

## THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

### *Free Translation*

They were ready to leave, and they spoke. They were going to eat fish. The Brazilians called the deep place in the stream Buchão. It's Buchão now. It was a deep place in the stream.

"Let's go fishing with our hands in the deep place in the stream. Let's grab fish with our hands," they said.

They went into the water. They went into the depths. They grabbed fish with their hands. They brought the fish out.

Their wives came to them. They rotated a stick on cotton, since they didn't have matches. A flame emerged. They roasted fish on coals. They ate the fish.

They went back to the water. They disappeared into the water. They brought fish back out.

"You roast the fish on the grill. Let's eat them. Roasted they are good," they said. They ate fish.

"Come on, shall we go? Yes, let's grab more fish with our hands."

They went off to grab some more fish with their hands. They disappeared in the water. They caught more fish with their hands, and came up again. They took the fish onto the bank.

"Come on, let's get going. Let's sleep. We'll catch fish in the morning. Right, we'll catch them in the morning."

They went home. They slept back in the village. They ate. They slept.

Morning came. "It's morning."

"Yeah, it's morning."

His brother-in-law called him. "Yowa, Yowa."

"What?"

"Yowa, come on, let's eat."

"Yeah, let's go, let's eat." They got ready. They went out.

They had gotten up early. They arrived at the stream.

"There are lots of fish, and we are catching them all the time. Look at them." They always caught lots of fish.

"I'm going to take a little snuff. Let's take a bit of snuff."

"Right." They took snuff.

When they had all taken snuff, they were ready. They went underwater. "Splash, splash." They all disappeared.

Their wives came after them. "They haven't come up yet. They're underwater."

They were about to come up. They had caught fish and killed them, and they brought them back up, dead. They came up. They emerged on the surface.

"Whew. Did you come after us?"

"Yes, we did. We are here waiting."

"Light a fire. Roast the fish on the grill."

They roasted the fish, to eat them. They rotated the fire stick. They caused a flame to appear. They roasted the fish. The women got firewood. The women split the firewood. They toasted manioc mash.

They went down again. They came back up. They brought fish back. They carried fish in

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their hands. They appeared carrying the fish. "Whew."

When they had eaten again, they went down again, full.

"Let's put these away for now. Let's go home now. We'll catch some more in the morning."

"Right, we'll catch them in the morning. What do you say?"

"Yowa, Yowa, come on, Yowa." The other one, Mawa. "Come on, Mawa, let's go." They were red like blood, their necks were red. My grandmother used to say their necks were red.

They went. They went and ate there. They slept. They slept back in the village several nights.

Morning came again. "Yowa, Yowa."

"What?"

"Yowa, it's morning."

"Yeah, it's morning."

"Come on, let's catch fish."

They were ready to go catch fish with their hands again. They went to the water. They went to the water before dawn.

They wanted snuff. They took snuff again. They took snuff, all of them. "It's good to swallow the snuff flem underwater."

They went under. They came back to the surface bringing fish. They went underwater. They disappeared. They came back. "Come and get the fish here," they said to their wives. They threw the fish on the bank.

They went down again. "Let's get fish, so they can be roasted." They went under again. "There are always lots of fish in the deep place in the stream. The deep place in the stream is always full of fish. We always catch them." They went down again. They disappeared. They grabbed fish. They came back. They were swimming carrying the fish. They threw the fish.

The women came and got the fish. They gutted the fish. They took the fish away. "Are they to be roasted on the grill?"

"Yes, roast them on the grill. They will be taken back roasted." They roasted the fish.

"Wait, let's go and take a look at them again." They went down again. They caught fish and brought them back. They went and got more fish.

"Come on, that's enough. That's enough for now. Let's plant our gardens. Let's plant gardens that we have burned. When we have planted the gardens which we have burned, and when we have finished planting manioc, we will go into the water again, to catch fish.

"Right, that's all right," they said.

They were ready to go. They planted manioc all day long. It was very hot, and they were naked, since clothes didn't exist. They planted manioc naked in the heat of the day. They didn't drink water, either. After the sun set they came back. They finished planting the whole garden. They came back. They arrived back.

"Well, are you finished scraping the manioc?"

"Yes, it's all done. I finished it all."

"We planted all of it. It was done quickly."

"Aren't there going to be bananas?"

"We'll plant bananas, pineapples, *haso* taro, *nakafira* taro, yams, everything, when we come back. When we come back, we'll plant all the crops. There will be yams. There will be *haso* taro. There will be *nakafira* taro. There will be corn. We'll plant corn. And we'll plant all the crops. Also *soba* tubers, and *yaro* vine. The burned out tree that will support my *yaro* vines is there in the middle. The tree for the *yaro* vine to climb up is there in the middle of the garden."

"Where will my *yaro* vine be?" they asked. They carried *yaro* vines in their hands. They

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carried *yaro* vines. They were ready, they went.

They planted *yaro* vines. They planted the garden. They planted bananas, and all the other crops.

They came back again at sunset. They arrived back again. They didn't bathe. They planted the garden. They didn't bathe, so they could bathe the next day, they said, my grandmother used to say. My grandmother reported her father's words, at night. They didn't bathe. They planted the crops. They didn't bathe.

They slept. They got up early, my grandmother used to say. They got up early. They took a lot of snuff. After they took a lot of snuff, they left off taking snuff, and then they went to the water.

"You all line up there along the bank, sitting together. We'll all go underwater. The fish will all stay together [because we will hem them in]."

They all went underwater. They caught fish with their hands. They brought the fish up.

"They didn't come. You put the fish there on the ground, for them to roast them."

They took the fish. The fish were all scattered on the bank.

The women came. "Yoo-hoo. Here we are."

"Did you come?"

The women came. They arrived.

"The fish are in a pile there. These are mine, these are my older brother's, my younger brother's, Mawa's, Fawa's. Fawa's are on the other side of mine. Fawa's are there on the ground. Those of many others are there on the ground. They went in there. We're going after them to see them."

They went in. They went underwater after them to see them. Two of them went in. They caught fish with their hands. "Whew."

They brought the fish up. One of them who had disappeared came to them. He didn't come. They waited for him. He came. He emerged from the water. He was holding fish. "Whew, you almost caused me trouble."

"What is it?"

"The water in which we always fish is always without problems, but something wanted to get me and I saw it standing there. It was standing there in the hole. I caught this fish there. I came back really fast. The thing was standing there, really tall. The hole went way down. The thing stood this tall." The thing that takes people away would take them away.

"Come on, you'll see it. Come. You don't believe me, but you'll see it," he said. "How is it that in our water, which we catch fish in with our hands, which you say is always clear, a thing made me afraid? The thing made me afraid.

You'll see it. Come on, you'll see it. Come."

They went in, all of them. They all went in.

The women sat on the ground eating. They wouldn't eat anymore. They sat on the edge of the water eating.

"It must be a monster." They didn't really want to go but they went, to see it. They wanted to see it. In order to see it, they got up. They went in. They went underwater. They didn't come back. They would not come back. They would disappear. They saw it and went after it, and they disappeared, hurt. They didn't come back.

The women went home. They cried. Their crying could be heard. They slept. "Let's sleep. We'll take a look at them tomorrow." They were going to see them the next day, and they slept.

They came again. They got up early. They arrived. "You come, all of you. Let's go see them. Are they living there?"

"I guess they are living there. I guess they are living at the bottom of the stream," they said.

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"Come on."

"Yes, come on, let's go see them."

The women were ready to go see them. They were ready. They went underwater, "Splash, splash." They went after them. They didn't come back. They would not come back. They disappeared, just like their husbands. They didn't come back.

Their children sat on the ground crying. One of them had been carrying a child on her back. She went underwater after them, carrying her son. She disappeared, child and all. The women didn't come back. They stayed living at Yiwa Me Fawa Kani.

The children cried. The adolescent boys sat, calling, "Father, Father, Mother, Mother," because there was no one to be with them. They called out. "My father and the others didn't come back. Why did they disappear? They were always catching fish, and now they disappeared."

The adolescents and the younger children slept. They slept hungry. They saw when day dawned. "Come on, let's go see them," they said. Their children got up early to go see them. They were adolescents. They came after them with the little ones. "They always went here. I think my mother is living here. Here, little sister, come on, I will carry you." He was brave. He hoisted his sister onto his back. "Let's go take a look at my mother. Come. Let's go after them." They went after them. All of them came after them.

"I'm going after them. I'm going to die in the water," one of them said. "I think the deep water does harm."

"I think it will be all right. I think that my father and the others are living there. Let's go and find my father and the others, come on." "Splash, splash." He carried his younger sister. The other one carried his younger brother. The other one carried his younger brother. They carried them and went after them. They had cried. They went after them, but they would not come back. They disappeared just like their fathers. There wasn't one left. It was all of them. They all disappeared in the water.

The deep place in the stream is now Buchão. It's the deep place in the stream where they used to catch fish with their hands. It is Buchão now, because the Brazilians gave it this name. They disappeared. There was no one left where they had slept.

There was a cousin of one of them, he always ate her food, and called her cousin. His cousin always fed him when he came, and he came to see her. He came.

"Yikes, everything is quiet." Everything was quiet. "They were always making lots of noise, why aren't they saying anything? Here, let me take a look at their village. Let me look at their village a little."

He came. He stood looking around. "There, look, their house is empty. What are they doing that their house is empty? Where are they? Just a minute, let me look at the stream. Look, there is their grill for roasting fish."

He came. He called. "Yoohoo, where are you? Where have you disappeared to?" They disappeared.

He was a spirit. The spirit had seen them disappear, and he appeared. "Whew." The spirit appeared. "Is that you calling?"

"I'm calling them. I'm calling the ones who disappeared."

"You are calling the ones who disappeared. They aren't going to come back, they are going to live down there. Something shut them in, and they live there now. The rock fell on them," the spirit said, my grandmother used to say, my father used to say.

"Are you going to see them? If you go see them, you won't come back. They aren't going to come back, they are living underwater. The rock fell on them, and they are living there," the spirit said. The spirit told the story. "Go home. I'm going, too."

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"Really?"

"Really. I'm warning you. Go home. If you go see them, you won't come back. Go back to your wife."

"My cousin, whose food I always ate, is now living underwater. That thing doesn't give up," he said. "Whew, my cousin, whose food I always ate and who has disappeared, her crops are in the field. I'm going to live in her village now and eat her manioc. Her manioc which they had planted was growing all in rows. My cousin's manioc is growing there. I'm going to live where the manioc is. Let it be. I'm going."

He went. He went back to his own people. He went walking upstream over there. He went back upstream. He went back and told about them. "Whew, they disappeared. They are said to be living underwater. A spirit spoke. It is their village. Their manioc is growing in their gardens which they planted. There are many things growing which they planted: pineapple, *nakafira* taro, *haso* taro. I'm going to eat my cousin's crops," he said.

"I came back. I thought I was going to cry, grieving for my cousin. I held in my grief as I came. It's sad. I used to eat my cousin's food, and it's sad. As I came, a collared peccary startled me, it was there and I didn't see it. The peccary went, 'Hee, hee, hee.' I didn't shoot an arrow at it, but came on, because I was sad. The peccary went away. I didn't shoot the peccary with an arrow. I was grieving as I came. The blowgun which I was carrying, which belonged to our affinal relative, is lying there on the trail. I will get it tomorrow."

They listened to the news about them. "Come on, let's see their village," they said. They lived way over there.

They came downstream. They arrived at the others' village. "Where is the trail?"

"This is their trail."

"I'm going to shoot a fish with an arrow." So he went to where the people had always caught fish with their hands. He went to shoot a fish with an arrow. Wow, there were a lot of fish all together. He shot a fish with an arrow. He hit the fish on the head with a stick. He went further downstream. He found some more fish. He shot another fish with an arrow. He shot a few more fish with arrows. He came back upstream. "That's enough. They will be eaten tomorrow."

He came back. He arrived back, carrying the fish. "You haven't seen the fish in the deep place in the stream, the fish they always ate. At the deep place in the stream the fish they always ate are right at the edge. I shot one which was at the edge. I'm going to shoot others tomorrow. The fish which were their downfall are numerous. I think that the fish which they caught with their hands caused their ruin. It seems a rock fell on them. 'A rock fell on them,' I thought, as I shot a fish."

So they roasted the fish on a grill. They ate the fish. They ate. They toasted manioc mash. They ate the manioc mash. They ate the fish.

"I could go in the water after the people who always ate the good-tasting fish and disappeared, but I'm not going to. I will just eat fish. I'm going to shoot a fish tomorrow, so I can eat fish. I think it was because there were so many fish that they caused their ruin. The fish are right at the edge. They are living with the fish."

"Is it Fawa, Fawakane?"

"Yes, it's Fawakane. He is living with the fish now, along with Mawa. Mawa is with Fawakane. They are eating underwater now. They are not coming back."

"Shall we live in their village?"

"Let's live in their village. When we have shot some fish with arrows and roasted them, we will go home. The crops haven't grown big yet."

"Right, let the crops grow a while. Look at my cousin's former crops. Look at the crops my cousin planted, *nakafira* taro, *haso* taro, on the edge of the garden. The fish are taking the place of

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the yams, pineapples, and all the garden crops. [That is, now it is the time to eat fish, and later when the crops are ready, it will be the time to eat crops.]"

He went home. He missed his cousin who was gone. He went to Momonena. They lived at Monena, my father's people, the people of long ago. He went to where my father's father's people were living. He arrived.

"They disappeared. The people who went in the water disappeared. My cousin whose food I ate disappeared," he said.

"What happened to them?"

"I don't know. Nobody saw it. A spirit said they disappeared, he was standing there. I was calling for them and the spirit heard me calling and he stood there and told me about them. 'Don't call for them. You are calling for people who disappeared,' the spirit said to me. I was calling for them and the spirit came to me. 'You are calling for people who disappeared. They are living underwater,' the spirit said. You haven't seen the crops they planted, the people who disappeared. Let's eat the crops. Let's go. Let's live there. Let's live there in their village, come on."

My father and the others were teenagers. They were the sons of Bono Wiyo when he married. My grandfather and the others set out. They came. They arrived. It's the place in the stream where the water is deep. They arrived at the place in the stream where the water is deep. "Wow, look at the crops in the garden. The crops they planted are there."

"They are underwater. The spirit said they disappeared."

Wow, the fish which they caught with their hands were there at the edge of the stream. "They caused their ruin. Look at them." They had arrows. Now they had arrows. They shot fish with arrows. They ate fish after they arrived. They lived there. They lived there and ate.

"Shall we make a new garden?"

"Let's make a new garden. There are our manioc cuttings. We can't let our manioc cuttings go bad."

They made a garden for the manioc cuttings, so they wouldn't let them go bad. They lived there, my father's father used to say, my grandfather used to say. My father used to tell about them. My grandmother used to tell what he said. They lived there. They lived here. They ate, they ate fish. They cleared brush. They cut down trees. When their trees dried, they would burn the trees. They would burn the trees when the *wahana* cicada sang. The trees would be burned when the *wahana* cicada sang. They burned the trees when the *wahana* cicada sang. They burned the trees in the heat of the summer. They burned all the trees. They sang as the trees burned. The women sang. When the trees went out they stopped singing.

The looked at the burned trees. "The trees burned well. Let's plant the garden." They wanted to plant the garden.

"Wait, let the trees cool off. Let the trees cool off for a while. Later the garden will be planted."

So they slept.

"We will shoot fish with arrows a while." They went out to shoot fish with arrows. They shot fish during the day. They carried the fish which had been killed by their arrows. They brought the fish back. They arrived back. They roasted the fish on a grill.

"Did you make manioc cuttings?"

"Yes, we did. The manioc cuttings are standing there in the house."

Morning came. They ate. As they ate, they thought about the manioc. They wanted to make holes for planting manioc. So they planted the garden. They planted the garden during the day. When the sun set they came back. They arrived back, to eat. They bathed in order to eat. when the

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sun set they ate. It got dark on them.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1 *Me* , *me* *yana* *tonaba* *me* , *me* *ati* *yana*  
 me me yana to- na -haba me me ati yana  
 3PL 3PL.S start CH AUX FUT+F 3PL 3PL.POSS voice start  
 pron pron vi aux pron pron pn vi  
*tonemete* *me* , *aba* *me* *me* *kabateba* *mati*  
 to- na -hemete me , aba me me kaba -tee -haba mati  
 CH AUX FP.N+F 3PL fish 3PL.O 3PL.S eat HAB FUT+F 3PL.S  
 aux pron nm pron pron vt pron  
 'They were ready to leave, and they spoke. They were going to eat fish.'

2 *Aba* *me* , *fa* , *fa* *nabatiri* *ya* , *fa* *nabatiri* ,  
 aba me , faha , faha nabatiri ya , faha nabatiri ,  
 fish 3PL stream stream pool ADJU water pool  
 nm pron nf nf pn prt nf pn  
*haha* *Bosao* *ini* *yara* *me*  
 haaha Bosao ini yara me  
 this+F (name of place) name+F Brazilian 3PL.S  
 dem npropf pn npropm pron  
*hinawatehemete* *amake* *ahi*  
 hi- na- wata -hemete ama -ke ahi  
 OC CAUS be located FP.N+F SEC DECL+F then  
 vt sec dem  
 'The Brazilians called the deep place in the stream Buchão.'

3 *Bosao* *toawaineke*  
 Bosao to- ha -waha -ne -ke  
 (name of place) CH be change CONT+F DECL+F  
 npropf vc  
 'It's Buchão now.'

4 *Fa* *nabatiri* *totoa* *toemetemoneke* , *fa*  
 faha nabatiri to- to- ha to- ha -hemete -mone -ke , faha  
 stream pool DUP CH be CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F stream  
 nf pn vc aux nf  
*nabatiri*  
 nabatiri  
 pool  
 pn  
 'It was a deep place in the stream.'

5 *Fa* *nabatiri* *e* *afi* *nahi*  
 faha nabatiri ee afi na -hi  
 stream pool 1IN.S bathe in AUX IMP+F  
 nf pn pron vt aux  
 "'Let's go fishing with our hands in the deep place in the stream.'"

6 *Aba* *me* *e* *watibeya* , *me* *ati* *na* *me* *afi*  
 aba me ee wata -be -ya , me ati na+F me afi  
 fish 3PL.O 1IN.S catch IMMED+F now 3PL.S say AUX 3PL.S bathe  
 nm pron pron vt pron vt aux pron vi

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<b>na</b>	<b>me</b>	,	<b>me</b>	<b>toka</b>		<b>fa</b>	<b>boti</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>toka</b>
na+F	me		me	to- ka+F		faha	boti	me	to- ka+F
AUX	3PL.S		3PL.S	away go/come		water	inside	3PL.S	away go/come
aux	pron		pron	vi		nf	pn	pron	vi
<b>aba</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>wata</b>	<b>aba</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>kakama</b>		<b>me</b>
aba	me	me	wata+F	aba	me	me	ka- ka	-ma+F	me
fish	3PL.O	3PL.S	catch	fish	3PL.O	3PL.S	COMIT go/come	back	3PL.S
nm	pron	pron	vt	nm	pron	pron	vt		pron
,	<b>me</b>	<b>ka</b>	<b>yibote</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>kamakia</b>		<b>me</b>	,	<b>me</b>
	me	ka	yibote	me	ka	-makI+F	me		me
	3PL	POSS	wife	3PL.S	go/come	following	3PL.S		3PL.S
	pron	prt	nf	pron	vi		pron		pron

**kamakietemoneke**

ka -makI -hemete -mone -ke  
 go/come following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vi

'Let's grab fish with our hands,' they said. They went in the water. They went. They went into the depths. They grabbed fish with their hands. They brought the fish out. Their wives came to them. They came.'

<b>7</b>	<b>Me</b>	<b>kamakia</b>		<b>me</b>	,	<b>ee</b>	,	<b>wafe</b>	,	<b>wafe</b>		
	me	ka	-makI+F	me		ee		wafe		wafe		
	3PL.S	go/come	following	3PL.S		(pause)		cotton		cotton		
	pron	vi		pron		interj		nf		nf		
<b>tiwa</b>	<b>tike</b>			<b>wafe</b>	,	<b>Ara</b>	,	<b>ahi</b>	,	<b>wafe</b>	,	<b>wafe</b>
ti-	awa	ti-	ke	wafe		Ara		ahi		wafe		wafe
2SG.S	see	2SG.S	DECL+F	cotton		Alan		this		cotton		cotton
vt		prt		nf		npropm		dem		nf		nf
<b>me</b>	<b>wari</b>			<b>na</b>	,	<b>barito</b>	<b>watari</b>		<b>ya</b>	,	<b>wafe</b>	
me	wari			na+F		barito	wata -ra.NOM+F	ya		wafe		
3PL.S	rotate	something	on	AUX		match	exist NEG	ADJU		cotton		
pron	vt			aux		nf	vi	prt		nf		
<b>me</b>	<b>wari</b>			<b>nemetemone</b>								
me	wari			na -hemete -mone								
3PL.S	rotate	something	on	AUX FP.N+F REP+F								
pron	vt			aux								

'They came. Cotton, you've seen cotton, Alan. They rotated [a stick on] cotton, since they didn't have matches. They rotated [a stick on] cotton.'

<b>8</b>	<b>Wafe</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>wari</b>		<b>na</b>	<b>yama</b>	,	<b>yama</b>	<b>hiri</b>
	wafe	me	wari		na+F	yama		yama	hiri
	cotton	3PL.S	rotate	something	AUX	thing		thing	catch
	nf	pron	vt	on	aux	nf		nf	vi
<b>ni</b>	<b>tasi</b>	<b>tonemetemoneke</b>							
na.NFIN	tasi	to- na -hemete -mone -ke							
AUX	emerge	CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F							
aux	vi	aux							

'They rotated on cotton. A flame emerged.'

<b>9</b>	<b>Aba</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>yoka</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>aba</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>
	aba	me	me	yoka+F		me	aba	me	me
	fish	3PL.O	3PL.S	roast on coals		3PL.S	fish	3PL.O	3PL.S
	nm	pron	pron	vt		pron	nm	pron	pron
<b>yokehemetemoneke</b>						<b>ahi</b>			
yoka			-hemete -mone -ke			ahi			
roast	on	coals	FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F			then			
vt						dem			

'They roasted fish on coals.'



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10 *Aba me me yoka me aba me me kaba*  
 aba me me yoka+F me aba me me kaba+F  
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on coals 3PL.S fish 3PL.O 3PL.S eat  
 nm pron pron vt pron nm pron pron vt  
*me , me tokoma me fawa na aba me*  
 me , me to- ka -ma+F me fawa na+F aba me  
 3PL.S 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S disappear AUX fish 3PL.O  
 pron pron vi pron vi aux nm pron  
*me kakamemetemoneke*  
 me ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.S COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron vt

'They roasted fish on coals. They ate the fish. They went back to the water. They disappeared. They brought fish back out.'

11 *Aba me kakama aba me , aba me , me*  
 aba me ka- ka -ma+F aba me , aba me , me  
 fish 3PL.O COMIT go/come back fish 3PL fish 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 nm pron vt nm pron nm pron pron  
*te tabasi nahi*  
 tee tabasi na -hi  
 2PL.S roast on grill AUX IMP+F  
 pron vt aux

'They brought fish back out. "You roast the fish on the rack."<sup>24</sup>

12 *Me te tabasi nahi*  
 me tee tabasi na -hi  
 3PL.O 2PL.S roast on grill AUX IMP+F  
 pron pron vt aux

""You roast the fish on the rack.""

13 *Me e kabibeya*  
 me ee kaba -be -ya  
 3PL.O 1IN.S eat IMMED+F now  
 pron pron vt

""Let's eat them.""

14 *Me kai kabi eto nofa me amake ,*  
 me kaha.NFIN kaba.NFIN eheto nofa+F me ama -ke  
 3PL.S be toasted eat be good recently 3PL.POSS SEC DECL+F  
 pron vi result vi prt pron sec  
*me ati nemetemoneke*  
 me ati na -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron vt aux

""Roasted they are good," they said.'

15 *Aba me me kaba me , Hima e*  
 aba me me kaba+F me , hima ee  
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S eat 3PL.S let's go 1IN.S  
 nm pron pron vt pron interj pron  
*tokomibana* ?  
 to- ka -ma+F -bana  
 away go/come back FUT  
 vi

24 There is a *me* missing in the first clause.

## THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

"They ate fish. "Come on, shall we go?"

16 *Hibare mata*  
 hibare mata  
 wait for now  
 interj prt

"Wait."

17 *Aba me one e watamakematahi*  
 aba me one ee wata -makI -mata -hi  
 fish 3PL other+F 1IN.S catch following short time IMP+F  
 nm pron adj pron vt

"Let's grab some more fish with our hands."

18 *Aba me one me watamakebone me*  
 aba me one me wata -makI -habone me  
 fish 3PL other+F 3PL.S catch following INT+F 3PL.S  
 nm pron adj pron vt pron

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

*na me , aba me watani me*  
 na+F me , aba me wata -hani me  
 AUX 3PL.S fish 3PL.O catch IP.N+F 3PL.S  
 aux pron nm pron vt pron

*kamatase metemoneke*

ka -ma -tasa -hemete -mone -ke  
 go/come back again FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vi

"They went off to grab some more fish with their hands. They went. They disappeared. They caught more fish with their hands, and came up again."<sup>25</sup>

19 *Me kama me , aba me me*  
 me ka -ma+F me , aba me me  
 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S fish 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron nm pron pron

*towakimisa me aba me , Hima , e yana*  
 to- ka- ka -misa+F me aba me , hima , ee yana  
 away COMIT go/come up 3PL.S fish 3PL let's go 1IN.S start  
 vi pron nm pron interj pron vi

*nahi*

na -hi  
 AUX IMP+F  
 aux

"They came up. They took the fish onto the bank. "Come on, let's get going."

20 *E amo nibeya*  
 ee amo na -be -ya  
 1IN.S sleep AUX IMMED+F now  
 pron vi aux

"Let's sleep."

<sup>25</sup> There is a *me* missing, it should be *aba me me watani*.

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

21 *Aba me e waka , waka naminabanake*  
 aba me ee waka , waka na -mina -habana -ke  
 fish 3PL.O 1IN.S kill kill AUX morning FUT+F DECL+F  
 nm pron pron vt vt aux

"We'll kill fish in the morning."

22 *Ee , me e waka naminabanake*  
 ee , me ee waka na -mina -habana -ke  
 yes 3PL.S 1IN.S kill AUX morning FUT+F DECL+F  
 interj pron pron vt aux

"Right, we will kill them in the morning."

23 *Faya me tokoma me , me*  
 faya me to- ka -ma+F me , me  
 so 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S  
 conj pron vi pron pron

*tokometemoneke*

to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke  
 away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vi

'They went home.'

24 *Me amo tonama me me tafa me amo na ,*  
 me amo to- na -ma+F me me tafa+F me amo na+F  
 3PL.S sleep away AUX back 3PL.S 3PL.S eat 3PL.S sleep AUX  
 pron vi aux pron pron vi pron vi aux

*me amo nemetemoneke*

me amo na -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.S sleep AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron vi aux

'They slept back in the village. They ate. They slept.'

25 *Me amo na me , yama we*  
 me amo na+F me , yama wehe  
 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S thing light+F  
 pron vi aux pron nf pn

*kamakietemone*

ka -makI -hemete -mone ama -ni  
 go/come following FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F  
 vi sec

'They slept. Morning came.'

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

*waineni*

waha -ne -ni  
 dawn CONT+F BKG+F  
 vi

'Morning came. "It's morning."

27 *Ee yama waineni*  
 ee yama waha -ne -ni  
 yes thing dawn CONT+F BKG+F  
 interj nf vi

"Yeah, it's morning."

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

- 28 **Faya wabori** **ha hinematamonaka**  
 faya wabori haa hi- na -himata -mona -ka  
 so 3SG.POSS brother-in-law call OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 conj nm vt aux  
 'His brother-in-law called him.'
- 29 **Yowa** , **Yowa**  
 Yowa Yowa  
 (man's name) (man's name)  
 npropm npropm  
 "'Yowa, Yowa.'"
- 30 **Hoo**  
 hoo  
 huh?  
 interj  
 "'What?'"
- 31 **Yowa** , **hima** , **e tafibeya**  
 Yowa hima ee tafa -be -ya  
 (man's name) let's go 1IN.S eat IMMED+F now  
 npropm interj pron vi  
 "'Yowa, come on, let's eat.'"
- 32 **Ee** , **hima** , **e tafibeya**  
 ee hima ee tafa -be -ya  
 yes let's go 1IN.S eat IMMED+F now  
 interj interj pron vi  
 "'Yeah, let's go, let's eat.'"
- 33 **Me yana tona me yana tonemetemoneke ahi**  
 me yana to- na+F me yana to- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi  
 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 pron vi aux pron vi aux dem
- 'They got ready.'
- 34 **Me yana tona me , tisawa me**  
 me yana to- na+F me tisa -waha+F me  
 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S leave right away change 3PL.S  
 pron vi aux pron vi pron
- toka me bosa nemetemoneke**  
 to- ka+F me bosa na -hemete -mone -ke  
 away go/come 3PL.S get up early AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vi pron vi aux
- 'They got ready. They got ready. They went out. They got up early.'
- 35 **Me bosa na me toka , me kobo**  
 me bosa na+F me to- ka+F me kobo  
 3PL.S get up early AUX 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S arrive  
 pron vi aux pron vi pron vi
- towitia Me fawa tonofa me ota**  
 to- na -witI+F me fawa to- na nofa+F me otaa  
 away AUX out 3PL.S disappear CH AUX recently 3PL.O 1EX.S  
 aux pron vi aux pron pron

## THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

**wawata toine , aba mati**  
 wa- wata to- ha -ne , aba mati  
 DUP catch CH AUX CONT+F fish 3PL  
 vt aux nm pron

"They got up early. They went out. They arrived at the stream. "There are lots of fish, and we are catching them all the time."

36 **Me tiwa haro**  
 me ti- awa haaro  
 3PL.O 2SG.S see that one+F  
 pron vt dem

"Look at them."

37 **Aba me tama me me wawata**  
 aba me tama+F me me wa- wata  
 fish 3PL.S be many 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP catch  
 nm pron vi pron pron vt

**toemetemoneke**  
 to- ha -hemete -mone -ke  
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 aux

'They always caught lots of fish.'

38 **Hiya , sina hisi omate , sina**  
 hiya , sina hisi o- na -mate , sina  
 come on snuff sniff 1SG.S AUX short time.IMP+F snuff  
 interj nf vt aux nf

"I'm going to take a little snuff."

39 **Sina e hisi namatahi**  
 sina ee hisi na -mata -hi  
 snuff 1IN.S sniff AUX short time IMP+F  
 nf pron vt aux

"Let's take a bit of snuff."

40 **Ee**  
 ee  
 yes  
 interj

"Right."

41 **Sina , sina me hisi na me , sina me hisi**  
 sina , sina me hisi na+F me , sina me hisi  
 snuff snuff 3PL.S sniff AUX 3PL.S snuff 3PL.S sniff  
 nf nf pron vt aux pron nf pron vt

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

'They took snuff.'

42 **Sina me hisi na me , faya me nafi sina hisi**  
 sina me hisi na+F me , faya me nafi sina hisi  
 snuff 3PL.S sniff AUX 3PL.S so 3PL.POSS all snuff sniff  
 nf pron vt aux pron conj pron pn nf vt

## THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

*ni ya , me yana tonemetemoneke ahi*  
na.NOM+F ya , me yana to- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi  
AUX ADJU 3PL.S start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
aux prt pron vi aux dem  
'They took snuff. When they had all taken snuff, they were ready.'

43 *Me yana tona me , bokehemetemoneke*  
me yana to- na+F me , boka -hemete -mone -ke  
3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S enter water FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
pron vi aux pron vi  
*oooo oooo oooo oooo*  
oooo oooo oooo oooo  
(sound of water) (sound of water) (sound of water) (sound of water)  
sound sound sound sound  
'They were ready. They went underwater. "Splash, splash."'

44 *Me nafi fawa ni ya , me ka yibote me*  
me nafi fawa na.NOM+F ya , me ka yibote me  
3PL.POSS all disappear AUX ADJU 3PL POSS wife 3PL.S  
pron pn vi aux prt pron prt nf pron  
*kamaki Me kamara me awineni*  
ka -makI.LIST , me ka -ma -ra+F me awine -ni  
go/come following 3PL.S go/come back NEG 3PL.S seem+F BKG+F  
vi pron vi pron sec  
'They all disappeared. Their wives came after them. "They haven't come up yet."'

45 *Me fawa nini*  
me fawa na -ni  
3PL.S disappear AUX BKG+F  
pron vi aux  
'"They're underwater."'

46 *Me kamibeni ya , aba me me*  
me ka -ma -be -ni ya , aba me me  
3PL.S go/come back FUT+F IP.N+F ADJU fish 3PL.O 3PL.S  
pron vi prt nm pron pron  
*watani aba me me , aba me me nabiani*  
wata -hani aba me me , aba me me na- ahaba -hani  
catch IP.N+F fish 3PL.O 3PL.S fish 3PL.O 3PL.S CAUS die IP.N+F  
vt nm pron pron nm pron pron vi  
*aba me abowi me kakamemetemone*  
aba me abohi me ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone  
fish 3PL.POSS dead body 3PL.S COMMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F  
nm pron pn pron vt  
'They were about to come up. They had caught fish and killed them, and they brought the fish back up, dead.'<sup>26</sup>

47 *Aba me abowi me kakama me , me*  
aba me abohi me ka- ka -ma+F me , me  
fish 3PL.POSS dead body 3PL.S COMMIT go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S  
nm pron pn pron vt pron pron  
*kama me tasi nama me , Hoo te*  
ka -ma+F me tasi na -ma+F me , hoo tee  
go/come back 3PL.S emerge AUX back 3PL.S whew 2PL.S  
vi pron vi aux pron interj pron

<sup>26</sup> *kamibeni* is an archaic form, the form according to current use would be *kamibani*.

## THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

**kamakini** ?

ka -makI -ni  
go/come following BKG+F  
vi

"They brought the dead fish up. They came up. They emerged on the surface. "Whew. Did you come after us?"

48 **Ota kamakia otani**  
otaa ka -makI+F otaa -ni  
1EX.S go/come following 1EX.S BKG+F  
pron vi pron

"We came after you."

49 **Ota kamakia otani**  
otaa ka -makI+F otaa -ni  
1EX.S go/come following 1EX.S BKG+F  
pron vi pron

"We came after you."

50 **Ota naomakini**  
otaa naho -makI -ni  
1EX.S stand following BKG+F  
pron vi

"We are here waiting."

51 **Yifo te afo kanahi**  
yifo tee afo ka- na -hi  
fire 2PL.S light COMMIT AUX IMP+F  
nf pron vt aux

"Light a fire."

52 **Aba me te tabasi nahi**  
aba me tee tabasi na -hi  
fish 3PL.O 2PL.S roast on grill AUX IMP+F  
nm pron pron vt aux

"Roast the fish on the rack."

53 **Aba me te tabasi na**  
aba me tee tabasi na  
fish 3PL.O 2PL.S roast on grill AUX  
nm pron pron vt aux

"Roast the fish."

54 **Me e kababanake**  
me ee kaba -habana -ke  
3PL.O 1IN.S eat FUT+F DECL+F  
pron pron vt

"We will eat them."

55 **Faya aba me me tabasi na , awa me wari na**  
faya aba me me tabasi na+F , awa me wari na+F  
so fish 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill AUX wood 3PL.S turn AUX  
conj nm pron pron vt aux nf pron vt aux  
, **awa me wari na me , awa me wari na , yama**  
awa me wari na+F me , awa me wari na+F , yama  
wood 3PL.S turn AUX 3PL.S wood 3PL.S turn AUX thing  
nf pron vt aux pron nf pron vt aux nf

## THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

*hiri* , *yama* *hiri* *ni* *me* *tasi* *toniha*  
 hiri yama hiri na.NFIN me tasi to- niha- na+F  
 catch fire thing catch fire AUX 3PL.S emerge CH CAUS AUX  
 vi nf vi aux pron vi aux

*me* , *faya* *aba* , *aba* *me* *me* *tabasi* *nemete*  
 me faya aba , aba me me tabasi na -hemete  
 3PL.S so fish fish 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill AUX FP.N+F  
 pron conj nm nm pron pron vt aux  
 'They roasted the fish. They rotated the fire stick. They caused a flame to appear. They roasted the fish.'

56 *Yifo* *awarawa* *yifo* *tafa* *narawa* , *yifo*  
 yifo awa -rawa+F yifo tafa na -rawa+F yifo  
 firewood see F.PL firewood split AUX F.PL firewood  
 nf vt nf vt aux nf

*awarawemetemoneke*  
 awa -rawa -hemete -mone -ke  
 see F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vt

'The women got firewood. The women split the firewood. They got firewood.'

57 *Yifo* *awarawa* *iyawa* , *iyawa* *me*  
 yifo awa -rawa+F iyawa , iyawa me  
 firewood see F.PL manioc mash manioc mash 3PL.S  
 nf vt nf nf pron

*sirehemetemoneke* *ahi*  
 sira -hemete -mone -ke ahi  
 toast FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 vt dem

'The women got firewood. They toasted manioc mash.'

58 *Iyawa* *me* *sira* *me* , *iyawa* *me* *sira* *me* ,  
 iyawa me sira+F me , iyawa me sira+F me ,  
 manioc mash 3PL.S toast 3PL.S manioc mash 3PL.S toast 3PL.S  
 nf pron vt pron nf pron vt pron

*me* *tokoma* *me* , *me* *kamemetemoneke*  
 me to- ka -ma+F me , me ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron vi pron pron vi

'They toasted manioc mash. They went down again. They came back up.'

59 *Aba* *me* *me* *kakamemetemoneni*  
 aba me me ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ni  
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S COMMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 nm pron pron vt

'They brought fish back.'

60 *Aba* *me* *me* *ibori* *kawahemetemone*  
 aba me me ibori ka- waha -hemete -mone  
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S carry COMMIT dawn FP.N+F REP+F  
 nm pron pron vt vi

'They carried fish in their hands.'<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> *ibori na* is an archaic form; the form in current use is *bokori na*.



THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

61 *Aba me me ibori kawaha me tasi nama*  
 aba me me ibori ka- na -waha+F me tasi na -ma+F  
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S carry COMIT AUX change 3PL.S emerge AUX back  
 nm pron pron vt aux pron vi aux  
*me , Oof hoo faya me tafatasi ya , me tafa*  
 me , oof hoo faya me tafa -tasa.NOM+F ya , me tafa+F  
 3PL.S hoo whew so 3PL.S eat again ADJU 3PL.S eat  
 pron interj interj conj pron vi prt pron vi  
*me , akara me tokomemetemoneni*  
 me , akara+F me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ni  
 3PL.S be satiated 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 pron vi pron vi

"They appeared carrying the fish."Whew." When they had eaten again, they went down again, full.'

62 *Hine me namati na mata*  
 hine me na -mata.NOM+F na mata  
 only 3PL.S exist short time AUX for now  
 pron pron aux aux prt

"Let's put these away for now."

63 *E tokomamatahi*  
 ee to- ka -ma -mata -hi  
 1IN.S away go/come back short time IMP+F  
 pron vi

"Let's go home now."

64 *Me e wataminabanake*  
 me ee wata -mina -habana -ke  
 3PL.O 1IN.S catch morning FUT+F DECL+F  
 pron pron vt

"We'll catch some more in the morning."

65 *Ee , me e wataminabana*  
 ee me ee wata -mina -habana  
 yes 3PL.O 1IN.S exist morning FUT+F  
 interj pron pron vt

"Right, we'll catch them in the morning."

66 *E tini ?*  
 ee ati ti- na -ni  
 like this say 2SG.S AUX BKG+F  
 dem vt

"What do you say?"

67 *Yowa , Yowa , hima , Yowa*  
 Yowa , Yowa , hima , Yowa  
 (man's name) (man's name) let's go (man's name)  
 npropm npropm interj npropm

"Yowa, Yowa, come on, Yowa."

68 *Ee*  
 ee  
 (pause)  
 interj

"Right."

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

69 *Ee* , *owa* , *Mawa* , *Mawa* , *Mawa* ,  
 ee , owa , Mawa , Mawa , Mawa ,  
 (pause) other+M (man's name) (man's name) (man's name)  
 interj adj npropm npropm npropm

*Ee* , *hima* *Mawa* , *e* *tokomamata*  
 ee , hima Mawa , ee to- ka -ma -mata  
 yes let's go (man's name) 1IN.S away go/come back short time  
 interj interj npropm pron vi

*mata*

mata  
 for now  
 prt

'The other one, Mawa. "Right, come on, Mawa, let's go."'

70 *Me* , *me* *ame* *yoyowa* *toemetemone* *ahi* ,  
 me me ame yo- yowa to- ha -hemete -mone ahi ,  
 3PL 3PL.POSS blood+F DUP reach CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F then  
 pron pron pn vi aux dem

*me* *namiti* *mawawa* *na* *mati* *haro*  
 me namiti mawa -wa na+F mati haaro  
 3PL.POSS neck be red DUP AUX 3PL.POSS that one+F  
 pron pn vi aux pron dem

'They were red like blood, their necks were red.'

71 *Me* *namiti* *mawawa* *na* *toemetemone*  
 me namiti mawa -wa na to- ha -hemete -mone  
 3PL.POSS neck be red DUP AUX CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron pn vi aux aux

*okaki* *aati* *toamaroke*  
 o- ka aki a- ati to- ha -hamaro -ke  
 1SG.S POSS grandmother DUP say CH AUX FP.E+F DECL+F  
 nf vt aux

'My grandmother used to say their necks were red.'

72 *Faya* *me* *tokomemetemoneke*  
 faya me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke  
 so 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 conj pron vi

'They went.'

73 *Me* *tokoma* *me* *me* *totafama* , *me*  
 me to- ka -ma+F me me to- tafa -ma+F , me  
 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S away eat back 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron pron vi pron

*totafama* *me* *amo* *na* *me* , *me* *amo* *tasa*  
 to- tafa -ma+F me amo na+F me , me amo na -tasa+F  
 away eat back 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S sleep AUX again  
 vi pron vi aux pron pron vi aux

*me* , *me* *amo* *na* *me* *me* *amo* *ni* , *yama* *we*  
 me me amo na+F me me amo na.NFIN , yama wehe  
 3PL.S 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S sleep AUX thing light+F  
 pron pron vi aux pron pron vi aux nf pn

*kamakitasa* *yama* *we* *kamakitasa*  
 ka -makI -tasa+F , yama wehe ka -makI -tasa+F  
 go/come following again thing light+F go/come following again  
 vi nf pn vi

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

**yama** , **Yowa** , **Yowa**  
yama , Yowa , Yowa  
thing (man's name) (man's name)  
nf npropm npropm

"They went and ate there. They slept. They slept back in the village. They slept. Morning came again. "Yowa, Yowa."

74 **Haa**  
haa  
huh?  
interj  
""What?""

75 **Yowa** **yama** **waineni**  
Yowa yama waha -ne -ni  
(man's name) thing dawn CONT+F BKG+F  
npropm nf vi  
""Yowa, it's morning.""

76 **Ee** **yama** **waineke**  
ee yama waha -ne -ke  
yes thing dawn CONT+F DECL+F  
interj nf vi  
""Yeah, it's morning.""

77 **Hima** , **hima** , **aba** **e** **watibeya**  
hima , hima , aba ee wata -be -ya  
let's go let's go fish 1IN.S catch IMMED+F now  
interj interj nm pron vt  
""Come on, let's catch fish.""

78 **Aba** **me** **watabone** , **me** **yana** **tonemetemoneke**  
aba me wata -habone , me yana to- na -hemete -mone -ke  
fish 3PL.S catch INT+F 3PL.S start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
nm pron vt pron vi aux

**tasa**  
tasa  
again  
prt  
'They were ready to go catch fish with their hands again.'

79 **Me** **yana** **tona** **me** **tokifiwawitia** , **me**  
me yana to- na+F me to- ka -fI -waha -witI+F , me  
3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S away go/come water change out 3PL.S  
pron vi aux pron vi pron

**tokifiwawitia** **yama** **warisi** **ya**  
to- ka -fI -waha -witI+F yama waha -risa.NOM+F ya  
away go/come water change out thing dawn down ADJU  
vi nf vi prt

'They were ready. They went to the water. They went to the water before dawn.'

80 **Sina** **me** **wati** **kana** **sina** **me** **hisi** **tasa**  
sina me wati ka- na+F sina me hisi na -tasa+F  
snuff 3PL.S go after COMMIT AUX snuff 3PL.S sniff AUX again  
nf pron vt aux nf pron vt aux

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

*me* , *sina* *me* *hisi* *nemetemoneke* , *me* *nafi* .  
 me sina me hisi na -hemete -mone -ke , me nafi  
 3PL.S snuff 3PL.S sniff AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.POSS all  
 pron nf pron vt aux pron pn  
 'They wanted snuff. They took snuff again. They took snuff, all of them.'

81 *Sina* *yoti* , *sina* *yoti* *yome* *ni* *eto* *nofa*  
 sina yoti , sina yoti yome na.NFIN eheto nofa+F  
 snuff mucus+F snuff mucus+F swallow AUX be good recently  
 nf pn nf pn result aux vi prt

*amake* *faha* *boti* *karo* .  
 ama -ke faha boti karo  
 SEC DECL+F water inside LOC  
 sec nf pn prt

"It's good to swallow the snuff flem underwater."

82 *Faha* *boti* *ka* *sina* *yoti* *yome* *ni* *eheto* *nofa*  
 faha boti ka sina yoti yome na.NFIN eheto nofa+F  
 water inside LOC snuff mucus+F swallow AUX be good recently  
 nf pn prt nf pn result aux vi prt

*amake* .  
 ama -ke  
 SEC DECL+F  
 sec

"Swallowing snuff flem underwater is good."

83 *Faya* *yama* , *me* *fawa* *na* *me* , *me* *tasi*  
 faya yama , me fawa na+F me , me tasi  
 so thing 3PL.S disappear AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S emerge  
 conj nf pron vi aux pron pron vi

*namemetemoneke* *aba* *me* *me* *kakama*  
 na -ma -hemete -mone -ke aba me me ka- ka -ma+F  
 AUX back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F fish 3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT go/come back  
 aux nm pron pron vi

*mati* .  
 mati  
 3PL.S  
 pron

'They went under. They came back to the surface bringing fish.'

84 *Me* *bokemetemoneke* .  
 me boka -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.S enter water FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron vi

'They went underwater.'

85 *Me* *boka* *me* *fawa* *na* *me* *kama* *me* ,  
 me boka+F me fawa na+F me ka -ma+F me ,  
 3PL.S enter water 3PL.S disappear AUX 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron vi aux pron vi pron

*me* *ka* *yibote* *me* , *Aba* *me* *te* *nakamaki* ,  
 me ka yibote me , aba me tee na- ka -maki ,  
 3PL POSS wife 3PL fish 3PL.O 2PL.S CAUS go/come following  
 pron prt nf pron nm pron pron vt

## THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

*haro*

haaro  
that one+F  
dem

'They went under water. They disappeared. They came back. "Come and get the fish here," they said to their wives.'

86 *Aba me me were nemetemone ahi*  
aba me me were na -hemete -mone ahi  
fish 3PL.O 3PL.S throw AUX FP.N+F REP+F then  
nm pron pron vt aux dem

'They threw the fish on the bank.'

87 *Aba me me were na me , aba me me were*  
aba me me were na+F me , aba me me were  
fish 3PL.O 3PL.S throw AUX 3PL.S fish 3PL.O 3PL.S throw  
nm pron pron vt aux pron nm pron pron vt

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

'They threw the fish.'

88 *Me tokomataša Me , ota*  
me to- ka -ma -tasa+F me , otaa  
3PL.S away go/come back again 3PL.O 1EX.S  
pron vi pron pron

*tonakamamateya me tabasi*  
to- na- ka -ma -mate -ya , me tabasi  
away CAUS go/come back short time.IMP+F now 3PL.S roast on grill  
vt pron result

*naba mati*  
na -haba mati  
AUX FUT+F 3PL.S  
aux pron

'They went down again. "Let's get them, so they will be roasted."'

89 *Me tokomemetemoneke*  
me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke  
3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
pron vi

'They went under again.'

90 *Me tokoma me , fa nabatiri , fa nabatiri*  
me to- ka -ma+F me , faha nabatiri , faha nabatiri  
3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S stream pool stream pool  
pron vi pron nf pn nf pn

*aba kiakia raba nofara amake*  
aba kiha- kiha na -raba na nofa -ra+F ama -ke  
fish DUP have AUX a bit AUX recently NEG SEC DECL+F  
nm vt aux aux sec

'They went under. "There are always lots of fish in the deep place in the stream."'

91 *Fa nabatiri , fa nabatiri howa tonofara*  
faha nabatiri , faha nabatiri howa tonofara  
stream pool stream pool be open CH AUX recently NEG  
nf pn nf pn vi aux

## THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

**amani**          **aba**      **me**                  **ihi**  
ama -ni          aba      me                  ihi  
SEC BKG+F      fish    3PL.POSS      because of+F  
sec                  nm      pron                  post  
"The deep place in the stream is always full of fish."

92 **Me**      **ota**          **wawata**          **toineke**  
me      otaa      wa- wata      to- ha    -ne      -ke  
3PL.O    1EX.S    DUP catch    CH    AUX    CONT+F    DECL+F  
pron    pron    vt                  aux  
"We always catch them."

93 **Faya**   **me**      **tokometemoneke**  
faya    me      to- ka          -ma    -hemete    -mone    -ke  
so      3PL.S    away go/come back    FP.N+F    REP+F    DECL+F  
conj    pron    vi  
"They went down again."

94 **Me**      **tokoma**                                  **me**      **fawa**          **na**      **me**          ,      **aba**          ,      **aba**  
me      to- ka          -ma+F    me      fawa          na+F    me          ,      aba          ,      aba  
3PL.S    away go/come back    3PL.S    disappear    AUX      3PL.S          fish          fish  
pron    vi                                  pron    vi                                  aux      pron          nm          nm  
**me**      **me**      **watemetemone**  
me      me      wata    -hemete    -mone  
3PL.O    3PL.S    catch    FP.N+F    REP+F  
pron    pron    vt  
"They went down again. They disappeared. They grabbed fish."

95 **Aba**    **me**      **me**      **wata**          **me**                  ,      **kamemetemoneke**  
aba    me      me      wata+F    me                  ,      ka          -ma    -hemete    -mone    -ke  
fish    3PL.O    3PL.S    catch      3PL.S          go/come back    FP.N+F    REP+F    DECL+F  
nm      pron    pron    vt          pron          vi  
**tasa**  
tasa  
again  
prt  
"They grabbed fish. They came back to the surface."

96 **Me**      **kama**                                  **me**                  ,      **me**      **kama**                                  **me**                  ,      **faya**  
me      ka          -ma+F    me                  ,      me      ka          -ma+F    me                  ,      faya  
3PL.S    go/come back    3PL.S          3PL.S    go/come back    3PL.S          so  
pron    vi                                  pron          pron    vi                                  pron          conj  
**me**      **kama**                                  **me**                  ,      **me**      **kamemetemone**  
me      ka          -ma+F    me                  ,      me      ka          -ma    -hemete    -mone  
3PL.S    go/come back    3PL.S          3PL.S    go/come back    FP.N+F    REP+F  
pron    vi                                  pron          pron    vi  
"They came back."

97 **Aba**    **me**      **me**      **tibori**                  **kana**                  **aba**      **me**      **me**      **were**  
aba    me      me      tibo -ri      ka-      na+F      aba    me      me      were  
fish    3PL.O    3PL.S    swim DISTR    COMIT    AUX      fish    3PL.O    3PL.S    throw  
nm      pron    pron    vi                  aux                  nm      pron    pron    vt  
**nemetemoneke**  
na    -hemete    -mone    -ke  
AUX    FP.N+F    REP+F    DECL+F  
aux  
"They were swimming carrying the fish. They threw the fish."

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

98 *Me fanawi* , *me fanawi* *aba* *me* *me* *nakamake* *aba*  
 me fanawi , me fanawi aba me me na- ka -makI aba  
 women women fish 3PL.O 3PL.S CAUS go/come following fish  
 nf nf nm pron pron vt nm

*me* *me* *soko* *na* *aba* *me* *me* *towakama*  
 me me soko na+F aba me me to- ka- ka -ma+F  
 3PL.O 3PL.S wash AUX fish 3PL.O 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back  
 pron pron vt aux nm pron pron vt

*me* *Me* *tabasi* *nibana* ?  
 me me tabasi na+F -bana ?  
 3PL.S 3PL.S roast on grill AUX FUT  
 pron pron result aux

"The women came after the fish. They washed the fish. They took the fish away. "Are they to be roasted on the rack?"

99 *Ee* *me* *te* *tabasi* *nahi*  
 ee me tee tabasi na -hi  
 yes 3PL.O 2PL.S roast on grill AUX IMP+F  
 interj pron pron vt aux

"Yes, roast them on the rack."

100 *Me* *te* *tabasi* *nahi*  
 me tee tabasi na -hi  
 3PL.O 2PL.S roast on grill AUX IMP+F  
 pron pron vt aux

"Roast them on the rack."

101 *Me* *kai* *towakamabanake*  
 me kaha.NFIN to- ka- ka -ma -habana -ke  
 3PL.S be toasted away COMIT go/come back FUT+F DECL+F  
 pron vi result

"They will be taken back roasted."

102 *Aba* *me* *me* *tabasi* *nemetemoneke*  
 aba me me tabasi na -hemete -mone -ke  
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 nm pron pron vt aux

"They roasted the fish."

103 *Aba* *me* *me* *tabasi* *na* *me* , *Hiba* , *me*  
 aba me me tabasi na+F me , hiba , me  
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill AUX 3PL.S wait 3PL.O  
 nm pron pron vt aux pron interj pron

*ota* *towamamatibe*  
 otaa to- awa -ma -mata -be  
 1EX.S away see back short time IMMED+F  
 pron vt

"They roasted the fish. "Wait, let's go and take a look at them again."

104 *Me* *tokoma* *me* , *aba* *me* *me* *watahani*  
 me to- ka -ma+F me , aba me me wata -hani  
 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S fish 3PL.O 3PL.S catch IP.N+F  
 pron vi pron nm pron pron vt

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

*aba me me kakamatasa me , aba me me*  
 aba me me ka- ka -ma -tasa+F me , aba me me  
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT go/come back again 3PL.S fish 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 nm pron pron vt pron nm pron pron  
*kakama aba me , tonakamatasa me ,*  
 ka- ka -ma+F aba me , to- na- ka -ma -tasa+F me ,  
 COMIT go/come back fish 3PL.S away CAUS go/come back again 3PL.S  
 vt nm pron vt pron

*Hima , ee , faya me amani .*  
 hima ee faya me ama -ni  
 let's go (pause) enough 3PL.S be BKG+F  
 interj interj adj pron vc

"They went down. They brought back the fish they had caught. They brought the fish. They went and got more fish. "Come on, that's enough."

105 *Faya me amani mata .*  
 faya me ama -ni mata  
 enough 3PL.S be BKG+F for now  
 adj pron vc prt

"That's enough for now."

106 *E ka , e ka awa , e ka awa e*  
 ee ka , ee ka awa , ee ka awa ee  
 1IN POSS 1IN POSS garden 1IN POSS garden 1IN.S  
 pron prt pron prt nf pron prt nf pron

*natafamataba ereke .*  
 na- tafa -mata -haba ere -ke  
 CAUS eat short time FUT+F 1IN.S DECL+F  
 vt pron

"Let's plant our gardens."

107 *Awa e natafamataba ere .*  
 awa ee na- tafa -mata -haba ere  
 garden 1IN.S CAUS eat short time FUT+F 1IN.S  
 nf pron vt pron

"Let's plant the gardens."

108 *Awa , e sari naro , awa e sari na e*  
 awa ee sari na -haaro , awa ee sari na+F ee  
 garden 1IN.S burn AUX PFUT+F garden 1IN.S burn AUX 1IN.S  
 nf pron vt aux nf pron vt aux pron

*natafi ya fowa sero ni ahabe ya , e*  
 na- tafa.NOM+F ya fowa sero na.NFIN ahaba.NOM+M ya , ee  
 CAUS eat ADJU manioc hoe AUX end ADJU 1IN.S  
 vt prt nm result aux vi prt pron

*afi naba eke aba me e wataba e .*  
 afi na -haba ee -ke aba me ee wata -haba ee  
 bathe AUX FUT+F 1IN.S DECL+F fish 3PL.O 1IN.S catch FUT+F 1IN.S  
 vi aux pron nm pron pron vt pron

"When we have burned the gardens, when we have planted the gardens which we have burned, and when the planting of manioc is finished, we will go into the water, to catch fish."

109 *Ee , towe amakere , me ati nemetemoneke*  
 ee towe ama -ke -re , me ati na -hemete -mone -ke  
 yes bad be DECL+F NEG+F 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 interj adj vc pron vt aux



THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

*ahi*

ahi  
then  
dem

"Right, that's all right," they said.'

110 *Me ati na , me yana tonemetemone*  
me ati na+F , me yana to- na -hemete -mone  
3PL.S say AUX 3PL.S start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
pron vt aux pron vi aux

'They were ready to go.'

111 *Fowa me , fowa me koro natia me , fowa*  
fowa me , fowa me koro na nahatI+F me , fowa  
manioc 3PL manioc 3PL.S plant AUX daytime 3PL.S manioc  
nm pron nm pron vt aux pron nm

*me koro natia me yama hiwahiwa raba*  
me koro na nahatI+F me yama hiwa- hiwa na -raba  
3PL.S plant AUX daytime 3PL.S thing DUP be hot AUX a bit  
pron vt aux pron nf vi aux

*ri ya , makari watari ya me kori*  
na -ra.NOM+F ya , makari wata -ra.NOM+F ya me kori  
AUX NEG ADJU clothes exist NEG ADJU 3PL.POSS naked+F  
aux prt nf vi prt pron pn

*me kori fowa sero nemetemone bai hiwene ya*  
me kori fowa sero na -hemete -mone bahi hiwene ya  
3PL.POSS naked+F manioc hoe AUX FP.N+F REP+F sun heat+M ADJU  
pron pn nm vt aux nm pn prt

'They planted manioc all day long. It wasn't a little hot, and they were naked before there were clothes. They planted manioc naked in the heat of the sun.'

112 *Fa me fawarihi , bai ahabe yokana ya me*  
faha me fawa -rihi , bahi ahaba.NOM+M yokana ya me  
water 3PL.S drink NEG.LIST sun end true ADJU 3PL.S  
nf pron vt nm vi adj prt pron

*kama me awa me nahabia me , kama*  
ka -ma+F me awa me na- ahaba+F me , ka -ma+F  
go/come back 3PL.S garden 3PL.S CAUS end 3PL.S go/come back  
vi pron nf pron vt pron vi

*me kobo nama me , me kobo*  
me kobo na -ma+F me , me kobo  
3PL.S arrive AUX back 3PL.S 3PL.S arrive  
pron vi aux pron pron vi

*namemetemoneke*

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

'They didn't drink water, either. After the sun set they came back. They finished planting the whole garden. They came back. They arrived back.'

113 *Me kobo nama me , Fera ?*  
me kobo na -ma+F me , fee -ra ?  
3PL.S arrive AUX back 3PL.S that+M NPQ  
pron vi aux pron dem

'They arrived home. "Well?"'

## THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

114 *Tika* *fowa* *sowe* *ni* *ahabe* ?  
 ti- ka fowa sowe na.NFIN ahaba+M  
 2SG.POSS POSS manioc scrape AUX end  
 prt nm result aux vi

"Are you finished scraping the manioc?"

115 *Ee* , *abareka* , *nafi* *nafi* *nafi* .  
 ee , ahaba -hare -ka , nafi nafi nafi .  
 yes end IP.E+M DECL+M all all all  
 interj vi pn pn pn

"Yes, it's all done."

116 *Nafi* *otiharake* *haro* .  
 nafi o- iti -hara -ke haaro  
 all 1SG.S take out IP.E+F DECL+F that one+F  
 pn vt dem

"I finished it all."

117 *Nafi* *ota* *koro* *narake* .  
 nafi otaa koro na -hara -ke .  
 all 1EX.S plant AUX IP.E+F DECL+F  
 pn pron vt aux

"We planted all of it."

118 *Abakabote* *narake* .  
 ahaba -kabote na -hara -ke .  
 end quickly AUX IP.E+F DECL+F  
 vi aux

"It was done quickly."

119 *Yifari* *wataraba* *ama* *yifari* ?  
 yifari wata -ra -haba ama yifari ?  
 banana exist NEG FUT+F SEC banana  
 nf vi sec nf

"Aren't there going to be bananas?"

120 *Yifari* , *sami* , *sami* , *haso* , *nakafira* , *biha* ,  
 yifari , sami , sami , haso , nakafira , biha ,  
 banana pineapple pineapple taro sp taro sp plant sp  
 nf nf nf nm nf nm

*yama* *nafi* *e* *koro* *naba* *ereke* *mata* , *e*  
 yama nafi ee koro na -haba ere -ke mata , ee  
 thing all 1IN.S plant AUX FUT+F 1IN.S DECL+F for now 1IN.S  
 nf pn pron vt aux pron prt pron

*kamatasi* *ya* .  
 ka -ma -tasa.NOM+F ya .  
 go/come back again ADJU  
 vi prt

"We'll plant bananas, pineapples, *haso* taro, *nakafira* taro, yams, everything, when we come back."

121 *E* *kamatasi* *ya* *yama* *nafi* *e* *koro*  
 ee ka -ma -tasa.NOM+F ya yama nafi ee koro  
 1IN.S go/come back again ADJU thing all 1IN.S plant  
 pron vi prt nf pn pron vt

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

**naba**            **eni**  
na -haba ee -ni  
AUX FUT+F 1IN.S BKG+F  
aux pron  
'When we come back, we'll plant all the crops.'

122 **Bihaba**            **amani**  
biha -ba ama -ni  
plant sp FUT be BKG+F  
nm vc  
'""There will be yams.'"

123 **Hasoba**            **amane**  
haso -ba ama -ne  
taro sp FUT be BKG+M  
nm vc  
'""There will be *haso* taro.'"

124 **Nakafiraba**        **amani**  
nakafira -ba ama -ni  
taro sp FUT be BKG+F  
nf vc  
'""There will be *nakafira* taro.'"

125 **Kimiba**            **ama** , **kimi**  
kimi -ba ama , kimi  
corn FUT be corn  
nm vc nm  
'""There will be corn.'"

126 **Kimi** **e**        **koro**            , **yama** **nafi** **e**        **koro**            , **naba**  
kimi ee koro.LIST , yama nafi ee koro.LIST , na -haba  
corn 1IN.S plant thing all 1IN.S plant AUX FUT+F  
nm pron vt nf pn pron vt aux

**ere**  
ere  
1IN.S  
pron  
'""We'll plant corn. And we'll plant all the crops.'"

127 **Soba**            , **ee**            **soba**            , **ino**            , **ino**            **fawa**  
soba , ee soba.LIST , ino , ino fawa  
plant sp (pause) plant sp name+M name+M disappear  
nm interj nm pn pn vi  
**nenoka**            , **yaro**            , **yaro**            , **yaro**            , **yaro**            **toha**  
na -hino -ka , yaro , yaro , yaro , yaro to- ha.LIST  
AUX IP.N+M DECL+M vine sp vine sp vine sp vine sp CH be  
aux nm nm nm nm vc  
, **oka**            **yaro**            **ewenebona**        **wakose**            **amane**  
o- ka yaro ewene -bona waa -kosa+M ama -ne  
1SG.POSS POSS vine sp stick+M INT+M stand middle SEC BKG+M  
prt nm pn vi sec  
'""Also *soba* tubers...I forgot its name...*yaro* vine. The burned out tree for my *yaro* vines is there in the middle.'"

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

128 *Awa wa awa baikani ya , yaro webona*  
 awa waa+F awa baikani ya , yaro waa -hibona  
 tree stand garden middle ADJU vine sp stand INT+M  
 nf vi nf pn prt nm vi

*ewenebona waka*  
 ewene -bona waa -ka  
 stick+M INT+M stand DECL+M  
 pn vi

"The tree for the *yaro* vine to grow on is there in the middle of the garden.'

129 *Hibaka ya oko yaro waraba , ha owa ?*  
 hibaka ya o- ka yaro waa -ra -ba , haa owa ?  
 where ADJU 1SG.POSS POSS vine sp stand CQ+M FUT DEM 1SG  
 interrog prt prt nm vi dem pron

*me ati nemetemone*  
 me ati na -hemete -mone  
 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron vt aux

"Where will my *yaro* vine be?" they said.'

130 *Yaro me ibori kawahemetemoneke ahi*  
 yaro me ibori ka- na -waha -hemete -mone -ke ahi  
 vine sp 3PL.S carry COMIT AUX change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 nm pron vt aux dem

'They carried *yaro* vines in their hands.'

131 *Faya yaro me ibori kawaha me , me yana*  
 faya yaro me ibori ka- na -waha+F me , me yana  
 so vine sp 3PL.S carry COMIT AUX change 3PL.S 3PL.S start  
 conj nm pron vt aux pron pron vi

*tonabone me , tokemetemoneke*  
 to- na -habone me , to- ka -hemete -mone -ke  
 CH AUX INT+F 3PL.S away go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 aux pron vi

'They carried *yaro* vines. They were ready, and they went.'

132 *Yaro me koro nemetemone*  
 yaro me koro na -hemete -mone  
 vine sp 3PL.S plant AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 nm pron vt aux

'They planted *yaro* vines.'

133 *Awa me koro na , yifari yamata na me*  
 awa me koro na+F , yifari.LIST yamata.LIST na+F me  
 garden 3PL.S plant AUX banana crops AUX 3PL.S  
 nf pron vt aux nf nf aux pron

*koro nemetemoneke nafi ahi*  
 koro na -hemete -mone -ke nafi ahi  
 plant AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F all then  
 vt aux pn dem

'They planted the garden. They planted bananas, and all the other crops.'

134 *Bai fawa nise ya me kamatasa*  
 bahi fawa na -risa.NOM+M ya me ka -ma -tasa+F  
 sun disappear AUX down ADJU 3PL.S go/come back again  
 nm vi aux prt pron vi

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*me* , *me* *kobo* *namatasa* , *me* *kobo*  
 me me kobo na -ma -tasa+F me kobo  
 3PL.S 3PL.S arrive AUX back again 3PL.S arrive  
 pron pron vi aux pron vi

*namemetemoneke* *tasa* .  
 na -ma -hemete -mone -ke tasa  
 AUX back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F again  
 aux prt

'They came back again at sunset. They arrived back again. They arrived back again.'

135 *Me* , *me* *afi* *rihi* , *me* *afi*  
 me me afi na -rihi me afi  
 3PL 3PL.S bathe AUX NEG.LIST 3PL.S bathe  
 pron pron vi aux pron vi

*remetemoneke*  
 na -ra -hemete -mone -ke  
 AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 aux

'They didn't bathe.'

136 *Awa* *me* *natafa* *me* *afi* *remetemoneke* ,  
 awa me na- tafa+F me afi na -ra -hemete -mone -ke  
 garden 3PL.S CAUS eat 3PL.S bathe AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 nf pron vt pron vi aux

*me* *afi* *naminibone* *karo* , *me* *ati*  
 me afi na -mina.NOM+F -bone karo me ati  
 3PL.S bathe AUX morning INT+F so that 3PL.S say  
 pron vi aux prt pron vt

*nemetemone* *okaki* *aati* *toamaroni* .  
 na -hemete -mone o- ka aki a- ati to- ha -hamaro -ni  
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.S POSS grandmother DUP say CH AUX FP.E+F BKG+F  
 aux nf vt aux

'They planted the garden. They didn't bathe, so they could bathe the next day, they said, my grandmother used to say.'

137 *Okaki* *bati* *atimatamona* , *faya*  
 o- ka aki bati ati -mata -mona faya  
 1SG.S POSS grandmother 3SG.POSS.father voice FP.N+M REP+M so  
 nf nm pn conj

*okaki* *hiyara* *naba* , *faya* *me* *afi* *rihi*  
 o- ka aki hiyara nahaba+F faya me afi na -rihi  
 1SG.S POSS grandmother speak at night so 3PL.S bathe AUX NEG.LIST  
 nf vi prt conj pron vi aux

, *me* *afi* *ra* *yama* *me* *natafa* *me* *afi*  
 me afi na -ra+F yama me na- tafa+F me afi  
 3PL.S bathe AUX NEG thing 3PL.S CAUS eat 3PL.S bathe  
 pron vi aux nf pron vt pron vi

*ra* *me* , *amo* *na* *me* , *bosa*  
 na -ra+F me amo na+F me bosa  
 AUX NEG 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S get up early  
 aux pron vi aux pron vi

*nemetemoneni* , *okaki* *aati* *tohamaro*  
 na -hemete -mone -ni o- ka aki a- ati to- ha -hamaro  
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F 1SG.S POSS grandmother DUP say CH AUX FP.E+F  
 aux nf vt aux

'My grandmother reported her father's words, at night. They didn't bathe. They planted the crops. They

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didn't bathe. They slept. They got up early, my grandmother used to say.'

138 *Faya me bosa na me , bosa*  
 faya me bosa na+F me , bosa  
 so 3PL.S get up early AUX 3PL.S get up early  
 conj pron vi aux pron vi

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

'They got up early.'

139 *Me bosa na me sina me , sina me*  
 me bosa na+F me sina me , sina me  
 3PL.S get up early AUX 3PL.S snuff 3PL snuff 3PL.S  
 pron vi aux pron nf pron nf pron

*mahika nemetemoneke*  
 mahika na -hemete -mone -ke  
 consume a lot AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vt aux

'They got up early. They took a lot of snuff.'

140 *Sina me mahika na , sina , sina me*  
 sina me mahika na+F , sina , sina me  
 snuff 3PL.S consume a lot AUX snuff snuff 3PL.S  
 nf pron vt aux nf nf pron

*mahika ni ya , sina me mahika ni ya*  
 mahika na.NOM+F ya , sina me mahika na.NOM+F ya  
 consume a lot AUX ADJU snuff 3PL.S consume a lot AUX ADJU  
 vt aux prt nf pron vt aux prt

*sina me sa tosi ya me ,*  
 sina me saa to- na -kosa.NOM+F ya me  
 snuff 3PL.S leave off CH AUX middle ADJU 3PL.S  
 nf pron vt aux prt pron

*tokifiwaha me tokifiwaha me ,*  
 to- ka -fi -waha+F , me to- ka -fi -waha+F me ,  
 away go/come water change 3PL.S away go/come water change 3PL.S  
 vi pron vi pron

*Te bere kanahi*  
 tee bere ka- na -hi  
 2PL.S be across COMIT AUX IMP+F  
 pron vi aux

'They took a lot of snuff. After they took a lot of snuff, they left off taking snuff, and then they went to the water. "You all line up."'

141 *Te bere kanahi , ahi*  
 tee bere ka- na -hi , ahi  
 2PL.S be across COMIT AUX IMP+F there  
 pron vi aux dem

'"You all line up there."'

142 *E nafi bokibeya*  
 ee nafi boka -be -ya  
 1IN.S all enter water IMMED+F now  
 pron pn vi

'"We'll all go underwater."'

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143 *Aba me , aba me towitaribeya ahi*  
 aba me , aba me to- ita -rI -be -ya ahi  
 fish 3PL fish 3PL.S away sit raised surface IMMED+F now there  
 nm pron nm pron vi dem

"The fish will all stay together."

144 *Me nafi boka me nafi boka me aba*  
 me nafi boka+F me nafi boka+F me aba  
 3PL.POSS all enter water 3PL.POSS all enter water 3PL.S fish  
 pron pn vi pron pn vi pron nm

*me , aba me me watehemetemone ahi*  
 me aba me me wata -hemete -mone ahi  
 3PL fish 3PL.O 3PL.S catch FP.N+F REP+F then  
 pron nm pron pron vt dem

'They all went underwater. They caught fish with their hands.'

145 *Aba me me wata me , aba me me wata aba*  
 aba me me wata+F me , aba me me wata+F aba  
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S catch 3PL.S fish 3PL.O 3PL.S catch fish  
 nm pron pron vt pron nm pron pron vt nm

*me me kakama me , aba me Me*  
 me me ka- ka -ma+F me , aba me me  
 3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S fish 3PL 3PL.S  
 pron pron vt pron nm pron pron

*kamakikereni*

ka -makI -ke -re -ni  
 go/come following DECL+F NEG+F IP.N+F  
 vi

'They caught fish with their hands. They brought the fish up. "They didn't come."

146 *Aba me te so tonihamahi , me me*  
 aba me tee soo to- niha- na -ma -hi , me me  
 fish 3PL.O 2PL.S lie CH CAUS AUX back IMP+F 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 nm pron pron vi aux pron pron

*tabasi hinaba mati*  
 tabasi hi- na -haba mati  
 roast on grill OC AUX FUT+F 3PL.O  
 vt aux pron

"You put the fish on the ground, for them to roast them."

147 *Aba me me towakama aba me ta*  
 aba me me to- ka- ka -ma+F aba me taa  
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back fish 3PL.S be piled up  
 nm pron pron vi nm pron vi

*torekanikima nemetemoneke ahi*  
 to- na -rI -kanikima na -hemete -mone -ke ahi  
 CH AUX raised surface scattered AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 aux aux dem

'They took the fish. The fish were all scattered on the bank.'

148 *Me fanawi kamakia Hee*  
 me fanawi ka -makI+F hee  
 women go/come following hey  
 nf vi interj

'The women came. "Yoo-hoo."

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- 149 *Hoo*  
 hoo  
 yoohoo  
 interj  
 ""Here we are.""
- 150 *Te kamakini* ?  
 tee ka -makI -ni  
 2PL.S go/come following BKG+F  
 pron vi  
 ""Did you come?""
- 151 *Faya me fanawi kamakia me kamakia me*  
 faya me fanawi ka -makI+F me ka -makI+F me  
 so women go/come following 3PL.S go/come following 3PL.S  
 conj nf vi pron vi pron  
*kobo namakia* , *Aba me ta*  
 kobo na -makI+F aba me taa  
 arrive AUX following fish 3PL.S be piled up  
 vi aux nm pron vi  
*torine fa*  
 to- na -rI -ne faa  
 CH AUX raised surface CONT+F that  
 aux dem  
 "The women came. They came. They arrived. "The fish are in a pile there.""
- 152 *Ha oko me mata , okoyo*  
 haa o- ka me mata o- ka ayo.LIST  
 DEM 1SG.POSS POSS 3PL for now 1SG.POSS POSS older brother  
 dem prt pron prt nm  
*okaniso Mawa Mawa karo*  
 o- ka niso.LIST Mawa.LIST Mawa karo  
 1SG.POSS POSS younger brother (man's name) (man's name) POSS+F  
 nm npropm npropm prt  
*Fawa Fawa kari*  
 Fawa.LIST Fawa kari  
 (man's name) (man's name) POSS+M  
 npropm npropm prt  
 ""These are mine, these are my older brother's, my younger brother's, Mawa's, Fawa's.""
- 153 *Fawa ka me tohawitineke ahi*  
 Fawa ka me to- ha -witI -ne -ke ahi  
 (man's name) POSS 3PL.S CH be out CONT+F DECL+F there  
 npropm prt pron vi dem  
 ""Fawa's are on the other side.""
- 154 *Fawa ka me so tosine ha*  
 Fawa ka me soo to- na -kosa -ne haa  
 (man's name) POSS 3PL.S lie CH AUX middle CONT+F DEM  
 npropm prt pron vi aux dem  
 ""Fawa's are there on the ground.""
- 155 *Me tama me ka me so tosine fa*  
 me tama+F me ka me soo to- na -kosa -ne faa  
 3PL.S be many 3PL POSS 3PL.S lie CH AUX middle CONT+F that  
 pron vi pron prt pron vi aux dem  
 ""Those of many others are there on the ground.""



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156 *Me tokomi ahi*  
 me to- ka -ma.NOM+F ahi  
 3PL.S away go/come back there  
 pron vi dem

"They went in there."

157 *Me ota towamakemate*  
 me otaa to- awa -makI -mate  
 3PL.O 1EX.S away see following short time.IMP+F  
 pron pron vt

"We're going after them to see them."

158 *Me tokoma me me towamakebone*  
 me to- ka -ma+F me me to- awa -makI -habone  
 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.O 3PL.S away see following INT+F  
 pron vi pron pron vt

*me tobokamakiemetemoneke*  
 me to- boka -makI -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.S away enter water following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron vi

'They went in. They went underwater after them to see them.'

159 *Me towakamakia me aba me me*  
 me to- ka- ka -makI+F me aba me me  
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come following 3PL.S fish 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron nm pron pron

*watehemetemone*  
 wata -hemete -mone  
 catch FP.N+F REP+F  
 vt

'Two of them went in. They caught fish with their hands.'

160 *Aba me me wata aba me aba me me*  
 aba me me wata+F aba me aba me me  
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S catch fish 3PL fish 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 nm pron pron vt nm pron nm pron pron

*watehemetemoneke*  
 wata -hemete -mone -ke  
 catch FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vt

'They caught fish with their hands.'

161 *Aba me me wata Hoo aba me me wata aba*  
 aba me me wata+F hoo aba me me wata+F aba  
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S catch whew fish 3PL.O 3PL.S catch fish  
 nm pron pron vt interj nm pron pron vt nm

*me me kakamatasa me ni ya*  
 me me ka- ka -ma -tasa+F me ni ya  
 3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT go/come back again 3PL to ADJU  
 pron pron vt pron prt prt

*kamakimatamona fawa namakiari*  
 ka -makI -himata -mona fawa na -makI -haari  
 go/come following FP.N+M REP+M disappear AUX following IP.E+M  
 vi vi aux

'They caught fish with their hands. "Whew." They brought the fish up. One of them who had disappeared came to them.'

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162 *Kakamaki* , *re* , *kakamaki* , *re* ,  
 ka- ka -makI na -ra+M , ka- ka -makI na -ra+M ,  
 DUP go/come following AUX NEG DUP go/come following AUX NEG  
 vi aux vi aux

*me noki hine* , *kamakimatamonaka* .  
 me noki hi- na+M , ka -makI -himata -mona -ka  
 3PL.S wait for OC AUX go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 pron vt aux vi  
 'He didn't come. They waited for him. He came.'

163 *Kamaki* , *tasi* , *aba mera tama*  
 ka -makI+M , tasi.LIST , aba mera tama  
 go/come following emerge fish 3PL.O hold onto  
 vi vi nm pron vt

*kanematamonaka ahi* .  
 ka- na -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 COMMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 aux dem

'He came. He emerged from the water. He was holding fish.'

164 *Hoo* , *oof* , *owa te yokonehe* .  
 hoo , oof , owa tee yoko -hene -he  
 whew hoo 1SG.O 2PL.S bring misfortune on IRR+F DUP  
 interj interj pron pron vt

""Whew, you almost caused me trouble.""

165 *Himata amari* ?  
 himata ama -ri  
 what? be CQ+F  
 interrog vc

""What is it?""

166 *Yama* , *fa* , *e* , *afi* , *nofa* , *yama* , *eerebo*  
 yama faha ee afi nofa yama , e- erebo  
 thing water 1IN.S bathe AUX recently thing DUP be bad  
 nf nf pron vi aux nf vi

*nofara yama* , *owa wati* , *kanani* , *ta*  
 na nofa -ra+F yama , owa wati ka- na -hani taa  
 AUX recently NEG thing 1SG.O plan against COMMIT AUX IP.N+F protrude  
 aux nf pron vt aux aux vi

*nakearake ahi* .  
 na -kI -hara -ke ahi  
 AUX coming IP.E+F DECL+F there  
 aux dem

""The water in which we always fish is always without problems, but something wanted to get me and I saw it standing there.""

167 *Yama ta* , *nakeara* , *ahi* , *yama* , *hoti* , *ya* .  
 yama taa na -kI -hara ahi yama , hoti ya  
 thing protrude AUX coming IP.E+F there thing hole+F ADJU  
 nf vi aux dem nf pn prt

""It was standing there in the hole.""

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168 *Aba owate ama hari*  
 aba o- wata+M ama haari  
 fish 1SG.S catch SEC that one+M  
 nm vt sec dem

"I caught this fish there."

169 *Kasiro okomakehara oke*  
 kasiro o- ka -makI -hara o- ke  
 a lot 1SG.S go/come following IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F  
 nf vi prt

"I came back really fast."

170 *Okomake okomakine oke*  
 o- ka -makI o- ka -makI -ne o- ke  
 1SG.S go/come following 1SG.S go/come following CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F  
 vi vi prt

"I came back."

171 *Yama ta nakeba narani ahi*  
 yama taa na -kI -baa na -hara -ni ahi  
 thing protrude AUX coming at a distance AUX IP.E+F BKG+F there  
 nf vi aux aux dem

"The thing was standing there, really tall."

172 *Yama hoti toka narani ahi , boti ya*  
 yama hoti to- ka.LIST na -hara -ni ahi , boti ya  
 thing hole+F away go/come AUX IP.E+F BKG+F there way down ADJU  
 nf pn vi aux dem nf prt

*ahi*  
 ahi  
 there  
 dem

"The hole went way down."

173 *Yama ta naki toarake ahi*  
 yama taa na -kI.NFIN to- ha -hara -ke ahi  
 thing protrude AUX coming CH be IP.E+F DECL+F there  
 nf vi aux vc dem

"The thing stood this tall."

174 *Oof , yama fawa kana yama me fawa*  
 oof , yama fawa ka- na+F yama me fawa  
 hoo thing disappear COMIT AUX thing 3PL.O disappear  
 interj nf vi aux nf pron vi

*kiteba*  
 ka- na -tee -hiba  
 COMIT AUX HAB FUT+M  
 aux

'The thing that takes people away would take them away.'

175 *Hima , te awibe*  
 hima tee awa -be  
 let's go 2PL.S see IMMED+F  
 interj pron vt

"Come on, you'll see it."

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176 *Te kamaki*  
tee ka -makI  
2PL.S go/come following  
pron vi

"Come."

177 *Owati te kasawariha yama te awibeya*  
o- ati tee ka- sawari+F yama tee awa -be -ya  
1SG.POSS voice 2PL.S COMIT frustrate thing 2PL.S see IMMED+F now  
pn pron vt nf pron vt

*ati nematamonaka ahi*  
ati na -himata -mona -ka ahi  
say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
vt aux dem

"You don't believe me, but you'll see it," he said.'

178 *Hiyamata ota ka faha ota afi nofa yama*  
hiyamataha otaa ka faha otaa afi na nofa+F yama  
what? 1EX POSS stream 1EX.S bathe AUX recently thing  
interrog pron prt nf pron vi aux nf

*hohona nofara yama hohona*  
ho- hona na nofa -ra+F yama ho- hona  
DUP have something AUX recently NEG thing DUP have something  
vi aux nf vi

*nofara tina yama owa*  
na nofa -ra+F ati ti- na+F yama owa  
AUX recently NEG say 2SG.S AUX thing 1SG.O  
aux vt nf pron

*kanakomeharake*  
ka- na- komeha -hara -ke  
COMIT CAUS be fearsome IP.E+F DECL+F  
vt

"How is it that in our stream, which we always catch fish in with our hands, which you say is always clear, a thing made me afraid?"

179 *Yama owa kanakomeharani*  
yama owa ka- na- komeha -hara -ni  
thing 1SG.O COMIT CAUS be fearsome IP.E+F BKG+F  
nf pron vt

"The thing made me afraid."

180 *Tiwibeya*  
ti- awa -be -ya  
2SG.S see IMMED+F now  
vt

"You'll see it."

181 *Faya me Hima te awibe*  
faya me hima tee awa -be  
so 3PL let's go 2PL.S see IMMED+F  
conj pron interj pron vt

"Come on, you'll see it."

182 *Te kamaki*  
tee ka -makI  
2PL.S go/come following  
pron vi

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"Come."

183 *Me tokometemoneke ahi , me nafi*  
 me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke ahi , me nafi  
 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then 3PL.POSS all  
 pron vi dem pron pn

'They went in, all of them.'

184 *Me nafi tokoma me , tafamarawaraba*  
 me nafi to- ka -ma+F me , tafa -ma -rawa -ra -haba  
 3PL.POSS all away go/come back 3PL.S eat back F.PL NEG FUT+F  
 pron pn vi pron vi

*tafarawa nahorawemetemoneke , me fanawiri*  
 tafa -rawa+F naho -rawa -hemete -mone -ke , me fanawiri -ri  
 eat F.PL sit F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.POSS woman PN  
 vi vi pron pn

'They all went in. The women sat on the ground, eating. They wouldn't eat anymore.'

185 *Me fanawiri , me fanawiri tafa naoa , me*  
 me fanawiri -ri , me fanawiri -ri tafa+F naho+F , me  
 3PL.POSS woman PN 3PL.POSS woman PN eat sit 3PL.S  
 pron pn pron pn vi vi pron

*tafa me nahobasemetemone*  
 tafa+F me naho -basa -hemete -mone  
 eat 3PL.S sit edge FP.N+F REP+F  
 vi pron vi

'The women sat eating. They sat at the edge of the water eating.'

186 *Yama toha awineke*  
 yama to- ha+F awine -ke  
 monster CH be seem+F DECL+F  
 nf vc sec

"It must be a monster."

187 *Yama hine na ni na me ati*  
 yama hine na.LIST na.NOM+F na me ati  
 thing only exist AUX AUX 3PL.S say  
 nf pron vi aux aux pron vt

*remetemoneke fara me , me hiwahabonehe*  
 na -ra -hemete -mone -ke fara me , me hi- awa -habone -he  
 AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F same+F 3PL 3PL.S OC see INT+F DUP  
 aux dem pron pron vt

'They didn't really want to go but they went, to see it.'

188 *Me hiwahabone me ati nemetemoneni*  
 me hi- awa -habone me ati na -hemete -mone -ni  
 3PL.S OC see INT+F 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 pron vt pron vt aux

'They wanted to see it.'

189 *Me hiwahabone , me hiwabone me yana na*  
 me hi- awa -habone , me hi- awa -habone me yana na+F  
 3PL.S OC see INT+F 3PL.S OC see INT+F 3PL.S get up AUX  
 pron vt pron vt pron vi aux

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*me* , *tokoma* *me* , *fawa* *nemetemoneke*  
 me to- ka -ma+F me , fawa na -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S disappear AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron vi pron vi aux

'In order to see it, they got up. They went in. They went underwater.'

190 *Me* *fawa* *nemetemone*  
 me fawa na -hemete -mone  
 3PL.S disappear AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron vi aux

'They went underwater.'

191 *Me* *fawa* *nemetemoneke* *ahi*  
 me fawa na -hemete -mone -ke ahi  
 3PL.S disappear AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 pron vi aux dem

'They went underwater.'

192 *Me* *kamaremetemoneni*  
 me ka -ma -ra -hemete -mone -ni  
 3PL.S go/come back NEG FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 pron vi

'They didn't come back.'

193 *Me* *kamaraba* *me* , *fawa* *kanaba* *me*  
 me ka -ma -ra -haba me , fawa ka- na -haba me  
 3PL.S go/come back NEG FUT+F 3PL.S disappear COMIT AUX FUT+F 3PL  
 pron vi pron vi aux pron  
 , *yama* *me* *awani* *yama* *me* *tonakama* *me*  
 yama me awa -hani yama me to- na- ka -ma+F me  
 thing 3PL.S see IP.N+F thing 3PL.S away CAUS go/come back 3PL.S  
 nf pron vt nf pron vt pron

*fawa* *kanemetemone*  
 fawa ka- na -hemete -mone  
 disappear COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 vi aux

'They would not come back. They would disappear. They saw it and went after it, and they disappeared, hurt.'

194 *Me* *kamaremetemoneke* *ahi*  
 me ka -ma -ra -hemete -mone -ke ahi  
 3PL.S go/come back NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 pron vi dem

'They didn't come back.'

195 *Me fanawi* , *me fanawi* *tokoma* , *me fanawi* *ohi*  
 me fanawi , me fanawi to- ka -ma+F , me fanawi ohi  
 women women away go/come back women cry  
 nf nf vi nf vi

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

'The women went home. The women cried.'

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

196 *Me fanawi ohi na , me fanawi ohi ni sai , ohi*  
 me fanawi ohi na+F , me fanawi ohi na.NFIN sai , ohi  
 women cry AUX women cry AUX be heard cry  
 nf vi aux nf vi aux vi vi  
*ni saiha , me ohi ni saiha me , amo*  
 na.NFIN sai+F , me ohi na.NFIN sai+F me , amo.LIST  
 AUX be heard 3PL.S cry AUX be heard 3PL.S sleep  
 aux vi pron vi aux vi pron vi  
*E amo nahi*  
 ee amo na -hi  
 1IN.S sleep AUX IMP+F  
 pron vi aux

"The women cried. The women's crying could be heard. They slept. "Let's sleep."

197 *Me e aawa naminabanani*  
 me ee a- awa na -mina -habana -ni  
 3PL.O 1IN.S DUP see AUX morning FUT+F BKG+F  
 pron pron vt aux

"We take a look at them tomorrow."

198 *Me me hiwaminabone me , me fanawi amo*  
 me me hi- awa -mina -habone me , me fanawi amo  
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC see morning INT+F 3PL women sleep  
 pron pron vt pron nf vi

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

"They were going to see them the next day, and they slept."

199 *Kamakirawa bosa narawemetemoneke*  
 ka -makI -rawa+F bosa na -rawa -hemete -mone -ke  
 go/come following F.PL get up early AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vi vi aux

"They came again. They got up early."

200 *Bosa narawa kobo narawa , Te*  
 bosa na -rawa+F kobo na -rawa+F , tee  
 get up early AUX F.PL arrive AUX F.PL 2PL.S  
 vi aux vi aux pron

*kamakihi te nafi*  
 ka -makI -hi , tee nafi  
 go/come following IMP+F 2PL.POSS all  
 vi pron pn

"They got up early. They arrived. "You come, all of you."

201 *Me e totowamake nahi*  
 me ee to- to- awa -makI na -hi  
 3PL.O 1IN.S DUP away see following AUX IMP+F  
 pron pron vt aux

"Let's go see them."

202 *Me winarini ?*  
 me wina -ra -ni  
 3PL.S live NEG BKG+F  
 pron vi

"Are they living there?"

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

203 *Me* , *me* *wina* *me* *awineni* .  
 me , me wina+F me awine -ni .  
 3PL 3PL.S live 3PL.S seem+F BKG+F  
 pron pron vi pron sec

"I guess they are living there."

204 *Me* *wina* *me* *awineke* , *fa* *boti* *ya* *me* *ati*  
 me wina+F me awine -ke , faha boti ya me ati  
 3PL.S live 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F stream inside ADJU 3PL.S say  
 pron vi pron sec nf pn prt pron vt

*nemetemone*

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

"I guess they are living at the bottom of the stream," they said.'

205 *Me* *ati* *na* *me* , *Hima* .  
 me ati na+F me , hima .  
 3PL.S say AUX 3PL.S let's go  
 pron vt aux pron interj

"Come on."

206 *Ee* , *hima* , *me* *e* *towamakibeya* .  
 ee , hima , me ee to- awa -makI -be -ya .  
 yes let's go 3PL.O 1IN.S away see following IMMED+F now  
 interj interj pron pron vt

"Yes, come on, let's go see them."

207 *Me* *me* *towamakebone* *me fanawi* *yana*  
 me me to- awa -makI -habone me fanawi yana  
 3PL.O 3PL.S away see following INT+F women start  
 pron pron vt nf vi

*tonemetemoneke*

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

'The women were ready to go see them.'

208 *Me fanawi* , *me fanawi* *yana* *tona* , *me*  
 me fanawi , me fanawi yana to- na+F , me  
 women women start CH AUX 3PL.S  
 nf nf vi aux pron

*bokehemetemoneke*

boka -hemete -mone -ke *ahi* *oooo* *oooo*  
 enter water FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then (sound of water) (sound of water)  
 vi dem sound sound

*oooo*

oooo  
 (sound of water)  
 sound

'The women were ready. They went under water, splash, splash.'

209 *Me* *tokomaketemone*  
 me to- ka -makI -hemete -mone .  
 3PL.S away go/come following FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron vi



THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

'They went after them.'

210 *Me fanawi tokomake* , *me fanawi*  
 me fanawi to- ka -makI me fanawi  
 women away go/come following women  
 nf vi nf

*kamaremetemone amake*  
 ka -ma -ra -hemete -mone ama -ke  
 go/come back NEG FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F  
 vi sec

'The women went after them. The women didn't come back.'

211 *Me fanawi kamaraba*  
 me fanawi ka -ma -ra -haba  
 women go/come back NEG FUT+F  
 nf vi

*tokomaketemoneke*  
 to- ka -makI -hemete -mone -ke  
 away go/come following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vi

'The women went after them, not to come back.'

212 *Fara me ka yibote me fawa ni ya me*  
 fara me ka yibote me fawa na.NOM+F ya me  
 same+F 3PL POSS husband 3PL.S disappear AUX ADJU 3PL.S  
 dem pron prt nm pron vi aux prt pron

*fawa ni tabemetemoneke*  
 fawa na.NFIN taba -hemete -mone -ke  
 disappear AUX be together FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vi aux vi

'They disappeared, just like their husbands.'

213 *Me fawa na me* , *me fanawi fawa na*  
 me fawa na+F me me fanawi fawa na+F  
 3PL.S disappear AUX 3PL.S women disappear AUX  
 pron vi aux pron nf vi aux

*kamara me ka mate ohiri tonemetemone*  
 ka -ma -ra+F me ka matehe ohi -ri to- na -hemete -mone  
 go/come back NEG 3PL POSS children cry DISTR CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 vi pron prt nf vi aux

*mate naoharo*  
 matehe naho -haaro  
 children sit IP.E+F  
 nf vi

'They disappeared. The women disappeared. They didn't come back. Their children sat on the ground crying.'

214 *Mate ohi nemetemoneke*  
 matehe ohi na -hemete -mone -ke  
 children cry AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 nf vi aux

'The children cried.'

215 *Haha sana kabisa biti*  
 haaha sana ka- na -bisa+F biti  
 this+F carry strapped on shoulder COMIT AUX also 3SG.POSS.son  
 dem vt aux nm

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

**sana** , **na** , **tobokamakia**  
sana na+F , to- boka -makI+F ,  
carry strapped on shoulder AUX away enter water following  
vt aux vi

**biti** , **kihi** **fawa** **kanemetemoneke**  
biti kihi fawa ka- na -hemete -mone -ke  
3SG.POSS.son along with disappear COMMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
nm prt vi aux

**faro**  
faaro  
that+F  
dem

'One of them had been carrying a child in a sling. She went underwater after them, carrying her son. She disappeared, child and all.'

216 **Faya me** , **me fanawi** **kamara** **me fanawi**  
faya me me fanawi ka -ma -ra+F me fanawi  
so 3PL women go/come back NEG women  
conj pron nf vi nf

**kamaremetemoneke**  
ka -ma -ra -hemete -mone -ke  
go/come back NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
vi

'The women didn't come back.'

217 **Me fanawi** **kamaremetemone** **winineke**  
me fanawi ka -ma -ra -hemete -mone wina -ne -ke ,  
women go/come back NEG FP.N+F REP+F live CONT+F DECL+F  
nf vi vi

**Yiwa Me Fawa Kani** **karo**  
Yiwa Me Fawa Kani karo  
(place name) LOC  
npropf prt

'The women didn't come back, they stayed living at Yiwa Me Fawa Kani.'

218 **Faya me fanawi** **kamaremetemoneke**  
faya me fanawi ka -ma -ra -hemete -mone -ke  
so women go/come back NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
conj nf vi

'The women didn't come back.'

219 **Mate ohi** **nemetemoneke**  
matehe ohi na -hemete -mone -ke  
children cry AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
nf vi aux

'The children cried.'

220 **Me yetene** **toha** **me** , **naoha** **me** , **Abiii** , **abiii**  
me yetene to- ha+F me , naho+F me , abiii , abiii  
3PL teenage boy CH be 3PL.S sit 3PL.S Father Father  
pron adj vc pron vi pron voc voc  
, **yama** **soki** **ya** **me** **ha** **nemetemoneke** , **Ami**  
yama soki.NOM ya me ha na -hemete -mone -ke , ami  
thing be dark ADJU 3PL.S call AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F mother  
nf vi prt pron vi aux nf

## THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

*ami amiii , me tase , me tase*  
ami amiii , me tase , me tase  
mother Mother 3PL.POSS companion+F 3PL.POSS companion+F  
nf voc pron pn pron pn

*watara mati*  
wata -ra+F mati  
exist NEG 3PL.POSS  
vi pron

'The adolescent boys sat, calling "Father, Father, Mother, Mother," because there was no one to be with them.'

221 *Me tase watara me , me ha na me*  
me tase wata -ra+F me , me haa na+F me  
3PL.POSS companion+F exist NEG 3PL.POSS 3PL.S call AUX 3PL.S  
pron pn vi pron pron vi aux pron

*Okobi me kakamara me , himata*  
o- ka abi me ka- ka -ma -ra+F me , himata  
1SG.POSS POSS father 3PL.S COMIT go/come back NEG 3PL.S what?  
nm pron vi pron aux pron interrog

*ihi me fawa nineri ?*  
ihi me fawa na -ne -ri ?  
because of+F 3PL.S disappear AUX CONT+F CQ+F  
post pron vi aux

'There was no one with them. They called out. "My father and the others didn't come back. Why did they disappear?'"

222 *Aba me me wati nofa me fawa*  
aba me me wata nofa+F me fawa  
fish 3PL.O 3PL.S catch recently 3PL.S disappear  
nm pron pron vt prt pron vi

*nawahineke*  
na -waha -ne -ke  
AUX change CONT+F DECL+F  
aux

'"They were always catching fish, and now they disappeared."'

223 *Me yetene toaha me , me isisi na ya*  
me yetene to- ha+F me , me isi -si na+F ya  
3PL teenage boy CH be 3PL.S 3PL.S be small DUP AUX ADJU  
pron adj vc pron pron vi aux prt

*me taba me amo na me , fimi me amo*  
me taba+F me amo na+F me , fimi me amo  
3PL.S be together 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S hunger 3PL.S sleep  
pron vi pron vi aux pron nf pron vi

*kana me , fimi me amo kanemetemone*  
ka- na+F me , fimi me amo ka- na -hemete -mone  
COMIT AUX 3PL.S hunger 3PL.S sleep COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
aux pron nf pron vi aux

'The adolescents and the small children slept. They slept hungry.'

224 *Fimi me amo kana me , yama we*  
fimi me amo ka- na+F me , yama we  
hunger 3PL.S sleep COMIT AUX 3PL.S thing light+F  
nf pron vi aux pron nf pn

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

**kamakia**                      **me**            **awa**            **me**            ,            **Hima**            ,            **me**            **e**  
ka            -makI+F            me            awa+F            me            ,            hima            ,            me            ee  
go/come following            3PL.S            see            3PL.S            let's go            3PL.O            1IN.S  
vi            pron            vt            pron            interj            pron            pron

**totowamake**                      **nahi**  
to- to-            awa -makI            na -hi  
DUP away see following            AUX IMP+F  
vt            aux

"They slept hungry. They saw when day dawned. "Come on, let's go see them."

225 **Me**            **e**            **totowamake**                      **nahi**            ,            **me**            **ati**  
me            ee            to- to-            awa -makI            na -hi            ,            me            ati  
3PL.O            1IN.S            DUP away see following            AUX IMP+F            3PL.S            say  
pron            pron            vt            aux            pron            vt

**nemetemone**  
na -hemete -mone  
AUX FP.N+F            REP+F  
aux

"Let's go see them," they said.'

226 **Me**            **me**            **hiwamakebone**                      **me**            ,            **me**            **ka**  
me            me            hi- to-            awa -makI            -habone            me            ,            me            ka  
3PL.O            3PL.S            OC away see following INT+F            3PL.O            3PL            POSS  
pron            pron            vt            pron            pron            prt

**mate**            **bosa**                      **na**            ,            **me**            **yetenemetemoneke**                      ,            **me**  
matehe            bosa                      na+F            ,            me            yetene            -mete            -mone            -ke            ,            me  
children            get up early            AUX            3PL            teenage boy            FP.N+F            REP+F            DECL+F            3PL  
nf            vi                      aux            pron            adj                      pron

**yetene**                      **toa**                      **mati**  
yetene                      to- ha+F            mati  
teenage boy            CH            be            3PL  
adj                      vc                      pron

'Their children got up early to go see them. They were adolescents.'

227 **Me**            **isisi**                      **na**            **ya**            **me**            **taba**                      **me**  
me            isisi                      -si            na+F            ya            me            taba+F                      me  
3PL.S            be small            DUP            AUX            ADJU            3PL.S            be together            3PL.S  
pron            vi                      aux            prt            pron            vi                      pron

**kamakia**                      **me**            ,            **kamakia**                      **me**            ,            **Me**            ,  
ka            -makI+F            me            ,            ka            -makI+F            me            ,            me            ,  
go/come following            3PL.S            go/come following            3PL.S            3PL.S  
vi            pron            vi            pron            pron

**totoki**                      **nofi**                      **amake**                      **ahi**  
to- to-            ka            nofa.NOM+F            ama -ke            ahi  
DUP away go/come            recently            be DECL+F            there  
vi            prt                      vc                      dem

"They came after them with the little ones. They came after them. "They always went here."

228 **Me**            **totoki**                      **nofi**                      **ama**            **ahi**  
me            to- to-            ka            nofa.NOM+F            ama            ahi  
3PL.S            DUP away go/come            recently            be            there  
pron            vi                      prt                      vc                      dem

"They always went here."

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

229 *Me* , *Okomi* , *okomi* *wina*  
 me o- ka ami , o- ka ami wina+F  
 3PL 1SG.POSS POSS mother 1SG.POSS POSS mother live  
 pron nf nf vi

*awineke* *ahi*  
 awine -ke ahi  
 seem+F DECL+F there  
 sec dem

"I think my mother is living here."

230 *Okomi* *wina* *awine* *ahi*  
 o- ka ami wina+F awine ahi  
 1SG.POSS POSS mother live seem+F there  
 nf vi sec dem

"I think my mother is living here."

231 *Hiya* , *asima* , *hima* , *tiwa* *weye*  
 hiya asima hima tiwa weye  
 come on younger sister let's go 2SG.O carry  
 interj nf interj pron vt

*obe*  
 o- na -be  
 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F  
 aux

"Here, little sister, come on, I will carry you."

232 *Hiwa* *wati* *kane* *rama* *ahi*  
 hiwa wati ka- na+M rama ahi  
 3SG.REFL.M plan against COMIT AUX unusual then  
 pron vt aux prt dem

'He was brave.'

233 *Hinakasima* , *hinakasima* *weye*  
 hinaka asima hinaka asima weye  
 3SG.POSS younger sister 3SG.POSS younger sister carry  
 nf nf vt

*namisematamonaka*  
 na -misa -himata -mona -ka  
 AUX up FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 aux

'He hoisted his sister onto his back.'

234 *Hinakasima* *weye* *namise* , *Okomi*  
 hinaka asima weye na -misa+M , o- ka ami  
 3SG.POSS younger sister carry AUX up 1SG.POSS POSS mother  
 nf vt aux nf

*e* *towamake* *namata*  
 ee to- to- awa -makI na -mata  
 1IN.S DUP away see following AUX short time  
 pron vt aux

'He hoisted his sister onto his back. "Let's go take a look at my mother."

235 *Te* *kamakini*  
 tee ka -makI -ni  
 2PL.S go/come following BKG+F  
 pron vi

"Come."

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

236 *Te kamakihi*  
 tee ka -makI -hi  
 2PL.S go/come following IMP+F  
 pron vi

"Come."

237 *E nafi tokomakibeya*  
 ee nafi to- ka -makI -be -ya  
 1IN.POSS all away go/come following IMMED+F now  
 pron pn vi

"Let's all go after them."

238 *Faya me tokomaketemoneni*  
 faya me to- ka -makI -hemete -mone -ni  
 so 3PL.S away go/come following FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 conj pron vi

'They went after them.'

239 *Me nafi kamakia me*  
 me nafi ka -makI+F me  
 3PL.POSS all go/come following 3PL.S  
 pron pn vi pron

*Okomakewaha*  
 o- to- ka -makI -waha , *fa boti ihi*  
 1SG.S away go/come following change water inside victim of+F  
 vi nf pn pn

*ohibe*  
 o- to- ha -be , *owa ati nematamona*  
 1SG.S CH be IMMED+F one+M say AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 vc adj vt aux

'All of them came after them. "I'm going after them. I'm going to die in the water," one of them said.'

240 *Fa boti koma awineke*  
 faha boti koma+F awine -ke  
 water inside hurt seem+F DECL+F  
 nf pn vi sec

"I think the deep water does harm."

241 *Siba raba awineke*  
 siba na -ra -haba awine -ke  
 be all right AUX NEG FUT+F seem+F DECL+F  
 vi aux sec

"I think it will be all right."

242 *Okobi me okobi me wina me*  
 o- ka abi me , o- ka abi me wina+F me  
 1SG.POSS POSS father 3PL 1SG.POSS POSS father 3PL.S live 3PL.S  
 nm pron nm pron vi pron

*awineke*  
 awine -ke  
 seem+F DECL+F  
 sec

"I think my father and the others are living there."







THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

*tohawaineke*

to- ha -waha -ne -ke  
 CH be change CONT+F DECL+F  
 vc

'Now it is Buchão, because the Brazilians gave it this name.'

254 *Faya me fawa na me , fawa*  
 faya me fawa na+F me fawa  
 so 3PL.S disappear AUX 3PL.S disappear  
 conj pron vi aux pron vi

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

'They disappeared.'

255 *Me fawa na me , me amo ni ya yama*  
 me fawa na+F me me amo ni na.NFIN ya yama  
 3PL.S disappear AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S sleep AUX ADJU thing  
 pron vi aux pron vi aux prt nf

*honarihi*  
 hona -rihi  
 have something NEG.LIST  
 vi

'They disappeared. There was no one left where they had slept.'

256 *Hahi , hinakasima tafe kabi*  
 haahi hinaka asima tafe kaba  
 this one+M 3SG.POSS younger female parallel cousin food+F eat  
 dem nf pn vt

*nofe , hinakasima tafe kabi nofe*  
 nofa+M hinaka asima tafe kaba nofa+M  
 recently 3SG.POSS younger female parallel cousin food+F eat recently  
 prt nf pn vt prt

*asima hinaharo*  
 asima hi- na -haaro  
 call younger sister OC AUX IP.E+F  
 vt aux

'There was one who always ate his cousin's food, and called her cousin.'

257 *Asima , asima hina tafe hikabaki*  
 asima asima hi- na+F tafe hi- kaba -kI  
 younger sister call younger sister OC AUX food+F OC eat coming  
 nf vt aux pn vt

*hinofa , awehibona kakematamona*  
 hi- nofa+F , awa -hibona ka -kI -himata -mona  
 OC recently see INT+M go/come coming FP.N+M REP+M  
 prt vt vi

'His cousin always fed him when he came, and he came to see her.'

258 *Kake , See , yama fawafawa*  
 ka -kI see yama fawa- fawa  
 go/come coming oh no thing DUP disappear  
 vi interj nf vi

'He came. "Yikes, everything is quiet."'

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

259 *Yama fawafawa nemetemoneke*  
 yama fawa- fawa na -hemete -mone -ke  
 thing DUP disappear AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 nf vi aux

'Everything was quiet.'

260 *Yama fawafawa na , Himata me ebe na me*  
 yama fawa- fawa na+F , himata me ebe na+F me  
 thing DUP disappear AUX what? 3PL.S purpose AUX 3PL.POSS  
 nf vi aux interrog pron vt aux pron

*ati fawa nineri me ateate raba*  
 ati fawa na -ne -ri me ate- ate na -raba  
 voice stop AUX CONT+F CQ+F 3PL.S DUP make noise AUX a bit  
 pn vi aux pron vi aux

*nofara mati ?*  
 na nofa -ra+F mati  
 AUX recently NEG 3PL.S  
 aux pron

'Everything was quiet. "They were always making lots of noise, why aren't they saying anything?'"

261 *Hiba me tabori aawa omate*  
 hiba me tabori a- awa o- na -mate  
 wait 3PL.POSS place+F DUP see 1SG.S AUX short time.IMP+F  
 interj pron pn vt aux

"Here, let me take a look at their village."

262 *Me tabori owamate*  
 me tabori o- awa -mate  
 3PL.POSS place+F 1SG.S see short time.IMP+F  
 pron pn vt

"Let me look at their village a little."

263 *Kakematamonaka*  
 ka -kI -himata -mona -ka  
 go/come coming FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi

'He came.'

264 *Kake , kake yama kakatomi*  
 ka -kI , ka -kI yama ka- katoma.NFIN  
 go/come coming go/come coming thing COMMIT look at  
 vi vi nf vt

*wakimatamonaka*  
 waa -kI -himata -mona -ka  
 stand coming FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi

'He came. He stood looking around.'

265 *Ahi , oho , me ka yobe honakara*  
 ahi , oho , me ka yobe hona -ka -ra  
 there look! 3PL POSS house have something DECL+M NEG+M  
 dem interj pron prt nm vi

*hari*  
 haari  
 that one+M  
 dem

"There, look, their house is empty."

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

266 *Himata me ebe nani* ?  
 himata me ebe na -hani  
 what? 3PL.S purpose AUX IP.N+F  
 interrog pron vt aux

"What are they doing?"

267 *Yobe honakara hari*  
 yobe hona -ka -ra haari  
 house have something DECL+M NEG+M that one+M  
 nm vi dem

"Their house is empty."

268 *Me tohariya* ?  
 me to- ha -ri -ya  
 3PL.S CH be CQ+F now  
 pron vc

"Where are they?"<sup>28</sup>

269 *Hiba fa owamakemate*  
 hiba faha o- to- awa -makI -mate  
 wait stream 1SG.S away see following short time.IMP+F  
 interj nf vt

"Just a minute, let me look at the stream."

270 *Faya kamaki faha awebona kamaki tana*  
 faya ka -makI+M faha awa -hibona ka -makI+M tana  
 so go/come following stream see INT+M go/come following grill  
 conj vi nf vt vi nf  
*wemetemoneke aba me tatabasi*  
 waa -hemete -mone -ke aba me ta- tabasi  
 stand FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F fish 3PL.POSS DUP roast on grill  
 vi nm pron pn

'He came. He came to look at the stream. There was the rack for roasting fish.'

271 *Me ka tana wabasaro haro*  
 me ka tana waa -basa -haaro haaro  
 3PL POSS grill stand edge look+F that one+F  
 pron prt nf vi dem

"Look, there is their rack for roasting fish."

272 *Faya kamaki ha nematamonaka*  
 faya ka -makI+M haa na -himata -mona -ka  
 so go/come following call AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 conj vi vi aux

'He came. He called.'

273 *Hee hibaka te tohariya* ?  
 hee hibaka tee to- ha -ri -ya  
 hey where 2PL.S CH be CQ+F now  
 interj interrog pron vc

"Yoohoo, where are you?"

28 *Hibaka* 'where' is missing at the beginning of the sentence.

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

274 *Hibaka te toha te fawa nineriya* ?  
 hibaka tee to- ha+F tee fawa na -ne -ri -ya  
 where 2PL.S CH be 2PL.S disappear AUX CONT+F CQ+F now  
 interrog pron vc pron vi aux

"Where have you disappeared to?"

275 *Faya me fawa na me , inamati , inamati , inamati* ,  
 faya me fawa na+F me , inamati , inamati , inamati ,  
 so 3PL.S disappear AUX 3PL.S spirit spirit spirit  
 conj pron vi aux pron nm nm nm

*inamatimatamonaka*

inamati -mata -mona -ka  
 spirit FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nm

'They disappeared. He was a spirit.'

276 *Inamati , inamati me fawa ni awehinoho tasi*  
 inamati , inamati me fawa na.NFIN awa -hino -ho tasi  
 spirit spirit 3PL.S disappear AUX see IP.N+M DUP emerge  
 nm nm pron vi aux vt vi

*nakehimatamonane*

na -kI -himata -mona -ne  
 AUX coming FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 aux

'The spirit had seen them disappear, and he appeared.'

277 *Oof*  
 oof  
 hoo  
 interj

"Whew."

278 *Inamati tasi nake , Afa ha tine ti*  
 inamati tasi na -kI , afa haa ti- na -ne ti-  
 spirit emerge AUX coming this+F call 2SG.S AUX CONT+F 2SG.S  
 nm vi aux dem vi aux prt

'The spirit appeared. "Is that you calling?"

279 *Me ha one oke*  
 me haa o- na -ne o- ke  
 3PL.O call 1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F  
 pron vt aux prt

"I'm calling them."

280 *Me fawa na me ha one oke*  
 me fawa na+F me haa o- na -ne o- ke  
 3PL.S disappear AUX 3PL.O call 1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F  
 pron vi aux pron vt aux prt

"I'm calling the ones who disappeared."

281 *Me fawa na me ha tina , me*  
 me fawa na+F me haa ti- na+F , me  
 3PL.S disappear AUX 3PL.O call 2SG.S AUX 3PL.S  
 pron vi aux pron vt aux pron



THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

287 *Tikamabisahi*

ti- to- ka -ma -bisa -hi  
2SG.S away go/come back also IMP+F  
vi

"Go back home."

288 *Me kamateraba me*

me ka -ma -tee -ra -haba me  
3PL.S go/come back HAB NEG FUT+F 3PL.S  
pron vi pron

*winibanatini*

wina.NOM+F -bana -tee.NOM -ni fa boti ya  
live FUT HAB BKG+F water inside ADJU  
vi nf pn prt

"They aren't going to come back, they are living underwater."

289 *Fa boti ya me winatibanake*

faha boti ya me wina -tee.NOM -bana -ke  
water inside ADJU 3PL.S live HAB FUT DECL+F  
nf pn prt pron vi

"They are living underwater."

290 *Yati me bari hikanamone me winineni*

yati me bari hi- ka- na -hamone me wina -ne -ni  
stone 3PL.O impede OC COMIT AUX REP+F 3PL.S live CONT+F BKG+F  
nf pron vt aux pron vi

*inamati ati nematamonaka*

inamati ati na -himata -mona -ka  
spirit say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
nm vt aux

"The rock fell on them, and they are living there," the spirit said.'

291 *Inamati inamati hiyara kamine Tikamahi*

inamati inamati hiyara kamina+M ti- to- ka -ma -hi  
spirit spirit story tell 2SG.S away go/come back IMP+F  
nm nm nf vt vi

"The spirit told the story. "Go home."

292 *Tikamahi*

ti- to- ka -ma -hi  
2SG.S away go/come back IMP+F  
vi

"Go home."

293 *Okomabisibeya*

o- to- ka -ma -bisa -be -ya  
1SG.S away go/come back also IMMED+F now  
vi

"I'm going, too."

294 *Ee keye amarini ?*

ee keye ama -ra -ni  
(pause) lie be NEG BKG+F  
interj nf vc

"Really?"

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

295 **Keye amakere**  
 keye ama -ke -re  
 lie be DECL+F NEG+F  
 nf vc

"Really."

296 **Tinarabo nima ona owati amake**  
 ti- narabo nima o- na+F o- ati ama -ke  
 2SG.POSS ear communicate to 1SG.S AUX 1SG.POSS voice be DECL+F  
 pn vt aux pn vc

"I'm warning you."

297 **Tikamahi**  
 ti- to- ka -ma -hi  
 2SG.S away go/come back IMP+F  
 vi

"Go home."

298 **Me tiwamaki ya tikamara tiwa**  
 me ti- to- awa -makI.NOM ya ti- ka -ma -ra+F tiwa  
 3PL.O 2SG.S away see following ADJU 2SG.S go/come back NEG 2SG.S  
 pron vt prt vi pron

**awine tini**  
 awine ti- ni  
 seem+F 2SG.S BKG+F  
 sec prt

"If you go see them, you won't come back."

299 **Tikamara tiwa awine tike**  
 ti- ka -ma -ra+F tiwa awine ti- ke  
 2SG.S go/come back NEG 2SG.S seem+F 2SG.S DECL+F  
 vi pron sec prt

"You won't come back."

300 **Tikamahi tika yibote ni ya**  
 ti- to- ka -ma -hi ti- ka yibote ni ya  
 2SG.S away go/come back IMP+F 2SG.POSS POSS wife to ADJU  
 vi prt nf prt prt

"Go back to your wife."

301 **Tika yibote ni ya tikamahi**  
 ti- ka yibote ni ya ti- to- ka -ma -hi  
 2SG.POSS POSS wife to ADJU 2SG.S away go/come back IMP+F  
 prt nf prt prt vi

"Go back to your wife."

302 **Okasima tafe okobate**  
 o- ka asima tafe o- kaba -tee  
 1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin food+F 1SG.S eat HAB  
 nf pn vt

**okasima**  
 o- ka asima  
 1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin  
 nf

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

**okasima**  
o- ka asima  
1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin  
nf

**okasima**  
o- ka asima  
1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin  
nf

**ama ninihi**  
ama na.NOM+F -ni -hi  
be AUX IP.N+F DUP  
vc aux

**tafe** **okobate**  
tafe o- kaba -tee ,  
food+F 1SG.S eat HAB  
pn vt

**fa boti winawa**  
faha boti wina -waha  
water inside live change  
nf pn vi

"My cousin, whose food I always ate, is now living underwater."

303 **Ha** , **kasiroke**  
haa kasiro -ke  
DEM persist DECL+F  
dem vi

"That thing doesn't give up."

304 **Yama** , **kasiroke**  
yama kasiro -ke  
thing persist DECL+F  
nf vi

"It doesn't give up."

305 **Faya yama kasiroke**  
faya yama kasiro -ke  
so thing persist DECL+F  
conj nf vi

"It doesn't give up."

306 **Yama kasiroke** , **ati nematamonaka**  
yama kasiro -ke , ati na -himata -mona -ka  
thing persist DECL+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
nf vi vt aux

"It doesn't give up," he said.'

307 **Oof** , **okasima** **tafe**  
oof o- ka asima tafe  
hoo 1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin food+F  
interj nf pn

**okobate** **okasima** **fawa**  
o- kaba -tee o- ka asima fawa  
1SG.S eat HAB 1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin disappear  
vt nf vt vi

**nawahi** , **tafe kawita** ,  
na -waha.NFIN , tafe ka- ita+F ,  
AUX change crops+F COMMIT be located  
aux pn vi

**okasima** **ka** ,  
o- ka asima ka ,  
1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin POSS  
nf prt



THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

**okasima**  
o- ka asima  
1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin  
nf

**ka** ,  
ka  
POSS  
prt

**okasima**  
o- ka asima  
1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin  
nf

**ka fowa okobaba**  
ka fowa o- kaba -haba  
POSS manioc 1SG.S eat FUT+F  
prt nm vt

**owinawahabana oke ahi , tabori ya**  
o- wina -waha -habana o- ke ahi , tabori ya  
1SG.S live change FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F here place+F ADJU  
vi prt dem pn prt

"Whew, my cousin, whose food I always ate and who has disappeared, her crops are in the field. I'm going to live in her village now and eat her manioc."

308 **Hinaka fowa , me kokoro hiwe mohone**  
hinaka fowa me ko- koro hi- to- ha+M mohone  
3SG.POSS manioc 3PL.S DUP plant OC CH AUX sprout+M  
pron nm pron v aux pn

**tokehimatamonaka ahi , hari**  
to- ka -himata -mona -ka ahi , haari  
away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M there that one+M  
vi dem dem

'Her manioc which they had planted was growing all in rows.'

309 **Okasima ka fowa wateno**  
o- ka asima ka fowa wata -hino  
1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin POSS manioc grow IP.N+M  
nf prt nm vi

**hari**  
haari  
that one+M  
dem

"My cousin's manioc is growing there."

310 **Fowa okowineba ama**  
fowa o- ka- wina -hiba ama  
manioc 1SG.S COMIT live FUT+M SEC  
nm vt sec

"I'm going to live where the manioc is."

311 **Hiwa wata**  
hiwa wata  
only.M grow  
pron vi

"Let it be."

312 **Okomibe**  
o- to- ka -ma -be  
1SG.S away go/come back IMMED+F  
vi

"I'm going."

313 **Faya tokome , tokomematamonaka**  
faya to- ka -ma+M , to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka  
so away go/come back away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
conj vi vi

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

*fara me one ni ya ahi , ahi ahi .*  
 fara me one ni ya ahi , ahi ahi .  
 same+F 3PL other+F to ADJU there there there  
 dem pron adj prt prt dem dem dem  
 'He went. He went back to his own people.'

314 *Tokatimamatamona* *amake ahi , ha ya*  
 to- ka -tima.NOM+M -mata -mona ama -ke ahi , haa ya  
 away go/come upstream FP.N+M REP+M be DECL+F there DEM ADJU  
 vi vc dem dem prt  
*ahi*  
 ahi  
 there  
 dem  
 'He went walking upstream over there.'

315 *Tokatimame* *faya me tokominame , faya*  
 to- ka -tima -ma+M , faya me to- kamina -ma+M , faya  
 away go/come upstream back so 3PL.O away tell back so  
 vi conj pron vt conj  
*me tokominame , Hoo , me fawa*  
 me to- kamina -ma+M , hoo , me fawa  
 3PL.O away tell back whew 3PL.S disappear  
 pron vt interj pron vi  
*kananike*  
 ka- na -hani -ke  
 COMIT AUX IP.N+F DECL+F  
 aux  
 'He went back upstream. He went back and told about them. "Whew, they disappeared."'

316 *Me fawa kana me winimone ahi boti*  
 me fawa ka- na+F me wina.NOM+F -mone ahi boti  
 3PL.S disappear COMIT AUX 3PL.S live REP+F there way down  
 pron vi aux pron vi dem nf  
*ya*  
 ya  
 ADJU  
 prt  
 "'They disappeared, and they are said to be living underwater.'"

317 *Inamati hiyara faya me ka , me tabori*  
 inamati hiyara.LIST faya me ka , me tabori  
 spirit speak so 3PL POSS 3PL.POSS place+F  
 nm vi conj pron prt pron pn  
*toarake*  
 to- ha -hara -ke  
 CH be IP.E+F DECL+F  
 vc  
 "'A spirit spoke. It is their village.'"

318 *Me tabori , me tabori , me tabori*  
 me tabori me tabori me tabori  
 3PL.POSS place+F 3PL.POSS place+F 3PL.POSS place+F  
 pron pn pron pn pron pn

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

*toarani*

to- ha -hara -ni  
CH be IP.E+F BKG+F  
vc

"This is their village."

319 *Me ka awa me koro hinofani me ka*  
me ka awa me koro hi- na nofa -hani me ka  
3PL POSS garden 3PL.S plant OC AUX recently IP.N+F 3PL POSS  
pron prt nf pron vt aux pron prt

*fowa yanareka ahi*  
fowa yana -hare -ka ahi  
manioc grow IP.E+M DECL+M there  
nm vi dem

"Their manioc is growing in their gardens which they planted."

320 *Sami , sami , ee , nakafira , haso , yama*  
sami , sami , ee , nakafira , haso , yama  
pineapple pineapple (pause) taro sp taro sp thing  
nf nf interj nf nm nf

*tamakanikimarani wataharo me koro*  
tama -kanikima -hara -ni wata -haaro me koro  
be many scattered IP.E+F BKG+F grow IP.E+F 3PL.S throw  
vi vi pron vt

*hinofanihi*  
hi- na nofa -hani -hi  
OC AUX recently IP.N+F DUP  
aux

"There are many things growing which they planted: pineapple, *nakafira* taro, *haso* taro."

321 *Oko yama okobabone*  
o- ka yama o- kaba -habone  
1SG.POSS POSS thing 1SG.S eat INT+F  
prt nf vt

*okasima*  
o- ka asima  
1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin  
nf

*okasima tafe*  
o- ka asima tafe  
1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin crops+F  
nf pn

*okasima tafe okobabone*  
o- ka asima tafe o- kaba -habone  
1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin crops+F 1SG.S eat INT+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'm going to eat my cousin's crops," he said.'

322 *Okasima*  
o- ka asima  
1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin  
nf

## THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

**okasima**

o- ka asima  
1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin  
nf

**oke**

o- ke  
1SG.S DECL+F  
prt

"I came back."

**okomine**

o- ka -ma -ne  
1SG.S go/come back CONT+F  
vi

323 **Ohi onabone ona** ,  
ohi o- na -habone ati o- na+F  
cry 1SG.S AUX INT+F say 1SG.S AUX  
vi aux vt

**okasima**

o- ka asima  
1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin  
nf

**ona**

ati o- na+F o- ka ohi ni  
say 1SG.S AUX 1SG.POSS POSS cry AUX  
vt prt vi aux

**okomine**

o- ka -ma -ne o- ni  
1SG.S go/come back CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F  
vi prt

"I thought I was going to cry, grieving for my cousin. I held in my grief as I came."

**tabiyo**

tabiyo ohi o- na -habone  
absence cry 1SG.S AUX INT+F  
pn vi aux

**okayawa**

o- ka- yawa+F  
1SG.S COMIT be upset  
vt

324 **Yama kamoniharake** .  
yama kamoni -hara -ke  
thing be sad IP.E+F DECL+F  
nf vi

"It's sad."

325 **Okasima**  
o- ka asima  
1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin  
nf

**yama**

**kamoniharake** .  
yama kamoni -hara -ke  
thing be sad IP.E+F DECL+F  
nf vi

"I used to eat my cousin's food, and it's sad."

**tafe**

tafe o- kaba -tee ,  
food+F 1SG.S eat HAB  
pn vt

**okobate**

326 **Faya okoma okoma kobaya** ,  
faya o- ka -ma+F o- ka -ma+F kobaya  
so 1SG.S go/come back 1SG.S go/come back collared peccary  
conj vi vi nm

**owa**

**e nihahareka kobaya wehinoho** .  
owa ee niha- na -hare -ka kobaya waa -hino -ho  
1SG.O yell CAUS AUX IP.E+M DECL+M collared peccary stand IP.N+M DUP  
pron vi aux nm vi

"I came. A peccary startled me, it was there and I didn't see it."

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

327 *Kobaya* *hee* *hee*  
 kobaya hee hee  
 collared peccary (yell of collared peccary) (yell of collared peccary)  
 nm sound sound

*hee* , *kobaya* , *kobaya*  
 hee kobaya kobaya  
 (yell of collared peccary) collared peccary collared peccary  
 sound nm nm

*tisa* *ona* *okomine* *o* ,  
 tisa o- na+F o- ka -ma -ne o- ,  
 shoot with arrow 1SG.S AUX 1SG.S go/come back CONT+F 1SG.S  
 vt aux vi prt

*oyawa* *owa*  
 o- yawa+F owa  
 1SG.S be upset 1SG.S  
 vi pron

"The peccary went, 'Hee, hee, hee.' I didn't shoot an arrow at the peccary, but came on, because I was sad."

328 *Kobaya* *tokomareka*  
 kobaya to- ka -ma -hare -ka  
 collared peccary away go/come back IP.E+M DECL+M  
 nm vi

"The peccary went away."

329 *Kobaya* *tokomareka*  
 kobaya to- ka -ma -hare -ka  
 collared peccary away go/come back IP.E+M DECL+M  
 nm vi

"The peccary went away."

330 *Kobaya* *sa* *okana* *okere*  
 kobaya saa o- ka- na o- ke -re  
 collared peccary shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX 1SG.S DECL+F NEG+F  
 nm vt aux prt

"I didn't shoot the peccary with an arrow."

331 *Oyawa* *yawa* *owakama*  
 o- yawa+F yawa o- ka- ka -ma+F ,  
 1SG.S be upset anger 1SG.S COMIT go/come back  
 vi nf vt

*ota owa* *ka* *karaboa* , *ota owa* *ka*  
 ota owa ka karaboha , ota owa ka  
 1SG.POSS.affinal relative POSS blowgun 1SG.POSS.affinal relative POSS  
 nm prt nf nm prt

*karaboa* *tiwa* *okana* , *kahomara* *ahi*  
 karaboha tiwa o- ka- na+F , ka- homa -hara ahi  
 blowgun carry 1SG.S COMIT AUX COMIT lie on ground IP.E+F there  
 nf vt aux vi dem

"I was grieving. I was grieving as I came. The blowgun which I was carrying, which belonged to our affinal relative, is lying there."

332 *Onakaminabanake*  
 o- to- na- ka -mina -habana -ke  
 1SG.S away CAUS go/come morning FUT+F DECL+F  
 vt

"I will get it tomorrow."

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

333 *Ota owa* *ka* *karaboa* *tiwa* *okana*  
 ota owa ka karaboha tiwa o- ka- na+F  
 1SG.POSS.affinal relative POSS blowgun carry 1SG.S COMIT AUX  
 nm prt nf vt aux

*kahomarake*

ka- homa -hara -ke  
 COMIT lie on ground IP.E+F DECL+F  
 vi

"The blowgun which I was carrying, which belonged to our affinal relative, is lying there."

334 *Faya me , me , me* *tamine* *me* *mita* *me* , *me*  
 faya me me me tamine me mita+F me me  
 so 3PL 3PL 3PL.POSS news about 3PL.S hear 3PL.S 3PL  
 conj pron pron pron pn pron vt pron pron  
 , *Hima* , *me* , *me* *tabori* *e* *awibeya* , *me*  
 hima me me tabori ee awa -be -ya me  
 let's go 3PL 3PL.POSS place+F 1IN.S see IMMED+F now 3PL.S  
 interj pron pron pn pron vt pron

*ati nemetemoneke*

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

'They listened to the news about them. "Come on, let's see their village," they said.'

335 *Me winemetemonera* *ahi* *hike* *ya* *ahi*  
 me wina -hemete -mone -ra ahi hike ya ahi  
 3PL.S live FP.N+F REP+F mood there far ADJU there  
 pron vi dem nf prt dem

'They lived way over there.'

336 *Me karisamake* *me* , *me*  
 me ka -risa -makI me me  
 3PL.S go/come down following 3PL.S 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron pron

*kisamakemetemoneke*

ka -risa -makI -hemete -mone -ke  
 go/come down following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vi

'They came downstream.'

337 *Me kisamake* *me* , *fara* *me* *tabori* *ya*  
 me ka -risa -makI me fara me tabori ya  
 3PL.S go/come down following 3PL.S same+F 3PL.POSS place+F ADJU  
 pron vi pron dem pron pn prt

*me kobo na me , fara , fara me tabori ya*  
 me kobo na+F me fara fara me tabori ya  
 3PL.S arrive AUX 3PL.S same+F same+F 3PL.POSS place+F ADJU  
 pron vi aux pron dem dem pron pn prt

*me kobo nemetemoneke*

me kobo na -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.S arrive AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron vi aux

'They came downstream. They arrived at the others' village.'

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

338 *Me kobo na me , Hibaka ya , hibaka ya hawi*  
 me kobo na+F me , hibaka ya , hibaka ya hawi  
 3PL.S arrive AUX 3PL.S where ADJU where ADJU trail  
 pron vi aux pron interrog prt interrog prt nf

*tohari ?*

to- ha -ri  
 CH be CQ+F  
 vc

"They arrived. "Where is the trail?"

339 *Me hawi ama ha*  
 me hawi ama haa  
 3PL.POSS trail+F be DEM  
 pron pn vc dem

""This is their trail.""

340 *Aba sa okomateya*  
 aba saa o- ka- na -mate -ya  
 fish shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX short time.IMP+F now  
 nm vt aux

""I'm going to shoot a fish with an arrow.""

341 *Aba me me hiwati hinofani me faya*  
 aba me me hi- wata hi- nofa -hani me faya  
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S OC catch OC recently IP.N+F 3PL.O so  
 nm pron pron vt prt pron conj

*tokomake tokomakematamonaka*  
 to- ka -makI to- ka -makI -himata -mona -ka  
 away go/come following away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi vi

'They always caught fish with their hands. So he went.'

342 *Aba sa kanebona tokomake*  
 aba saa ka- na -hibona to- ka -makI  
 fish shoot with arrow COMIT AUX INT+M away go/come following  
 nm vt aux vi

*tokomake , aba , aba me me , me , aba me*  
 to- ka -makI , aba , aba me me , me , aba me  
 away go/come following fish fish 3PL 3PL 3PL fish 3PL.O  
 vi nm nm pron pron pron nm pron

*me afi hinofani me aii aba me*  
 me afi hi- na nofa -hani me aii aba me  
 3PL.S bathe with OC AUX recently IP.N+F 3PL.O wow! fish 3PL.S  
 pron vt aux pron interj nm pron

*itehemetemoneni*  
 ita -hemete -mone -ni  
 exist FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 vi

'He went to shoot a fish with an arrow. He went. They always got fish with their hands. Wow, there were a lot of fish all together.'

343 *Faya aba sa kane , aba sa*  
 faya aba saa ka- na+M , aba saa  
 so fish shoot with arrow COMIT AUX fish shoot with arrow  
 conj nm vt aux nm vt

## THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

**kanematamonaka**

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

'He shot a fish with an arrow.'

344 **Aba tati ba nare** , **tokisawiti** **aba**  
aba tati baa na -rI to- ka -risa -witI+M aba  
fish head hit AUX raised surface away go/come down out fish  
nm pn vt aux vi nm

**me one towasiwiti aba sa katase**  
me one to- wasi -witI+M aba saa ka- na -tasa+M  
3PL other+F away find out fish shoot with arrow COMIT AUX again  
pron adj vt nm vt aux

**aba me sasa kawe**  
aba me sa- saa ka- na -waha+M  
fish 3PL.O DUP shoot with arrow COMIT AUX change  
nm pron vt aux

**katimamematamonaka**

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

'He hit the fish on the head with a stick. He went further downstream. He found some more fish. He shot another fish with an arrow. He shot a few more fish with arrows. He came back upstream.'

345 **Katimame** , **Faya me amani**  
ka -tima -ma+M faya me ama -ni  
go/come upstream back enough 3PL.S be BKG+F  
vi adj pron vc

'He came back upstream. "That's enough."

346 **Me kabaminabanake**  
me kaba -mina -habana -ke  
3PL.S eat morning FUT+F DECL+F  
pron result

""They will be eaten tomorrow.""

**347 Kamematamonaka**

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

'He came back.'

348 **Kame** , **kame** , **kobo namematamonaka**  
ka -ma+M ka -ma+M kobo na -ma -himata -mona -ka  
go/come back go/come back arrive AUX back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
vi vi aux

**aba mera tama kani**  
aba mera tama ka- na.NFIN  
fish 3PL.O hold onto COMIT AUX  
nm pron vt aux

'He came back. He arrived back, carrying the fish.'

349 **Yama me hikabi hinofarawani tiwi toe**  
yama me hi- kaba hi- nofa -rawa -hani ti- awa to- ha  
thing 3PL.S OC eat OC recently F.PL IP.N+F 2SG.S see CH AUX  
nf pron vt prt vt aux





THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

355 *Yati me bari hikana me awine , yati*  
 yati me bari hi- ka- na+F me awine , yati  
 stone 3PL.O impede OC COMIT AUX 3PL.O seem+F stone  
 nf pron vt aux pron sec nf

"It seems a rock fell on them."

356 *Yati me bari hikimonehe owati*  
 yati me bari hi- ka- na.NOM+F -mone -he o- ati  
 stone 3PL.O impede OC COMIT AUX REP+F DUP 1SG.POSS voice  
 nf pron vt aux pn

*boti ati nara oke , aba sa*  
 boti ati na -hara o- ke , aba saa  
 inside say AUX IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F fish shoot with arrow  
 pn vt aux prt nm vt

*okana owa*  
 o- ka- na+F owa  
 1SG.S COMIT AUX 1SG.S  
 aux pron

"A rock fell on them,' I thought, as I shot the fish."

357 *Faya aba , faya aba me me , tabasi na aba*  
 faya aba , faya aba me me , tabasi na+F aba  
 so fish so fish 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill AUX fish  
 conj nm conj nm pron pron vt aux nm

*me me kabehemetemone*  
 me me kaba -hemete -mone  
 3PL.O 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron pron vt

'So they roasted the fish on a rack. They ate the fish.'

358 *Faya me tafemetemoneke*  
 faya me tafa -hemete -mone -ke  
 so 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 conj pron vi

'They ate.'

359 *Me tafa me , iyawa me sira me iyawa*  
 me tafa+F me , iyawa me sira+F me iyawa  
 3PL.S eat 3PL.S manioc mash 3PL.S toast 3PL.S manioc mash  
 pron vi pron nf pron vt pron nf

*me kaba me , aba me me kabemetemoneke*  
 me kaba+F me , aba me me kaba -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.S eat 3PL.S fish 3PL.O 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron vt pron nm pron pron vt

'They ate. They toasted manioc mash. They ate the manioc mash. They ate the fish.'

360 *Aba me me kaba me , Hoo aba me kabi*  
 aba me me kaba+F me , hoo aba me kaba.NFIN  
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S eat 3PL.S whew fish 3PL.S eat  
 nm pron pron vt pron interj nm pron result

*eeto raba ra me me kabi nofani*  
 e- eheto na -raba na -ra+F me me kaba nofa -hani  
 DUP be good AUX a bit AUX NEG 3PL.O 3PL.S eat recently IP.N+F  
 vi aux aux aux pron pron vt prt

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

**me** , **fawa** **namone** , **me** **tabiyo** **afi** **ona** ,  
 me fawa na -hamone me tabiyo afi o- na+F ,  
 3PL.S disappear AUX REP+F 3PL.POSS absence bathe 1SG.S AUX  
 pron vi aux pron pn vi aux

**afi** **onene** **oke** .  
 afi o- na -hene o- ke  
 bathe 1SG.S AUX IRR+F 1SG.S DECL+F  
 vi aux prt

"They ate the fish. "I could go in the water after the people who always ate the good-tasting fish and disappeared, but I'm not going to."

361 **Hine na oke aba okobabisaba owa** ,  
 hine na.LIST o- na -ke aba o- kaba -bisa -haba owa ,  
 only AUX 1SG.S AUX DECL+F fish 1SG.S eat also FUT+F 1SG.S  
 pron vi aux nm vt pron

**aba okobabone owa** .  
 aba o- kaba -habone owa  
 fish 1SG.S eat INT+F 1SG.S  
 nm vt pron

"I will just eat fish."

362 **Aba sa okanamibana ama o aba**  
 aba saa o- ka- na -mina+F -bana ama o- aba  
 fish shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX morning FUT SEC 1SG.S fish  
 nm vt v sec prt nm

**okobabone owa** .  
 o- kaba -habone owa  
 1SG.S eat INT+F 1SG.O  
 vt pron

"I'm going to shoot a fish tomorrow, so I can eat fish."

363 **Aba me e nimakoni aba me aba me**  
 aba me ee na -makoni aba me aba me  
 fish 3PL.S be similar AUX for this reason+F fish 3PL fish 3PL.O  
 nm pron vi aux nm pron nm pron

**me hiyokoani me onarake** .  
 me hi- yoko -hani me ati o- na -hara -ke  
 3PL.S OC bring misfortune on IP.N+F 3PL.O say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F DECL+F  
 pron vt pron vt

"I think it was because there were so many fish that they caused their ruin."

364 **Aba me ihabasikimarani** .  
 aba me iha -basa -kima -hara -ni  
 fish 3PL.S be located edge two IP.E+F BKG+F  
 nm pron vi

"The fish are right at the edge."

365 **Aba me me hikawinibanatini** .  
 aba me me hi- ka- wina+F -bana -tee.NOM -ni  
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S OC COMIT live FUT HAB BKG+F  
 nm pron pron vt

"They are living with the fish."

366 **Fawa** , **Fawa** , **Fawa** , **Fawa** ,  
 Fawa Fawa Fawa Fawa  
 (man's name) (man's name) (man's name) (man's name)  
 npropm npropm npropm npropm



THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

374 *Me*            *tabori*    *ya*    *e*        *wina*    ,    *aba*    *me*    *e*  
 me            tabori    ya    ee        wina+F    ,    aba    me    ee  
 3PL.POSS    place+F    ADJU    1IN.S    live        fish    3PL.O    1IN.S  
 pron        pn        prt    pron    vi        nm    pron    pron

*tisa*                            *ni*            *ya*        ,    *aba*    *me*        *e*        *tisa*  
 tisa                            na.NOM+F    ya        ,    aba    me        ee        tisa  
 shoot with arrow    AUX        ADJU        fish    3PL.O    1IN.S    shoot with arrow  
 vt                            aux        prt        nm    pron    pron    vt

*ni*            *ya*        *aba*        *me*        *e*        *tabasi*                            *ni*            *ya*        *e*  
 na.NOM+F    ya        aba        me        ee        tabasi                            na.NOM+F    ya        ee  
 AUX        ADJU    fish    3PL.O    1IN.S    roast on grill    AUX                            ADJU    1IN.S  
 aux        prt    nm    pron    pron    vt                            aux                            prt    pron

*tokomaba*    *ereke*                            *mata*  
 to- ka        -ma -haba    ere    -ke        mata  
 away go/come back    FUT+F    1IN.S    DECL+F    for now  
 vi    pron                            prt

""Let's live in their village. When we have shot some fish with arrows and roasted them, we will go home.""

375 *Yamata*    *yanakere*                            *haro*  
 yamata    yana -ke        -re        haaro  
 crops    grow    DECL+F    NEG+F    that one+F  
 nf        vi    dem

""The crops haven't grown big yet.""

376 *Ee*        ,    *yamata*    *yanamata*                            *haro*  
 ee        ,    yamata    yana -mata                            haaro  
 yes        crops    grow short time                            that one+F  
 interj    nf        vi    dem

""Right, let the crops grow a while.""

377 *Okasima*    *tafe*        *bote*        *tiwa*  
 o-        ka        asima    tafe        bote        ti-        awa  
 1SG.POSS    POSS    younger sister                            crops+F    old        2SG.S    see  
 nf    pn        adj        vt

""Look at my cousin's former crops.""

378 *Okasima*    *yama*        *kokoro*                            *toete*    *nakafira*  
 o-        ka        asima    yama        ko- koro        to- ha -hete                            nakafira  
 1SG.POSS    POSS    younger sister                            thing    DUP plant    CH    AUX    RP.N+F                            taro sp  
 nf    nf        vt    aux    nf

*tiwa*                            *haro*                            *haso*                            ,    *ihabasikimari*    *hari*  
 ti-        awa    haaro                            haso                            ,    iha                            -basa -kima -haari                            hari  
 2SG.S    see    that one+F    taro sp                            be located edge    two    IP.E+M                            that one+M  
 vt                            dem                            nm                            vi    dem

""Look at the crops my cousin planted, *nakafira* taro, *haso* taro, on the edge of the garden.""

379 *Biha*                            ,    *sami*                            ,    *yamata*        *tama*                            ,    *aba*        *me*  
 biha                            ,    sami                            ,    yamata        tama+F                            ,    aba        me  
 plant sp                            pineapple                            food        be many                            fish    3PL.S  
 nm                            nf                            nf        vi    nm        pron

*kasomineke*  
 ka-        soma -ne        -ke  
 COMMIT help    CONT+F    DECL+F  
 vt

""The fish are taking the place of the yams, pineapples, and all the garden crops.""

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

380 *Me* , *me* , *tokome*  
 me , me , to- ka -ma+M ,  
 3PL 3PL away go/come back  
 pron pron vi

*hinakati* *fawa* *na* *tabiyo* *awe*  
 hinaka ati fawa na+F tabiyo awa+M  
 3SG.POSS older female parallel cousin disappear AUX absence feel  
 nf vi aux pn vt

*tokomamatamona* *amake* *ahi* , *Momonena* *ya*  
 to- ka -ma.NOM+M -mata -mona ama -ke ahi , Momonena ya  
 away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M be DECL+F there (place name) ADJU  
 vi vc dem npropf prt

, *Monena* *ya* *me* *winaha* *mati* , *okobi*  
 , Monena ya me winaha+*F* mati , o- ka abi ,  
 (place name) ADJU 3PL.S live 3PL.S 1SG.POSS POSS father  
 npropf prt pron vi pron nm

*okobi* *bati* *meteba* *mati* , *hibati*  
 o- ka abi bati me -tee -ba mati , hibati  
 1SG.POSS POSS father 3SG.POSS.father 3PL HAB FUT 3PL long time ago  
 nm pron pron nf

*ka* *mati*  
 ka mati  
 of 3PL  
 prt pron

'He went home. He missed his cousin who was gone. He went to Momonena. They lived at Monena, my father's father's people, the people of long ago.'

381 *Okobi* *okobi* *bati*  
 o- ka abi o- ka abi bati  
 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS father 3SG.POSS.father  
 nm nm nm

*bati* *me* *me* *winaha* *me* *ya*  
 bati me me winaha+*F* me ya  
 3SG.POSS.father 3PL 3PL.S live 3PL ADJU  
 nm pron pron vi pron prt

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

'He went to where my father's father's people were living.'<sup>29</sup>

382 *Tokome* *kobo* *toname* , *Me* , *me* *fawa*  
 to- ka -ma+M , kobo to- na -ma+M , me , me fawa  
 away go/come back arrive away AUX back 3PL 3PL.S disappear  
 vi vi aux pron pron vi

*kanarake*  
 ka- na -hara -ke  
 COMIT AUX IP.E+F DECL+F  
 aux

'He went. He arrived. "They disappeared."'

383 *Me* *fawa* *kanarake* *fa* *me* *aafi*  
 me fawa ka- na -hara -ke faha me a- afi  
 3PL.S disappear COMIT AUX IP.E+F DECL+F water 3PL.S DUP bathe in  
 pron vi aux nf pron vt

29 *me ya* may be archaic; younger Jarawaras would say *me ni ya*.

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

*mati*

mati  
3PL.S  
pron

"The people who went in the water disappeared."

384 *Okati*

o- ka ati  
1SG.POSS POSS older female parallel cousin  
nf

*okati*

o- ka ati  
1SG.POSS POSS older female parallel cousin  
nf

*tafe*

tafe  
food+F  
pn

*oko*

o- ka  
1SG.POSS POSS  
prt

*kakaba*

ka- kaba  
DUP eat  
pn

*fawa*

fawa na -hara -ke  
disappear AUX IP.E+F DECL+F  
vi aux

*narake*

"My cousin whose food I ate disappeared."

385 *Okati*

o- ka ati  
1SG.POSS POSS older female parallel cousin  
nf

*tafe*

tafe  
food+F  
pn

*oko*

o- ka  
1SG.POSS POSS  
prt

*kakaba*

ka- kaba fawa na -hara -ni  
DUP eat disappear AUX IP.E+F BKG+F  
pn vi aux

*fawa*

*narani*

*ati*

ati  
say  
vt

*nematamonaka*

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

"My cousin whose food I ate disappeared," he said.'

386 *Ati*

ati na+M , hiyamataha me ebe nani ?  
say AUX what? 3PL.S purpose AUX IP.N+F  
vt aux interrog pron vt aux

'He said. "What happened to them?"'

387 *Hiyamata*

hiyamataha me ebe kere  
what? 3PL.S purpose AUX DECL+F NEG+F  
interrog pron vt aux

"I don't know."

388 *Me*

me awarani  
3PL.S see NEG IP.N+F  
pron result

"Nobody saw."

389 *Me*

me fawa kanamone inamati ati ne ware  
3PL.S disappear COMIT AUX REP+F spirit say AUX stand IP.E+M  
pron vi aux nm vt aux vi

*ahi*

ahi  
there  
dem

"A spirit said they disappeared, he was standing there."

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

390 *Inamati* , *inamati* *mera* *kamine* *me* *tabiyo* *ha* *ona*  
 inamati , inamati mera kamina+M me tabiyo haa o- na+F  
 spirit spirit 3PL.O tell 3PL.POSS absence call 1SG.S AUX  
 nm nm pron vt pron pn vi aux

*oko* *ha* *ni* *mitihino* *kake* ,  
 o- ka haa na.NFIN mita -hino ka -kI ,  
 1SG.POSS POSS call AUX hear IP.N+M go/come coming  
 prt vi aux vt vi

*wahareka*  
 waa -hare -ka  
 stand IP.E+M DECL+M  
 vi

"I was calling for them and the spirit heard me calling and he stood there and told me about them."

391 *Me* *ha* *rima* *tinahi*  
 me haa na -rima ti- na -hi  
 3PL.O call AUX NEG.IMP+F 2SG.S AUX IMP+F  
 pron vt aux aux

""Don't call for them.""

392 *Me* *fawa* *kana* *me* *ha* *tine* *tike*  
 me fawa ka- na+F me haa ti- na -ne ti- ke  
 3PL.S disappear COMIT AUX 3PL.O call 2SG.S AUX CONT+F 2SG.S DECL+F  
 pron vi vi pron vt aux prt

*inamati* *ati* *nareka* *owa* *ni* *ya*  
 inamati ati na -hare -ka owa ni ya  
 spirit say AUX IP.E+M DECL+M 1SG to ADJU  
 nm vt aux pron prt prt

""You are calling for people who disappeared,' the spirit said to me.""

393 *Faya* *me* *ha* *ona* *owa* *owa* *ni* *inamati* *kake*  
 faya me haa o- na+F owa owa ni inamati ka -kI  
 so 3PL.O call 1SG.S AUX 1SG 1SG to spirit go/come coming  
 conj pron vt aux pron pron prt nm vi

"I was calling for them and the spirit came to me."

394 *Me* *fawa* *kana* *me* *ha* *tine* *tini*  
 me fawa ka- na+F me haa ti- na -ne ti- ni  
 3PL.S disappear COMIT AUX 3PL.O call 2SG.S AUX CONT+F 2SG.S BKG+F  
 pron vi aux pron vt aux prt

""You are calling for people who disappeared.""

395 *Me* , *me* *winineke* *boti* *karo* , *fa* , *fa*  
 me , me wina -ne -ke boti karo , faha , faha  
 3PL 3PL.S live CONT+F DECL+F way down LOC water water  
 pron pron vi nf prt nf nf

*boti* *karo* , *inamati* *ati* *nareka*  
 boti karo , inamati ati na -hare -ka  
 inside LOC spirit say AUX IP.E+M DECL+M  
 pn prt nm vt aux

""They are living underwater,' the spirit said.""



THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

396 *Yamata me koro hinete kawita tiwene*  
 yamata me koro hi- na -hete ka- ita+F ti- awa -hene  
 crops 3PL.S plant OC AUX RP.N+F COMMIT be located 2SG.S see IRR+F  
 nf pron vt aux vi vt

*ama , me fawa nete mati*  
 ama , me fawa na -hete mati  
 SEC 3PL.S disappear AUX RP.N+F 3PL.S  
 sec pron vi aux pron

"You haven't seen the crops they planted, the people who disappeared."

397 *Yamata e kabibeya*  
 yamata ee kaba -be -ya  
 food 1IN.S eat IMMED+F now  
 nf pron vt

"Let's eat the crops."

398 *E tokomibeya*  
 ee to- ka -ma -be -ya  
 1IN.S away go/come back IMMED+F now  
 pron vi

"Let's go."

399 *E winawaba ereke fahi*  
 ee wina -waha -haba ere -ke fahi  
 1IN.S live change FUT+F 1IN.S DECL+F there  
 pron vi pron dem

"Let's live there."

400 *E winawaba ere fahi me tabori ya*  
 ee wina -waha -haba ere fahi me tabori ya  
 1IN.S live change FUT+F 1IN.S there 3PL.POSS place+F ADJU  
 pron vi pron dem pron pn prt

*hima*

hima  
 let's go  
 interj

"Let's live there in their village, come on."

401 *Okobi , bati , bati me*  
 o- ka abi , bati , bati me  
 1SG.POSS POSS father 3SG.POSS.father 3SG.POSS.father 3PL  
 nm nm nm pron

*okobi , okobi me yetene toaha*  
 o- ka abi , o- ka abi me yetene to- ha+F  
 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS father 3PL teenage boy CH be  
 nm nm pron adj vc

*me , me ka , Bono Wiyo , Bono Wiyo , Bono Wiyo*  
 me , me ka , Bono Wiyo , Bono Wiyo , Bono Wiyo  
 3PL.S 3PL POSS (man's name) (man's name) (man's name)  
 pron pron prt npropm npropm npropm

*fane , fane biti memetemone*  
 fana+M , fana+M biti me -mete -mone  
 be married be married 3SG.POSS.son 3PL FP.N+F REP+F  
 vi vi nm pron



THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

408 *Me fawa kimone inamati ati ne ama ahi*  
 me fawa ka- na.NOM+F -mone inamati ati na+M ama ahi  
 3PL.S disappear COMIT AUX REP+F spirit say AUX SEC there  
 pron vi aux nm vt aux sec dem

"The spirit said they disappeared."

409 *Aii aba me homabasemetemone me me*  
 aii aba me homa -basa -hemete -mone me me  
 wow! fish 3PL.S be horizontal edge FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 interj nm pron vi pron pron

*wawata hia mati*  
 wa- wata hi- to- ha+F mati  
 DUP catch OC CH AUX 3PL.O  
 vt aux pron

'Wow, the fish which they used to catch with their hands were there at the edge.'

410 *Me me yokohani me amake haro*  
 me me yoko -hani me ama -ke haaro  
 3PL.O 3PL.S bring misfortune on IP.N+F 3PL.S SEC DECL+F that one+F  
 pron pron vt pron sec dem

"They caused their ruin."

411 *Me tiwa ha*  
 me ti- awa haa  
 3PL.O 2SG.S see DEM  
 pron vt dem

"Look at them."

412 *Wati me kiemetemoneke faro*  
 wati me kiha -hemete -mone -ke faaro  
 arrow 3PL.S have FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F that+F  
 nm pron vt dem

'They had arrows.'

413 *Wati me kia me waha wati me kia aba me*  
 wati me kiha+F me waha wati me kiha+F aba me  
 arrow 3PL.S have 3PL.S now arrow 3PL.S have fish 3PL.O  
 nm pron vt pron prt nm pron vt nm pron

*me tisa nemetemoneke faro*  
 me tisa na -hemete -mone -ke faaro  
 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F that+F  
 pron vt aux dem

'Now they had arrows. They had arrows. They shot fish with arrows.'

414 *Aba me me tisa na me aba me me*  
 aba me me tisa na+F me aba me me  
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX 3PL.S fish 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 nm pron pron vt aux pron nm pron pron

*tisa na aba me me kabemetemone fahi me*  
 tisa na+F aba me me kaba -hemete -mone fahi me  
 shoot with arrow AUX fish 3PL.O 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F then 3PL.S  
 vt aux nm pron pron vt dem pron

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

*kobo na mati*  
 kobo na+F mati  
 arrive AUX 3PL.S  
 vi aux pron

'They shot fish with arrows. They ate fish after they arrived.'

415 *Me kobo na aba me me kaba me , me kobo*  
 me kobo na+F aba me me kaba+F me , me kobo  
 3PL.S arrive AUX fish 3PL.O 3PL.S eat 3PL.S 3PL.S arrive  
 pron vi aux nm pron pron vt pron pron vi

*na aba me me kakaba toa me wiwina toa*  
 na+F aba me me ka- kaba to- ha+F me wi- wina to- ha+F  
 AUX fish 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP eat CH AUX 3PL.S DUP live CH AUX  
 aux nm pron pron vt aux pron vi aux

*me , me wiwina toemetemoneke , me , me*  
 me me wi- wina to- ha -hemete -mone -ke , me , me  
 3PL.S 3PL.S DUP live CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL 3PL.S  
 pron pron vi aux pron pron

*tafa mati*  
 tafa+F mati  
 eat 3PL.S  
 vi pron

'They arrived. They ate fish. They arrived. They ate fish. They lived there. They lived there and ate.'

416 *Me tafa me wiwina toa me , Awa , awa*  
 me tafa+F me wi- wina to- ha+F me , awa , awa  
 3PL.S eat 3PL.S DUP live CH AUX 3PL.S garden garden  
 pron vi pron vi aux pron nf nf

*e bore nibana*  
 ee bore na+F -bana  
 1IN.S clear AUX FUT  
 pron vt aux

'They ate. They lived there. "Shall we make a new garden?"'

417 *Awa e bore nahi*  
 awa ee bore na -hi  
 garden 1IN.S pull out AUX IMP+F  
 nf pron vt aux

'''Let's make a garden.'''

418 *E ka fowa isoba amaka hari*  
 ee ka fowa iso -ba ama -ka haari  
 1IN POSS manioc stalk+M FUT be DECL+M that one+M  
 pron prt nm pn vc dem

'''There are our manioc cuttings.'''

419 *E ka fowa isoba ama hari*  
 ee ka fowa iso -ba ama haari  
 1IN POSS manioc stalk+M FUT be that one+M  
 pron prt nm pn vc dem

'''There are our manioc cuttings.'''

420 *Fowa iso abarayaho*  
 fowa iso ahaba -ra -yaho  
 manioc stalk+M end NEG DIST.IMP+M  
 nm pn vi

'''We can't let manioc cuttings go bad.'''

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

421 **Faya me** , **faya fowa iso me nabirabone**  
 faya me , faya fowa iso me na- ahaba -ra -habone  
 so 3PL so manioc stalk+M 3PL.S CAUS end NEG INT+F  
 conj pron conj nm pn pron vt  
**fowa iso taborobona me borebore toemetemone**  
 fowa iso taboro -bona me bore- bore to- ha -hemete -mone  
 manioc stalk+M place+M INT+M 3PL.S DUP pull out CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 nm pn pn pron vt aux  
**fahi**  
 fahi  
 then  
 dem

'So that they wouldn't let the manioc cuttings go bad, they made a garden for them.'

422 **Me wiwinawa toemetemone okobi**  
 me wi- wina -waha to- ha -hemete -mone o- ka abi ,  
 3PL.S DUP live change CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS father  
 pron vi aux nm  
**okobi okobi bati aati**  
 o- ka abi , o- ka abi bati a- ati  
 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS father 3SG.POSS.father DUP say  
 nm nm nm vt  
**toematamona okaki aati toimaro**  
 to- ha -himata -mona o- ka aki a- ati to- ha.NOM+F -maro  
 CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M 1SG.S POSS grandmother DUP say CH AUX FP.E+F  
 aux nf vt aux

**amake**  
 ama -ke  
 be DECL+F  
 vc

'They lived there, my father's father used to say, my grandmother used to say.'

423 **Okobi okobi okobi**  
 o- ka abi , o- ka abi , o- ka abi ,  
 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS father  
 nm nm nm  
**hihiyara toemari amane**  
 hi- hiyara to- ha -himari ama -ne  
 OC speak to CH AUX FP.E+M SEC BKG+M  
 vt aux sec

'My father used to talk.'

424 **Okaki aati toamaro amake**  
 o- ka aki a- ati to- ha -hamaro ama -ke  
 1SG.S POSS grandmother DUP say CH AUX FP.E+F SEC DECL+F  
 nf vt aux sec

'My grandmother said.'

425 **Me wiwinawa toemetemone ama ahi**  
 me wi- wina -waha to- ha -hemete -mone ama ahi  
 3PL.S DUP live change CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC there  
 pron vi aux sec dem

'They live there.'

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

426 *Me winama me tatafa toimetemone aba*  
 me wina -ma+F me ta- tafa to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone aba  
 3PL.S live back 3PL.S DUP eat CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F fish  
 pron vi pron vi aux nm  
*me me kaba mati ahi*  
 me me kaba+F mati ahi  
 3PL.O 3PL.S eat 3PL.S then  
 pron pron vt pron dem  
 'They lived here. They ate, they ate fish.'

427 *Me , me wina me , tatafa toa me awa me*  
 me me wina+F me ta- tafa to- ha+F me awa me  
 3PL 3PL.S live 3PL.S DUP eat CH AUX 3PL.S tree 3PL.S  
 pron pron vi pron vi aux pron nf pron  
*ka na me , awa me ka nemetemoneke*  
 kaa na+F me awa me kaa na -hemete -mone -ke  
 chop AUX 3PL.S tree 3PL.S chop AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vt aux pron nf pron vt aux  
 'They lived there.They ate.They cut down trees.They cut down trees.'

428 *Awa me , awa me bore na awa me ka na me*  
 awa me awa me bore na+F awa me kaa na+F me  
 tree 3PL tree 3PL.S clear AUX tree 3PL.S chop AUX 3PL  
 nf pron nf pron vt aux nf pron vt aux pron  
*ka awa ini kaha , awa me sari naba me*  
 ka awa ini kaha+F awa me sari na -haba me  
 POSS tree branch+F be dried tree 3PL.S burn AUX FUT+F 3PL  
 prt nf pn vi nf pron vt aux pron  
*awa me sari naba mati*  
 awa me sari na -haba mati  
 tree 3PL.S burn AUX FUT+F 3PL.S  
 nf pron vt aux pron  
 'They cleared brush. They cut down trees. When their trees are dried, they will burn the trees.'

429 *Awa me sari naba wana ati ya , wana ati*  
 awa me sari na -haba wahana ati ya wahana ati  
 tree 3PL.S burn AUX FUT+F cicada sp voice ADJU cicada sp voice  
 nf pron vt aux nm pn prt nm pn  
*ya awa sari nabanake*  
 ya awa sari na -habana -ke  
 ADJU tree burn AUX FUT+F DECL+F  
 prt nf result aux  
 'They will burn the trees at the sound of the *wahana* cicada. The trees will be burned at the sound of the *wahana*.'

430 *Wana ati ya awa sari nabanani*  
 wahana ati ya awa sari na -habana -ni  
 cicada sp voice ADJU tree burn AUX FUT+F BKG+F  
 nm pn prt nf result aux  
 'The trees will be burned at the sound of the *wahana* cicada.'

431 *Faya wana ati ya awa me sari nemetemoneke*  
 faya wahana ati ya awa me sari na -hemete -mone -ke  
 so cicada sp voice ADJU tree 3PL.S burn AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 conj nm pn prt nf pron vt aux

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

*fahi*

fahi  
then  
dem

'They burned the trees at the sound of the *wahana* cicada.'

432 *Yama hiwe kiti ya awa me sari na me awa me*  
yama hiwe kita.NOM+F ya awa me sari na+F me awa me  
dry season be strong ADJU tree 3PL.S burn AUX 3PL.S tree 3PL.S  
nf vi prt nf pron vt aux pron nf pron

*sari nemetemoneke* , *me nafi*  
sari na -hemete -mone -ke me nafi  
burn AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.POSS all  
vt aux pron pn

'They burned the trees in the heat of the summer. They all burned the trees.'

433 *Awa hatia me e kanemetemoneke*  
awa hatia+F me ee ka- na -hemete -mone -ke  
tree burn 3PL.S sing COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
nf vi pron vi aux

'They sang at the burned trees.'

434 *Me fanawi e nemetemone*  
me fanawi ee na -hemete -mone  
women sing AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
nf vi aux

'The women sang.'

435 *Me fanawi e na* , *awa owi ya me e ni*  
me fanawi ee na+F awa owi.NOM ya me ee na.NFIN  
women sing AUX tree go out ADJU 3PL.S sing AUX  
nf vi aux nf vi prt pron vi aux

*ahaba* , *awa kai me ki na me* , *Awa*  
ahaba+F awa kaha.NFIN me kii na+F me awa  
end tree be toasted 3PL.S look at AUX 3PL.S tree  
vi nf vi pron vt aux pron nf

*hatike*  
hati -ke  
be burnt DECL+F  
vi

'The women sang. When the trees went out they stopped singing. They looked at the burned trees. "The trees are burned."'

436 *Awa hatike haro*  
awa hati -ke haaro  
tree be burnt DECL+F that one+F  
nf vi dem

""The trees are burned.""

437 *Awa hatike*  
awa hati -ke  
tree be burnt DECL+F  
nf vi

""The trees are burned.""

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

438 *Awa e natafaba ere* .  
 awa ee na- tafa -haba ere  
 garden 1IN.S CAUS eat FUT+F 1IN.S  
 nf pron vt pron

"Let's plant the garden."

439 *Awa me natafabone me , Hiba*  
 awa me na- tafa -habone me , hiba  
 garden 3PL.S CAUS eat INT+F 3PL wait  
 nf pron vt pron interj

*saomatahi*

sao -mata -hi  
 cool off short time IMP+F  
 vt

"They wanted to plant the garden. "Wait, let the trees cool off."

440 *Awa , awa saomata mata* .  
 awa , awa sao -mata mata  
 tree tree cool off short time for now  
 nf nf vi prt

"Let the trees cool off for now."

441 *Saomata mata* .  
 sao -mata mata  
 cool off short time for now  
 vi prt

"Let them cool off for now."

442 *Ha ya natafabanake* .  
 haa ya na- tafa -habana -ke  
 DEM ADJU CAUS eat FUT+F DECL+F  
 dem prt result

"Later the garden will be planted."

443 *Faya me , me , me amo nemetemoneke fahi* .  
 faya me , me , me amo na -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 so 3PL 3PL 3PL.S sleep AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 conj pron pron pron vi aux dem

'So they slept.'

444 *Amo na , aba me e tisa namata*  
 amo na+F , aba me ee tisa na -mata  
 sleep AUX fish 3PL.O 1IN.S shoot with arrow AUX short time  
 vi aux nm pron pron vt aux

*mata*

mata  
 for now  
 prt

"They slept. "We will shoot fish with arrows for now."<sup>30</sup>

445 *Aba me me tisa nabone me toka*  
 aba me me tisa na -habone me to- ka+F  
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX INT+F 3PL.S away go/come  
 nm pron pron vt aux pron vi

30 The subject pronominal *me* is missing before the first verb.



THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

<i>aba</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>tisa</i>		<i>na</i>	<i>me</i>	,	<i>aba</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>
aba	me	me	tisa		na+F	me	,	aba	me	me
fish	3PL.O	3PL.S	shoot with arrow		AUX	3PL.S		fish	3PL.O	3PL.S
nm	pron	pron	vt		aux	pron		nm	pron	pron
<i>tisa</i>		<i>natia</i>		<i>me</i>	<i>aba</i>	<i>me</i>	,	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>weye</i>
tisa		na nahatI+F		me	aba	me	,	me	me	weye
shoot with arrow		AUX daytime		3PL.S	fish	3PL		3PL.O	3PL.S	carry
vt		aux		pron	nm	pron		pron	pron	vt
<i>nemetemoneke</i>			<i>ahi</i>	<i>wati</i>	<i>ehene</i>					
na -hemete -mone -ke			ahi	wati	ehene					
AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F			then	arrow	victim of+M					
aux			dem	nm	pn					

'They went out to shoot fish with arrows. They shot fish. They shot fish during the day. They carried the fish, what had been killed by the arrows.'

446	<i>Aba</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>kakama</i>		<i>me</i>	<i>kobo</i>	<i>nama</i>	<i>me</i>	
	aba	me	me	ka- ka		-ma+F	me	kobo	na -ma+F	me
	fish	3PL.O	3PL.S	COMIT go/come	back	3PL.S	arrive	AUX	back	3PL.S
	nm	pron	pron	vt		pron	vi	aux		pron
	,	<i>aba</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>tabasi</i>		<i>nemetemoneke</i>		<i>ahi</i>	.
		aba	me	me	tabasi		na -hemete -mone -ke		ahi	
		fish	3PL.O	3PL.S	roast on grill	AUX FP.N+F	REP+F DECL+F		then	
		nm	pron	pron	vt	aux			dem	

'They brought the fish back. They arrived back. They roasted the fish on a rack.'

447	<i>Fowa</i>	<i>iso</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>ti</i>		<i>nini</i>	?
	fowa	iso	tee	tii		na -ni	
	manioc	stalk+M	2PL.S	cut through	AUX	BKG+F	
	nm	pn	pron	vt		aux	

""Did you cut manioc cuttings?""

448	<i>Fowa</i>	<i>iso</i>	<i>ota</i>	<i>ti</i>		<i>narene</i>	.
	fowa	iso	otaa	tii		na -hare -ne	
	manioc	stalk+M	1EX.S	cut through	AUX	IP.E+M BKG+M	
	nm	pn	pron	vt		aux	

""We cut manioc cuttings.""

449	<i>Fowa</i>	<i>iso</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>nare</i>		<i>hari</i>	.
	fowa	iso	sii	na -rI		haari	
	manioc	stalk+M	stand	AUX raised surface		that one+M	
	nm	pn	vi	aux		dem	

""The manioc cuttings are standing there in the house.""

450	<i>Faya</i>	<i>yama</i>	<i>wemetemone</i>		<i>amake</i>	.
	faya	yama	waha -hemete -mone		ama -ke	
	so	thing	dawn FP.N+F REP+F		SEC DECL+F	
	conj	nf	vi		sec	

'Morning came.'

451	<i>Me</i>	<i>tafa</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>tafi</i>		<i>ya</i>	,	<i>fowa</i>	<i>me</i>	,	<i>fowa</i>	<i>me</i>
	me	tafa+F	me	tafa.NOM+F		ya	,	fowa	me	,	fowa	me
	3PL.S	eat	3PL.S	eat		ADJU		manioc	3PL		manioc	3PL.S
	pron	vi	pron	vi		prt		nm	pron		nm	pron
	<i>wati</i>	<i>kana</i>	<i>fowa</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>sero</i>	<i>nabone</i>		<i>me</i>	,	<i>faya</i>	<i>awa</i>	
	wati	ka- na+F	fowa	me	sero	na -habone		me	,	faya	awa	
	go after	COMIT AUX	manioc	3PL.S	hoe	AUX INT+F		3PL		so	garden	
	vt	aux	nm	pron	vt	aux		pron		conj	nf	

## THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

**me natafemetemoneke**

me na- tafa -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.S CAUS eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron vt

'They ate. As they ate, they thought about the manioc. They wanted to make holes for planting manioc. So they planted the garden.'

452 **Awa me natafa me , awa me**  
 awa me na- tafa+F me , awa me  
 garden 3PL.S CAUS eat 3PL.S garden 3PL.S  
 nf pron vt pron nf pron

**natafemetemoneke**

na- tafa -hemete -mone -ke  
 CAUS eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vt

'They planted the garden.'

453 **Awa me koro natia me bai fawa ne ya**  
 awa me koro na nahatI+F me bai fawa na.NOM+M ya  
 tree 3PL.S plant AUX daytime 3PL.S sun disappear AUX ADJU  
 nf pron vt aux pron nm vi aux prt

**me kama me kobo nama me , me tafaba**  
 me ka -ma+F me kobo na -ma+F me , me tafa -haba  
 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S arrive AUX back 3PL.S 3PL.S eat FUT+F  
 pron vi pron vi aux pron pron vi

**mati**

mati  
 3PL.S  
 pron

'They planted the garden during the day. When the sun set they came back. They arrived back, to eat.'

454 **Faya me tafaba me afi na me , bai**  
 faya me tafa -haba me afi na+F me , bai  
 so 3PL.S eat FUT+F 3PL.S bathe AUX 3PL.S sun  
 conj pron vi pron vi aux pron nm

**toke ya me tafa me , kakayomarisa me ,**  
 to- ka.NOM+M ya me tafa+F me , ka- kayoma -risa+F me ,  
 away go/come ADJU 3PL.S eat 3PL.S COMIT darken down 3PL.S  
 vi prt pron vi pron vi pron

**me kakayomarismetemoneke**

me ka- kayoma -risa -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.S COMIT darken down FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron vi

'They bathed in order to eat. When the sun set they ate. It became dark on them.'

455 **Me kakayomarisa**  
 me ka- kayoma -risa+F  
 3PL.S COMIT darken down  
 pron vi

'It got dark on them.'