsà</i> for the nuts, and <i>átsàwò</i> for the tree).
<i>tùtshá-lò</i>	digger pine (the nuts are called <i>tùtshá-le</i> ). (Cf. Atsugewi <i>wóhìcàr</i> for the nuts, and <i>wótcàròp</i> for the tree)
<i>páttà-lò</i>	sage-brush (or simply <i>páttà</i> ) (the word <i>páttà-lí</i> is a nickname for the Hammawí, because they live in a country where the sage-brush is abundant)
<i>pátsú-lò</i>	heather
<i>tsèh-tsí-pá-lò</i>	wild rose
<i>qò-lò</i>	tule (the flat kind)

The corresponding ending in Atsugewi is *-wòp* or *-yòp*. In shasta it is *-hú*.

(8) *Ending in -àlì, the pelt of any animal.* — The name of any animal may be changed to mean its pelt (or hide, tanned or untanned) by ending with the suffix *-àlì*.

<i>bàù-àlì</i>	elk-skin
<i>tsimmù-àlì</i>	wolf-pelt
<i>wàh-wàlì</i>	bearskin
<i>tàù-àlì</i>	hare-skin
<i>kùtsù-àlì</i>	buffalo-robe

The following are exceptions;

<i>tòhsá'lè</i>	deerskin (from <i>tówsì</i> deer)
<i>tèhwá'lì</i>	buckskin (tanned) (etymology unknown)
<i>tòqò'lúdzi</i>	any dry hide (really a nominalized form of the verb "to skin")
<i>bàùì</i>	armour of elk-skin (cf. <i>bàù-àlì</i> above)
<i>tàùì</i>	blanket made of hare skins (cf. <i>tàù-àlì</i> )

#### SYNTACTIC RELATIONS EXPRESSED GRAMMATICALLY IN THE NOUN.

(9) *The Subjective Case in -gà or -wágà.* — Subjectivity is expressed by the suffix *-gà* (or *-wágà* after a consonant),

<i>wàh-wágà tsìgì'wá'lù yiwátwá</i>	the bear killed the shaman
<i>wàh tsìgì'wá'lù-gà yiwátwá</i>	the shaman killed the bear

The same suffix in Shasta appears as *-kà* (or *-ìkà*). In Atsugewi it appears as *-pa*.

The suffixes are invariable in tone in Achumawi, just as they are also in Shasta. But while in Shasta the last syllables of the stem vary in tone so as to form a contrast with the tones of the suffix, (v. g. in Shasta *éxà* "bear" becomes *éxà-kà*), in Achumawi the noun-stem remains invariable.

Objectivity is not expressed by an affix in Achumawi, and subjectivity need not be indicated either, except as clearness demands it. The order of words is of no consequence at all in Achumawi, and many times these relations of subjectivity and objectivity seem to be conveyed only by the meaning of the sentence as a whole.

(10) *The Possessive Case in -ú.* — Possession is expressed by suffixing *-ú* to the name of the possessor (cf. Atsugewi *-mu*, Shasta *-tù*).

<i>wàh-ú miktsàn</i>	Bear's children
<i>yáliyú-ú miktsàn</i>	a man's child

(11) *The Locative Case in -ádé, -wádé, -ládé.* — Location is expressed by the suffixes:

*-ádé* after a consonant, *-wádé* after a vowel with the high tone, *-ládé* after a vowel with the low tone

<i>iqús-ádé</i>	on the back
<i>tsùl-ádé</i>	at the sun
<i>às-ádé</i>	in the water
<i>té'qá'dé-wádé</i>	on the earth
<i>àsèhlá-wádé</i>	in the sky
<i>náhtú-wádé</i>	on a high camping ground
<i>yámmì-ládé</i>	in the nose
<i>pá'tá-ládé</i>	in the sage-brush
<i>àqò-ládé</i>	on the mountain
<i>sá'pì-ládé</i>	in a boat

This suffix appears in Atsugewi as *-we*. In Shasta there is a suffix *-túk* which more or less corresponds to the Achumawi Locative. In Shasta however, the suffix *-túk* expresses the Locative only secondarily. Primarily it expresses the "oblique" case (something like the Latin Dative). This is never the case in Achumawi which possesses no "oblique" case.

(12) *The Instrumental case in -à.* — Instrumentality is expressed by the suffix *-à*. This is the primary form and is always found after a consonant. After a vowel this suffix becomes *-wà* or *-là* according to phonetic rules that are not clear (see the influence of tone on the Locative, above).

<i>tsì'kòh-à</i>	with the foot
<i>sàt-à</i>	with a knife
<i>pò'wá-wà</i>	with a spoon
<i>lòh'qá-wà</i>	with a shaman's cane
<i>qás'wá-là</i>	with a digging-stick
<i>sá'pì-là</i>	by boat

This suffix appears in Atsugewi as *-a* or *-wa*, in Shasta as *-tà*.

(13) *The Comitative Case in -wál.* — The Comitative is expressed by suffixing *-wál*. Sometimes, instead of *-wál* one finds *-wílél*. The meaning is the same. They are often

attached to both of a pair of nouns to be linked, and can be translated as; "...and .....and..." or "with".

Frank-wàl kàtsú dàtí-wàl tsééyùwi dítò-gí  
Frank and his mother have not come.

ká'tò-gíní mì'mú àmítéúdzàn-wílél you came  
with your wife.

We find this suffix in Shasta as -pàr, in  
Atsugewi as -kau, and -iwaywi.

## THE PRONOUNS.

### (14) PERSONAL PRONOUN

	Achumawi	Atsugewi	Shasta
I .....	itt	àk	yá'à (lacking)
we both .....	ittú	àkwír	tsàkká
we all .....	tó'lól ("all")	móhtsà	
thou .....	mí'	mí'	má'i (lacking)
ye both .....	mídzístú	mídzàkwír	màkká
ye all .....	mí tò'lól	móhtsà	
he .....	kàts, kèhé, àmqá, qàmqá, bíqá, gíqá, etc.	àtsísé, kùtcèhé, kómí,	kwàts, inná' mí, úwí,

### (15) POSSESSIVE PRONOUN

	Achumawi	Atsugewi	Shasta
my .....	ittú	àkhù	yáppó (lacking)
our (dual) .....	ittú'ni	àkwírí	tsàkkáú
our (plural) .....	ittú tò'lól	àkwírí-tò	
thy .....	mí'mú	míkú	mà'mú (lacking)
your (dual) .....	mídzístú'ni	mídzàkwírí	màkkáú
your (plural) .....	mí'mú tò'lól	mídzàkwírí-tò	
his (suus) .....	kàtsú	àtskú	kwàtsú
his (ejus) .....	qéú, àmqáú bíqáú, etc.	kùtsákmù	id.

## SYNTACTIC RELATIONS EXPRESSED IN THE PRONOUN.

(16) The subjective case is as follows;

	Achumawi	Atsugewi	Shasta
I .....	itté'ga	àk'pá	yá'áká (lacking)
we both .....	ittúlé'gá	àkwír'pá	tsàkkáká
we all .....	tó'lólwágá	móhtsábá	
thou .....	mí'mé'gá	mí'pá	má'íká (lacking)
ye two .....	mídzístúlé'gá	mídzàkwír'pá	màkkáká
ye all .....	mí tò'lólwágá	móhtsábá	
he .....	mísqám <sup>1</sup>	àts'pá, wíppá	innáká (lacking)
they both .....	hàkkí'gam <sup>2</sup>	hókkútsí	innáyá'wárikhá
they all .....	tó'lólwágá	móhtsábá	

<sup>1</sup> i. e. "one" in the Subjective Case. If no special mention of the Case is made it is *hámis*.

<sup>2</sup> i. e. "two" in the Subjective Case. If no special mention of the Case is made, the number "two" is *hàk*.



(17) The Instrumental suffix *-à* (and its variants, see Sec. 12, p. 83) is not used with the pronouns.

(18) The Comitative suffix *-wàl* (see Sec. 13, p. 83) is freely used with all the pronouns; *it-wàl mì-wàl lhúptà* let's go together! (I-with thou-with let's go!)

It is also used in a corresponding way in Shasta and in Atsugewi.

(19) The emphatic form is expressed by suffixing *-mìm* to the pronouns:

<i>itt-mìm</i>	I myself
<i>mì-wàl-mìm</i>	thou thyself
<i>kàts-mìm</i>	he himself

This does not appear in either Shasta or Atsugewi. It may perhaps be connected in Achumawi with the peculiar element (not conjugable), placed after ordinary verbal forms to mean a reinforcement of the action: (see Sec. 37, p. 88)

*s-à-m-ì òm* certainly I am eating! (or "I must eat"!)

This *òm* is sometimes placed after the demonstrative *àmqá* "he":

*àmqá òm* that's the one! (or "he is the same one")

This suffix may also be related to the *-im* used in the making of adverbs

*tóllim* "always" (see *tó'lól* "all")  
*lógmim* "to-morrow" (see *lógmà* "morning")  
 etc. (Cf. Sec. 32, p. 87).

## THE ADJECTIVE.

(20) Adjectives are frequent in Achumawi. They occur primarily as undecomposable radicals.

*tùs'ì qà qílá'là tsìkùòpsyú* "good (*tùs'ì*) mocassins"! he thought

*hòqài tyánùwì qà bì* these are bad (*hòqài*)  
*ittù tsóqtsà hì'wá* my little (*tsóqtsà*) tapeworm  
*qàm á'mìts yùwì* there are many (*qàm*) lice  
*mám sà'má qà tó'lól* and I ate them all (*tó'lól*)  
*tsàkìs'ì qà wà'wá hì'wá* the big (*wà'wá*) tapeworm  
 said

*àstàh àlísté stá'wá* give me a hot (*àstàh*) rock

(21) More frequent are adjectives which are never found alone, but always in composition with the verb "to be" (see Sec. 91, 104, pp. 109, 112).

*àllù-sùwì* I am hungry  
*àllù-kùwì* you are hungry  
*àllù-yùwì* he is hungry

*tsé-sùwì àllù-dùtsì* I am not hungry  
*tsé-kùwì àllù-dùtsì* you are not hungry  
 (or *àllù-dùtsá'mè tsìi*)

(or *àllù-dùtsá'mè thii*) (see Sec. 119, p. 116)  
*à-lù-yùwì* it is cloudy, (or "a cloud")

(22) Some of the adjectives which may be found alone (Sec. 20), are also found sometimes in semi-composition with the verb "to be" (in either of its two forms, cf. Sec. 97). It is difficult to decide whether or no to use a hyphen.

*àstàh-sùwì* (or better: *àstàh tsìi*) I am warm  
*àstàh-kùwì* (or better: *àstàh thii*) you are warm  
*àstàh-yùwì* it is warm weather  
*àstàh twìi* he is warm  
*bámme-sùwì* (or better: *bámme tsìi*) I dont know  
 (i. e. I am ignorant)

(23) Some of the stems which are found always in composition with the verb "to be", hardly give the feeling of adjectives:

*hày-sùwì* I think  
*mìl-sùwì* I forget  
*tsé-sùwì* I am not

(24) In connection with the adjective (or adverb?) *kístàm* "enough", the following peculiarity occurs:

*kístàm-yùwì* that's enough  
*kístàm-yùwá* he has had enough  
 (*kístàm-sùwì* is not a "real" word, but it would mean "I am enough")  
*kístàm-sùwá* occurs frequently, and means "I have had enough"

(25) The tendency is strong in Achumawi to express adjectives in the form of noninalized verbs. (see Sec. 115, p. 115)

*w-ittù-p-ì* rotten  
*w-iyá-ts-ì* old

(26) A great many concepts which would be represented by adjectives in our languages,

are treated as verbs in Achumawi, like "to be fat", "to get old", "to be tall", "to be long".

(27) *The Comparative in -wáqtsè*. — The Comparative is formed by *-wáqtsè* (or *-máqtsè*).

*wà'wá-máqtsè qà* town Alturas-ú-wádé this is a bigger town than Alturas (big-ger the town Alturas-of-at).

*tsóqtsà-wáqtsè* smaller

*wà'wá dímyà wà'wá-máqtsè yáliyú* he is big enough man (big indeed big-ger man)

The abstracted radical *-aq-* is found connected with all kinds of expressions of measurement, especially in length.

*wà'wá áqtsú'dzi* a long one

*tsóqtsà áqtsú'dzi* a short one

*wàdàqtsú'dzi* The name of the tallest mountain in the Warner Range. (Several etymologies an possible, by means of various contractions, v. g. *wà'wá áqtsú'dzi* "the long one", *wà'wá d-áqtsú'dz-i* "big measuring", *wà'wá w-àdàqtsú'dz-i* "big it measures".)

*mídàqtsè'nànxá* equal

*mídàqtsè'dim* half-way

(28) *The Superlative in -ústsi*. — The Superlative is formed by *-ústsi*, (or *wístsi*)

*wà'wá-ústsi yáliyú* the biggest man

*tsóqtsà-wístsi áqtsú'dzi* The shortest one. Atsugewi has the same form in *-ustsi*.

(29) Adjectives are usually not found with any of the suffixes which express case (like the Subjective, Genitive, Instrumental etc.) in the noun. There are however, a few exceptions.

(30) *List of adjectives*. — The following is a list of the adjectives which occur most commonly in ordinary speech. It will be noticed that the list is not very long (compared for instance with a language like French). (A great many adjectives are expressed in Achumani by verbal nouns, see Sec. II4, p. II4).

<i>áimdzi</i>	pretty
<i>àlèh'wóq'wàì</i>	ugly (cf. <i>hòqàì</i> bad)
<i>àllù</i>	hungry
<i>àstàh</i>	hot
<i>éhá</i>	dull

<i>è'wà'li</i>	weak
<i>hàgùtsì</i>	black
<i>hòqàì</i>	bad
<i>ilàhli</i>	flat
<i>ipá'dzi</i>	strong (cf. <i>ipáts</i> quick, fast)
<i>ip'hà'wì</i>	fat (this may be considered as a participle)
<i>istsùpi</i>	sharp
<i>itùì</i>	bad, mean
<i>má'múts</i>	together
<i>máqádé'gì</i>	mottled
<i>mísúqalè</i>	green, gold (also pronounced <i>mí-súqàdì</i> )
<i>pàqáú</i>	lazy
<i>qám</i>	many
<i>qépsi</i>	rotten, punk
<i>sám'tál</i>	blue
<i>séts</i>	scared
<i>skók</i>	salmon colored
<i>skóy</i>	sleepy
<i>súpsi'wì</i>	bad, mean
<i>tàhtàyi</i>	red
<i>tó'lól</i>	all
<i>tóts</i>	sick
<i>tsóqtsì</i>	small (also pronounced <i>tsó'tsì</i> )
<i>tùksús</i>	yellow
<i>túnásù</i>	dry (probably a nominalized verb)
<i>tús'í</i>	good
<i>tús'íktsèhé</i>	pretty
<i>túwídzi</i>	white
<i>wà'wá</i>	great, big, large
<i>wísúdzì</i>	dry (probably a nominalized verb)
<i>yúspím</i>	gentle, tame

### (31) NUMERALS.

- hámis* (often occurs as *hámis-qám*, or *mís-qám*, "one many")  
(Shasta *tsámmù*, Atsugewi *tcjtu*)
- hák* (more often *háktsàn*; also *hákki'gám* in the Subjective case "two people")  
(Shasta *xúkkwà*, Atsugewi *hókki*)
- tsástì* (also *hàtsástì*)  
(Shasta *xátskì*, Atsugewi *kíski*)
- hàttá'má*  
(Shasta *hidàhàyà*, Atsugewi *hákqau*)
- là'tú*  
(Shasta *èicá*, Atsugewi *haráapákina*)
- més'wíts* (or *másúts*) (i. e. "one more")  
(Shasta *tsówàtèà*, Atsugewi *tcjnu pótçakì* "one with it")
- hák'wíts* (or *hákúts*) (i. e. "two more") (some people prefer to say *mòlòssi-wádé tsástì àyè'tì* "ten-at three belong", or *mòlòssi dùdzì-gú tsástì tsántsi* "ten being-for three thus") (Shasta *xúkàwàtèà*, Ats. *hókkieh'wawì*)

8. *hàttá-m-ílél* (i. e. four and four; cf. the Comitative suffix *-wílél*, Sect. 13) (also same variations as for seven, i. e. "two more will be ten")  
(Shasta *xátskiwàtèà*, Ats. *kiskiehwawí*)
9. *mòlòssí-wádé hámis àyè'tì* or *mòlòssí dúdzì'gú hámis tsàntsì* (the expression "one more will be ten" is universally used)  
(Shasta *tsámwàtò hètshéhèbè* "one to ten"  
Atsugewi *hákqauéhawáwí* "four more")
10. *mòlòssí* (Shast. *hètshéhébè*, Ats. *trwíksi*)
11. *hámis adú'mí mòlòssí-wádé* (i. e. "one going at ten")
12. *hàktsàn adú'mí mòlòssí-wádé*  
etc. etc.
20. *hàkk-él mòlòssí* (twice ten)
30. *tsást-él mòlòssí* (thrice ten)  
etc. etc.
100. *mòlòss-él mòlòssí* (ten times ten)

## ADVERBS.

(32) Adverbs are much more numerous in Achumawi than are adjectives, for adverbs are not so often represented by special verbs or by nominalized verbs as adjectives are. In many languages adverbs are really compounds of two or three elements more or less fused together, the meaning of the whole aggregate being rather idiomatic. We find comparatively little of this in Achumawi. The element *-ím* (or *-mím*) occurs several times and is probably an old suffix.

## (33) Adverbs of time.

<i>amá</i>	always, ever (also <i>àwá</i> , but less common)
<i>ámqá</i>	then (cf. <i>ámqá</i> he, she, it)
<i>hágìstà</i>	during a long period of time
<i>hídàtshé</i>	that time, then
<i>lòhmím</i>	to-morrow (from <i>lòhmè</i> morning)
<i>má, nám, mándzà</i>	then, and
<i>máttí'gà</i>	all day long (see <i>máttíksà</i> day)
<i>máhtí'gà</i>	all night long (see <i>máhtíksà</i> night)
<i>mitàts</i>	then (corresponds to <i>tsítàts</i> "when?"; can also be translated as "when", "at the time when")
<i>mítsím</i>	yesterday
<i>nám</i>	yet, not yet (the negative is made clear by the use of the "subordinate" system of pronominal prefixes in the subsequent verb, e. g. <i>nám y-á'má</i> "he is still eating", but <i>nám t-á'má</i> "he is not eating yet"; See Section on pronominal prefixes)

<i>páp</i>	now, right now
<i>pálá'mím</i>	a long time ago
<i>páláqtsì</i>	already
<i>páláqmí'tsì</i>	a long time ago
<i>pálmàs</i>	soon (or a short while ago)
<i>pí'là</i>	a short while ago (cf. <i>pí'wà</i> here)
<i>tóllím</i>	always (see <i>tó'lól</i> all)
<i>túú</i>	once
<i>túú'p'sàn</i>	some time
<i>úlóqmà</i>	in the evening
<i>witáksà</i>	as long as (this adverb demands the use of the denominative form of the verb, with a possessive, e. g. <i>ittú dátilá'tì witáksà</i> "as long as I like").

## (34) Adverbs of location.

<i>anní'mí</i>	straight ahead
<i>á'sítskádò</i>	to the left
<i>áyé'tí</i>	at, of, belonging to a place
<i>énú'háimí</i>	up-stream
<i>étsí'mádú</i>	on the other side
<i>hà'tsé</i>	this way
<i>hà'tsé-dù</i>	on this side
<i>hálàts</i>	aside
<i>hé'wìs</i>	on top
<i>hú'</i>	there
<i>húk'é</i>	over there
<i>húk'é-dù</i>	on the other side of yonder
<i>íllím</i>	outside
<i>ìssi</i>	half, middle
<i>móhyà</i>	near (or <i>móhyám</i> )
<i>pí'</i>	here (or <i>pí'wà</i> )
<i>póts</i>	far
<i>qé'</i>	there (or <i>qé'mím</i> )
<i>itòk</i>	under
<i>tó'lólá</i>	everywhere (from <i>tó'lól</i> all)
<i>wáitù</i>	from
<i>wádzùtsà-dù'mí</i>	down-stream (also <i>ánú'tsà-dù'mí</i> )
<i>wí'màtskádò</i>	to the right

There are no words in Achumawi to express simply the ideas of north, south, east, and west. It is necessary to use complex verbs referring to the wind, the rain, or the sun, followed by the adverb *tántàn* "direction". The expressions used differ very much according to individual taste. On the whole the concept of the cardinal points is a foreign one to the Achumawi. The world was considered as three-cornered before the coming of the whites.

Here are some examples:

- dìhòtsá:dùgì tántàn* "in the direction of the blowing cold hither" (north)  
*dìhòkàygì àstàhì tántàn* "blowing warm hither direction" (south)  
*tsùl'ú dùtsítsyagè tántàn* "direction of the sun rising"  
*tsùl'ú dùlúptísí:dzi tántàn* "direction of the sun going down"

Very much the same condition exists in Atsugewi and in Shasta. This is in marked contrast to other Californian languages.

(35) *Adverbs of manner.*

<i>à'mím</i>	quickly, fast
<i>àní</i>	thus, that kind
<i>ántsì, ántsò'mà</i>	none
<i>àwátsà</i>	only
<i>ì'páts</i>	quickly, fast
<i>kístàm</i>	enough
<i>kím</i>	none
<i>pítáktse</i>	so much, this much
<i>tántsì</i>	thus, that kind (also <i>thántsì</i> )
<i>té'qá'dím</i>	thus (from <i>té'qá'dé</i> the earth) (thus it is everywhere)
<i>tsìstì</i>	well (also <i>tìstì, dzìstì, dzìstìt</i> , etc.)
<i>wánò'mà</i>	none
<i>wé</i>	thus (cf. <i>wé</i> here)

(36) *Adverbs of interrogation.* — All of the following adverbs require the use of the "Subordinate" Mode (see Sec. 45, p. 89). They are usually so closely connected with the subsequent verb that they give almost the feeling of being mere prefixes.

<i>táq</i>	what?
<i>táqtsì</i>	why?
<i>tsé'wà, tsé'wátsì, tsídze'wà</i>	how?
<i>tsítàts</i>	when? (corresponds to <i>mitàts</i> then, at the time when)
<i>tsítòhó</i>	what?
<i>tsú</i>	? (has no meaning except to emphasize the interrogation)

Examples:

<i>táq-m-ì'nì'má</i>	what do you see?
<i>táqtsì sm-ì'nì'má</i>	why do you look at me?
<i>tsú-m-ì'nì'má</i>	do you see?
<i>tsé'wátsì tsú-m-ò'dzìgúdzì</i>	how are you going to do it?
<i>tsé'wátsì tsú-st-ùwádzìgúdzì</i>	how am I going to do it?

(37) *The adverb òim.* — There is a word in Achumawi which is difficult to translate. This is the word *òim* (or *òimya*), which is found placed before or after verbs. One of its meanings is that of an "obligative" ("must"), but there are other meanings.

- sá'má òim* certainly, I ate!  
*lám òim* (or *lám òimya*) I must eat!  
*támmá òim* (or *támmá òimya*) you must eat!  
*tùs'ì òim sá'má* I ate well enough.  
*límúndù òim* I must look at him!  
*sówmúndúwì òim* I looked at him anyhow!

Exactly the same element is found in Atsugewi. In that language, when placed after the verb, *òim* gives it the sense of "must", when placed before the verb, it gives it the sense of "can" (see Sec. 19, p. 85).

(38) *The adverb hálé.* — The word *hálé* is the mark of the Optative (see Sec. 46, p. 90). It may be placed after the verb, for emphasis, but it is not necessary.

- sl-á'má hálé* 'I wish I would eat!

(39) THE ARTICLE.

The small word *qà* is omnipresent in Achumawi. It precedes nouns, nominalized verbs, pronouns, adjectives, and even sometimes adverbs. Its meaning is practically nil, and its function is merely as a filler. It may be called an indefinite article (comparable to the English *a*, or the French *un*).

<i>qà is</i>	a person
<i>qà dzé'mùl</i>	Coyote
<i>qà às</i>	water
<i>qà itt</i>	I (more often slurred to <i>xitt</i> )
<i>qà mì,</i>	thou (more often <i>qámì</i> )
<i>qà Pránk</i>	Frank

The tone of the *a* appears to be liable to change (contrary to other Achumawi semantic).

The corresponding Atsugewi is *tc-* (or *ts-*), which appears to be rather a prefix. There is no corresponding form in Shasta.

## (40) PREPOSITIONS AND CONJUNCTIONS.

Prepositions and conjunctions are not found in Achumawi as independent words. Their place is taken by the Case suffixes (Instrumental, Locative, Comitative, etc.) placed after the nouns, or by suffixes which modify the meaning of the verb in a derivational manner (-*uy-* "for someone", -*âlù-* "into", etc.).

## THE VERB.

## (41) GENERAL REMARKS.

The Achumawi verb is extremely complex. Its general structure however may be reduced to three parts:

1st. A prefix (sometimes a split prefix-suffix) which indicates the Person according to Mode.

2nd. A verbal theme which may be very long if it includes modifying affixes besides the true radical.

3rd. A terminal vowel (or "inflection"), which varies according to the class ("conjugation") to which the verb belongs.

*s-á·m-á* I eat  
*k-á·m-á* you eat  
*γ-á·m-á* he eats

*s-ánwáká·d-i* I cut  
*k-ánwáká·d-i* you cut  
*γ-ánwáká·d-i* he cuts

*l-ám* let me eat! (terminal vowel significantly absent)

*l-á·kát* let me cut! (terminal vowel significantly absent)

*t-ánn-ó·* come!

*t-íss-à* drink!

*t-ápt-é* go!

*γ-inímá* he looks

*γ-inímálùmàs·wádz-i* he is always looking in!  
 (stem -*iním-âlù-m-ás·wádz-*)

## THE FIVE MODES IN ACHUMAWI.

(42) Since the prefixes (or split prefix-suffixes) indicate at once Person and Mode, it becomes necessary first to consider the Modes represented in Achumawi.

(43) 1. The Indicative is used to give a simple statement about the action. It is very indefinite as to time. A word like *sá·má* may mean either "I eat now", or "I will eat later", or "I ate", according to the context.

(44) 2, 3. Opposed to the Indicative stands the Volitional. The core of meaning of the Volitional Mode is the willful intent to carry out an action. The Indicative and the Volitional are really the two poles of Modal expression in Achumawi (as in Shasta and in Atsugewi). The Volitional corresponds to a certain extent to the Imperative of other languages. In fact the Imperative is expressed in Achumawi by the Volitional. But it includes more than the Imperative. It expresses for instance the Future of Intent (as opposed to the Future of eventuality). Thus *sá·mìgùdzí* (a form derived from the Indicative) means "I shall eat" (i. e. it will happen that I eat), but *lám* (the Volitional) means "I will eat!" (it is my will to eat, I want to eat, let me eat!, I am going to eat right now!). There are two tense distinctions of the Volitional Mode, a Present and a Future, which we list as two modes: *lám* "I will eat right now!", *málám* "I will eat later on!", *támmà* "thou, eat right now!", *kámmí* "thou, eat later on!".

(45) 4. The term "subordinate" although not very apt, was the best we could think of to include several modalities expressed by this Mode in Achumawi:

*a.* All *interrogative* forms are expressed in this Mode. At least, this is correct speech. There is a tendency however nowadays to disregard it and express the interrogation as a simple statement, very much as we say in English "You went?" for "Did you go?". But while in English the interrogation is made manifest by the rising of the voice, this is not possible in Achumawi where the pitch-tone of every syllable is absolutely set. How then is the interrogation made manifest in Achumawi when the ordinary Indicative

form is substituted for the Subordinate? This is a query which we cannot answer. Evidently, the context is enough to make the meaning clear. Perhaps a formal expression of the Interrogative category is not as necessary as we are accustomed to think.

b. The Subordinate is also used to express the kind of correlation which is expressed in French by "que", in English by "that", in constructions like "I told him that...".

c. The Subordinate is used also to express the idea of "to have performed an action once before". *stǎmá* "I ate once before".

(46) 5. The Optative is used to express a wish, a desire, also a condition or contingency. *slǎmá* "I wish I would eat!", (or I might eat, or if I eat).

(47) These five Modes are distinguished from one another by differences in the pronominal affixes, in the stem, in the inflectional end-vowel. These differences will be discussed at length in the following sections. Here we wish to call attention to the fact that the Indicative, Subordinate, and Optative are similar in stem and inflection, but are differentiated from one another by the affixed pronouns. The two Volitional Modes, on the other hand, follow a different pattern of stem and inflection from the other three Modes. Both of them follow the same pattern of stem but are differentiated from each other by the pronominal affixes, and in a few Persons by the inflection.

Therefore it is usually necessary to give only the Indicative and the Volitional Present, in discussing conjugational patterns.

#### THE AFFIXED PRONOUNS.

(48) All of the Modes described above are conjugated according to Person. The different Persons are represented by affixed pronouns.

These pronouns are either prefixes or

"split" forms (prefix + radical + suffix), but never a suffix alone. In the case of the "split" forms the suffix part comes at the very end of the verb complex, even after the inflectional end-vowel. It is invariable as to tone and vowel. The inflectional end-vowel immediately preceding it varies with the different conjugations, but this final suffixed element never changes. This shows that it is really part of the pronoun.

Examples of split pronouns: [the 1st Person Plural inclusive is expressed by *h-...-má*]

*h-ám-î-má* = "we eat" (Stem *-ám-* [Conj. I]; inflectional end-vowel *-î-*)

*h-â-ká-d-ù-má* = "we cut" (Stem *-â-ká-d-* [Conj. II]; inflectional vowel *-ù-*)

*h-ô-s-lúl-dán-gú-dz-ù-má* = "we will hunt around downwards"

*k-ám-î-tská* = "he ate you" (Reciprocal pronoun "he-you" is expressed by *k-...-tská*)

*k-ímá-dán-lù-m-î-tská* = "he was looking down in at you"

The following (p. 91) is a complete table of the pronominal affixes. They are the same in all the Conjugations.

(49) To the following list must be added three other forms for the 3rd. person in the Indicative Mode:

a. *w-* is the exact counterpart of the French "on" (in "on dit", "on pense", etc.). It is also used when the subject is an element of nature, e. g. *w-àdzùm-á* às water flows, *w-àhòmm-á* the wind blows. In some verbs however, it is absolutely equivalent to *y-*, and preferable to *y-* (See the restrictions on Sec. 60, p. 94).

b. *t-* is used especially as a "quotative", i. e. when the speaker himself has not witnessed the action but reports it on hearsay. In *tùwí* however ("he is"), there is no quotative significance: *tùwí* is exactly equivalent to *yùwí*, and is most probably a confusion with *tùwí* (See Sec. 107, 110, p. 113).

c. *tsikùw-* (in some localities *tsiky-*) is used in myths.

TABLE OF AFFIXED PRONOUNS.

PERSON	INDICATIVE	SUBORDINATE	OPTATIVE	VOLITIONAL PRESENT	VOLITIONAL FUTURE
"I"	s-	st-	sl-	l-	màl-
"thou"	k-	m-	lg-	t-	k-
"he, she, it"	y-	t-	l-	tsl-	màl-
"thou and I"	h-	ts.h-	slh-	lh-	màh-
"he and I"	s.h-	sts.h-	ìslh-	slh-	smàh-
"ye both"	gìdz-	mìdz-	lìkts-	dz-	dz-
"they both"	eiy-	dìdz-	ld-	tsìnd-	màd-
"ye and I"	h...-má	st.h...-má	slh...-má	lh...-dzà	màh...-dzà
"they and I"	s.h...-má	stsìs.h...-má	ìslh...-má	slh...-dzà	smàh...-dzà
"ye all"	gìdz...-má	mìdz...-má	lìkts...-má	dz-	dz-
"they all"	y...-ú	d...-ú	ld...-ú	tsìnd...-dzà	màd...-dzà
"I-thee"	h...-tskà	t.h...-tskà	lh...-tskà	lh-	mìh-
"he-thee"	k...-tskà	m...-tskà	lg...-tskà	tsim-	mìd-
"thou-me"	sk-	sm-	sl-	sl-	sk-
"he-me"	sy...-má	stìd...-má	slìd...-má	sìnd-	smìd-

(50) The following elements of variability have been noted in regard to the pronominal affixes.

a. The Volitional Future has several forms which contain the element *má* in the prefix. The *a* of this syllable is extremely short in length and indefinite in quality. Some people pronounce it in such a way that it is impossible to say whether it is *a* or *i*. Furthermore they themselves cannot decide.

b. In the combinations *ld*, *lg*, many people are apt to introduce a short, obscure *i*. e. g. *lìg-á-má* "you would like to eat" (for *lg-á-má*).

c. In the combination *nd* the *n* is apt to drop off.

(51) The following dialectal variations have been noted in regard to the pronominal affixes:

a. All the forms which begin in *h-* among the groups settled along the upper reaches of the Pit River (Hammawi, Qosalektawi, Hewisedawi, Astahiwawi), change into *lh-* among the groups settled along the middle course of the River (Atwamdzini, Adzumawi). Thus, *h-á-má* "we both eat" becomes *lh-á-m-á*,

*h-í-ní-má-dzi-tskà* "I see you" becomes *lh-í-ní-má-dzi-tskà*.

b. Where the former use *w-* for the 3rd. pers. sing. (or plural, but not dual), in the Indicative Mode, the latter are apt to use *m-* (thus causing a confusion with the 2nd. pers. Subordinate). They use it especially in interrogative sentences.

c. Where the former use the suffix *-má* expressly to indicate the combined subject-object "he-me" in the split form *s...-má*, but have no special form for "he-him" (other than *y-*, *w-*, *t-*, *tsikw-*), the latter extend the use of the suffix part *-má* to it. Thus, *w-í-ní-má-dzi* "he saw him" becomes *w-í-ní-mádzù-má* (for the change *i* to *ù* see the form "he-me" in Conjugation V, to which "to see" belongs).

d. Where the former end the 3rd. pers. plural in *-i-ú* (Indicative), the latter are apt to say *-i-údzi*.

(52) It may be of interest to compare the pronominal systems of Atsugewi and Shasta with that of Achumawi. We will give the Indicative and Volitional Modes in these two languages.





*b. Amplified:* there is usually, but by no means always, a lengthening, a drawing out of the normal stem. In many verbs this is effected through the lengthening of the vowel instead of the consonant. The fourth and fifth examples (-*ǔsám-*, -*ǔtéw-*) are modifications of the -*aw-*. Another excellent illustration is furnished by the verb we have chosen to exemplify the second conjugation: *d-á·ká·d-i* = to cut, *s-ánwáká·d-i* = I cut.

*c. Collapsed:* in comparison with the normal, the collapsed stem gives the impression of shortness, of crispness, of hardness. Sometimes this is due to an actual shortening of the total length of the stem, sometimes to change from sonant to surd (in the case of fricatives in final position, *sésú'páyí* = I hurry, *lésúpáh* = let me hurry!), (*lá·kát'* = let me cut!). Sometimes it is merely due to the significant absence of the inflectional end-vowel.

It must be borne in mind however that in many cases there is neither an actual "amplification" nor an actual "collapsing" of the stem. But there is always, (at least often enough to establish a rule), some sort of triple change of the stem.

There remains now the question of the distribution of these stems. One might have expected to find each stem characteristic of a whole Mode. Such is however not the case. For instance let us consider the Volitional Mode. In the case of the First Conjugation, the 1<sup>st</sup> Person Singular employs the collapsed stem, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Person Singular employs the normal stem, the 3<sup>d</sup> Person Singular employs the collapsed, etc. (See the Paradigm p. 97). In the case of the Third Conjugation however the order is reversed: 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>d</sup> employ the normal, and 2<sup>nd</sup> the collapsed. There is no general rule. Each conjugation has its own pattern.

#### INTERNAL CHANGES IN THE STEM.

(54) If we look more closely at the changes by which the "normal" stem is "amplified"

(see the lists of stems under the different Conjugations), we observe that they vary all the way from a mere change of pitch-tone or the lengthening of a vowel, to a change of *a* or *i* to *ow*, or even to the inclusion of a whole syllable like *in* or *iw*. Sometimes the change is from *a* or *u* to *e*.

(55) In the majority of cases these modifications are characteristic of the singulars and duals in the Indicative and associated Modes.

(56) In a smaller number of cases they act as "intensifiers" of the action, in a manner which it is difficult to define. Examples:

<i>s-úw-i</i> I am	<i>s-inúw-i</i> I can
<i>s-ám-á</i> I eat	<i>s-inwám-á</i> I eat plenty, I am replete
<i>ó-s-is'-i</i> I say	<i>s-iwáss-á</i> I sing

(57) The verbs "to throw" and "to throw and hit" are distinguished by the same method:

<i>s-á·p-á</i> I throw	<i>s-iwápp-á</i> I hit
<i>l-áp</i> let me throw!	<i>l-ép</i> let me hit!
<i>t-ápp-á</i> throw!	<i>t-é·p-á</i> hit!

Here again we find the corresponding changes in Atsugewi:

<i>s-wápp-au</i> I throw	<i>s-páp-a</i> I hit
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(58) A similar change gives the two verbs:

<i>d-éhpá·dz-i</i> to bathe (or swim)
<i>d-inéhpá·dz-i</i> to bathe for purification

(59) In a third group of cases (many of the verbs which have to do with "going, arriving, walking, coming", etc.), the change from *a* or *u* to *e* indicates primarily that the action is performed in the direction of the subject's home, hence by derivation that it is performed again or "back" (somewhat equivalent to our prefix *re-*). Examples:

<i>s-án-á</i> I came	<i>s-én-á</i> I came home (or I returned)
<i>s-á'tò·g-i</i> I arrived	<i>s-é'tò·g-i</i> I arrived home
<i>t-úpt-é</i> go	<i>t-épt-é</i> go home! (or go back!)

Exactly the same idea (with also the same confusion) exists in Atsugewi, but by an

entirely different method, viz. by introducing a *p* element:

*s-wiw-a* I came            *s-piw-a* I came home  
*s-wum-itc* I arrived       *s-pum-itc* I arrived home

One exception in Achumawi is the verb "to go" in the singular and duals of the Indicative: from *s-ápt-é* "I go", should be formed *s-épt-é* "I go home", but instead it is *s-iwápt-é*.

(60) Whenever the amplified stem containing the element *ów* is used in the 3rd. pers. of the Indicative with the pronominal prefix *w-*, the *ów* changes to *à*. Ex.:

*s-ówillú'dzí* I dwell  
*w-állú'dzí* he dwells

#### THE INFLECTIONAL END-VOWEL.

(61) Verbal forms in Achumawi end normally in a vowel which is not part of the stem. This vowel is of course marked by pitch-tone: *dún'-ì* = to come, *sá'n-á* = I come, *lún'-à* = let me come!, *túnn-ò* = come!, *dzúnn-ì* = come ye both!

The inflectional end-vowel may be *significantly absent*, as in *lám* = let me eat!. This is frequently the case in the "collapsed" forms of the Volitional Modes.

The inflectional end-vowel is not at the end in the case of the "split" pronominal forms. In such forms the suffixed part of the split affix comes after the inflectional end-vowel: *hám'-ì-má* = we all eat, *yá'm-ì-ú* = they all eat, *hám'-ì-tskà* = I eat you.

The inflectional end-vowel fulfills very much the same function as do the personal endings in the Latin verb. They help to express a combination of Person, and Mode, and they do this through a system of Conjugations. Latin endings however are the only means of expressing the concept of Personality since they are themselves the incorporated pronouns. while in Achumawi the concept of Personality is expressed mainly in the pronominal affixes which are quite distinct from the inflectional vowel.

#### THE ADVERBIAL SUFFIXES.

(62) There are in Achumawi a number of adverbial suffixes which may be added to the verb-stem to modify its meaning in a derivational manner:

<i>-im-</i>	thither
<i>-ig-</i>	hither
<i>-á'dán-</i>	downward
<i>-á'k-</i>	upward
<i>-dzum-</i>	} along (to do a thing while going along)
<i>-dzüg-</i>	
<i>-dúw-</i>	
<i>-álù-</i>	into
<i>-áðây-</i>	out of
<i>-á'dz-</i>	to go and do
<i>-é'l-</i>	to do something while carrying an object
<i>-àsyám-</i>	to do something in company with someone else
<i>-íúdz-</i>	the reciprocal (one another)
<i>-á'g-</i>	the reflexive (self)
<i>-á'yám-</i>	the causative (to make someone else do it)
<i>-úy-</i>	} The benefactive (to do for someone)
<i>-úw-</i>	
<i>-álúl-</i>	with a twisting motion
<i>-wám-</i>	in two
<i>-dz-</i>	medio-passive-continuative
<i>-àswádz-</i>	habituaive
<i>-àtsw-</i>	the perfective (to have done a thing already and have it finished)
<i>-ì'n-</i>	the distant past
<i>-igúdz-</i>	the future of eventuality

(63) These suffixes are placed immediately after the original radical of the verb and are followed by the inflectional end-vowel (which in turn may be followed by the suffix part of a split affixed pronoun). Thus, from *s-á'm-á* "I eat" is formed the Future of eventuality *s-á'm-igúdz-ì* "I shall eat". From *h-ámm-ì-má* "we all eat" *h-ámm-igúdz-ù-má* "we all shall eat".

(64) We shall see later that the Achumawi verbs fall into six classes (or "conjugations"). Each conjugation is marked by a special pattern involving changes in the stem and in the inflectional end-vowel (but not involving the pronominal affixes). Each verb therefore belongs, in its primary unmodified form,

to a certain Conjugation. Likewise, each of the adverbial suffixes belongs to one of the Conjugations (except the First Conjugation). Furthermore, when a verb is modified by one of these adverbial suffixes, the suffix takes precedence in determining the Conjugation (and if there is more than one suffix, it is the last suffix which determines the Conjugation). In other words, when a verb is modified by an adverbial suffix, it loses its own primary conjugation and passes into that which is proper to the suffix. Thus, in the examples above, the verb "to eat", which primarily belongs to Conjugation I, passes into Conjugation V (proper to the suffix *-igúdz-*).

(65) What the true nature of these adverbial suffixes is, is open to conjecture. They might be regarded as verbs in second position.

(66) To the IIInd. Conjugation belong:

<i>-á'yám-</i>	the causative
<i>-í'n-</i>	the distant past
<i>-úy-</i>	(or <i>-úw-</i> ) the benefactive
<i>-áúw-</i>	around
<i>-wám-</i>	in two

(67) To the IIIrd. Conjugation belong:

<i>-im-</i>	thither
<i>-ig-</i>	hither
<i>-ásyám-</i>	with someone
<i>-dzùm-</i>	(or <i>-dzùg-</i> ) along

The following are necessarily followed by either *-im-* or *ig-*, and therefore belong in Conj. III also:

<i>-ádán-</i>	downward
<i>-áli-</i>	into
<i>-áday-</i>	out of
<i>-álúl-</i>	with a twisting motion

(68) To the IVth. Conjugation belong:

<i>-á'dz-</i>	to go and do
<i>-é'l-</i>	to do while carrying
<i>-átsw-</i>	the perfective

(69) To the Vth. Conjugation belong:

<i>-dz-</i>	the medio-passive-continuative
<i>-áswádz-</i>	the habitative
<i>-igúdz-</i>	the future
<i>-iúdz-</i>	the reciprocal

(70) To the VIth. Conjugation belong:

<i>-á'g-</i>	the reflexive
<i>-á'k-</i>	upward

(71) It may be of interest to compare these adverbial suffixes with the similar ones found in Shasta and Atsugewi. Shasta has many more than Achumawi, and has evidently borrowed many from Karok. Those of Atsugewi correspond pretty well to the Achumawiones, both in number and meaning. In form, a few of them are very different.

In the following table we give only what appears to be the fundamental part of the suffixes.

	Achumawi	Atsugewi	Shasta
thither	<i>-m-</i>	<i>-w-</i>	<i>-m-</i>
hither	<i>-g-</i>	<i>-k-</i>	<i>-k-</i>
downward	<i>dan</i>	<i>-tpu-</i>	<i>-yak-, -hamp-</i>
upward	<i>-k-</i>	<i>-y-, -tsw-</i>	<i>-kwayak-, -ts-</i>
along	<i>-dzu-</i>	<i>-iwak-</i>	<i>-rum-</i>
around	<i>-duw-</i>	(lacking)	(lacking)
into	<i>-lu-</i>	<i>-psu-</i>	<i>-ps-</i>
out of	<i>-day-</i>	<i>-t-</i>	<i>-hav-, -wak-, -kway</i>
to go and do	<i>-dz-</i>	<i>-tj-</i>	<i>-tsw-</i>
while carrying	<i>-l-</i>	(lacking)	(lacking)
in company with	<i>-syam-</i>	<i>-syu-</i>	(lacking)
Reciprocal	<i>-iudz<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>-ayw<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>-hamp<sup>1</sup></i>
Reflexive	<i>-g-</i>	<i>-h-</i>	<i>-kwai-</i>

<sup>1</sup>) In Ach. and Ats. the Reciprocal is really a reduplication of the 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. plural.

	Achumawi	Atsugewi	Shasta
Causative .....	-yam-	-y-	-ai-
Benefactive .....	-uy-	-re-	-ay-
"twisting" .....	-lul-	(lacking)	(lacking)
"in two" .....	-wam-	-niky-	(lacking)
Medio-passive .....	-dz-	-tc- (past)	(lacking)
Habitualive .....	-swadz-	-asmak-, -swi-	-hamp-
Perfective .....	-tsw-	-t-	-ts-
Distant Past .....	-n-	-ʔn-	(lacking)
Future .....	-gudz-	-en-	(lacking)

## (72) THE SIX CONJUGATIONS.

Enough has been said in the preceding sections anent the conjugational patterns being founded on a system of combinations between triple-stems and inflectional end-vowel, according to Mode and Person.

The division of the verbs of the language into six classes is in our opinion a manifestation of grammatical classification. The basis of the classification is obscure in Achumawi. Some of the classes like the Fifth Conjugation (made up of medio-passive verbs), or the Third (directional modification), are fairly clear. The First and Sixth Conjugations appear to consist predominantly of primary, simple verbs. The Second Conjugation gives one the feeling of being a hodge-podge, or the result of a leveling to a common basis of a large number of verbs whose lengthy stem is evidently the result of an archaic fusion of formerly separate elements. On the whole, the basis of classification, as in the case of the Bantu classes or the Latin verbs, is too old and mixed-up to be clear.

The rest of this Section is devoted to a study of the several Conjugations, one by one. The method that we have followed is the same in the case of each Conjugation:

1<sup>st</sup>, A paradigm showing the distribution of the triple-stems and of the inflectional end-vowels throughout the different persons.

In these paradigms we indicate the three kinds of stems by the initials N = normal, A = amplified, C = Collapsed. In the second column we give the inflectional vowel corresponding to that person. Thus any

verb listed in that conjugation may be built up for any given person. For example: "let them all eat later on!". We look first for the incorporated pronoun of the 3<sup>d</sup> Person Plural in the Volitional Future, (in the Table of affixed pronouns in Sec. 49). We find there the split-affix *màd*...*dzà*. Next we look at the kind of stem required by the 3<sup>d</sup> Plural Volitional in the First Conjugation (to which "to eat" belongs), and we read: N, *i*, by which we understand that the normal stem is required combined with a long *i* in the high tone for the inflectional vowel. We only have now to find which is the "normal" form of the stem for the verb "to eat" in the list of verbs in the First Conjugation: we find *-ám*-. We can now construct the form "let them all eat later on!": *màdám·i·dzà*.

2<sup>nd</sup>, A complete paradigm of the Indicative and of the Volitional Present for one verb typical of the Conjugation then under consideration, as an example.

3<sup>d</sup>, A list of all the verbs which we have definitely identified as belonging to that particular conjugation. This is presented in three parallel columns for the three forms of stem for each verb. Needless to say these lists do not include all the verbs of the language but merely those for which we were able to obtain enough forms to classify them. The lists include only the primary forms of verbs, but not the derivations by means of an appended suffix which make any verb pass from its original conjugation into some other one.

4<sup>th</sup>, an analysis of the characteristics of the Conjugation under consideration, especially in regard to pitch-tone patterns.

In the paradigms we make no distinction between the inclusive and exclusive forms of the dual and of the plural because they follow the same pattern in every case.

## (73) CONJUGATION I.

## I. Paradigm of triple-stems and inflectional vowel.

PERSONS:	INDICATIVE, SUBORDINATE, OPTATIVE:		VOLITIONAL, Present and Future:	
	stem	inflec- tion	stem	inflec- tion
"I"	A	á	C	none
"thou"	A	á	N	à
"he"	A	á	C	none
"we both"	A	á	C	none
"ye both"	A	á	N	í
"they both"	A	á	C	none
"we all"	N	í	N	í
"ye all"	N	í	N	à
"they all"	A	í	N	í
"I-thee"	N	í	N	á
"he-thee"	N	í	N	í
"thou-me"	A	á	N	á
"he-me"	N	í	C,	none

EXAMPLE: "eat" [Radical: -am-] Normal stem: -ámm-; amplified stem: -á'm-; collapsed stem: -ám-

## INDICATIVE:

*s-á'm-á* I eat (amplified stem)  
*k-á'm-á* thou eatest (amplified stem)  
*y-á'm-á* he eats (amplified stem)  
*h-á'm-á* we both eat (amplified stem)  
*gèdz-á'm-á* ye both eat (amplified stem)  
*eiy-á'm-á* they both eat (amplified stem)  
*h-ámm-i-má* we all eat (normal stem)  
*gèdz-ámm-i-má* ye all eat (normal stem)  
*y-á'm-i-ú* they all eat (amplified stem)  
*h-ámm-i-tskà* I eat thee (normal stem)  
*k-ámm-i-tskà* he eats thee (normal stem)  
*sk-á'm-á* thou eatest me (amplified stem)  
*sy-ámm-i-má* he eats me (normal stem)

(74) The Subordinate and the Optative Modes follow exactly the same paradigm as the Indicative, as to stem and end-vowel, but

the affixed pronouns are of course different. Inasmuch as we have already given the complete paradigms of the affixed pronouns in the Section devoted to them (p. 91), we will only sketch these two modes here for the sake of illustration:

## SUBORDINATE:

*st-á'm-á* ...that I eat (amplified stem)  
*m-á'm-á* ...that thou eatest (amplified stem)  
*d-á'm-á* ...that he eat (amplified stem)  
 etc. etc.

*st-h-ámm-i-má* ...that we all eat (normal stem)  
*m-ámm-i-tskà* ...that he eat you (normal stem)  
 etc. etc.

## OPTATIVE:

*sl-á'm-á* I should like to eat (amplified stem)  
*lg-á'm-á* thou wouldst like to eat (amplified stem)  
 etc. etc.

*sl-ámm-i-má* we all should like to eat (normal stem)  
*lg-ámm-i-tskà* he would like to eat thee ( id. )  
 etc. etc.

(75) While these three modes, the Indicative, the Subordinate, and the Optative follow the same pattern, the other two modes, Volitional Present and Volitional Future, have a different pattern, as follows:

## VOLITIONAL PRESENT:

*l-ám* I eat! (collapsed stem [-ám-])  
*t-ámm-à* eat, thou! (normal stem [-ámm-])  
*tsìl-ám* let him eat! (collapsed stem)  
*lh-ám* let us both eat! (collapsed stem)  
*dz-ámm-i* eat, ye both! (normal stem)  
*tsìnd-ám* let them both eat! (collapsed stem)  
*lh-ámm-i-dzà* let us all eat! (normal stem)  
*dz-ámm-à* eat, ye all! (normal stem)  
*tsìnd-ámm-i-dzà* let them all eat! (normal stem)  
*lh-ámm-á* let me eat thee! (normal stem)  
*tsìm-ámm-i* let him eat thee! (normal stem)  
*sìnd-ám* let him eat me! (collapsed stem)

## VOLITIONAL FUTURE:

*mál-ám* I will eat! (collapsed stem)  
*k-ámm-i* thou shalt eat! (normal stem)  
*mál-ám* he shall eat! (collapsed stem)  
 etc. etc.

(The Volitional Future is exactly like the Volitional Present, as to stem and end-vowel, the prefixed pronouns only being different.

(76) The following verbs follow the First Conjugation:

	Normal stem	Amplified stem	Collapsed stem
1. to eat	-ámm-	-á'm-	-ám
2. to drink	-íss-	-ó's-	-ís
3. to make fire	-ó'h'	-ówàh'	-óh'
4. to splice	-iláht-	-áláht-	-ilát
5. to sing	-é's-	-iwás-	-és
6. to say <sup>1</sup>	-íss-	-is'	-ís
7. to make	-i'y-	-inà'y-	-í'
8. to throw	-ápp-	-á'p-	-áp
9. to throw and hit	-é'p-	-iwápp-	-é'p
10. to bite	-íts-	-ów'its-	-ítc
11. to listen	-itíná'	-átíná'	-itíná'
12. to make arrows	-éh-	-ówh-	-éh
13. to tell old time stories	-illásini'	-ówlásini'	-illásini'
14. to burn	-iná'l-	-iná'l-	-ínál
15. to hold the breath	-ináht-	-ináht-	-ínát
16. to scrape shavings	-álá'h'y-	-álá'h'y-	-álá'h'i
17. to fish with a net	-áláss-	-álá's-	-álás
18. to be dead	-inàim-	-inàim-	-inà'im
19. to bake in the ground	-inú'w-	-ánú'w-	-inúw
20. to hunt	-ó's-	-áváss-	-ós
21. to feather arrows	-ih-	-ówh-	-ih'
22. to kill	-á'tw-	-iwátw-	-átw
23. to search	-idúwá'	-édáwá'	-idúwá'
24. to be not	-ánó'm-	-ánó'm-	(Volitional lacking)
25. to dodge arrows	-ípt-	-iwápt-	-ípt
26. to eat mush with the fingers	-idísp-	-ádísp-	-idísp
27. to snare birds	-iláhqò'hwé-	-iláhqò'hwé-	-iláhqò'hwé
28. to care	-ám-	-ám-	-ám

<sup>1</sup> This verb is irregular. See Sect. 112, p. 114.

## (77) CONJUGATION II.

### I. Paradigm of triple-stems and inflections.

PERSONS:	INDICATIVE, SUBORDINATE, OPTATIVE.		VOLITIONAL, Present and Future.	
	stem	inflection	stem	inflection
"I"	A	i	C	none
"thou"	A	i	N	à
"he"	A	i	C	none
"we both"	A	i	C	none
"ye both"	A	i	N	í
"they both"	A	i	C	none
"we all"	N	ù	C	none
"ye all"	N	ù	N	à
"they all"	A	i	C	none
"I-thee"	N	i	N	á
"he-thee"	N	i	N	i
"thou-me"	N	à	N	à
"he-me"	N	ù	C	none

Example of Conjugation II: verb "to cut" (Radical: -akad-). Stems: normal -á'ká'd-, amplified -ánwàkád-, collapsed -á'kát

(In the following table the SUBORDINATE and OPTATIVE, which follow the INDICATIVE, and the VOLITIONAL FUTURE, which follows the VOLITIONAL PRESENT, are omitted)

INDICATIVE	VOLITIONAL
s-ánwàkád-i	l-á'kát
k-ánwàkád-i	t-á'ká'd-à
y-ánwàkád-i	tsìl-á'kát
h-ánwàkád-i	lh-á'kát
gédz-ánwàkád-i	dz-á'ká'd-i
yei-ánwàkád-i	tsind-á'kát
h-á'ká'd-ùmá	lh-á'kát-tsà
gédz-á'ká'd-ùmá	dz-á'ká'd-à
y-ánwàkád-íú	tsind-á'kát-tsà
h-ánwàkád-ítskà	lh-á'ká'd-á
k-ánwàkád-ítskà	tsim-ákád-i
sk-á'ká'd-i	st-á'ká'd-à
sy-ánwàkád-ùmá	sind-á'kát

(78) The following verbs follow the pattern of the Second Conjugation:

	Normal stem	Amplified stem	Collapsed stem
1. to cut	-á'ká'd-	-ánwàká'd-	-á'kát
2. to split	-á'lá'd-	-ánwà'lá'd-	-áwállát
3. to be dead	-úká'd-	-á'ká'd-	-ú'kát
4. to turn towards	-iphá'd-	-ówp'há'd-	-iphát
5. to point with finger	-iliská'd-	-á'iská'd-	-iliskát
6. to attack	-issà'ád-	-ówsà'ád-	-isà'át
7. to learn	-idáyáhtsád-	-indáyáhtsád-	-idáyáhtsát
8. to know	-imàs'ád-	-inàmàs'ád-	-imàs'át
9. to go after	-ùtò'ád-	-ówtò'ád-	-ùtò'át
10. to nock arrows	-éqmá'd-	-éqmá'd-	-éqmat-
11. to sell	-isám-	-ówsám-	-issám
12. to be tired	-iwám-	-é'wám-	-iwám
13. to pour into	-ilú'tím-	-ówlú'tím-	-ilú'tim
14. to have a cold	-ilúts'hówm-	-á'lúts'hówm-	-ilúts'hówm
15. to beat the drum	-á'pú'm-	-ánwà'pú'm-	-áhpúm
16. to cover	-á'lé'wám-	-á'lé'wám-	-á'lé'wám
17. to watch a game	-ánú'mám-	-ánú'mám-	-ánú'mám
18. to dream	-ówàsáqtsám-	-ówàsáqtsám-	-ówàsáqtsám
19. to make string	-idzút'wál-	-édzút'wál-	-idzút'wál
20. to play "basket guessing game"	-iqól-	-ówqól-	-iqól
21. to eat mush with a spoon	-á'lápsí'l-	-ówlápsí'l-	-á'lápsil
22. to hit	-idù'ál-	-á'dù'ál-	-idù'ál
23. to dance	-áhiká'l-	-áhiká'l-	-áhikál
24. to make soup	-ámáhpú'l-	-ímáhpú'l-	-ámáhpúl
25. to bore a hole	-imá'dilú'l-	-imá'dilú'l-	-imá'dilú'l
26. to call	-idíllí'w-	-á'díllí'w-	-idíllí'w
27. to lose	-úqí'w-	-á'qí'w-	-úqí'w
28. to hear	-itlé'w-	-ówté'w-	-itlé'w
29. to dig with a digging-stick	-iwí'y-	-ówwí'y-	-iwí'y
30. to be sacred, mysterious ("mana")	-iníhó'w-	-áné'hó'w-	-iné'hó'u
31. to turn away from	-iphímúwí'y-	-ówp'hímúwí'y-	-iphímúwí'y
32. to hurry	-ésú'pá'-'-	-ésú'pá'-'-	-ésú'pá'y
33. to fan fire with a wing	-ám'lé'-'-	-inám'lé'-'-	-ám'lé'y
34. to beat measure with "slap-stick"	-á'á'-'-	-ánwà'á'-'-	-á'wà'á'y
35. to chop in little pieces	-útsá'-'-	-á'tsá'-'-	-útsá'y
36. to drown (trans.)	-ásqáptsá'-	-ánwàsqáptsá'-	-ásqáptsá'y
37. to break (intr.)	-ú'ís-	-á'ís-	-ú'ís
38. to break (trans.)	-idà'ís-	-á'dà'ís-	-idà'ís
39. to be a sack	-ilú'qùp-	-ilú'qùp-	-ilú'qúp
40. to groove the shafts of arrows	-ilíkí'g-	-á'líkí'g-	-ilíkík
41. to hold a feast	-ípsá'y-	-ípsá'y-	-ípsá'y
42. to fish with hook	-ámámáy-	-á'mámáy-	-ámámáy
43. to straighten arrows	-idámá'y-	-indámá'y-	-idámá'y
44. to win in gambling	-úqíwáy-	-á'qíwáy-	-úqíwáy
45. to search	-idáwá'y-	-indáwá'y-	-idáwá'y
46. to eat mush with a piece of meat	-itswàtsáy-	-étswàtsáy-	-itswàtsáy
47. to mix	-idàtsáy-	-á'dàtsáy-	-idàtsáy
48. to lick	-íplá'táy-	-á'plá'táy-	-íplá'táy
49. to shuffle in the hand	-indzàtsáy-	-indzàtsáy-	-indzàtsáy
50. to gamble (hand game)	-inís'ilútsáy-	-ináts'ilútsáy-	-inís'ilútsáy
51. to tie a bundle	-inétáy-	-inétáy-	-inétáy
52. to lose	-idàhápáy-	-indàhápáy-	-idàhápáy
53. to practice target shooting at rolling disks	-á'píniná'y-	-á'píniná'y-	-á'píniná'y
54. to look around for something	-indzész-	-inádzész-	-indzész

	Normal stem	Amplified stem	Collapsed stem
55. to poison	-ilé't-	-ówlé't-	-ilé'ti
56. to scorch, burn	-à'wé't-	-à'wé't-	-à'wé'ti
57. to get shot	-ù'dzé't-	-à'dzé't-	-ùdzé'ti
58. to like	-álilá't-	-álilá't-	-álilá'ti
59. to scold	-ilé'má't-	-álé'má't-	-ilé'má'ti
60. to cast a shadow	-ínàlá't-	-ánàlá't-	-ínàlá'ti
61. to be in the path of light	-ámé'tsá't-	-ámé'tsá't-	-ámé'tsá'tsi
62. to chop	-áhtsá'b-	-ánàhtsá'b-	-ínwàhtsáp
63. to break	-idà'yá's-	-indà'yá's-	-idà'yá's
64. to be a slave	-étám-	-á'tám-	-étám
65. to dance the war-dance	-íníwá'd-	-áníwá'd-	-íníwát
66. to look	-ímíndúw-	-ówmíndúw-	-ímíndù
67. to wander	-ínillá'dúw-	-ínillá'dúw-	-ínillá'dù
68. to hold in the hand	-idzàsándúw-	-édzàsándúw-	-idzàsándù
69. to dry a hide	-áqítw-	-á'qítw-	-áqítwí
70. to discover	-idáéhséd-	-indáéhséd-	-idáéhsét
71. to be worried	-ínsimáláú-	-ínsimáláú-	-ínsimáláú
72. to exchange	-inámáts-	-inámáts-	-inámáts

(79) To the above list of primary verbs in Conjugation II must be added the following derivational groups:

1. All the verbs, whatever their original conjugation, when modified by the Causative suffix *-á'yám-*.

2. All the verbs, whatever their original conjugation, when modified by the suffix *-wám-* = to do in two.

Examples:

<i>d-áhtsá'b-i</i> to chop	<i>d-áhtsá'p-wám-i</i> to chop in two
<i>s-ánwàhtsá'b-i</i> I chop	<i>s-ánwàhtsá'p-wám-i</i> I chop in two
<i>l-inwàhtsáp</i> let me chop	<i>l-inwàhtsá'p-wám</i> let me chop in two

3. All the verbs modified by the suffix *-í'n-* = long ago. For obvious reason this suffix is never applied to the Volitional Mode.

Example:

<i>s-á'm-á</i> I eat	<i>s-á'm-í'n-i</i> I ate a long time ago
<i>h-ámm-í-má</i> we all eat	<i>h-ámm-í'n-ù-má</i> we all ate a long time ago

4. All the verbs modified by the suffix *-úy-* "for someone else". This suffix appears sometimes as *-úw-*. Ex.:

<i>s-intálú'm-á</i> I work (Conj. I)
<i>s-intálú'm-úy-i</i> I work for him (Conj. II)

The use of this suffix is inverted in the case of the verb "to tell". *d-indámá'g-i* should mean "to tell someone", but it really means "to tell for someone", and vice-versa *d-indámá'g-úy-i* should mean "to tell for someone" but it really means "to tell someone". Thus,

<i>h-indámá'g-úy-itská</i>	I told you
<i>h-indámá'g-itská</i>	I told about you

Exactly the same inversion of meaning exists in Atsugewi:

<i>m-ikammak-ré-isahki</i>	I told you
<i>m-ikammak-ísahki</i>	I told about you

(80) Analysis of the patterns of the SECOND Conjugation:

When we compare this Conjugation with the preceding one, we note the following differences:

a. The inflectional end-vowel for the singular and the dual is *-i*, instead of *-á*.

Note that these are the forms that use the "amplified" instead of the normal stem. There is one other form that uses the amplified stem, namely the Third Plural, but this already ends in *-i* in the First Conjugation (always of course with the addition of the "suffix" part of the split affixed pronoun, e. g. *y-á'm-íú* = they all eat [Conj. I],



*y-ánwáká-d-íú* = they all cut [Conj. II], the affixed pronoun for the Third Person Plural of the Indicative and associated Modes being always: *y-. -íú*, or rather *y-. -ú*).

b. The First and Second Persons of the Plural of the Indicative and associated Modes, and the combined subject-object "he — me", take *-ù*, instead of *-í*, for their inflectional end-vowel. Note that these three forms are characterized always by having the suffix part of the split affixed pronoun in *-má*. For comparison:

CONJ. I		CONJ. II	
we all	<i>h-ó's-í-má</i>	we all	<i>h-isám-ù-má</i>
hunt		sell	
ye all	<i>gédz-ó's-í-má</i>	ye all	<i>gédz-isám-ù-má</i>
hunt		sell	
he hunts	<i>sy-ó's-í-má</i>	he sells	<i>sy-isám-ù-má</i>
me		me	

c. The combined subject-object "I — thee", "he — thee", have *-ì*, instead of *-í*, for inflectional vowel, in the Indicative and associated Modes:

CONJ. I		CONJ. II	
I hunt	<i>h-ó's-í-tskà</i>	I sell	<i>h-isám-ì-tskà</i>
thee		thee	
he hunts	<i>h-ó's-í-tskà</i>	he sells	<i>h-isám-ì-tskà</i>
thee		thee	

d. The combined subject-object "thou — me", in the Indicative and associated Modes, takes the normal, instead of the amplified stem, and ends in *-à*, instead of *-á*.

thou hunt-	<i>sk-áwàss-á</i>	thou sellest	<i>sk-isám-à</i>
est me		me	

[Note the amplified stem in "thou huntest me". If the normal stem were used, we would have: *sk-ó's-á*, which sounds absolutely wrong. In the same way, if "to sell" belonged in the First Conjugation we should have: *sk-ówsám-á*, which sounds equally out of tune.]

e. In the Volitional Modes, the First and Third Persons Plural, always characterized by a split affixed pronoun the second part of which is *-dzà*, have this *-dzà* attached to the "collapsed", instead of to the normal stem. And furthermore it is attached directly to the

stem without the intervening "inflectional vowel". Thus:

CONJ. I		CONJ. II	
let us all hunt!		let us all sell!	
<i>lh-ó's-í-dzà</i>		<i>lh-isám-tzà</i>	
let them all hunt!		let them all sell!	
<i>tsind-ó's-í-dzà</i>		<i>tsind-isám-tzà</i>	

f. The combined subject-object "he — thee" in the Volitional Mode ends in *-ì*, instead of *-í*, and similarly the combined subject-object "thou — me", in the same Modes, ends in *-à*, instead of *-á*. These changes are consistent with the rest of the pattern alterations.

### (81) CONJUGATION III.

#### I. Paradigm of triple-stems and inflections.

PERSONS:	INDICATIVE, SUBORDINATE, OPTATIVE.		VOLITIONAL, Present and Future.	
	stem	inflection	stem	inflection
"I"	A	<i>í</i>	N	<i>à</i>
"thou"	A	<i>í</i>	C	none
"he"	A	<i>í</i>	N	<i>à</i>
"we both"	A	<i>í</i>	N	<i>à</i>
"ye both"	A	<i>í</i>	N	<i>í</i>
"they both"	A	<i>í</i>	N	<i>à</i>
"we all"	N	<i>í</i>	N	<i>í</i>
"ye all"	N	<i>í</i>	C	none
"they all"	A	<i>í</i>	N	<i>í</i>
"I-thee"	N	<i>ì</i>	N	<i>á</i>
"he-thee"	N	<i>ì</i>	N	<i>í</i>
"thou-me"	N	<i>í</i>	C	none
"he-me"	N	<i>í</i>	N	<i>à</i>

N. B. In some verbs of this conjugation, the inflection for the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Dual of the Volitional is *á*, instead of *à*.

#### Example of the THIRD Conjugation:

[Primary verb "to hunt", radical *-os-*, triple stem: *-ó's-*, *-áwàs-*, *-ós*. Belongs originally in Conj. I]

By means of the derivational affixes *-ì'm-* "thither", and *-ì'g-* "hither", this verb, (and likewise any other verb), leaves its primary

conjugation and enters the third conjugation. For the analysis of the forms, see further<sup>1</sup>.

## INDICATIVE

to hunt thither:	to hunt hither:
<i>s-áwàs-ì-m-ì</i>	<i>s-áwàs-ì-g-ì</i>
<i>k-áwàs-ì-m-ì</i>	<i>k-áwàs-ì-g-ì</i>
<i>y-áwàs-ì-m-ì</i>	<i>y-áwàs-ì-g-ì</i>
<i>h-áwàs-ì-m-ì</i>	<i>h-áwàs-ì-g-ì</i>
<i>gédz-áwàs-ì-m-ì</i>	<i>gédz-áwàs-ì-g-ì</i>
<i>ei-y-áwàs-ì-m-ì</i>	<i>ei-y-áwàs-ì-g-ì</i>
<i>h-ò's-ì-m-má</i>	<i>h-ò's-ì-g-ù-má</i>
<i>gédz-ò's-ì-m-má</i>	<i>gédz-ò's-ì-g-ù-má</i>
<i>y-áwàs-ì-m-iú</i>	<i>y-áwàs-ì-g-iú</i>
<i>h-ò's-ì-m-ì-tskà</i>	<i>h-ò's-ì-g-ì-tskà</i>
<i>k-ò's-ì-m-ì-tskà</i>	<i>k-ò's-ì-g-ì-tskà</i>
<i>sk-áwàs-ì-m-ì</i>	<i>sk-áwàs-ì-g-ì</i>
<i>sy-ò's-ì-m-má</i>	<i>sy-ò's-ì-g-ù-má</i>

## VOLITIONAL

to hunt thither:	to hunt hither:
<i>l-ò's-ì-m-à</i>	<i>l-ò's-ì-g-à</i>
<i>t-òs-à-m</i>	<i>t-òs-à-k</i>
<i>tsìl-ò's-ì-m-à</i>	<i>tsìl-ò's-ì-g-à</i>
<i>lh-ò's-ì-m-à</i>	<i>lh-ò's-ì-g-à</i>
<i>dz-òs-ì-m-ì</i> (sic)	<i>dz-òs-ì-g-ì</i> (sic)
<i>tsìnd-ò's-ì-m-à</i>	<i>tsìnd-ò's-ì-g-à</i>
<i>lh-ò's-ì-m-dzà</i>	<i>lh-ò's-ì-k-tsà</i>
<i>dz-òs-à-m</i>	<i>dz-òs-à-k</i>
<i>tsìnd-ò's-ì-m-dzà</i>	<i>tsìnd-ò's-ì-k-tsà</i>
<i>lh-ò's-ì-m-á</i>	<i>lh-ò's-ì-g-á</i>
<i>tsìm-ò's-ì-m-ì</i>	<i>tsìm-ò's-ì-g-ì</i>
(sic)	
<i>st-òs-à-m</i>	<i>st-òs-à-k</i>
<i>sìnd-ò's-ì-m-à</i>	<i>sìnd-ò's-ì-g-à</i>

(82) Analysis of the patterns of the THIRD Conjugation:

The peculiarity of this conjugation is that the normal, instead of the collapsed stem, is used for the First, Second, and Third Persons of the Volitional Mode. And conversely, the Second Persons, both of the Singular and of the Plural (the Second Dual is extremely well established in all conjugations and never undergoes any change), take the collapsed

<sup>1</sup> Note that these affixes, as well as the verb stem, undergo the processes of amplifying and collapsing, thus: "thither" *-im-* (normal), *-ì'm-* (amplified), *-àm* (or *-òm*) (collapsed); "hither" *-ì'g-*, *-ìk-*, *-àk* (or *-òk*).

instead of the normal stem. In other words, we have here a case of vice-versa, or "mirror-image" patterning.

In order to set in relief this peculiarity, and incidentally to give an especially apt illustration of the use of tone in Achumawi, we will make a comparison of the following forms:

1. Let us start from the verb *d-ìlú'ti·m-ì* "to pour". The meaning of this verb is normally "to pour into". The ending *-ì* (low tone) is the regular ending of the denominative form, the one here given. This verb belongs in the Second Conjugation, and will be found there in the list (no. 13, page 99).

2. If we wish to say "to pour out" we may use the normal method of adding the suffix *-ì'm-*, the suffix which characterizes the Third Conjugation. Thus we should have: *d-ìlú'ti·m-ì'm-ì*. But here one of the accidents of language occurs (and the very reason for our choice of this verb as an example), and one *-ì'm-* displaces the other: *d-ìlú't-ì'm-ì*, as if the radical were *-ìlú't-* instead of *-ìlú'ti·m-*.

3. This initial confusion once granted, the other forms follow:

<i>s-òwlú'ti·m-ì</i> I pour	<i>s-òwlú't-ì'm-ì</i> I pour
	into
<i>k-òwlú'ti·m-ì</i> thou	<i>k-òwlú't-ì'm-ì</i> thou
pourest	pourest into
etc.	etc.

4. But the forms that indicate the profound difference in the pattern are the ones which involve the Volitional Mode:

<i>l-ìlú'tim</i> let me pour!	<i>l-ìlú't-ì'm-à</i> let me
	pour!
<i>t-ìlú'ti·m-à</i> pour, thou!	<i>t-ìlú't-àm</i> pour out,
	thou!

This criss-crossing, vice-versa, or "mirror-image" exchange of patterns, is most striking when heard by one at all conversant with the tone-patterns of Achumawi. The sudden appearance of the collapsed stem where one expected the normal, and vice-versa is as if a familiar tune were suddenly set upside down.

(83) The following verbs follow the pattern of the THIRD Conjugation:

In general:

All the verbs, whatever their original conjugation, when modified by either one of the two "directional" suffixes *-i-m-* and *-i-g-* ("thither" and "hither").

Examples:

"to scrape shavings" (no. 16, p. 98)	"to scrape shavings away from oneself"
Conj. I	Conj. III
<i>d-álàh'y-i</i> to scrape	<i>d-álàh'y-i-m-i</i> to scrape away

Conj. I	Conj. III
<i>s-álàh'y-á</i> I scrape	<i>s-álàh'y-i-m-i</i> I scrape away
<i>t-álàh'y-à</i> scrape, thou!	<i>t-álàh'y-àm</i> scrape away, thou!
<i>l-álàh'y-i</i> let me scrape!	<i>l-álàh'y-i-m-à</i> let me scrape away!

In particular:

a. A group of verbs which demand naturally either one of the two directional suffixes because they express an action which is of necessity either away from or towards the subject. In the following list the stem alone is given, without *-m-* or *-g-* suffix.

	Normal stem	Amplified stem	Collapsed stem
1. to run.....	-àhò-	-áhò-	-àhò-
2. to run home.....	-ihò-	-éhò-	-ihò-
3. to arrive.....	-ùtò-	-átò-	-ùtò-
4. to arrive home.....	-itò-	-étò-	-itò-
5. to look back.....	-ímá-	-ómá-	-ímò-
6. to fall.....	-ùtsì-	-átsì-	-ùtsà-
7. to fell a tree.....	-áhì-	-ánwàhì-	-áhìà-
8. to enter.....	-úilù-	-áilù-	-úilò-
9. to stumble.....	-iwásqál-	-iwásqál-	-iwásqálà-
10. to send home.....	-ilìpsò-	-ilìpsò-	-ilìpsò-
11. to throw away.....	-idzilò'hò-	-indzilò'hò-	-idzilòhwà-
12. to crawl, creep.....	-àdzitè-	-ándzitè-	-àdzitè-
13. to put, place.....	-àhpástù-	-àhpástù-	-àhpástà-
14. to escape, run away.....	-úútyà-	-áútyà-	-úútyò-
15. id.....	-úú'dù-	-áú'dù-	-úú'twà-
16. to travel downstream.....	-iwátsá'dù-	-iwátsá'dù-	-iwátsá'twà-

b. A group of verbs the meaning of which has nothing to do with direction, but which somehow or other have become associated with either the *-m-* or *-g-* suffix. It is of course possible that these verbs constitute the original kernel of the Third Conjugation,

but it seems more likely that they were drawn into it by analogy. In the following list they are given in their entirety, i. e. without detaching the apparent pseudo-suffix.

	Normal stem	Amplified stem	Collapsed stem
1. to celebrate a festival.....	-ikóm-m-	-á'kóm-m-	-iká'mmám
2. to open one's eyes.....	-ímá'm-	-ómá'm-	-ímò'm
3. to tell.....	-indámá'g-	-indámá'g-	-indámò'k
4. to lose something.....	-idzì'tsì'm-	-indzì'tsì'm-	-idzì'tsám
5. to get lost (intr.).....	-idziyá'ùm-	-indziyá'ùm-	-indziyá'ùm
6. to groove the shafts of arrows.....	-ilìkikwálm-	-álikikwálm-	-ilìkikwálám
7. to finish.....	-idàskáùm-	-ódàskáùm-	-idàskáùm
8. to drown (intrans.).....	-idzùsqá'bùm-	-ódzùsqá'bùm-	-idzùsqá'bùm
9. to have an odour.....	-ámá'se'g-	-ámá'se'g-	-ámásák
10. to give birth to a child.....	-ikóm-m-	-á'kóm-m-	-iká'mám

c. A group of verbs which end in *-dzùm-* or *-dzùg-*, and which are generally translated as "to do it while going along". We are probably dealing in this case with a sort of

fusion of two suffixes, *-dz-* "to go and do it" on the one hand, and either *-m-* or *-g-* on the other, according to the direction of locomotion.

#### Examples:

<i>d-ám-m-ì</i>	to eat	<i>d-ám-m-é·dzùm-ì</i>	to eat while going along
<i>s-á·m-á</i>	I eat	<i>s-á·m-é·dzùm-ì</i>	I eat going along
<i>l-ám</i>	let me eat!	<i>l-ám-m-é·dzùm-à</i>	let me eat while going along!
<i>t-ám-m-à</i>	eat, thou!	<i>t-ám-é·dzàm</i>	eat while going along!

	Normal stem	Amplified stem	Collapsed stem
to carry a fire in a torch-like manner .....	<i>-à'wìdzùm-</i>	<i>-à'wìdzùm-</i>	<i>-à'wìdzàm</i>
to swim along .....	<i>-éhpá dzùm-</i>	<i>-ówáhpá dzùm-</i>	<i>-éhpá tswàm</i>
to carry along in one's arms .....	<i>-à'mì: dzùg-</i>	<i>-à'mì: dzùg-</i>	<i>-à'mì: dzàk</i>
to take a walk .....	<i>-óqì dzùm-</i>	<i>-áqì dzùm-</i>	<i>-óqì dzàm</i>

All of them may be found with either the *-g-* or *-m-* suffix. Thus:

*t-ám-é·dzàk* eat while going along towards here!

d. All the verbs which are modified by the suffix *-ádán-* "downward". Such verbs necessarily end in either *-m-* or *-g-*.

<i>s-inim-á</i> "I look" (Conj. V)	<i>s-inim-ádán-m-ì</i> I look down thither
<i>t-inim-á</i> look, thou!	<i>t-inim-ádán-òk</i> look down hither!

This combination is possible with any verb the meaning of which lends itself to it. Besides, we have also recorded one verb which follows the same pattern, although its meaning is irrelevant to the idea of downward motion:

to sew beads Normal, *-iláh-dán-m-*; Amplified, *-áláh-dán-m-*; Collapsed *-iláh-dán-ù-m*

e. All the verbs which are modified by either one of the two contrasting suffixes *-álù-* "into" and *-ádày-* "out of". These verbs, since they imply direction, require either the *-m-* or the *-g-* suffix.

<i>s-inim-á</i>	I look (Conj. V)
<i>s-inim-álù-m-ì</i>	I look into
<i>s-inim-ádày-m-ì</i>	I look out of

The use of these suffixes is determined by the position of the person speaking, thus:

*d-imá-lù-m-ì* to look into an enclosure (like a room, a pot, a cavern), the person relating the action being himself outside.

*d-im-álù-g-ì* to look into, the speaker being inside.

*d-im-ádày-m-ì* to look out of an enclosure, the speaker being inside

*d-im-ádày-g-ì* to look out of, the speaker being outside

To illustrate how this works:

I am inside a room, and I say to someone who is standing outside the door: *t-im-álù-à-k* look in here!

I am outside the door of the room, and so is my companion, to whom I say: *t-im-álù-à-m* look in there!

I am inside a room with another man, and I say to him: *t-im-ádày-à-m* look outside!

I stand outside the door, and I say to someone inside the room: *t-im-ádày-à-k* look out this way!

The following verb is always associated with the *-ádày-* suffix:

to dig roots (out) with a digging stick  
*d-iliv-ádày-m-ì*.

f. All the verbs when modified by the suffix *-àsyà-* "to do it with someone". This affix requires the *-m-* and *-g-* suffixes:

Examples:

- d-á'ká'd-ì* to cut
- d-á'ká'd-àsyà-m-ì* to cut in company with someone (doing it in the direction of the speaker)
- d-á'ká'd-àsyà-g-ì* to cut in company with someone (doing it in a direction away from the speaker)
- s-ánwàkà'd-ì* I cut
- s-ánwàkà'd-àsyà-m-ì* I cut with him (away from myself)
- s-ánwàkà'd-àsyà-g-ì* I cut with him (toward myself)
- t-á'ká'd-à* cut! (normal stem because in Conj. II)
- t-á'ká'd-àsyà-m* cut with him! (collapsed stem, Conj. III)
- t-á'ká'd-àsyà-k* cut with him! (collapsed stem, Conj. III)

(84) CONJUGATION IV.

I. Paradigm of triple-stems and inflections.

[In this table the notation N + [tc] means "normal stem modified by change in the pitch-tone". For an explanation see "Analysis", further.]

PERSONS:	INDICATIVE, SUBORDINATE, OPTATIVE		VOLITIONAL, Present and Future	
	stem	inflection	stem	inflection
"I"	A	ì	C	none
"thou"	A	ì	N+[tc]	à
"he"	A	ì	C	none
"we both"	A	ì	C	none
"ye both"	A	ì	N	ì
"they both"	A	ì	C	none
"we all"	N+[tc]	ù	C	none
"ye all"	N+[tc]	ù	N+[tc]	à
"they all"	A	ì	C	none
"I-thee"	N+[tc]	ì	N	á
"he-thee"	N+[tc]	ì	N	ì
"thou-me"	N	à	N	à
"he-me"	N+[tc]	ù	C	none

Example of Conjugation V:

verb: to shoot, triple-stem: *-idù'tì's-*, *-ádù'tì's-* *-idù'tìs*.

<p>INDICATIVE</p> <p><i>s-ádù'tì's-ì</i></p> <p><i>k-ádù'tì's-ì</i></p> <p><i>y-ádù'tì's-ì</i></p>	<p>VOLITIONAL</p> <p><i>l-idù'tìs</i></p> <p><i>t-idù'tì's-à</i> (normal stem with change of tone)</p> <p><i>tsil-idù'tìs</i></p>
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<p><i>h-ádù'tì's-ì</i></p> <p><i>gèdz-ádù'tì's-ì</i></p> <p><i>ey-ádù'tì's-ì</i></p> <p><i>h-idù'tì's-ù-má</i> (normal stem with tone change)</p> <p><i>gèdz-ù'tì's-ù-má</i> (normal stem with tone change)</p> <p><i>y-ádù'tì's-ù</i></p> <p><i>h-idù'tì's-tskà</i> (normal stem with tone change)</p> <p><i>k-idù'tì's-tskà</i> (normal stem with tone change)</p> <p><i>sk-ádù'tì's-ì</i></p> <p><i>sy-idù'tì's-ù-má</i> (normal stem with tone change)</p>	<p><i>lh-idù'tìs</i></p> <p><i>dz-idù'tì's-ì</i> (normal stem)</p> <p><i>tsìnd-idù'tìs</i></p> <p><i>lh-idù'tìs-tsà</i></p> <p><i>dz-idù'tì's-à</i> (normal stem with tone change)</p> <p><i>tsìnd-idù'tìs-tsù</i></p> <p><i>lh-idù'tì's-á</i> (normal stem with tone change)</p> <p><i>tsim-idù'tì's-ì</i> (normal stem with tone change)</p> <p><i>st-idù'tì's-ì</i> (normal stem with tone change)</p> <p><i>sind-idù'tìs</i></p>
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(85) Analysis of the pattern of Conjugation IV.

It is exactly similar to that of Conjugation II, except that in some of the persons there is a *change in tone* within the stem itself. This change consists in a reversal of the tone of the last syllable of the stem. It affects only the normal stem.

For example: to scrape a hide, normal stem *-ìlèh'lù'b-*, becomes changed into *-ìlèh'lù'b-*, in some of the persons.

The persons affected are:

1<sup>st</sup> In the Volitional Modes, the Second Singular and the Second Plural (but not the Second Dual, which is one of the most stable forms in Achumawi.)

2<sup>nd</sup> In the Indicative and associated Modes, the split affixed pronouns, i. e. the First and Second Plural, and the combined subject-object forms "I—thee", "he—thee", and "he—me".

Example:

- "to scrape" *d-ìlèh'lù'b-ì* (normal)
- "I scrape" *s-áìlèh'lù'b-ì* (amplified)
- "let me scrape" *l-ìlèh'lùp* (collapsed)

but:

- "we all scrape" *h-ìlèh'lù'b-ù-má* (normal stem + tone change)
- "scrape, thou!" *t-ìlèh'lù'b-à* (normal stem + tone change)
- "scrape, ye all!" *dz-ìlèh'lù'b-à* (normal stem + tone change)

and on the other hand:

- "scrape, ye both!" *dz-ìlèh'lù'b-ì* (normal)

The characteristic of this conjugation, tone-change within the stem itself, is something very interesting in the study of tone. For we have seen that it is a general rule in Achumawi that *semantic* tone is invariable. What might appear at first to be a change in the tone of certain radicals is really the appearance of the radical in three stem forms which represent in reality as many distinct semantemas. In this Conjugation however, we find verbs which present a change in semantic tone associated with certain Persons and certain Modes. It may be argued of course that this ought to be regarded as a fourth variation of the stem. This is after all a matter of appreciation. The effect produced by the variation in tone is so clear, so strongly and sharply set out against the usual patterning, that the impression is

produced of a willed exception that strengthens rather than weakens the rule.

To give an idea of the feeling produced: "to swim" is represented by the semantema *-hpa-*. This verb belongs normally in Conjugation V, and as such may carry a certain suffix *-dz-* which has a medio-passive significance. Suppose several of us are in the water swimming, we then will say (addressing ourselves to someone else [exclusive plural]): *sh-èhpa-dz-ù-má* = we all are swimming. But suppose now that instead of being in the water we are walking along the trail, *on our way to take a swim*, then we will say *sh-èhpa-â-dz-ù-má* = we are going to swim. We have added to the radical not the suffix *-dz-* "medio-passive", but the suffix *-âdz-* "to go and do an action" which belongs to Conjugation IV.

(86) We find the following verbs in Conjugation IV:

	Normal stem	Amplified stem	Collapsed stem
1. to close one's eyes .....	<i>-indzè'pà'h-</i>	<i>-inádzè'pà'h-</i>	<i>-indzèpàh</i>
2. to scrape a hide .....	<i>-iléh'lù'b-</i>	<i>-áléh'lù'b-</i>	<i>-iléh'lùp</i>
3. to beat the war "rattle-drum" .....	<i>-ilìqò'-</i>	<i>-áìqò'-</i>	<i>-ilìqò'</i>
4. to put a sole on a mocassin .....	<i>-ilá'tsà'd-</i>	<i>-ilá'tsà'd-</i>	<i>-ilá'tsàt</i>
5. to sleep.....	<i>-ù'mà'd-</i>	<i>-ów'mà'd-</i>	<i>-ù'màt</i>
6. to put the back part of the upper on a mocassin .....	<i>-ilá'wà'd-</i>	<i>-ilá'wà'd-</i>	<i>-ilá'wàt</i>
7. to cut off a hanging thing .....	<i>-itìp-</i>	<i>-ówtì'p-</i>	<i>-itìp</i>
8. to be drunk.....	<i>-ilù'tú's-</i>	<i>-ilù'tú's-</i>	<i>-ilù'tús</i>
9. to shoot .....	<i>-idù'tì's-</i>	<i>-ádù'tì's-</i>	<i>-idù'tìs</i>

(87) To the above list must be added the following groups:

a. All verbs with the derivational suffix *-â·dz-* "to go and do something".

Example:

*h-ámm-î·má* we eat  
*h-ámm-â·dz-ù-má* we go to eat  
*t-ámm-à* eat, thou!  
*t-ámm-â·dz-à* thou, go and eat!

[Note how entirely different from the patterns of the suffix *-dz-* "continuative-habitualive" (see Conj. V)

*h-ámm-dz-ù-má* we keep on eating  
*t-ámm-dz-ò* thou, keep on eating!

These forms are not usual. Ordinarily one would use the *-â·swâdz-* suffix].

b. All verbs with the suffix *-î·l-* "to do an action while carrying something". (in some cases *-é·l-*).

Examples:

*d-ihòmm-ì* to run (Conj. III)  
*s-â·hò'm-ì* I run *s-â·hò'm-î·l-ì* I run  
 away with it  
*l-ihòmm-à* let me run! *l-ihòmm-î·l* let me run  
 away with it!  
*s-â·n-á* I come *s-â·n-î·l-ì* I come with it

c. All verbs with the suffix *-âtsw-* "to have done an action *already*".

Examples:

From *d-é·tw-ì* to kill (Conj. I), with the addition of a secondary intensifying prefix *-ín-*:

*d-in-é·tw-àtsw-ì* to have killed already  
*s in-é·tw-àtsw-ì* I have killed already

From *d-idù·tiss-ì* to shoot (Conj. V)

(this verb belongs already in this very same conjugation, hence two tone-changes become necessary;

*s-ádù·tì·s-ì* I shoot him *s-ádù·tì·s-àtsw-ì* I shot him already  
*t-idù·tiss-à* shoot him! *t-idù·tiss-àtsw-à* have done shooting! (a double tone-change: *tì* to *tì*)  
 (one tone-change from *tì* to *tì*) (a double tone-change: *tì* to *tì*, and *à* to *à*)

(88) CONJUGATION V.

I. Paradigm of triple-stems and inflections.

[The suffix *-dz-* may be obligatorily present, obligatorily absent, or optional. These three conditions are indicated by the signs +, —, ±]

PERSONS:	INDICATIVE, SUBORDINATE, OPTATIVE.			VOLITIONAL, Present and Future		
	stem	-dz-	infl.	stem	-dz-	infl.
"I"	A	±	ì	N	—	none
"thou"	A	±	ì	N	±	ò
"he"	A	±	ì	N	—	none
"we both"	A	±	ì	N	—	none
"ye both"	A	±	ì	N	+	ì
"they both"	A	±	ì	N	—	none
"we all"	N	+	ù	N	±	ì
"ye all"	N	+	ù	N	±	ò
"they all"	A	±	ì	N	±	ì
"I-thee"	N	+	ì	N	+	ò
"he-thee"	N	+	ì	N	+	ì
"thou-me"	A	±	ì	N	±	ò
"he-me"	N	+	ù	N	+	ò

Example of fifth Conjugation:

[verb "to fornicate", normal stem *-isúm-*, amplified stem *-òwsúm-*, collapsed stem not used in the verbs of this conjugation (or same as normal stem)].

NOMINATIVE: *d-isúm-dz-ì*

INDICATIVE	VOLITIONAL
<i>s-òwsúm-dz-ì</i>	<i>l-isúm</i>
<i>k-òwsúm-dz-ì</i>	<i>t-isúm</i> or <i>t-isúm-dz-ò</i>
<i>w-àsúm-dz-ì</i>	<i>tsìl-isúm</i>
<i>h-òwsúm-dz-ì</i>	<i>lh-isúm</i>
<i>gèdz-òwsúm-dz-ì</i>	<i>dz-isúm-dz-ì</i>
<i>éiy-òwsúm-dz-ì</i>	<i>tsìnd-isúm</i>
<i>h-isúm-dz-ù-má</i>	<i>lh-isúm-tsà</i> or <i>lh-isúm-dz-ì-dzà</i>
<i>gèdz-isúm-dz-ù-má</i>	<i>dz-isúm-dz-ò</i>
<i>w-àsúm-dz-ìú</i>	<i>tsìnd-isúm-tsà</i> or <i>tsìnd-isúm-dz-ì-dzà</i>
<i>h-isúm-dz-ì-tskà</i>	<i>lh-isúm-dz-ò</i>
<i>k-isúm-dz-ì-tskà</i>	<i>tsìm-isúm-dz-ì</i>
<i>sk-òwsúm-dz-ì</i>	<i>st-isúm-dz-ò</i>
<i>sy-isúm-dz-ù-má</i>	<i>sìnd-isúm</i>

(89) Analysis of the pattern of the Fifth Conjugation.

a. The key-note of this conjugation is that it is made up entirely of verbs ending in the suffix *-dz-*.

b. This suffix has a somewhat vague and indefinite value as a sort of medio-passive, as may be seen by a glance at the list of verbs: to be cold, to dwell, to sit, to urinate, to run at the nose, to smell, to bathe, to cry, etc.

c. This suffix is attached directly to the stem without the intermediary of a connecting vowel.

d. This suffix is inflected by an end-vowel in the usual way. The inflections are very similar to those of the Second Conjugation, except in the case of the Second Persons Singular and Plural of the Volitional Modes: they end in *ò*.

e. This suffix may be dropped, or to express it better, "lopped off", in some of the forms. In such cases the end-vowel is dropped, as well as the *-dz-* part, only the naked stem remaining

f. The "lopping off" is optional:

In the Indicative and associated Modes: in all the forms that take the amplified stem;

In the Volitional Modes, in the Second Persons Singular and Plural, in the First and Third Plural, and in the combined subject-object form "thou—me".

g. The "lopping-off" is obligatory:

In the Volitional Mode: in the First and Second Persons of the Singular and of the Dual (in other words, in all the forms which in other conjugations require the collapsed stem.)

h. The "lopping-off" is not permissible: In the nominalized forms.

In those forms of the Indicative and associated Modes which use the normal stem.

In the Second Person Dual of the Volitional.

In the three combined subject-object forms of the Volitional Mode: "I—thee", "he—thee", "he—me".

REMARK: In the case of the First and Third Plural Persons of the Volitional Mode (which always go together), when the suffix is dropped there still remains the suffix part of the "split" affixed pronoun *-dzà*, this time however heard as a surd, *-tsà*. Thus from "to dwell" *-illú-*, we form *lh-illú-dz-i-dzà* or *lh-illú-tzà* "let us all dwell!"

(90) The verbs that make up the Fifth Conjugation all end in the suffix *-dz-*, the value and handling of which have already been explained in the preceding paragraphs. It has also been explained that these verbs lack a collapsed form of the stem. In the following list the *-dz-* suffix is left out.

	Normal stem	Amplified stem
7. to stand up	-à'tsá'wà-	-á'tsá'wà-
8. to taste	-èslímmá-	-èslímmá-
9. to teach	-í'má'dzà-	-í'námá'dzà-
10. to wear a hair-belt	-áláháú-	-ówlápháú-
11. to tie a knot	-iné'mí-	-iné'mí-
12. to wear leggings	-átsí'lí'zàswà-	-ówátsí'lí'zàswà-
13. to get fat	-íníphá-	-ówphá-
14. to grab	-íssú-	-ínássú-
15. to hang (trans.)	-ínáhó-	-ínáhó-
16. to shout	-í'tá-	-ówíá-
17. to answer	-ístú-	-ówstú-
18. to take in the hand	-ídzàsà-	-édzàsà-
19. to carry on one's back	-ùqà-	-á'qà-
20. to point with a stick	-íllím-	-á'llím-
21. to carry in one's arms	-á'mù-	-á'mù-
22. to be angry	-ì'tù-	-ówtù-
23. to put on one's moccasins	-ínqílá-	-ínáqí'lá-
24. to fornicate	-ísúm-	-ówsúm-
25. to quit	-íspím-	-éspím-
26. to sit down	-úskím-	-éskím-
27. to make someone else sit sown	-úskí'má-	-éskí'má-
28. to urinate	-ísóq-	-ówsóq-
29. to put something down	-á'lù'wím-	-á'lù'wím-
30. to dwell	-illú-	-ówllú-
31. to see	-ínímá-	-í'ní'má-
32. to talk about affairs	-íláhá'mé'yáwà-	-á'láhá'mé'yáwà-
33. to smell	-ímàslímmá-	-ámàslímmá-
34. to bathe	-èhpá-	-ówhpá-
35. to be satisfied	-ístú-	-ówstú-
36. to cry, mourn, weep	-ó'tí-	-áwà'tí-
37. to be set	-á'pá'wà-	-á'pá'wà-
38. to be sitting	-á'kà'wà-	-á'kà'wà-
39. to fight	-áhí'wà-	-áhí'wà-
40. to fix a thing	-ó-	-ó-
41. to think	-ípsyú-	-ówpsyú-
42. to travel	-íká-	-á'ká-
43. to blow on the fire	-íphú-	-ówphú-
44. to jump	-ásí'tsú-	-ásí'tsú-
45. to dodge	-áyá-	-áyá-
46. to pack	-íll'wà-	-á'll'wà-
47. to wear a skirt	-ùphá-	-áphá-

  

	Normal stem	Amplified stem
1. to stand planted in the ground	-á'pím-	-á'pím-
2. to feel cold	-ílàsám-	-á'làsám-
3. to run at the nose	-áhállmút-	-áhállmút-
4. to swim	-èhpá-	-ówhpá-
5. to winter	-íàstúsú-	-ínàstúsú-
6. to meet someone	-ínállqà-	-ínállqà-



(91) To the above list of verbs in Conjugation V must be added the following groups:

a. All verbs when modified by the suffix *-àswàdz-* "to be doing a thing continually all the time".

Example:

*s-â·m-á* I eat (Conj. I)  
*s-â·m-àswàdz-í* I am always eating  
*s-inimádz-í* I see (Conj. V)  
*s-inimá-dz-àswàdz-í* I am always looking

b. All verbs when modified by the suffix *-igúdz-* "to do a thing at an indefinite future time".

Example:

*s-â·m-igúdz-í* I shall eat later on  
*h-ámm-igúdz-ù-má* we all shall eat later on

c. The auxiliary verb "to be", radical: *-u-* (or *-uw-*). This verb requires a place by itself. It is seldom used alone. Usually it is found after an adjective.

As regards its place in this Conjugation, the verb *-u-* differs from the others in having a collapsed form of the stem.

Normal stem: *-ù-*  
 Amplified stem: *-úw-*  
 Collapsed stem: *-ú*

EXAMPLES of the use of the auxiliary "to be":

*hày-d-ù-dz-í* to think  
*hày-s-ùw-í* I think *hày-l-ú* let me think!  
*hày-k-ùw-í* thou thinkest *hày-t-ù-dz-ó* think, thou!  
*hày-y-ùw-í* he thinks *hày-tsil-ú* let him think!

*hày-d-inú-dz-í* to remember

(Note the use of the intensifying prefix *-in-*. Note also the effect on the tone of the amplified stem, in the following forms)

*hày-s-in-ùw-í* I re- *hày-l-in-ú* let me re-  
 member member!  
*hày-k-in-ùw-í* thou re- *hày-t-in-ú-dz-ó* remember,  
 memberest thou!  
*hày-w-in-ùw-í* he re- *hày-tsil-in-ú* let him re-  
 members member

*mìl-d-ù-dz-í* to forget  
*mìl-s-ùw-í* I forget *mìl-mál-ú* let me forget!  
 (Volit. Future)

*mìl-k-ùw-í* thou *mìl-k-ù-dz-í* forget, thou!  
 forgetest (Vol. Future)  
*mìl-y-ùw-í* he forgets *mìl-mál-ú* let him for-  
 get! (Vol. Future)

*tsé-d-ù-dz-í* not to be  
*tsé-s-ùw-í* I am not *tsé-l-ú* let me not be!  
*tsé-k-ùw-í* thou art not *tsé-t-ù-dz-ó* be not!  
 etc. etc.

In the same manner we have:

*àstse-d-ù-dz-í* to be cold  
*àstàh-d-ù-dz-í* to be hot  
*àllù-d-ù-dz-í* to be hungry  
*à'ù-d-ù-dz-í* to be cloudy  
 etc., etc., etc.,

The auxiliary is often used in a periphrastic manner, to express indefinite futurity, in conjunction with the Denominative followed by the suffix of purpose *-ì·gú-* (see p. 116). In that case, however, the inflectional end-vowel is *-á* instead of *-í*. Thus:

*d-ámm-ì·gú-s-ùw-á* "I will be eating" (lit: to eat will I be)

d. All verbs with the suffix *-íúdz-* "to do a thing reciprocally".

"they all look" (at some one else) *y-inimá-dz-íú*  
 "they all look at one another" *y-inimá-dz-íúdz-íú*

## (92) SIXTH CONJUGATION.

### I. Paradigm of triple-stems and inflections.

PERSONS:	INDICATIVE, SUBORDINATE, OPTATIVE.		VOLITIONAL, Present and Future	
	stem	inflec.	stem	inflec.
"I"	A	á or é	C	à
"thou"	A	á or é	N	ó, é, ê
"he"	A	á or é	C	à
"we both"	A	á or é	C	à
"ye both"	A	á or é	N	í or é
"they both"	A	á or é	C	à
"we all"	N	î or ê	N	í or é
"ye all"	N	î or ê	N	ó, é, ê
"they all"	A	í or é	N	í or é
"I-thee"	N	î or ê	N	á
"he-thee"	N	î or é	N	í
"thou-me"	A	á or é	N	í
"he-me"	N	î or ê	C	à

Example of the Sixth Conjugation:  
[verb "to go", normal stem *-ùpt-*, amplified stem *-ápt-*, collapsed stem *-úpt-*.]

INDICATIVE	VOLITIONAL
<i>s-ápt-é</i>	<i>l-úpt-à</i>
<i>k-ápt-é</i>	<i>t-úpt-é</i>
<i>y-ápt-é</i>	<i>tsil-úpt-à</i>
<i>h-ápt-é</i>	<i>lh-úpt-à</i>
<i>gèdz-ápt-é</i>	<i>dz-úpt-é</i>
<i>éiy-ápt-é</i>	<i>tsind-úpt-à</i>
<i>h-úpt-é-má</i>	<i>lh-úpt-é-dzà</i>
<i>gèdz-úpt-é-má</i>	<i>dz-úpt-é tó'lól</i>
<i>y-ápt-éú</i>	<i>tsind-úpt-é-dzà</i>

(The combined subject-object forms are of course not possible in the case of this verb.)

Second example of the Sixth conjugation:  
[verb "to go home", normal stem *-èpt-*, amplified stem *-iwàpt-*, collapsed stem *-épt-*.]

INDICATIVE	VOLITIONAL
<i>s-iwàpt-é</i>	<i>l-épt-à</i>
<i>k-iwàpt-é</i>	<i>t-épt-é</i>
<i>y-iwàpt-é</i>	<i>tsil-épt-à</i>
<i>h-iwàpt-é</i>	<i>lh-épt-à</i>
<i>gèdz-iwàpt-é</i>	<i>dz-épt-é</i>
<i>éiy-iwàpt-é</i>	<i>tsind-épt-à</i>
<i>h-épt-é-má</i>	<i>lh-épt-é-dzà</i>
<i>gèdz-épt-é-má</i>	<i>dz-épt-é tó'lól</i>
<i>y-iwàpt-éú</i>	<i>tsind-épt-é-dzà</i>

Third example of the Sixth Conjugation:  
[verb: "to come", normal stem *-únn-*, amplified stem *-á'n-*, collapsed stem *-ú'n-*.]

NOMINATIVE: <i>d-únn-i</i>	
INDICATIVE	VOLITIONAL
<i>s-á'n-á</i>	<i>l-ú'n-à</i>
<i>k-á'n-á</i>	<i>t-únn-ó</i>
<i>y-á'n-á</i>	<i>tsil-ú'n-à</i>
<i>h-á'n-á</i>	<i>lh-ú'n-à</i>
<i>gèdz-á'n-á</i>	<i>dz-únn-i</i>
<i>éiy-á'n-á</i>	<i>tsind-ú'n-à</i>
<i>h-únn-i-má</i>	<i>lh-ú'n-i-dzà</i>
<i>gèdz-únn-i-má</i>	<i>dz-únn-ó</i>
<i>y-á'n-éú</i>	<i>tsind-ú'n-i-dzà</i>

(93) Analysis of the patterns of the Sixth Conjugation.

If it were not for the presence in this conjugation of simple but fundamental verbs like to *come*, *go*, *die*, etc., one would be tempted to think that the pattern was

primarily a specialty of the *reflexive* form. It is indeed quite conceivable that such was the case, namely that the reflexive pattern pulled over several other primary verbs. On the other hand, the similarity between this and the First Conjugation, a conjugation made up essentially of primary and fundamental verbs, would indicate that this was a fundamental pattern which probably included many more verbs at one time than it does now.

At the same time there is so much variability in the matter of the inflectional end-vowel that one may also suspect that the Conjugation is made up of several remnants.

The points to be noted are:

a. The general substitution in several of the primary verbs, and in all the reflexives, of the inflection in *-e* for the inflections in *-a*, *-i*, *-o*, regardless of tone, i. e. without changing the tone.

b. The ending in *-à* of the forms that use the collapsed stem.

c. The ending in *-ó* for the Second Singular and Second Plural of the Volitional Modes, in the case of the verb "to come" (some people make it *-ó*).

(94) The following verbs follow the pattern of the Sixth Conjugation:

1. to care	<i>-inàlüt-</i>	<i>-inalüt-</i>	<i>-inàlüt-</i>
2. to come	<i>-únn-</i>	<i>-á'n-</i>	<i>-ú'n-</i>
3. to have enough	<i>-iwàmm-</i>	<i>-inwàmm-</i>	<i>-iwà'm-</i>
4. to steal	<i>-inàwámm-</i>	<i>-inàwám-</i>	<i>-inàwám-</i>
5. to sew	<i>-ilà'm-</i>	<i>-álàmm-</i>	<i>-ilà'm-</i>
6. to die	<i>-iümm-</i>	absent	<i>-iü'm-</i>
7. to be dead	<i>-ināim-</i>	<i>-ināim-</i>	<i>-ināi'm-</i>
9. to go home	<i>-èpt-</i>	<i>-iwàpt-</i>	<i>-épt-</i>
9. to go	<i>-úpt-</i>	<i>-ápt-</i>	<i>-úpt-</i>
10. to go up	<i>-idik-</i>	<i>-inàdik-</i>	<i>-idik-</i>
11. to defe- cate	<i>-òqts-</i>	<i>-áqts-</i>	<i>-òqts-</i>
12. to inter- pret	<i>-ástùmág-</i>	<i>-úwástùmág-</i>	<i>-óstùmág-</i>

(95) To the above list must be added the following groups:

a. All the directional modifications in "thither" and "hither" for the verbs which

express inherently locomotion (swim, fly, etc.) but do not follow Conj. III.

Examples:

to fly hither	-idàtt-	-ádàt-	-idá't-
to fly thither	-idàmm-	-ádàmm-	-idá'm-
to swim hither	-igùhht-	-ágùht-	-igùht-
to swim thither	-igùmm-	-ágùmm-	-igù'm-

b. All the reflexive forms. These all end in the suffix *-á-g-* (also *-á-g-*, *-ó-g-*). Some of these are naturally reflexive like "to dress", "to menstruate", "to be drunk", etc., and these verbs exist only in the reflexive form. Most others have also another form, non-reflexive, which may follow any one of the other conjugations. For instance "to eat" follows Conj. I, but the verb "to eat oneself" follows Conj. VI. Similarly "to see" in Conj. V, but "to see oneself" in Conj. VI.

EXAMPLE: "to comb one's hair".

NOMINATIVE: *d-idzùts-á-g-é*

INDICATIVE	VOLITIONAL
<i>s-édzùts-á-g-é</i>	<i>l-idzùts-á-g-à</i>
<i>k-édzùts-á-g-é</i>	<i>t-idzùts-á-g-é</i>
<i>y-édzùts-á-g-é</i>	<i>tsil-idzùts-á-g-à</i>
<i>h-édzùts-á-g-é</i>	<i>lh-idzùts-á-g-à</i>
<i>gèdz-édzùts-á-g-é</i>	<i>dz-idzùts-á-g-é</i>
<i>éiy-édzùts-á-g-é</i>	<i>tsind-idzùts-á-g-à</i>
<i>h-idzùts-á-g-é-má</i>	<i>lh-idzùts-á-g-é-dzà</i>
<i>gèdz-idzùts-á-g-é-má</i>	<i>dz-idzùts-á-g-é</i>
etc.	etc.

THE RECENT PAST.

(96) The recent past (from yesterday to about a week ago) is formed in Achumawi by using the normal stem for all persons, with the pronominal affixes of the Indicative, and ending with the inflection *-óóyí*. The suffix part of the split affixes (*-má*, *-tskà*) disappears, and in those cases the inflection is *-óóyá*. Example, taking the verb "to go", normal stem *-ùpt-*, amplified stem *-ápt-*.

	INDICATIVE PRESENT	INDICATIVE PAST.
I	<i>s-ápt-é</i>	<i>s-ùpt-óóyí</i>
thou	<i>k-ápt-é</i>	<i>k-ùpt-óóyí</i>
he	<i>y-ápt-é</i>	<i>y-ùpt-óóyí</i>

8\*

we both	<i>lh-ápt-é</i>	<i>lh-ùpt-óóyí</i>
ye both	<i>gèdz-ápt-é</i>	<i>gèdz-ùpt-óóyí</i>
they both	<i>iy-ápt-é</i>	<i>iy-ùpt-óóyí</i>
we all	<i>lh-ùpt-é-má</i>	<i>lh-ùpt-óóyá</i>
ye all	<i>gèdz-ùpt-é-má</i>	<i>èèdz-ùpt-óóyá</i>
they all	<i>m-ápt-iúdzí</i>	<i>m-ùpt-óóyí</i>

The above are the forms used by the groups living along the middle reaches of the Pit River. They are the ones who use the Recent Past most frequently. The groups along the upper reaches of the Pit River seldom use it. With them the ending is *-éú* for all persons.

All verbs of all Conjugations behave in the same way as regards the Past.

THE VERB "TO BE".

(97) There are two forms of the verb "to be" in Achumawi. They may be called the "essential" and the "auxiliary", although neither of these two terms exactly fits the case.

(98) The "essential" form of the verb "to be" presents, like other Achumawi verbs, three stems: the normal stem is *-idz-* (or more correctly: *-i + dz-*); the amplified stem is *-ì-* (sometimes *-inì-*, v. g. *tkinì* "you are the one!", instead of ordinary *tkùí*); the collapsed stem is *-i*.

That these are the stems of this verb is perhaps not apparent at first sight. The initial *t* is only a fused form of the element *te-* which means "thus". This element is very rarely used except in the verb "to speak". Thus the exact translation of *tsìi* is "thus I am". An exactly parallel form is found in Atsugewi (*tcé* "I am", *tmè* "thou art", *té* "he is", etc.).

(99) The forms I — thee, he — thee, and he — me have an aberrant stem *-iwáá-*.

The 3rd. pers. plural also uses an aberrant form of the stem *-wáádz-*.

(100) It is conjugated according to the Vth. Conjugation [except for the 1st. and 2nd. persons plural of the Indicative and associated Modes, and the 1st. and 3rd.

persons plural of the Volitional Mode: in all of these cases it is conjugated according to the 1st. Conjugation (see the Table)].

(101) The "essential" verb "to be" is often used alone with an independent pronoun, v. g. in answer to the question "Who is the chief here?", the answer would be: *itt tsii* "I am".

(102) More frequently still, the "essential" verb is used as a copula with participial forms, e. g. *ó·h'·í tsii* "I am the fire-maker" (fire-making I am). This is particularly one of the common ways of expressing the negative in a roundabout way, i. e. by using the "essential" verb after the "negative" (*-á·mè*) form of the Denominative (see Sec. 119, p. 116); *d·ó·h'·á·mè tsii* "I am not the fire-maker" (fire-making-not I am). The same meaning may even be rendered in a still more roundabout way by using the "auxiliary" verb "to be" in its negative-Denominative form, followed by the essential verb "to be"; *d·ó·h'·í d·ùts·á·mè tsii* (fire-maker being-not I am). Achumawi is full of this sort of periphrastic language.

(103) The "auxiliary" form of the verb "to be" presents also three stems; normal *-ùdz-* (or more correctly *-ù+dz-*); amplified *-ùw-* (sometimes *-inùw-*, especially in the sense of "can", *s-inùw-í* "I can"); collapsed *-ú*.

(104) It is conjugated according to the Vth. Conjugation, with the same exceptions which have been noted above for the "essential" verb.

The difference between the two verbs "to be", as far as form is concerned, is therefore merely the change of vowel quality from *i* to *u*.

In usage, the "auxiliary" verb "to be" is truly an auxiliary. It cannot be used alone with a pronoun. It would be impossible to say for instance *itt sùwí* "I am". Whenever such a form is tried the informants will correct you and say *itt tsii*. It is almost

invariably found so closely adherent to adjectives, that one feels it would be wrong not to treat the whole as a single word (or at most to separate the two elements by a hyphen).

The "auxiliary" is used especially to form the negative, in connection with the element *tsé-* (to be classed as an "adjective"?). The combination is then followed by the Denominative form of the verb to be expressed negatively, thus; *tsé-sùwí d·ámm-ì* "I dont eat" (not-I-am eating) (see Sec. 116, p. 115).

The negative form "I am not" should therefore be *tsé-sùwí d·ùts-ì* (not-I-am being). As a matter of fact it is possible to say that, but it is much more usual to say *d·ùts-á·mè tsii* (see Sec. 119, p. 116).

Furthermore, in connection with the periphrastic future (in *-ì·gú-sùwá*, *-ì·gú-kùwá*, etc. cf. p. 116), the negative is expressed by *dùtsì* without the element *tsé-*. Example; *d·ù·má·d-ì·gú-sùwá* "I will be sleeping", but *d·ù·má·d-ì·gú-dùtsì-sùwá* "I will not be sleeping". This is probably due to the fact that one cannot use the ordinary future in *-ì·gúdzì* (v. g. *sá·m-ì·gúdzì* "I shall eat") with the verb "to be". "I shall be" cannot be rendered by *sùw-ì·gúdzì*, but rather by *dùts-ì·gú-sùwá*. Thus, *àllù-gú-sùwá* "I shall be hungry" (not *àllù-gúdzì*), and *àllù-gú-dùtsì-sùwá* "I shall not be hungry".

(105) An exception has to be noted in regard to the inflectional end-vowel of the singular and dual forms of the Indicative and associated Modes. This is normally *í* (*sùwí*, *kùwí*, *yùwí*, *hùwí*, etc.), but changes to *á* (*sùwá*, *kùwá*, etc.) in the following cases:

1. The periphrastic future (see Sec. 118, p. 116).

2. After the adjective *kístàm* "enough", in the sense of "to have had enough to eat", as noted above in Section 24, p. 85.

(106) The very common expression "What am I going to do?", "What are you going to do?", etc. are built on the preceding forms

of the auxiliary verb, but in a somewhat irregular fashion:

<i>tcú-stúwádz-igúdzí</i>	what am I going to do?
<i>tcú-mó'dz-igúdzí</i>	what are you going to do?
<i>tcí-dúwádz-igúdzí</i>	what is he going to do?
<i>tcú-thó'dz-igúdzí</i>	what are we both going to do?
<i>tcú-mídzó'dz-igúdzí</i>	what are ye both going to do?
<i>tcú-dídzó'dz-igúdzí</i>	what are they both going to do?
<i>tcú-thó'dz-igúdzímá</i>	what are we all going to do?
<i>tcú-mídzó'dz-igúdzímá</i>	what are ye all going to do?
<i>tcí-dúwádzígúdzí</i>	what are they all going to do?
<i>tcú-lhó'dz-igúdzá</i>	what shall I do to you?
<i>tcú-mó'dz-igúdzá</i>	what will he do to you?
<i>tcú-smó'dz-igúdzí</i>	what will you do to me?
<i>tcú-stúwádz-igúdzímá</i>	what will he do to me?

(107) Inasmuch as the verb "to be", in both its forms, is so very often used in Achumawi, it seems worth while to give a complete table of it, although it is essentially regular. The "essential" form only will be given, since the "auxiliary" form can always be obtained by changing *i* to *u*. The only exception is that the 1st. and 2 nd. persons plural of the Indicative use the amplified stem *-uw-* (instead of the normal *-udz-*). Thus, *-h-úw-í-má* "we all are" (not *-h-údz-ù-má*).

(108) It will be noticed that the Subordinate Mode has a special set of forms for the Past Tense. This is not found in other verbs, and is probably an archaic feature.

The significant element appears to be a *k*. In Atsugewi, the Past Tense in *k-* is a regular feature of all verbs.

(109) The existence of the combined subject-object forms I — thee, thou — me, etc., in connection with the verb "to be", may perhaps be puzzling without a word of explanation. These forms are in fact extremely common because of the use of periphrastic language, especially with the periphrastic future. It is quite permissible to say *s-í-ní-má'dz-igúdzí-tskà* "I shall see you", but it is much preferable to say *d-inímá'dz-ì-gú-húwáđítskà* (seeing I will be to you) (see Sec. 118, p. 116).

(110) The form *tyánúwí* is aberrant. It means "it is", and is equivalent to *-yúwí* (or *-túwí* in the Quotative) applied to living persons and animals. This word is extremely frequent in ordinary speech. Ex.:

<i>ámqáú dillúdzí tyánúwí</i>	that's his house
<i>ittú tyánúwí</i>	it is mine
<i>ittú twíí</i>	he is mine (speaking of a child)
<i>állú-yúwí</i>	he is hungry (I know it)
<i>állú-túwí</i>	he is hungry (that's what I have heard)
<i>tsáhóm ipáts ihómmi twíí</i>	that horse is a fast runner
<i>tsáhóm tyánúwí</i>	that's a horse

The adverbial suffix *-áswádz-* (habitua-tive, Sec. 91, p. 109) becomes *-óswádz-* in connection with the verb "to be". Thus: *háy-údz-óswádz-í tsíí* I am always thinking.

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

	INDICATIVE		SUBORDINATE		OPTATIVE		VOLITIONAL	
	Present.	Past.	Present.	Past.			Present	Future
I . . . . .	<i>tsíí</i>	<i>tsídzóóí</i>	<i>stíí</i>	<i>stákíí</i>	<i>tslíí</i>		<i>tlíí</i>	<i>tmáíí</i>
thou . . . . .	<i>tkíí</i>	<i>tkídzóóí</i>	<i>tmíí</i>	<i>tkúmíí</i>	<i>tlígí</i>		<i>tidzó</i>	<i>tkídzí</i>
he . . . . .	<i>twíí</i>	<i>twídzóóí</i>	<i>tíí</i>	<i>tákíí</i>	<i>tlíí</i>		<i>tsáíí</i>	<i>tmáíí</i>
we both . . .	<i>thíí</i>	<i>thídzóóí</i>	<i>sthíí</i>	<i>tskíhíí</i>	<i>tlíhí</i>		<i>tlíhí</i>	<i>tmíhí</i>
ye both . . .	<i>tkídzíí</i>	<i>tkídzóóí</i>	<i>tmídzíí</i>	<i>tkúmídzíí</i>	<i>tlíktíí</i>		<i>dzídzí</i>	<i>dzídzí</i>
they both . .	<i>tèíí</i>	<i>tèídzóóí</i>	<i>tídíí</i>	<i>tkídíí</i>	<i>tlídí</i>		<i>tsíndí</i>	<i>tmídí</i>
we all . . .	<i>thídzí'má</i>	<i>thídzóóyá</i>	<i>sthídzí'má</i>	<i>tkíhídzí'má</i>	<i>tlíhídzí'má</i>		<i>tlíhídzí'dzá</i>	<i>tmíhídzí'dzá</i>
ye all . . .	<i>tkídzí'má</i>	<i>tkídzídzóóyá</i>	<i>tmídzídzí'má</i>	<i>tkúmídzítsí'má</i>	<i>tlígídzídzí'má</i>		<i>dzídzó</i>	<i>dzídzí</i>
they all . .	<i>twádzíyúdzí</i>	<i>twídzídzíyúdzóóí</i>	<i>twádzíyúdzí</i>	<i>tkúwádzíyúdzí</i>	<i>tlíwádzíyúdzí</i>		<i>tsíndídzí'dzá</i>	<i>tmídzídzí'dzá</i>
I-thee . . .	<i>thíwáđítskà</i>	<i>thídzóóyá</i>	<i>thíwáđítskà</i>	<i>stákíwáđítskà</i>	<i>tlíhíwáđítskà</i>		<i>tlíhídzíyá</i>	<i>tmíhídzíyá</i>
he-thee . .	<i>tkíwáđítskà</i>	<i>thídzóóyá</i>	<i>tmíwáđítskà</i>	<i>tkúmíwáđítskà</i>	<i>tlígíwáđítskà</i>		<i>tsímídzíyí</i>	<i>tmádzídzíyí</i>
thou-me . .	<i>tskíí</i>	<i>tskídzóóí</i>	<i>tsmíí</i>	<i>tkúsmíí</i>	<i>tslíí</i>		<i>stídzíyá</i>	<i>skídzíyí</i>
he-me . . .	<i>tsíwáđímá</i>	<i>tsídzóóyá</i>	<i>stídzíwáđímá</i>	<i>stákíwáđímá</i>	<i>tslídzí</i>		<i>tsíndídzíyí</i>	<i>tsmídzídzíyí</i>

DENOMINATIVE: *tídzí*  
 PARTICIPLE: *tídzí*

## THE VERB "TO SAY"

(112) The verb "to say" is irregular. It is preceded by an element *o-*, which probably means "thus" or "so", but is not found in any other case. Besides, some of the forms of the stem are irregular.

	INDICATIVE	VOLITIONAL
I	ó-s-ís'-i	ó-lís
thou	ó-k-ís'-i	ó-t-íss-à
he	ó-w-ís'-i	ó-tsíl-ís
we both	ó-h-ís'-i	ó-lhís
ye both	ó-gédz-ís'-i	ó-dz-íss-i
they both	ó-y-ís'-i	ó-tsínd-ís
we all	ó-h-íss-i'-má	ó-lh-íss-i'dzà
ye all	ó-gédz-íss-i'-má	ó-dz-íss-à
they all	ó-w-àss-íú	ó-tsínd-íss-i'dzà
I-thee	ó-h-ísád-i-tska	ó-lh-íss-à
he-thee	ó-k-ísád-i-tska	ó-tsim-íss-i
thou-me	ó-sk-ís'-á	ó-st-íss-à
he-me	ó-s-ísád-ù-má	ó-sínd-ís
	DENOMINATIVE	ó-d-íss-i
	PARTICIPLE	ó-íss-i

The stems are evidently; normal *-íss-*, amplified *-ís'*, collapsed *-ís*. Two aberrant forms: *-àss-* and *-ísád-*.

It is difficult to decide to which Conjugation it belongs.

The singulars and duals of the Indicative all end in *-i*. This indicates the 2nd. Conjugation.

The 1st. and 2nd. persons plural in the Indicative end in *-i'-má*, which is a mark of the 1st. Conjugation.

The 3rd. person plural has an aberrant stem *-àss-*.

The I—thee and he—thee forms have another aberrant stem *-ísád-*. The same stem *-ísád-* is found in the he—me form, and this time the ending again marks the 2nd. Conjugation.

The 1st. and 3rd. persons plural in the Volitional indicate the 1st. Conjugation.

The thou—me form in the Volitional indicates the 2nd. Conjugation (*-à* instead of *-á*).

All other forms might belong either to the 1st. or to the 2nd. Conjugation.

A further irregularity occurs in the use of the 3rd. person singular used in myths. Two forms are found according to different speakers: *tsikùá-sá* and *tsákis'i*.

Some people instead of using *ó-* for a prefix, use *té-*: *té-s-ís'-i*, *té-k-ís'-i*, etc.

An exactly similar verb is found in Atsugewi: *wá-y-íss-i*.

## THE VERBAL NOUNS.

(113) The verbal noun is extremely important in Achumawi. Almost any object of daily life may be expressed in the form of a nominalized verb. An axe is a "splitter" a house is a "dwelling", a post is "standing up", supernatural power is "being sacred", etc.

The verbal nouns in Achumawi are of three types which we have called the *Participle*, the *Agentive*, and the *Denominative*.

(114) *The Participle*. — In form, the Participle consists of either the "amplified" or the "normal" verb-stem, without any pronominal affix, followed by the inflectional end-vowel *-i*.

<i>ám-m-i</i>	eating
<i>ǎ-ká-d-i</i>	cutting
<i>ó-s-i</i>	hunting
<i>ídù'í-s-i</i>	shooting
<i>íllú-dz-i</i>	dwelling
<i>ùpt-é</i>	going

When adverbial suffixes are added to the primary verb radical, the whole complex is to be regarded as a single stem:

<i>ám-màs-wàdz-i</i>	always eating
<i>ǎ-kát-wám-i</i>	cutting in two
<i>ó-sám-i</i>	hunting thither
<i>ídù'í-sád-àng-i</i>	shooting downward hither
<i>ùpt-é-l-i</i>	carrying away
<i>íllú-dzàs-yám-i</i>	living with someone

The most frequent use of the Participle is in conjunction with the verb "to be", forming a sort of periphrastic present tense.

<i>ùpté tūwí</i>	he is going
<i>állá'tí tsíi</i>	I am liking
<i>íwá'yàs-wàdzí twíi</i>	he is always grinding

The Participle is also used without any accompaniment of the verb "to be", as a simple noun. It may be either the name of an object, or the name of the performer of the action. Examples:

*inillá'dùw-i* a wanderer (now used for "white man")  
*ánwà'púm-i* the man who beats the drum, or the action of beating the drum  
*ánàhtsáb-i* an axe

The Participle is often used in an adjectival sense.

*àdzitándùw-i miktšan* a crawling baby  
*sát ùmàtwám-i* a folding knife  
*w'mà'dàs'wàdz-i yáltiyú* a lazy man (always sleeping)

(115) *The Agentive.* — In form, the Agentive consists of either the "normal" or the "amplified" stem of the verb, followed by the inflectional end-vowel *-i*, and preceded by the prefix *w-*.

Inasmuch as *w-* is one of the pronominal prefixes for the 3rd. person in the Indicative this and the Agentive are often indistinguishable. Usually however some method is used to make the distinction, e. g.:

*w-iná'tù'p-i* it is rotting (amplified stem)  
*w-ìtù'p-i* a rotten thing (normal stem)  
*w-inámás'ád-i* he knows (amplified)  
*w-ì'más'ád-i* the one who knows (normal)  
*w-iná'ts-á* he is getting old (amplified)  
*w-iyá'ts-i* old (normal) (see Sec. 25, p. 85)  
*w-ì'má'dzàdzàs'wàdz-i* he teaches (addition of adverbial suffix *-às'wàdz-*) (use of normal stem)  
*w-inímá'dzàdz-i* a teacher (amplified stem)  
*w-inássúdz-i* he grabs (Vth. Conjugation) (amplified)  
*w-inássú* a policeman ("lopping off" of *-dz-* suffix, see Sec. 89, p. 107) (the going against the rule is here significant)

Sometimes the *w-...-i* form of the Agentive is built around a noun-stem (instead of a verb-stem), in which case the Agentive might be called a verbalized noun rather than a nominalized verb, e. g.

*w-isà'd-i* long-eared (applied especially to deer and mules), from *isàt* ear.

Noticeably, all relationship terms may be found in that form. Thus:

sister *ènún* or *w-ènún-wi*  
 grandfather *ápún* or *w-ápún-wi*  
 grandmother *ámún* or *w-ámún-wi*  
 etc. (see Sec. 5, p. 81).

(116) *The Denominative.* — In form, the Denominative consists of the "normal" (never the "amplified") stem, preceded by the prefix *d-*, and followed by the inflectional end-vowel *-i*.

This form is exceedingly common. It is used to name either the action itself or some object associated with the action.

*d-ámm-i* to eat  
*d-á'ká'd-i* to cut  
*d-ó's-i* to hunt (or deer)  
*d-ídù'tì's-i* to shoot (or a gun)  
*d-illú'dz-i* to dwell (or a house)  
*d-ùpt-è* to go  
*d-ùpímdz-i* to stand (or a post)  
*d-inihów-i* to be sacred (or supernatural power)  
*d-ùphá'dz-i* a skirt  
 etc.

The Denominative is used regularly to express the Negative. The element *tsé-* (see Sec. 104, p. 112), is followed by the auxiliary verb "to be" (see Sec. 91, p. 109), then follows the verb to be expressed negatively (in the Denominative form).

*tsé-sùwí d-ámm-i* I don't eat  
*tsé-kúwí d-ámm-i* you don't eat  
*tsé-yúwí d-ámm-i* he doesn't eat  
*tsé-hùwádtiskà d-ámm-i* I don't eat you

(117) All three forms of the verbal noun are subject to the same suffixes as the true nouns. Examples:

a. The Participle with the *-wálù* suffix (see Sec. 7, p. 82).

*òhò'm-i-wálù* a runner

b. The Agentive with the Subjective *-gà* (see Sec. 9, p. 83).

*w-ánéhówm-i-gà sé'má'láni tsimmù* having gone after power I killed a wolf (*d-inihówm-i* to go searching for power)

c. The Denominative with the Locative *-ádé* (see Sec. 11, p. 83)

*yápté d-èhpá'dz-i-ádé* he went to the swimming place

(118) *The Denominative followed by -gú.* — The suffix *-gú* attached to the Denominative form, expresses purpose primarily. Through an extension of this meaning it comes to express futurity.

Whether this suffix is *-gú*, *-ìgú*, or *-ìgú*, it is hard to determine. It all depends whether one regards it as attached directly to the stem of the verb, or to the stem followed by the inflection *-ì*.

*ittú d-ámm-ìgú tyánùwí* that's my food (my to-eat-for it is)  
*sálllá'tí m'ímú d-énn-ìgú* I wish you would come home (I like your to-come-home-for)  
*sáhtùúdzí ás isáhóm d-iss-ìgú* I watered the horses (I filled water horse to-drink-for)  
*ó-d-iss-ìgú wèhé'lúú tyánùwí* It is for the chief to say (see Sec. 112, p. 114)

Many names of objects are formed in that manner:

*d-àpástòm-gú* arrow-head (*d-àpástòm-ì* to point)  
*d-átsì'lí dzàs wáts-gú* leggings (from *d-átsì'lí dzàs-wádz-ì* to wrap around the leg)  
*d-ùpímáz-ìgú* a post (*d-ùpímáz-ì* to stand)  
*d-á'púm-gú* a big drum (cf. *d-ánwà'púm-ì* to beat the drum)  
*d-ámmá'twám-gú* a plate (*d-ámmá'twám-ì* to feed)  
*d-áwádzím-gú sá'pì-là* ferry-boat (to-cross-for boat-by)  
*d-ìlìswál-gú* the string used in the game of Indian hockey (*d-ìlìswál-ì* to play hockey)

The Denominative followed by *-ìgú* (or *-gú*) is used to express in a periphrastic way the Future of eventuality (as opposed to the Future of volition). This form is extremely common.

It is always followed immediately by the "auxiliary" verb "to be" (see Sec. 91, p. 109)

*d-ámm-ìgú-sùwá* I shall eat (to-eat-for-I-am)  
*d-ámm-ìgú-kúwá* you will eat  
*d-ámm-ìgú-yúwá* he will eat  
*d-ámm-ìgú-hùwádzíshà* I shall eat you (to-eat-for-I-thee-am)  
*d-ámm-ìgú-hùwí'má* we shall all eat

It is well at this point to compare the above forms with the more direct Future of eventuality expressed by means of the ad-

verbial suffix *-ìgúdz-* (see Sec. 62, 91, pp. 94, 109).

*s-á'm-ìgúdz-ì* I shall eat  
*k-á'm-ìgúdz-ì* you will eat  
*y-á'm-ìgúdz-ì* he will eat  
*h-ámm-ìgúdz-ì-tshà* I shall eat you  
*h-ámm-ìgúdz-ù-má* we shall all eat

(119) *The Denominative followed by -ámè.* — The Denominative followed by *-ámè* (suffixed directly to the stem), is the *negative* form of the Denominative followed by *-ìgú*.

*ittú d-ámm-ámè tyánùwí* that is not my food (my to-eat-for-not it is)  
*sálllá'tí m'ímú d-énn-ámè* I wish you would not come back  
*d-illú'dz-ámè twíí* he does not want to stay (to-dwell-for-not he is)  
*d-állá'tí-ámè túwí ís* they dont like anybody (to-like-for-not he is people)  
*d-á'sì'dz-ámè thíí* you know all about it (from *d-á'sì'dz-ì* to be ignorant)  
*d-ínálút-ámè yáliyú* a warrior (from *d-ínálút-ì* to fear)

It is to be noted that the Denominative in *-ámè* is always used to express the negative of the Participle. Examples:

*ámm-ì tsìí tó'sì* I always eat deer (I am the eater of deer)  
*d-ámm-ámè tsìí tó'sì* I never eat deer  
*láp ítáng-ì qà isàt* flopping ears  
*láp d-ítáng-ámè qà isàt* erect ears  
*itté'w-ì túwí* he minds (he is listening)  
*d-itté'w-ámè túwí* he never minds

The Denominative of the verb "to be" in *-ámè* is extremely frequent.

*mìsùts d-ùts-ámè tyánùwí* that is not meat (meat being-not it is)  
*wèhé'lú d-ùts-ámè tsìí* I am not the chief (chief being-not I am)

There is however another method of expressing the idea of "not to be". This is by the use of the ordinary negative *tsé-* followed by the verb in the Denominative. (see Sec. 116)

*tsé-sùwí d-ùts-ì* I am not (not-I-am being)  
*tsé-kúwí d-ùts-ì* you are not

From this is derived the hypothetical:  
*tsé-dùtsì dùtsì* "being not" (not-to-be to be)



Applied to any verb, this last construction would give,

*tsé-dùtsì d-itilù'm-i* "not working"

In fact this becomes in ordinary usage (and it is frequent);

*d-itilù'm-i-dùtsì* "not to work"

where the meaning is negative, although the negative particle itself has disappeared.

From this last form is constructed the negative expression of the periphrastic future of eventuality [in *-i'gù-sùwá*, (see Sec. 118, p. 116)].

*d-itilù'm-i-dùts-i'gù-sùwá* I shall not be working

That is the only way to express the negative future of eventuality, since the form in *-á'mè* would necessitate the juxtaposition of the two contrary suffixes *-á'mè* and *-i'gù* (some such form as *d-itilù'm-á'mè-i'gù-sùwá*).

The negative future of volition would of course be expressed by the Volitional Mode:

*tsé-màlú d-itilù'm-i* I won't work!

(120) The suffix *-i'wà* is found after the Denominative in certain expressions where one verbal action is the direct object of another verb.

*sálibá'ti qà d-ámm-i'wà* I like to eat  
*tsigì'wá'lù d-ùdz-i'wà tésisyí* I say I am a shaman  
*d-áyìtsùmm-i'wà siyùwí* I want to go along  
*y-álibá'ti ittú yáliyú d-éptèl-i'wà* they want to return with my husband  
*ittú wáì d-ùptèl-i'wà yú'wí* he wants to take my father along

This suffix is not found either in Shasta or Atsugewi.

(121) *The Locative in -t.* — The suffix *-t* added to the Denominative (without changing the end-vowel), expresses habitual location.

*d-ámm-i-t* a restaurant, (eating-place)  
*d-ináhtsá'b-i-t* the chopping-place  
*d-tsóqts-i-t* a toilet, (urinating-place)  
*d-iníhów-i-t* a sacred place  
*d-illú'dz-i-t* a camping place, (cf *d-illú'dz-i*  
 a house)  
*d-iss-i-t* a saloon, (drinking place)

*d-isúmdz-i-t* a brothel, (fornicating place)  
*d-ù'má'd-i-t* a bed (sleeping place)  
*d-imáqá'm-i-t* a sweat-house (sweating-place)

This suffix does not appear either in Shasta or Atsugewi.

(122) It is interesting to compare the three cousin languages, Achumawi, Atsugewi, and Shasta, in regard to the treatment of the verbal noun.

The orientation in Shasta is different from Achumawi.

A comparison of the Atsugewi forms would be meaningless without entering into a discussion of the verb in that language. We may say however that in Atsugewi the nominalized forms of the verb are primarily the same as in Achumawi. They are not however used so constantly. Neither are they as clear-cut as they are in Achumawi.

## V. ILLUSTRATIVE SENTENCES.

The main body of the texts we have recorded will form a separate publication. The texts here presented are only a few excerpts by way of illustrating the structure of the language.

### Sentence 1.

*pálp'màs<sup>1</sup> s-á'tò'g-i<sup>2</sup>, s-álibá't-i<sup>3</sup> d-inímá-wà<sup>4</sup>*  
 soon I arrive I like to see

*tó'lól<sup>5</sup> qà<sup>6</sup> is<sup>7</sup>*  
 all the people

"I have just arrived. I want to see all the Indians."

<sup>1</sup> Sec. 33, p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> Sec. 83, p. 103; 43, p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> Sec. 78, no. 58, p. 100.

<sup>4</sup> Sec. 116, p. 115; 120, p. 117; 90, no. 31, p. 108; this is an exception to the rule enunciated in Sec. 89, p. 108.

<sup>5</sup> Sec. 20, p. 85.

<sup>6</sup> Sec. 39, p. 88.

<sup>7</sup> Sec. 1, p. 81.

## Sentence 2.

*húk'é<sup>1</sup> qàm-yùwí<sup>2</sup> is àmqá-wádé<sup>3</sup>*  
 over there many are people that at  
*i-ùpt-é<sup>4</sup>; k-idíllí-w-ì-tskà<sup>5</sup>*  
 go! they call you

"There are lots of Indians over there.  
 Go there! They are calling for you."

## Sentence 3.

*táq-wádé<sup>6</sup> s-àdillí-w-ù-má*  
 what at they call me

"Why are they calling me"?

## Sentence 4.

*w-àqó-l-iúdz-í-ú<sup>7</sup> pá<sup>8</sup> máhí-gá<sup>9</sup>*  
 they gamble reciprocally now all night

"They are going to gamble all night".

## Sentence 5.

*tsé-s-ùw-í<sup>10</sup> d-ì-màs'ád-ì<sup>11</sup> d-ìqó-l-ì-wà<sup>12</sup>*  
 not I am knowing gambling

"I dont know how to gamble".

## Sentence 6.

*d-ì-màs'át-gú-kùwá<sup>13</sup> hùtámáksà*  
 knowing for you are very soon

"You will learn pretty soon".

<sup>1</sup> Sec. 34, p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> Sec. 20, p. 85; 103, p. 112.

<sup>3</sup> Sec. 14, p. 84; 11, p. 83.

<sup>4</sup> Sec. 92, p. 109.

<sup>5</sup> Sec. 78 no. 26, p. 99; 57, p. 93.

<sup>6</sup> Sec. 112.

<sup>7</sup> Sec. 78 no. 20, p. 99; 68, p. 95; 62, p. 94.

<sup>8</sup> Sec. 33, p. 87.

<sup>9</sup> Sec. 33, p. 87.

<sup>10</sup> Sec. 23, p. 85; 104, p. 112; 103, p. 112; 91, p. 109.

<sup>11</sup> Sec. 78 no. 8, p. 99; 116, p. 115.

<sup>12</sup> Sec. 120, p. 117.

<sup>13</sup> Sec. 118, p. 116; 105 no. 1, p. 112.

## Sentence 7.

*tsú<sup>1</sup> sm-ìndàpà<sup>2</sup>*  
 ? you-me teach

"Will you teach me"?

## Sentence 8.

*d-ìdàpàdz-ì-gú-hùwádìtskà<sup>3</sup>*  
 teaching for I am to you

"I will teach you".

## Sentence 9.

*tsú m-òwpsyúdz-í<sup>4</sup> tsú st-ìnámàs'át-gúdz-í<sup>5</sup>*  
 ? you think ? I shall learn

"Do you think that I will learn"?

## Sentence 10.

*hày-t-ùdz-ó<sup>6</sup> iníllá-dìw-í<sup>7</sup> tsìí<sup>8</sup>; is*  
 remember! wanderer I am person  
*dùts-á-mè<sup>9</sup> tsìí*  
 being not I am

"Remember! I am a White man, I am not  
 an Indian".

## Sentence 11.

*àkìmtsí<sup>10</sup>, qàm-tùwí<sup>11</sup> iníllá-dìw-í*  
 no matter! many is white man

<sup>1</sup> Sec. 36, p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> The normal stem of "to teach" is *-idàpà*, the amplified stem *-ìndàpà*. It belongs to the 5th. Conjugation. See Sec. 88, p. 107; 89, p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> Sec. 109, p. 113; 118, p. 116.

<sup>4</sup> Sec. 90 no. 41, p. 108.

<sup>5</sup> Sec. 62, p. 94.

<sup>6</sup> Sec. 91, p. 109.

<sup>7</sup> Sec. 114, p. 115; 78 no. 67, p. 100.

<sup>8</sup> Sec. 97, p. 111; 101, p. 112.

<sup>9</sup> Sec. 119, p. 116.

<sup>10</sup> See *kím* "nothing", Sec. 35, p. 88.

<sup>11</sup> Sec. 110, p. 113.

*w-mī'ās'ád-i<sup>1</sup>; qām s-inámàs'ád-i inillá·dūwí*  
 knower many I know white man

*w-ī·màs'ád-i qà d-igó·l-i*  
 knower the to gamble

"It doesn't matter. Plenty of white men know. I know lots of white men who know the game."

## Sentence 11.

*tūs'í<sup>2</sup> d-é-s-i<sup>3</sup> táq-wádé dé·sì tánùwí<sup>4</sup>;*  
 good singing what at song is it?

*àphúy dé·sì tmánùwí<sup>5</sup> issi-ú<sup>6</sup> dé·sì*  
 Paiute song is it? Pit River of song  
*tmánùwí*  
 is it?

"That's a good song. Is it Paiute or Pit River"?

## Sentence 12.

*àphúy dé·sì tyánùwí*  
 Paiute song it is

## Sentence 13.

*tsú-wùstsi<sup>7</sup> m-álilát-i<sup>8</sup>*  
 ? best do you like

"Which do you like best"?

## Sentence 14.

*àphúy s-álilát-i*  
 Paiute I like

<sup>1</sup> Sec. 115, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> Sec. 20, p. 85.

<sup>3</sup> Sec. 76 no. 5, p. 98.

<sup>4</sup> This is the correct form for an interrogation.

See Sec. 110, p. 113.

<sup>5</sup> This particular informant belonged by his father to the Itami group, and often confused dialectal variants. See Sec. 51, p. 91.

<sup>6</sup> The Genitive of "person" is *is-ú* (Sec. 10). *issi-ú* is an aberrant form used especially to express "Indian" (in an adjectival sense) as opposed to "White man". It also means "Pit River Indian" as opposed to other tribes.

<sup>7</sup> Sec. 28, p. 86.

<sup>8</sup> Sec. 78 no. 58, p. 100.

## Sentence 15.

*h-í·ní·má·dz-í·n-ì·tskà<sup>1</sup>* *Alturas-wádé*  
 I saw you at Alturas

*hàdzástél<sup>2</sup> pidú·wí<sup>3</sup>*  
 three years

"I saw you at Alturas three years ago".

## Sentence 16.

*k-á·tò·g-í·n-í<sup>4</sup> mì·mú<sup>5</sup> ùmtéljèn-wílél<sup>6</sup>*  
 you arrived your wife-with

*mì·mú mìktsàn-wílél<sup>7</sup>*  
 your baby-with

"You came with your wife and your baby".

## Sentence 17.

*àmqá<sup>8</sup> dim<sup>9</sup> tùwí; wà'wá yùwí*  
 he indeed is big he is

"That's he. He has grown."

## Sentence 18.

*mì·mù àmtéljèn m-á·n-igúdz-í*  
 your wife will she come?

"Will your wife come"?

<sup>1</sup> Sec. 90 no. 31, p. 108; 62, p. 94; 79, p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> Sec. 31, p. 86.

<sup>3</sup> Probably connected with *-duw-* "around", see Sec. 62, p. 94.

<sup>4</sup> Sec. 83a, no. 3, p. 103.

<sup>5</sup> Sec. 15, p. 84.

<sup>6</sup> Sec. 6, p. 82; 13, p. 83. The term for "wife" is usually *àmítéúdzàn* "woman", when referring to one's own wife, or to somebody's who is not present. Otherwise, for politeness sake one says "your girl", or your "hen" (*lùmé*).

<sup>7</sup> Sec. 6, p. 82.

<sup>8</sup> Sec. 14, p. 84.

<sup>9</sup> Sec. 37, p. 88.

## Sentence 19.

*bámmè-sùwí*<sup>1</sup>;    *tsé-sùwí*    *d-ì-màs'ád-ì*  
I dont know    I am not    knowing

*tsí-dùwádz-ìgúdzí*<sup>1</sup>  
what is she going to do

"I dont know. I dont know what is she going to do."

## Sentence 20.

*hámis táqá w-àtsilág-é*<sup>1</sup>    *tsó'tsà*  
one again    she has    little

"She has another baby"

<sup>1</sup> Sec. 22, p. 85.

<sup>1</sup> Sec. 106, p. 112.

<sup>1</sup> The verb "to have, possess" belongs in Conj. VI. normal stem *-ítsilág-*, amplified *-ówtsilág-*, collapsed *ítsí'lág*. See Sec. 60, p. 94.

## Sentence 21.

*qám*    *d-ítílú'm-ì*<sup>1</sup>    *w-àpsyú·dz-ì*  
much    work    she thinks

*d-únn-ì'n-ì*<sup>1</sup>  
to come with

"She thinks it is too much work to come with it."

<sup>1</sup> The verb "to work" belongs in the Ist. Conjugation. Normal stem *-ítílú'm-*, amplified *-intálú'm-*, collapsed *-ítálú'm-*. It is slightly irregular: 1st. and 2nd. pers. pl. Indic. *-ítílú'm-má*, Ist. and 3rd. sing. and dual Volit. *-ítálú'mà*.

<sup>1</sup> See Sec. 92, p. 109. The adverbial suffix *-ì'n-* is here a dialectal variation, corresponding to *-ì'l-* (See Sec. 87, b, p. 106, not to be confused with *-ì'n-*, the adverbial suffix for the distant past).