Fort Mcdermitt Reservation (Mcdermitt, Nevada)

Tim Thornes
Boise State University
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BOISE STATE UNIVERSITY

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 STORY¹

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 /ɨ/. In the Americanist tradition, the alveolar and alveopalatal affricates are represented as <ç> 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).

¹ 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 ynyy na’siity naatykwina’kwai’ty natykwina’ku.
aha nii ka=naatsi ini na–si–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’yju.
 ummi kutsu–тика ka=yai si una–u nobi–ka’yyu
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’yju
 una–u nobi–kaa–na mi=pabi?i–gaa
out.there–FOC house–have–PTCP PL=elder.brother–have
 waa–hu padi–mi–ga’yyu
two–ACC daughter–PL–have
‘They lived somewhere, and their chief had two daughters.’

(4) tu’i hakatuui u’katuu’kwanj’i kwii’si’ky’ti nami’ku mynot’y’kwakaa’ku
 miikaa na?yna’kwi, u’su my’papi?i miu yna’kwi.
tu’i=ha=ga=ti u–ka tuu–kwanj’i kwissi–ki–ti
any=who=any 3SG–ACC black–fox capture–APPL–TNS
 nami–ku mi=nodikwa–gaa–ku mi=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) mynymýjai’si katuu’kwanj’i utuihy’za.
mí=ními=yai si ka=tuu–kwanj’i u=tiu–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’si’ky’ti.
   u=tui–hia–na   kai   u=wissi–ki–ti
‘They tried to trap him, but they could not catch him.’

(7) u’su ynyy na’siity naa’cika ka’tyhu’cino unau nopi’ka?ju.
   u–su   ini   na–sii–di   naatsi=ga
3SG–NOM INT MID–urinate–NMLZ  boy=MOD
   ka=tì=hutsì?i–noo   una–u   nobi–ka?yu
   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’cì?i ni’ta’ma yy’sa’kwa, ihu’cì?i mana’ty
   hi’maa iwanàtu’ky [nyy u?] nyy uhya’ku miika.
   u–su   ka=yaisi   mi–u   ka=tì=hutsì?i
3SG–NOM  ACC=then QUOT–FOC  ACC=LOGO=grandmother
   nitamma   iì=sakwa   i=hutsì?i
   tell   you=MOD  1SG.POSS=grandmother
   manati   himma   i=wana–tu–ki
   some   what
   1SG:ACC=trap–make–APPL
   nìi   u=hia–ku   mìi=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’sì’kywa?ni?ju, nymy pisa?jua’pa kai ukwi’sì’ky’ti
   nanana uhya’paana jai’si sa’kwa?yy hau mani miika uni’táma.
   himma kai   u=kwissi–ki–wa?ni–?yu   nimi
   what NEG 3SG:ACC=capture–APPL–SIMIL–NOM  person
   pìa?=yu=apa   kai   u=kwissi–ki–ti
   good–NOM=MOD NEG 3SG:ACC=capture–APPL–TNS
   na–nana   u=hia’–paana   yaisi=sakwa=?ìi
   PL~man 3SG:ACC=trap–PROH then=MOD=you
   hau mani   mìi=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’cikaa uninóojy’kwì.
   su=naatsi=ga   u=nì–noo–yikwi
   NOM=boy=MOD  3SG:ACC=IP/SPEECH–carry–HAB
‘But the boy continued to beg her.’
(11) ynyyiti’tui iwanátu’ky miika.

irei=ti 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’cîkajai’i (ka’?), ka’ty’kawónoma’ty kauwy’kwýy’ky ú’ni’ku

hi’má kwa’sy’py kawónokaana.

u=hutsii ka=yaisi ka=ti=kawono–mati
3SG.POSS=pat.grandmother ACC=then ACC=LOGO=basket–PART
ka=wi–kwi–ki uuni–ku himma
ACC=3SG:ACC=IP/LONG=grasp–APPL 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.’

(13) jai’i, sunaa’ci unaa uhyatia?a katuukwanjí’i uhya’tua.

yaisi su=naatsi una u=hai=tia?’a
then NOM=boy out.there 3SG:ACC=trap=thusly
ka=tuu–kwají’i u=hai–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’i 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’ci’i oo mí’a’su.

u=kwissi–ki–u su=naatsi?’i oo mú?’asu
3SG:ACC=capture–APPL–PFV NOM=boy DEM already

‘There the boy had already caught him.’

(16) [u’mý a’papí?]i a’papí ’patymy nami’ku mynotý’kwatu,
nazatimitia?a.

ummi a=pabi?’i a=pabi?’i padi–mi
they 4=elder.brother 4=elder.brother daughter–PL
nami–ku mi=nodíkwa–tu na–dzatimi=tia’?a
both–ACC PL=wife–make MID–provide=thusly

‘The chief’s daughters, both of them, he married; they were given (to
him).’

2 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 hapí’kaa.
   su=naatsi mi–noo hapí–kaa
   NOM=boy PL–COM lie:SG–away
   Listener: ‘Did the boy sleep with them?’

(19) sunaa’ci mýnoo hapí’kaa.
   su=naatsi mi–noo hapí–kaa
   NOM=boy PL–COM lie:SG–away
   ‘The boy slept with them.’

(20) u’mynoo hapí’kaa’si jai’si u’mykupa’tu na’sii.
   ummi–noo hapí–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’pýyw’na’tu
   upiwo?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=biwo?ya–kwinaí–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’tákmana.
   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’ńikaa kai mi?a u’mypaa?juna.
   u–su  u=pinniʔi=ga kai mi?a
   3SG–NOM 3SG.POSS=younger.sister=MOD NEG go:DUR
   ummi–baa–ʔyu–na
   they–by–from–PTCP
   ‘The younger sister did not go from them.’

(25) u’su u’py’ńikaa oo kuhu’cìpaa’sutiaʔa.
   u–su  u=pinniʔi=gaa oo
   3SG–NOM 3SG.POSS=younger.sister=MOD DEM
   ka=hutsiʔi–baa–su=tiaʔa
   ACC=grandmother–by–ADV=thusly
   ‘The younger sister remained there with his father’s mother.’

(26) sunaa’citia kaʔoono jakana miu yʔnaʔwi’si, una kuta’kwama’tu miʔa.
    su=naatsi=tia ka=ʔoono yaka–na mi–u
    NOM=boy=thusly ACC=at.the.time cry–PTCP QUOT–FOC
    iʔnaʔwi–si una kudakwa–ma–tu miʔa
    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 napiwoʔja’kwynaiu’si.
    oo=kaa na–biwoʔya–kwinai–u–si
    like.so=MOD MID–drag–throw:SG–PFV–SEQ
   Listener: ‘Was that when he was dragged out?’

(28) oo’kaa napiwoʔja’kwynaiu’si.
    oo=kaa na–biwoʔya–kwinai–u–si
    like.so=MOD MID–drag–throw:SG–PFV–SEQ
   ‘That was when he was dragged out.’

(29) unaʔju’najai’si sunaa’ci, jakana miu yʔnaʔwi.
    una–ʔyu–ʔna=yaisi su=naatsi yaka–na mi–u
    out.there–from–PTCP=then NOM=boy cry–PTCP QUOT–FOC
    iʔnaʔwi
    talk
    ‘Somewhere over there the boy was crying and talking.’

(30) jakana miu yʔnaʔwina jono’kaa’si.
    yaka–na mi–u iʔnaʔwi–na jono–kaa–si
    cry–PTCP QUOT–FOC talk–PTCP evening–away–SEQ
    ‘He was crying and talking until it got late in the evening.’
Then anything that could be (regarded as) property came to him, anything that was good to be owned.

Just anything, arrows for one thing, and good juniper bows were piling up around him, blankets, all kinds of things.

And even cattle and horses too.

And then early in the morning the boy drove them toward his home.

‘His belongings?’

‘Anything that gathered there by him.’
(38) u’su uhu’cíka ka’šyáty’mynoo ói?juna, awamu?a kamiu, hii nyjyjiwa’ny miika.
   u–su  u=hutsí?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’ti 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
   MID–herd–toward–PTCP
   iwa–?yu  mii=ga
   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 mymahy’pi’ty.
   uu=sapa  oo  oo  su=ñaatsi  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, tyna’ca’sitia u’my utykána.
   oo=çaisi  nobi–kaa–na
   DEM=then  house–have–PTCP
   ti–patsa–si=tia
   MID–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’maimootyçai’si pi’tytiia mynymýpaa kočy’pi’ty.
   ummi  kutsu–mai–moo–di=çaisi  pitti=tia
   they  cow–do–RNDM:PL–NMLZ=then  arrive=thusly
   mi=nimi–baa  koč–pitti
   PL=person–by  return–arrive

   ‘And then those who herded cattle came and returned to the people.’

(44) u’mykajai’si sučahitia 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’miyjai’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
    piṭi–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
teacher.in.law said.’

(47) kamynáa’ciṭa. 
    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’tu’si jai’si kaʔu’sú u’nánápypaty, upaa tuʔi’pi’tyu. 
    ummi–baa piṭi–u–si yaisi ka u–su
    them–by arrive–PFV–SEQ then and 3SG–NOM
   ‘They came to them, and she, his oldest daughter, tried to come to
him.’

(50) oo’ty hi’matia mapi’ciapiaynyn, hau y ynyy i’ka sosi pisa ha’ni
    miika yina ka’ty’py’ní ni’tamana, pyy oí namapita’kwapaawynyna. 
    oo–ti  himma=tia mabitsabi–wini–na hau ñ
    DEM–LOC what=thusly arrange–PROG:SG–PTCP how you
    ini i–ka sosi pisa hanní
    INT PROX–ACC froth good prepare
    mii=ga  ini–na  ka=ti=pínníʔi
    QUOT=thusly say–PTCP ACC=LOGO=sis
    nittama–na pií oí na–mabidakwabaa–wini–na
    tell–PTCP RESTR DEM–obstruct–PROG:SG–PTCP
   ‘There she was busy putting things in order, and she said: “Why
don’t you take care this sosí?” So she told her younger sister,
while she herself was in their way.’
(51) oo hii’tu susosí?
DEM thing—to NOM=froth
Listener: ‘What is that sosí?’

(52) oo’su a’tyká’ mawyny’ kupa’ kwai’ty saa, a’ poo’siwyny’ na.
a=poosi–wini–nna
‘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.
3SG–NOM–FOC QUOT–FOC–MID call
‘That is what is called its sosí.’

(54) u’kau wy’kitana.
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.
then you=thusly 3SG:ACC=send–THROW:SG=then
nimmi–kuba–?yu–na nomi–ča–si yaa
I1PL.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) [nya] nyy akumáka?ju kai yy’mikajai’ si katya’hmaá ni’tá’ma.
ií a=guma–ga–?yu kai íi 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’ máá hi’ kwá’ na manai tywa.
like.so=MOD NOM=elder.sister 3SG–send
‘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’ci?i, oo’kaa tu?i hii’sa’paka u’ka utymáca?i ú’ni’ku hii’pi
  ka?oo.
 oo=su naatsí?i oo=kaa tu?i=hii=sapa=ga
DEM=EMPH boy DEM=ACC any=thing=MOD=MOD
  u–ka u=timadza?í uuni–ku hiipi
  3SG–ACC 3SG:ACC=help.TR that.kind–ACC whatever
  ka=?oo
ACC=DEM
  ‘The boy there, I wonder what(ever) it was that helped him (to get)
that kind of possessions.’

(61) ty’tyha y?na?wi tu?í mífia ka’súnámina hii’sa’pa u’kau uhiima’ka.
titiha i?na?wi tu?í mìi=tìa 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 y?na?wi.
yaga–na mi–u i?na?wi
cry–PTCP QUOT–FOC express
Listener: ‘He cried and said (something).’

(64) uu’su hii nanasu’kwykai symtui manai’titia?a.
uu=su hii nanasukwigai simi=tui manaiti=tìa’a
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 nanasukwigai–di mìi na–nitama–di
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 sunatý kwiŋ apa ma
   uu su hii su–na–dɨ kwiŋ aba ma~mani
   like.so 5 EMPH thing NOM 5 MID–recount DISTR~do–go
   ‘That is something the stories tell about, and that happens sometimes.’

(69) ó’nojai’si sunymýpyy, kahi’ma nawaha kai uniʔi-Token’ky’ti.
   oono=yaisi su=nimi=biı ka=himma na–waha
   at.the.time=then NOM=person=FOC ACC=what MID–tell
   kai u=ni–ʔi岑u–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 uniʔi-Token’kyna jai’si, sunymýsa’kwa kaʔuu tapya, waha’ma
   kwynyna waahu tuu py’takaana pui’kaana woo’kaa, mi
   nani’tamapaana oʔuu tapy’a sunymy.
   kai u=ni–ʔi岑u–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 pita–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 onaatykwina’tu.
   utugu miʔa o=naa–tikwina–tu
   that.direction go:DUR 3SG:ACC=MID–recount–ALL
   ‘He goes through the tales.’
u’tuku miana kaʔuu tapyʔa, unaʔyiniʔpywaʔni.

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.’

na’na’sytatywau ta’tapya’ku míhaʔa.

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?’

ja’i’si, óʔnokajai’si kamiu.
yaisi óo=ga=yaisi ka=mi–u
then long.ago=MOD=then ACC=QUOT–FOC

‘And then . . . once upon a time (somebody) said it.’

sunymý tu’kaa uniʔóíču’ky’paana oo u’tuku miʔa upuní’paana kai

uniʔóíču’ky’ti py’mi tytty’kwi’ja’pa tywau kai uniʔóíču’ky’ti mi.
su=nimi=tui=kaa u=ni–ʔóíču–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–ʔóíiču–ki–ti pimmi
NEG 3SG:ACC=IP/SPEECH–believe–APPL–TNS they
ti–diikwi=ʔyapa
DISTR–tell=PTC
tiwau kai u=ni–ʔóíču–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.’

mi sunymý nani’ta’ma.
mii su=nimi na–nitamma
QUOT NOM=person MID–tell

‘That is what is told about man.’

ja’i’si, kahi’ma hau mani’si tuu (kam) oo nymywaʔnisu

mani’kwy’sia’pa kai uniʔóíču’ky’ti usu’píta’kwatu’paana mí tywau.
yaisi ka=himma hau mani–si tuu
then ACC=what hau do–SEQ also
oo nimi–waʔni–su mani–kwí–si=apa
DEM person–SIMIL–ADV do–FUT–SEQ=MOD
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) kaijai’si hii ka?u’káu nattykwînapa ‘nawaha’na.
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.’

NEG who 3SG–ACC–FOC like.so beside do–SIMIL–NOM
Nothing can surpass them.’

(80) uuni?ju.
that.kind–NOM
‘That is how it is.’

(81) oo’kaa mú?asu ka?=u–suu na–tiikwíjaba
DEM=MOD already ACC=3SG–NOM MID–tell
su?=isa ka?=idza?a–nno
NOM=wolf ACC=coyote–COM
‘That was the stories of the early days, (about) Wolf and Coyote.’

(82) kahi’máa miu.
ACC=what QUOT–FOC
‘Whatever they said.’

(83) suhii nani’nawamina nani’nawamina.
na–nna–wami–na
‘Anything that is talked and talked about.’

(84) nani’maama’kumina mí, nani’maama’kwymina mí, noo?juna
nani’namuapi’tykaa’si, nani’maama’ku’si jai’si tuu, o
namama’ku’py mi, noo?juna hii namama’ku’py hii uu
mani’pyni’ku mii na?yí’i si mi.
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

PETE SNAPP, NARRATOR

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.
DISTR~MID–fight.against–PTCP like.so do/act–PTCP then

3 Recorded by Sven Liljeblad in 1962, Fort McDermitt Indian Reservation.
They were busy fighting each other, but then their Father did not like it, not at all.

(3) óčai’si ky’ma?asu mannymytu’ku mi ynina.

‘So then he said: “I will create another (world).”’

(4) jai’si, hausa’kwa nyy, i’katii’py sa’kwan’yy hau atynáí mitia?a.

‘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.

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


‘He did not burn it.’

(8) o’noo’o’ko mynymý’no’ko.

Listener: ‘All of it including the people?’
(9) oʔoi’kuapa.
everything
‘Everything.’

(10) i’sujai’si paumana u manina paumana u maninajai’si isuji’py pa’ta’co’paka?a.
PROX=NOM=then rain=PTCP like.so do=PTCP rain=PTCP
‘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.
IP/WATER=IP/FOOT=sink=away
‘It was slowly going under water one thing after the other, until everything was covered.’

(12) u’su hući’ai’si, katti’py pata’copi’taupi’tykaa’si, kau’ká ko’pi’topy kwymajai’si kaʔóó kaʔutýka’ytyt’kuty’kwai ja.
3SG=NOM sagehen=then ACC=earth
‘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 utoyka’ytyt Tall Mountain.’

(13) oo uta’máky’nana [uha’máha] uta’mánapina uta’máky’nata’pi.
DEM 3SG:ACC=hold.down=PTCP
‘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) upuhitapina jai’si, oo u’su o’no’kaa u’su jaa u’ku’tá ‘na?u’na’kwai’ty [kanai] nai’pyka’yju ku’pi’ta’pytia?a.
   u=puuhi–dabi–na  
   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 ujykwína suhucí’si kako’sótiya?a oo kai umatú’ki’kyna.
   oo uu u=yikwi–na su=hudzi=čaisi  
   DEM like.so 3SG:ACC=carr–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 ti’py oi mani’si, u’kau sunymy’pi’ta.
   u–su=yaïsi ka=i–ka–u  
   3SG–NOM=then ACC=PROX–ACC–FOC earth DEM do–SEQ
   tiipi oi mani–si
   u–ka–u  
   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 hucí’kaa’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
"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.
DEM PROX–ACC person freeze–PROSP

Listener: ‘Then people would freeze to death.’

(21) oo ha’ua’pakaa ika mynymy’ ma’kupa’ty moo’tapya ikaa’kaa,
DEM how=any=MOD PROX–ACC PL=person DEF–upon–LOC
u’ka ko’so katu?u’ku.

‘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’só o nymytia?a upi’tá.

‘That is how the fire was saved, and now people burn it.’

(23) wo?i’tu mi yni’si uma’ku pitau.
fi redrill 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’sótua’si napitau.

‘He rolled it between his hands, and when sparks were formed fire was made.’
(25) o?oho u’suu.
DEM 3SG–NOM–FOC
‘That was it.’

(26) jai’si ó’nojai’si kamiu ka?i’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
tiip–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).’

nama?na?wina.
ya – u čuuusa?a ka = iwi – ?yu – na
here–FOC this. way ACC = DEM–from–PTCP
MID–do–PERF–SIMIL–ADV PROX–ACC
earth–upon–LOC MID–do–PTCP
‘From now on the same that was done here before will be done on this
earth.’

(28) juutia?a pisa na’na’yppya?akaa.
this. way = thusly good DISTR–MID–PL–friend–have
‘Be friendly to each other.’

(29) jai’sisaa katu?i hi’maatui matai mani’mina’kaa.
yaisi = saa ka = tu?i = himma = tui madai mani–mmina–kaa
then = later ACC = any = what = any achieve do–go.along–away
‘And then gradually they will learn how to make anything.’

(30) [ka?m] u’my taipootia’kaa mai nymypaa mani’si mi, mai nymypaa
pi’ty’si kapaa ?una’paamana’kwana.
rumi 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’tykyna 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’kàutia?a moi’ykaa’su tii’pykupa ni’matáimi’py,
   u’kau noo?o’ko manamuamina mi kani’ni námuami’py mi.
   ka=saa yaisi ka=ú–ka–ú=tiá?a moi’i–gaa–su
   ACC=later then ACC=3SG–ACC—FOC=thusly first—away—ADV
   tiipi–guba ni=mmadaimi–pi u–ka–ú
   earth—upon 1PL.EXCL:ACC=achieve—PERF 3SG–ACC—FOC
   noo?oko manamua–mina mii
   all—ACC do.repeatedly—go.and QUOT
   ka=nii=nami–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.
   3SG–ACC—FOC all—ACC achieve—go.along
   ‘All that they are (now) accomplishing little by little.’

(34) ynyysu tymáta?i mi nasu?jykwimina.
   ini–su ti–mada?i mii na–su–?ygwi–mina
   INT—ADV ANTIP—achieve:DUR QUOT MID—IP/MIND—do—go.along
   ‘They think of themselves as achieving a great deal.’

(35) nyy nyy hi’ma so’pita’kwatuna.
   nii 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 nii mani–mmina
   all—ACC what like.so=direction I do—go.along
   mii na–su–?ygwi–na
   QUOT MID—IP/MIND—do—PTCP
   ‘I can do anything better than anybody else,” he thinks of himself.’
(37) saajai’si tuu ka?unáa umacá’su?amina, kawahámano’kwai’ty, ó?no’kwai’ty to’mo manipi’tykaa’si.
saa=yaisi tuu ka=una u=madzasu?a–mina
later=then also ACC=out.there 3SG:ACC=complete–go.along
ka=wahamanokwai–ti oo?no–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 ónosa’a tuu i’ka tií’py a’tasu jywítua
míkajai’si yná’kwi.
níi sita mi=mani–piti–gaa–si oono=sa?a 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 kaitiya’a mytyy’kwi nyyysa’a, uu’saa nyy kaja ajywítua mi kai
yna’kwi.
yaisi kai=tia’a mi=tiikwi ni=sa?a
then NEG=thusly PL=tell I=MOD
uu=saa níi 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 aptyýčkwi’ku’su katii’py mi’sy?my yna’kwi mi.
 oo atasu níi a=pidi–čikwi–ku–su
DEM different I 4=recent–do–PROSP–ADV
ka=tiipi mii=si?mi inakwi mii
ACC=earth QUOT=only say QUOT
‘“Then I will make the world over in a different way,” was all he
said.’

(41) mynmy’jai’si mi uni’sú’piča mymu’a’su nymyka kunatypíñana.
mi=nimi=yaisi mii u=ní–supiča
PL=person=then QUOT 3SG:ACC=IP/SPEECH–consider
People then wonder about it, as the old time people told about it.

What is he going to do with it later?

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.

‘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.

‘And if he burns it this time, will he destroy everything?’

‘That is as far as the story goes.’