

4-2020

Fort Mcdermitt Reservation (Mcdermitt, Nevada)

Tim Thornes
Boise State University

FORT McDERMITT RESERVATION (McDERMITT, NEVADA)

TIM THORNES

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 /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).

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 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 ì=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'táma.
 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*.²
- (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).'

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 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 ni'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'mi
 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 mhaʔa.
 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~dīkwi=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'pita'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 MYTH³

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

³ 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) tywauusa'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
 kwymajai'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'sotau'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 nyy 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 kunatypiņana.
 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=sáʔa 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=sáʔa 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=sáʔa 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.’