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## Fort Mcdermitt Reservation (Mcdermitt, Nevada)

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The McDermitt reservation straddles the Oregon-Nevada border and is the home of the majority of all remaining first language Northern Paiute speakers. Like the Duck Valley Reservation, it is quite isolated, lying approximately 90 miles northeast of the town of Winnemucca, Nevada (population >7,000). The following stories are two of the many texts collected in the early 1960s by Sven Liljeblad from Pete Snapp, a fluent speaker from McDermitt. Mr. Snapp was in his early nineties at the time of this recording, which was made on reel-to-reel tape and archived as part of the Sven Liljeblad Collection in the Special Collections Department at the University of Nevada at Reno. His interlocutor was more than likely his son, Allen Snapp, who worked with the missionaries John and Joy Anderson to produce the first fairly complete grammar sketch of Northern Paiute (Snapp et al. 1982).

### THE BEDWETTER STORY<sup>1</sup>

PETE SNAPP, NARRATOR

The “Pete Snapp Tales” archived in the Special Collections Department at the University of Nevada at Reno include numerous narratives that might be considered traditional rather than historical. As with many oral narratives from the time period, “The Bedwetter Story” presented here combines elements of both types, blurring the line that distinguishes the two.

Liljeblad developed the system of transcription shown in the first line of text. In it, the vowels carry their standard Latin values, with the addition of <y> for the high central vowel /i/. In the Americanist tradition, the alveolar and alveopalatal affricates are represented as <c> and <č>, respectively, and the alveopalatal fricative as <š>. For the palatal glide, Liljeblad uses <j>. His representation of proclitics of various sorts (possessor and object pronominals in particular) as part of the word necessitates the marking of primary stress, for which an acute accent <˘> is used. This approach masks the highly predictable, second mora, primary stress system of the language. Knowledge of that system makes identifying proclitics a fairly simple matter, since proclitics, unlike prefixes, do not trigger leftward stress shift (see the introduction to this supplement).

<sup>1</sup> Recorded by Sven Liljeblad in 1962, Fort McDermitt Indian Reservation.

Final features and consonant gradation, active earmarks of every Numic language, are indicated cleverly in Liljeblad's system, making it possible to derive a fairly accurate pronunciation of forms. An apostrophe <'> in front of a consonant indicates the pronunciation as fortis (or geminate). In Pete Snapp's speech, as a speaker of one of the northern dialects, such consonants are pronounced with a longer closure and, if obstruent, voiceless. In the default case (i.e., without the preceding apostrophe), the pronunciation has been referred to as lenis, capturing a cluster of phonetic features in the production of the consonant, including voicing and frication in word medial position and a lack of aspiration word-initially.

- (1) Ahaa nyy kanaa'ci nnyy na'siity naatykwina'kwai'ty natykwina'ku.  
 aha nñ ka=naatsi ini na-sii-di  
 yes I ACC=boy INT MID-urinate-NMLZ  
 nadigwina-kwai-ti nadigwina-ku  
 bed-AREA-LOC bed-LOC  
 'Yes, I will tell the story about the boy who wet his bed all the time.'
- (2) u'my ku'cu'ty'ka kajai'si unau nopi'ka?ju.  
 ummi kutsu-tika ka=yaisi una-u nobi-ka?yu  
 they cattle-eat ACC=then out.there-FOC house-have  
 'The people living there were cattle eaters.'
- (3) unau nopi'kaana, my'papi?ikaa waahu patymyka?ju  
 una-u nobi-kaa-na mi=pabi?i-gaa  
 out.there-FOC house-have-PTCP PL=elder.brother-have  
 waa-hu padi-mi-ga?yu  
 two-ACC daughter-PL-have  
 'They lived somewhere, and their chief had two daughters.'
- (4) tu?i hakatui u'katuu'kwanji'i kwi'si'ky'ti nami'ku mynoty'kwakaa'ku  
 miikaa na?yna'kwi, u'su my'papi?i miu yna'kwi.  
 tu?i=haga=tui u-ka tuu-kwanji?i kwissi-ki-ti  
 any=who=any 3SG-ACC black-fox capture-APPL-TNS  
 nami-ku mi=nodikwa-gaa-ku mii=kaa  
 both-ACC PL=wife-have-ACC QUOT=thusly  
 na-?inakwi u-su mi=pabi?i mi-u ina'kwi  
 MID-claim 3SG-NOM PL=elder.brother QUOT-FOC claim  
 '“Whoever catches the black fox shall have both for his wives,” he said, (and thus) it was made known what the chief proclaimed.'
- (5) mynymyjai'si katuu'kwanji utuihy?a.  
 mi=nimi=yaisi ka=tuu-kwanji?i u=tui-hi?a  
 PL=person=then ACC=black-fox 3SG:ACC=try-trap  
 'The people then tried to trap the black fox.'

- (6) utuihyana kai uwy'sí'ky'ti.  
 u=tui-hia-na kai u=wissí-ki-ti  
 3SG:ACC=try-trap-PTCP NEG 3SG:ACC=capture-APPL-TNS  
 'They tried to trap him, but they could not catch him.'
- (7) u'su nyny na'siity naa'cika ka'tyhu'cínoo unau nopi'kaʔju.  
 u-su ini na-sii-di naatsi=ga  
 3SG-NOM INT MID-urinate-NMLZ boy=MOD  
 ka=ti=hutsíʔi-noo una-u nobi-kaʔyu  
 ACC=LOGO=grandmother-COM out.there-FOC house-have  
 'The boy who always wet his bed lived there with his father's mother.'
- (8) u'sukajai'si miu ka'tyhu'cíʔi ni'ta'ma yy'sa'kwa, ihu'cíʔi mana'ty  
 hi'maa iwanátu'ky [nyy uʔ] nyy uhya'ku miika.  
 u-su ka=yaisi mi-u ka=ti=hutsíʔi  
 3SG-NOM ACC=then QUOT-FOC ACC=LOGO=grandmother  
 nitamma ñ=sakwa i=hutsíʔi  
 tell you=MOD 1SG.POSS=grandmother  
 manati himma i=wana-tu-ki  
 some what 1SG:ACC=trap-make-APPL  
 nii u=hia-ku mii=ka  
 I 3SG:ACC=trap-PROSP QUOT=thusly  
 'And so he said to his father's mother: "My grandmother, you should manage to make me a trap of some kind, so I can catch him," he said.'
- (9) hi'ma kai ukwi'sí'kywaʔniʔju, nymy pisaʔjua'pa kai ukwi'sí'ky'ti  
 nanana uhya'paana jai'si sa'kwaʔýy hau mani miika uni'tama.  
 himma kai u=kwissi-ki-waʔni-ʔyu nimi  
 what NEG 3SG:ACC=capture-APPL-SIMIL-NOM person  
 pisa-ʔyu=apa kai u=kwissi-ki-ti  
 good-NOM=MOD NEG 3SG:ACC=capture-APPL-TNS  
 na~nana u=hia'-paana yaisi=sakwa=ʔi  
 PL~man 3SG:ACC=trap-PROH then=MOD=you  
 hau mani mii=ka u=nittama  
 how do QUOT=thusly 3SG:ACC=tell  
 "Of course you cannot catch him; even good people cannot catch him, the men who tried to trap him; and what should you then do," she told him.'
- (10) sunaa'cika uninóojy'kwi.  
 su=naatsi=ga u=ni-noo-yikwi  
 NOM=boy=MOD 3SG:ACC=IP/SPEECH-carry-HAB  
 'But the boy continued to beg her.'

- (11) ynyyti'tui iwanátu'ky miika.  
 iniiti=tui i=wana-tu-ki mii=ka  
 INT=any 1SG:ACC=trap-make-APPL QUOT=thusly  
 "Go ahead and make me a trap," he said.'
- (12) uhu'cifikajai'si (kaʔ), ka'ty'kawónoma'ty kauwy'kwýy'ky ú'ni'ku  
 hi'ma kwa'sy'py kawónokaana.  
 u=hutsii ka=yaisi ka=ti=kawono-mati  
 3SG.POSS=pat.grandmother ACC=then ACC=LOGO=basket-PART  
 ka=u=wi-kwii-ki uuni-ku himma  
 ACC=3SG:ACC=IP/LONG-grasp-APPL that.kind-ACC what  
 kwassipi kawono-kaa-na  
 buckskin burden.basket-have-PTCP  
 'His father's mother then cut part of her *kawono* into strips; it was  
 that kind, some kind of tanned buckskin she had for a *kawono*.<sup>2</sup>
- (13) jai'si, sunaa'ci unaa uhyatiaʔa katuukwanji'i uhya'tua.  
 yaisi su=naatsi una u=hia=tiaʔa  
 then NOM=boy out.there 3SG:ACC=trap=thusly  
 ka=tuu-kwanjiʔi u=hia-tua  
 ACC=black-fox 3SG:ACC=trap-IRR  
 'And then . . . the boy somewhere set a trap for him, set a trap for  
 the black fox.'
- (14) sunaa'cijai'si ukwi'sí'kyu.  
 su=naatsi=yaisi u=kwissi-ki-u  
 NOM=boy=then 3SG:ACC=capture-APPL-PFV  
 'And the boy caught him.'
- (15) ukwi'sí'kyu sunaa'ciʔi oo míʔa'su.  
 u=kwissi-ki-u su=naatsiʔi oo múʔasu  
 3SG:ACC=capture-APPL-PFV NOM=boy DEM already  
 'There the boy had already caught him.'
- (16) [u'my a'papiʔi] a'papi' patymy nami'ku mynoty'kwatu,  
 nazatimitiaʔa.  
 ummi a=pabiʔi a=pabiʔi padi-mi  
 they 4=elder.brother 4=elder.brother daughter-PL  
 nami-ku mi=nodikwa-tu na-dzati=tiʔa  
 both-ACC PL=wife-make MID-provide=thusly  
 'The chief's daughters, both of them, he married; they were given (to  
 him).'

<sup>2</sup> A conical burden basket used for gathering (and carrying) berries, usually coarsely woven, but with buckskin sometimes used as straps for carrying over the shoulders.'

- (17) u'myjai'si pu'kwa'kaa.  
 ummi=yaisi pokwa-kaa  
 they=then lie:PL-away  
 'And they went to bed.'
- (18) sunaa'ci mýnoo hapi'kaa.  
 su=naatsi mi-noo hapi-kaa  
 NOM=boy PL-COM lie:SG-away  
 Listener: 'Did the boy sleep with them?'
- (19) sunaa'ci mýnoo hapi'kaa.  
 su=naatsi mi-noo hapi-kaa  
 NOM=boy PL-COM lie:SG-away  
 'The boy slept with them.'
- (20) u'mynoo hapi'kaa'si jai'si u'mykupa'tu na'sii.  
 ummi-noo hapi-kaa-si yaisi  
 they-COM lie:SG-away-SEQ then  
 ummi-kupa-tu na-sii  
 they-upon-to MID-urinate  
 'And when he slept with them, he urinated on them.'
- (21) u'myjai'si, suha'máakajai'si kau'sunáa'pynoo'koso u'na'pýywa'na'tu  
 upiwó?ja'kwynaihu.  
 ummi=yaisi su=hamma?a ka=yaisi  
 they=then NOM=elder.sister ACC=then  
 ka=u=sunaapi nookoso una  
 ACC=3SG.POSS=bedding everything out.there  
 piwana-tu u=biwó?ya-kwinai-hu  
 outdoors-to 3SG:ACC=drag-throw:SG-PFV  
 'They then, the older sister then drove him outside with his bedding.'
- (22) jaato siina mau ma?na?wi mi uni'támana.  
 yaa-to sii-na ma-u ma?na?wi  
 here-LOC urinate-PTCP DEF-FOC do/act  
 mii u=nittama-na  
 QUOT 3SG:ACC=tell-PTCP  
 '“Piss here that is what you can do,” she told him.'
- (23) uu'sa'pa jai'si naku'cumai'si, nymy u'mykuba?juna nomiča.  
 uu=sapa yaisi na-kutsu-mai-si nimi  
 like.so=MOD then MID-cow-do-SEQ person  
 ummi-guba-?yu-na nomiča  
 they-upon-from-PTCP move.away  
 'And then it happened, when the cattle were herded, that the people moved away from them.'

- (24) u'su u'py'nfikaa kai mi?a u'mypaa?juna.  
 u-su u=pinni?i=ga kai mi?a  
 3SG-NOM 3SG.POSS=younger.sister=MOD NEG go:DUR  
 ummi-baa-?yu-na  
 they-by-from-PTCP  
 'The younger sister did not go from them.'
- (25) u'su u'py'nfikaa oo kuhu'ciipaa'sutia?a.  
 u-su u=pinni?i=gaa oo  
 3SG-NOM 3SG.POSS=younger.sister=MOD DEM  
 ka=hutsi?i-baa-su=tia?a  
 ACC=grandmother-by-ADV=thusly  
 'The younger sister remained there with his father's mother.'
- (26) sunaa'citia ka?oono jakana miu y?na?wi'si, una kuta'kwama'tu mi?a.  
 su=naatsi=tia ka=?oono yaka-na mi-u  
 NOM=boy=thusly ACC=at.the.time cry-PTCP QUOT-FOC  
 i?na?wi-si una kudakwa-ma-tu mi?a  
 talk-SEQ out.there butte-LOC-to go:DUR  
 'The boy again, as he was crying there and talking (by himself),  
 went over to the butte.'
- (27) oo'kaa napiwo?ja'kwynaiu'si.  
 oo=kaa na-biwo?ya-kwinai-u-si  
 like.so=MOD MID-drag-throw:SG-PFV-SEQ  
 Listener: 'Was that when he was dragged out?'
- (28) oo'kaa napiwo?ja'kwynaiu'si.  
 oo=kaa na-biwo?ya-kwinai-u-si  
 like.so=MOD MID-drag-throw:SG-PFV-SEQ  
 'That was when he was dragged out.'
- (29) una?ju?najai'si sunaa'ci, jakana miu y?na?wi.  
 una-?yu-?na=yaisi su=naatsi yaka-na mi-u  
 out.there-from-PTCP=then NOM=boy cry-PTCP QUOT-FOC  
 i?na?wi  
 talk  
 'Somewhere over there the boy was crying and talking.'
- (30) jakana miu y?na?wina jonjo'kaa'si.  
 yaka-na mi-u i?na?wi-na yonjo-kaa-si  
 cry-PTCP QUOT-FOC talk-PTCP evening-away-SEQ  
 'He was crying and talking until it got late in the evening.'

- (31) sutuihí'tui'kaa upaa pi'ty?ja'kwi pisa?jutia?a hii'pi.  
 su=tui=hii=tui=kaa u-baa pittí-?yakwi  
 NOM=any=thing=any=MOD 3SG-by arrive-HAB  
 pisa-?yu=tia?a hiipi  
 good-NOM=thusly whatever  
 'Then anything that could be (regarded as) property came to him,  
 anything that was good to be owned.'
- (32) tuihí'tui, paka'pytia?a, pisa?ju waa?aty, upaa mani'mina wika  
 hau'ni?ju.  
 tui=hii=tui pagapi=tia?a pisa-?yu waa-?adi  
 any=thing=any arrow=thusly good-NOM juniper-bow  
 u-baa mani-mina wiga hau'ni-?yu  
 3SG-by do-go.along rabbit.blanket some.kind-NOM  
 'Just anything, arrows for one thing, and good juniper bows were  
 piling up around him, blankets, all kinds of things.'
- (33) jai'sitúu, ku'cu tywaukaa, pu'ku tywau.  
 yaisi tuu kutsu tiwau=gaa puku tiwau  
 then also cattle also=MOD horse also  
 'And even cattle and horses too.'
- (34) ú'ni?jukaa upaa nymytua.  
 uuni-?yu=gaa u-baa nimi-tua  
 that.kind-NOM=MOD 3SG-by person-IRR  
 'Things like that appeared by him.'
- (35) sunaa'cikajai'si awamu?a tynopí'tami umahý'ki.  
 su=naatsi ka=yaisi awamu?a tí=nobi-tami  
 NOM=boy ACC=then morning LOGO=house-to  
 u=mahi-ki  
 3SG:ACC=herd-toward  
 'And then early in the morning the boy drove them toward his home.'
- (36) kathyi'má.  
 ka=tí=himma  
 ACC=LOGO=what  
 Listener: 'His belongings?'
- (37) kathyi'má oo py'paa manity.  
 ka=tí=himma oo pí-paa mani-dí  
 ACC=LOGO=what DEM RESTR-by do-NMLZ  
 'Anything that gathered there by him.'



- (38) u'su uhu'cíka ka'syáty'mynoo ói?juna, awamu?a kamiu, hii  
 nyjyjiwa'ny miika.  
 u-su u=hutsi?i=ga ka=siadimi-noo  
 3SG-NOM 3SG.POSS=grandmother=MOD ACC=girl-COM  
 oi-?yu-na awamu?a ka=mii-u  
 DEM-NOM-PTCP morning ACC=QUOT-FOC  
 hii niyiyii-wini mii=ga  
 thing noise-PROG:SG QUOT=MOD  
 'His father's mother and the young girl who were there said early  
 in the morning: "What is it that makes such noise?"'
- (39) susyáty'myjai'si tymua'py.  
 su=siadimi=yaisi timuapi  
 NOM=girl=then peep  
 'The young woman peeped out.'
- (40) tymuapynajai'si, pu'ku ku'cu čaa namahyki'na iwa?ju miika.  
 timuapi-na=yaisi puku kutsu i-ča  
 peeped-PTCP=then horse cow PROX-ACC  
 na-mahi-ki-na iwa-?yu mii=ga  
 MID-herd-toward-PTCP many-NOM QUOT=thusly  
 'She looked out and said: "There is a lot of horses and cows being  
 driven this way."'
- (41) uu'sa'pa oo, oo sunaa'ci mymahý'pi'ty.  
 uu=sapa oo oo su=naatsi mi=mahi-pitti  
 like.so=MOD DEM DEM NOM=boy PL=herd-arrive  
 'There the boy came driving them along.'
- (42) óčai'si nopi'kaana, typa'ca'sitia u'my utykána.  
 oo=čaisi nobi-kaa-na ti-patsa-si=tia  
 DEM=then house-have-PTCP ANTIP-kill:SG-SEQ=thusly  
 ummi u=tika-na  
 they 3SG:ACC=eat-PTCP  
 'And there they were at home, and after they made a kill, they ate it.'
- (43) u'my ku'cú'maimootyčai'si pi'tytia mynymýpaa kočy'pi'ty.  
 ummi kutsu-mai-moo-dí=čaisi pittí=tia  
 they cow-do-RNDM:PL-NMLZ=then arrive=thusly  
 mi=nimi-baa kočí-pitti  
 PL=person-by return-arrive  
 'And then those who herded cattle came and returned to the people.'
- (44) u'mykajai'si sučahťia una'ká.  
 ummi ka=yaisi su=čahi=tia u=nakka  
 they ACC=then NOM=father.in.law=thusly 3SG:ACC=hear:DUR  
 'And they and his father-in-law heard about it.'

- (45) uʔuu mani'py u'suu miika.  
 uʔuu mani-pi u-su-u mii=ga  
 like.so do/happen-PERF 3SG-NOM-FOC QUOT=thusly  
 '“So, that is what happened to him,” he said.'
- (46) u'myjai'si ta'mi jau u'mypaa pi'tyukaa'ku miitia sučahí.  
 ummi yaisi tammi ya-u umi-baa  
 they then we:INCL here-FOC they-by  
 piti-u-gaa-ku mii=dia su=čahi  
 arrive-PFV-away-FUT QUOT=thusly NOM=father.in.law  
 'And they then, . . . “Here we will go and stay with them,” his  
 father-in-law said.'
- (47) kamynáa'cipaa.  
 ka=mi=naatsi-baa  
 ACC=PL=boy-by  
 Listener: 'With the boy's family?'
- (48) y'mypaa.  
 immi-baa  
 they:ACC-by  
 'With them.'
- (49) u'mypaa pi'tyu'si jai'si kaʔu'sú u'nanápypaty, upaa tuʔi'pi'tyu.  
 ummi-baa pitti-u-si yaisi ka u-su  
 them-by arrive-PFV-SEQ then and 3SG-NOM  
 u=na-naa-pi-badi u-baa tuʔi-pitti-u  
 3SG:ACC=MID-grow-PERF-daughter 3SG-by try-arrive-PFV  
 'They came to them, and she, his oldest daughter, tried to come to  
 him.'
- (50) oo'ty hi'matia mapi'capiwynyna, hau yy nnyy i'ka sosi pisa ha'ni  
 miika ynina ka'ty'py'níi ní'tamana, pyy oi namapita'kwapaawynyna.  
 oo-ti himma=tia mabitsabi-wini-na hau ïï  
 DEM-LOC what=thusly arrange-PROG:SG-PTCP how you  
 ini i-ka sosi pisa hanni  
 INT PROX-ACC froth good prepare  
 mii=ga ini-na ka=ti=pinniʔi  
 QUOT=thusly say-PTCP ACC=LOGO=sis  
 nittama-na pii oi na-mabidakwabaa-wini-na  
 tell-PTCP RESTR DEM MID-obstruct-PROG:SG-PTCP  
 'There she was busy putting things in order, and she said: “Why  
 don't you take care this *sosi*?” So she told her younger sister,  
 while she herself was in their way.'

- (51) oo hii'tu susosí?  
 oo hii-tu su=sosi  
 DEM thing-to NOM=froth  
 Listener: 'What is that *sosí*?'
- (52) oo'su a'tyká'mawyny'kupa'kwai'ty saa, a'poo'siwyny'na.  
 oo=su a=tika-ma-wini-kuba-kwai-ti saa  
 DEM=EMPH 4=eat-on-stand:SG-upon-AREA-LOC boiling  
 a=poosi-wini-nna  
 4=bubble-stand:SG-PTCP  
 'That is the thing that gathers on top of the food, when it is boiling, the bubbles that are coming to the top of it.'
- (53) u'suu miu nani?a a'sosí mi.  
 u-su-u mi-u na-ni?a a=sosi mii  
 3SG-NOM-FOC QUOT-FOC MID-call 4=froth QUOT  
 'That is what is called its *sosí*.'
- (54) u'kau wy'kitana.  
 u-ka-u wikida-na  
 3SG-ACC-FOC skim-PTCP  
 'She was skimming that off.'
- (55) jái'si, [yy'tuu] yy'tia utajá'kwynajai'si ny'mikupa?juna nomiča'si ja.  
 yaisi ii=tia u=taya-kwinai=yaisi  
 then you=thusly 3SG:ACC=send-THROW:SG=then  
 nimmi-kuba-?yu-na nomi-ča-si yaa  
 1PL.EXCL-upon-from-PTCP move-away-SEQ here  
 'But then (the younger sister said to the older sister): "When you sent him away, you moved away from us here."'
- (56) [nýa] nyy akumáka?ju kai yy mfkajai'si kathyha'máa ni'tá'ma.  
 nii a=guma-ga-?yu kai ii mii=ga=yaisi  
 I 4=husband-have-NOM NEG you QUOT=THUS=then  
 ka=ti=hamma?a nitama  
 ACC=LOGO=elder.sister tell  
 "I married him, not you," she told her older sister.'
- (57) uusa'pa suha'máa hi'kwa'na manai tywa.  
 uu=sapa su=hamma?a hikwa-nna manai tiwa  
 like.so=MOD NOM=elder.sister ??-PTCP happen also  
 'Thus the older sister was out of luck again.'
- (58) o nataja?  
 oo na-taya  
 DEM MID-send  
 Listener: 'Then she was sent away?'

- (59) o natajau.  
oo na-taya-u  
DEM MID-send-PFV  
‘Then she was sent away.’
- (60) oosu naa’ciʔi, oo’kaa tuʔi hii’sa’paka u’ka utymácaʔi ú’ni’ku hii’pi  
kaʔoo.  
oo=su naatsiʔi oo=kaa tuʔi=hii=sapa=ga  
DEM=EMPH boy DEM=ACC any=thing=MOD=MOD  
u-ka u=timadzaʔi uuni-ku hiipi  
3SG-ACC 3SG:ACC=help.TR that.kind-ACC whatever  
ka=ʔoo  
ACC=DEM  
‘The boy there, I wonder what(ever) it was that helped him (to get)  
that kind of possessions.’
- (61) ty’tyha yʔnaʔwi tuʔi mítia ka’sunámina hii’sa’pa u’kau uhiima’ka.  
titiha iʔnaʔwi tuʔi mii=tia ka=sunami-na  
sorrow express try QUOT=thusly ACC=think:SG-PTCP  
hii=sapa u-ka-u u=hii-maka  
thing=MOD 3SG-ACC-FOC 3SG:ACC=thing-give/feed  
‘He expressed the sorrow he felt for himself, and something gave  
him those things.’
- (62) kai nasó’pita’kwa’tu.  
kai na-sopitakwatu  
NEG MID-understand  
‘It is inconceivable.’
- (63) jakana miu yʔnaʔwi.  
yaga-na mi-u iʔnaʔwi  
cry-PTCP QUOT-FOC express  
Listener: ‘He cried and said (something).’
- (64) uu’su hii nanasu’kwykai symytui manai’titiaʔa.  
uu=su hii nanasukwígai simi=tui manaiti=tiaʔa  
like.so=EMPH thing miraculous one=any happen=thusly  
‘Whatever it happens to be, it is miraculous, (but) once in a great  
while it might happen.’
- (65) oo’su nanasu’kwykaity mi nani’tamaty.  
oo=su nanasukwígai-dí mii na-nitama-dí  
DEM=EMPH miracle-NMLZ QUOT MID-tell-NMLZ  
‘That is the miracle talked about.’

- (66) nymy 'naa ny'my tymacaihuna u'suuka kaʔoo.  
 nimi naa nimmi timadzai-hu-na u-su=ga  
 person father people help-PFV-PTCP 3SG-NOM=MOD  
 ka=ʔoo  
 ACC=DEM  
 'It is God who helps people; perhaps that is it.'
- (67) kai haka so'pita'kwatuna.  
 kai haga sopitakwatu-na  
 NEG who understand-PTCP  
 'Nobody knows what (it is).'
- (68) uu'su hii sunatýkwiŋapa ma'manimiʔa.  
 uu=su hii su=na-dikwiŋaba ma~mani-miʔa  
 like.so=EMPH thing NOM=MID-recount DISTR-do-go  
 'That is something the stories tell about, and that happens sometimes.'
- (69) ó'nojai'si sunymýpyy, kahi'má nawaha kai uniʔóiçu'ky'ti.  
 oono=yaisi su=nimi=biñ ka=himma na-waha  
 at.the.time=then NOM=person=FOC ACC=what MID-tell  
 kai u=ni-ʔoiçu-ki-ti  
 NEG 3SG:ACC=IP/SPEECH-believe-APPL-TNS  
 'And yet, the people, when something is told, they do not believe it.'
- (70) kai uniʔóiçu'kyna jai'si, sunymýsa'kwa kaʔuu tapyá, waha'ma  
 kwynyna waahu tuu py'takaana pui'kaana woo'kaa, mi  
 nani'tamapaana oʔuu tapyʔa sunymý.  
 kai u=ni-ʔoiçu-ki-na yaisi  
 NEG 3SG:ACC=IP/SPEECH-believe-APPL-PTCP then  
 su=nimi=sakwa ka=ʔuu tabia waha-ma  
 NOM=person=MOD ACC=like.so appear two-INS  
 kwini-na waa-hu tuu piŋa-gaa-na  
 stand:SG-PTCP two-ACC also arm-have-PTCP  
 pui-kaa-na woo-kaa mii na-nitama=paana  
 eye-have-PTCP head-have QUOT MID-tell=PROH  
 oo=ʔuu tabiʔa su=nimi  
 DEM=like.so appear NOM=person  
 'They would not believe it, but man should look like this: stand  
 with two (legs) and just have two arms, and have eyes, and have a  
 head; that is what was told and that is the only way a person looks.'
- (71) u'tuku miʔa onaatykwiŋa'tu.  
 utugu miʔa o=naa-tikwiŋa-tu  
 that.direction go:DUR 3SG:ACC=MID-recount-ALL  
 'He goes through the tales.'

- (72) u'tuku miana kaʔuu tapyʔa, unaʔʔni'pywaʔni.  
 utugu mia-na ka=ʔuu tabiʔa  
 that.direction go-PTCP ACC=like.so appear:DUR  
 u=na-ʔini-pi-waʔni  
 3SG:ACC=MID-say-PERF-SIMIL  
 'He is going through it, and therefore he looks as it was said to be.'
- (73) na'na'sytatywau ta'tapy'a'ku m'haʔa.  
 na~na-sita=tiwau ta~tabia-ku mii=haʔa  
 DISTR~MID-bad=also DISTR~appear-PROSP QUOT=QU  
 Listener: 'Are they going to look worse than each other?'
- (74) jai'si, óʔnokajai'si kamiu.  
 yaisi óʔno=ga=yaisi ka=mi-u  
 then long.ago=MOD=then ACC=QUOT-FOC  
 'And then . . . once upon a time (somebody) said it.'
- (75) sunymý tui'kaa uniʔóiču'ky'paana oo u'tuku miʔa upuní'paana kai  
 uniʔóiču'ky'ti py'mi tytyy'kwi'ʔja'pa tywau kai uniʔóiču'ky'ti mi.  
 su=nimi=tui=kaa u=ni-ʔoiču-ki=paana  
 NOM=person=any=MOD 3SG:ACC=IP/SPEECH-believe-APPL=PROH  
 oo utugu miʔa u=puni=paana  
 DEM that.direction go:DUR 3SG:ACC=see=PROH  
 kai u=ni-ʔóiču-ki-ti pimmi  
 NEG 3SG:ACC=IP/SPEECH-believe-APPL-TNS they  
 ti~dìkwi=ʔyapa  
 DISTR~tell=PTC  
 tiwau kai u=ni-ʔoiču-ki-ti mii  
 also NEG 3SG:ACC=IP/SPEECH-believe-APPL-TNS QUOT  
 'Even though a person does not believe it, there he (nevertheless has  
 to) go through it; (but) even though he sees it, he does not believe  
 it; even though he is told, again he does not believe it, it is said.'
- (76) mi sunymý nani'ta'ma.  
 mii su=nimi na-nitamma  
 QUOT NOM=person MID-tell  
 'That is what is told about man.'
- (77) jai'si, kahi'má hau mani'si tuu (kam) oo nymywaʔnisu  
 mani'kwy'sia'pa kai uniʔóiču'ky'ti usu'p'ita'kwatu'paana  
 mí tywau.  
 yaisi ka=himma hau mani-si tuu  
 then ACC=what hau do-SEQ also  
 oo nimi-waʔni-su mani-kwi-si=apa  
 DEM person-SIMIL-ADV do-FUT-SEQ=MOD

kai u=ni-ʔoiču-ki-ti  
 NEG 3SG:ACC=IP/SPEECH-believe-APPL-TNS  
 u=supitakwatu=paana mii tiwau  
 3SG:ACC=know=PROH QUOT also

‘And then, when something really happens, even though they will act as other people, they do not believe it, even though they do know it.’

- (78) kajjai’si hii kaʔu’káu natyykwiŋapa ‘nawaha’na.  
 kai yaisi hii ka=ʔu-ka-u na-diikwiŋaba  
 NEG then thing ACC=3SG-ACC-FOC MID-tell  
 na-waha-na  
 MID-tell-PTCP

‘There is nothing more than what is told in the tales.’

- (79) kai haka ukau uuna’kwa maniwaʔniʔju.  
 kai haga u-ka-u uu=nakwa mani-waʔni-ʔyu  
 NEG who 3SG-ACC-FOC like.so=beside do-SIMIL-NOM

‘Nothing can surpass them.’

- (80) uuniʔju.  
 uuni-ʔyu  
 that.kind-NOM

‘That is how it is.’

- (81) oo’kaa múʔa’su kaʔu’suu natyykwiŋapa suʔi’sá kaʔicáʔanoo.  
 oo=kaa múʔasu ka=ʔu-suu na-tiikwiŋaba  
 DEM=MOD already ACC=3SG-NOM MID-tell  
 su=ʔisa ka=ʔidzaʔa-noo  
 NOM=wolf ACC=coyote-COM

‘That was the stories of the early days, (about) Wolf and Coyote.’

- (82) kahi’máa miu.  
 ka=himmaa mi-u  
 ACC=what QUOT-FOC

‘Whatever they said.’

- (83) suhii nani’nawamina nani’nawamina.  
 su=hii na-ni-nna-wami-na  
 NOM=thing MID-IP/SPEECH-PTCP-PROG:DU-PTCP  
 na-ni-nna-wami-na  
 MID-IP/SPEECH-PTCP-PROG:DU-PTCP

‘Anything that is talked and talked about.’

- (84) nani’mama’kumina mí, nani’mama’kwymina mí, nooʔjuna  
 nani’namuapi’tykaa’si, nani’mama’ku’si jai’si tuu, o  
 namama’ku’py mi, nooʔjuna hii namama’ku’py hii uu  
 mani’pyni’ku mii naʔyni’si mi.

na-ni-ma~makwi-mina mii  
 MID-IP/SPEECH-DISTR~finish-go.along QUOT  
 na-ni-ma~makwi-mina mii  
 MID-IP/SPEECH-DISTR~finish-go.along QUOT  
 noo-?yu-na na-ni-namua-piti-gaa-si  
 all-NOM-PTCP MID-IP/SPEECH-plan-INCH-away-SEQ  
 na-ni-ma~makwi-si yaisi tuu  
 MID-IP/SPEECH-DISTR~finish-SEQ then also  
 o=na-ma~makwi-pi mii noo-?yu-na  
 DEM=MID-DISTR~finish-PERF QUOT all-NOM-PTCP  
 hii na-ma~makwi-pi hii uu  
 thing MID-DISTR~finish-PERF thing like.so  
 mani-pini-ku mii na-?ini-si mii  
 do-PROG-FUT QUOT MID-say-SEQ QUOT

‘Little by little things will get settled, it is said, things will get settled;  
 and after they have talked about everything and finally finished  
 everything, then it will be completed, it is said, everything of all  
 kinds will be completed; that is how it will be as it was said.’

- (85) oo u'tuku'su hii mi?a.  
 oo utugu-su hii mi?a  
 DEM that.direction-ADV thing go:DUR  
 ‘That is what we are going through.’

- (86) oono'tu u'suu.  
 oono-tu u-su-u  
 at.the.time-LOC 3SG-NOM-FOC  
 ‘That is the end of it.’

### THE FLOOD AND FIRE MYTH<sup>3</sup>

PETE SNAPP, NARRATOR

- (1) mymu?a'su nymy, kamuika'su tii'pywai?juna, nana?a'kwina u  
 ma?na?wi.  
 mi=mu?asu nimi ka=mui-ga-su tiipi-wai-?yu-na  
 PL=already person ACC=lead-away-ADV earth-AREA-from-PTCP  
 na~na-?akwi-na uu ma?na?wi  
 DISTR~MID-shoot-PTCP like.so do/act  
 ‘The first people, who were on the earth, fought each other, so they did.’
- (2) nana'ky'sičana u ma?na?wina, jai'si, u'su my'naajai'si kai kaitia kai  
 upicápina.  
 na-na-kisiča-na uu ma?na?wi-na yaisi  
 DISTR~MID-fight.against-PTCP like.so do/act-PTCP then

<sup>3</sup> Recorded by Sven Liljebld in 1962, Fort McDermitt Indian Reservation.



u-su mi=naa=yaisi kai kai=tia  
 3SG-NOM PL=father=then NEG NEG=thusly  
 kai u=pidzabi-na  
 NEG 3SG:ACC=like-PTCP

'They were busy fighting each other, but then their Father did not like it, not at all.'

- (3) óčai'si ky'ma?asu manymtu'ku mi ynina.  
 oo=čaisi kimma?a-su ma-nimi-tu-ku mii  
 DEM=then different-ADV IP/HAND-person-make-FUT QUOT  
 ini-na  
 say-PTCP

'So then he said: "I will create another (world)."'

- (4) jai'si, hausa'kwa nyy, i'katii'py sa'kwanýy hau atynái mítia?a.  
 yaisi hau=sakwa nñ i-ka tiipi=sakwa=nñ  
 then how=MOD I PROX-ACC earth=MOD=I  
 hau a=tinai mii=tia?a  
 how 4=burn QUOT=thusly

'And so, "I wonder what I should do, should I burn the earth?" he said.'

- (5) tywausa'kwa hau nyy apa'tá'co'pa'ky míka.  
 tiwa-u=sakwa hau nñ a=ba-ta-tsopa-ki  
 also-FOC=MOD how I 4=IP/WATER-IP/FOOT-sink-APPL  
 mii=ga  
 QUOT=thusly

"Or, rather, should I drown it?" he said.'

- (6) mi yni'si jai'si, óčai'si apa'tá'co'pa'ky katii'py.  
 mii ini-si yaisi oo čaisi  
 QUOT say-SEQ then DEM then  
 a=ba-ta-tsopa-ki ka=tiipi  
 4=IP/WATER-IP/FOOT-sink-APPL ACC=earth

'That was what he said, and then he drowned it, the earth.'

- (7) [kai] kai atyná?itia?a.  
 kai kai a=tina?i=tia?a.  
 NEG NEG 4=burn=thusly

'He did not burn it.'

- (8) o'noo?o'ko mynymý'no'ko.  
 onnoo?o-ko mi=nimi-nno-ko.  
 entire-ACC PL=person-all-ACC

Listener: 'All of it including the people?'

- (9) oʔoi'kua'pa.  
 oʔoikuapa.  
 everything  
 'Everything.'
- (10) i'sujai'si paumana u manina paumana u maninajai'si isutfi'py  
 pa'ta'co'pakaʔa.  
 i-su=yaisi pauma-na uu mani-na pauma-na  
 PROX-NOM=then rain-PTCP like.so do-PTCP rain-PTCP  
 uu mani-na=yaisi i-su tiipi  
 like.so do-PTCP=then PROX-NOM earth  
 pa-ta-tsopa-gaʔa  
 IP/WATER-IP/FOOT-sink-away  
 'Then this (happened), it was raining and raining, and the earth  
 was slowly going under water.'
- (11) pa'ta'co'pakaana, opii nooʔjuna pata'copi'taupi'tykaa.  
 pa-ta-tsopa-gaa-na obii noo-ʔyu-na  
 IP/WATER-IP/FOOT-sink-away-PTCP DEM all-NOM-PTCP  
 pa-ta-tsopita-u-piti-gaa  
 IP/WATER-IP/FOOT-sink:PL-PFV-arrive-away  
 'It was slowly going under water one thing after the other, until  
 everything was covered.'
- (12) u'su hucičai'si, katii'py pata'copi'taupi'tykaa'si, kau'ká ko'pi'topy  
 kwwymajai'si kaʔóo kaʔutyka'tyty 'kuty'kwai ja.  
 u-su hudzi=čaisi ka=tiipi  
 3SG-NOM sagehen=then ACC=earth  
 pa-da-tsobita-u-piti-gaa-si  
 WATER-FOOT-sink.PL-PFV-INCH-away-SEQ  
 ka=u-ka kopitobi kwihima=yaisi ka=oo  
 ACC=3SG-ACC ember grab-on=then ACC=DEM  
 ka=utikatidi kudi-kwai yaa  
 ACC=tall.mountain top-AREA here  
 'But the Sagehen, when the earth gradually sank in the water, picked  
 up a burning coal of fire somewhere (and brought it) here to the top  
 of *utyka'tyty* Tall Mountain.'
- (13) oo uta'máky'nana [uha'máha] uta'mánapina uta'máky'nata'pi.  
 oo u=tammakinna-na  
 DEM 3SG:ACC=hold.down-PTCP  
 u=tammanabi-na u=tammakinna-dapi  
 3SG:ACC=hold.down-PTCP 3SG:ACC=hold.down-lie.SPL  
 'There she held it down and was lying on it as she held it down.'

- (14) upuuhita'pi.  
 u=puuhi-dapi  
 3SG:ACC=blow-lie.SPL  
 'She was lying and blowing on it.'
- (15) upuuhitapina jai'si, oo u'su ó'no'kaa u'su jaa u'ku'tá 'na?u'na'kwai'ty  
 [kanai] nai'pyka?ju ku'pi'ta'pytia?a.  
 u=puuhi-dabi-na yaisi oo u-su oonno  
 3SG:ACC=blow-lie.SPL-PTCP then DEM 3SG-NOM at.the.time  
 ka u-su yaa u=kuta nna?unna-kwai-ti  
 PTC 3SG-NOM here 3SG.POSS=neck around-AREA-LOC  
 nai-pi-ga-?yu kupitapi=tia?a  
 burn-PERF-have-NOM singe=thusly  
 'And then, while she was lying and blowing on it, there it burnt  
 right around her neck and burnt some (of the feathers).'
- (16) oo uu u'su.  
 oo uu u-su  
 DEM like.so 3SG-NOM  
 'That is why she is like that.'
- (17) oo uu ujkwína suhucí'ai'si kako'sótia?a oo kai umatú'ki'kyna.  
 oo uu u=yikwi-na su=hudzi=čaisi  
 DEM like.so 3SG:ACC=carry-PTCP NOM=sagehen=then  
 ka=kosso=tia?a oo kai  
 ACC=ash/coal=thusly DEM NEG  
 u=ma-duki-ki-na  
 3SG:ACC=IP/HAND-extinguish-APPL-PTCP  
 'So in that way she took care of it, the sage hen; there (she took care  
 of) the fire, so it wouldn't go out.'
- (18) u'sujai'si ka?i'káu tii'py oi mani'si, u'kau sunymy' pi'ta.  
 u-su=yaisi ka=i-ka-u tiipi oi mani-si  
 3SG-NOM=then ACC=PROX-ACC-FOC earth DEM do-SEQ  
 u-ka-u su=nimi pita  
 3SG-ACC-FOC NOM=person build.fire  
 'And now, as this earth evolves, that is the thing people will make fire  
 with.'
- (19) u'su huci?ikaa'kaa, upa'tá'tu'ki'ky'si ikaa, i'kau tii'pykupa'ty ika  
 [katu?] katu?u napitaty.  
 u-su hudzi?i=gaa=kaa  
 3SG-NOM sagehen=MOD=MOD  
 u=pa-ta-tuki-ki-si  
 3SG:ACC=WATER-quench-APPL-SEQ

ikaa i-ka-u tiipi-guba-ti  
 PROX-ACC PROX-ACC-FOC earth-upon-LOC  
 i-ka kadu?u na-bida-di  
 PROX-ACC gone MID-build.fire-NMLZ

'That sage hen, if she had let the fire go out, then there would have been no fire burning on this earth.'

- (20) ika nymy sy'tyai'ku.  
 oo i-ka nimi sitiai-ku  
 DEM PROX-ACC person freeze-PROSP  
 Listener: 'Then people would freeze to death.'
- (21) oo ha?ua'paka ika mynymy' ma'kupa'ty moo'tapya ikaa'kaa,  
 u'ka ko'so katu?u'ku.  
 oo ha?u=apa=gaa i-ka mi=nimi ma-kuba-ti  
 DEM how=any=MOD PROX-ACC PL=person DEF-upon-LOC  
 moo-tabia i=gaa=kaa u-ka kosso  
 travel:PL-appear PROX=MOD=MOD 3SG-ACC fire  
 kadu?u-ku  
 gone-PROSP  
 'I don't know how people would have gone about on it (on the earth) then without the fire.'
- (22) o'uu uu namakico?ai'py soko'so o nymytia?a upi'ta.  
 uu na-ma-kidzo?ai-pi su=kosso oo  
 like.so MID-IP/HAND-survive-PERF NOM=coal DEM  
 nimi=tia?a u=pita  
 person=thusly 3SG:ACC=build.fire:DUR  
 'That is how the fire was saved, and now people burn it.'
- (23) wo?i'tu mi yni'si uma'ku pitau.  
 wo?itu mii ini-si u-ma-ku pida-u  
 firedrill QUOT say-SEQ 3SG-INS-LOC build.fire-PFV  
 'Through (use of) the firedrill hearth, as people call it, (somebody) made fire with it.'
- (24) umatú'nuiwynyna soko'sótau'si napitau.  
 u=ma-tunnui-wini-na so=kosso-dua-u-si  
 3SG:ACC=IP/HAND-roll-PROG:SG-PTCP NOM=coal-IRR-PFV-SEQ  
 na-bida-u  
 MID-build.fire-PFV  
 'He rolled it between his hands, and when sparks were formed fire was made.'

- (25) oʔoho u'suu.  
 oʔo u-su-u  
 DEM 3SG-NOM-FOC  
 'That was it.'
- (26) jai'si ó'nojai'si kamiu kaʔi'ká tii'pykupa ny'my manymytu'si.  
 yaisi ónno=yaisi ka=mi-u ka=i-ka  
 then at.the.time=then ACC=QUOT-FOC ACC=PROX-ACC  
 tiipi-guba nimmi ma-nimi-du-si  
 earth-upon person IP/HAND-person-make-SEQ  
 'And then, when he created people on this earth he said (the following).'
- (27) jau čuusaʔa kaʔiwíʔjuna namaʔnawipyʔwaʔnisu, i'ka tii'pykupa'ty  
 namaʔnaʔwina.  
 ya-u čuusaʔa ka=ʔiwi-ʔyu-na  
 here-FOC this.way ACC=DEM-from-PTCP  
 na-maʔnaʔwi-pi-ʔwaʔni-su i-ka  
 MID-do-PERF-SIMIL-ADV PROX-ACC  
 tiipi-guba-ti na-maʔnaʔwi-na  
 earth-upon-LOC MID-do-PTCP  
 'From now on the same that was done here before will be done on this earth.'
- (28) juutiaʔa pisa na'na'pypyaʔakaa.  
 yuu=tiaʔa pisa na~nna-pi~biaʔa-kaa  
 this.way=thusly good DISTR~MID-PL~friend-have  
 'Be friendly to each other.'
- (29) jai'sisaa katuʔi hi'maatui matai mani'mina'kaa.  
 yaisi=saa ka=tuʔi=himma=tui madai mani-mmna-kaa  
 then=later ACC=any=what=any achieve do-go.along-away  
 'And then gradually they will learn how to make anything.'
- (30) [kaʔm] u'my taipootia'kaa mai nymypaa mani'si mi, mai nymypaa  
 pi'ty'si kapaa ʔuna'paamana'kwana.  
 ummi taibo=tia=kaa mai nimi-ba  
 they white.person=thusly=PTC DEM person-by  
 mani-si mii mai nimi-ba  
 do-SEQ QUOT DEM person-by  
 pitti-si ka=baa una  
 arrive:DUR-SEQ ACC=water yonder  
 paa-ma-nakwa-na  
 water-upon-direction-PTCP  
 '“The white people themselves (will do this) when they join the people here,” he said, “when they come from overseas to the people here.”'

- (31) saajai'si, pisa u'mynoo nahai'cikaana mytymácaina, pisa  
 myma'týkyna u'mypaa?jutua.  
 saa=yaisi pisa ummi-noo na-haitsi-kaa-na  
 later=then good they-WITH MID-friend-have-PTCP  
 mi=timadzai-na pisa mi=ma-tigi-na  
 PL=help-PTCP good PL=IP/HAND-put:SG-PTCP  
 ummi-ba-?yu-dua  
 they-by-from-IRR  
 'And later on be good friends with them and help them, treat them  
 well and unite with them.'
- (32) kasaajai'si ka?u'káutia?a moí'ykaa'su tii'pykupa ni'matáimi'py,  
 u'kau noo?o'ko manamuamina mi kani'ni námuami'py mi.  
 ka=saa yaisi ka=u-ka-u=tia?a moi'i-gaa-su  
 ACC=later then ACC=3SG-ACC-FOC=thusly first-away-ADV  
 tiipi-guba ni=mmadaimi-pi u-ka-u  
 earth-upon 1PL.EXCL:ACC=achieve-PERF 3SG-ACC-FOC  
 noo?oko manamua-mina mii  
 all-ACC do.repeatedly-go.and QUOT  
 ka=ni=nni-namuami-pi mii  
 ACC=1PL.EXCL:ACC -IP/SPEECH-happen-PERF QUOT  
 'And then later, what we brought about on the first earth, all that we  
 have talked about, they (the people now) have to bring to pass.'
- (33) u'kau noo?o'ko mataimina.  
 u-ka-u noo?o-ko madai-mina.  
 3SG-ACC-FOC all-ACC achieve-go.along  
 'All that they are (now) accomplishing little by little.'
- (34) nynysu tymáta?i mi nasu?jykwimina.  
 ini-su ti-mada?i mii na-su-?yigwi-mina  
 INT-ADV ANTIP-achieve:DUR QUOT MID-IP/MIND-do-go.along  
 'They think of themselves as achieving a great deal.'
- (35) nyy ny ny hi'ma so'pita'kwatuna.  
 nñ ini himma sopidakwatu-na  
 I INT what know-PTCP  
 'I really know everything.'
- (36) noo?o'ko hi'ma uuna'kwa nyy mani'mina mi nasu?jykwina.  
 noo?o-ko himma uu=nakwa nñ mani-mmina  
 all-ACC what like.so=direction I do-go.along  
 mii na-su-?yigwi-na  
 QUOT MID-IP/MIND-do-PTCP  
 'I can do anything better than anybody else,' he thinks of himself.'

- (37) saajai'si tuu kaʔunáa umacá'suʔamina, kawahámano'kwai'ty,  
 óʔno'kwai'ty to'mo manipi'tykaa'si.  
 saa=yaisi tuu ka=una u=madzasuʔa-mina  
 later=then also ACC=out.there 3SG:ACC=complete-go.along  
 ka=wahamanokwai-ti ooʔno-kwai-ti tommo  
 ACC=two.thousand-LOC at.the.time-AREA-LOC winter  
 mani-piti-kaa-si  
 do-arrive-away-SEQ  
 'And then finally it is about to be done, when it is getting close to  
 (the end of) the two thousand years.'
- (38) nyy syta mymanípi'tykaa'si ónosaʔa tuu i'ka tii'py a'tasu jykwitua  
 míkajai'si yná'kwi.  
 nñ sita mi=mani-piti-gaa-si oono=saʔa tuu  
 I bad PL=do-arrive-away-SEQ at.the.time=later also  
 i-ka tiipi atasu yigwi-dua mii=ka=yaisi  
 PROX-ACC earth different do-IRR QUOT=ACC=then  
 inakwi  
 say  
 'When they get worse, then finally I will change this earth,' that is  
 what he said.'
- (39) jai'si kaitiyaʔa mytyy'kwi nyysaʔa, uu'saa nyy kaja ajykwítua mi kai  
 yna'kwi.  
 yaisi kai=tiáʔa mi=tiikwi ni=saʔa  
 then NEG=thusly PL=tell I=MOD  
 uu=saa nñ ka=yaa a=yigwi-dua  
 like.so=MOD I ACC=this.way 4=do-IRR  
 mii kai inakwi  
 QUOT NEG say  
 'But he did not tell them: "I shall treat it that way this time," that he  
 did not say.'
- (40) oo a'tasu nyy apytýčykwi'ku'su katii'py mí'syʔmy yna'kwi mi.  
 oo atasu nñ a=pidi-čikwi-ku-su  
 DEM different I 4=recent-do-PROSP-ADV  
 ka=tiipi mii=síʔmi inakwi mii  
 ACC=earth QUOT=only say QUOT  
 "Then I will make the world over in a different way," was all he  
 said.'
- (41) mynymy'jai'si mi uni'sú'piča mymuʔa'su nymyka kunatypiŋana.  
 mi=nimi=yaisi mii u=ni-supiča  
 PL=person=then QUOT 3SG:ACC=IP/SPEECH-consider

mi=múʔasu nimi=ga ku=na-dibiŋa-na  
 PL=already person=MOD ACC=MID-recount-PTCP

‘People then wonder about it, as the old time people told about it.’

- (42) haʔukainasaʔa ajykwítua’ti.  
 haʔu gaina=səʔa a=yigwi-dua-ti  
 how INFER=later 4=do-IRR-TNS  
 ‘What is he going to do with it later?’
- (43) kamuiʔyka’su pyy oo atynái’ku mi tuʔi yni’si jai’si kai atynáina  
 apa’tá’co’pa’ky miitiaʔa.  
 ka=muiʔiga-su=bii oo a=tinai-ku mii tuʔi  
 ACC=first-ADV=as.for DEM 4=burn-PROSP QUOT try  
 ini-si yaisi kai a=tinai-na  
 say-SEQ then NEG 4=burn-PTCP  
 a=patatsopa-ki mii=tiaʔa  
 4=drown-APPL QUOT=thusly  
 ‘First he said that he was going to burn it, that is what he tried to say;  
 but he did not burn it; it was put under water, it is said.’
- (44) já’ty’kwaikasaʔa haʔuu.  
 Yaa ti-kwai=ka=səʔa haʔ=uu  
 here ANTIP-AREA=ACC=later QU=like.so  
 ‘How will it be this time?’
- (45) haʔuukasa’a uu’su ajykwítua py’tyjá’tykwaikaa pyy atynái’ku mi  
 u’mý asy’kwíni’su’piča.  
 haʔuu=ga=səʔa uu=su a=yigwi-dua  
 how=MOD=MOD like.so=EMPH 4=do-IRR  
 pi=tiyati-kwai=gaa pii a=tinai-ku  
 PRO=??-AREA=MOD RESTR 4=burn-PROSP  
 mii ummi a=sikwi-ni-supiča  
 QUOT they 4=only-IP/SPEECH-want  
 ‘‘I wonder if he is going to do the same with it, or if it is this time he  
 is going to burn it,’’ that is what they guess.’
- (46) ó’tia já’ty’kwai u’su atynái’si katujai’si hii mani’ku.  
 oo=tia yaa-ti-kwai u-su a=tinai-si  
 DEM=thusly here-LOC-AREA 3SG-NOM 4=burn-SEQ  
 kaduʔu=yaisi hii mani-ku  
 gone=then thing do-PROSP  
 Listener: ‘And if he burns it this time, will he destroy everything?’
- (47) oo, ooʔno’to u’suu naatywiʔŋa.  
 oo ooʔno-to u-su naatiwiʔŋa  
 DEM long.ago-LOC 3SG-NOM story  
 ‘That is as far as the story goes.’