

THE ORIGINAL COUPLE

Siko

Free Translation

This story is about the Yima Indians. This is the village [Santana, an old Jarawara village] where the Yimas killed people. They went and got the Bato Yafi [i.e. Banawá] people [to help them fight the Yimas] and came back and arrived back. They came back. "I used to eat my cousin's food. I'm going to get revenge for my cousin [who was killed by the Yimas]," he said. So he set out to get revenge for his cousin. He called the others to go along. He took them. They killed people far away, downstream.

Then the Yimas came to fight against them. Their weapons were spears. They didn't have arrows. The Yimas speared them with spears.

Then he [a Jarawara] went out hunting. He started back. He shot some animals with a blowgun. He covered up the animals in the forest. He went on and shot some more animals with the blowgun, and covered them up. He went on and shot some more animals. He tied them by their waists. He tied the animals along the trail as he came home. [The monkeys were tied in series by their waists, and the whole string was held on the man's back by a band around his forehead.] He came back.

He didn't like the woman, who he was to marry. [But he had to marry her, because they were the only two Jarawaras left.] She went after him in the forest. The Yimas had shot them with arrows. The Yima shot her with an arrow, and she fell. But she wasn't dead. She lay there alive. She smeared herself all over with her menstrual blood. The Yima looked at her as she lay there. She appeared to take a long time to die, but then appeared to die. He poked something into her nostril, so she would sneeze. He really poked her nostril. He poked her, but she just lay there as if she were dead. But she wasn't dead. He hit her repeatedly with a piece of wood [to see if she would cry out]. "I think she's dead," he said.

"Where is my knife?" he called to the others. It was to cut her up with.

"We are all carrying game," they said. [They were loaded down with dead Jarawaras, and didn't want to stop.]

"Bring a knife for me." He changed his mind and went. He looked at her [wondering whether she had really died], and then got some logs. He covered her with the logs. He held her down with the logs. He looked at her again, and then left.

He went. "Haloo," he said.

"We are going home. We got game," they said. They left.

He didn't bring the knife back. He came back. As he was coming back, she threw off the logs. She went running away. She went into a hole in the ground. She quickly got a leaf and put it over the mouth of the hole. She stayed inside.

He came back, and then cried out in anger. "Oh, no! I didn't realize my game was going to go away!" he said. "My game, that I was going to eat!" He stopped crying out.

Then he called the girl, making believe he was her mother. "Hata, Hata, the Yimas have gone." But it was the Yima himself who was calling.

He looked for her but couldn't find her. When it was getting dark, he went after the others. He argued with them. He criticized them. "You didn't bring a knife for me, and my game went away. I got mad and came after you," he said. He yelled at them.

Meanwhile, the one the Jarawara didn't like went to him. She waited for him at the place where the game were covered up. He came, carrying the other game. When he saw her, he averted his glance.

"Go ahead, don't look at me. Our parents are dead. The Yimas killed our parents," she said. "They killed and then went away," she said.

He grabbed some arrows, and went running back to the village. He arrived. He called out. He called the Yimas. He went after them and called. He came back. He went back to where the woman was in the forest.

"Bring my ball of twine for making hammocks. The ball of twine is hanging there where I always sit," she said. He heard what she said and went back and took down the twine. He came back carrying the ball of twine.

He cut up the game during the night after he got back. He roasted the game during the night. He roasted the game until they were done, and called his wife, his wife-to-be. He ate with her as her husband. "Dare I eat what you killed with your arrow poison?" she asked. [She was menstruating, and was afraid this would make the unused arrow poison ineffectual.]

"Go ahead and eat what the poison killed. That batch of poison is all gone," he said. [When he would make a new batch, there was no danger of her period ruining it.] So his wife ate. They ate. His wife weaved a hammock at night, they didn't have a hammock. They slept in it a little while. Morning came. They ate in the morning, and left.

They went and lived in another place. He had children. He had two sons. He had children again, two more sons. Then he had daughters. After his daughters came last, after he had their coming out feast, he told his sons to marry them. "Marry your younger sisters. There is no one to marry. Marry your younger sisters," he said, ordering his daughters also to marry. He told his own sons to marry. He told his sons to marry, and they married their sisters. After they had children, their children married each other. Then their numbers increased again. They all got married, and he had his sons marry, and they married.

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Interlinear Presentation

1											
Yima									mati.		
yima									mati		
(tribe_name)									3PL		
nm									***		
'The Yimas.'											
2											
Yima			me		ihi			iti, na			
yima			me		ihi			iti na			
(tribe_name)			3PL.POSS		result_of+F			kill AUX			
nm			***		pn			vi ***			
towemetemone			me		tabori		amake		haro.		
to- ha -hemete -mone			me		tabori		ama -ke		haro		
CH- AUX -FP.N+F -REP+F			3PL.POSS		place+F		be -DECL+F		that_one+F		
****- *** -****			****		***		pn vc -****		***		
'This is the village where the Yimas killed people.'											
3											
Ee,	bato		yafi	me	me	me	me, me	me	bato	yafi	
ee	bato		yafi	me	me	me	me me	me	bato	yafi	
(pause)	downstream		people	3PL	3PL	3PL	3PL 3PL	3PL	downstream	people	
interj	nf		n	***	***	***	*** ***	***	nf	n	
me	me,	me	tokoma					me,	bato	yafi	
me	me	me	to-	ka		-ma		me	bato	yafi	
3PL.S	3PL.S	3PL.S	away-	go/come		-back+F		3PL.S	downstream	people	
***	***	***	****-	vi		-****		***	nf	n	
me	me,	totiwite						me	kama		
me	me	to-	iti			-witI		me	ka	-ma	
3PL.O	3PL.S	away-	take_out			-out		3PL.S	go/come	-back+F	
***	***	****-	vt			-****		***	vi	-****	
me,	me	kama						me	kobo	nama	me
me	me	ka				-ma		me	kobo	na -ma	me
3PL.S	3PL.S	go/come				-back+F		3PL.S	arrive	AUX -back+F	3PL.S
***	***	vi				-****		***	vi	*** -****	***
kobo namemetemoneke.											
kobo	na	-ma				-hemete -mone -ke					
arrive	AUX	-back				-FP.N+F -REP+F -DECL+F					
vi	***	-****				-**** -**** -****					
'They went and got the Bato Yafis and came back and arrived back.'											

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4

Kobo nama me, Okati,
 kobo na -ma me o- ka ati
 arrive AUX -back+F 3PL.S 1SG.POSS- POSS older_sister
 vi *** -*** *** -***- *** nf
Okati tafe okobate.
 o- ka ati tafe o- kaba -te
 1SG.POSS- POSS older_sister food+F 1SG.S- eat -HAB
 - *** nf pn ***- vt -

"They came back. "I used to eat my cousin's food."

5

Okati okati
 o- ka ati o- ka ati
 1SG.POSS- POSS older_sister 1SG.POSS- POSS older_sister
 ***- *** nf ***- *** nf
tafe okobate ama oke.
 tafe o- kaba -te ama o- ke
 food+F 1SG.S- eat -HAB SEC 1SG.S- DECL+F
 pn ***- vt -*** *** -***- ***

"I used to eat my cousin's food."

6

Okati manakone owabana
 o- ka ati manakone o- awa -habana
 1SG.POSS- POSS older_sister price 1SG.S- see -FUT+F
 - *** nf pn ***- vt -
oke ati nematamonaka.
 o- ke ati na -himata -mona -ka
 1SG.S- DECL+F say AUX -FP.N+M -REP+M -DECL+M
 - *** vt *** - -*** -***

"I am going to get revenge for my cousin," he said.'

7

Faya, hinakati manakone awebona yana
 faya hina ka ati manakone awa -hibona yana
 so 3sPOSS POSS older_sister price see -INT+M start
 *** *** *** nf pn vt -*** vi
tonematamonane.
 to- na -himata -mona -ne
 CH- AUX -FP.N+M -REP+M -BKG+M
 - *** - -*** -***

'So he set out to get revenge for his cousin.'

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8

Mera hima nematamonaka.
 mera hima na -himata -mona -ka
 3PL.O call AUX -FP.N+M -REP+M -DECL+M
 *** vt *** -*** -*** -***

'He called the others to go along.'

9

Mera hima ne, mera hima ne mera
 mera hima na mera hima na mera
 3PL.O call AUX+M 3PL.O call AUX+M 3PL.O
 *** vt *** *** vt *** ***

towake, me ihi
 to- ka- ka me ihi
 away- COMIT- go/come+M 3PL.POSS result_of+F
 ***- ***- vi *** pn

itimetemone amake ahi hike ya
 iti -hemete -mone ama -ke ahi hike ya
 kill -FP.N+F -REP+F SEC -DECL+F there far ADJUNCT
 vi -*** -*** *** -*** *** nf ***

tokisami ya ahi.
 to- ka -risa -ma ya ahi
 away- go/come -down -back+F ADJUNCT there
 - vi - -*** *** ***

'He called them, and took them. They killed people far away, downstream.'

10

Faya me ihi itimetemone fahi.
 faya me ihi iti -hemete -mone fahi
 so 3PL.POSS result_of+F kill -FP.N+F -REP+F there
 *** *** pn vi -*** -*** ***

'They killed people.'

11

Haha, yima mebisa, yima
 haha yima me -bisa yima
 DEM+F (tribe_name) 3PL -also (tribe_name)
 vi nm *** -*** nm
mebisa me, me me mowa nabone me
 me -bisa me me me mowa na -habone me
 3PL -also 3PL 3PL.O 3PL.S fight_against AUX -INT+F 3PL.S
 *** -*** *** *** *** vt *** -*** ***

kake me, wabisemetemoneke faro.
 ka -kI me wabise -mete -mone -ke faro
 go/come -coming 3PL.S spear -FP.N+F -REP+F -DECL+F then+F
 vi -*** *** nf -*** -*** -*** ***

'The Yimas came to fight against them. They were spears.'

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12

wati amarematamonaka.

wati ama -ra -himata -mona -ka
 arrow be -NEG -FP.N+M -REP+M -DECL+M
 nm vc -*** -*** -*** -***

'They weren't arrows.'

13

wabise ya me me saka

wabise ya me me saka
 spear ADJUNCT 3PL.O 3PL.S pierce_repeatedly
 nf *** *** *** vt

nemetemoneke,

yima

mati

na -hemete -mone -ke yima
 AUX -FP.N+F -REP+F -DECL+F (tribe_name)
 *** -*** -*** -*** nm

mati

3PL

yima.

yima
 (tribe_name)
 nm

'They speared them with spears, the Yimas.'

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14

Faya me, i itiya me yama, yama yete
 faya me ihi iti me yama yama yete
 so 3PL.POSS result_of+F kill+F 3PL.POSS thing thing hunt
 *** *** pn vi *** nf nf vt

nebona tokabise, toke yama
 na -hibona to- ka -bisa to- ka yama
 AUX -INT+M away- go/come -also+M away- go/come+M thing
 *** -*** ***- vi -*** ***- vi nf

yete ne, kame bani me fora
 yete na ka -ma bani me fora
 hunt AUX+M go/come -back+M animal 3PL.O shoot_with_blowgun
 vt *** vi -*** nm *** vt

ne, bani me fora ne bani me yoto
 na bani me fora na bani me yoto
 AUX+M animal 3PL.O shoot_with_blowgun AUX+M animal 3PL.O cover
 *** nm *** vt *** nm *** vt

kane, tokawe bani me
 ka- na to- ka -waha bani me
 COMMIT- AUX+M away- go/come -change+M animal 3PL.O
 - *** ***- vi - nm ***

fora tase bani me yoto
 fora na -tasa bani me yoto
 shoot_with_blowgun AUX -again+M animal 3PL.O cover
 vt *** -*** nm *** vt

katase, faya tokawe bani
 ka- na -tasa faya to- ka -waha bani
 COMMIT- AUX -again+M so away- go/come -change+M animal
 - *** - *** -*** vi -*** nm

me one fora ne bani me, tosi
 me one fora na bani me tosi
 3PL.O other+F shoot_with_blowgun AUX+M animal 3PL.O waist
 *** adj vt *** nm *** pn

karabe kame bani me karaba
 karaba ka -ma bani me karaba
 tie+M go/come -back+M animal 3PL.O tie
 vt vi -*** nm *** vt

namahite,
 na -ma -hitI
 AUX -back -along_the_way
 *** -*** -***

kamematamonaka.
 ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 go/come -back -FP.N+M -REP+M -DECL+M
 vi -*** -*** -*** -***

'They killed people. He went out. He went out hunting. He came back. He shot some animals with a blowgun. He shot animals with a blowgun. He covered up the animals. He went on and shot some more animals with the blowgun, and covered them up. He went on and shot some more animals. He tied the animals by their waists as he came back. He tied the animals as he came along.'

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19

Me me sa hikana, wati ya
 me me sa hi- ka- na wati ya
 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot_with_arrow OC- COMMIT- AUX+F arrow ADJUNCT
 *** ** vt ***- ***- *** nm ***
yima sa hikana,
 yima sa hi- ka- na
 (tribe_name) shoot_with_arrow OC- COMMIT- AUX+F
 nm vt ***- ***- ***
yima sa hikana,
 yima sa hi- ka- na
 (tribe_name) shoot_with_arrow OC- COMMIT- AUX+F
 nm vt ***- ***- ***
sonehemetemoneke ahi.
 sona -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 fall -FP.N+F -REP+F -DECL+F then
 vi -*** -*** -*** ***
 'They shot them. The Yima shot her with an arrow, and she fell.'

20

Sonaha ahabaraharo.
 sona -ha ahaba -ra -haro
 fall -RC+F die -NEG -IP.E+F
 vi -*** vi -*** -***
 'She fell, but she wasn't dead.'

21

Ahabara yati yati homemetemoneke
 ahaba -ra yati yati homa -hemete -mone -ke
 die -NEG+F new new lie_on_ground -FP.N+F -REP+F -DECL+F
 vi -*** adj adj vi -*** -*** -***
ahi, hinaka yama noko emene ya hine kese
 ahi hina ka yama noko emene ya hine kese
 then 3sPOSS POSS vagina blood+M ADJUNCT 3REFL spread
 *** ** nm pn *** ** vt
tonikimahabana ahi.
 to- na -kima -habana ahi
 CH- AUX -spread_out -FUT+F then
 - *** - -*** ***
 'She wasn't dead, she lay there alive. She smeared herself all over with the blood of her vagina.'

22

Hine kese tonikimehemetemoneke
 hine kese to- na -kima -hemete -mone -ke
 3REFL spread CH- AUX -spread_out -FP.N+F -REP+F -DECL+F
 *** vt ***- *** -*** -*** -*** -***
hinaka yama noko emene ya.
 hina ka yama noko emene ya
 3sPOSS POSS vagina blood+M ADJUNCT
 *** ** nm pn ***
 'She smeared herself all over with the blood of her vagina.'

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23

Homa	yima	ki	hina,		
homa	yima	ki	hi- na		
lie_on_ground	(tribe_name)	look_at	OC- AUX+F		
vi	nm	vt	***- ***		
yima		ki	hina	abi	watora,
yima		ki	hi- na	ahaba	wato -ra
(tribe_name)		look_at	OC- AUX+F	die.NFIN	know -NEG+F
nm		vt	***- ***	vi	vt -***

abemetemoneke.

ahaba	-hemete	-mone	-ke
die	-FP.N+F	-REP+F	-DECL+F
vi	-***	-***	-***

'The Yima looked at her as she lay there. He looked at her. She took a long time to die, but then died.'

24

witi hoti	kawa	hinehemetemoneke	ahi,
witi hoti	kawa	hi- na -hemete -mone -ke	ahi
nose hole+F	poke	OC- AUX -FP.N+F -REP+F -DECL+F	then
pn pn	vt	***- *** -*** -*** -***	***

hatisa nabonehe.

hatisa	na	-habone	-he
sneeze	AUX	-INT+F	-DUP
vi	***	-***	-***

'He poked something into her nostril, so she would sneeze.'

25

witi hoti	kawakawa	hinemetemone	ahi.
witi hoti	DUP- kawa	hi- na -hemete -mone	ahi
nose hole+F	DUP- poke	OC- AUX -FP.N+F -REP+F	then
pn pn	***- vt	***- *** -*** -***	***

'He really poked her nostril.'

26

Kawa	hina	ahaahaba,		
kawa	hi- na	DUP- ahaba		
poke	OC- AUX+F	DUP- die		
vt	***- ***	***- vi		
homemetemoneke		abaro	ahi,	
homa	-hemete -mone -ke	ahaba -haro	ahi	
lie_on_ground	-FP.N+F -REP+F -DECL+F	die -IP.E+F	then	
vi	-*** -*** -***	vi -***	***	

ahabaraharo, ahabara ahi.

ahaba	-ra -haro	ahaba -ra	ahi
die	-NEG -IP.E+F	die -NEG+F	then
vi	-*** -***	vi -***	***

'He poked her, but she just lay there, dead. But she wasn't dead.'

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27

Awa ya, awa ya baro hina
awa ya awa ya baro hi- na
tree ADJUNCT tree ADJUNCT beat OC- AUX+F
nf *** nf *** vt ***- ***
baro hina baro
baro hi- na baro
beat OC- AUX+F beat
vt ***- *** vt

hinemetemoneke.

hi- na -hemete -mone -ke
OC- AUX -FP.N+F -REP+F -DECL+F
- *** - -*** -***

'He hit her with a piece of wood. He hit her. He hit her.'

28

Baro hina Aba awineke.
baro hi- na ahaba awine -ke
beat OC- AUX+F die seem+F -DECL+F
vt ***- *** vi *** -***

'He hit her. "I think she's dead."'

29

Oka yimawaro¹⁹ ati nematamonane
o- ka yimawa -ra ati na -himata -mona -ne
1SG.POSS- POSS knife -NPQ say AUX -FP.N+M -REP+M -BKG+M
- *** nf - vt *** -*** -*** -***
ha nari yima ha nari,
ha na -hari yima ha na -hari
call AUX -IP.E+M (tribe_name) call AUX -IP.E+M
vi *** -*** nm vi *** -***

bobobibonehe.

DUP- bobi -bone -he
DUP- slit -INT+F -DUP
- vt - -***

""Where is my knife?" the Yima said, calling. It was to cut her up with.'

30

Bobobibone ha hinemetemoneni.
DUP- bobi -bone ha hi- na -hemete -mone -ni
DUP- slit -INT+F call OC- AUX -FP.N+F -REP+F -BKG+F
- vt - vt ***- *** -*** -*** -***

'He called for the thing to cut her up with.'

¹⁹ Apparently *-ro* is an archaic form. Jarawaras nowadays would use *-ra*.

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31

Bobobibone **ha** **hina** **Ota** **nafi**
 DUP- bobi -bone ha hi- na ota nafi
 DUP- slit -INT+F call OC- AUX+F 1EX.S all
 - vt - vt ***- *** *** pn
honini **me** **ati** **nemetemoneke**
 hona -ni me ati na -hemete -mone -ke
 have_something -BKG+F 3PL.S say AUX -FP.N+F -REP+F -DECL+F
 vi -*** *** vt *** -*** -*** -***
ahi.
 ahi
 then

'He called for the thing to cut her up with. "We all have game," they said.'

32

Oka **yimawaba** **te** **kakamakehi.**
 o- ka yimawa -ba te ka- ka -makI -hi
 1SG.POSS- POSS knife -FUT 2PL.S COMIT- go/come -after -IMP+F
 - *** nf - *** ***- vi -*** -***

"Bring a knife for me."

33

Ati **hiyaw** **tokomake** **yama** **kakatome,**
 ati hiyawa to- ka -makI yama ka- katoma
 voice have_an_idea+M away- go/come -after thing COMIT- watch+M
 pn vi ***- vi -*** nf ***- vt
awa **bote** **iso** **ne** **awa** **bote** **iso**
 awa bote iso na awa bote iso
 tree old carry AUX+M tree old carry
 nf adj vt *** nf adj vt
nematamonaka.
 na -himata -mona -ka
 AUX -FP.N+M -REP+M -DECL+M
 *** -*** -*** -***

'He changed his mind and went. He looked at her, and then carried some logs.'

34

Yafa **hikanemetemone** **ahi.**
 yafa hi- ka- na -hemete -mone ahi
 put_pressure_on OC- COMIT- AUX -FP.N+F -REP+F then
 vt ***- ***- *** -*** -*** ***

'He covered her.'

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35

Yafa hikana awa bote ya
yafa hi- ka- na awa bote ya
put_pressure_on OC- COMIT- AUX+F tree old ADJUNCT
vt ***- ***- *** nf adj ***
yafa hikana, hekatomama
yafa hi- ka- na hi- ka- katoma -ma
put_pressure_on OC- COMIT- AUX+F OC- COMIT- watch -back+F
vt ***- ***- *** ***- ***- vt -***
hekatomi ya,
hi- ka- katoma ya
OC- COMIT- watch+F ADJUNCT
***- ***- vt ***
tokomakewematamonaka.
to- ka -makI -waha -himata -mona -ka
away- go/come -after -change -FP.N+M -REP+M -DECL+M
- vi - -*** -*** -*** -***

'He held her down, he held her down with the logs. He looked at her again, and then left.'

36

Tokomake Eee ati nematamonaka.
to- ka -makI eee ati na -himata -mona -ka
away- go/come -after haloo say AUX -FP.N+M -REP+M -DECL+M
- vi - interj vt *** -*** -*** -***

'He went. "Haloo," he said.'

37

Ati ne, Ota tokomini.
ati na ota to- ka -ma -ni
say AUX+M 1EX.S away- go/come -back -BKG+F
vt *** *** ***- vi -*** -***

'He said. "We are going home."'

38

Ota tokomini.
ota to- ka -ma -ni
1EX.S away- go/come -back -BKG+F
*** ***- vi -*** -***

""We are going home.""

39

Ota hona otani me ati
ota hona ota -ni me ati
1EX.S have_something 1EX.S -BKG+F 3PL.S say
*** vi *** -*** *** vt

nemetemoneke.
na -hemete -mone -ke
AUX -FP.N+F -REP+F -DECL+F
*** -*** -*** -***

""We have game," they said.'

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40

Me tokoma me, yimawa
 me to- ka -ma me yimawa
 3PL.S away- go/come -back+F 3PL.S knife
 *** ***- vi -*** *** nf

kakamarematamonaka.

ka- ka -ma -ra -himata -mona -ka
 COMIT- go/come -back -NEG -FP.N+M -REP+M -DECL+M
 - vi - -*** -*** -*** -***

'They left. He didn't bring the knife back.'

41

wete namematamonaka.

wete na -ma -himata -mona -ka
 return AUX -back -FP.N+M -REP+M -DECL+M
 vi *** -*** -*** -*** -***

'He came back.'

42

wete name kame, kame, awa
 wete na -ma ka -ma ka -ma awa
 return AUX -back+M go/come -back+M go/come -back+M tree
 vi *** -*** vi -*** vi -*** nf

bote were nemetemoneke.

bote were na -hemete -mone -ke
 old throw AUX -FP.N+F -REP+F -DECL+F
 adj vt *** -*** -*** -***

'He came back. She threw off the logs.'

43

Awa bote were na kana ni toka, hoti
 awa bote were na kana na to- ka hoti
 tree old throw AUX+F run AUX.NFIN away- go/come+F hole
 nf adj vt *** vi *** ***- vi nf

waha ya

wa -ha ya
 stand -RC+F ADJUNCT
 vi -*** ***

tokiyomemetemoneke

to- ka -yoma -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 away- go/come -through -FP.N+F -REP+F -DECL+F then
 - vi - -*** -*** -*** ***

'She threw off the logs and went running away. She went into a hole in the ground.'

THE ORIGINAL COUPLE

44

Tokiyoma, **waso, waso itikabote** **na waso**
to- ka -yoma waso waso iti -kabote na waso
away- go/come -through+F leaf leaf take_out -quickly AUX+F leaf
- vi - nf nf vt -*** *** nf

ibariyemetemoneke

iba -rI -hemete -mone -ke ahi
set_down -raised_surface -FP.N+F -REP+F -DECL+F then
vt -*** -*** -*** -*** -*** -***

'She went in. She got a leaf quickly and put it on top.'

45

waso itikabote **na waso ibariya**
waso iti -kabote na waso iba -rI
leaf take_out -quickly AUX+F leaf set_down -raised_surface+F
nf vt -*** *** nf vt -***

foya

foya,
foya foya
be_inside+F be_inside+F
vi vi

kamehimatamonaka,

hora **nebana.**
ka -ma -himata -mona -ka hora na -hibana
go/come -back -FP.N+M -REP+M -DECL+M complain AUX -FUT+M
vi -*** -*** -*** -*** vi *** -***

'She got a leaf quickly and put it on top and stayed inside. He came back, and cried out in anger.'

46

Kame **hora**
ka -ma hora
go/come -back+M complain
vi -*** vi

tasematamonaka.

na -tasa -himata -mona -ka
AUX -again -FP.N+M -REP+M -DECL+M
*** -*** -*** -*** -***

'He came back, and complained again.'

47

Aha, **oka** **bani fawa** **neba**
aha o- ka bani fawa na -hiba
(unpleasant_surprise) 1SG.POSS- POSS animal disappear AUX -FUT+M
interj ***- *** nm vi *** -***

ama nanoho, ati nematamonaka.

ama nanoho ati na -himata -mona -ka
SEC surprise+M say AUX -FP.N+M -REP+M -DECL+M
*** *** vt *** -*** -*** -***

'"Oh, no! I didn't realize my game was going to go away!" he said.'

THE ORIGINAL COUPLE

48

Oka **bani** **okobebona** **one**
 o- ka bani o- kaba -hibona ati o- na
 1SG.POSS- POSS animal 1SG.S- eat -INT+M say 1SG.S- AUX+M
 - *** nm ***- vt - vt ***- ***

oka **bani.**
 o- ka bani
 1SG.POSS- POSS animal
 ***- *** nm

"My game, that I was going to eat."

49

Faya hora **ne** **ati** **fawa** **ne,** **ati** **fawa**
 faya hora na ati fawa na ati fawa
 so complain AUX+M voice disappear AUX+M voice disappear
 *** vi *** pn vi *** pn vi

nematamonaka.
 na -himata -mona -ka
 AUX -FP.N+M -REP+M -DECL+M
 *** -*** -*** -***

'He stopped crying out. He became quiet.'

50

Ati fawa **ne,** **matimone** **ha**
 ati fawa na mati -mone ha
 voice disappear AUX+M 3SG.POSS_mother -REP+F call
 pn vi *** nf -*** vt
nebanoho,²⁰ **ha** **hinabanuhi.**
 na -hiba -no -ho ha hi- na -haba -ni -hi
 AUX -FUT+M -IP.N+M -DUP call OC- AUX -FUT+F -IP.N+F -DUP
 *** -*** -*** -*** vt ***- *** -*** -*** -***

'He was quiet, and then he called the girl, making believe he was her mother.'

51

Hata, **Hata,** **Hata**
 Hata Hata Hata
 (woman's_name) (woman's_name) (woman's_name)
 nf nf nf
yima **me** **tokomini.**
 yima me to- ka -ma -ni
 (tribe_name) 3PL.S away- go/come -back -BKG+F
 nm *** ***- vi -*** -***

"Hata, Hata, the Yimas have gone."

²⁰ *ha nebanoho* with masculine agreement is a mistake.

THE ORIGINAL COUPLE

52

Fare yima, **fare**
 fare yima fare
 same+M (tribe_name) same+M
 nf nm nf
yimamatamonaka, **ha**
 yima -mata -mona -ka ha
 (tribe_name) -FP.N+M -REP+M -DECL+M call
 nm -*** -*** -*** vi
nari.
 na -hari
 AUX -IP.E+M
 *** -***

'It was the Yima himself who was calling.'

53

Fare yima **ha ne, faya siba**
 fare yima ha na faya siba
 same+M (tribe_name) call AUX+M so search_for
 nf nm vi *** *** vt
hina siba hina hiwasira, bai
 hi- na siba hi- na hi- wasi -ra bahi
 OC- AUX+F search_for OC- AUX+F OC- find -NEG+F sun
 - *** vt ***- *** -- vt -*** nm
abamako bai ahabamako faya
 ahaba -mako bahi ahaba -mako faya
 end -explanation+M sun end -explanation+M so
 vi -*** nm vi -*** ***
tokomakematamonaka.
 to- ka -makI -himata -mona -ka
 away- go/come -after -FP.N+M -REP+M -DECL+M
 - vi - -*** -*** -***

'The Yima himself was calling. He looked for her. He looked for her but couldn't find her. When the sun went down, he went after the others.'

54

Tokomakematamonane.
 to- ka -makI -himata -mona -ne
 away- go/come -after -FP.N+M -REP+M -BKG+M
 - vi - -*** -*** -***

'He went after the others.'

55

Tokomake, mera katomebanoho.
 to- ka -makI mera katoma -hiba -no -ho
 away- go/come -after 3PL.O be_violent_with -FUT+M -IP.N+M -DUP
 - vi - *** vt -*** -*** -***

'He went after the others. He argued with them.'

THE ORIGINAL COUPLE

56

Mera hora nematamonaka ahi.
 mera hora na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 3PL.O scold AUX -FP.N+M -REP+M -DECL+M then
 *** vt *** -*** -*** -*** ***

'He criticized them.'

57

Oko yimawaba te
 o- ka yimawa -ba te
 1SG.POSS- POSS knife -FUT 2PL.S
 - *** nf - ***

kakamara oko bani, fawa
 ka- ka -ma -ra o- ka bani fawa
 COMIT- go/come -back -NEG+F 1SG.POSS- POSS animal disappear
 - vi - -*** ***- *** nm vi

ne oyawa okomakine
 na o- yawa o- ka -makI -ne
 AUX+M 1SG.S- upset+F 1SG.S- go/come -after -CONT+F
 *** ***- vi ***- vi -*** -***

oke, ati nematamonaka.
 o- ke ati na -himata -mona -ka
 1SG.S- DECL+F say AUX -FP.N+M -REP+M -DECL+M
 - *** vt *** - -*** -***

'"You didn't bring a knife for me, and my game went away. I got mad and came after you," he said.'

58

Faya mera katome haha, haha nonofa
 faya mera katoma haha haha DUP- nofa
 so 3PL.O be_violent_with+M DEM+F DEM+F DUP- want
 *** *** vt *** *** ***- vt

hiyara he ni tokomake, bani
 hi- to- ha -ra he ni to- ka -makI bani
 OC- CH- AUX -NEG+F 3s to away- go/come -after animal
 - ***- *** - vt *** ***- vi -*** nm

me yoto kani ya, he noki
 me yoto ka- na ya he noki
 3PL.POSS cover COMIT- AUX+F ADJUNCT 3s wait
 *** vt ***- *** *** vt vt

nemetemoneke ahi.
 na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 AUX -FP.N+F -REP+F -DECL+F then
 *** -*** -*** -*** ***

'He yelled at them. The one he didn't like went to him. She waited for him at the place where the game were covered up.'

THE ORIGINAL COUPLE

59

He noki na, kame
 he noki na ka -ma
 3s wait AUX+F go/come -back+M
 vt vt *** vi -***
kamematamonaka bani me one
 ka -ma -himata -mona -ka bani me one
 go/come -back -FP.N+M -REP+M -DECL+M animal 3PL other+F
 vi -*** -*** -*** -*** nm *** adj
weye nari.
 weye na -hari
 carry AUX -IP.E+M
 vt *** -***

'She waited for him. He came, carrying the other game.'

60

Kame, hiwaha, hiwaha sero
 ka -ma hi- awa -ha hi- awa -ha sero
 go/come -back+M OC- see -RC+F OC- see -RC+F avert_glance
 vi -*** ***- vt -*** ***- vt -*** vt
hinemetemoneke.
 hi- na -hemete -mone -ke
 OC- AUX -FP.N+F -REP+F -DECL+F
 - *** - -*** -***

'He came. He saw her. He saw her, and averted his glance.'

61

Sero hina, Owa sero tinahi.
 sero hi- na owa sero ti- na -hi
 avert_glance OC- AUX+F 1SG.O avert_glance 2SG.S- AUX -IMP+F
 vt ***- *** *** vt ***- *** -***

'He averted his glance. "Go ahead, avert your glance from me."'

62

E e ka abi me watamara
 e e ka abi me wata -ma -ra
 1IN.POSS 1IN.POSS POSS father 3PL.S exist -back -NEG+F
 *** *** *** nm *** vi -*** -***
ereni.
 ere -ni
 1IN.S -BKG+F
 *** -***

'"Our parents are not anymore."'

THE ORIGINAL COUPLE

63

E ka abi me yima me me
 e ka abi me yima me me
 1IN.POSS POSS father 3PL (tribe_name) 3PL.O 3PL.S
 *** nm nm ***

hikatomaharani, ati
 hi- katoma -hara -ni ati
 OC- be_violent_with -IP.E+F -BKG+F say
 - vt - -*** vt

nemetemoneke.
 na -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX -FP.N+F -REP+F -DECL+F
 *** -*** -*** -***

'The Yimas killed our parents," she said.'

64

Faya me, me ihi me ihi
 faya me me ihi me ihi
 so 3PL 3PL.POSS result_of+F 3PL.POSS result_of+F
 *** *** *** pn *** pn

itiha me tokomarani ati
 iti me to- ka -ma -hara -ni ati
 kill+F 3PL.S away- go/come -back -IP.E+F -BKG+F say
 vi *** ***- vi -*** -*** -*** vt

nemetemoneke.
 na -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX -FP.N+F -REP+F -DECL+F
 *** -*** -*** -***

'They killed and went away," she said.'

65

Faya wati kakiti kana ni
 faya wati ka- iti kana na
 so arrow COMMIT- take_out+M run AUX.NFIN
 *** nm ***- vt vi ***

tokomematamona ahi.
 to- ka -ma -himata -mona ahi
 away- go/come -back -FP.N+M -REP+M then
 - vi - -*** -*** ***

'He grabbed some arrows, and went running.'

66

Kana ni tokome, kobo kobo
 kana na to- ka -ma kobo kobo
 run AUX.NFIN away- go/come -back+M arrive arrive
 vi *** ***- vi -*** vi vi

tonamematamonaka.
 to- na -ma -himata -mona -ka
 away- AUX -back -FP.N+M -REP+M -DECL+M
 - *** - -*** -*** -***

'He went running. He arrived.'

THE ORIGINAL COUPLE

67

Kobo toname ha ne yima
 kobo to- na -ma ha na yima
 arrive away- AUX -back+M call AUX+M (tribe_name)
 vi ***- *** -*** vi *** nm

me ha ne, tokomake ha
 me ha na to- ka -makI ha
 3PL.O call AUX+M away- go/come -after call
 *** vt *** ***- vi -*** vi

tonamake wete name kame,
 to- na -makI wete na -ma ka -ma
 away- AUX -after return AUX -back+M go/come -back+M
 - *** - vi *** -*** vi -***

tokomematamonaka.

to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 away- go/come -back -FP.N+M -REP+M -DECL+M
 - vi - -*** -*** -***

'He arrived, and called out. He called the Yimas. He went after them and called. He came back. He went back.'

68

Tokome, oka yifo noko,
 to- ka -ma o- ka yifo noko
 away- go/come -back+M 1SG.POSS- POSS hammock ball+M
 - vi - ***- *** nm pn

oka yifo noko
 o- ka yifo noko
 1SG.POSS- POSS hammock ball+M
 ***- *** nm pn

tekamiyahi.

ti- ka- ka -ma -yahi
 2SG.S- COMIT- go/come -back -DIST.IMP+F
 - ***- vi - -***

'He went. "Bring my ball of twine for making hammocks."

69

Oka yifo noko winaharene.
 o- ka yifo noko wina -hare -ne
 1SG.POSS- POSS hammock ball+M hang -IP.E+M -BKG+M
 - *** nm pn vi - -***

"My ball of twine is hanging."

THE ORIGINAL COUPLE

70

Fara owitari onofi ya
 fara o- ita -rI o- nofa ya
 same+F 1SG.S- sit -raised_surface 1SG.S- always+F ADJUNCT
 *** ***- vi -*** ***- *** ***

yifo noko winarene ati
 yifo noko wina -hare -ne ati
 hammock seed+M hang -IP.E+M -BKG+M say
 nm pn vi -*** -*** vt

nemetemoneke.
 na -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX -FP.N+F -REP+F -DECL+F
 *** -*** -*** -***

'The ball of twine is hanging there where I always sit,' she said.'

71

Faya, ati na, ati, himita faya
 faya ati na ati hi- mita faya
 so say AUX+F voice OC- hear+F so
 *** vt *** pn ***- vt ***

tokome yifo tise matamona.
 to- ka -ma yifo tisa -himata -mona
 away- go/come -back+M hammock untie -FP.N+M -REP+M
 - vi - nm vt -*** -***

'He heard what she said and went back and untied the twine.'

72

Yifo noko tise, yifo noko tama ne,
 yifo noko tisa yifo noko tama na
 hammock ball+M untie+M hammock ball+M hold_onto AUX+M
 nm pn vt nm pn vt ***

tokomematamonaka.
 to- ka -ma -himata -himona -ka
 away- go/come -back -FP.N+M -REP+M -DECL+M
 - vi - -*** -*** -***

'He untied the ball of twine. He went carrying the ball of twine.'

73

Tokome, bani me ahi
 to- ka -ma bani me ahi
 away- go/come -back+M animal 3PL.O work_on
 - vi - nm *** vt

nabebanoho kobo tonamari.
 nahaba -hiba -no -ho kobo to- na -ma -hari
 night -FUT+M -IP.N+M -DUP arrive away- AUX -back -IP.E+M
 *** -*** -*** -*** vi -*** -*** -***

'He went back. He cut up the game during the night after he got back.'

THE ORIGINAL COUPLE

74

Bani me tabasi nabe, bani me tabasi nabematamonaka.

bani me tabasi na nahaba bani me
 animal 3PL.O roast AUX night+M animal
 nm *** vt *** ** nm

'He roasted the game during the night. He roasted the game during the night.'

75

Bani me tabasi ne bani me nakahe

bani me tabasi na bani me na- kaha
 animal 3PL.O roast AUX+M animal 3PL.O CAUS- roasted+M
 nm *** vt *** nm *** ***- vi

fati ha ne, fati ha
 fati ha na fati ha
 3sPOSS_wife call AUX+M 3sPOSS_wife call
 nf vt *** nf vt

fatibana fatibana.
 fati -bana fati -bana
 3sPOSS_wife -FUT 3sPOSS_wife -FUT
 nf -*** nf -***

'He roasted the game. He roasted the game until they were crispy, and called his wife, his wife-to-be.'

76

Fatiba ha ne maki

fati -ba ha na maki
 3sPOSS_wife -FUT call AUX+M 3SG.POSS.husband
 nf -*** vt *** nm

katafe, Tika iha ehene
 ka- tafa ti- ka iha ehene
 COMMIT- eat+M 2SG.POSS- POSS plant_sp result_of+M
 ***- vi ***- *** nm pn

okobaba owa awine oni.
 o- kaba -haba owa awine o- ni
 1SG.S- eat -FUT+F 1SG.S seem+F 1SG.S- BKG+F
 - vt - *** *** ***- ***

'He called his wife-to-be, and her husband ate with her. "Dare I eat what your arrow poison killed?"'

77

Ehene tikabaho.

ehene ti- kaba -ho
 result_of+M 2SG.S- eat -IMP+M
 pn ***- vt -***

"Eat what it killed."

78

Iha watamakara.

iha wata -ma -ka -ra
 plant_sp exist -back -DECL -NEG+M
 nm vi -*** -*** -***

"There is no more poison."

THE ORIGINAL COUPLE

83

Faya, me amo kana yama we
 faya me amo ka- na yama wehe
 so 3PL.S sleep COMIT- AUX+F thing light+F
 *** ** vi ***- *** nf pn

kamakiyemetemone amake.
 ka -makI -hemete -mone ama -ke
 go/come -after -FP.N+F -REP+F SEC -DECL+F
 vi -*** -*** -*** *** -***

'They slept. Morning came.'

84

Yama we kamakiya, yama we kamakiya me,
 yama wehe ka -makI yama wehe ka -makI me
 thing light+F go/come -after+F thing light+F go/come -after+F 3PL.S
 nf pn vi -*** nf pn vi -*** ***

tafamina me, tafamina me,
 tafa -mina me tafa -mina me
 eat -morning+F 3PL.S eat -morning+F 3PL.S
 vi -*** *** vi -*** ***

towakemetemoneke.
 to- ka- ka -hemete -mone -ke
 away- COMIT- go/come -FP.N+F -REP+F -DECL+F
 - ***- vi - -*** -***

'Morning came. They ate in the morning. They ate in the morning, and left.'

85

Towaka²² me totowatawiti
 to- ka- ka me DUP- to- wata -witI
 away- COMIT- go/come+F 3PL.S DUP- away- hang -out
 - ***- vi *** ***- ***- vi -

towemetemone.
 to- ha -hemete -mone
 CH- AUX -FP.N+F -REP+F
 - *** - -***

'They went and lived in another place.'

²² The subject *me* is missing.

THE ORIGINAL COUPLE

86

Faya, faya kahiwe, biti, biti me,
 faya faya ka- hiwa biti biti me
 so so COMIT- have_child+M 3SG.POSS_son 3SG.POSS_son 3PL
 *** *** ***- vi nm nm ***
biti ha me fama, kahiwamakitase
 biti ha me fama ka- hiwa -makI -tasa
 3SG.POSS_son DEM 3PL.S two COMIT- have_child -after -again+M
 nm *** *** vi ***- vi -*** -***
ya ha biti me famatasa, me fanawiri
 ya ha biti me fama -tasa me fanawiri
 ADJUNCT DEM 3SG.POSS_son 3PL.S two -again 3PL woman
 *** *** nm *** vi -*** *** pn
yoto, me fanawiri yoto ya, bite hawa
 yoto me fanawiri yoto ya bite hawa
 follow 3PL.S woman follow ADJUNCT 3sPOSS_daughter finished
 vi *** pn vi *** nf vi
toniharawe fare, fare biti mera
 to- niha- ha -rawa fare fare biti mera
 CH- CAUS- AUX -F.PL+M same+M same+M 3SG.POSS_son 3PL.O
 - ***- *** - nf nf nm ***
kahabanematamonaka ahi.
 ka- habana -himata -mona -ka ahi
 COMIT- command -FP.N+M -REP+M -DECL+M then
 - vt - -*** -*** ***

'He had children. He had two sons. He had children again, two more sons. Then he had daughters. After his daughters came last, after he had their coming out feast, he told his own two sons to get married.'

87

Te ka asima te yabarawahi.
 te ka asima te yaba -rawa -hi
 2PL POSS younger_sister 2PL.S take_out -F.PL -IMP+F
 *** *** nf *** vt -*** -***

"You marry your younger sisters."

88

E e itiba watakere.
 e e iti -haba wata -ke -re
 1IN.S 1IN.S take_out -FUT+F exist -DECL+F -NEG+F
 *** *** vt -*** vi -*** -***

"There is no one to marry."

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89

Te ka asima te yabarawahi ati
 te ka asima te yaba -rawa -hi ati
 2PL POSS younger_sister 2PL.S take_out -F.PL -IMP+F say
 *** ** nf *** vt -*** -*** vt

nematamonaka bite
 na -himata -mona -ka bite
 AUX -FP.N+M -REP+M -DECL+M 3sPOSS_daughter
 *** -*** -*** -*** nf

kahabanarawahari fare biti me
 ka- habana -rawa -hari fare biti me
 COMIT- command -F.PL -IP.E+M same+M 3SG.POSS_son 3PL.O
 - vt - -*** nf nm ***

biti me kahabanahari.
 biti me ka- habana -hari
 3SG.POSS_son 3PL.O COMIT- command -IP.E+M
 nm *** ***- vt -***

'Marry your younger sisters,' he said, ordering his daughters to marry. He told his own sons to marry.'

90

biti me kahabane, faya mera, me ka
 biti me ka- habana faya mera me ka
 3SG.POSS_son 3PL.O COMIT- command+M so 3PL.O 3PL POSS
 nm *** ***- vt *** *** *** **

asima me yayaba
 asima me DUP- yaba
 younger_sister 3PL.S DUP- take_out
 nf *** ***- vt

towarawemetemoneke.
 to- ha -rawa -hemete -mone -ke
 CH- AUX -F.PL -FP.N+F -REP+F -DECL+F
 - *** - -*** -*** -***

'He told his sons to marry. They married their younger sisters.'

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91

Me kahiwa me kahiwi ya
 me ka- hiwa me ka- hiwa ya
 3PL.S COMIT- have_child+F 3PL.S COMIT- have_child+F ADJUNCT
 *** ***- vi *** ***- vi ***
fara me, fara me abe, me ka ehewe²³ me me
 fara me fara me abe me ka ehewe me me
 same+F 3PL same+F 3PL.POSS RECIP 3PL POSS children 3PL 3PL
 *** *** *** *** pn *** *** n *** ***
me ka ehewe me me yayaba
 me ka ehewe me me DUP- yaba
 3PL POSS children 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP- take_out
 *** *** n *** *** ***- vt
towemetemoneni.
 to- ha -hemete -mone -ni
 CH- AUX -FP.N+F -REP+F -BKG+F
 - *** - -*** -***

'They had children. After they had children, their children married each other.'

92

Faya me tokatamama
 faya me to- ka- tama -ma
 so 3PL.S CH- COMIT- many -back
 *** *** ***- ***- vi -***
towemetemoneke fahi.
 to- ha -hemete -mone -ke fahi
 CH- AUX -FP.N+F -REP+F -DECL+F then
 - *** - -*** -*** ***

'Then their numbers increased again.'

93

Me fana kanikima ni ka biti me
 me fana kanikima na ka biti me
 3PL.S get_married scattered AUX+F which 3SG.POSS_son 3PL.O
 *** vi *** *** nm ***
kahabane biti me fafana toha
 ka- habana biti me DUP- fana to- ha
 COMIT- command+M 3SG.POSS_son 3PL.S DUP- get_married CH- AUX
 ***- vt nm *** ***- vi ***- ***
me.
 me
 3PL.S

'They all got married, and he had his sons marry, and they married.'

²³ *ehewe* is an archaic form for *matehe* 'children'.