## de A: Reminiscences of an Achumawi youth (Willard Carmony)

## 1.1 tóólol lhídámmaakúyá itt ${ }^{\text {hú }}$ tíímacq̉áti .

all let me tell you my know
quant $v$ pers ptcp
I'm going to tell you what I know. tó lól lhíndámâgúyà ìttú dí màs'ádè all | let me tell you | my | knowing Let me tell all I know
"Dictated by Willard Carmony, of the Adzumawi group."
De A's footnote: "This informant was a youth of seventeen. He had travelled around a good deal and he sometimes made a mixture of dialectal variants." This presumably means grammatical forms and lexical choices that were unfamiliar to de A. Carmony would have been born about 1912, and so in his 60s in the early 1970s when I was working with people 10-25 years older.
Rectified with LR up to 31. She identified Willard Carmony as Henry Wool's grandson. de A: Carmony 1

## 1.2 q̣áćyátééwi <br> ís tsiỷí . <br> grindstone-place-dwelling person I am <br> $\mathrm{n} \quad \mathrm{n} \quad$ cop

I'm from grindstone-place.
qátsádéú ís tsií
of qatsade | person | I am
I am a Qatsade (Fall River) Indian
The place is actually an Ilmawi village down by Pit 1 in the canyon below Fall River. qáćc is a kind of hard stone used for grinding acorn.
de A: Carmony 2
1.3 itt ${ }^{h}$ ú waaỷí kítím wiỷí q̉ac̉ yáté twiỷí .
my father again he is grindstone-place he is
pers $n$ adv cop $n$ cop

My father is also [from] grindstone-place
ìttú wàí qédímwí qátsádé twì́
my | father | same tribe | qatsade | he is
My father is also of the same tribe.
de A: Carmony 3
1.4 itthé $^{\mathrm{u}}$ tatỷí kítím wiỷí ís twiỷí.
my mother again he is person he is
pers $n$ adv cop $n$ cop
My mother also is a person [from there].
ìttú wàí qédímwí qátsádé twî́
my | mother | same tribe | person | she is
My mother also belongs to the same tribe.
de A: Carmony 4
1.5 nám̉ ćókca titééyuumákowóyí tsiỷí
yet small formerly play with things I am
adv adj ptcp cop
I was still little, playing.
nám tsó'tsà díyùmágèòóí tsií
still | little | playing | I am
When I was still a little boy I used to play.
tité yu maki play with things, tité yu maka play with it!
de A: Carmony 5

## 1.6 q̉áć yáté wííyúmcíwci tsiýí . <br> grindstone-place they dwell together I am <br> n V cop

I lived with them at grindstone-place
This was Charlie Green's community. When the soldiers came in 1852 the women and children hid in the water in the reeds and the men escaped up the canyon walls, returning after dark.
qátsádé wíyúmtsódzí tsî́
at qatsade | living | I am
Would expect either wí yúmci tsiỷí "one dwelling I was" or wí yúmcíwci "we dwelt together"
I was living at Qatsade
de A: Carmony 6

## 1.7 má ánca nám ćókca ka sápp ${ }^{\text {h }} \mathbf{i}$ sálîíciimíní

and then yet small agent boat I paddled thither
coordconn adv adj Nsfx n v
And while I was still little I paddled a boat.
má 'ndzà nám tsó’tsàqà sá pì sálístsìmí mí
then | still | little | boat | I paddle
LR said to omit what I thought was the article qa, but it evidently is the agentive postposition ka preventing the "small boat" interpretation.
When I was still a little boy I used to paddle a canoe.
de A: Carmony 7
1.8 má ánca sínammáám̉aamíni sápp ${ }^{\text {hi }} \mathbf{i}$ wa
and then I fished repeatedly boat instr
coordconn v n Nsfx
And I fished with the boat.
má 'ndzà sínàmá'màmí ní sá pìwà
then | I used to fish | with boat
I used to fish from the canoe.
Expect sáp ${ }^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{i}$ la
de A: Carmony 8

## 1.9 má ánca állís

atáácíi sac̉íímín
and then salmon
I put into (sack, net)
coordconn n
Then I caught plenty of salmon.
má ndzà állís àtátsí sádzí mí
then | salmon | plenty | I catch
I caught lots of salmon.
Perhaps ata cí́ $=$ beginning
de A: Carmony 9


I stayed only there five years.
tó lól sáqó wà 'dzí ní láttél pídú wí
all | I stayed | five | years
In all I stayed there five years.
de A: Carmony 10

### 1.11 nám ćókca itt ${ }^{\text {ha }}$ ús úm sáák̉kuuwacíní . <br> yet small my person 's place I stayed <br> adv adj pers $n$ post $v$

While still little I stayed with my people.
nám tsó’tsà ìttú ís'úm sáqó wà 'dzí ní
still | little | my | people with | I stayed
When I was little boy I used to live with my people.
de A: Carmony 11
$\begin{array}{lllllll}1.12 & \text { má ánca } & \text { winílláátiwí } & \text { um } & \text { skúl } & \text { ucówooyí } & \text { tsiỷí } \\ \text { and then } & \text { white man } & \text { 's place } & \text { school } & \text { formerly doing } & \text { I am } \\ \text { coordconn } & n & \text { post } & \mathrm{n} & \text { ptcp } & \text { cop }\end{array}$
Then I went to school with white people.
má ndzà íníllá dù̀ ùm skúllìdsòóí itt tsií
then $\mid$ with white people $\mid$ I went to school $|\mathrm{I}|$ am
LR said to omit the pronoun it ("I"). He may have been sent to Ft. Bidwell or another boarding school. This may have been after WWI.
Then I went to school with the whites.
de A: Carmony 12
1.13 má ánca cahhhúm wa ímáqciw̉ooyí tsiỷí .
and then horse instr formerly traveling I am
coordconn n Nsfx ptcp cop
Then I traveled by horse.
má ndzà tsàhómà ímáqtsòóí tsií
then $\mid$ by horse $\mid$ traveling | I am
I used to ride horses.
de A: Carmony 13
1.14 qa titáqmim accáátumow̉ooyí tsiỳí .
the various things formerly getting on I am
def pro-form ptcp cop
I would ride on anything.
gídídáḥmìm átsàtùmàtsòóí tsíí
anything | riding | I am
I could ride anything!
de A: Carmony 14

### 1.15 má ánca puwwááwí aacáátumí tsícínní • <br> and then ox getting on I did <br> coordconn n <br> ptcp $\quad \mathrm{V}$

Then I did cow riding.
má ndzà bùwá 'wí átsátùmí tsìdzí ní
then $\mid$ cows $\mid$ riding | I used to be
Sounds like rodeo work.
I used to ride cows.
de A: Carmony 15

### 1.16 itthú waaỷí má ánca tatỷí nám wiyúmcí ka qa titáqmim tsúúníciciw̉ooyí

my father and then mother yet he dwelt agent the various things formerly keep doing
pers $n$ coordconn $n$ adv $v$ Nsfx def pro-form $v$
tsiýí
I am
cop
While my father and mother still made a home I kept doing all kinds of things. ittú wàí má ndзà dàtí nám wíúmdzí ga gídídáḥmìm tsínítsòòí tsì́ my | father | and | mother | still | living | anything |doing | I am
While my father and mother were living (together) I couild do anything (I wanted).
de A: Carmony 16
1.17 má ánca îíyámalmíwcíní .
and then they two divorced
coordconn v
Then they two divorced.
yámalmi "he threw it away", í'yámalmiwci "they two threw each other away"
mà ndzà éíyámàlmídzí ní
then | they separated
Then they separated.
de A: Carmony 17

### 1.18 itt $^{\text {h }}$ ú waaỷí syúpteelíníumá

my father I was taken away by him
pers $\mathrm{n} \quad \mathrm{v}$
My father took me away.
ìttú wàí siúptê' lmínî má
my | father | he took me away
My father took me away with him.
de A: Carmony 18
1.19 má ánca syásti syúpteelíníumá
and then Shasta I was taken away by him
coordconn loan v
Then he took me to Mount Shasta
"to Mt. Shasta" would be ýe tí caẃa
má ndzà cásti síúptê lmíní má
then | to Shasta | he took me
He took me to Shasta (County).
de A: Carmony 19
1.20 má ánca syíniiníníuma
and then I was brought back by him
coordconn v
and then he brought me back.
má ndzà sínínuma
then \| he brought me back
Also sí th th kílíníumá "he brought me back"
Then he brought me back.
de A: Carmony 20

\subsection*{1.21 malússi ya $\mathbf{p}^{\text {hitúwwí it tsucowóóyí }}$ <br> | ten | emph year | 1sg | I formerly did |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| quant | Nsfx | n | pers |
| v |  |  |  |}

I was ten years old.
mólóssí yà pátéùmí ìtt tsìdzòóí
ten $\mid$ years old $\mid I$ was
I was then ten years old.
Unattested: t-s-uci-wó y-í
de A: Carmony 21

### 1.22 malússilw̉i $\mathbf{p}^{\mathrm{h}}$ itúúwéqcakí tsiccíiní $\cdot$ <br> ten years of age(?) I was <br> adv n v

I was ten years of age.
LR provided this correction. Probably my rendition was the problem.


We stayed at grindstone-place, my father, my older brother, and I.
qátsádé slìhìdzé nìmínî má ìttú wàí wàppá 'wí má ndzà itt
At qatsade | we all lived | my | father | older brother | and | I
Better: it ${ }^{\text {h }}$ ú waýí wal wap a wí whal ít wal tó lol ís slhí ká cinó
We all lived at Qatsade, my father, my elder brother, and I. de A: Carmony 22

##  $\begin{array}{lllllll}\text { my } & \text { younger sister away(?) } & \text { she is north } & \text { toward } & \text { fish eating } & \text { POSS earth } \\ \text { pers } & \mathrm{n} & \text { adv } & \text { cop ptcp } & \text { post } & \mathrm{n} & \text { ptcp }\end{array}$

My younger sister is away toward the north in Klamath people's country.
ittú wènúndzà pé'é yùwí diḥùtsá tò gì tántàn lámméú té qá dé
my | younger sister | she lived | north | direction | of Klamath | country
My younger sister was living up north in the country of the Klamaths.
She lives there at the time of narration. Unclear whether she was living there at the described past time 6 or 7
years earlier. de A assumes so.
de A: Carmony 23
$1.25 \mathbf{q}^{\text {héhé }}$ sápti kúcí , $\mathbf{q}^{\text {hé tím tíyascúc kú } \quad \text { suwá }}$


I'll go there, that's where I'll stay for the winter.
qé' sáptègúdzí qé dìm díyàstsútsgúsùwá
there $\mid$ I shall go | right there $\mid$ I shall be wintering
I went there to spend the winter
This is a parenthetical aside about his plan for the winter.
de A: Carmony 24
1.26 má ánca táquá sééná
and then again I go away
coordconn adv v
And then I went away again.
má ndjà táqá sě ná
then | again | I came back
Then I came back again.
Resuming the story after the parenthetical, he says he went away again. Maybe he ran away. de A's translation builds on the above misconstrual.
de A: Carmony 25
1.27 má ánca séét ${ }^{\mathrm{h}} \mathbf{u} u m i ́$
and then I arrived home coordconn v
Then I got back home.
I got home, or I got to my destination.
má ndzà sé tò mí
then | I went home
Then he went home.
Sic.
de A: Carmony 26
$1.28 \mathbf{q}^{\mathrm{h}}$ ehé sikúúyiimíníumá $\mathbf{c}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathbf{u m a ́ w a}$ Oregon skúl wáté $\cdot$

| there I was sent | Chumawa | Oregon | school at |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| deic | v | loan | loan | loan adv |

I was sent to the school at Chumawa, Oregon.
qèhé sìgúyìmìnî má tcùmáwà órégón skúlwádé
they | sent me | Chumawa | Oregon $\mid$ to school
Then they sent me to school at Chumawa, Oregon.
de A: Carmony 27
1.29 čé suwí tálílléq̉ti .
not I am like
Neg cop ptcp
I don't like it.
tsésùwí dálílá’tì
I don't | like
I didn't like it there.
de A: Carmony 28
1.30 syac̉tíisíníumá , amq ${ }^{\text {ha }}$ séék $^{\text {h }}$ aykíní .

I was whipped therefore I ran away
v coordconn v
They whipped me, so I ran away.
síyástísùmá àmqá sé kaygí ní
they whip me | that's why | I ran away
They whipped me so I ran away.
de A: Carmony 29
1.31 c̉é suwí tálílláq̉ti qa hakkỉil , hamísqám $\mathbf{k}^{\text {héstam tỷánuwí . }}$

| not | I am | like | the twice | single | enough |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Neg cop | ptcp is |  |  |  |  |
| def quant | adj | adv | cop |  |  |

I didn't want it twice, once is enough!
tsésùwí dálílá’tì hàkkkél ḥàmísqàm kístàm tyánùwí
I don't | like | twice | once | enough | it is
I didn't like it when they beat me the second time, once was enough.

LR added qa, and preferred the following:
hakíl tactí'si q${ }^{\text {ham }}$ tỷánuwí, thúlqqám a wátca!
twice $\mid$ whipping | too much $\mid$ it is $\mid$ once $\mid$ enough
de A: Carmony 30

\subsection*{1.32 hattáámá máttíkca sééná ćíkkoh̉haymi sínkaćpúúćúcíiní qa aaq̉o <br> | four | day | I go away on foot | I crossed over | the mountain |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| quant | n | v | adv | v | def n |}

I returned home in four days, I crossed the mountain on foot.
ḥattá má mátí'sà sě ná tsíkòḥàymí sínqàtspùtsídzí qà àqò
four | days | I came home | afoot | I crossed over | the | mountains
I came home in four days, I crossed the mountains afoot.
de A: Carmony 31
1.33 má ánca séét ${ }^{\text {h }} u$ umiíní .
and then I arrived home
coordconn v
Then I arrived home.
má ndzà sé tò mí ní
then | I got home
Then I got home.
de A: Carmony 32

### 1.34 hamísq ${ }^{\text {hám }} \mathbf{p}^{\text {hitúwwi sáákuuwacíiní }}$.

| single | year | I stayed |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| adj | n | v |

I stayed just one year.
ḥámísqàm pídú wí sáqò wa dzí ní
one | year | I stayed
I stayed there one year.
de A: Carmony 33
1.35 má ánca syikúúyiimíníumá hamís skúl wáté Fort Bidwell.

| and then they sent me | one | school at | fort Bidwell |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| coordconn $v$ |  |  |  |$\quad$ quant | loan adv |
| :--- |

Then I was sent to a Fort Bidwell school.
má ndzà sìgúyèmínínî má ḥamís skúl wáté Fort Bidwell
then | they sent me | one | to school | at Fort Bidwell
Then they sent me to a school at Fort Bidwell.
de A: Carmony 34
1.36 hamísq ${ }^{\text {hám máttíkca sáảkuuwacíiní . }}$

| single | day | I stayed |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| adj | $n$ | v |

I stayed just one day.
ḥamísqàm mátí'sa sáqò wà dzí ní
one | day | I stayed
I stayed there one day.
de A: Carmony 35

### 1.37 seek $^{\text {haykíní }}$

I came up from below
v
I came back up from down there.
sé kàygí ní
I ran away
I ran away.
de A: Carmony 36
1.38 hamísqám máttíkca sééná

| single | day | I go away |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| adj | $n$ | v |

I went one whole day.
hàmísqám mátí'sa sě ná
one | day | I came back
I came home in one day.
de A: Carmony 37

### 1.39 séét $^{\mathrm{h}} \mathbf{u u m i ́ n}{ }^{2}$ ú úúlóqm̉a .

I arrived home evening
v adv
I arrived home in the evening.
sé tò mí ní úlóqmà
I got home | evening
I got home in the evening. de A: Carmony 38

### 1.40 má ánca hak̉kíl c̉ul sáák̉uuwacíiní .

and then twice month I stayed
coordconn quant $n \quad v$
Then I stayed two months.
má ndzà hà̀kkél tsùl’ sáqò wà 'dzí ní
then | two | months | I stayed
There I stayed two months.
de A: Carmony 39
1.41 má ánca táq${ }^{\text {há }}$ pá syikúúyiimíníumá Greenville
and then again indeed they sent me Greenville
coordconn adv adv v loan
Then again they sent me away, to Greenville.
má ndjà táqábá sègúyìmínî má Greenville
then | once more | they sent me | to Greenville
Then once more they sent me to Greenville.
de A: Carmony 40

sinawámmíníní .
I stole
v

I stayed just one year, and then I ran away again, I stole a horse.
ḥàmísqàm pìdú wí sáqò wà dzí ní má nd弓à sè 'kaygí ní táqábá tsàhóm sínwàmmí ní one | year | I stayed | then | I ran away | again | horse | I stole
I stayed there one year then once more I ran away on a horse I stole.
de A: Carmony 41
sínwam'í ní sounds like "I had plenty to eat".
1.43 Floyd Sladen w̉al Steven Gibson w̉al Floyd Gibson w̉al it ayí máámúć
Floyd Sladen with Steven Gibson with Floyd Gibson with 1sg also(?) together name name Nsfx name name Nsfx name name Nsfx pers adv
slhak̉uuwacíníwci .
we stayed together
v
Floyd Sladen, Steven Gibson, Floyd Gibson, and I stayed together.
Floyd Sladenwàl Steven Gibsonwàl Floyd Gibsonwàl ìttáí má múts slháqò wa'dzí níúdzí
Floyd | Sladen with | Steven | Gibson with | Floyd | Gibson with | I also | together | we lived
sá'q̉o wací = I'm seated, I'm set here
Floyd Sladen, Steven Gibson, Floyd Gibson and I, we all lived together. de A: Carmony 42
1.44 itt $^{\text {hú }}$ waaỷí má ánca $\mathrm{itt}^{\text {h}}{ }^{\text {ú }}$ tatỷí iyálulyúcíiní mám hak̉ wínín my father and then my mother they two quarreled(?) and two separately pers $n$ coordconn pers $n \quad v \quad$ coordconn quant adv
iyáptééniíní .
they two went
v
My father and mother fought and went separate ways.
ittú wàí má ndzà ittú dàtí éíyálù lyúdzí ní mám hà̀kwánín éíyápté ní ní
my | father | and | my | mother | they quarreled | and | two ways | they went
My father and my mother quarrelled and they separated.
iyálulyúcí ní unattested. lu, lul = rolling ball motion. yucí ní by itself = he did.
Another metaphor on rolling motion or a ball: silú metke ni "I ran fast", tykwilú metéq̉ti "she ran as fast as she could", LR said "ran like a .. ball", with hesitation about the image in English, perh. like a thrown or rolling ball. de A: Carmony 43
1.45 yápté itt $^{\mathrm{h}} \mathbf{u}$ waaýí .
he goes my father
My father left.
yápté ittú wàí
went | my | father
My father went away.
de A: Carmony 44

### 1.46 yák̉uuwacíiní itt ${ }^{\text {h }}$ ú tatỷí

$\begin{array}{lll}\text { she stayed } & \text { my } & \text { mother } \\ \mathrm{v} & \text { pers } & \mathrm{n}\end{array}$
My mother stayed.
yáqò wàdzí ní ittú dàtí
stayed | my | mother

My mother remained.
de A: Carmony 45

my mother's father and then my mother's mother they two dwelt together pers Nrel coordconn pers Nrel v
My grandfather and my grandmother on my mother's side lived together.
ìttú àqúnwí má ndzà ìttú àtsúnwí énáyúmdzí ní
my | maternal grandfather | and | my | maternal grandmother | they lived (with us)
My grandfather and my grandmother lived with us.
de A: Carmony 46
1.48 má ánca tiluutúúsi slhiỷíumá .
and then be drunk we were
coordconn ptcp cop
Then we were drunk.
má ndzà dálù'túdzì slhí'î má
then $\mid$ whiskey | we made
Then we made whiskey.
Doubtful they had a still, and it's the wrong verb.
de A: Carmony 47

### 1.49 má ánca wáluutúsíwci tóólol qa ís

and then they got drunk all the person
coordconn v quant def n
Then all the people got drunk má ndzà wálù'túdzíúdzí tó lól qà ís
then | they got drunk | all | the | Indians
All the Indians got drunk.
de A: Carmony 48
1.50 má ánca állís wácuq ${ }^{\text {hú úćíw }} \mathbf{~ c i ́ i ́ n i ́ ~ . ~}$
and then salmon they were spearing
coordconn $\mathrm{n} \quad \mathrm{v}$
Then they were spearing salmon. má ndzà állís wádzoqódzíúdzí ní
then | salmon | they used to spear
They used to spear salmon.
de A: Carmony 49
1.51 sálísáámí qa ticuquúúći .

I watched the spearing
$v \quad$ def ptcp
I watched the spear-fishing.
sálísámí qà dìdzòqódzì
I watch | the | spearing
sálísámí is unattested.
I watched the spearing.
de A: Carmony 50

### 1.52 má ánca wááláásíwci máhỉíka wááláásíwci

## and then they netted fish at night they netted fish

coordconn v adv v
Then they netted (swallowed), at night they netted fish. má ndzà wálásiúdzí máḥí gà wálásíúdzí then | they fish with nets | all night | they fish with nets
They used to fish with nets all night long.
wáliq̉' í lí = catches fish in net; tú lá sí, wá lá $\operatorname{si}=$ swallow
de A: Carmony 51
1.53 slháptéeni tw̉íl máttíkca súkmit wal kachú tínỉhúúwít wáté .
we went once day Sukmit with his spirit place at

One day we went with Sukmit to his spirit place.
salhápté ní tùwíl máti'sà sùkmítwàl kàtsú díníhó wítwádé
we went | one time | day | with Sukmit | his $\mid$ to his sacred place
Once I went with Sukmit to his sacred place.
de A's footnote: A young shaman, also known as Frank Martin.
de A: Carmony 52

### 1.54 yáásá uut ${ }^{\mathrm{h}}$ uumící kac ${ }^{\mathrm{h}} \mathbf{u}$ tíníhúúwít $\cdot$

he sang approaching his spirit place
$v$ ptcp pers n
He sang approaching his spirit place.
yássá ùtù mádzí kàtsú díníhówít
he sings | getting near | his | sacred place
When he was getting near his sacred place he sarted to sing.
$u \cdot t^{\text {h }} u \cdot m i ́=$ approaching thither
de A: Carmony 53
1.55 asc̉é wáté má ánca tihuumí wáté má ánca wahímmícíiní cold at and then wind at and then headed to bottom adj adv coordconn ptcp adv coordconn v
In the cold and wind he dove to the bottom headfirst.
àstséwádé má ndzà họòmmíwádé má 'ndзà wàhịmmídzí ní
in the cold | and | in the wind | then | he plunged
It was blowing a cold wind but he plunged (into the lake).
It was probably at or near a spring.
hí = with head, to head (in a direction); míci = down to ground
de A: Carmony 54
1.56 ithe as wassá .
under water drinks
$\mathrm{n} \quad \mathrm{n} \quad \mathrm{v}$
He drank while under the water.
íthè às wàssá
underneath | water | he drank
When underneath he drank water (from the bottom of the lake).
From the spring, rather.
de A: Carmony 55

### 1.57 tóólol slhuhbáácííní máh̉hííka .

all we bathed
all night
quant $v$
adv

All of us were in the water all night.
tó lól slhóḥpádsí ní màhí' gà
all | we bathed | all night
Neither "swim" nor "bathe" has appropriate associations here.
de A: Carmony 56
1.58 álíllámčúci wáté slhúh̆páácí

| dawning | at | we were swimming |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ptcp | adv | v |

We were swimming at sunrise.
álílámtsòdzíwádé slhóḥpádzí
till daylight | we bathe
de A: Carmony 57

### 1.59 má ánca slhihíítaawíiní

and then we dipped head under water
coordconn v
Then we ducked under once more.
má 'ndзà slḥétá 'wí ní
then | we got out
Then we got out
slahihí assimilated, first h not heard
tálá ta $\cdot$ wé $=$ dipper; sahíl'átiwi $=I$ swim under water, hi $\cdot-$ with the head
de A: Carmony 58 [59 at bottom of page numbers no sentence.]

### 1.60 má ánca slhóóq̉iikántiwi .

and then we walked around
coordconn v
Then we walked around
má ndzà slhóqìqántùwí
then | we walk around
Then we walked around.
de A: Carmony 60
1.61 pal álayicí wáté slhúwaptééní.
first getting light at we went back
adv ptcp adv $v$
Just before early light dawned we went back.
bal' álàyìdzíwádé slhówàpté ní
near | at dawn | we went back
Near dawn we went back.
de A: Carmony 61
1.62 má ánca áw̉ slhákkªáatiíní mám slhitlúúmíumá .
and then wood we cut coordconn n v
and
coordconn
Then we cut wood and worked.
má nḑà áú slhá' ká tí ní mám slhí'túlú'mî'má
then $\mid$ wood $\mid$ we cut $\mid$ and $\mid$ we worked
Then we xxxxxxxxxx worked cutting wood.
de A: Carmony 62
1.63 má ánca yááqac̉cumí qa áw
and then he carried across thither the wood
coordconn $v$ def $n$
Then he carried the wood across.
má ndjà yáqà 'tsúmí qà áú
then | he hauled | the wood
Unspecified who did it. "Across" the river, or a ridge, or "through" something, to town.
Then he hauled the wood (to town).
de A: Carmony 63
1.64 slhóósaamííní .
we sold it
v
we sold it.
slhósámí ní
we sold it
We sold it.
de A: Carmony 64
1.65 má ánca slhissíumá rubbing alcohol .
and then we drank rubbing alcohol
coordconn v loan loan
Then we drank rubbing alcohol.
má ndzà slhìsî má rubbing alcohol
then | we drank | "rubbing | alcohol"
Then we drank "rubbing alcohol".
de A: Carmony 65
1.66 má ánca slhíluutúúsíníuma .
and then we got drunk
coordconn v
Then we got drunk.
slhí’lu'túdzí nî má
then | we all got drunk
Then we all got drunk
Then we all got drunk.
de A: Carmony 66
1.67 má ánca
and then white person coordconn v
we speared v

## slhulqicíswacííní

we turned her backward v

Then we copulated with a white woman, we turned her back to.
má ndзà wíníllá 'dùwí àmìtéùdzàn slhídzòqódzí ní slhóqìdzítswádzí ní then | white | woman | we fornicate | we fornicate doubled up Then we fornicated a white woman, we fornicated in the kneeling posture.
icuq ${ }^{\text {hú či } i ~ s p e a r, ~ e t c . ~ s o u n d s ~ l i k e ~ a g g r e s s i v e ~ a n d ~ i m p e r s o n a l ~ s l a n g . ~ C o p u l a t e ~ o r ~ ' f o r n i c a t e ' ~ i s ~ t i s u ́ m c i, ~ w h e r e ~-m-c i ~}$ = "downward".
icuqú ci, icuqú ci, icuq̉ú ci, icukú ci, icukhú ci, icuk ú ci, etc. unattested with u or o. tínám á qicí look back ;
tácip álqící kick over to side of road ; tíkutílqícíturn over it, turn over backwards. de A: Carmony 67
1.68 wíski úcí' ka qa sukmít, wáluutúúsííní .
whiskey agent the Sukmit he was drunk
loan Nsfx def name v
Sukmit, doing whiskey, was drunk.
whiskey-údzígà qà sùkmít wálu'tùdzí ní
being "whiskeyed" | the | Sukmit | was drunk.
Sukmit was full of whiskey drunk.
Significance of the ellipsis unspecified, it may signify resumption at a later time. de A: Carmony 68
1.69 sáána atw̉amwáỷtu .

I came from valley
v adv
I came from Frank's house
sǎ ná àtwàm wáitu
I came | Atwam | from
I came from Atwam (Big Valley).
de A: Carmony 69

### 1.70 Frank ú tílúúci slhákuuwací málússi máttíkca .

Frank POSS home we stayed ten day

We stayed at Frank's house for ten days.
Frankú díllú dsì slháqò wà 'dzí mólóssì máti'sà
Frank's | house | we stayed | ten | days
We stayed ten days at Frank's house.
de A: Carmony 70

my mothers father with and then mother's mother with all we did pers Nrel Nsfx coordconn Nrel Nsfx quant v
We were all with my grandfather and grandmother.
ittú wàqúnwíwàl má nḑà wàtsúnwíwàl tó 'lól slhìḑî má
my | maternal grandfather with | and | maternal grandmother with | all | we were.
My grandparents were there.
má ánca is redundant.
de A: Carmony 71
1.72 má ánca slhunníumá atw̉amwáỷtu
and then we came coordconn v from valley adv

Then we left Big Valley.
má ndzà slhùnnî má àtwámwáitu
then | we all came | Atwam | from
We all came from Atwam.
de A: Carmony 72

## $1.73 \mathbf{k}^{\text {ha }}$ aatan slhómicíwci tslhiỷíumá .

cotton we together picked we were
n

We picked cotton together, we did. cotton slhó mìdzótsí tslhî̀má cotton | we go picking | we are de A: Carmony 73

### 1.74 tóólol slhómmíumá Artois íliq̉aatáké .

all we picked Artois naming
quant $v$ name ptcp
We all picked at a place named Artois.
tó lól slhómmí Artois álé qa 'tágé
all | we pick | Artois | being named
We all picked cotton at (a town) named Artois.
tihóm'i "pick" unattested. slhóm'í would be dual.
Artois is about 70 miles south of Redding, about 160 miles from Big Valley.
de A: Carmony 74
$\begin{array}{lllllllllll}1.75 & \text { má ánca } & \text { Louis } & \text { yááćáátáyí hamís } & \text { ís } & \text { titapp } \\ \text { hác } & \text { kú } & \text { qa ó } & \text { tissi yááćáátáyí } \\ \text { and then } & \text { Louis } & \text { offered } & \text { one } & \text { person } & \text { teach } & \text { future } & \text { the } & (?) & \text { talk } & \text { offered }\end{array}$
Then Louis offered to one man, he offered to teach words.
má ndzà Louis yá'tsátái hamís ís dìdàpàtsgú qà ódìsì yá’tsátái
then | Louis | he offered | one | person | teaching | the | language | he offered
Then Louis offered to teach the (Achumawi) language to a certain man.
Repetition may be repair of reversed word order.
yá čá táyí unattested. Cp. sac̉a táyuwi I sent it to him (Radin; sats'at'àiyw)
de A: Carmony 75
1.76 má ánca yíliíwácumá má ánca yáát ${ }^{\text {h }} \mathbf{u u k i ́ ~ q a ~ i ́ s ~}$
and then he was sent for and then he came back the person coordconn v coordconn v def n
Then he sent for him, and then the person arrived.
má ndzà yílíwàdzùmá má ndзà yá'tò gí qà ís
then $\mid$ he sent after him $\mid$ and $\mid$ he arrived $\mid$ the $\mid$ person
He sent after him and that man came.[sic] (to fetch him).
tílí wací etc. unattested.
ilípçukí sending thither, ilípc̉umí sending hither. tywatíl'í wíní he called (helper), tykwintíl'í'wí he called (power)
de A: Carmony 76
he was sent for = someone went to get him


Louis didn't want to go talking with him.
tséyùwí óís'í dáí'dzùmì qà Louis
he does not | saying | to go along | the | Louis
But Louis did not want to go.
de A: Carmony 77
máánca itthú waqhúnwín yápte máánca c̉é tháyuwí tístí ó tissi . and then my mother's father he went and then not it evidently is good (?) talk coordconn pers Nrel v coordconn Neg cop adv Vpfx ptcp
Then my grandfather went, and then evidently it was not proper talking.
má ndzà ittú wàqúnwí yápté má ánca tsétáywí dístí ódisì
then | my grandfather | went | but | he cannot | well | speak
Instead, my grandfather went (with the man), but he doesn't know how to explain.
This was Henry Wohl/Wool. One or both apparently had problems interpreting in English .
de A: Carmony 78

### 1.79 má ánca iyééniiníumá <br> and then they two came back <br> coordconn v

Then they both came back.
mánḑà éíyínî nmá
then | they both came back together
So they both came back together.
sé níni I come back
de A: Carmony 79
1.80 má ánca qa Louis ú lúmmé' wíntapp ${ }^{\text {haací }}$.
and then the Louis POSS maiden taught
coordconn def name Nsfx $n$ v
Then Louis's wife taught him.
má ndzà qa Louis'ú lúmmé wíndà pà djí
then | the | Louis' | wife | taught him
Then Louis' wife taught him.
de A: Carmony 80

| 1.81 | má ánca | iyúútuýcí | Louis wal | kachú lúmmé | w̉al |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| and then | they two got angry | Louis | with | his | maid | with |
| coordconn v | name | Nsfx pers | n | Nsfx |  |  |

Then Louis and his wife got angry
má ndzà éíyótòyúdzí Louiswàl kàtsú lúmméwàl
then | they quarrel | and Louis | his | and wife
Then Louis and his wife quarrelled.
They may have disagreed about the right way to say things, or the right translation.
de A: Carmony 81
1.82 má ánca sápté sááyiiçumí
and then I go I accompanied him
coordconn v v
Then I went, I accompanied him.
má ndjà sápté sái duúmí
then $\mid$ I went | I went along
Then I went along (with the man).
de A: Carmony 82
1.83 húkýíh sáákuuw̉ací .
yonder I sit or stay
adv v

I'm staying there.
ḥúk'é sáqò ' wàdzí
there | I stayed
There I stayed ...
de A: Carmony 83a
1.84 síndapp ${ }^{\text {h }}$ aacwací pi tééwa ó tissi .

I am teaching
v here in that way (?) talk adv adv Vpfx ptcp
I am teaching this way to talk.
síndàpàswàdzí bì’téwà ódìsì
I am teaching | thus how | to speak
... teaching him the right way to speak.
de A: Carmony 83b

