

## THE ORIGINAL COUPLE

### *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

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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.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1 *Yima mati* .  
 yima mati  
 Yima 3PL  
 npropm pron  
 'The Yimas.'

2 *Yima me ihi iti na toemetemone*  
 yima me ihi iti.LIST , na to- ha -hemete -mone  
 Yima 3PL.POSS victim of+F exist AUX CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 npropm pron pn vi aux aux  
*me tabori amake haro*  
 me tabori ama -ke haaro  
 3PL.POSS place+F be DECL+F that one+F  
 pron pn vc dem  
 'This is the village where the Yimas killed people.'

3 *Ee , bato yafi me me me me , me me bato yafi me*  
 ee , bato yafi me me me me , me me bato yafi me  
 (pause) Banawá 3PL 3PL 3PL 3PL 3PL 3PL Banawá 3PL  
 interj npropm pron pron pron pron pron pron npropm pron

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*me* , *me* *tokoma* *me* , *bato yafi* *me* *me* ,  
 me , me to- ka -ma+F me , bato yafi me me ,  
 3PL 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S Banawá 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 pron pron vi pron npropm pron pron  
*totiwite* *me* *kama* *me* , *me* *kama*  
 to- iti -witI me ka -ma+F me , me ka -ma+F  
 away pick up out 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S go/come back  
 vt pron vi pron pron vi  
*me* *kobo* *nama* *me* *kobo* *namemetemoneke*  
 me kobo na -ma+F me kobo na -ma -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.S arrive AUX back 3PL.S arrive AUX back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron vi aux pron vi aux  
 'They went and got the Bato Yafis and came back and arrived back.'

4 *Kobo* *nama* *me* , *Okati* ,  
 kobo na -ma+F me , o- ka ati ,  
 arrive AUX back 3PL.S 1SG.POSS POSS older female parallel cousin  
 vi aux pron nf  
*okati* *tafe* *okobate* ,  
 o- ka ati tafe o- kaba -tee ,  
 1SG.POSS POSS older female parallel cousin food+F 1SG.S eat HAB  
 nf pn vt  
*okati*  
 o- ka ati  
 1SG.POSS POSS older female parallel cousin  
 nf  
*okati* *tafe* *okobate* *ama*  
 o- ka ati tafe o- kaba -tee ama  
 1SG.POSS POSS older female parallel cousin food+F 1SG.S eat HAB SEC  
 nf pn vt sec  
*oke*  
 o- ke  
 1SG.S DECL+F  
 prt  
 'They came back. "I used to eat my cousin's food. I used to eat my cousin's food."'

5 *Okati* *manakone* *owabana*  
 o- ka ati manakone o- awa -habana  
 1SG.POSS POSS older female parallel cousin revenge 1SG.S avenge 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  
 prt vt aux  
 'I am going to get revenge for my cousin,' he said.'

6 *Faya* , *hinakati* *manakone* *awebona*  
 faya , hinaka ati manakone awa -hibona  
 so 3SG.POSS older female parallel cousin price avenge INT+M  
 conj nf pn vt  
*yana* *tonematamonane*  
 yana to- na -himata -mona -ne  
 start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vi aux  
 'So he set out to get revenge for his cousin.'

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

'He called the others to go along.'

8 **Mera hima ne , mera hima ne mera**  
 mera hima na+M , mera hima na+M mera  
 3PL.O call to go AUX 3PL.O call to go AUX 3PL.O  
 pron vt aux pron vt aux pron

**towake , me ihi itimetemone**  
 to- ka- ka+M , me ihi iti.NOM -mete -mone  
 away COMIT go/come 3PL.POSS victim of+F exist FP.N+F REP+F  
 vt pron pn vi

**amake ahi hike ya tokisami ya ahi**  
 ama -ke ahi hike ya to- ka -risa -ma.NOM+F ya ahi  
 be DECL+F there far ADJU away go/come down back ADJU there  
 vc dem nf prt vi prt dem

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

9 **Faya me ihi itimetemone fahi**  
 faya me ihi iti -hemete -mone fahi  
 so 3PL.POSS victim of+F exist FP.N+F REP+F then  
 conj pron pn vi dem

'They killed people.'

10 **Haha , yima mebisa , yima mebisa me , me me**  
 haaha , yima me -bisa , yima me -bisa me , me me  
 this+F Yima 3PL also Yima 3PL also 3PL 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 dem npropm pron npropm pron pron pron pron

**mowa nabone me kake me**  
 mowa na -habone me ka -kI me  
 fight AUX INT+F 3PL.S go/come coming 3PL.S  
 vt aux pron vi pron

**wabisemetemoneke furo**  
 wabise -mete -mone -ke faaro  
 spear FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F that+F  
 nf dem

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

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

'They weren't arrows.'

12 **Wabise ya me me saka nemetemoneke**  
 wabise ya me me saka na -hemete -mone -ke  
 spear ADJU 3PL.O 3PL.S pierce repeatedly AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 nf prt pron pron vt aux

**yima mati yima**  
 yima mati yima  
 Yima 3PL Yima  
 npropm pron npropm

'They speared them with spears, the Yimas.'



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16 *Hitihabone*                      *nonofa*                      *hiara*                      ,                      *ee*                      ,                      *nowati*  
 hi- iti    -habone    no- nofa    hi- to- ha    -ra+F    ,    ee                      ,                      nowati  
 OC marry INT+F    DUP like    OC CH AUX NEG                      (pause)                      after  
 vt                      vt                      aux                      interj                      pn

*ya*                      ,                      *tokomaketemoneke*                      *faro*                      .  
 ya                      to- ka                      -makI                      -hemete -mone -ke                      faaro  
 ADJU                      away go/come following FP.N+F    REP+F DECL+F                      that+F  
 prt                      vi                      dem

'He didn't like the woman he was to marry. She went after him.'

17 *Me*    *me*                      ,                      *me*                      *me*                      *tisa*                      *hinemetemoneke*  
 me    me                      ,                      me                      me                      tisa                      hi- na -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL 3PL                      3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow    OC AUX FP.N+F    REP+F DECL+F  
 pron pron                      pron                      pron                      vt                      aux

'They had shot them with arrows.'

18 *Me*                      *me*                      *sa*                      *hikana*                      ,                      *wati*                      *ya*                      *yima*  
 me                      me                      saa                      hi- ka-                      na+F                      ,                      wati                      ya                      yima  
 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow    OC COMIT AUX                      arrow                      ADJU Yima  
 pron                      pron                      vt                      aux                      nm                      prt                      npropm

*sa*                      *hikana*                      ,                      *yima*                      *sa*                      *hikana*  
 saa                      hi- ka-                      na+F                      ,                      yima                      saa                      hi- ka-                      na+F  
 shoot with arrow    OC COMIT AUX                      Yima                      shoot with arrow    OC COMIT AUX  
 vt                      aux                      npropm vt                      aux

,                      *sonehemetemoneke*                      *ahi*                      .  
 ,                      sona -hemete -mone -ke                      ahi  
 fall FP.N+F    REP+F DECL+F                      then  
 vi                      dem

'They shot them. The Yima shot her with an arrow, and she fell.'

19 *Sonaha*                      *ahabaraharo*                      .  
 sona+F                      ahaba -ra -haaro  
 fall                      die                      NEG IP.E+F  
 vi                      vi

'She fell, but she wasn't dead.'

20 *Ahabara*                      *yati*                      *yati*                      *homemetemoneke*                      *ahi*                      ,  
 ahaba+F                      -ra+F                      yati                      yati                      homa                      -hemete -mone -ke                      ahi  
 die                      NEG                      alive                      alive                      lie on ground FP.N+F    REP+F DECL+F                      then  
 vi                      adj                      adj                      vi                      dem

*hinaka*                      *yama noko*                      *emene*                      *ya*                      *hine*                      *kese*  
 hinaka                      yama noko                      emene                      ya                      hine                      kese  
 3SG.POSS                      vagina                      blood+M                      ADJU                      3.REFL                      spread something on  
 pron                      nm                      pn                      prt                      pron                      vt

*tonikimahabana*                      *ahi*                      .  
 to- na                      -kima                      -habana                      ahi  
 CH AUX spread out FUT+F                      then  
 aux                      dem

'She wasn't dead, she lay there alive. She smeared herself all over with the blood of her vagina.'

21 *Hine*                      *kese*                      *tonikimehemetemoneke*                      *hinaka*  
 hine                      kese                      to- na                      -kima                      -hemete -mone -ke                      hinaka  
 3.REFL                      spread something on                      CH AUX two                      FP.N+F    REP+F DECL+F                      3SG.POSS  
 pron                      vt                      aux                      pron

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*yama noko emene ya*  
yama noko emene ya  
vagina blood+M ADJU  
nm pn prt

'She smeared herself all over with the blood of her vagina.'

22 *Homa yima ki hina yima ki hina*  
homa+F yima kii hi- na+F , yima kii hi- na+F  
lie on ground Yima look at OC AUX Yima look at OC AUX  
vi npropm vt aux npropm vt aux

*abi watora abemetemoneke*  
ahaba.NFIN wato -ra+F , ahaba -hemete -mone -ke  
die know NEG die FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
vi vt vi

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

23 *Witi hoti kawa hinehemetemoneke ahi hatisa*  
witi hoti kawa hi- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi , hatisa  
nose hole+F thrust OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then sneeze  
pn pn vt aux dem vi

*nabonehe*  
na -habone -he  
AUX INT+F DUP  
aux

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

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

'He really poked her nostril.'

25 *Kawa hina ahaahaba homemetemoneke*  
kawa hi- na+F aha- ahaba , homa -hemete -mone -ke  
thrust OC AUX DUP die lie on ground FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
vt aux vi vi

*abaro ahi ahabaraharo ahabara ahi*  
ahaba -haaro ahi , ahaba -ra -haaro , ahaba+F -ra+F ahi  
die IP.E+F then die NEG IP.E+F die NEG then  
vi dem vi vi dem

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

26 *Awa ya awa ya baro hina baro hina baro*  
awa ya , awa ya baro hi- na+F baro hi- na+F baro  
wood ADJU wood ADJU beat OC AUX beat OC AUX beat  
nf prt nf prt vt aux vt aux vt

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

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

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

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





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**yafa**  
yafa  
put something on top of  
vt

**hikana**  
hi- ka- na+F  
OC COMMIT AUX  
aux

**hekatomama**  
hi- ka- katoma -ma+F  
OC COMMIT look at back  
vt

**hekatomi**  
hi- katoma.NOM+F  
OC look at  
vt

**ya**  
ya  
ADJU  
prt

**tokomakewematamonaka**  
to- ka -makI -waha -himata -mona -ka  
away go/come following 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.'

35 **Tokomake**  
to- ka -makI  
away go/come following  
vi

**Eee**  
eee  
yoohoo  
interj

**ati**  
ati  
say  
vt

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

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

36 **Ati ne**  
ati na+M  
say AUX  
vt

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

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

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

""We are going home.""

38 **Ota hona**  
otaa hona+F  
1EX.S have something  
pron vi

**otani**  
otaa -ni  
1EX.S BKG+F  
pron

**me**  
me  
3PL.S  
pron

**ati nemetemoneke**  
ati na -hemete -mone -ke  
say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
vt aux

""We have game," they said.'

39 **Me tokoma**  
me to- ka -ma+F  
3PL.S away go/come back  
pron vi

**me**  
me  
3PL.S  
pron

**yimawa**  
yimawa  
knife  
nf

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

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

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

'He turned back.'

41 **Wete name**  
wete na -ma+M  
return AUX back  
vi

**kame**  
ka -ma+M  
go/come back  
vi

**kame**  
ka -ma+M  
go/come back  
vi

**awa bote were**  
awa bote were  
tree old throw  
nf adj vt

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### *nemetemoneke*

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

'He turned back. As he was coming back, she threw off the logs.'

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

### *ya tokiyometemoneke*

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

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

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

### *ibariemetemoneke*

iba -rI -hemete -mone -ke ahi  
 set down raised surface FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 vt dem

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

44 *Waso* *itikabote* *na* *waso* *ibaria* *foya*  
 waso iti -kabote na+F waso iba -rI+F foya+F  
 leaf pick up quickly AUX leaf set down raised surface be inside  
 nf vt aux nf vt vi

### *foya kamehimatamonaka*

foya+F , ka -ma -himata -mona -ka , hora *nebana*  
 be inside go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M , hour exclam AUX FUT+M  
 vi vi vi aux

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

45 *Kame* *hora* *tasematamonaka*  
 ka -ma+M hora na -tasa -himata -mona -ka  
 go/come back exclam AUX again FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi vi aux

'He came back, and complained again.'

46 *Aha* , *oka* *bani* *fawa* *neba* *ama*  
 aha , o- ka bani fawa na -hiba ama  
 (unpleasant surprise) 1SG.POSS POSS animal disappear AUX FUT+M be  
 interj prt nm vi aux vc

### *nanoho*

na.NOM+M -no -ho , *ati* *nematamonaka*  
 AUX IP.N+M DUP say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 aux vt aux

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

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

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**bani**

bani  
animal  
nm

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

48 **Faya hora ne ati fawa ne , ati fawa**  
faya hora na+M ati fawa na+M , ati fawa  
so exclaim AUX voice stop AUX voice stop  
conj vi aux pn vi aux pn vi

**nematamonaka**

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

'He stopped crying out. He became quiet.'

49 **Ati fawa ne , matimone ha nebanoho**  
ati fawa na+M , mati -mone haa na -hiba -no -ho ,  
voice stop AUX 3SG.POSS.mother REP+F call AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
pn vi aux nf vi aux

**ha hinabanihi**

haa hi- na -haba -ni -hi  
call OC AUX FUT+F IP.N+F DUP  
vt aux

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

50 **Hata , Hata , Hata yima me**  
Hata Hata Hata yima me  
(woman's name) (woman's name) (woman's name) Yima 3PL.S  
npropf npropf npropf npropm pron

**tokomini**

to- ka -ma -ni  
away go/come back BKG+F  
vi

"Hata, Hata, the Yimas have gone."

51 **Fare yima , fare yimamatamonaka , ha nari**  
fare yima , fare yima -mata -mona -ka , haa na -haari  
same+M Yima same+M Yima FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M call AUX IP.E+M  
dem npropm dem nm vi aux

'It was the Yima himself who was calling.'

52 **Fare yima ha ne , faya siba hina siba hina**  
fare yima haa na+M , faya siba hi- na+F siba hi- na+F  
same+M Yima call AUX so look for OC AUX look for OC AUX  
dem npropm vi aux conj vt aux vt aux

**hiwasira**

hi- wasi -ra+F , bahi ahaba -mako bahi  
OC find NEG sun end for this reason+M sun  
vt nm vi nm

**ahabamako**

ahaba -mako faya tokomakematamonaka  
end for this reason+M so away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
vi conj 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.'

THE ORIGINAL COUPLE

53 *Tokomakematamonane*

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

'He went after the others.'

54 *Tokomake*

to- ka -makI , *mera* *katomebanoho*  
away go/come following 3PL.O attack FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
vi pron vt

'He went after the others. He yelled at them.'

55 *Mera hora nematamonaka*

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

'He criticized them.'

56 *Oko*

o- ka *yimawaba* *te* *kakamara* *oko*  
1SG.POSS POSS knife FUT 2PL.S COMIT go/come back NEG 1SG.POSS POSS  
prt nf pron vt prt

*bani*

*bani* , *fawa* *ne* *oyawa* *okomakine*  
animal disappear AUX 1SG.S be upset 1SG.S go/come following CONT+F  
nm vi aux vi vi

*oke*

o- ke , *ati* *nematamonaka*  
1SG.S DECL+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
prt vt aux

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

57 *Faya*

*mera* *katome* *haha* , *haha* *nonofa* *hiara* *he*  
faya *mera* *katoma*+M *haaha* , *haaha* *no-* *nofa* *hi-* *to-* *ha* -ra+F *hee*  
so 3PL.O attack this+F this+F DUP like OC CH AUX NEG 3SG  
conj pron vt dem dem vt aux pron

*ni*

*tokomake* , *bani* *me* *yoto* *kani* *ya* ,  
ni to- ka -makI , *bani* *me* *yoto* *kani* *na*.NOM+F *ya* ,  
to away go/come following animal 3PL.S cover COMIT AUX ADJU  
prt vi nm pron result aux prt

*he*

*noki* *nemetemoneke* *ahi*  
hee *noki* *na* -hemete -mone -ke *ahi*  
3SG.O wait for AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
pron vt aux dem

'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.'

58 *He*

*noki* *na* , *kame* *kamematamonaka*  
hee *noki* *na*+F , *ka* -ma+M *ka* -ma -himata -mona -ka  
3SG.O wait for AUX go/come back go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
pron vt aux vi vi

*bani*

*me* *one* *weye* *nari*  
*bani* *me* *one* *weye* *na* -haari  
animal 3PL other+F carry AUX IP.E+M  
nm pron adj vt aux

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

## THE ORIGINAL COUPLE

59 *Kame* , *hiwaha* , *hiwaha* *sero*  
 ka -ma+M , hi- awa+F , hi- awa+F sero  
 go/come back OC see OC see avert one's glance from  
 vi vt vt vt

**hinemetemoneke**

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

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

60 *Sero* *hina* , *Owa* *sero*  
 sero hi- na+F , owa sero  
 avert one's glance from OC AUX 1SG.O avert one's glance from  
 vt aux pron vt

**tinahi**

ti- na -hi  
 2SG.S AUX IMP+F  
 aux

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

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

"Our parents are not anymore."

62 *E ka abi me yima me me hikatomaharani*  
 ee ka abi me yima me me hi- katoma -hara -ni  
 1IN POSS father 3PL Yima 3PL.O 3PL.S OC look at IP.E+F BKG+F  
 pron prt nm pron npropm pron pron vt

**ati nemetemoneke**

ati na -hemete -mone -ke  
 say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vt aux

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

63 *Faya me , me ihi me ihi itiha me*  
 faya me , me ihi me ihi iti+F me  
 so 3PL 3PL.POSS victim of+F 3PL.POSS victim of+F exist 3PL.S  
 conj pron pron pn pron pn vi pron

**tokomarani**

to- ka -ma -hara -ni ati na -hemete -mone -ke  
 away go/come back IP.E+F BKG+F say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vi vt aux

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

64 *Faya wati kakiti kana ni tokomematamona*  
 faya wati ka- iti+M kana na.NFIN to- ka -ma -himata -mona  
 so arrow COMIT pick up run AUX away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M  
 conj nm vt vi aux vi

**ahi**

ahi  
 then  
 dem

'He grabbed some arrows, and went running.'

THE ORIGINAL COUPLE

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

*tonamematamonaka*  
 to- na -ma -himata -mona -ka  
 away AUX back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 aux  
 'He went running. He arrived.'

66 *Kobo toname ha ne yima me ha ne* ,  
 kobo to- na -ma+M haa na+M yima me haa na+M  
 arrive away AUX back call AUX Yima 3PL.O call AUX  
 vi aux vi aux npropm pron vt aux

*tokomake ha tonamake wete name*  
 to- ka -makI haa to- na -makI wete na -ma+M  
 away go/come following call away AUX following return AUX back  
 vi vi aux vi aux vi aux

*kame tokomematamonaka*  
 ka -ma+M , to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka  
 go/come back away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi vi  
 'He arrived, and called out. He called the Yimas. He went after them and called. He came back. He went back.'

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

*yifo noko tekamiyahi*  
 yifo noko ti- ka- ka -ma -yahi  
 hammock ball+M 2SG.S COMIT go/come back DIST.IMP+F  
 nm pn vt  
 'He went. "Bring my ball of twine for making hammocks."

68 *Oka yifo noko winaharene*  
 o- ka yifo noko wina -hare -ne  
 1SG.POSS POSS hammock ball+M hang IP.E+M BKG+M  
 prt nm pn vi  
 "'My ball of twine is hanging.'"

69 *Fara owitari onofi ya yifo noko*  
 fara o- ita -rI o- nofa.NOM+F ya yifo noko  
 same+F 1SG.S sit raised surface 1SG.S recently ADJU hammock ball+M  
 dem vi prt nm pn

*winarene ati nemetemoneke*  
 wina -hare -ne ati na -hemete -mone -ke  
 hang IP.E+M BKG+M say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vi vt aux  
 "'The ball of twine is hanging there where I always sit," she said.'

70 *Faya ati na ati himita faya tokome*  
 faya , ati na+F , ati , hi- mita+F faya to- ka -ma+M  
 so say AUX voice OC hear so away go/come back  
 conj vt aux pn vt conj vi

## THE ORIGINAL COUPLE

**yifo tise matamona**  
 yifo tisa -himata -mona  
 hammock undo FP.N+M REP+M  
 nm vt

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

71 **Yifo noko tise** , **yifo noko tama ne** ,  
 yifo noko tisa+M , yifo noko tama na+M  
 hammock ball+M undo hammock ball+M hold onto AUX  
 nm pn vt nm pn vt aux

**toko mematamonaka**  
 to- ka -ma -himata -mona -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.'

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

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

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

73 **Bani me tabasi** , **nabe** , **bani me**  
 bani me tabasi na nahaba+M , bani me  
 animal 3PL.O roast on grill AUX at night animal 3PL.O  
 nm pron vt aux nm pron

**tabasi nabematamonaka**  
 tabasi na nahaba -himata -mona -ka  
 roast on grill AUX at night FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vt aux

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

74 **Bani me tabasi** , **ne bani me nakahe**  
 bani me tabasi na+M bani me na- kaha+M  
 animal 3PL.O roast on grill AUX animal 3PL.O CAUS be toasted  
 nm pron vt aux nm pron vt

**fati ha ne** , **fati ha fatibana**  
 fati haa na+M , fati haa fati -bana  
 3SG.POSS.wife call AUX 3SG.POSS.wife call 3SG.POSS.wife FUT  
 nf vt aux nf vt nf

**fatibana**  
 fati -bana  
 3SG.POSS.wife FUT  
 nf

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

75 **Fatiba** , **ha ne maki** , **katafe** ,  
 fati -ba haa na+M maki ka- tafa+M  
 3SG.POSS.wife FUT call AUX 3SG.POSS.husband COMMIT eat  
 nf vt aux nm vt

## THE ORIGINAL COUPLE

<b>Tika</b> ti- ka 2SG.POSS POSS prt	<b>iha</b> iha plant sp nm	<b>ehene</b> ehene victim of+M pn	<b>okobaba</b> o- kaba -haba 1SG.S eat FUT+F vt	<b>owa</b> owa 1SG.S pron	<b>awine</b> awine seem+F sec
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**oni** ?  
o- ni  
1SG.S BKG+F  
prt

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

76 <b>Ehene</b> ehene victim of+M pn	<b>tikabaho</b> ti- kaba -ho 2SG.S eat IMP+M vt
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"Eat what it killed."

77 <b>Iha</b> iha plant sp nm	<b>watamakara</b> wata -ma -ka -ra exist back DECL+M NEG+M vi
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"There is no more poison."

78 <b>Iha</b> iha plant sp nm	<b>abe</b> ahaba+M die vi	<b>amaka</b> ama -ka SEC DECL+M sec	<b>ati</b> ati say vt	<b>nematamonaka</b> na -himata -mona -ka AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux
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"The poison is all gone," he said.'

79 <b>Ati</b> ati say vt	<b>ne</b> na+M AUX aux	<b>na</b> na AUX aux	<b>fati</b> fati 3SG.POSS.wife nf	<b>tafawemetemoneke</b> tafa -waha -hemete -mone -ke eat change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F vi	<b>fahi</b> fahi then dem
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'So his wife ate.'<sup>45</sup>

80 <b>Me</b> me 3PL.S pron	<b>tafa</b> tafa+F eat vi	<b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron	<b>fati</b> fati 3SG.POSS.wife nf	<b>yifo</b> yifo hammock nm	<b>yifo</b> yifo hammock nm	<b>tore</b> tore weave vt
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<b>kanahaba</b> ka- na COMIT AUX aux	<b>yifo</b> nahaba+F at night nm	<b>yifo</b> yifo hammock nm	<b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron	<b>kiharetetemoneke</b> kiha -ra -hemete -mone -ke have NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F vt
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'They ate. His wife weaved a hammock at night, they didn't have a hammock.'

81 <b>Yifo</b> yifo hammock nm	<b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron	<b>kihara</b> kiha -ra+F have NEG vt	<b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron	<b>hinaka</b> hinaka 3SG.POSS pron	<b>yifobone</b> yifo -bone hammock INT+F nm	<b>fati</b> fati 3SG.POSS.wife nf
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<b>tore</b> tore weave vt	<b>hikane</b> hi- ka- OC COMIT aux	<b>na+M</b> na+M AUX AUX	<b>yifo</b> yifo hammock nm	<b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron	<b>amo</b> amo sleep vi
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<sup>45</sup> This *na* is a mistake, it has no meaning in the context.



## THE ORIGINAL COUPLE

**tokasabani** **mati**  
to- ka- na -kosa -haba -ni mati  
away COMIT AUX middle FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S  
aux pron  
'They didn't have a hammock, so his wife made him a hammock, and they slept a little while.'<sup>46</sup>

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

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

'They slept. Morning came.'

83 **Yama** **we** **kamakia** , **yama** **we** **kamakia**  
yama wehe ka -makI+F , yama wehe ka -makI+F  
thing light+F go/come following thing light+F go/come following  
nf pn vi nf pn vi

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

**towaketemoneke**  
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.'

84 **Towaka** **me** **totowatawiti** **toemetemone**  
to- ka- ka+F me to- to- wata -witi to- ha -hemete -mone  
away COMIT go/come 3PL.S DUP away exist out CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
vi pron vi aux

'They went and lived in another place.'<sup>47</sup>

85 **Faya** , **faya** **kahiwe** , **biti** , **biti** **me**  
faya , faya ka- hiwa+M , biti , biti me  
so so COMIT have children 3SG.POSS.son 3SG.POSS.son 3PL  
conj conj vi nm nm pron

, **biti** **ha** **me** **fama** ,  
biti haa me fama.LIST ,  
3SG.POSS.son DEM 3PL.S be two  
nm dem pron vi

**kahiwamakitase** **ya** **ha** **biti** **me**  
ka- hiwa -makI -tasa.NOM+M ya ha biti me  
COMIT have children following again ADJU DEM 3SG.POSS.son 3PL.S  
vi prt dem nm pron

**famatasa** , **me** **fanawiri** **yoto** , **me**  
fama -tasa.LIST , me fanawi -ri yoto.LIST , me  
be two again 3PL.POSS woman PN follow 3PL.POSS  
vi pron pn vi pron

46 I'm not sure why Siko said *yifobone* (f), it should be *yifobona* (m).

47 The subject pronominal *me* is missing.

## THE ORIGINAL COUPLE

*fanawiri*      *yoto*      *ya*      ,      *bite*      *hawa*  
 fanawi -ri    yoto.NOM    ya      ,      bite      hawa  
 woman PN    follow    ADJU    3SG.POSS.daughter    be ready  
 pn            vi            prt       nf            vi

*toniharawe*      *fare*      ,      *fare*      *biti*      *mera*  
 to- niha- ha -rawa+M    fare      ,      fare      biti      mera  
 CH CAUS AUX F.PL      same+M      same+M    3SG.POSS.son    3PL.O  
 aux                      dem            dem      nm            pron

*kahabanematamonaka*      *ahi*  
 ka- habana -himata -mona -ka      ahi  
 COMMIT order FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M    then  
 vt    dem

'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.'

86 *Te*    *ka*      *asima*      *te*      *yabarawahi*  
 tee ka      asima      tee      yaba -rawa -hi  
 2PL POSS younger sister    2PL.S marry F.PL IMP+F  
 pron prt    nf            pron    vt

"You marry your younger sisters."

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

"There is no one to marry."

88 *Te*    *ka*      *asima*      *te*      *yabarawahi*      *ati*  
 tee ka      asima      tee      yaba -rawa -hi      ati  
 2PL POSS younger sister    2PL.S marry F.PL IMP+F    say  
 pron prt    nf            pron    vt            vt

*nematamonaka*      *bite*      *kahabanarawahari*  
 na -himata -mona -ka      bite      ka- habana -rawa -haari  
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M    3SG.POSS.daughter    COMMIT order F.PL IP.E+M  
 aux    nf            vt

*fare*      *biti*      *me*      *biti*      *me*      *kahabanahari*  
 fare      biti      me      biti      me      ka- habana -haari  
 same+M    3SG.POSS.son    3PL    3SG.POSS.son    3PL.O    COMMIT order IP.E+M  
 dem      nm            pron nm      pron    vt

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

89 *Biti*      *me*      *kahabane*      ,      *faya*      *mera*      ,      *me*      *ka*  
 biti      me      ka- habana+M      ,      faya      mera      ,      me      ka  
 3SG.POSS.son    3PL.O    COMMIT order      so      3PL.O      3PL    POSS  
 nm            pron    vt            conj    pron      vt      pron    prt

*asima*      *me*      *yayaba*      *toarawemetemoneke*  
 asima      me      ya- yaba      to- ha -rawa -hemete -mone -ke  
 younger sister    3PL.S    DUP marry    CH AUX F.PL    FP.N+F    REP+F    DECL+F  
 nf            pron    vt            aux

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

90 *Me*      *kahiwa*      *me*      *kahiwi*      *ya*      *fara*      *me*  
 me      ka- hiwa+F      me      ka- hiwa.NOM+F      ya      fara      me  
 3PL.S    COMMIT have children    3PL.S    COMMIT have children    ADJU    same+F    3PL  
 pron    vi            pron    vi            prt      dem      pron

## THE ORIGINAL COUPLE

, *fara me abe* , *me ka ehewe me me me ka ehewe*  
 fara me abe me ka ehewe me me me ka ehewe  
 same+F 3PL.POSS RECIP 3PL POSS child 3PL 3PL 3PL POSS child  
 dem pron pn pron prt nm pron pron pron prt nm

*me me yayaba toemetemoneni*  
 me me ya- yaba to- ha -hemete -mone -ni  
 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP marry CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 pron pron vt aux

'They had children. After they had children, their children married each other.'<sup>48</sup>

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

'Then their numbers increased again.'

92 *Me fanakanikima ni ka biti me*  
 me fana -kanikima na.NOM+F ka biti me  
 3PL.S be married scattered AUX which 3SG.POSS.son 3PL.O  
 pron vi aux prt nm pron

*kahabane biti me fafana toha me*  
 ka- habana+M biti me fa- fana to- ha+F me  
 COMIT order 3SG.POSS.son 3PL.S DUP be married CH AUX 3PL.S  
 vt nm pron vi aux pron

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

<sup>48</sup> *ehewe* is an archaic form for *inamatewe* 'child'.