

TOBOYORO

Free Translation

I am going to tell about the *winika* fruits that they picked up. They were picking up the *winika* fruits.

He wanted to go after *winika* fruits. "I am protective of my *winika* fruits, and I want to pick them up."

There were two of them. Two women went. They were picking up *winika* fruits.

He was an old man, he wasn't a teenager, he was old. "Some people seem to have come after my *winika* fruits that I was going to pick up. Wait, I will take a look at them."

He went there. There were two teenage girls. He went to the two girls. He went there and looked at them. He stood a ways back looking at them.

"They are picking up my *winika* fruits that I was going to pick up."

He went there. They saw something. "Hey." They thought it was a jaguar.

"I'm not a jaguar. You are picking up my *winika* fruits that I was going to pick up. I want to have sex with you."

They looked at each other. "He said, 'I want to have sex with you two.'" They looked at each other, and they stopped talking.

He spoke, and then she spoke. "Mother, the basket isn't quite full of *winika* fruits."

"Pour them out."

"They came here to pick up my *winika* fruits before I could."

"Let him have you first. He will take me last," she said.

He went to take her first. "Come on, let me feel you."

"Feel me. I don't mind. Have sex with me."

So he got ahold of her and took her down. "You lie here on the ground." He took her down. He wanted to stick the thing in her but his penis was not hard. The penis was not hard, and so it could not go in. He pushed it in.

"You aren't having sex with me. You are just tickling me."

"I am tickling you. It's because my penis is not hard, the old penis." He complained about the penis.

Her vagina was completely exposed, because she had exposed it. He was staring at it.

"Is that it, are you done?"[asked the other woman].

"I'm not done. His penis wasn't hard."

"Throw him away."

She pushed him up and away, and he fell, iii.

"There, let him lie."

She hoisted the *winika* fruits onto her back and took the *winika* fruits off. The two of them went off.

"Humph, they threw me away. My penis won't get hard. The penis doesn't have any substance. I could have thrust into their anuses if the penis was hard."

The two of them went back. They disappeared into the forest. After they had left, he picked a few *winika* fruits. He went after another *winika* tree. He found a *winika* tree, and picked some

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winika fruits.

"Did you see the one who went there?"

"He is standing there. He said we were taking his *winika* fruits before he could, so he was going to have sex with us."

"Did he have sex with you?"

"He didn't have sex with us. His penis wasn't hard, he was just talking big. He had talked big, but he couldn't have sex with me. I pushed him away, and he fell."

Then he came. He came carrying a basket of *winika* fruits that wasn't full. They questioned him. His own older sister was going to question him, and he came. He came and arrived.

"Come on, peel the *winika* fruits. I want to eat *winika* fruits."

Another man was looking at his face the whole time. His older sister looked at his face. "Is it you they are telling about?"

"Where?"

"You said you were going to have sex with them, but when you went to have sex with them you couldn't, and they said they threw you away."

"They threw me away and came back here, because my penis wasn't hard. My penis wasn't hard, so they threw me away and came back here. My old penis doesn't get hard."

"They said you only talk big."

"I guess they said I only talk big."

"They laughed. Their laughing could be heard as they came back. They stopped laughing."

"You should take a real one," his brother-in-law said, "sticking up. If you would take a sticking up one, and you finish off both of them, they would both get pregnant. But instead they are carrying your *winika* fruits," his brother-in-law said.

"Well, the flaccid one that I took is attached."

"Let my younger sister see the flaccid thing."

"Your sister will throw me away."

So they slept. They ate the *winika* fruits and slept. They slept so that they could be ready and pick *winika* fruits.

"There are so many *winika* fruits, wow! All of you pick *winika* fruits tomorrow. Go with your husband, who has a hard penis," they said.

"If it is flaccid, throw him in the water," he said, "if you are on the edge of the stream. You should say, 'Let's lie on the ground there,' and deceive him. You all go together."

They got ready. They ate *winika* fruits and got going. They took baskets on their backs. They picked up *winika* fruits and brought them back. When they were full, they came back.

When they arrived back, they peeled the *winika* fruits. They toasted some in cans. They toasted some shelled ones in ceramic pots, too. They toasted them, and ate them.

"They threw Toboyoro away, because his penis was flaccid. He shouldn't have spoken [to the women]. Because he didn't say, 'My penis isn't hard,' they threw him away."

"Did he go there?"

"He went to them as they were picking *winika* fruits. He went there. 'You are picking my *winika* fruits that I was going to pick,' he said. When he said, 'I want to have sex with you,' he brought misfortune on himself. 'Have sex with us. Have sex with us because we are picking your *winika* fruits,' they said. Toboyoro's penis wasn't hard, so he stroked her vagina. He stroked her vagina and put her on the ground. His thing couldn't go in. His penis went outside, because it was flaccid, and they were upset because of it. They were upset because of it. 'Are you done?' 'I'm not finished. The penis is not hard.' 'Throw him away,' the other one said. So her younger sister threw him away, and then he yelled."

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"Toboyoro, wasn't it you? Toboyoro, if the thing was hard, and you spoke, you would have cleaned up."

"The penis was not hard. They were angry with me because it was flaccid, and they threw me away. After they left, I stayed there and picked *winika* fruits. Then I came back."

Interlinear Presentation

1 **Winika** , **winika** **me** **yabemetemone** **me**
 winika , winika me yaba -hemete -mone me
 cashew sp cashew sp 3PL.S pick up FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.O
 nf nf pron vt pron

okominaboneke **faro** .
 o- kamina -habone -ke faaro
 1SG.S tell INT+F DECL+F that+F
 vt dem

'I am going to tell about the *winika* fruits that they picked up.'

2 **Winika** **me** **yabaha** **me** , **winika**
 winika me yaba+F me , winika
 cashew sp 3PL.S pick up 3PL.S cashew sp
 nf pron vt pron nf
tonakamakibona **Oka** **winika**
 to- na- ka -makI -hibona , o- ka winika
 away CAUS go/come following INT+M 1SG.POSS POSS cashew sp
 vt prt nf

okayawa , **oyababone** **me** .
 o- ka- yawa+F , o- yaba -habone me
 1SG.S COMIT be upset 1SG.S pick up INT+F 3PL
 vt vt pron

'They were picking up the *winika* fruits. He wanted to go after *winika* fruits. "I am protective of my *winika* fruits, and I want to pick them up."'

3 **Me** **famemetemoneke** .
 me fama -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S be two FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi

'There were two of them.'

4 **Me fanawi** **fama** **towaka** , **winika** **yabaha** , **bote**
 me fanawi fama+F to- ka- ka+F , winika yaba+F , bote
 women be two away COMIT go/come cashew sp pick up old
 nf vi vi nf vt adj
bote , **yetene** **amarari** **botematamonaka** .
 bote , yetene ama -ra -haari bote -mata -mona -ka
 old teenage boy be NEG IP.E+M old FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 adj adj vc adj

'Two women went. They were picking up *winika* fruits. An old man, he wasn't a teen-ager, he was old.'

5 **Oka** **winika** **oyababone** **me** **tonaka**
 o- ka winika o- yaba -habone me to- na- ka+F
 1SG.POSS POSS cashew sp 1SG.S pick up INT+F 3PL.S away CAUS go/come
 prt nf vt pron vt

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me awineke
 me awine -ke
 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F
 pron sec

"Some people seem to have come after my *winika* fruits that I was going to pick up."

6 **Hiba me totowamake omate**
 hiba me to- to- awa -makI o- na -mate
 wait 3PL.O DUP away see following 1SG.S AUX short time.IMP+F
 interj pron vt aux

"Wait, I will take a look at them."

7 **Tokomake me fanawi atona famemetemoneke**
 to- ka -makI me fanawi atona fama -hemete -mone -ke
 away go/come following women maiden be two FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi nf nf vi

'He went there. There were two teen-age girls.'

8 **Me fanawi atona famaha ra**
 me fanawi atona fama+F ra
 women maiden be two O
 nf nf vi prt

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

'He went to the two girls.'

9 **Tokomake mera kakatome towamake**
 to- ka -makI mera ka- katoma+M to- waa -makI
 away go/come following 3PL.O COMMIT look at away stand following
 vi pron vt vi

mera kakatomematamonaka
 mera ka- katoma -himata -mona -ka
 3PL.O COMMIT look at FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pron vt

'He went there and looked at them. He stood a ways back looking at them.'

10 **Oka winika oyababone me yabine**
 o- ka winika o- ka yaba -habone me yaba -ne
 1SG.POSS POSS cashew sp 1SG.S pick up INT+F 3PL.S pick up CONT+F
 prt nf vt pron vt

ninihi
 na.NOM+F -ni -hi
 AUX IP.N+F DUP
 aux

"They are picking up my *winika* fruits that I was going to pick up."

11 **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

'He went there.'

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12 *Tokomake* *awa* *awa* , *Haa* .
 to- ka -makI awa+F awa+F haa
 away go/come following see see hey
 vi vi vi interj

'He went there. They saw something. "Hey."'

13 *Yomemonaka*
 yomee -mona -ka
 jaguar REP+M DECL+M
 nm

'They thought it was a jaguar.'

14 *Yome* *ama* *o*
 yomee ama o-
 jaguar be 1SG.S
 nm vc prt

""I'm not a jaguar.""

15 *Oka* *winika* *oyababone* *te*
 o- ka winika o- yaba -habone tee
 1SG.POSS POSS cashew sp 1SG.S pick up INT+F 2PL.S
 prt nf vt pron

yabinekeni

yaba -ne -ke -ni
 pick up CONT+F DECL+F IP.N+F
 vt

""You are picking up my *winika* fruits that I was going to pick up.""

16 *Winika* *oyababone* *te* *yabine*
 winika o- yaba -habone tee yaba -ne
 cashew sp 1SG.S pick up INT+F 2PL.S pick up CONT+F
 nf vt pron vt

ninihi

na.NOM+F -ni -hi
 AUX IP.N+F DUP
 aux

""You are picking up the *winika* fruits that I was going to pick up.""

17 *Te* *yor* *oni* *toe* *ori* *ati*
 tee yori o- na to- ha o- na -ra.NOM+F ati
 2PL.O have sex with 1SG.S AUX CH AUX 1SG.S AUX NEG say
 pron vt aux aux aux vt

nematamonane

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

""I want to have sex with you.""

18 *Abe* *noki* *awemetemoneni* , *me* *abe* *noki* *ahi*
 abe noki awa -hemete -mone -ni , me abe noki ahi
 RECIP eye+F see FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F 3PL.POSS RECIP eye+F then
 pn pn vt pron pn pn dem

'They looked at each other.'

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19 *Te yori onikimi toe ori*
tee yori o- to- na -kima to- ha o- na -ra.NOM+F
2PL.O have sex with 1SG.S CH AUX two CH AUX 1SG.S AUX NEG
pron vt aux aux aux

ati nane
ati na.CONT+M -ne
say AUX BKG+M
vt aux

"He said, 'I want to have sex with you two.'"

20 *Me abe noki awa me , ati fawa na ati yana*
me abe noki awa+F me , ati fawa na+F ati yana
3PL.S RECIP eye+F see 3PL.POSS voice stop AUX voice start
pron pn pn vt pron pn vi aux pn vi

tone ati yana nabanihi
to- na+M ati yana na -haba -ni -hi
away AUX voice start AUX FUT+F IP.N+F DUP
aux pn vi aux

'They looked at each other, and they stopped talking. He spoke, and then she spoke.'

21 *Ati yana nabani winika , Ami winika mo*
ati yana na -haba -ni winika , ami winika moo
voice start AUX FUT+F IP.N+F cashew sp mother cashew sp be full
pn vi aux nf nf nf vi

kanakene
ka- na -ke -ne
COMIT AUX DECL+F IRR+F
aux

'She spoke. "Mother, the basket isn't quite full of *winika* fruits.'"

22 *Sika tinamakehi*
sika ti- na -makI -hi
pour 2SG.S AUX following IMP+F
vt aux

"Pour them out."

23 *Oka winika me kahitiaba me ,*
o- ka winika me kahitiaba -haba me
1SG.POSS POSS cashew sp 3PL.S take first FUT+F 3PL.S
prt nf pron vt pron

kakinihi
ka -kI -ni -hi
go/come coming IP.N+F DUP
v

"They came here to pick up my *winika* fruits before I could."

24 *Tiwa tai tonihaho*
tiwa tai to- niha- ha -ho
2SG.O be ahead CH CAUS AUX IMP+M
pron vi aux

"Let him have you first."

25 *Tiwa tai tonihaho*
tiwa tai to- niha- ha -ho
2SG.O be ahead CH CAUS AUX IMP+M
pron vi aux

"Let him have you first."

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26 *Owa nayotobanane* , *ati nemetemoneke*
 owa na- yoto -habana -ne , ati na -hemete -mone -ke
 1SG.O CAUS follow FUT+F BKG+M say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vt vt aux

"He will take me last," she said.'

27 *Ati na* , *tai hinihabone* , *Hiya tiwa*
 ati na+F , tai hi- to- niha- ha -habone , hiya tiwa
 say AUX be ahead OC CH CAUS AUX INT+F come on 2SG.O
 vt aux vi aux interj pron

boboyo obe
 bo- boyo o- na -be
 DUP feel 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F
 vt aux

'He went to take her first. "Come on, let me feel you.'"

28 *Owa boyo tinahi*
 owa boyo ti- na -hi
 1SG.O feel 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 pron vt aux

"Feel me."

29 *Owa okayawa okerene*
 owa o- ka- yawa+F o- ke -ra+F -ne
 1SG.O 1SG.S COMIT be upset 1SG.S DECL+F NEG IRR+F
 pron vt prt

"I don't mind."

30 *Owa okayawarini*
 owa o- ka- yawa -ri -ni
 1SG.O 1SG.S COMIT be upset NEG BKG+F
 pron vt

"I don't mind."

31 *Owa yori tinahi*
 owa yori ti- na -hi
 1SG.O have sex with 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 pron vt aux

"Have sex with me."

32 *Faya boyo hina hibarisa*
 faya , boyo hi- na+F hi- iba -risa+F ,
 so feel OC AUX OC set down down
 conj vt aux vt

Tihomibe ahi
 ti- homa -be ahi
 2SG.S lie on ground IMMED+F then
 vi dem

'So he got ahold of her and took her down. "You lie here on the ground.'"

33 *Faya hibarisa tani tanibone yoko*
 faya hi- iba -risa+F tani tani -bone yoko
 so OC set down down weapon against weapon against INT+F push
 conj vt pn pn vt

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hinabone **sowiri** **kitarematamonaka**
 hi- na -habone sowiri kita -ra -himata -mona -ka
 OC AUX INT+F penis be strong NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux pn vi
 'He took her down. He wanted to stick the thing in her but his penis was not hard.'

34 **Sowi** **kitaremetemone**
 sowi kita -ra -hemete -mone
 penis be strong NEG FP.N+F REP+F
 nf vi
 'The penis was not hard.'

35 **Sowi** **kitara** **toki** **watoremoneke** **ahi**
 sowi kita -ra+F to- ka.NFIN wato -ra -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 penis be strong NEG away go/come know NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 nf vi vi vt dem

'The penis was not hard, and so it could not go in.'

36 **Sowi** **toki** **watora** **toki** **watoremone**
 sowi to- ka.NFIN wato -ra+F to- ka.NFIN wato -ra -hemete -mone
 penis away go/come know NEG away go/come know NEG FP.N+F REP+F
 nf vi vt vi vt

'The penis could not go in.'

37 **Yoko** **hina** **Owa** **aahi** **tira** **hine**
 yoko hi- na+F owa a- ahi ti- na -ra+F hine
 push OC AUX 1SG.O DUP have sex with 2SG.S AUX NEG only
 vt aux pron vt aux pron
ya **owa** **kofari** **tina**
 ya owa kofari ti- na+F
 ADJU 1SG.O tickle 2SG.S AUX
 prt pron vt aux

'He pushed it in. "You aren't having sex with me. You are just tickling me."

38 **Tiwa** **kofari** **o**
 tiwa kofari o-
 2SG.O tickle 1SG.S
 pron vt prt
 "'I am tickling you.'"

39 **Oko** **sowi** **kitarimakoni** **ama**
 o- ka sowi kita -ra -makoni ama
 1SG.POSS POSS penis be strong NEG for this reason+F SEC
 prt pn vi sec

oke **sowi** **bote**
 o- ke sowi bote
 1SG.POSS DECL+F penis old
 prt nf adj
 "'It's because my penis is not hard, the old penis.'"

40 **Sowi** **bote** **kitarimakoni** **amake**
 sowi bote kita -ra -makoni ama -ke
 penis old be strong NEG for this reason+F SEC DECL+F
 nf adj vi sec

'"'It's because the old penis is not hard.'"

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41 *Faya* , *faya* , *Sowi* *kikita* *ra*
 faya , faya , sowi ki- kita na -ra+F
 so so penis DUP be strong AUX NEG
 conj conj nf vi aux

"The penis is not hard."

42 *Sowi* *kasiro* *kanematamona*
 sowi kasiro ka- na -himata -mona
 penis complain about COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 nf vt aux

'He complained about the penis.'

43 *Faya* *itakose* *rama* *ahi* *hiwatakosari* *ahi*
 faya ita -kosa+M rama ahi hi- wata -kosa -haari ahi
 so sit middle unusual then OC exist middle IP.E+M then
 conj vi prt dem vt dem

'Her vagina was completely exposed, because she had exposed it.'

44 *Awaawawa* *hinematamonaka* *ahi*
 awa- awa -wa hi- na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 DUP see DUP OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M have sex with
 vt aux vt

'He was staring at it.'

45 *Fara* *hawa* *tihini* ?
 fara hawa ti- to- ha -ni
 same+F be finished 2SG.S CH AUX BKG+F
 dem vi aux

"Is that it, are you done?"

46 *Hawa* *ohini*
 hawa o- to- ha -ni
 be finished 1SG.S CH AUX BKG+F
 vi aux

"I'm not done."

47 *Sowiri* *kitararene*
 sowiri kita -ra -hare -ne
 penis be strong NEG IP.E+M BKG+M
 pn vi

"His penis wasn't hard."

48 *Yama* *koro* *tiwitihi*
 yama koro ti- na -witI -hi
 thing throw 2SG.S AUX out IMP+F
 nf vt aux

"Throw him away."

49 *Faya* , *yoko* *himisame* *yoko* *hiwiti*
 faya , yoko hi- na -misa -ma+M yoko hi- to- na -witI+M
 so push OC AUX up back push OC away AUX out
 conj vt vt vt aux
tosawitematamonaka *ahi* *iii*
 to- sona -witI -himata -mona -ka ahi iii
 away fall out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M have sex with (sound of falling)
 vi vt sound

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'She pushed him up and away, and he fell, iii.'

50 *Fahi hiwa homa na*
 fahi hiwa homa.NOM+M na
 there only.M lie on ground AUX
 dem pron vi aux

'''There, let him lie.'''

51 *Winika weye namisemetemoneke*
 winika weye na -misa -hemete -mone -ke
 cashew sp carry AUX up FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf vt aux

'She hoisted the basket of *winika* fruits onto her back.'

52 *Winika weye namisa winika*
 winika weye na -misa+F winika
 cashew sp carry AUX up cashew sp
 nf vt aux nf

towakamemetemoneke

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

'She hoisted the *winika* fruits onto her back and took the *winika* fruits off.'

53 *Me towakamemetemone*
 me to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F
 pron vi

'The two of them went off.'

54 *Hoo owa me koro towiti*
 hoo owa me koro to- na -witI
 humph 1SG.O 3PL.S throw away AUX out
 interj pron pron vt aux

'''Humph, they threw me away.'''

55 *Oka oko sowi kiti nofara rama*
 o- ka o- ka sowi kita nofa -ra+F rama
 1SG.POSS POSS 1SG.POSS POSS penis be strong recently NEG unusual
 prt prt nf vi prt prt

'''My penis won't get hard.'''

56 *Sowi , tafotafo nimako*
 sowi , tafo- tafo na -mako
 penis DUP be light AUX for this reason
 nf vi aux

'''The penis doesn't have any substance.'''

57 *Me yototi kawa onisikimene mati sowi*
 me yotohoti kawa o- na -risa -kima -hene mati sowi
 3PL.POSS rear part thrust 1SG.S AUX down two IRR+F 3PL.POSS penis
 pron pn vt aux pron nf

kitabote

kita -bote
 be hard very
 adj

'''I could have thrust into their anuses if the penis was hard.'''

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58 *Faya me , towakama me fawa*
 faya me , to- ka- ka -ma+F me fawa
 so 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back 3PL.S disappear
 conj pron vi pron vi

tokasama me nowati ya winika
 to- ka- na -kosa -ma+F me nowati ya winika
 away COMIT AUX middle back 3PL.O behind ADJU cashew sp
 aux pron pn prt nf

oohariki na yabe winika bara
 o- ohari -kii na yaba+M winika bara
 DUP be one one at a time AUX take out cashew sp other+F
 vi aux vt nf adj

tonake winika wasi winika yabe , faya
 to- na- ka+M winika wasi+M winika yaba+M , faya
 away CAUS go/come cashew sp find cashew sp say so
 vt nf vt nf vt conj

Tokomake te awini ?
 to- ka -makI tee awa -ni
 away go/come following 2PL.S see BKG+F
 vi pron vt

"The two of them went back. They disappeared into the forest. After they had left, he picked up a few *winika* fruits. He went after another *winika* tree. He found a *winika* tree, and picked some *winika* fruits. "Did you see the one who went there?"

59 *Waharene*
 waa -hare -ne
 stand IP.E+M BKG+M
 vi

"He is standing there."

60 *Waharene*
 waa -hare -ne
 stand IP.E+M BKG+M
 vi

"He is standing there."

61 *Hinaka winika ota kahitiamone , otara ahi*
 hinaka winika otaa kahiti -hamone , otara ahi
 3SG.POSS cashew sp 1EX.S take first REP+F 1EX.O have sex with
 pron nf pron vt pron vt

nebona ati ne
 na -hibona ati na+M
 AUX INT+M say AUX
 aux vt aux

"He said we were taking his *winika* fruits before he could, so he was going to have sex with us."

62 *Tera ahi nanoho ?*
 tera ahi na.NOM+M -no -ho
 2PL.O here AUX IP.N+M DUP
 pron dem aux

"Did he have sex with you?"

63 *Otara ahi rarene*
 otara ahi na -ra -hare -ne
 1EX.O here AUX NEG IP.E+M BKG+M
 pron dem aux

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"He didn't have sex with us."

64 *Sowiri kitare* , *sowiri kitare* *ati*
 sowiri kita -ra+M , sowiri kita -ra+M ati
 penis be strong NEG penis be strong NEG voice
 pn vi pn vi pn

kitehinoho

kita -hino -ho
 be strong IP.N+M DUP
 vi

"His penis wasn't hard. His penis wasn't hard, he was just talking big."

65 *Ati kitehino* *owa ai* *ni watore* ,
 ati kita -hino owa ahi na.NFIN wato -ra+M ,
 voice be strong IP.N+M 1SG.O have sex with AUX know NEG
 pn vi pron vt aux vt

yoko owiti

yoko o- to- na -witI+M *bao nisarene*
 push 1SG.S away AUX out bao na -risa -hare -ne
 vt aux vi aux fall AUX down IP.E+M BKG+M

"He had talked big, but he couldn't have sex with me. I pushed him away, and he fell."

66 *Faya* , *kamakimatamonaka*
 faya , ka -makI -himata -mona -ka
 so go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj vi

'Then he came.'

67 *Kamaki* , *winika weye kani* *kamaki* ,
 ka -makI+M , winika weye ka- na.NFIN ka -makI+M ,
 go/come following cashew sp carry COMMIT AUX go/come following
 vi nf vt aux vi

me aate

hinebanoho
 me a- ate hi- na -hiba -no -ho
 3PL.O DUP ask OC AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
 pron vt aux

'He came carrying a basket of *winika* fruits that wasn't full. They questioned him.'

68 *Fara hinakati* , *hinakati* *aate*
 fara hinaka ati , hinaka ati a- ate
 same+F 3SG.POSS older sister 3SG.POSS older sister DUP ask
 dem nf nf vt

hineba

kamakimatamonane
 hi- na -hiba ka -makI -himata -mona -ne
 OC AUX FUT+M go/come following FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 aux vi

'His own older sister was going to question him, and he came.'

69 *Kamaki* *kobo namaki* , *Hima winika wiri*
 ka -makI+M kobo na -makI+M , hima winika wiri
 go/come following arrive AUX following let's go cashew sp peel
 vi vi aux interj nf vt

tina

ti- na
 2SG.S AUX
 aux

'He came and arrived. "Come on, peel the *winika* fruits."

TOBOYORO

70 *Winika okobibe*
 winika o- kaba -be
 cashew sp 1SG.S eat IMMED+F
 nf vt

"I want to eat *winika* fruits."

71 *E nibamakoni noko*
 ee na -ba -makoni noko
 be similar AUX FUT for this reason+F face+M
 vi aux pn

hekatomematamonaka
 hi- ka- katoma -himata -mona -ka
 OC COMIT look at FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt

'Another man was looking at his face the whole time.'

72 *Noko hekatome Afa afa tiwani me*
 noko hi- ka- katoma+M afa afa tiwa -ni me
 face+M OC COMIT look at this+F this+F 2SG.O IP.N+F 3PL.S
 pn vt dem dem pron pron

kaminine ?
 kamina -ne
 tell CONT+F
 vt

'She looked at his face. "Is it you they are telling about?"'

73 *Hika ya* ?
 hika ya
 where ADJU
 interrog prt

"Where?"

74 *Me ai tinabone me tina me*
 me ahi ti- na -habone me ati ti- na+F me
 3PL.S have sex with 2SG.S AUX INT+F 3PL.S say 2SG.S AUX 3PL.O
 pron vt aux pron vt pron

ai tinabone me ai ni
 ahi ti- na -habone me ahi na.NFIN
 have sex with 2SG.S AUX INT+F 3PL.O have sex with AUX
 vt aux pron vt aux

tiwatora tiwa me koro towitiamone me ati
 ti- wato -ra+F tiwa me koro to- na -witI -hamone me ati
 2SG.S know NEG 2SG.O 3PL.S throw away AUX out REP+F 3PL.S say
 vt pron pron vt aux pron vt

narake
 na -hara -ke
 AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
 aux

"You said you were going to have sex with them, but when you went to have sex with them you couldn't, and they said they threw you away."

75 *Owa me koro towitia me kakami*
 owa me koro to- na -witI+F me ka- ka -ma.NOM+F
 1SG.O 3PL.S throw away AUX out 3PL.S COMIT go/come back
 pron pron vt aux pron vi

TOBOYORO

ta tonaharo
 taa to- na -haaro
 protrude CH AUX IP.E+F
 vi aux

"You should take a real one," his brother-in-law said, "sticking up."

82 **Ta tona yokana tekamaki ya**
 taa to- na+F yokana ti- to- ka- ka -makI.NOM ya
 protrude CH AUX true 2SG.S away COMIT go/come following ADJU
 vi aux adj vt prt

me fawa tikani ya me naba me
 me fawa ti- to- ka- niha- na.NOM+F ya me naba me
 3PL.S disappear 2SG.S CH COMIT CAUS AUX ADJU 3PL pregnant 3PL.S
 pron vi aux prt pron adj pron

toene tika winika me weye nine
 to- ha -hene ti- ka winika me weye na -ne
 CH be IRR+F 2SG.POSS POSS cashew sp 3PL.S carry AUX CONT+F
 vc prt nf pron result aux

ninihi wabori ati nematamona
 na.NOM+F -ni -hi wabori ati na -himata -mona
 AUX IP.N+F DUP 3SG.POSS brother-in-law say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 aux nm vt aux

"If you would take a sticking up one, and you finish off both of them, they would both get pregnant. But instead they are carrying your *winika* fruits," his brother-in-law said.'

83 **Hoo oof kitara owakamaki**
 hoo oof kita -ra+F o- to- ka- ka -makI
 humph hoo be hard NEG 1SG.S away COMIT go/come following
 interj interj vi vt

onofa kawanineni
 o- nofa+F ka- wana -ne -ni
 1SG.S recently COMIT be attached CONT+F BKG+F
 prt vi

"Well, the flaccid one that I took is attached."

84 **Kitaramone okasima aawa hinahi**
 kita -ra -hamone o- ka asima a- awa hi- na -hi
 be hard NEG REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS younger sister DUP see OC AUX IMP+F
 vi nf vt aux

"Let my younger sister see the flaccid thing."

85 **Asima hiwa asima owa koro**
 asima hiwa asima owa koro
 2SG.POSS.younger sister 3SG.REFL.M 2SG.POSS.younger sister 1SG.O throw
 nf pron nf pron vt

towitibe
 to- na -witI -be
 away AUX out IMMED+F
 aux

"Your sister will throw me away."

86 **Faya me amo nemetemone fahi**
 faya me amo na -hemete -mone fahi
 so 3PL.S sleep AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 conj pron vi aux dem

'So they slept.'

TOBOYORO

87 *Winika me kaba me amo na me , me amo*
 winika me kaba+F me amo na me , me amo
 cashew sp 3PL.S eat 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S sleep
 nf pron vt pron vi aux pron pron vi

nemetemoneke

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

"They ate the *winika* fruits and slept."

88 *Me amo na me , faya , me yana tonabone me*
 me amo na+F me , faya , me yana to- na -habone me
 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S so 3PL.S start CH AUX INT+F 3PL
 pron vi aux pron conj pron vi aux pron

winika me yabaminabone me yana tonabone
 winika me yaba -mina -habone me yana to- na -habone
 cashew sp 3PL.S take out morning INT+F 3PL.S start CH AUX INT+F
 nf pron vt pron vi aux pron vi aux

me amo na me Winika hine katomanini aii
 me amo na+F me winika hine katoma -hani -ni aii
 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S cashew sp 3.REFL attack IP.N+F BKG+F wow!
 pron vi aux pron nf pron vt interj

"They slept. They slept so that they could be ready and pick *winika* fruits. "There are so many *winika* fruits, wow!"

89 *Winika te nafi yabaminahi*
 winika tee nafi yaba -mina -hi
 cashew sp 2PL.S all take out morning IMP+F
 nf pron pn vt

"All of you pick *winika* fruits tomorrow."

90 *Te ka yibote te tabahi sowiri kitabote*
 tee ka yibote tee taba -hi sowiri kita -bote
 2PL.S POSS wife 2PL.O be together IMP+F penis be hard very
 pron prt nf pron vi pn adj

me ati nemetemone
 me ati na -hemete -mone
 3PL.S voice AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 pron pn aux

"Go with your husband, who has a hard penis," they said."

91 *Fa yokana ya te koro nifemanaha ati*
 faha yokana ya tee koro na -fI -himanaha ati
 stream true ADJU 2PL.S throw AUX water HYPOTH+M say
 nf adj prt pron vt aux vt

nematamonaka , fa witi yokana te nahobasi
 na -himata -mona -ka , faha witi yokana tee naho -basa.NOM+F
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M water edge true 2PL.S stand edge
 aux nf pn adj pron vi

ya
 ya
 ADJU
 prt

"If it is flaccid, throw him in the water," he said, "if you are on the edge of the stream."

TOBOYORO

92	<i>E</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>mata</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ahi</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>ati</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>te</i>
	ee	ee	ee	mata	na	ahi	tee	ati	na.NOM+F	ya	tee
	1IN	1IN	1IN.S	lie	AUX	there	2PL.S	say	AUX	ADJU	2PL.S
	pron	pron	pron	vi	aux	dem	pron	vt	aux	prt	pron

keyehayaho

keyeha -yaho
deceive DIST.IMP+M
vt

"You should say, 'Let's lie on the ground there,' and deceive him."

93	<i>Te</i>	<i>tabahi</i>	
	tee	taba	-hi
	2PL.S	be together	IMP+F
	pron	vi	

"You all go together."

94	<i>Faya</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>yana</i>	<i>tonabone</i>		<i>me</i>	<i>yana</i>	<i>tona</i>		<i>me</i>	<i>yana</i>
	faya	me	yana	to- na	-habone	me	yana	to- na+F		me	yana
	so	3PL.S	start	CH AUX	INT+F	3PL.S	start	CH AUX		3PL.S	start
	conj	pron	vi	aux		pron	vi	aux		pron	vi

<i>tona</i>	<i>winika</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>kaba</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>yana</i>	<i>nemetemoneke</i>	
to- na+F	winika	me	kaba+F	me	yana	na -hemete	-mone -ke
CH AUX	cashew sp	3PL.S	eat	3PL.S	start	AUX FP.N+F	REP+F DECL+F
aux	nf	pron	vt	pron	vi	aux	

'They got ready. They ate *winika* fruits and got going.'

95	<i>Hisiri</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>weyeri</i>	<i>kawemetemoneni</i>	
	hisiri	me	weye -ri	ka- na -waha	-hemete -mone -ni
	basket	3PL.S	carry	DISTR	COMIT AUX change
	nf	pron	vt	aux	FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F

'They took baskets on their backs.'

96	<i>Winika</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>yaba</i>	<i>me</i>
	winika	me	yaba+F	me
	cashew sp	3PL.S	pick up	3PL.S
	nf	pron	vt	pron

hekamemetemoneke

hi- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke *ahi*
OC COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
vt dem

'They picked up *winika* fruits and brought them back.'

97	<i>Mo</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>kama</i>		<i>me</i>	<i>kama</i>	<i>me</i>
	moo	na+F	me	ka -ma+F		me	ka -ma+F	me
	be full	AUX	3PL.S	go/come back		3PL.S	go/come back	3PL.S
	vi	aux	pron	vi		pron	vi	pron

<i>kobo</i>	<i>nama</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>winika</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>wiri</i>	<i>nemetemoneke</i>	
kobo	na -ma+F	me	winika	me	wiri	na -hemete	-mone -ke
arrive	AUX back	3PL.S	cashew sp	3PL.S	peel	AUX FP.N+F	REP+F DECL+F
vi	aux	pron	nf	pron	vt	aux	

ahi

ahi
then
dem

'When they were full, they came back. When they arrived back, they peeled the *winika* fruits.'

TOBOYORO

98 *One me hirawa rata ya rata ya yiwaha*
 one me hi- rawa+F rata ya rata ya yiwaha
 other+F 3PL.S OC toast large can ADJU large can ADJU pot
 adj pron vt nf prt nf prt nf

yiwa tebe ka kori toharawa , kori me
 yiwaha tebe ka kori to- ha -rawa+F , kori me
 ceramic pot LOC naked+F CH AUX F.PL naked+F 3PL.S
 nf prt pn vc pn pron

hirawemetemoneke ahi
 hi- rawa -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 OC toast FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vt dem

'They toasted some in cans. They toasted some shelled ones in ceramic pots, too.'

99 *Me hirawa me hikaba , Hoo , oof Toboyoro ,*
 me hi- rawa+F me hi- kaba+F , hoo oof Toboyoro ,
 3PL.S OC toast 3PL.S OC eat whew hoo (man's name)
 pron vt pron vt interj interj npropm

Toboyoro sowiri kitatere me koro towitimone
 Toboyoro sowiri kita -tee -ra+M me koro to- na -witI -mone
 (man's name) penis be hard HAB NEG 3PL.S throw away AUX out REP+F
 npropm pn vi pron vt aux

ya
 ya
 ADJU
 prt

'They toasted them, and ate them. "They threw Toboyoro away, because his penis was flaccid."'

100 *Hine ati toharanoho*
 hine ati to- ha -ra.NOM+M -no -ho
 only voice CH be NEG IP.N+M DUP
 pron pn vc

'He shouldn't have spoken.'

101 *Oko sowi kitaraba ama o ati*
 o- ka sowi kita -ra -haba ama o- ati
 1SG.POSS POSS penis be hard NEG FUT+F SEC 1SG.POSS say
 prt pn vi sec prt vt

reno makoni , me koro hiwitino
 na -ra -hino makoni , me koro hi- na -witI -hino
 AUX NEG IP.N+M for this reason 3PL.S throw OC AUX out IP.N+M
 aux conj pron vt aux

amaka
 ama -ka
 SEC DECL+M
 sec

'"Because he didn't say, 'My penis isn't hard,' they threw him away.'"

102 *Tokomakimonaha ?*
 to- ka -makI.NOM -mona -ha
 away go/come following REP+M DUP
 vi

'"Did he go there?"'

TOBOYORO

103 *Tokomakemonaka* *winika* *me* *yaba* *me*
to- ka -makI -himona -ka winika me yaba+F me
away go/come following REP+M DECL+M cashew sp 3PL.S pick up 3PL
vi nf pron vt pron

ni ya
na+F ya
AUX ADJU
aux prt

"He went to them as they were picking *winika* fruits."

104 *Tokomake* , *Oka* *winika*
to- ka -makI o- ka winika
away go/come following 1SG.POSS POSS cashew sp
vi prt nf

oyababone *te* *yabineke* *ati* *ne* *ama* *ahi*
o- yaba -habone tee yaba -ne -ke ati na+M ama ahi
1SG.S pick up INT+F 2PL.S take out CONT+F DECL+F say AUX SEC then
vt pron vt vt aux sec dem

"He went there. 'You are picking my *winika* fruits that I was going to pick,' he said."

105 *Te* *yori* *oni* *toe* *ori* *ati* *ne*
tee yori o- na to- ha o- na -ra.NOM+F ati na+M
2PL.S have sex with 1SG.S AUX CH AUX 1SG.S AUX NEG say AUX
pron vt aux aux aux vt aux

hiwa *yokomonaka*
hiwa yoko -himona -ka
3SG.REFL.M bring misfortune on REP+M DECL+M
pron vt

"When he said, 'I want to have sex with you,' he brought misfortune on himself."

106 *Ota* *ai* *tibeya*
otaa ahi ti- na -be -ya
1EX.O have sex with 2SG.S AUX IMMED+F now
pron vt aux

"Have sex with us."

107 *Ota* *ai* *tibeya* *tika* *winika*
otaa ahi ti- na -be -ya ti- ka winika
1EX.O have sex with 2SG.S AUX IMMED+F now 2SG.POSS POSS cashew sp
pron vt aux prt nf

ota *yaba* *ota* *me* *ati* *namoneke*
otaa yaba+F otaa me ati na -hamone -ke
1EX.S pick up 1EX.S 3PL.S say AUX REP+F DECL+F
pron vt pron pron vt aux

"Have sex with us because we are picking your *winika* fruits,' they said."

108 *Toboyoro* *sowiri* *kitare* , *faya* *heto*
Toboyoro sowiri kita -ra+M faya heto
(man's name) penis be strong NEG so stroke vagina
npropm pn vi conj vt

hinamoneke *fahi*
hi- na -hamone -ke fahi
OC AUX REP+F DECL+F then
vt dem

"Toboyoro's penis wasn't hard, so he stroked her vagina."

TOBOYORO

109 *Heto* *hina* *hibarisa* , *hibarisa*
 heto hi- na+F hi- iba -risa+F , hi- iba -risa+F
 stroke vagina OC AUX OC set down down OC set down down
 vt aux vt vt

tani *toki* *watora* *sowi* *fiyaftiya* *tona*
 tani to- ka.NFIN wato -ra+F sowi fiya- fiya to- na
 weapon against away go/come know NEG penis DUP pass CH AUX
 pn vi vt nf vi aux

namoneke *ahi* *bate* , *ihi* *yawabanihi*
 na -hamone -ke ahi bate , ihi yawa -haba -ni -hi
 AUX REP+F DECL+F then rotten+F result of+F be upset FUT+F IP.N+F DUP
 aux dem pn pn vi

."He stroked her vagina and put her on the ground. His thing couldn't go in. His penis went outside, because it was flaccid, and they were upset because of it."

110 *Ihi* *yawamoneke*
 ihi yawa -hamone -ke
 result of+F be upset REP+F DECL+F
 pn vi

""They were upset because of it.""

111 *Fara* *hawa* *tihini* ?
 fara hawa ti- to- ha -ni
 same+F be finished 2SG.S CH AUX BKG+F
 dem vi aux

""Are you done?""

112 *Hawa* *oharini*
 hawa o- to- ha -ra -ni
 be finished 1SG.S CH AUX NEG BKG+F
 vi aux

""I'm not finished.""

113 *Sowi* *kitararani*
 sowi kita -ra -hara -ni
 penis be strong NEG IP.E+F BKG+F
 nf vi

""The penis is not hard.""

114 *Yama* *koro* *tiwitihi* , *one* *ati* *namoneke*
 yama koro ti- na -witI -hi , one ati na -hamone -ke
 thing throw 2SG.S AUX out IMP+F other+F say AUX REP+F DECL+F
 nf vt aux adj vt aux

""Throw him away,' the other one said.""

115 *Faya* *hinakasima* *koro* *hiwitimonaka*
 faya hinaka asima koro hi- to- na -witI -himona -ka
 so 3SG.POSS younger sister throw OC away AUX out REP+M DECL+M
 conj nf vt aux

ahi , *kiya* *kanebana* *ahi*
 ahi , kiya ka- na -hibana ahi
 then yell COMMIT AUX FUT+M then
 dem vi aux dem

""So her younger sister threw him away, and then he yelled.""

TOBOYORO

116 *Toboyoro* *tiwa* *amare* ?
 Toboyoro tiwa ama -ra+M
 (man's name) 2SG.COMPL be NEG
 npropm pron vc

""Toboyoro, wasn't it you?""

117 *Toboyoro* , *yama* *kiti* *ya* *tiwati* *yana* *ni*
 Toboyoro yama kita.NOM+F ya ti- ati yana na.NOM+F
 (man's name) thing be hard ADJU 2SG.POSS voice start AUX
 npropm nf vi prt pn vi aux

ya , *tiwehene* *itihene* *ama* *tiwenihi*
 ya ti- ehene iti -hene ama ti- we -ni -hi
 ADJU 2SG.POSS victim of exist IRR+F SEC 2SG.POSS IP.N+F DUP
 prt pn vi sec prt

""Toboyoro, if the thing was hard, and you spoke, you would have cleaned up.""

118 *Sowi* *kitararake*
 sowi kita -ra -hara -ke
 penis be hard NEG IP.E+F DECL+F
 nf vi

""The penis was not hard.""

119 *Kitara* *owa* *me* *kakoa* *owa* *me* *koro*
 kita -ra+F owa me kaako+F owa me koro
 be hard NEG 1SG.O 3PL.S be angry with 1SG.O 3PL.S throw
 vi pron pron vt pron pron vt

towitia
 to- na -witI+F
 away AUX out
 aux

""They were angry with me because it was flaccid, and they threw me away.""

120 *Owa* *me* *koro* *towitia* , *me* *nowati* *ya*
 owa me koro to- na -witI+F me nowati ya
 1SG.O 3PL.S throw away AUX out 3PL.POSS after ADJU
 pron pron vt aux pron pn prt

owakosa , *winika* *oyaba*
 o- to- waa -kosa+F winika o- yaba+F
 1SG.S CH stand middle cashew sp 1SG.S pick up
 vi nf vt

okomakewara *o*
 o- ka -makI -waha -hara o-
 1SG.S go/come following change IP.E+F 1SG.S
 vi prt

""They threw me away. After they left, I stayed there and picked *winika* fruits. Then I came back.""