

SERIES B - No. 9

THE PEOPLING OF CENTRAL PAPUA:  
SOME PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

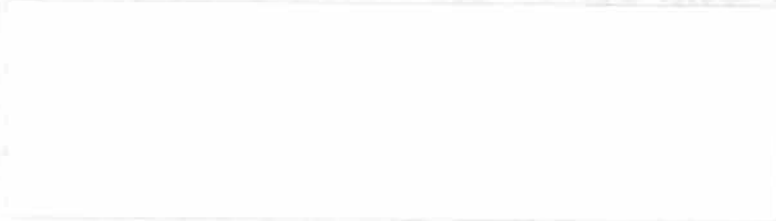
by

T.E. Dutton



PACIFIC LINGUISTICS

The Australian National University



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## PREFACE

This volume is the outcome of an interest I first developed in the indigenous peoples of the Port Moresby and Rigo Sub-Districts with whom I worked some ten years ago as an Education Officer for the Administration of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. At that time I was unacquainted with linguistics, but was, nonetheless, surprised at the poor body of knowledge about the peoples with whom I was working, especially the Koita and Koiari. This deficiency was rather more surprising since these districts were the first to be contacted and pacified by our European colonizers.

In 1966 I was given the opportunity of revisiting New Guinea for linguistic field work, and so I returned to the area of my former interest. Initially, I planned to make a descriptive and comparative study of what was generally referred to as the Koita-Koiari "dialects." These are non-Austronesian "dialects" which have long been recognised as being related, though they have never been adequately defined geographically, nor described linguistically. However, during my pre-fieldwork reading I came upon the suggestion (first made by Strong and later repeated by Capell) that these "dialects" may be related to other non-Austronesian ones, as yet even less clearly defined, on the north side of the Owen Stanley Range. It seemed natural, therefore, as a beginning point in the description of the linguistic position of the Koita-Koiari "dialects" to determine the boundaries of them as well as something of their relationship with one another and with neighbouring ones. I planned to accomplish this by a lexicostatistical survey of as many villages as possible in the time at my disposal after spending some months learning and recording one of the dialects on the eastern end of the Sogerri Plateau.

As the survey developed I became interested in the historical implications of the linguistic picture that was unfolding, particularly

in regard to the movements of what I now call the Koiarian peoples, and the geographical distribution of other non-Austronesian (or Papuan) and Austronesian languages in the immediate area. In this volume I have set down, and tried to integrate, historical information on the recent movement of the Koiarians with a preliminary account of the present linguistic situation. A possible centre of distribution for the Koiarian languages is also discussed, but because of the nature of my survey materials this cannot be anything more than the first step towards a much larger programme of integrated research.

I have been stimulated in this work by others also interested in the Port Moresby area, especially by my supervisors Professor S.A. Wurm, Mr. J. Golson, and Mr. N.D. Oram of the Australian National University, and Drs A. Capell of the University of Sydney, and A.V.G. Price, Port Moresby. I should also like to thank my many colleagues and friends who have discussed aspects of this study with me, though no responsibility for the final form of this paper rests with them. I am indebted to the Australian National University for the opportunity and funds made available to me to make this initial study, and to the Department of Human Geography of this university for the preparations of the maps that are included in this volume.

I should also like to express my sincere thanks to Messrs A. Pence (Director), B. Hooley (Associate Director), D. Wilson, J. Austing, J. Parlier, and H. Weimer, members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, from whom I received nothing but kindness, and who shared, and discussed with me their published and unpublished materials in their respective and related languages, and/or problems of mutual interest. I am no less indebted to members of the Christian Missions who generously gave of their knowledge and experience in the Koiarian area. I am especially indebted here to Rev. P. Chatterton, M.H.A., and Rev. F. Butler of the London Missionary Society, Port Moresby, and to Fr. J. Sharpe, Rev. W. Haughton and Mr. K. Farrow of the Anglican Mission, Northern District.

I also wish to express my gratitude to the following Officials of the Administration of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea for their sympathetic co-operation: Messrs J.K. McCarthy (Director), J. Gauchi (Assistant District Commissioner, Port Moresby), E.S. Sharp (Assistant District Commissioner, Rigo), C. Day (Assistant District Commissioner, Kokoda), C. Viner-Smith (Patrol Officer, Afore) of the Department of District Administration; Mr. R. Black of the Department of Agriculture, Stock and Fisheries, Popondetta; Messrs J.T. Bramell and F. Jones of the Land Titles Commission, Port Moresby; and to a



number of plantation personnel, especially to those of Itikinumu and Subitana Rubber Estates, Sogeri, and Mamba and Kokoda Rubber Estates, Kokoda, who in very practical ways assisted in the production of this volume.

Finally I should like to thank all those indigenous informants who co-operated with me in providing the materials upon which this volume is based.

T.E. Dutton,  
The Australian National University.

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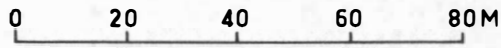
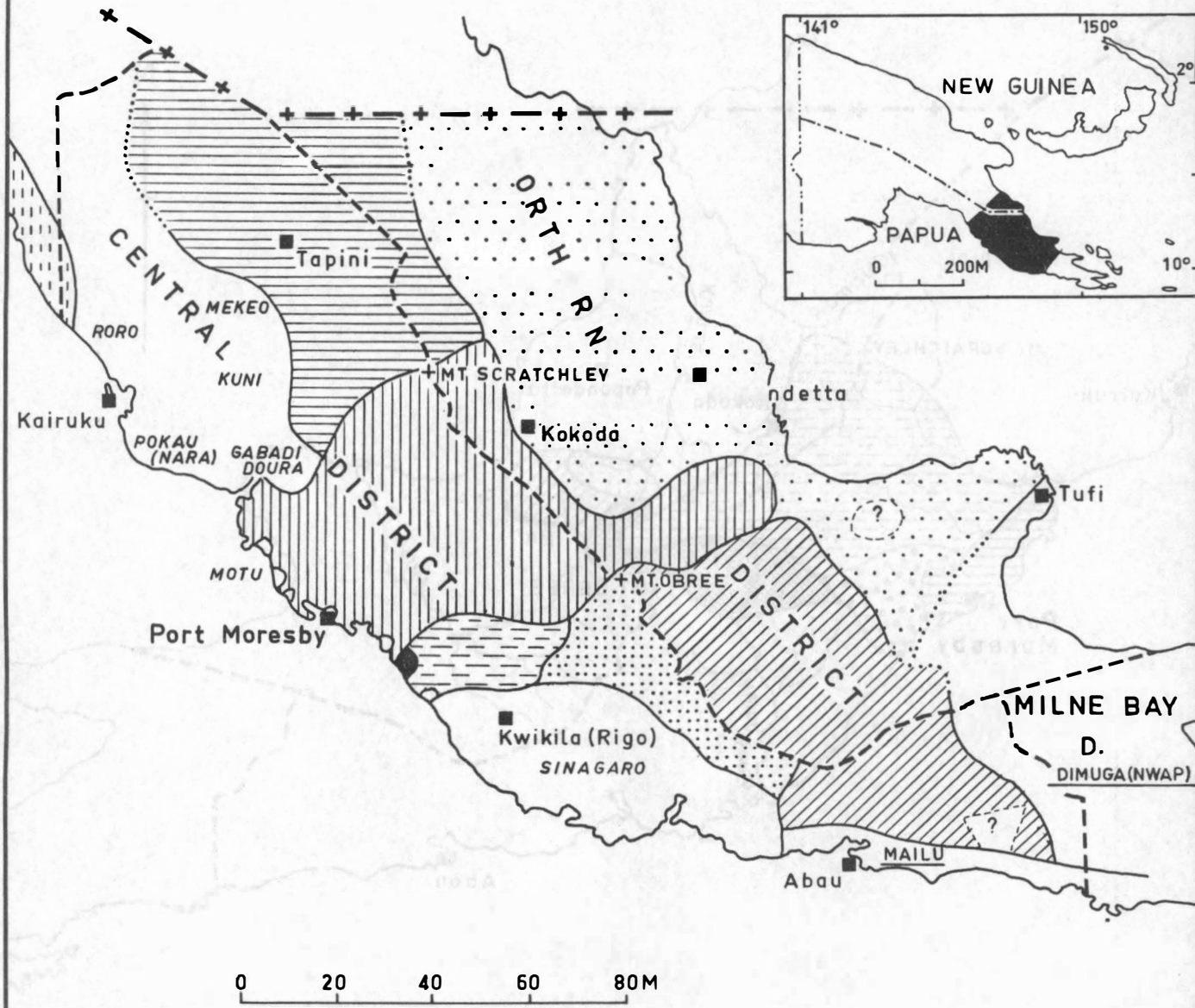
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## CORRIGENDA

- |                           |   |
|---------------------------|---|
| Page 13, eighth last line | change 'detain' to 'detail'.            |
| " 14, para. 2.15, line 5  | change 'ANs' to AN's'.                  |
| " 15, line 7              | change 'loand' to 'loaned'.             |
| " 26, line 4              | change 'motu' to 'Motu'.                |
| " 94, last line of text   | change footnote '2' to '3'.             |
| Appendix 5.33             | read 'r' for 'l' in Koiari<br>material. |

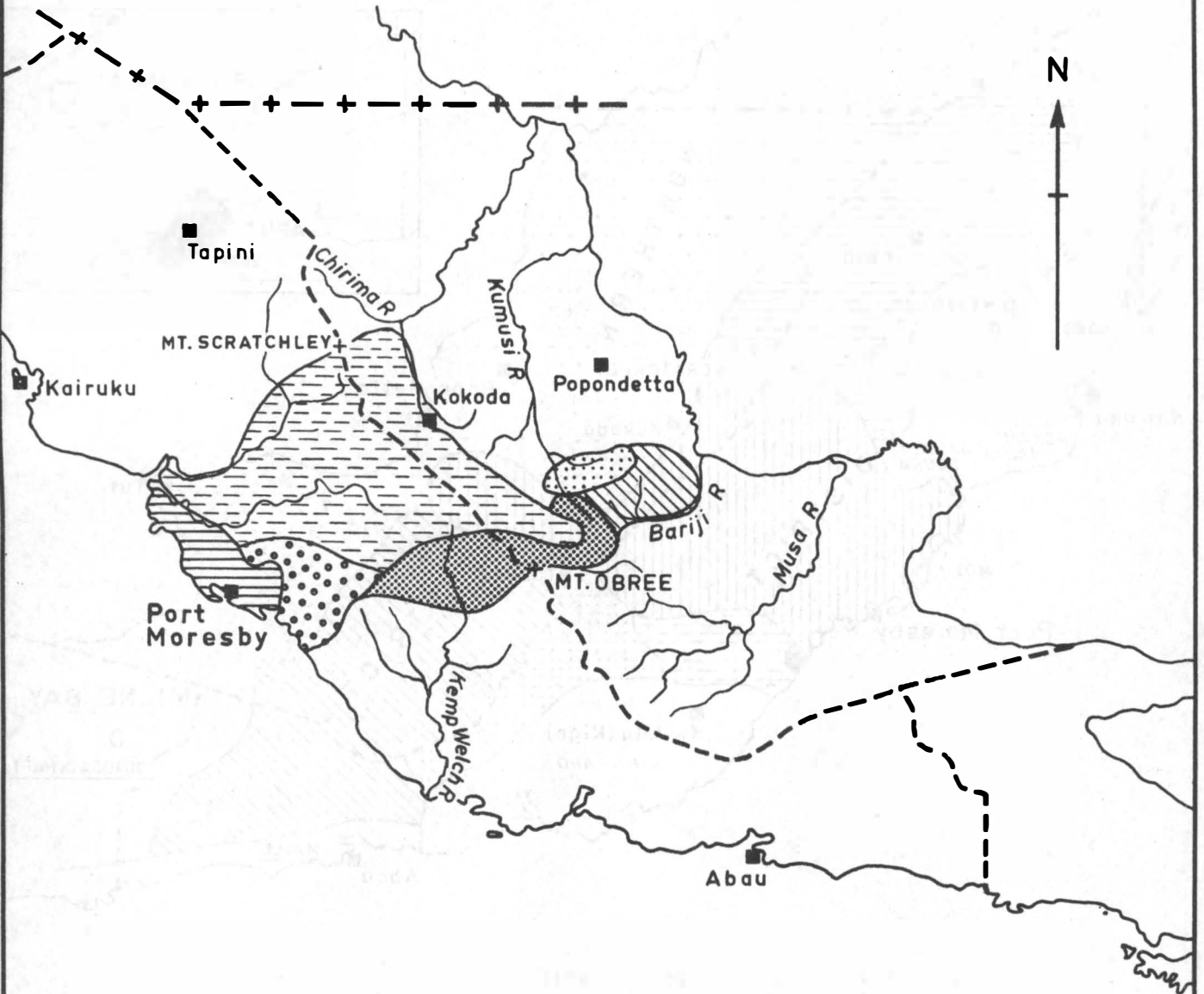
# LANGUAGE FAMILIES OF CENTRAL PAPUA



-  GOILALAN
-  BINANDEREAN
-  KOIARIAN
-  KWALEAN
-  MANUBARAN
-  YAREBAN
-  MULAHA (EXTINCT)
-  TOARIPIAN

-  LANGUAGE FAMILY BOUNDARY
-  UNCERTAIN BOUNDARY
-  ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICT BOUNDARY
-  UNCERTAIN LANGUAGE AREA
- MOTU** AN LANGUAGE
- MAILU** OTHER NON-AN LANGUAGES OF UNCERTAIN RELATIONSHIP

# KOIARIAN LANGUAGES



- |   |                 |   |            |
|---|-----------------|---|------------|
|  | MOUNTAIN KOIARI |  | BARAI      |
|  | KOITA           |  | MANAGALASI |
|  | KOIARI          |  | AOMIE      |

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## 1.0 PRELIMINARIES

### 1.1 INTRODUCTION

Village communalects<sup>1</sup> in Central Papua<sup>2</sup> may be broadly classified into two distinct genetically unrelated groups--Austronesian (hereafter symbolised AN) and non-Austronesian (hereafter symbolised non-AN).<sup>3</sup> The AN languages are to be found scattered around the coast and inland for some distance in the Rigo and Kairuku Sub-Districts of the Central District (see Map 1 p.1). Some of these languages are Mekeo, Roro, Gabadi, Doura, Motu and Sinagoro. These are all closely related (Capell, 1943; 1954; 1962a).

The non-AN or Papuan languages can also be grouped into genetically related units of varying sizes and degrees of closeness of relationship. They occupy the remainder of Central Papua. Hitherto their separateness has been emphasised but my research suggests that most of them belong to a common stock, and possibly phylum, distantly related to the languages of the Central Highlands of New Guinea (Wurm, 1968).

The Koiliarian Family is central to this large non-AN grouping. It stretches across Papua from the coast around Port Moresby almost to the sea on the north coast at the eastern end of the Hydrographers' Ranges. It is surrounded by other distantly related families of the

---

<sup>1</sup> "Communalect" is here used to designate the speech of a particular community (e.g., village, or part-village) before that speech is classified as dialect, language, etc. by the methods outlined below.

<sup>2</sup> I use the term Central Papua to refer to the area corresponding roughly to the Central and Northern Districts of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea.

<sup>3</sup> "Non-Austronesian" and "Papuan" are taken to be synonymous. Hitherto these terms have been used in a non-classificatory way, but Wurm (1968) has lately suggested that they can now be used as classificatory terms for the majority of languages in New Guinea, implying genetic relationships between, and in many instances, a particular type of linguistic structure in the languages so labelled.

All non-AN languages belong to a large group of incompletely classified languages extending from "the Santa Cruz Islands in the east, across all New Guinea, as far as the islands of Halmahera, and Timor in the west" (C. and F. Voegelin, 1965:2). S.A. Wurm's forthcoming article (1968) gives a good description of the contemporary state of knowledge of these languages in Australian New Guinea.

common stock<sup>1</sup>--Goilalan in the west,<sup>2</sup> Binanderean in the north,<sup>3</sup> Yareban,<sup>4</sup> Manubaran, and Kwalean<sup>5</sup> to the east. There also used to be an apparently unrelated language isolate--Mulaha or Iaibu (Ray, 1929)--on the south coast near the Motu village of Gaile. This language was first reported by Ray (1907) but is now extinct.

This paper presents a preliminary account of the Koiarian Language Family<sup>6</sup> and then discusses the historical implications of the linguistic relationship between the languages of this family and neighbouring languages, and of their present geographical distribution. The discussion is based on the preliminary linguistic analysis of the constituent languages of the Koiarian Family and such other linguistic and non-linguistic evidence as is available. This evidence is reviewed in section 2.0. Then the linguistic picture is sketched in section 3.0 with certain historical observations, and a possible centre of distribution for the Koiarian languages is discussed in the conclusion in section 4.0.

---

1

In giving names to language families I shall use the convention of ending them in -n or -an, even though, for example, the Binanderean Family is normally referred to as the Binandere Family.

2

The Goilalan Language Family consists of Fuyuge, Tauade, Kunimaipa, Weru (Upper Waria River), and Biangai (Wau area). See Pence (1966:66).

3

The Binanderean Language Family is being described by Mr. D.B. Wilson of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in *Papers in New Guinea Linguistics No.9* (Canberra: *Pacific Linguistics* Publications, Series A - Occasional Papers, No.18). In press.

4

This is a new language family which I have tentatively established from word lists published in early *Annual Reports* and from other lists recently collected by H. Weimer and myself at Safia and Toma respectively. The Yareban Family consists of at least four languages (from west to east): Bariji, Yareba, Bauwaki and Binahari. Mr. and Mrs. H. Weimer of the Summer Institute of Linguistics are describing the Yareba language (Weimer, H., 1968; Weimer H. and N., 1968).

5

The Manubaran and Kwalean Language Families have been established by myself, details of which will be published later.

6

A grammatical sketch of Koiari, one of the member languages of this family, is to be presented as part of a dissertation for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the Australian National University in 1968.



## 1.2 MATERIALS

Linguistic and other data were collected in over 100 villages in Central Papua between March 1966 and March 1967.<sup>1</sup> These data were gathered from native informants in their own villages, and where this was not possible, from visitors, travellers, and/or relatives in neighbouring villages, or on Government outstations. This information was elicited in Police Motu and/or English, and most of it was recorded on tape.

The linguistic data consist of word lists (mostly "basic" vocabulary) grammatical materials, and texts.<sup>2</sup> Some elementary intelligibility tests were also conducted. Wurm's modified TRIPP list was used to collect most of the lexical information. This list is a modification of the well-known Swadesh 100-word and 200-word lists to suit the particular features of New Guinea cultures and their geographical locations.<sup>3</sup> Wurm's list contains 292 vocabulary items some of which are "cultural" (e.g., pig, sweetpotato) and not counted in determining cognate percentages. Six examples of these lists--one for each Koiarian language--are given in Appendix 5.7.

The non-linguistic data consist of any materials useful for historical interpretations, e.g., lists of old village sites, marriage and warfare patterns, distribution of kinsmen, folk tales about origins and movements,<sup>4</sup> etc. Other non-linguistic information was subsequently obtained from Mission and Administration officers and records, unpublished patrol reports in the Commonwealth Archives (Canberra), and from other research workers.

## 1.3 METHODS

Communalects are classified into dialects, languages, language families, and stocks primarily on the basis of a lexicostatistical

---

1

Over 70% of these villages are Koiarian, and the rest are from neighbouring languages. The results of my survey of languages in the Rigo Sub-District are being prepared for publication.

2

See Appendix 5.2 for a complete listing of materials obtained.

3

For a description of the list and its compilation see Wurm (1960:16; 1960-61:125).

4

See Vansina (1965) on the use and abuse of folk tales and mythologies as historical evidence.

technique similar to the most widely known one of glottochronology.<sup>1</sup> This latter technique is based on the theory that the rate of "basic" vocabulary change in languages is constant<sup>2</sup> and that this rate can be used for sub-grouping and historical inference. Briefly, the application of the technique consists of comparing the vernacular equivalents of "basic" vocabulary of two or more communalects to determine percentages of shared cognates<sup>3</sup> using one of several standardised lists for which retention rates have been worked out on control cases. Hence by applying the same retention rates to non-control cases one can make sub-groupings and historical inferences. Normally Swadesh's lists (already mentioned above) are used in the application of this technique. These have the advantage that Swadesh gives instructions on practical aspects of their use and has worked out retention rates to guide the investigator in his sub-grouping and historical interpretation.<sup>4</sup>

---

1

For an exhaustive review of literature on glottochronology (including other lexicostatistic methods) to 1960 see Hymes (1960). For more recent literature see, for example, Dyen (1965, 1966), Grace (1962, 1966), Hewes et al. (1960), Hymes (1966), Olmsted (1961), Teeter (1963).

2

"Basic" vocabulary is presumed to be universal, non-cultural and easily matched with simple terms in other languages, e.g., certain pronouns, objects of natural phenomena, common adjectives, body parts, and simple action verbs.

3

Cognates are historically related words, or words which come from the same original source. Generally the form of one can be predicted from the form of the other by investigator-established "sound laws." In practice one works with "apparent cognates" arrived at by inspection, before sound laws or the etymologies of the words have been established by the comparative method.

4

Swadesh (1955) suggests that communalects may be classified into the following categories according to the degree of correspondence between their basic vocabularies:

<u>Category</u>	<u>Cognate %</u>
Phylum	0-12
Stock	12-28
Family	28-81
Dialect	81-99

In this study Wurm's modified TRIPP list was used. Although this is based on the Swadesh lists it contains many more "basic" lexical items--in this survey between 215 and 240 were generally compared--and has not been standardised from control cases. Consequently, for the purposes of this study Swadesh's percentages were taken as a guide only, and other factors and information were taken into account in assigning communalects to the same dialect, or to different dialects of languages, e.g., dialects related in chains are taken as belonging to the same language.<sup>1</sup> In the Managalasi area where the whole district was not surveyed informant opinions of speech differences were taken to suggest what are referred to as isolects. These may later be redefined as dialects, or parts of dialects, on the basis of more adequate linguistic information.

The classificatory technique used for this study was chosen as the most practical for the survey nature of this project. This technique provides a good general picture of the linguistic situation which in turn can then be used as a guide for making more detailed studies in traditional and/or other ways later. It should also be pointed out that, as a natural consequence of classification by this lexicostatistic method, the "family tree" concept of language relationship and divergence is used in the historical interpretation of the Koiarian linguistic picture.<sup>2</sup> Underlying this model is the belief that old languages "split" into new ones. This splitting off of new languages from old ones can be schematized as branches issuing from a tree trunk. In applying this model to actual languages one is often faced with dialect chains<sup>3</sup> of the kind that are found in the Koiarian Family, which are probably just as much the result of diffusion of linguistic features as they are that of splitting (in some sense). Thus the existence of chains raises the practical problem of deciding on which dialect is to be taken as representative of the language for purposes of comparison and of constructing the "family tree." In this paper I have chosen those dialects which are most

---

1

See Wurm and Laycock (1961-62) for a discussion of the problems of defining language and dialect in New Guinea.

2

See Grace (1965), Pulgram (1953, 1965) and Swadesh (1959a, 1959b, 1967) on criticism of the "family tree" model, and also Pulgram's many articles, and Swadesh (1959b) on the problems of historical interpretation from linguistic evidence.

3

Lamb (1959:42) suspects that the lexicostatistical method such as is used in this study "unduly predisposes the results in the direction of chain relationships."

central to the languages concerned, except in the Koiari and Koita languages where I have taken those with which I am most familiar.

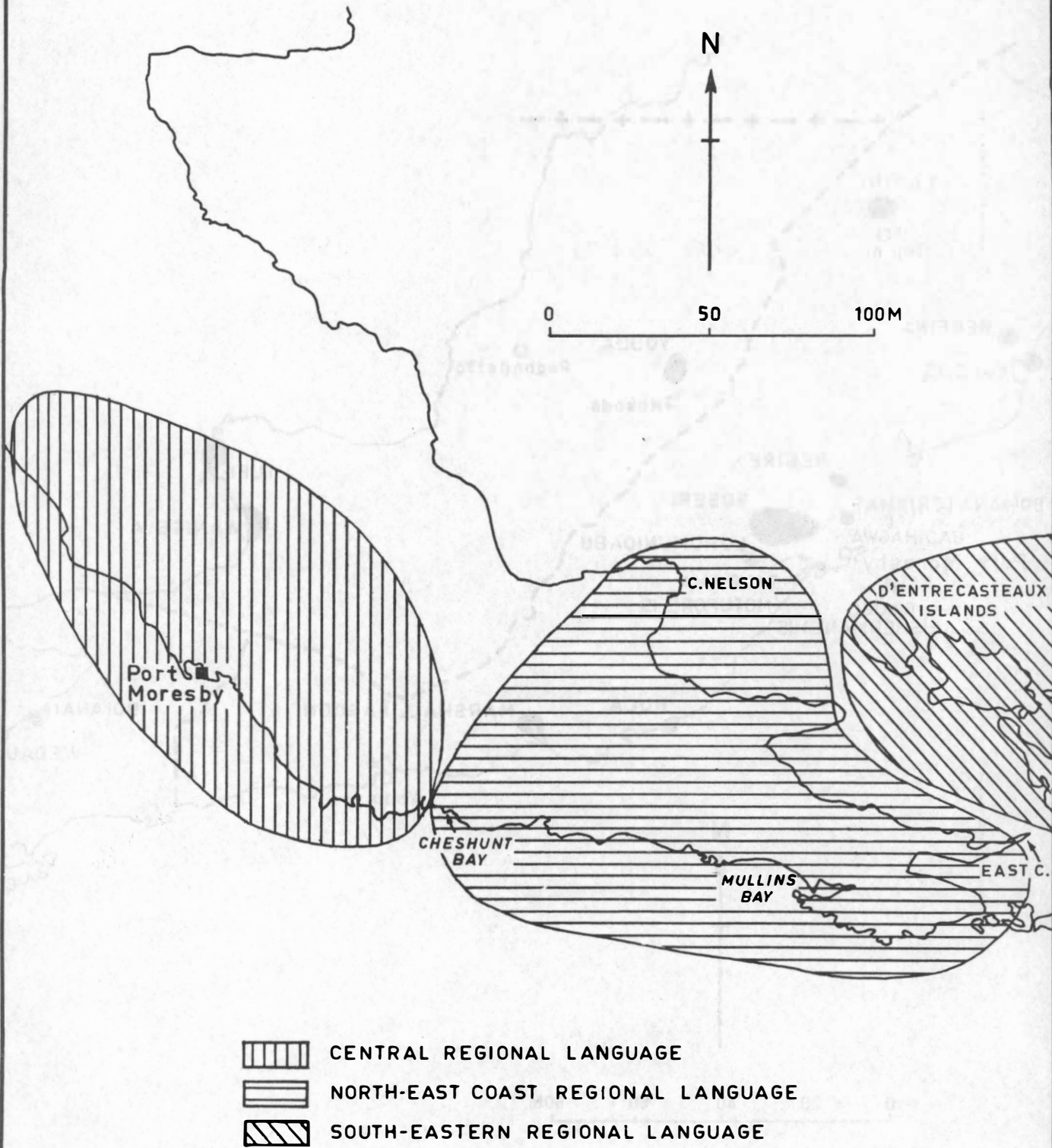
#### 1.4 CONVENTIONS




Throughout this paper place names are spelt according to those suggested by the Administration of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea in its "Village Directory" (1960), although these spellings may sometimes be phonemically inaccurate. In some instances new villages have replaced those listed in this directory. These villages are spelled as they appear on maps compiled by field staff of the Department of District Administration.

Considerable fluctuation will also be noticed in the spelling of section, group, and language names, particularly between the symbols 'l' and 'r.' No attempt is made to standardize the spellings in this paper. Later, however, when the phonemes of each dialect/language have been worked out standardized spellings may be suggested.

Finally, the term "tribe" is used as an undefined term throughout this paper, although tribes are generally considered to be composed of "groups" (Williams, 1932:52-9), or "sections" (Seligmann, 1910:41) in the Koiarian area. Group and section are thus taken to be synonymous terms.

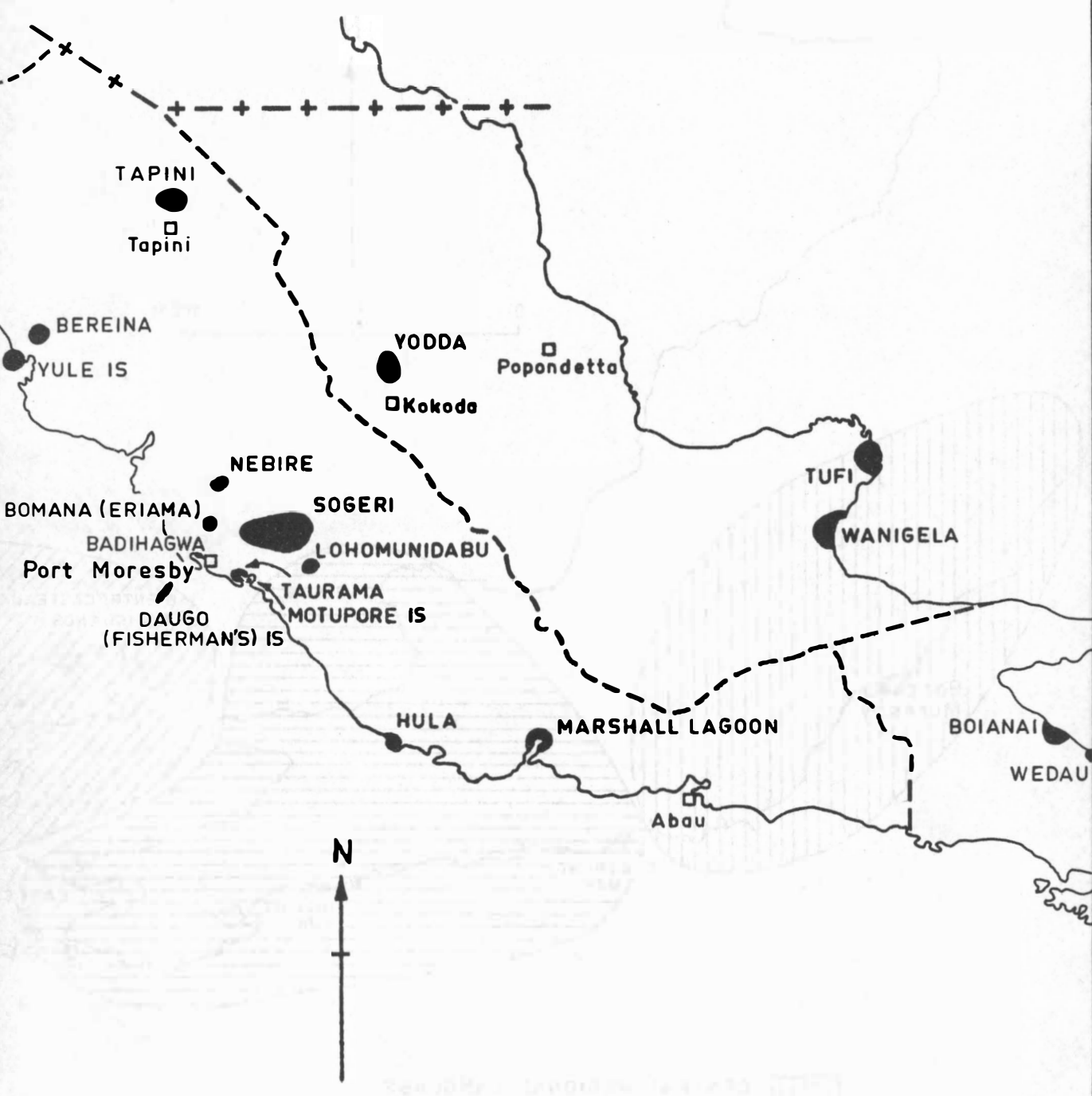
# CAPELL'S REGIONAL LANGUAGES



-  CENTRAL REGIONAL LANGUAGE
-  NORTH-EAST COAST REGIONAL LANGUAGE
-  SOUTH-EASTERN REGIONAL LANGUAGE

MP

# DISTRIBUTION OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES IN CENTRAL PAPUA



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## 2.0 OVERVIEW OF STUDIES ON CENTRAL PAPUA

### 2.1 LINGUISTICS

2.11 In the past most research work in Central Papua has been linguistic: the recording of lists by Government officers of the Administration of British New Guinea, and by early missionaries; the classification of languages by Ray (1892, 1895, 1907, 1929) in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, based generally on these lists; comparison of the AN languages of south-east Papua by Capell (1943), and subsequently, of most AN languages of the Pacific by Dyen (1965). The Summer Institute of Linguistics has had teams in the Managalasi and Aomie areas since July 1962 and February 1963, respectively. These teams have collected extensive linguistic and social information, although most of this is still in manuscript form. Recently, synopses of the present state of linguistic knowledge in this area have been published by Capell (1962a), and C. and F. Voegelin (1965).

In reviewing this material AN languages will be covered first.

2.12 In 1943 A. Capell made an important contribution to our knowledge of the peoples of south-eastern Papua, particularly as it concerns migration, with his oft cited *The Linguistic Position of South-Eastern Papua* (Sydney: Australasian Medical Publishing Co.). In this study Capell was primarily concerned with the AN languages around the coast of South-East Papua. As a result, particularly of his investigation of the vocabularies of these languages, and Indonesian, he arrived at an hypothesis for the peopling of this area. He postulated (p.269) that contemporary AN populations originated in various parts of the Indonesian archipelago and migrated into Melanesia in three main "movements": I (from Borneo); II (from Central Celebes); III (from Java, Sumatra, and the Malay Peninsula). Moreover, he also suggested that the AN's of the central coast around Port Moresby arrived at their present locations no later than the beginning of the thirteenth century (p.276). In these movements the Motu were probably late arrivals (p.20).<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Though this statement is somewhat contradicted by Capell's discussion of the syntax of the AN languages of south-eastern Papua (pp.264-5). In this discussion Capell cites Motu as an example of an AN language with typical non-AN syntactical features, viz. postpositions, and word order subject-object-verb. This evidence would seem to suggest then that Motu did not belong to Movement III, particularly when he later says, "It is not accidental that these languages which show the greatest departure from the typical Papuan syntax are also those in which most



To account for the diversity in languages of south-eastern Papua today Capell postulated the existence of three prehistoric regional languages--North-East Coast, South-Eastern, and Central--prior to the arrival of the Indonesian peoples (see Map 3, p.9). He says that these languages "can be shown to have each been characterised by a certain type of grammar which has determined to a large extent what elements of Indonesian grammar should be taken over in each region and what forms both grammatical elements and words could take" (p.168). The regional languages are described by him on pp.169-97.

Capell's examination of the AN languages also led him to conclude that tribes in New Guinea have been in "constant movement south and east" so that "the South-Eastern Regional Language has been gradually displaced by the North-East Coast Regional Language, and that in turn has been pressed upon by others later coming" (p.191). This conclusion is largely based on an earlier postulation (unnamed by Capell but presumably Haddon's<sup>1</sup>) that culture diffusion in New Guinea has generally been from north to south (p.168), and on a discussion (pp.189-91) of several non-AN languages around Mailu on the south-east coast. In the latter discussion Capell points out that Mailu, Bauwaki, Binahari and Lawa are sufficiently closely related languages "to let them be classed as branches of one family" (p.189). These are separate from Dimuga, which belongs to another family. The Mailu "family" also shows some correspondences in vocabulary with Binandere and even more with a "northern dialect" called Kororo. The vocabulary evidence is, however, insufficient to establish phonetic sound laws between the north and the south. Further, Binandere and Mailu show no grammatical similarity.<sup>2</sup> Some "sporadic agreements" between the Mailu "family" and Kokila (in my Manubaran Family) and Koita (in my Koiarian Family) were also observed.

<sup>1</sup> (continued from previous page)

of the very later material is found, and there is therefore good reason to see in this breakdown of Papuan syntax in these groups the effect of the latest movement, viz. M.III" (p.265).

I am indebted to Mr. A. Taylor of the Australian National University for pointing out this discrepancy in Capell's argument to me.

<sup>1</sup>

Haddon's conclusion (based on the examination of the structure of initiation ceremonies in different parts of Papua and New Guinea) was as follows: "it thus appears that more elements of this theoretical cycle of events occur in the north than in the south, which points to the conclusion that this indicates the direction of the cultural migration" (1920:15).

<sup>2</sup>

Capell did not have grammatical evidence on other languages for consideration at that time.



Capell therefore reasoned that the agreements which he found between Binandere and the Mailu "family" were "probably to be put down very largely to movements of tribes, and the resulting contact, rather than to genetic relationship; it does, however, support the suggestion of a more or less constant movement from north to south in New Guinea, so that the Mailu, for instance, may probably have been an inland tribe at one time" (p.191).

There would seem to me to be very little support for a north-south movement of tribes in this evidence. Firstly, it depends on another hypothesis which is unquestioned. Secondly, supposing that we accept that hypothesis then the observed vocabulary similarities between north and south could just as easily be explained in terms of that hypothesis (i.e., as a result of cultural diffusion) and not necessarily as the result of the movement of tribes. Finally, part of the argument depends on the languages being genetically unrelated. It now appears that the Papuan languages in this genetically related, and if this is so then Capell's argument is seriously affected. However, until more evidence is available I shall accept Haddon's and Capell's hypotheses and refer to them jointly as the Haddon-Capell hypothesis.

As for the existence of prehistorical regional languages, on the other hand, one would expect to find some correlation between their structure as outlined by Capell, and the structure of present day languages, or common structural features of the languages of present day language families. However, there appears to be little structural similarity between the languages of the Koiarian Family and any of Capell's regional languages, particularly his Central one, which roughly corresponds geographically with the Koiarian Family. This is not to say, however, that Capell's regional language hypothesis has been negated. It could be that the regional languages may have been represented by languages unrelated to Koiarian ones, which are now extinct (e.g., Mulaha), or by languages which have not yet been studied in detail (e.g., Kwale).

2.13 Subsequently Chretien (1956) re-examined Capell's data using statistical methods. His results concur generally with Capell's, though they differ as to the point of origin of the Indonesian migrations. Capell saw these migrants as coming from various regions of Indonesia in several "movements" as already outlined. As I understand Chretien, he suggests that the Indonesian material in AN languages of south-east Papua came from a relatively homogeneous source

(p.106). Chretien also found that Area 2 (Motu-Sinagoro-Ikoro-Hura-Keapara-Rubi-Aroma-Keakaro) has unique characteristics of association with the other ten areas considered in the south-east of Papua. He was forced to conclude therefore that "the hypothesis of more than one movement does not satisfy, and that some other explanation will serve us better" (p.108). The better explanation he suggests is that this area (i.e., his area 2) has been a kind of "central exchange point in an extensive system of south coast trade between the Papuan west, extending to the Fly River Delta and beyond, and the east" (p.108).

2.14 Later, in 1965, Dyen made a lexicostatistical analysis of over 350 AN languages of the Pacific. His conclusions about migrations in the Western Pacific are the reverse of Capell's. Thus Dyen maintains that the origin of the AN peoples was in the islands off South-East Papua with migrations away from this point, instead of vice versa.

2.15 These theories have lately been re-examined and challenged by Wurm (1967). However, the results of this controversy need not be pursued further, as they have no direct bearing on the Koiarian situation. They are only relevant in that all the authors agree that ANs are immigrants to this part of New Guinea.

2.16 S.H. Ray has made the only comprehensive study of the non-AN languages of the Koiarian area of Central Papua. In 1929 he published his final paper classifying all the languages of the Central Division of Papua into "groups" (= languages?) and "sub-groups" (= dialects?) from vocabularies collected from various sources. Most of these were from early Government Reports and missionaries' manuscripts already referred to. Sundry grammatical notes were also included.

2.17 Ray's work provided valuable background information for the present study. However, the results of this study show that Ray's ill-defined groups and sub-groups of communalects can be combined into a well defined family of languages and dialects, and that this family is much larger than had hitherto been suggested, although Strong (1911:770), MacDonnell (1914b:56), Beaver (1915:49), and English (1898:36) recognised relationships between various parts of it. In particular, this family includes the Barai (Ray's and Capell's Seramina group/language) and Managalasi languages, as well as Aomie, which has only recently been discovered (Tobitt, 1966).

2.18 Since Ray's work has been published Elkin (1953) and Capell (1954, 1962a) have both deplored our lack of knowledge of the non-AN peoples and their languages of this area. Capell had earlier (1947) set out to remedy this situation, but for personal reasons was unable to complete the task. He managed, however, to collect some grammatical and lexical material in Koita, Koiari, Naduri, Efogi, and Boridi communalects before departing. This material was kindly loaned to me, and has been checked and incorporated into the present study.

2.19 More recently studies have been made of the non-AN languages in the Kairuku and Goilala Sub-Districts, and texts have been prepared in some. These are listed by Steinkraus and Pence (1964). Results of these investigations have been used in making decisions about the larger groupings of languages in the present study.

## 2.2 ANTHROPOLOGY

2.21 Very little anthropological work has been published specifically on the Koiarian region, although much useful information is scattered in Government Reports, and the writings of early missionaries.

2.22 Lawes and Chalmers were the first London Missionary Society members to live and work in the Port Moresby area. They arrived in 1874 and 1877 respectively, and their writings contain the first accounts we have of the geographical position of the Koita and some of the related Koiari sections, their tribal fighting and recent history. The contribution of these two pioneers to the present study will be evident from the description in sections 3.22 and 3.23 of this paper.

2.23 Formal government was established in British New Guinea with the arrival of Sir Peter Scratchley in August 1885. Stations were quickly opened up at Rigo and other areas along the north and south coasts of the Protectorate, whence pacification and exploratory patrols were conducted into the surrounding areas.<sup>1</sup> Records of these early patrols and excursions often contain invaluable historical and ethnographic information. A short date chart history of the pacification of Koiarian peoples is included in Appendix 5.5.

<sup>1</sup>

See Souter (1964) for a popular historical account, and Healy (1962) for a critical study of particular aspects of the establishment of law and order in Papua (or British New Guinea).

2.24 The first of the few anthropological studies that have been made on Koiarian peoples appeared in 1910, when Seligmann wrote his study of Koita customs and social organisation in *The Melanesians of British New Guinea* (Cambridge: University Press). Seligmann's book also contains notes on the traditions of the Sinagoro and other "tribes" of the Rigo area. Belshaw (1957) reviews Seligmann's material in passing, as parts of it apply to Belshaw's study of the mixed Koita-Motu village of Hanuabada.

2.25 Williams followed this with an important short account of the social organisation of the Koiari of the Sogeri Plateau in 1932.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, this work must soon become the sole reference work to these people--and perhaps even of related groups--if nothing further is done in the very near future, as Koiari culture is rapidly succumbing to pressure of European contact.

2.26 Firth (1952) gives a very brief (three-page) account of social organisation in the Koita village of Kila Kila near Port Moresby.

2.27 In 1965 Morris examined the resettlement of Koiari peoples around the Sirinumu Dam on the Upper Laloki River in relation to traditional attitudes.

2.28 Other useful information was obtained from the records and maps of the Land Titles Commission in Port Moresby and from unpublished patrol reports from 1900 onwards in the Commonwealth Archives in Canberra. Bramell (1964) drew on some of the former material, and on his wide experience in the Port Moresby area for his "Notes on Native Land Custom--Port Moresby Region." This small study contains some very useful evidence of the recent coastward movement of Koiari and Koita sections.

2.29 Besides the foregoing material of immediate relevance to the Koiarian discussion other studies of neighbouring peoples have been consulted for any bearing they may have on the interpretative problem, e.g., Haddon (1894, 1900), Seligmann (1909), Williams (1923, 1930), Chinnery and Beaver (1915), Oram (1968). Oram has also contributed

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1

According to Kailakinumu informants Williams spent several months among them at Uguwanitana village, and a shorter period at a smaller village collecting material.

substantial oral information on traditions and movements of groups of Motu and Koita from his extensive experience and field notes.

### 2.3 GENETICS

2.31 Only two genetic surveys have been conducted in Central Papua-- one concerned with the Koita directly, and the other indirectly.

2.32 The Koita study was made by Groves et al. (1957-58). This study showed that the Motu and Koita cannot be distinguished genetically, and that their blood groups "suggests that the two peoples had freely cohabited before Europeans first made contact with them in the 1870's" (p.236).

The study also revealed distinctive differences between the Motu-Koita and other New Guinea peoples previously examined. It also suggested that "a genetic relationship between the Motu, the Koita and some peoples of Micronesia is possible" (p.237). This suggested relationship has not yet been examined. The article also contains a good summary of contemporary knowledge of the history of the Motu, and to a much lesser extent, the Koita.

2.33 A second genetic study was carried out by Price and Macintosh (1957-58). The authors describe their analysis of dermatoglyphs from the coastal villages of Hula (sixty miles east of Port Moresby) and Tatana (in Fairfax Harbour). The results of this analysis showed that these two groups of people are of similar ethnic classification. Moreover, the data collected by Price from Hula suggested that the genetic relationship between the Hula and "people of the hinterland is similar in many ways to that concerning the Motu and Koita people" as seen by Groves et al.

2.34 The results of these two studies emphasise the fact that the Koita have been living near the coast for a considerable time. This corroborates evidence obtained by other means.

### 2.4 ARCHAEOLOGY

2.41 Sketchy archaeological studies have been made by Haddon (1900), Etheridge (1908), Strong (1922, 1923, 1924), Williams (1931), McCarthy (1949), P. and C. White (1964) and P. White (1967). This work has not been very productive to our knowledge of the prehistory of this region. According to White (1967:5) part of the reason for this is the relative absence of suitable stratified sites "of a pre-pottery, pre-horticultural stone-using type which would presumably

be left by the earliest inhabitants." So far all that has been suggested from the examination of mortars, pestles, clay-stone figures and petrographs<sup>1</sup> was that some sort of prehistoric population lived in some of the areas presently occupied by Koiarian peoples.<sup>2</sup> No dates were posited. Etheridge's and Williams' work are the most important.

2.42 In 1908 Etheridge described ancient stone implements and clay fragments from the Yodda Valley (near Kokoda) and other areas of Northern Papua. He reasoned that:

1. these works "are the productions of one and same people" (p.28);
- ii. "it may now fairly be conceded there is ample evidence of the existence of an extinct, or at any rate former population in Eastern New Guinea, of a highly interesting nature" (p.28).

2.43 Later Williams (1931) investigated rock-paintings and rock-carvings at three widely separated areas in Central and Eastern Papua: Sogeri, Lohomunidabu, and Boianai-D'Entrecasteaux. Williams' conclusions are rather similar to Etheridge's in terms of racial prehistory. Williams does not think it necessary to postulate a vanished race of petrographers, but thinks we can "attribute these primitive works to the direct forefathers of a section of the present population" (p.139).

Oddly enough he does not mention the Yodda material, although he examined a site at Boianai which Etheridge had earlier described. Williams noticed that the Boianai petrographs had certain similarities with those of the very distant site at Lohomunidabu, though he did not want to go so far as to say that Lohomunidabu represented the western limits of the Boianai-D'Entrecasteaux stone culture (p.140). When some natives of the Sogeri area were asked about the 'meaning' of the Lohomunidabu petrographs they gave me the following explanation:

Long, long ago the Maiva people [ANs of the Kairuku area west of Port Moresby] passed through this area.<sup>3</sup>  
They made these drawings of dancers as their 'marks.'  
This was before the Koiari arrived. The Koiari came

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<sup>1</sup> "Petrograph" is Williams' (1932) term for "rock engraving/inscription," though a more correct term is probably "petroglyph" (P. White, pers. com.).

<sup>2</sup> The distribution of sites is shown on Map 4, p.10.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. P. Chatterton advises me (pers. com., 13.10.67) that as far as he can remember from his missionary experience in Delena, the Roro and Waima peoples have traditions of having come from the west, not from the east.

later from the Rigo side and took over the land. We have no stories about these paintings or about the Maiva. Some paintings are by Koiari. These are hands and okari nuts.

Though one has to be very careful of such interpretations (as Williams (1932:141-51) emphasises) could it not be, however, as Capell (1943:20) had suggested (after having observed a closer linguistic relationship between Keapara and Mekeo languages than between Motu and either of these) that some movement has taken place "inland from Keapara district westwards towards the St. Joseph River," or that peoples landed "about Hood Point and...(worked) westwards?" It seems at least a possibility worth considering for future investigations.

2.44 The Sogerl area was revisited in 1964 by P. and C. White, but although many new petrographs similar to those described by Williams (and earlier Strong) were discovered, the authors have nothing new to add to the prehistory already suggested. They did suggest, however, that the Sogerl petrographs need not be older than three generations since the indigenous inhabitants of the area have no long historical memory, and since some of the paintings seem to have faded since first seen by Europeans.

2.45 Lampert (1968) surveys some archaeological sites in the Port Moresby area, including an important recent one, Motupore Island.

## 2.5 GEOLOGY

2.51 No reconstruction can be properly based if it does not take into account the geological and geographical history of the area being considered. It is important to know, for example, how long the present land forms and climate have existed, since these have important ramifications for population movement routes, reasons for moving, ecological adaptation of the population etc. McCarthy (1966) shows the relevance of this rather well in his consideration of radio carbon dates of recent archaeological material from various parts of Australia. He says, "From this evidence it is beginning to appear that man migrated across the gentle plains of the interior prior to the withdrawal of the rain belts in the north and south which created the desert and arid steppe region of the central Australian region as we know it today" (p.27). This challenges the conventional hypothesis about the movement of Aborigines into Australia "from the North down the fertile coastal areas where food abounded."

2.52 According to recent land studies by CSIRO (1964, 1966, 1967) New Guinea has probably been in its present general form since the late Tertiary period,<sup>1</sup> and consequently has no bearing on the relatively recent (geologically speaking) prehistorical movement of the Koiarians.

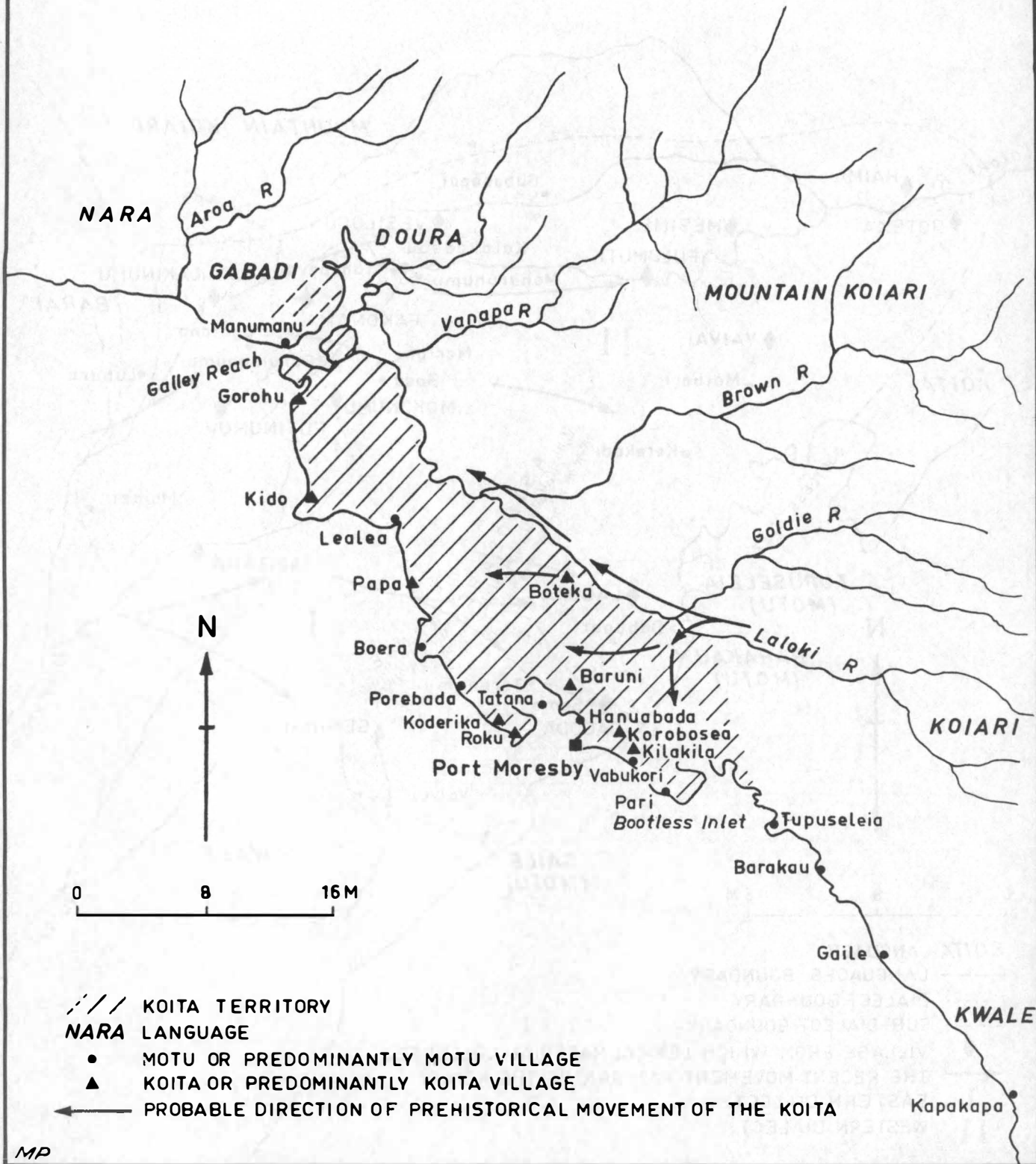
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<sup>1</sup>

See also Stanley (1918:76). Ruxton (1966) also says that some parts of the Koiarian area, e.g., the Managalasi area south of the Hydrographer's Range and Mt. Lamington, have recently (geologically speaking) been volcanically active (90,000 ± 10,000 years).



# DISTRIBUTION OF KOITA AND MOTU VILLAGES



MP



### 3.0 THE KOIARIAN LANGUAGE FAMILY

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

The Koiarian language family consists of six non-AN languages--Koita, Koiari, Mountain Koiari, Barai, Managalasi and Aomie<sup>1</sup>--whose speakers number over 15,000. The distribution of these languages is shown on Map 2, p.2.

Percentages of lexical correspondence in basic vocabulary between these languages at geographically widely separated points is shown on the following chart:<sup>2</sup>

	Koita	Koiari	Mtn.Koiari	Aomie	Barai	Managalasi
Koita		60-65	45-54	18-23	15-25	8-20
Koiari	60-65		50-57	15-24	21-31	10-20
Mtn.Koiari	45-54	50-57		22-28	20-28	13-20
Aomie	18-23	15-24	22-28		37-44	31-37
Barai	15-25	21-31	20-28	37-44		46-53
Managalasi	8-20	10-20	13-20	31-37	46-53	

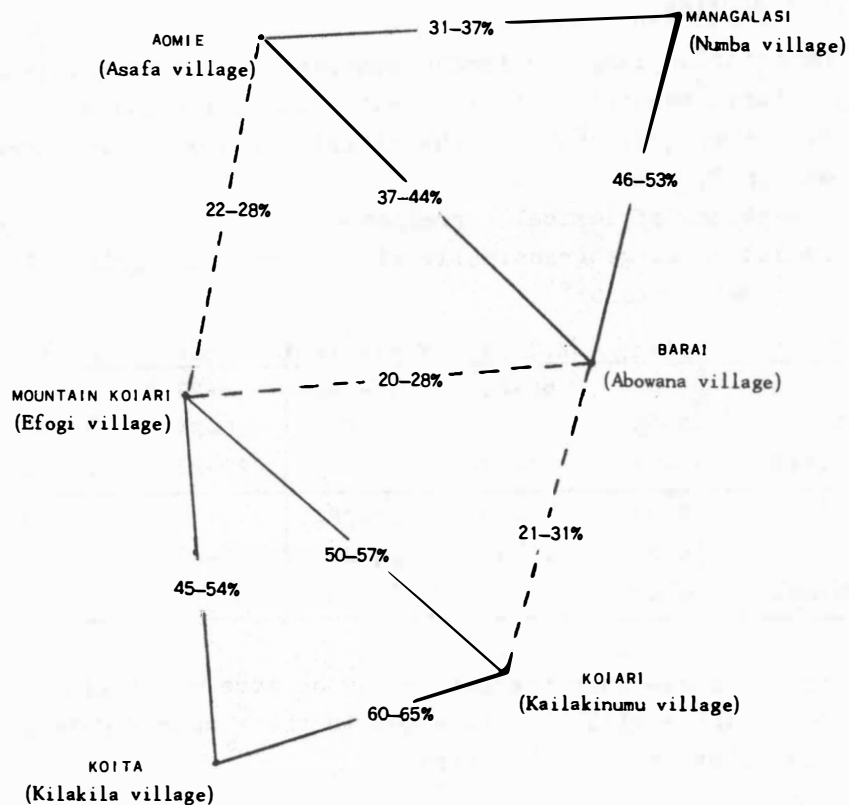
Some of these correspondences may be more meaningfully displayed as follows, where villages are shown in their approximate geographic positions relative to each other:

<sup>1</sup>

The names for these languages are chosen from names of popular usage which generally refer to areas or "tribes" (undefined). Koita are often referred to by the Motu term Koitapu.

<sup>2</sup>

Where two percentages are shown on this chart the higher one represents the maximal correspondence (obtained by counting all probable, and possible cognates) and the lower one the minimal correspondence (obtained by counting only probable cognates). This method of charting allows for variation in investigator-biased interpretations before sound correspondences between the languages have been established.



From these charts, it is apparent that Koita, Koiari, and Mountain Koiari are more closely related lexically to one another than any one is to the remaining three--Barai, Aomie, and Managalasi, and that these three latter are in turn more closely related to each other than to any of the former three. Both groups share approximately 25% (average) basic vocabulary with each other. This figure is below the 28% which is the normally accepted one for including languages in the same family. However, it must be remembered that these percentages are based on Wurm's modified TRIPP lists and express a relationship between geographically distant communalects. Higher percentages result if geographically closer communalects are considered, e.g., Awoma (Mountain Koiari) and Emo River (Barai) share approximately 44% basic vocabulary. Further these languages share much higher basic vocabulary with each other than any of them does with any of the neighbouring non-AN languages, e.g., Koiarian languages generally share an average of about 15% with neighbouring non-AN languages. The lexical evidence then (together with phonological and grammatical

evidence presented below<sup>1</sup>) suggests that the Koiarian Language Family consists of two sub-families:

- (a) Koiaric (Koita, Koiari, Mountain Koiari); and
- (b) Baraic (Barai, Managalasi, Aomie).

The linguistic relationship between the two sub-families suggests that they separated a long time ago (perhaps several thousand years). During this period many independent changes have occurred in the two branches, with lesser changes in the ensuing period. Further, the languages of each of the sub-families would seem to have diverged in a similar manner. Thus in the Baraic Sub-Family Aomie seems to have had a longer separate history than either Managalasi or Barai, both of which have had a common history for some time before diverging as separate languages. A similar pattern is evident amongst the Koiaric languages. Here Koita and Koiari are the most similar and seem to have had a long period of common history in contrast to Mountain Koiari which diverged earlier and has had an independent history.

The language family will now be described in more detail starting with the languages of the Koiaric Sub-Family. In these descriptions linguistic and non-linguistic information is presented, and historical observations and conclusions discussed for each language. Later a more general discussion of the prehistory of the Koiarian peoples is presented in section 4.0.

### 3.2 THE KOIARIC SUB-FAMILY

#### 3.21 *General*

The greater part of this sub-family is located in the Central District stretching east and west from Port Moresby along the coast and inland to the Owen Stanley Ranges along the valleys of the Laloki, Goldie, Brown and Vanapa River systems. A much smaller section is located in the Northern District in a thin strip between the Yodda River (Upper Mambare) and the Dividing Range and in three villages in the headwaters of the Kumusi River. The area is sparsely populated by speakers of the three languages: Koita (between the Laloki River and the coast), Koiari (on the Sogeru Plateau and the foothills of the Astrolabe Ranges), and Mountain Koiari (elsewhere).

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendixes 5.8 and 5.9.

### 3.22 Koita

3.22.1 The Koita<sup>1</sup> inhabit the Papuan coastal area around Port Moresby between Galley Reach and Bootless Bay--a distance of about forty miles (see Map 5, p.21). Most live in maritime villages either separately or as minority sections of large motu villages. The remainder live a short distance inland on the outskirts of Port Moresby.<sup>2</sup>

For the most part Koita villagers cannot be distinguished from Motu, except linguistically. In former times the Koita maintained their identity in dress (particularly with the chignon hairstyle), language, and occupation. By tradition they are the hunters and gardeners who owned the land, but now those who live near the sea fish and sail.<sup>3</sup> The Koita have also intermarried extensively with the Motu, and most are fluent in that language. Where they inhabit the same villages as the Motu, the Koita have practically forgotten their own language. Yet the Koita as a whole are still very keen to preserve their identity, especially as expressed through language.

Koita territory stretches inland from the coast to the region

<sup>1</sup>

These ethnological notes are compiled from accounts by Stone (1876, 1880), Turner (1878), Chalmers (1885, 1887), Lawes (1879), Seligmann (1910), Williams (1939), Groves (1954), Groves et al. (1957-58), and Belshaw (1957).

<sup>2</sup>

The following chart shows the distribution of Koita villages:

<u>Separate Maritime</u>	<u>Motu-Koita Maritime</u>	<u>Inland</u>
Gorohu	Lealea	Baruni
Kido	Boera	Korobosea
Papa	Porebada	Kila Kila No.1 and
Koderika	Tatana	No.2 (Mahuru)
Roku	Hanuabada (Kuriu and	Boteka (mixed
	Hohodae)	Koita-Koiari)
	Vabukori	
	Pari	
	Tupuseleia	

<sup>3</sup>

According to Seligmann (1910:45) Koita participated "freely in the hiri (the Motu trading voyages to the Gulf)" sometimes even captaining the lakatois in which these voyages were made, although he says, "few Koita take part in turtle and dugong fishing; and even in the immediate vicinity of Port Moresby, where perhaps fusion has been most complete, no Koita possesses the strong large meshed net with which these animals are caught."

of the Laloki River, and west to Galley Reach.<sup>1</sup> Throughout this area the Koita are divided into what Seligmann calls "sections" (undefined). Some of these bear the names of the villages which their members inhabit, as can be seen from Seligmann's list of names of sections and their villages (working geographically from east to west):

SECTION		VILLAGE
Gorobe	inhabiting	Pari
Badili	" "	Kilakila
Yarogaha	" "	Akorogo
Yawai	" "	Korabada
Hohodai	" "	Hohodai <sup>2</sup>
Guriu	" "	Guriu
Baruni	" "	Guegarara, Iboko, Bogemunime
Huhunamo	" "	Porebada
Roko	" "	Dobi, Eholasi
Idu	" "	Aimakara
Gevana	" "	Papa (= Vead), Konekaru
Arauwa	" "	Lealea
Rokurokuna	" "	Kido, Roauna

Namura section is not included in this listing as it was, Seligmann says, "exterminated shortly before the annexation of the country, by the repeated attacks of the eastern sections, sometimes by the whole seven acting together, but more often by a combination of from two to four sections. The Namura village stood between Boera and Lealea in the bush, a short distance from the coast" (p.41).

For the time being we may accept Seligmann's listing, except to note that:

i. since he wrote his account Akorogo and Korabada villages have disappeared and Yarogaha and Yawai sections are now to be found

<sup>1</sup>

According to Seligmann (1910:41) Koita territory "extends to the border of Nara, west of Cape Suckling." This is discussed a little further in his footnote 1 on p.44, part of which is reproduced here in the following pages.

<sup>2</sup>

Alternative spellings for Hohodai and Guriu are Hohodae and Kuriu/Kuliu.

in Korobosea village above Kaugere.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Baruni section now occupies Baruni village, the Roko section Koderika (?) and Roku (?), and the Idu (or Isu) section has moved to Boera village. Konekaru and Roauna villages have also been deserted and Gorohu presumably established in place of Roauna;<sup>2</sup>

ii. Tatana village was omitted from the listing. This is a predominantly Motu village in Fairfax Harbour, having ties with the Nara (an AN, non-Motu group) to the west of Galley Reach, and containing descendants of a former Koita section, the Nenehi;

iii. the listing disguises complications. Koita sections are not easily identified and reconstructed. Part of the problem is that segmentation, merging, migration, adoption, and intermarriage have complicated the relationships within and without villages. Thus Kilakila village is said to consist solely of Badili section. Yet according to recorded stories at least two Koiari sections have been absorbed into this village--Beholi, and Gorogaha.<sup>3</sup> Beholi are reputed to have come from the Sapphire Creek area (Yumaduna), and the Gorogaha from near Sogeri. A second part of the problem is that the social structure of present day villages is organised on the basis of the

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1

Rev. P. Chatterton, M.H.A. advised me (pers. com., 13.10.67) that when he arrived in 1924 "the original Akorogo village was in the middle of the present golf course where there is still a clump of coconut and mango trees marking the old village site....In 1925 the people shifted their village (I think due to a run of deaths) to a site on the opposite side of what is now called Scratchley Road, where the Kaugere clinic/pre-school now is. The village took the name of Korobosea, which was the place-name of the area on which they built their new village. It was this village which was destroyed by fire in 1930, but it was re-built on the same site. The village was finally evacuated, along with all the other Motu and Koita villages between Pari and Boera, in Jan/Feb 1942, when the whole Port Moresby area became a military area....When the Korobosea people returned to the area after the war they built their new village at the top of three-mile hill, and for some odd reason kept the name Korobosea instead of following the normal Papuan practice of using the place-name of the site as the name of the village."

Korabada, or Kourabada, used to be situated where the P.M.F. Joinery is today. It appears to have consisted of about eight houses (Oram 1962-3: "Interview with Atahanasius, 18.3.63.") and was still in that position in 1930 (Erua, 1930:7).

2

These statements need to be checked.

3

Dutton (1966), and Oram (1962-3: "Stories by Kori Taboro, Collected by G.A.V. Stanley, 1949").



iduhu, the Motu term for patrilineal descent groups,<sup>1</sup> and not on sections. There is no direct correspondence between iduhu membership and section membership, for the reasons already listed. Thus, while some iduhu names may suggest former sections (as, say, Badili Vamaga and Badili Vaga iduhu of Kilakila village are the direct descendants of Badili section) others do not (for example, Tanomotu, Makaraha, Venehako iduhu of Koderika village). The reconstruction of Koita sections, and of their movements requires the collection and detailed analysis of large and numerous genealogies, which was well beyond the scope of the present research work. Some of this recording has, however, been made by Land Titles Commissioners in their investigation of land disputes around Port Moresby.<sup>2</sup> Their results seem to agree in some details with Seligmann's Eastern Koita moiety movement (excluding Baruni section) from the Laloki River (about 14 miles inland from Port Moresby), coastward.<sup>3</sup> This movement is suggested on the basis of folk tale accounts given to Seligmann by informants from Hohodae, Yarogaha, and Gorobe sections. In this description Seligmann also refers to an association between the Nara<sup>4</sup> (Austronesians

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1

See Belshaw (1957: esp. pp.12-30, 260-6 for definition and description of iduhu (in terms of residence, kinship, land etc.) for the large Motu village of Hanuabada, and Firth (1952) for that of the Koita village of Kilakila.

The Koita do not have their own terms for "section" and iduhu, or at least they could not remember any. This may mean that their social organisation has always been much the same, or that they have forgotten their own terms following Motu and European contact. In either case an interesting point arises. If it is true (as linguistic evidence suggests) that the Koita and Koiari are so closely related then why is it that their land systems (cf., Williams (1932) and Bramell (1964) and Sebeo (1941)), and possibly their social organisation are so different?

2

These results are unpublished genealogies of, and stories by, disputants to claims. They are filed in the Land Titles Commission headquarters in Port Moresby under claim numbers. Copies are also given to village headmen.

3

Seligmann divided the Koita sections into two moieties--Eastern and Western--based on his observation of the enmity and amity between the various sections. His eastern moiety included Gorobe, Badili, Yarogaha, Yawai, Hohodai, Guriu, and Baruni sections, while the western moiety included Huhunamo, Roko, Idu, Gevana, Arauwa, and Rokurokuna sections, together with the now extinct Namura section.

4

Since Seligmann wrote his account Ahuia Ova has outlined how his paternal ancestors originated in Babaka village (near Hula) and his maternal ones from Nara (Williams, 1939:15-7). In footnotes Williams adds that "the Nara people have apparently been much reduced, and the district is now very sparsely populated" (fn.14), and that a number

(continued on page 30)

west of Galley Reach) and Koita, which he suggests is of very long standing. He bases this again on Koita tradition which says, in effect, "that the whole of the Nara district once belonged to the Koita, and in support of this there is a perfectly definite record that Nagu Kawea, the great-great grandfather of Ova Abau, and the founder of the chieftainship in the Dubara section of Hohodai, lived on Vauria, a hill in the Nara district" (p.41).<sup>1</sup>

Bramell (1964:3) agrees that the Koita seem to have come from the general direction of the Laloki River, but he suggests that there were three groups of Koita involved: "Those now living in the Kilakila-Vabukori area inhabited areas inland from Tupuselei village, the Hanuabada element came from central Laloki while those located at the villages of Baruni and those westward originated from the lower Laloki." These retained "their individual groups in movement." Bramell also maintains that these groups had little contact with each other "yet they had one thing in common, that being, their fear of the Koiari."<sup>2</sup> Bramell might have mentioned, however, that the Gorohu-Kido villagers may not fit this schema. They have close ties with the Mountain Koiari up the Brown River, and were reputed to have originated at Manumu (see story in Appendix 5.32).

According to my investigations, however, the Western Koita (using Seligmann's classification) trace the origins of all Koita back to two brothers who lived in a cave called Goubavaga, or Udurumava, supposedly in the Astrolabe Range.<sup>3</sup> Some informants placed this site near Rouna Falls, others behind Tupuseleia. Actually, it is in the Rigo Sub-District near the headwaters of the Hunter River. Albeit,

<sup>1</sup> (continued from previous page)

of Nara families are "scattered from Manumanu to Poreporena [= Hanuabada]" (fn.18). I am indebted to N.D. Oram for drawing my attention to this point.

Oram's (1962-3) field notes also contain stories of Nara, Doura, and Gabadi feuds and movements. Two stories in particular (26.9.63, 29.6.63) relate how the Nara and Doura originally lived together, but split up after an absurd argument over the manner in which a particular kind of bird sings. The Doura moved to Rabora, but were attacked by the Gabadi, and moved to Veiya on the Veimaui River. Again the Gabadi attacked and the Doura finally settled at Douramoko on the Vanapa River, where they are today.

<sup>1</sup>

Oram (1962-3) records the name of this Koita group as Kerina.

<sup>2</sup>

This judgement is based on Bramell's intimate knowledge of the traditions of these people and their recent history obtained while collecting evidence in land disputes for the Land Titles Commission.

<sup>3</sup>

Informant: Damena GOASA (m.), mid-fifties (estimated), of Papa village.

the two brothers travelled together for some distance westwards to Togosala<sup>1</sup> and Idabemu villages, where they later parted. One continued west to people a large area of land known as Gatamata, and the other turned south-east to people the Beholimata (see story in Appendix 5.34). The dividing line between these two tracts of land is about the end of Fairfax Harbour between Roku and Baruni. Curiously enough, this corresponds to Seligmann's moietai divisions already outlined. Later, according to a different legend the Koita were allegedly joined by the Motu.<sup>2</sup> Chalmers (1887:3, 78-106) notes that the two groups have lived amicably together, each helping the other in resisting or assaulting their neighbours.

### 3.22.2 Linguistic Picture

Lexically and grammatically Koita is a close-knit language with little variation from east to west. The following chart shows the lexical relationship between communalects from which "basic" vocabulary lists were obtained.<sup>3</sup>

1

On the Sogeri Plateau. See Appendix 5.33.

2

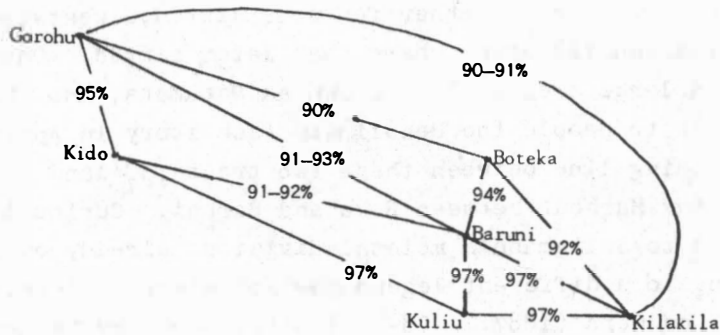
Groves et al. (1957-58) report that the Port Moresby Koita have a legend recalling a day when Motu canoes first appeared outside the harbour. This legend tells how the Motu put ashore with fish when they saw smoke rising from a Koita village. The Koita, hungry for fish, suggested that the new arrivals remain permanently at Port Moresby and trade their fish for Koita yams and bananas.

This legend is probably the same one which Belshaw (1957:11) refers to when he says that the Motu "were in process of migration from the south-east to the north-west...noticed smoke from Ranuguri, a Koita village. The Motu party established contact and founded a village at Badihagua, a valley behind the present village site."

On the other hand N.D. Oram (oral com) suggests that the origins of the Western Motu and Hula may be similar. Thus available evidence suggests that the Hula, who like the Motu were a fishing people, and who, until recently, held no land, are descended from an AN-speaking group already settled in the vicinity of Marshall Lagoon. Hula oral tradition speaks of a hill on which the original village was situated. The Western Motu say that they once lived on an island called Motu Hanua in Bootless Inlet and Murray (1912:153), in repeating this story, adds that part of the Motu then lived on a hill called Gwamo, which is near the present village of Gaile. Oram suggests that the Motu, like the Hula, might therefore be descended from a group which was already settled in the area and were not necessarily part of a separate and later migration.

3

No word lists were collected from Korobosea, Koderika, Vabukori, Boera, Lealea, Porebada, Pari and Tatana though socio-linguistic materials were. In all except the first two villages Koita is seldom spoken, and then only to visiting Koita, by a handful of older residents of former Koita sections. These residents did not feel confident about my taking down language material from them. Koderika was not visited because Roku informants said it was an offshoot from Roku. Korobosea speak similarly to Kilakila though with slightly slower tempo of articulation.



The lexical picture is such that none of the "basic" words can be regarded as diagnostic of dialect boundaries. The lexical differences between villages are not consistent. This suggests that either the Koita have maintained close contact with each other, or that the language was not sufficiently long established to diversify lexically. There has been some diversification, however, in phonology between the two western villages of Gorohu and Kido (its recent offshoot) and the rest of the Koita. These two villages have /f/ and sometimes /s/ corresponding to /h/, and sometimes /ɣ/ (voiced velar fricative) corresponding to /v/ in the eastern villages.

Linguistically, the Koita are most closely related to the Koiari. Both have very similar grammars and phonologies, though Koita shares only 65% basic vocabulary with Koiari (Eastern Dialect). The nature of this relationship suggests that the Koita are the southern or coastal extremity of the Koiari. Yet despite the closeness of this relationship the two groups show little affection for each other, even though, as Seligmann (1910:48, 94) points out, they carried on a desultory trade, co-operated in some hunting ventures, and made reciprocated visits to tabu feasts.<sup>1</sup>

### 3.22.3 Historical Interpretation

The linguistic evidence would seem to give weight to the tradition that the Koita have moved towards the coast in relatively recent pre-historical times from an area around the Laloki River somewhere east or north-east of their present position. Further, if the phonological

<sup>1</sup>

Mr. K. Franklin of the Australian National University suggests that this is not surprising since in his experience of Highlands peoples neighbouring clans have the most disputes.

picture means anything it probably means that the westernmost Koita have been more isolated than the rest of the Koita, or that they have come under different linguistic influences, for example, closer contact with Doura, Gabadi and/or Mountain Koiari in their area. There is not much linguistic evidence to support Seligmann's moietai divisions.

An important though unexpressed reason for coastal movements of the Koita would probably have been expansionist pressures of the Koiari and Mountain Koiari (see sections 3.23 and 3.24 below). But the main reason which the Koita villager gives for the movement of his ancestors towards the coast was fear of death at the hands of the Koiari, either by sorcery, or relatedly, by water poisoning. According to most informants there was a period when the Koita population was much larger than it is today,<sup>1</sup> until watering places suddenly became poisoned.<sup>2</sup> So many were reputed to have died that the remainder fled in fear coastwards, this being the only unoccupied land available. While water poisoning cannot be discounted as a probability, it is more likely that this is the native explanation of some unexplained endemic or epidemic disease, which swept the area. Many authors have referred to such events.<sup>3</sup> Oram (oral com.) reports that one epidemic is recorded in native stories right along the coast as far as Milne Bay. This could be the same one as Chalmers (1895:187) described which had drastic effects on the population. Certainly, after Europeans arrived many new diseases were introduced and the Government Reports are full of descriptions of epidemics of measles,<sup>4</sup> smallpox,<sup>5</sup> and

1

For example, Kilakila village was once supposed to have been a quarter of a mile long. The ground name Saroa-muni-bouvanu (= Saroa-stones-collected together or heaped up) is testimony to its former eminence. The story goes that an advance party of attacking Saroa warriors from Rigo (in the east) marked out the length of the village with piles of stones for the following warriors to see. The supposed size of the village so impressed these warriors that they thought better of their venture and promptly returned to Saroa. See Chalmers (1895:204-6) for descriptions of the marauding habits of the Saroa.

2

Rev. P. Chatterton M.H.A. advises (pers. com. 13.10.67) me that at pre-War II Gaile "drought sometimes forced the people to dig water-holes in the dry creek bed a mile or so inland from the village. It was their practice to fill in the holes each afternoon and dig them out again the next morning, and they explained that they did this for fear that the Koiari would come in the night and poison them."

3

For example, Lawes (1876), Turner (1878), Stone (1880), and Chalmers (1895).

4

Barton (1904); Monckton (1904).

5

Stone (1880); Chalmers (1895).

ague,<sup>1</sup> dysentery,<sup>2</sup> and whooping cough.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, depopulation (of which ill health was but one cause) was of serious concern to the early administrators of Papua, or British New Guinea, as it was then known.<sup>4</sup>

Another reason was probably contact with the Motu, whose origin is unknown, though it is generally held that they are immigrants. Chalmers (1887:13) was the first to point this out, and suggested that the Motu are of western origin. Other investigators, however, have found no substance in this suggestion. Groves et al. (1957-58: 222) could find no evidence of movement from anywhere in the traditions or remembered history of this group. Capell (1943:20), as has already been pointed out in section 2.12 above, suggests that the Motu are later arrivals than other AN groups in Central Papua, and that they came from the east in the last of three main movements from the Indonesian archipelago. Chretien (1956) disagrees with this (see also section 2.13 above) and suggests instead that the Central Papuan coast has been a kind of "central exchange point in an extensive system of South coast trade between the Papuan west, extending to the Fly River and beyond, and the east" (p.108).

And there the matter will have to rest until further studies can be made. What is certain, however, is that when the first Europeans arrived the Koita were "for the most part to be found living at one end of the Motu villages...(and) also...in little groups of a few houses a little way inland, or on a hill overlooking the sea, all through the Motu district" (Lawes, 1878:371). Yet as Seligmann (1910: 47) points out "it by no means follows that the Motu colonies invariably settled down in the close vicinity of the Koita villages, where they are now found. In some instances...the reverse occurred, and it was the Koita who settled near or in continuity with Motu colonies. Probably both events happened in the case of Poreporena villages." But Seligmann tends to overstate the case here.

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<sup>1</sup> Monckton (1904).

<sup>2</sup> Blayney (1897, 1899); English (1898a).

<sup>3</sup> English (1901); Le Hunte (1901); Murray (1909); Haddon (1900b).

<sup>4</sup> See Reports by Barton (1904), Murray (1915), and O'Malley (1915).



Poreporena (or Hanuabada, as it is now known),<sup>1</sup> is the only instance in which Motu appear to have settled near Koita. In all other instances (excluding the independent Koita 'separate maritime' and 'inland' villages--see chart in fn.2, p.26 above) Koita moved to established Motu villages, viz. Porebada, Tatana, Pari, Boera, Lealea, Vabukori, Tupuseleia. This suggests that the presence of the Motu may have been an important factor in the final movement of the Koita to the coast proper. The establishment of Motu-Koita settlements close to one another certainly would have had such benefits for both sides as:

i. protection--from the Hula in the east (Chalmers (1887:3), Belshaw (1957:11)), Doura and Gabadi in the west (Chalmers, 1887:78ff.), and Koiari in the north, and northeast;

ii. trade--The Motu would probably be keen to find new food sources because of the small size and poor quality of their soils, the annual mid-year drought (which often lasted much longer),<sup>2</sup> and the insecurity of their position as it depended on the safe return of the sago-bearing hiri canoes.<sup>3</sup> The Motu had pottery, coconuts, fish, salt, shell, coral ornaments, and pani (specially woven rope for carrying firewood) to exchange for Koita fresh meat (birds, reptiles, small marsupials, pig, kangaroo/wallaby), feathers for headdress, breast shells, stone implements, matting, netting fibre, bark cloth, and garden produce. This relationship also probably extended into the Koiari country, where such additional things as

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<sup>1</sup> See Belshaw (1957:11-2) for a discussion of the village cluster that Seligmann called Poreporena, and Belshaw Hanuabada. Rev. P. Chatterton, M.H.A. advises me (pers. com., 13.10.67) that before World War II the Motu referred to the whole village cluster as Poreporena, comprising Hohodae, Hanuabada, Tanobada, Kuliu (or Kuriu) and Elevala. Following their return from wartime evacuation to Manumanu the names were reversed: Hanuabada was used for the whole cluster, and Poreporena for that part of it which was formerly called Hanuabada.

For an earlier description of the Hanuabada complex see Seligmann (1910:45).

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, descriptions of the severity of these droughts and the privations they caused by early Government officers Barton (1904), Blayney (1897), and F.E. Lawes (1890).

<sup>3</sup> For descriptions of the hiri trading expeditions to the Gulf of Papua see Barton (1910), Williams (1932-33), and Groves (1960).

tobacco, betelnut, ginger, lime,<sup>1</sup> and bark cloth were available.<sup>2</sup>

Certainly the relationship between the Koita and Motu must have been of an unusual kind, since the Motu have nowhere penetrated inland.<sup>3</sup> All except Badihagwa,<sup>4</sup> which was established in a valley behind the present Hanuabada site several hundred yards from the beach (Belshaw, 1957:11), and later removed to the shore, were maritime villages built on piles in the sea between high and low water marks. Turner (1878:486) suggests that the principal reason why the Motu built their houses over the sea and remained there, was for protection against "the inland people," which now generally means the Koiari, though it could have been meant to include the Koita, whom the Motu are known to have feared also. This could well have been the initial reason, and that once the reciprocal trade arrangements and mutual defence alliances were established between the Koita and Motu (as outlined above) the Motu had little need to expand inland. Other reasons could well have been that there are no large waterways along the Motu coastline similar to those east (Kemp Welsh River) and west (Angabunga or St. Joseph's River, Aroa-Kubua River) which seem to have afforded the Sinagoro in the east, and Doura, Gabadi, Pokau, Roro, Kuni, and Mekeo in the west, inland penetration routes; or that being late arrivals the Motu had not yet had time to expand before Europeans arrived and froze the situation; or that they simply preferred to; or that they were just perpetuating a previous living pattern. All, and perhaps other factors may, of course, have been involved simultaneously.

---

1

This is interesting because one would naturally expect the trade to be in the reverse direction. Turner (1878:493) says, "It [= lime] is made by the Koiari, or inland tribe, who come down from the interior to Port Moresby, gather shells on the beach, carry them twenty miles, inland, burn them and make lime, then carry the lime down to the coast, and sell it to the Port Moresby people. The latter will not make it for themselves, because their forefathers did not do it, and it is done by the Koiari."

2

This information was obtained from the following sources: Lawes (1878:372-6), Chalmers (1885:249), and Turner (1878:492-3).

3

The Motu own very little land apart from the small tracts immediately behind their villages. These tracts are usually limited to the littoral area between the beach and the tops of the hills overlooking the village.

4

Rev. P. Chatterton M.H.A. advises me (pers. com., 13.10.67) that Badihagwa (spelled by Belshaw (1957) "Badihagua," but in fact derived from Motu hagwa 'mangrove') was "rather further from the beach than Belshaw suggests, being in fact where the cemetery now is. I think that there is no doubt that the Hanuabada (and perhaps the Lealea peoples too) lived here before moving to their present beach sites."



### 3.23 Koiari<sup>1</sup>

3.23.1 The Koiari inhabit the Sogeri Plateau around the headwaters of of the Laloki, Hunter and Musgrave Rivers. Some live on the spurs of the Astrolabe Range and the hilly hinterland behind the Motu villages of Tupuseleia, Barakau, and Gaile,<sup>2</sup> while others dwell along the Laloki valley immediately behind Port Moresby<sup>3</sup> (see Map 6, p.22).

These people are often referred to as the Grass Koiari, or Grasslanders, which is a translation of one of the native classificatory terms applied to part of them, *isu-bia*. Some are actually Forest-men or *idutu-bia*, as distinct from *mavota* or Mountain-men. But these are general environmental distinctions which have only limited correlation with linguistic<sup>4</sup> and cultural features.<sup>5</sup>

The Koiari have a mixed reputation though most writers seem to agree that they were feared as sorcerers, especially by the coastal Motu. They lived in small villages of usually no more than eight houses, generally stockaded, and perched on spurs or ridgetops. Each village featured a tree-house as a retreat for besieged villagers. Williams (1932:52) saw them as "definitely gardeners" who practised shifting agriculture, though they are keen hunters. Williams also thought they were racially mixed with Austronesians.

Socially the Koiari are organised in sections<sup>6</sup> seldom larger than one village with names of local origin, derived generally from

---

1

Williams (1932:51) records that the name Koiari "belongs properly to one of the local groups of grasslanders. It has been applied loosely to all who speak similar dialects right up to and beyond the central range." See also a similar statement by MacGregor (1891).

2

In the following villages: Dagoda, Seme, Vaivai, Maiberi, Kerekadi, Labuka, Dabunari.

3

In the following villages: Boteka (mixed Koita-Koiari), Haima, Mesime, and Fulumuti.

4

The linguistic features are to be described fully at a later stage.

5

Williams (1932:54).

6

Williams (1932:55) prefers the word "group" principally because he could find no suitable equivalent technical term in Koiari, and "clan" did not seem to be applicable.

prominent hills in the area, e.g., Haveri, from Havenumu near Iawarere (or Jawarere).<sup>1</sup> Village names are usually ground names, and villages are regularly shifted.<sup>2</sup> A kind of bilateral descent system is practised, which is the main subject of Williams' paper.

Under Administrative (Government and Mission) and economic pressures, small, one-hamlet-dwelling groups have united to form new and larger settlements in more accessible places. Thus Kailakinumu is now a composite village of three formerly independent, though interrelated groups--the Hogeri (or Sogeri), Haveli (or Favele), and Yaritari--who have combined to form a larger village on the main road linking Sogeri and the Upper Musgrave River plantations.

Hitherto the Koiari had been "incorrigible" (Wyatt-Gill, 1885: 307) wanderers, sorcerers, and war mongers, living for the most part on the Sogeri Plateau. They have a tradition of coming from the east, which is expressed in the Salayoli story of the Hogeri section (see Appendix 5.33),<sup>3</sup> and in stories about the origin of large rocks in the area.<sup>4</sup> Thus the eastern Koiari believe that they are descended from the marriage of a local, red-birdman, and a woman from Wudurumava village (and mountain)<sup>5</sup> on the Upper Hunter River in the Rigo Sub-District. Descendants peopled the Sogeri Plateau and some built a large canoe and escaped to the beach. These were supposedly the ancestors of the Koita.

### 3.23.2 Linguistic Picture

Comparison of the lexical material obtained from the principal Koiari villages shows that there are two dialects of Koiari. The line

<sup>1</sup>

Williams (1932:57) lists many examples. It is apparent from the comparative work I have done so far that the -ri or -re suffixes in these group names are old location or direction markers, probably meaning 'at, from (a place),' which have only "survived" in Koiari in these instances. It is interesting to note that similar markers appear on group, section, or tribal names in other parts of the Koiarian area, and outside it, though more work needs to be done on this aspect of naming in Central Papua.

<sup>2</sup>

This explains why it is difficult to find locations for references in early writings about the area.

<sup>3</sup>

Also discussed by Williams (1932:57) though he did not give a specific story.

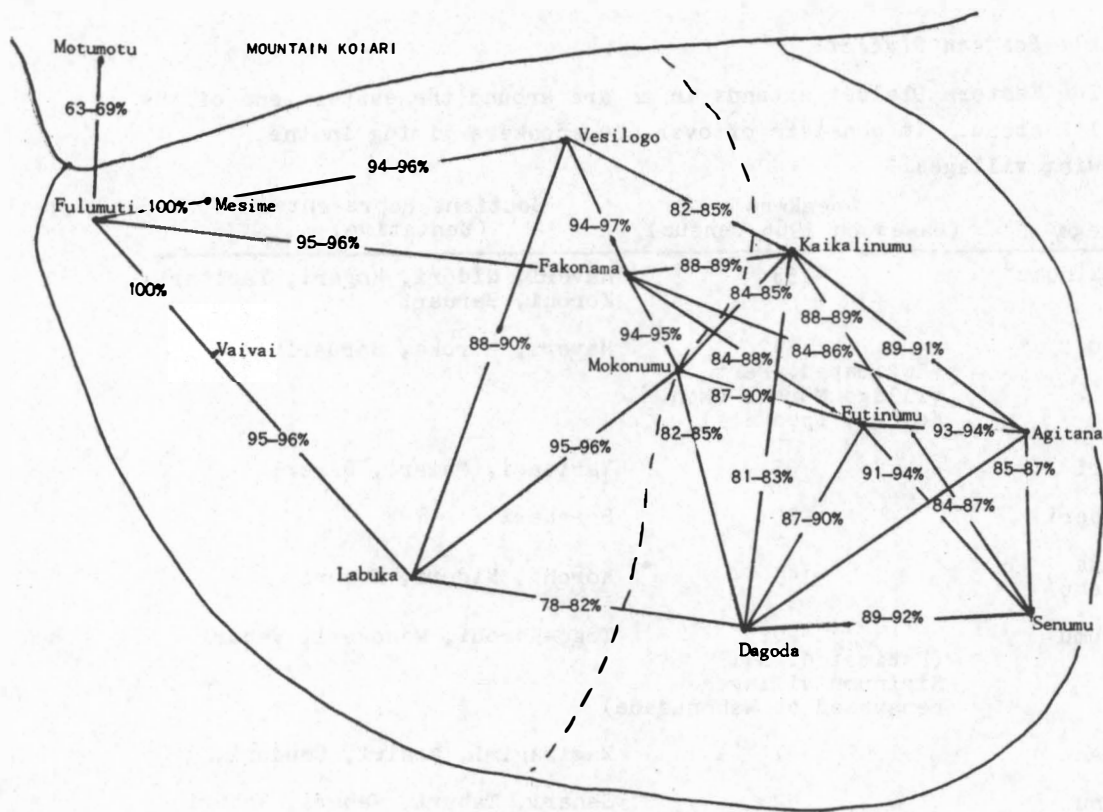
<sup>4</sup>

For example, stories about Vetula (the rock that moved from Jawarere to Warirata) and Fufuri (the rock that came from Hulunumu, near Boreberi, to Kailakinumu).

<sup>5</sup>

Wudurumava is south of Lonidairi and east of Lagume villages. See Appendix 5.34 fn.2 for connection between Koita and Koiari terms.

of demarcation between the two corresponds to the line of maximum difference between village communalects shown on the following chart. Geographically the north-south boundary line runs from the coast northwards just west of Dagoda up the Vailala Creek across the Astrolabe Range along the traditional land boundary between Orari and Maneri-Korohi sections,<sup>1</sup> approximately to Sogerri Plantation on the Elogogo tributary of the Laloki River.



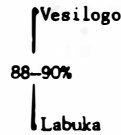
These dialects are hereafter referred to as the Eastern and Western. The chart also shows that the Eastern Dialect is more diverse

<sup>1</sup>

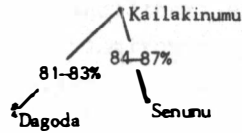
Details of traditional land boundaries in the Sirinumu Dam area are shown on the Department of Lands survey map "Sirinumu Dam" No.M/49/16 of 7.11.61, Territory of Papua and New Guinea. See also Morris (1965) for a general description of this area.

than the Western. This may be simply illustrated by taking percentages between north and south villages in each:

## WESTERN



## EASTERN

3.23.21 *Eastern Dialect*

The Eastern Dialect extends in an arc around the eastern end of the Sogeri Plateau. It consists of over 600 speakers living in the following villages:<sup>1</sup>

Village	Speakers (Based on 1966 Census)	Sections Represented (tentative)
Kailakinumu <sup>2</sup>	133	Haveri, Nidori, Hogeri, Yaritari, Korohi, Baruari
Luburu	30? (Estimated. Part village Moroka (Mtn. Koiari) speakers)	Haveri, Moroka, Baruari
+Maiari	35	Yaritari, Maiari, Bareri
+Boreberi	23	Boreberi
Ogotana } Boredabu }	149	Korohi, Nidori, Hogeri
Futinumu	20? (Estimated. All Sirinumu villages censused at Wahonadada)	Togo-Korohi, Wanowari, Veburi
+Agitana	31	Wagiragiri, Mohiri, Umudori
+Senunu	52	Senari, Taburi, Vaberi, Veburi
Vaivai	62	Senari, Taburi, Vaberi, Veburi
Torenumu } Seme }	51 } 57 }	Dagoda, Bareri, Maneri-Korohi, Veburi, Semeri
Dagoda		
TOTAL	643?	

1

Starred villages are situated in the Rigo Sub-District; the remainder are in the Port Moresby Sub-District.

2

According to Kailakinumu informants they were referred to collectively as Munegapira (= stone strikes fire) because of their fiery fighting.

As has already been stated above this dialect is more diversified than the Western. Lexical evidence suggests that there are two sub-dialects:

(a) North-Eastern, including Kailakinumu, and its socially related villages of Ogotana, Luburu, Malari, and Boreberi;

(b) South-Eastern, including the principle villages of Futinumu,<sup>1</sup> Agitana, Senunu, and Dagoda.

There is some correlation too with other linguistic features. Thus phonologically the South-Eastern Sub-dialect tends to 'drop' fricatives, which then produces a change in vowel quality, particularly where fricatives are omitted between /a/ and /e/. Here there is an assimilation of these vowels into one single one /æ/, phonetically [ə]. For example, Kailakinumu (North-Eastern Sub-dialect) speakers say *da nitæ* for 'my eye' while Futinumu and Dagoda speakers (South-Eastern Sub-dialect) say *di nitə*.

Grammatically there is little variation, except that individual villages have different sets of possessive case suffixes:

English	Kailakinumu	Futinumu	Agitana	Senunu	Dagoda
'my navel'	da demodi-ne	di namodi-ke	di nemo-de	di nemodi-ka	di nemotə
'my breast'	da amu-re	di amu-ne	di amu-ne	di amu-ne	di amu-ne

### 3.23.22 *Western Dialect*

The Western Dialect is the largest of the two Koiari dialects in area and population. It consists of over 1100 speakers living on the central and western parts of the Sogerī Plateau around the Sirinumu Dam and along the main courses of the Laloki River, on the lowlands (grasslands) along the middle reaches of the Laloki and on the coastal plains between the Astrolabe Range and the south coast. The following chart lists the Western dialect villages in sub-divisions, corresponding to the above geographical ones:

<sup>1</sup>

Futinumu is a small mixed village with closer social ties with the Western Dialect.

Sub-division	Village	Speakers (based on 1966 Census)	Sections Represented (Tentative)
Plateau	Boda	39	Orari?
	Gurumunumu	61	Bemori, Magibiri
	Wahonadada	218? (includes Mokonumu)	(Many hamlets unnamed)
	Fakonama	85	Agoberi, Waiakari, Bemori, Yoriwari, Magibiri
Upper Laloki	Vesilogo	139	Eikiri, Dauri?
	Kalakadabu	49	?
	Ianabevai	42	Taburi, Yanari
	Manurunumu	89	Nadeka
	Gubabegai <sup>1</sup>	83	Wasiri, Navirari?
Lower Laloki	Fulumuti	53	Omani, Korohi, Kolari?
	Mesime	38	Omani, Yanari, Korohi, Wakari, Taburi
	Halma } Boteka }	68? (Estimated)	Beumuri, Orari, Momiri, Gubini, Ogoni-Dabunari
Coastal Plains	Vaivai } Maiberi }	46	Magibiri?
	Kerekadi } Labuka }	27 } 37 }	Tugia, Kerekadi
	Dabunari	59	Korohi, Veburi, Gorari, Dabunari
TOTAL		1133?	

The Western dialect is quite homogeneous, although there is slight variation in vocabulary and pronunciation (especially fricatives) within it.

<sup>1</sup>

At the time of the survey Gubabegai was being moved up on to the plateau near Vesilogo.

### 3.23.3 Historical Interpretation

Present linguistic evidence suggests that historically the geographical dispersion of Koiari speakers has been relatively recent--more recent in the west than in the east. This is in accord with other evidence of the recent movement of the Koiari. Thus those now living in the lowlands and coastal plains in the west and south-west all trace their origins back to the Sogeri Plateau. For example, those now living at:

(a) Mesime<sup>1</sup> are supposed to have moved down to their present position from Ianavevai just prior to European contact;

(b) Fulumuti are a mixture of the original Koiari (who lived near Rouna Falls), Omani and Korohi sections--the latter still a strong section in Ogotana;

(c) Vaivai and Maiberi are offshoots of Nadeka and Magiberi sections on the Sogeri Plateau;

(d) Labuka, Dabunari, and Kerekadi have moved down from the south-west rim of the Sogeri Plateau. They have close ties with Tugia, Orari, Veburi and Korohi sections still on the Plateau.

(e) Haima have only been in their present position for about thirty years. According to my informants they are a small settlement of Bemuri people from Berebe village near the Sirinumu Dam. An old man named Korohi Kidu (who died about eight years ago) made friends with a Hohodae land controller who gave Korohi a small tract of land around the present location of Haima.<sup>2</sup> These villagers still maintain close ties with their relatives on the Sogeri Plateau.

1

The Mesime have a story relating themselves to the Koita. This story (noticeably similar in structure to the Salayoli story of the Eastern Koiari) says that a man named Omani Maraga once lived in a bush village near Rouna Falls by himself. He hunted pigs and wallaby over Omani territory. One day he made a feast platform and garden beside the Laloki River where he planted a kind of apple tree (moiteka). The fruit of this tree fell into the river and floated down to a place behind Papa, a Koita village, where girls from the Veadu section used to draw water. Two girls--one big, one small--saw them. They followed the river up and found the tree and the old man's village. But the old man was hunting so they cleaned the village and hid in an upturned waterpot. The old man returned and noticed the fire burning and the clean village. He knew there must have been women there but he could not find them. Later the two girls came out. He married the young one and the old one returned to her section at Papa. Now the Omani have descendents at Papa.

2

These details are a little puzzling since as far as I know the Hohodae own land around Hohola and Burns Peak only. The land where the Haima villagers are settled would seem to have belonged more likely to Momiri, or Ogoni-Gubini people.

In the south-east the Dagoda-Seme-Torenumu villagers also have close ties with Koiari sections on the Sogeri Plateau. These villagers can also still trace their movement down over the south-east rim of the Plateau. At the time of first contact Chalmers (1885:173) noted that the Koiari behind the Motu village of Gaile<sup>1</sup> "belong to the Koiari tribe who generations ago were driven over the Astrolabe by their friends and settled down here." According to my informants their *sene taudia* (Police Motu for ancestors whose names are not known) came from the direction of Rigo. At that time there was only one section--Senari--which is the principal section of Senunu village<sup>2</sup> today. This section split up, and some moved west on to the Sogeri Plateau and later down to Dagoda, while others moved south-west to the Senunu area. Unfortunately, I could not corroborate this evidence from Senunu informants, nor did I obtain any information about the relationship of these sections to Agitana, nor of Agitana to Futinumu and the North-Eastern Sub-dialect villages.

In the east, however, the movement has been in the opposite direction. Thus the Haveri, Yaritari, and Hogeri sections have moved up on to the Plateau from former positions in the headwaters of the Musgrave and Hunter Rivers. To do this they maintain they had to struggle against other sections now further west along the Plateau. Indeed the Hogeri is still quite proud of its prowess in (as they say) "knocking the Taburi, Eikiri, and Magiberi sections over the edge" and they boast that this would have been more complete had Europeans not arrived to interrupt them. Their story seems to have some basis since when Chalmers first visited the area in the later 1870's he was very much disturbed by the state of fear of the Magiberi as he writes in his journal:<sup>3</sup>

I am sorry for the Magipili people; they are so afraid of the Sogeri that they have left their houses and are living in the bush, and under the shelter of rocks. Sogeri, Makipili says, will listen to no conditions of peace.

And similarly, on the other side of the Plateau he had earlier noted

<sup>1</sup> Chalmers was referring to the Koiari village of Veipuri (Veburi) on the banks of the Vailala River which he said later (1895:36) was "about seven miles through bush....(on) one of the spurs of the Astrolabe."

<sup>2</sup> Woodward (1926) spells Senunu "Senumu", which is more in keeping with the spelling of other Koiari place names which usually end in -numu meaning 'hill, mountain.'

<sup>3</sup> Chalmers (1885:125).



that "the women and children slept in the bush at night...(because their village is) at enmity with natives on the flat across the ravine."<sup>1</sup>

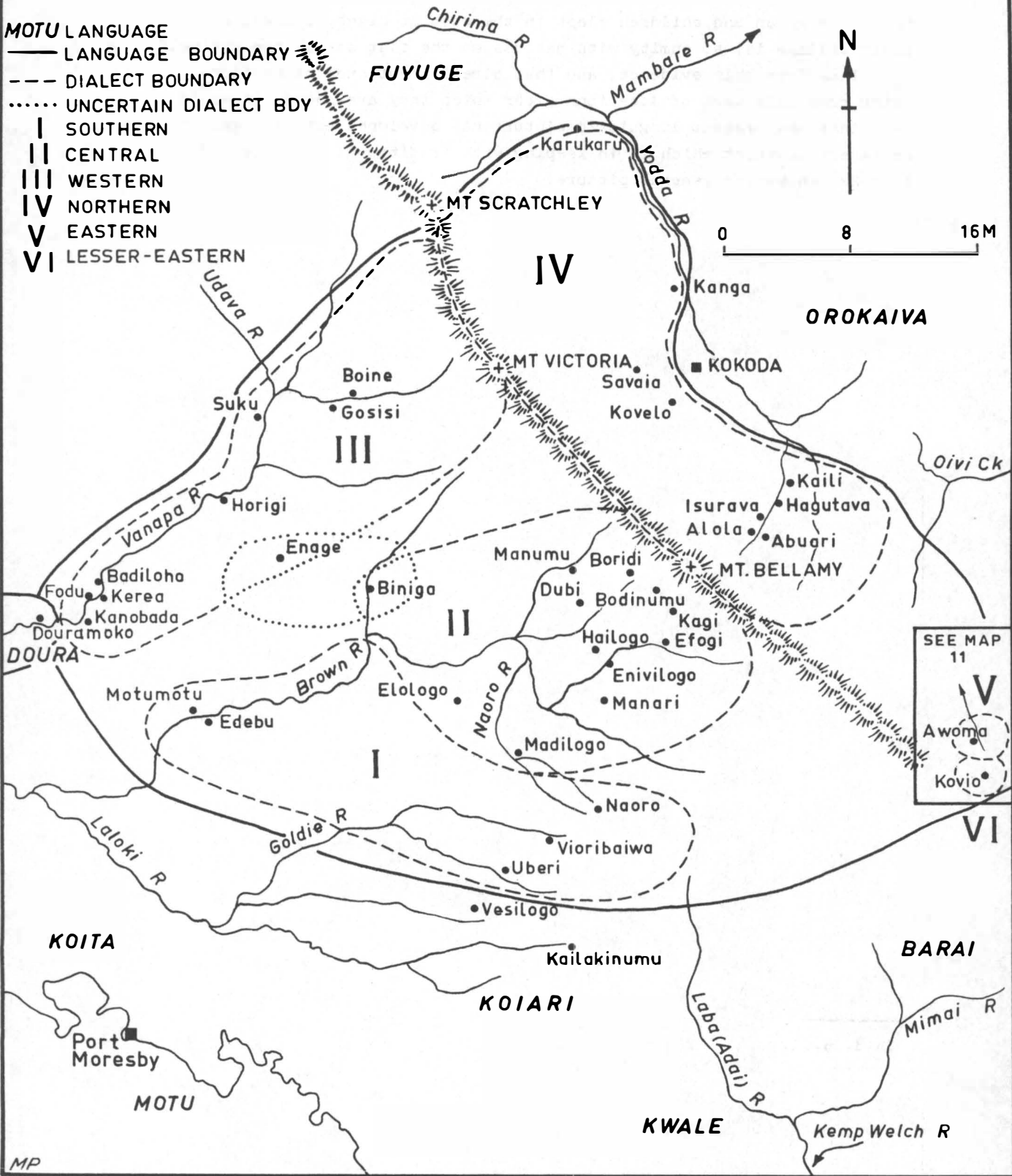
Thus from this evidence, and that already mentioned of sections being generally west of locations after which they are named, it would seem that the present linguistic picture has developed out of a general east-west movement which is in keeping with traditional accounts. Map 6 (p.22) shows the general picture.

<sup>1</sup>  
Ibid. p.91.

# DISTRIBUTION OF MOUNTAIN KOIARI VILLAGES

**MOTU** LANGUAGE

- LANGUAGE BOUNDARY
- - - DIALECT BOUNDARY
- ..... UNCERTAIN DIALECT BDY
- I SOUTHERN
- II CENTRAL
- III WESTERN
- IV NORTHERN
- V EASTERN
- VI LESSER-EASTERN

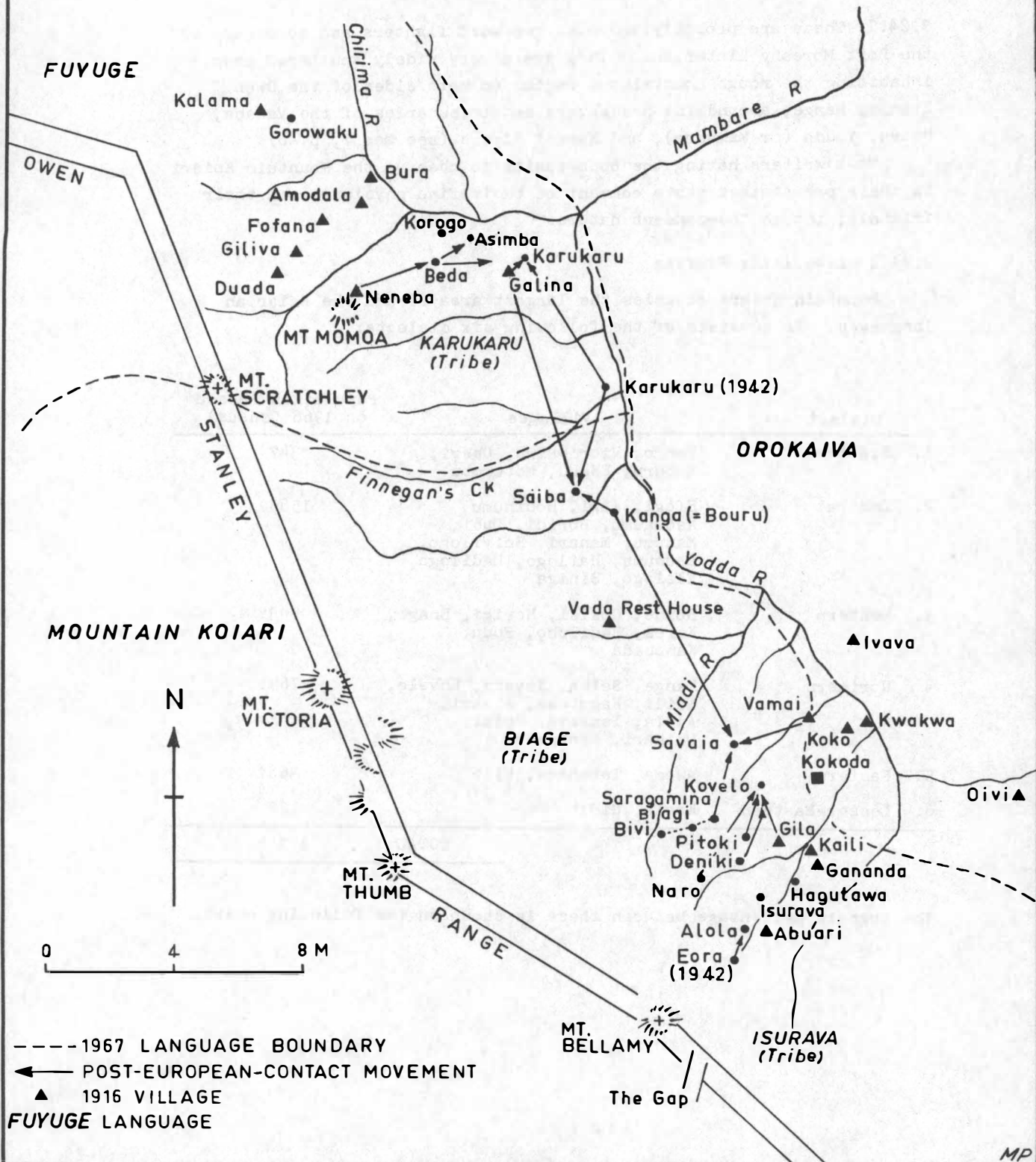


SEE MAP 11

MP

# MOVEMENT OF VILLAGES IN THE KOKODA AREA

(MAP AFTER O'MALLEY AND STANLEY (1916))



### 3.24 Mountain Koiari

3.24.1 These are probably the most renowned fighters and sorcerers of the Port Moresby hinterland. They are a very widely scattered people inhabiting the rough mountainous region on both sides of the Owen Stanley Range, around the headwaters and tributaries of the Vanapa, Brown, Yodda (or Mambare), and Kumusi Rivers (see Map 7, p.46).

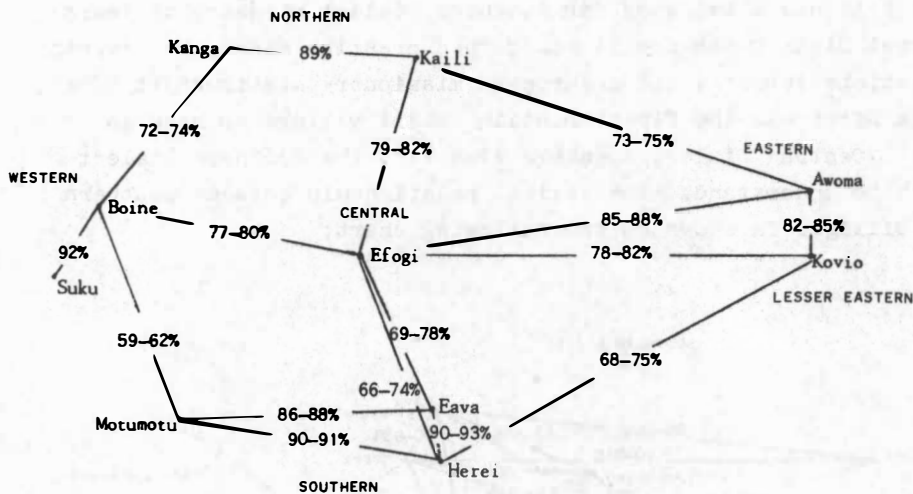
Most writers having the opportunity to observe the Mountain Koiari in their pre-contact state comment on their fine physique, and their friendly, though independent nature.

#### 3.24.2 Linguistic Picture

Mountain Koiari occupies the largest area of all the Koiarian languages. It consists of the following six dialects:

Dialect	Villages	Population (Based on 1966 Census)
1. Southern	Naoro, Vioribaiwa, Uberi, Luburu, Edebu, Motumotu	347
2. Central	Efogi, Kagi, Bodinumu, Nadunumu, Boridi, Dubi, Manumu, Manari, Enivilogo, Launumu, Hailogo, Madilogo, Elologo, Biniga	1585?
3. Western	Boine, Gosisi, Horigi, Enage, Kerea, Badiloho, Fodu, Kanobada	543?
4. Northern	Kanga, Seiba, Savaia, Kovelu, Kaili, Hagutawa, Abuari, Alola, Isurava, Pelai, Usikari, Kenandara	769?
5. Eastern	Awoma, Tetebede, Ujib	368?
6. Lesser-Eastern	Kovio, Gida	122
TOTAL		3734?

The cognate percentage between these is shown on the following chart:



These dialects will now be described in turn.

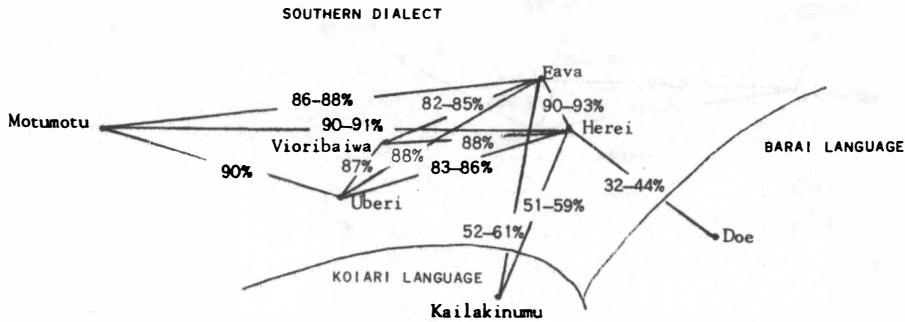
### 3.24.21 Southern

This is a small dialect stretching across from the headwaters of the Goldie River in the east to the lower reaches of the Brown River in the west. It is markedly different from its northern and western counterparts sharing only an average of 68-76% basic vocabulary with its nearest neighbour, the Central Dialect. Normally this degree of lexical relationship would be considered too low for a dialect level relationship. However, since the grammatical structure of the Southern Dialect is very much akin to the rest of Mountain Koiari it is here regarded as merely a divergent dialect of this language rather than a separate, though very closely related, language. Part of the reason for its low lexical relationship with the Central Dialect probably lies in the fact that it is in close contact with Koiari and Barai to the south and east.

Lexically and phonologically the Southern Dialect is also divergent within itself. Thus, at Naoro, villagers living on opposite sides of the village 'street' speak quite differently from one another. Here there are two sections--the Eava and the Herei. Herei speech has a

glottal stop corresponding to some 't' and 'k' in Eava speech.

There is now a tendency for Southern Dialect speakers to learn the Central Dialect because it has gained prestige since the Seventh Day Adventists formerly had a European missionary stationed at Efogi, and since Efogi was the first Mountain Koiari village to have an airstrip. Central Dialect speakers also find the Southern Dialect difficult to understand. The lexical relationship between Southern Dialect villages is shown on the following chart:



The common sections of the Southern Mountain Koiari are Moroka or Meroka (at Uberi and Luburu), Herei or Here<sup>1</sup> (at Naoro and Vioribaiwa), Eava or Eaha (at Naoro), Uberi or Kupele (at Uberi and Vioribaiwa), and formerly Itu and Ebe.<sup>2</sup>

The Herei used to live in the villages of Herebenumu (Berebenumu, Borebenumu, Berevilogo), Maritana and Gagabitana, and the Eava at Biogovaga, all in the watershed of the westward flowing Goldie River and the eastward flowing Laba River. According to Vivian (1928a) the Herei used to live in what was then (i.e., 1928) Demori territory around Mt. Deakin, at the village of Wabiamava. This would be approximately 10-12 miles east of their position at Berebenumu (as shown by O'Malley and Stanley, 1916). These sections, along with those Barai ones of Iawarere and Nigubaiba, were feared by the Pitoni and Tabu to the east who called them the Imatu (Bramell, 1905; Henry, 1915). The Herei and Eava moved to Naoro on the river of the same name about

<sup>1</sup>

Baifana is apparently an alternative name for the Herei.

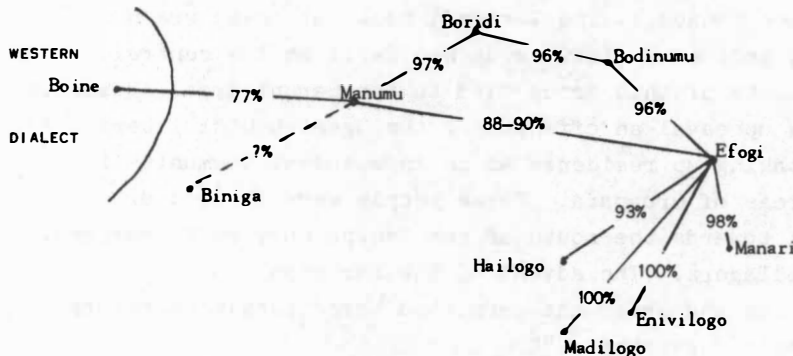
<sup>2</sup>

Ray (1929:71) says that the Itu (or Iutu) section was located on the Naoro River and was "allied to Eaha" and that the Ebe lived north of Uberi.

1953 under Seventh Day Adventist encouragement (so informants said). Both have relatives in Barai village, especially in the nearest one, Doe (see Nigubaiba Dialect in section 3.33.32 (g) below).

### 3.24.22 *Central Dialect*

This is the largest of the Mountain Kolari dialects, occupying the tributary valleys of the headwaters of the Brown River. The Central Dialect is also the most prestigious and most dominant. The following chart shows the "basic" vocabulary relationship between its major villages.



For present purposes Biniga is included in the Central Dialect although no linguistic material was collected from this village. It is included for the following reasons:

(a) because the consensus of opinion of Central Dialect informants was that the Biniga communalect was more closely related to the Central Dialect than to the Western;

(b) because Biniga is geographically within the Brown River system.

It may also be true that Enage, the closest village to Biniga, may also belong to the Central Dialect, since some Central Dialect speakers are known to be married into it. But as no linguistic material was collected at Enage or Biniga the boundary between the Central and the Western Dialects remains uncertain (if indeed there is a boundary).

The principal sections of the Central Dialect are Boxura (Boura), Kagi (Agi), Seregina (Serigina), Wamai, Efogi, Hagari, Wabari and Manari. These resisted early European exploration of the area and seem to have been generally aggressive towards one another and neighbouring

sections. Their exploits are fairly well documented in the Annual Reports of British New Guinea.<sup>1</sup>

In 1964 Bramell summarised some of this information. He tells how the Hagari have driven the Kone from their traditional land further down the Brown River, and how they terrorised other groups in the headwaters of the same stream, often with the assistance of the Agi (or Kagi). Eventually they killed off the Kone, Ebe, Uruvi, Varagadi, Bereka, Mokuri, Erei, and Airi.

Some Kone escaped to join up with the Varagadi remnants, who sheltered in the "swampy lowlands between the Brown and Vanapa Rivers and today are found intermarried with the Naori, Kotoi, and Vabari groups of the Upper Vanapa...The Varagadi took out their wrath on the Ogoni-Gubini, another Koitabu group who dwelt on the central Laloki. The remnants of this group fled to the Baruni area. Prior to the cause of this upheaval an offshoot of the Ogoni-Gubini intermarried with the Koiari taking up residence as an independent community in the grasslands areas of Oruapara. These people were in turn driven out by the Hagari towards the mouth of the Vanapa only to be ravaged by the coastal villagers. The advent of the European and the establishment of law and order has permitted these people to return to the land of their forefathers."<sup>2</sup>

The northern sections of Efogi and Kagi have close social ties with sections in the Northern and Eastern Dialects, and most villagers in the Central Dialect know the Haganumu Story (see Appendix 5.31) which is their explanation of how the land was settled and why they are related to peoples in the Kumusi valley some 20 miles away to the east across the uninhabited ranges.

### 3.24.23 *Western Dialect*

This is a small dialect in the valley of the Vanapa River. Today it is concentrated in several villages on the lower reaches of this river several miles upstream from the Port Moresby roadhead. These villagers have only recently been encouraged by the Administration to move to these sites from more distant and inaccessible areas in the mountains at the headwaters of the same stream. Many of the more traditional members of these villages, however, still have houses in their former locations.

<sup>1</sup>

MacGregor (1898) gives a good history of European contact with various Mountain Koiari sections, including Ebe, Wamai, Boxura (Boura), and Hagari, together with some ethnological information.

<sup>2</sup>

Bramell (1964:4).



The Western Dialect is most closely related to the Central Dialect. The high Owen Stanley Range between Mounts Victoria and Scratchley seem to have been very effective barriers against contact between these Western Dialect speakers and their Northern Dialect compatriots in the Yodda Valley. When MacGregor crossed this range from the northern side into the Vanapa valley he noted that very few of these Western Dialect speakers had visited peoples on the other side.

The principal sections of the Western Dialect are Suku, Boine, Horigi. These have a story which suggests that they were originally settled in the lower reaches of the Vanapa and then moved upstream (see Appendix 5.35). This story would seem to contain some truth considering that the linguistic picture suggests that the Western Dialect is most closely related to the Central Dialect, rather than to the Northern and Southern Dialects. Along their north-west frontier Western Dialect speakers have a common boundary with Fuyuge-speaking peoples of the Gailalan Language Family. It is reputed that these latter have gradually forced the Mountain Koiari out of the upper reaches of the Vetapu River, the major west-bank tributary of the Vanapa.

#### 3.24.24 *Northern Dialect*

This is the second largest of the Mountain Koiari dialects and includes all non-Orokaiva villages between the Yodda (or Mambare) River and the Owen Stanley Range, around the Government station of Kokoda. This area is occupied by small groups of related peoples referred to in the literature as Biage, Hugu, Isurava, and Iworo. In 1929 S.H. Ray included Karukaru and Neneba in his Koiari (new Mountain Koiari) "sub-groups" (see Appendix 5.6), with a distinction between Neneba and the rest. Today it is apparent that both Neneba and Karukaru belong to the Chirima River Dialect of Fuyuge,<sup>1</sup> and show only a 17 per cent (approximately) vocabulary cognatic relationship with Mountain Koiari. Formerly, according to Beaver (1915), the Neneba and Karukaru lived much farther east (approximately 20 miles) in the Yodda Valley on the Kokoda Plateau,<sup>2</sup> where the present Government

<sup>1</sup> This language is defined by Steinkraus and Pence (1964:1-3).

<sup>2</sup> Though some Kanga (= Bouru) informants maintained that their ancestors had lived as far east as Oivi village on the Yodda-Kumusi watershed.

station is situated. But they were gradually forced westward into contact with the Fuyuge inhabitants of the Chirima Valley, who were themselves migrating south-east,<sup>1</sup> by the more numerous, and more aggressive Koko tribe,<sup>2</sup> who have, according to legend, advanced inland from towards the coast near Popondetta (see section 3.34 below). Beaver gives (inexplicably) 1806 as the date of the last movement of the Karukaru-Neneba from the western end of the Ajulakajula Range to a village site at Beda high up on the slopes of Mt. Momoa.<sup>3</sup> In 1942 Karukaru village was shown on army maps to be near Finnegan's Creek. Since then this group has dispersed and integrated with Fuyuge villagers in the Chirima Valley, and with Mountain Koiari villagers in the Yodda, as shown on Map 8 (p.47). The linguistic border between these two groups of speakers is now more clearly defined than it used to be, and may be taken to be approximately between Mt. Scratchley and the junction of the Chirima and Yodda Rivers.

It is customary also to distinguish the Blage from the Isurava though this term, has broadened in reference, until today it may be used to denote any non-Orokaiva non-Chirima River inhabitant of the

<sup>-1</sup>

"There appears to have been a south-easterly migration among the high valleys of the Mount Scratchley, Wharton Range, and Mount Albert Edward chains, a view supported by the legend of their origin (the story of the stone Igui), and, secondly, it is known that there has been no connection or intercourse with the tribes of the Mamba and Gira low country." (Chinnery and Beaver, 1915:161).

Williams (1923:0.177) observed, however, that the Aiga (an Orokaiva group) traded with some Goilala in axes, knives (European), and large Eruric shells (?) for feathers, and Teti boys (?), but only "under the wing of Gora," as the Aiga were, at that time, still frightened to visit the Goilala.

<sup>2</sup>

Williams (1923:0.96) lists Koko among the Hunjara Orokaiva.

<sup>3</sup>

MacGregor's evidence (1897a:6) suggests perhaps a later date:

At one spot only, on a spur of Ajuakujula [sic] immediately below the junction [of the Chirima and Yodda], was any trace of even old cultivation discernible during the whole journey from Tamata to the junction. At that place the chief of the Neneba had a garden some years ago, but he was driven away from it by the people living in the Yodda Valley [= Hunjara Orokaiva].

MacGregor's report also contains interesting ethnological information on the Neneba, well illustrated with drawings.

The Ajulakajula Range has been variously spelt. In particular, the 'Kajula' part appears as 'Kajale' in a 1954 Commonwealth of Australia map (No.NMO/55/029). This spelling corresponds closely to variant pronunciations of 'Koiari.' The historical consequences of this may or may not be significant. I have not investigated them, but my thanks are due to Mr. M. Rimoldi for raising this interesting question.

Kokoda Sub-District. As far as can be ascertained (though this needs to be checked further), Biage was the name of a village up above Saragabila or Saragamina (see Map 8 above), when Europeans first made contact with them. Some of the present villagers at Kovelolo denied that Biage ever existed as a section name before the arrival of Europeans, and actually claimed that they were all xumi people. During the war they said they retreated to Bivi, an older village than Biage, up in the mountains at the head of the Miadi River. This was supposed to have been the chief ancestral stronghold during their pre-contact struggles with the Koko tribes in the Yodda Valley. Since European contact, villages have been regularly shifted and sections mixed. Descendants of the so-called Biage now populate the area in the immediate vicinity of Kokoda--Savaia and Kovelolo villages, though some are to be found at Kanga in the west. According to early reports (Griffin, 1908) the Biage were for a long time shy and very suspicious of their old enemies, the Koko and Ausembo (= Orokaiva) tribes, even after the Government station was established at Kokoda. By the early twenties, however, Liston-Blyth (1922:68) found it "quite interesting to note that inter-marriage is now quite frequent between tribes that until lately were bitter foes, such as the Koko and the Biagis. References to whose fights are to be found in the station journals filed here [= Kokoda]." The Biage are most closely related linguistically to the Isurava, who inhabit the valley of the Yora (or Eora, Iura) River--a tributary of the Yodda (or Mambare) River--which drains The Gap area of the Main Range. This valley contains the villages of Kaile, Hagutawa, Abuari, and Isurava.<sup>1</sup> According to informants at Kaili and Isurava, everyone in this valley belongs to the Isurava section. All trace their ancestors back to a common village at Mamuve--a fortress on a rocky knoll in the mouth of the Yora Valley. But about a century ago Orokaiva tribesmen succeeded in scattering them. Most retreated high up the Yora Valley to the region of their present locations near The Gap. Their principal village was Okoari. Others crossed the valley on to a high spur overlooking the Yodda Valley, and established hamlets around Kaili. Others fled westward into Biage territory where the villages of Deniki, Pitoki, and Naro used to be.

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<sup>1</sup>

Usikari is also shown on some maps, but this village is now deserted.

According to Stuart-Russell (1899:42) distance and inaccessibility of the Isurava did not deter the Orokaiva. He reports that about a month or two before his arrival at "Iuoro (or Iworo)--the principal village of the Neneba...about seven miles beyond The Gap (this village) had sustained an attack from their enemies in the Yodda Valley--the Koriri tribe--and had lost half-a-dozen men. Their remains were pointed out to me, deposited in open-air tombs, like those of the Goromani tribe."<sup>1</sup>

This is apparently the same village as Ray (1929:70) classifies as a member of the Wowonga sub-group of the Koiari group of non-AN languages. Ray placed Iworo "on the slopes of the Main Range near The Gap." Clearly this was a village in the Yora Valley and despite Stuart-Russell's claim that they were Neneba--a claim which I do not think can be substantiated in the light of later evidence of the exact location of the Neneba in the Chirima Valley--they were probably Isurava. The geographical position of Hugu is unknown.

Isurava peoples are most closely related (linguistically and genetically) to the Hagari, Uabari (or Vabari), and Kagi at the head of the Brown River (Manumu, Boridi, and Kagi villages), where they have intermarried. They also took refuge there during the Kokoda Campaign of the Second World War.<sup>2</sup> The Seregina were their most troublesome enemies after the Hunjara Orokaiva of the Yodda and Kumusi Valleys.

The Biage and Isurava share a similar tradition with other Mountain Koiari of having originated from the headwaters of the Kumusi River. They also share this tradition with more distantly (geographically and linguistically) related groups of Aomie, Barai, and Managalasi. Beaver (1915:48-9) first recorded this in the following terms:

It is most important...to make clear that all these tribes [= Akisi, Niguri, Logali, Efogi, Misai, Ihuade] together with Isurava of the Main Range, as well as all the Koiari-speaking people of the Central Division side--certainly as far

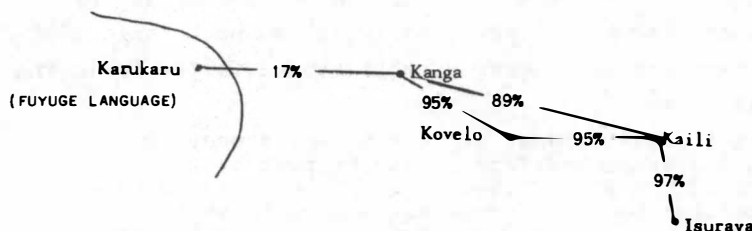
<sup>1</sup> Stuart-Russell's report also contains ethnological notes on the Iworo.

<sup>2</sup> The 'Kokoda Trail' passed through these villages. Some of the fiercest fighting of this campaign took place in The Gap area. For a complete description of the fighting in this sector of the war see McCarthy (1959).

down as Wamai--fully recognise the connection and trace back their common origin to a certain spot on the Upper Kumusi known as Tuagila (Tuaila), to this day guarded and preserved from desecration by one particular family selected from the Akisi people (popularly known as Wawonga).<sup>1</sup> The Koiari language is recognised as the true language of the Upper Kumusi people, but the migration of the Kagi and other Central Division Koiaris from the Kumusi is thoroughly understood and admitted on all sides. The Koiari continually visit the Kumusi people, and in olden days sent reinforcements to assist in their battles. To this day they bring back from Tuagila a certain weed to plant in their gardens to strengthen the crop.

I have quoted this in full because of the close correspondence between this information and that I obtained independently on my field visit, when I was unacquainted with Beaver's article. The story of the common origin of these peoples is recorded in Appendix 5.31, where the speaker from Efogi on the south side of the Owen Stanleys refers to the spot as Haganumu.

The lexical relationship between Northern Dialect villages is shown on the following chart:



### 3.24.25 Eastern and Lesser Eastern Dialects

These two dialects occupy the four southernmost villages of Awoma, and Tetebede, Kovio and Gida in the headwaters of the Kumusi River (see Map 7 above and Map 11, p.77). The 'basic' vocabulary correspondences between these dialects is shown on the chart at the

<sup>1</sup>

Beaver is slightly wrong here. The Akisi are actually Barai, and Tuagila is really their name of the original male ancestor who, in petrified form, still remains close to the supposed emergence point. See Appendix 5.31 for more details.

beginning of this section. The Eastern Dialect is most closely related to the Central Dialect with which it has close social ties.

The two dialects are in the Wawonga Census Division of the Kokoda Sub-District, Northern District. In the past Wawonga (Wowonga, Wawanga, Wavanga) was the term customarily applied to all peoples living in the headwaters of the Kumusi River. My survey shows, however, (as Beaver (1915:48-9) had much earlier suggested) that this valley is occupied by speakers of three<sup>1</sup> separate, though related, mutually unintelligible languages of Aomie, Barai, and Mountain Koiari.<sup>2</sup> It is also apparent that "Wawonga" is the Orokaiva pronunciation of "Favaga," one of the Mountain Koiari sections in the Eastern Dialect. Thus the term "Wawonga" is better avoided for descriptive purposes. If it is to be used at all it should be limited in reference to only one section of the Mountain Koiari in this area, viz. Favaga. Other sections are Efogi, Misai, Niguli and Ihuade. The Efogi section also has members in the Central Dialect of Mountain Koiari especially in the village of Efogi which takes its name from this section. Intermarriage occurs between the Eastern Dialect speakers and Barai speakers downriver at Ujilio, and across the Owalama Range at Iaure and Suwari, as well as with other Mountain Koiari to the west across the Owen Stanley Range.

When first contacted the Mountain Koiari in the Kumusi Valley were a shy lot, though they did attack a party of prospectors in 1908. Murray (1909:18) interprets the causes of this attack in the following quaint psychological terms:

The Wawonga are a small remnant of a tribe who appear in the past to have been hunted from pillar to post by their more powerful neighbours, and they seem by some strange process of reasoning to have persuaded themselves that the prospecting party had come to drive them away from the small piece of land that remained to them.

Some of this is partially true. Limiting the term Wawonga to the Favaga section, we may firstly observe that there is little evidence to support the statement that these are "a small remnant" of a former larger tribe (excluding that is, the remainder of the Mountain Koiari). That they had enemies and were involved in tribal wars is true, but they do not seem to have been hunted from "pillar to post" as suggested. They seem, on the contrary, to have been very stationary. This is

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<sup>1</sup>

Excluding the Orokaiva village of Sirorata further downstream.

<sup>2</sup>

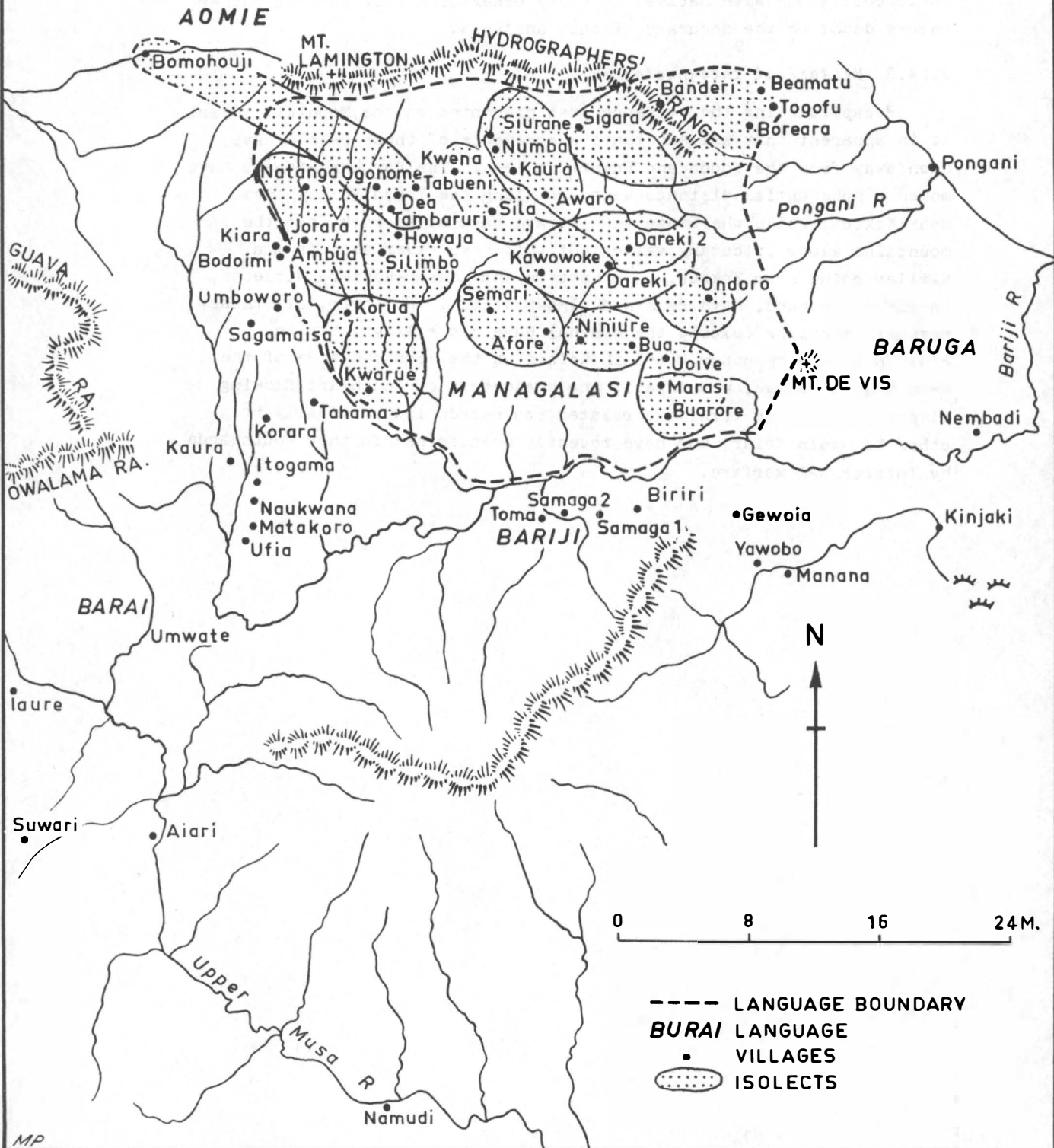
See sections 3.33 and 3.34 below for descriptions of the Barai and Aomie languages.

testified to by the list of their old village sites. Finally, Murray's analysis seeks to exonerate the miners, but the history of their collisions with natives in every other area they entered rather throws doubt on the accuracy of this analysis.

### 3.24.3 *Historical Interpretation*

Recapitulating the evidence just presented on the Mountain Koiari it is apparent that all substantive movements of these people have been away from the Yodda and Kumusi Valleys. The Karukaru-Neneba have moved a substantial distance westward along the Yodda Valley from near Kokoda, while the Biage and Isurava have moved back into the mountains along tributary valleys of this same river away from a similar point near Kokoda. The Eastern and Lesser-Eastern dialects, on the other hand, have remained almost static. Moreover, all these northern sections (except the Neneba) have close linguistic and kinship ties with other Mountain Koiari on the southern side of the Owen Stanley Range, who inhabit the headwaters of southward flowing rivers. These, in turn, are related southwards linguistically to other Mountain Koiari who have recently been forced further southwards by intertribal warfare.

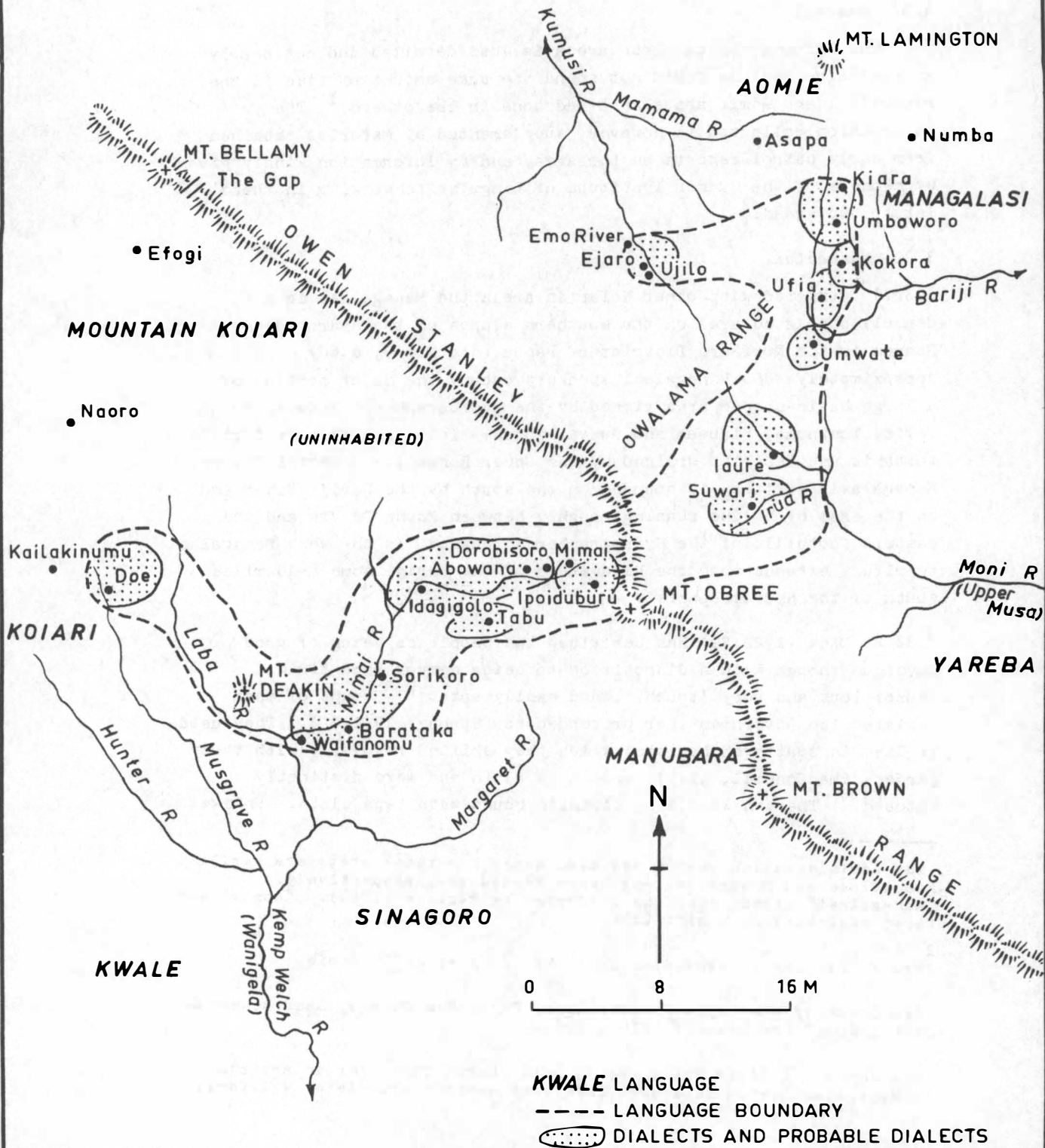
# DISTRIBUTION OF MANAGALASI VILLAGES



- LANGUAGE BOUNDARY
- BURAI** LANGUAGE
- VILLAGES
- ISOLETHS



# DISTRIBUTION OF BARAI VILLAGES



MP

### 3.3 THE BARAIC SUB-FAMILY

#### 3.31 General

The information on these areas is less detailed and not nearly as extensive because I did not spend the same amount of time in the Managalasi and Aomie areas as I had done in the others.<sup>1</sup> The information collected is however, supplemented by material obtained from early patrol reports on the area, and by information kindly given by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics working in these latter two areas.<sup>2</sup>

#### 3.32 Managalasi

3.32.1 Compared with other Koiarian areas the Managalasi is a densely populated area on the southern slopes of the Hydrographers' Ranges in the Northern District of Papua (see Map 9, p.60). Approximately 4000 Managalasi speakers occupy the major portion of a large basin-shaped area rimmed by the Hydrographers' Ranges, Mount DeVis, Tobunuma, Siru-um and Guava Ranges. This area is very fertile volcanic ash deposit<sup>3</sup> drained by the Upper Pongani and Bariji Rivers. Managalasi territory is bounded on the south by the Bariji River and on the east by a line running roughly between Mount De Vis and the eastern foothills of the Hydrographers' Ranges. In the west Managalasi territory extends into the headwaters of the Bariji some 8-10 miles south of the Hydrographers'.

3.32.2 Dick (1922:72) has described the people as being of good physique though with a disposition to being nervous and timid, "suspicious and very 'touchy', and easily upset." Groups of them resisted the Government, or pretended to (Strong, 1909:72). They used to live in scattered hamlets, which they shifted regularly with their gardens (MacDonnell, 1915), wore tapa cloth and were distinctly tattooed.<sup>4</sup> The men wore long pigtails bound with tapa cloth. Unlike

<sup>1</sup>

The Administration census division names for these areas are Bariji-Managalase and Managalase, or Upper Managalase, respectively. "Managalasi" is the spelling preferred by Parlier (1964). "Aomie" was first suggested by Tobitt (1966).

<sup>2</sup>

Mr. J. Parlier in Managalasi, and Mr. J. Austing in Aomie.

<sup>3</sup>

See *Lands of the Safia-Pongani Area, Papua-New Guinea*, Land Research Series No.17 (Melbourne: CSIRO, 1967).

<sup>4</sup>

See *Papuan villager* Vol.9, No.3, p.18 (March 1958) for an article on Managalasi art. This also refers to another article by Williams.

most other Koiarian peoples, they did not build tree houses but lived in long houses. They say they used to stay indoors to whiten their skins for tatooing.

3.32.3 According to early Government reports the Managalasi consist of a large number of "tribes" (undefined)<sup>1</sup> most of which appear to have been friendly towards each other, except in the West, where at first contact (MacDonnell, 1915) some west-south-west ones (e.g., Namino) were at enmity with central ones (e.g., Averi, Minjori). The Managalasi as a whole, however, were ill-disposed towards the neighbouring unrelated Bariji (around Biriri) and Upper Musa River "tribes" (MacDonnell, 1915).<sup>2</sup> Along the eastern boundary the Managalasi are in contact with the Binanderean speaking peoples of Notu, Pongani, and Baruga. According to early written sources the Managalasi were on friendly terms with these Binanderean speaking peoples. In the Pongani area (around the mouth of the river of the same name) there were some who could communicate with Managalasi from the Ondoro area. This contact undoubtedly produces skewing of lexical items recorded in the Ondoro word lists obtained.

1

"Tribes" in this description are evidently similar to groups or sections in other Koiarian areas.

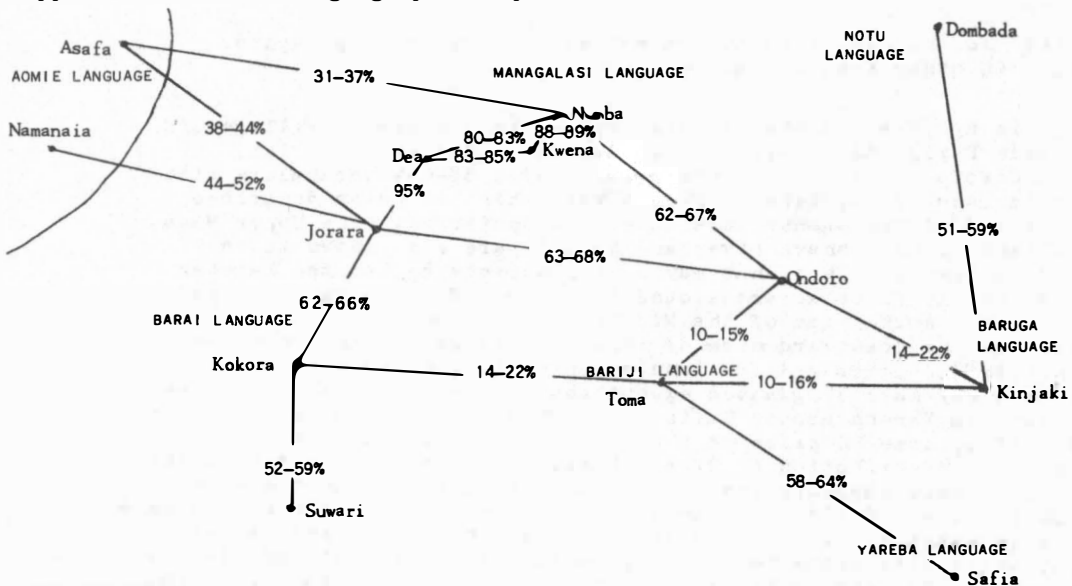
2

Bariji is my term for the language spoken by a group of villages in the middle Bariji River area: Toma, Samaga 1, Samaga 2, Biriri, Yawobo, Gewoia and Manana. This group shares 58-64% vocabulary with Yareba (around Safia, Central Musa River) which is being described by H. Weimer of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The Upper Musa tribes (around the Danawa River and Namudi) are also known to be related to Yareba. Thus what may be tentatively called the Yareban Language Family fills an arc around the curve of the Musa River and across to the south side of the Middle Bariji River. All other villages on the coastward side of this are Baruga (Binanderean)--see Wilson (1968). It is not possible at this stage to suggest where the Yareba may have originated except that H. Weimer (oral com.) has said that the Yareba around Safia have mythological associations with Mt. Suckling, some 20 miles to the south-east. However, the present geographical distribution of Barai, Managalasi, Baruga and the Yareban Family languages suggests that the Baruga moved inland up the main streams (Musa and Bariji) occupying the lowland areas (as seems to have been their practice also further west around the Kumusi and Mambare Rivers) until they contacted other groups, viz. Managalasi and Yareba. The Yareba would seem to be originally settled in the Musa Valley and its immediate vicinity. At the time of contact with Europeans the Yareba were under attack in the top of the Musa and middle Bariji by Barai and Managalasi from proximate areas. At the same time the Bariji were friendly with the Bariji River Baruga (around Nembadi and Kinjaki), and it seems conceivable that they would have succumbed either to Baruga (by absorption) or Managalasi (by conquest) in time, since they only number about 300 and are well separated from other Yareba groups on the Musa.

3.32.4 The Managalasi do not have a single origin tradition. Some (the westernmost villagers) seem to know the Haganumu story, though I could not ascertain whether they held to this as their own or as a borrowed tale. The eastern villagers have two stories. Some (around Numba) believe they are descended from the blood of an old woman who cut her finger and wrapped it in taro leaves and placed it inside a pot.<sup>1</sup> Others (around Afore) have a story about the earth being created by a kind of super-spirit very much as in Genesis of Christian tradition. My Numba informant also said that the Managalasi used to live on the northern side of the Hydrographers' Ranges around Embi Lakes but were driven back by the Notu (Orokaiva) so that now all Managalasi live on the southern side of these ranges.<sup>2</sup>

### 3.32.5 Linguistic Picture

3.32.51 The following chart establishes the identity of the Managalasi language--a language which shows a greater "basic" lexical affinity with Barai than any of the other neighbouring languages--Bariji, Baruga, Aomie. In this chart Managalasi villages are in their approximate relative geographical positions.



<sup>1</sup> This story is similar to the more elaborate Orokaiva "Tale of Totoima" recorded by Williams (1923:0.411). Language differences among the Orokaiva are associated in origin in this tale (and another--"The Tale of "Korevaga" (Williams, 1923:0.259) with bubbles.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. J. Parlier (oral com.) said he has collected similar information. My thanks are also due to him for correcting my western boundary of the Managalasi language.

3.32.52 Because I was only able to sample the speech of five Managalasi villages (Numba, Kwena, Dea, Jorara, and Ondoro) I cannot give a detailed account of the dialects of Managalasi. From the material I collected, however, it would appear that Managalasi villages are linked in a series of chains similar to those of other Kolarian languages. According to the informants used in the collection of the linguistic material pretty well each of the numerous "tribes" of the Managalasi has its own distinctive speech, which, for the purposes of this paper I shall refer to as isolects. Accordingly I suggest that there may be anything up to eleven dialects in this area corresponding to the following isolects. It is probable, however, that many of the isolects can be combined into dialects, depending, of course, on how one defines dialect.<sup>1</sup> The following are my eleven isolects:

Isolect	Representative village	Population (Based on 1966 Census)
1. Akabara	Banderi	397
2. Numba	Numba	633
3. Minjori	Kwena	360
4. Averi	Dea	537?
5. Mesari	Jorara	486
6. Nami	Kwarue	230?
7. Afore	Afore	200
8. Wakue	Dareki	255
9. Oko	Ninjure	265
10. Karira	Ondoro	131
11. Jimuni	Marasi	187
TOTAL		3681?

3.32.53 From the cognate percentage chart above it appears that the Ondoro area is quite different from the rest of the Managalasi. This is principally because 13% of the basic vocabulary tested<sup>2</sup> are evidently

<sup>1</sup> Mr. J. Parlier has recently suggested to me (oral com.) that there are probably four dialect areas--Western, Central, Eastern and Southern. This is his early estimate based on a superficial examination of linguistic material obtained from nearly every village in the area.

<sup>2</sup> Only 94 items were tested of which 74 were counted for comparative purposes.

borrowings from neighbouring Baruga. The items borrowed are: head, hair, jaw, throat, arm, leg, skin, moon, rain, mountain. If this 13% were added to the 62-67% already given then this would give a normal dialectal picture of around 80%.

### 3.32.6 *Historical Interpretation*

Only two points of historical interest emerge from the foregoing description:

(a) that the Managalasi appear to have once occupied a larger area than they do today, especially to the north of the Hydrographers' Ranges;

(b) that Managalasi is more closely related to the Barai than to the Aomie.

It is also interesting to note that many Managalasi "tribal" names are akin to Koiari section ones in that they end in -ri. This may provide a useful clue to population drift in this area as it does in the Koiari.

### 3.33 *Barai*

3.33.1 The Barai language is represented in three Sub-Districts of the Central and Northern Districts of Papua. This language stretches in a large arc across very mountainous terrain from the headwaters of the Kumusi River in the Kokoda Sub-District (Northern District) across the Owalama Range into the headwaters of the Musa River of the Tufi Sub-District (Northern District), and thence across the Owen Stanley Range down the Mimai (Mimani) and up the Laba (Adai)<sup>1</sup> tributaries of the Kemp Welch (Wanigela) River of the Rigo Sub-District (Central District). The Barai are separated from the Mountain Koiari to the west by large tracts of uninhabited very mountainous terrain (see Map 10, p.61).

3.33.2 Culturally the Barai are akin to their linguistically closely and distantly related neighbours of Managalasi and Manubara. They cook on open fires or in stone ovens, hunt with spears, nets and a variety of traps, and the men wear their hair in plaits interwoven with tapa cloth. They are of good physique and have abundant supplies of yams, taro, sugarcane, sweetpotato, bush fruits, and wild game.

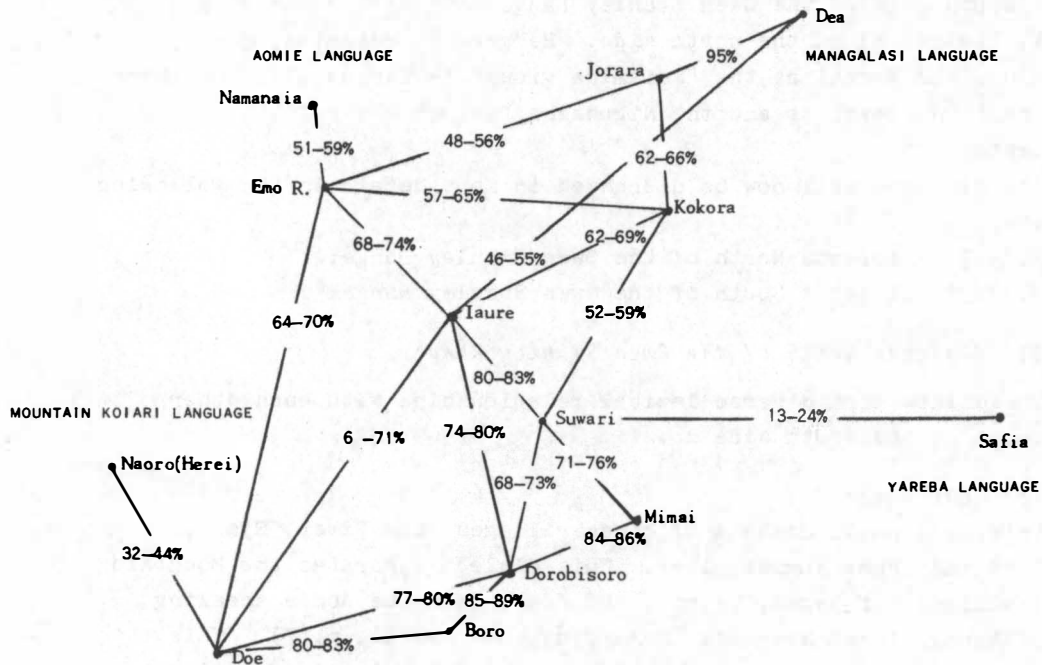
<sup>1</sup>

This river has been spelled variously as: Laba, Iaba, Iarawo, Iarhwe, Iyala and Adai.

In former times they lived in scattered hamlets, or garden settlements, of usually no more than a dozen houses. In central and northern Barai the villages often consisted of one large "long house." According to Henry (1915) these were "houses... joined together under long roofs covering from ten to twelve rooms each, so that though a village appears to have only two houses, it has in reality from twenty to twenty-four dwellings." Occasionally these long houses were not partitioned off inside, and therefore consisted of but one long room.<sup>1</sup> Distances between villages varied from two to ten miles. Villages were regularly shifted as new gardens were made, but today the population is more sedentary since the people have been encouraged to erect permanent villages in more accessible places along recognised patrol tracks. Their former geographical isolation undoubtedly produced the diverse dialectal situation.

### 3.33.3 Linguistic Picture

The following chart identifies the language and shows the vocabulary cognatic relationship between sampled present day villages (shown in their approximate relative geographical positions):



<sup>1</sup> Muscutt (1915) remarked that these houses are similar in style to others he had seen in the Mt. Yule (Kairuku Sub-District, Central District) and Kumusi River valley (Kokoda Sub-District, Northern District) areas.

From the lexical material collected it appears that there are at least nine dialects of Barai:

DIALECT	REPRESENTATIVE VILLAGE
1. Emo River	Emo River (Kumusi River)
2. Kokora	Kokora (Upper Bariji River)
3. Mogoni	Iaure (Upper Musa River)
4. Manoa	Suwari (Upper Musa River)
5. Laroni	Mimai (Upper Mimai River)
6. Pitoni	Dorobisoro (Upper Mimai River)
7. Tabu	Boro (Middle Mimai River)
8. Barai	Sorikoro (Middle Mimai River)
9. Nigubaiba	Doe (Upper Laba River)

Other evidence, however, suggests that there are possibly several more, and that at least two have disappeared since the Barai were first contacted. These will be discussed further below.

This picture is more inclusive than any previously suggested, though Ray (1929) had recognised a connection between village communalects on the south side of the Owen Stanley Range (dialects 7 and 9) and Mogoni (dialect 3) on the north side. He grouped Seramina, Barai, Nigubaiba, and Mogoni as the "Seramina group" (= language?). Of these Seramina is now extinct and the Nigubaiba Dialect was a little inaccurate.

The dialects will now be discussed in more detail in the following sections:

- 3.33.31 Dialects North of the Owen Stanley Range;
- 3.33.32 Dialects South of the Owen Stanley Range.

### 3.33.31 *Dialects North of the Owen Stanley Range*

These show more diverse lexical relationships with each other than those on the south side do.

#### (a) *Emo River*

This is a small dialect of three villages (Emo River, Ejaro, Ujilo) in the Upper Kumusi River. This dialect separates the Mountain Koiari villages of Awoma, Tetebe, and Kovio from the Aomie speaking ones of Managubi and Namanai (Namandja) (see Map 11, p.77). This distribution is discussed further in section 4.0 below in relation to the prehistorical spread and diversification of the Koiarian languages.



Mythologically and socially the Emo River Dialect villagers have strong ties with other Barai dialect villagers about one day's walk to the east in the Upper Musa River (MacDonnell, 1914a; Hooper 1916). All believe that their mythological home is at Haganumu (see section 2.23.25 above)<sup>1</sup> in Emo River Dialect territory, and all are inter-related through marriage.

Lexical evidence suggests that the Emo River Dialect is most closely related to the Mogoni (around Iaure), and through this to the Manoa (around Suwari on the Irua River).

(b) *Kokora*

According to the lexical evidence Kokora is the most divergent of the Barai dialects. This can probably be explained by two factors. Firstly this dialect is in contact with the Managalasi language, which, it is reported (MacDonnell 1914a), the Kokora understand, including even the dialect spoken as far east as Numba. Secondly, there are other groups of closely related villages between Kokora and the nearest other Musa River Barai villages sampled (viz. Iaure and Suwari) from which no linguistic material was collected. MacDonnell (1914a) visited these and noted that "the Wawonga [= Emo] and Mandoho [= Tahama] tribes speak similar languages" and that "the Kufia [= Ufia] tribe...speak almost the same as that spoken by the Mua-Mandoho [= Umwate] Tribe." Later he suggested "the Wowonga, Mongoni and Mua-Mandoho, also other tribes of the Upper Bariji, appear to be of the one clan."

It is therefore likely that another three dialects could be added to the list already given above, viz.

- 1) Pirimi                      2) Ufia                      3) Umwate

As has already been said these have strong mythological and social ties with the other dialects on the north side of the Owen Stanley Range. They never seem to have been at war with one another, but were the common enemies of the Loi-i and other "tribes" on the eastern side of the Musa River, which was their common boundary. MacDonnell (1914a) noted a marked difference in language, culture, and physique between the Barai and Musa River tribes in this area. These latter are related to the Yareba of Central Musa and to the Bariji of the middle Bariji River (see fn.2 p.63).

<sup>1</sup>

MacDonnell (1915) also recorded a variant of the Haganumu story in the Kokora area.

(c) *Mongoni*

This is a small dialect around Iaure on the Mongoni tributary of the Upper Musa. This river drains from the Owalama Range and forms a natural route to Upper Kumusi River villages.

(d) *Manoa*

This small dialect is centred around Suwari on the Irua River (west branch of the Musa River). It is distinct phonologically in having velar stops corresponding to alveolar stops in other Barai dialects.

3.33.32 *Dialects South of the Owen Stanley Range*

These are all closely related.

(a) *Laroni*

This is a very small dialect covering the villages of Mimai, Ipoiduburu, and Odoibi in the Owen Stanley Ranges at the head of the Mimai tributary of the Kemp Welch River. Laroni speakers are reported to be very traditional with some villagers still living in tree houses (Sharp, 1967--oral com.). The Laroni are intermarried with the Manoa from across the Range, and often attend feasts there.

(b) *Pitoni*

This has always been the largest dialect of Barai. The Pitoni occupy the headwaters of the Mimai, and its north bank tributary, Ve Creek, in the present day villages of Dodi (Dobi), Abaro, Idagigolo, Huavolo, Somoru, Dorobisoro, and Abowana. They were friendly with the Manoa also, though not always at peace with the Laroni. The Pitoni believe they are descended from people who first came from Ivaru in the direction of the Kumusi River.

(c) *Tabu*

This is a small dialect around Boro, Ibaradoku, and Imidiru villages. Early reporters classified it with the Barai "tribe" to the south.

(d) *Barai*

This dialect is centred around the present day village of Sori or Sorikoro, though at time of contact they lived in scattered villages on either side of the Mimai River (e.g., Sorilor, Ornebe, Bagorolo (later Barai), Imatoru, Ebidohai, Ibaradoho). Their nearest neighbours and traditional enemies are the Kokila (Manubara language) who lived approximately six hours' walk away to the south. Occasionally the Barai and Tabu were attacked by the Imatu (see

section 3.23.21 above and sub-section (e) below) from the headwaters of the Laba River to the west. Some have married women from this area.

On present day maps there is a large tract of unoccupied territory between the last Barai dialect village of Sori and the Nigubaiba dialect village of Doe on the upper Musgrave River. By all early accounts this area was once inhabited by speakers of probably two dialects--the Uala and the Seramina--which have since disappeared.

(e) *Uala*

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries five other villages of Barai speakers were reported to be living north of the Mimai River around Mt. Potter: Wadiriri (Vadili) Uwalla (Huwala, Owalla), Honearu, Musia, Bodoa. These were apparently small villages which were constantly harrassed by the Kokila across the river to the east. English (1896) associated the Musia with the Demore to the west, and Honearu and Badoa with Vadili. This latter group gradually moved eastward across the Mimai River, and by 1918 they had dispersed into Koriko (Manubara language) territory further east (Cawley, 1918). Uala have since apparently been absorbed by the Barai to the north-east but this needs checking. No evidence is available on the fate of the others.

(f) *Seramina*

The Seramina (Seremino, Seraminoho) occupied the territory around Mt. Deakin north of the Laba River, which was probably the south boundary of their territory.<sup>1</sup> Beaver (1908) notes that "these villages are small and to my mind dying out." Although he did not give figures, later ones supplied by Woodward (1926) give the populations of Seramina and Demori as 38 and 18 respectively. The Seramina figure includes approximately thirteen villagers from nearby Lusidabuna village.

Ray (1929) classified the Seramina and Demori together as the Seramina Dialect. Before then, however, Vivian (1927) had reported that the Demori had dispersed after the death of the village constable,

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<sup>1</sup>

Despite the fact that O'Malley and Stanley (1916) have Demori and Seramina villages south of the Laba. This does not agree with any accounts of the locations of these villages before 1916. All accounts place them on the north bank of this river on the eastern and northern slopes of Mt. Deakin (English, 1898b; Beaver, 1908; Stewertt, 1912). They had certainly shifted around a great deal and the Seramina had once lived down next to the river just to the south-west of Mt. Deakin, where the old road from Sogeri to Rigo reached the river (Stewertt, 1912). In 1917 they were at least six miles from the nearest Kwale village of Iovi or Ihovi (Muscutt, 1917).

and the Seramina have long since scattered. One descendant of the latter is living at Doe, but he has, he says, forgotten his dialect, since he has been living with the Nigubaiba people for many years.

(g) *Nigubaiba*

This is a small dialect spoken in Doe village in the headwaters of the Musgrave River near Iawarere plantation. These people are the remnants of a number of small groups who used to occupy the territory around the headwaters of the Musgrave and Laba tributaries of the Kemp Welch, e.g., Iawareri, Boguari, and Nigubaiba (Nigobaifa). The Koiari used to refer to these collectively as Deduri (Beaver, 1908), though they now refer to the Doe people as Nanigo. I could not establish whether Nanigo was/is a section there.

3.33.4 *Historical Conclusion*

As has already been outlined above tradition has it that the Barai moved southwards from Haganumu in the Upper Kumusi River, and from Ivaru, a mythological point in the mountains somewhere to the north-west of Pitoni. The present geographical distribution of the Barai peoples and the linguistic picture already outlined could certainly be explained by such a general movement. Such a movement would also explain the southward movement of the Kwaleans, who inhabit the hilly country immediately south of the Barai, around the lower reaches of the Musgrave and Hunter tributaries of the Kemp Welch.

Linguistically, Kwaleans are unrelated closely to any other group, though they would probably belong to the Central Papuan Stock (?) suggested in section 1.1 above. A.C. Haddon (1900a:286) first described the southward movement of one of the Kwalean "tribes," the Garia, in the following terms:<sup>1</sup>

They went southward, and on striking the Musgrave and Hunter rivers they travelled down their valleys, then crossing other affluents of the Vanigele (Kemp Welch River), they stopped at the hills behind the Government station of Rigo. The Garia have thus migrated across the path of the Sinaugoro, and in many cases they occupy the sites of old Sinaugoro [sic] villages.

<sup>1</sup>

Haddon obtained this information from Seligmann (who later published it (1910:18)), who in turn obtained it from A.C. English, the Resident Magistrate of Rigo at the time. Similar information also appears in Seligmann (1912-3).

The movement of these latter AN peoples has been mapped (unpublished) by Sharp, who has been Resident Assistant District Officer in this area for ten years.<sup>1</sup> This map shows two broad main movements with subsidiary side 'eddyings';

(a) A general pushing south and west from a point in the Henty Range south of the Margaret tributary of the Kemp Welch;

(b) A westward movement from a point lower down the Kemp Welch.

Thus the prehistory of peoples of the Rigo Sub-District appears to entail considerable manoeuvring with the AN's winning over (that is, if it were ever occupied) the drier lowland areas while the Kwaleans and other groups now extinct (e.g., Mulaha/Iaibu) were forced in a south-west direction out of their territories against the Koiari and the Motu.<sup>2</sup> The AN appear to have used the Kemp Welch River (or Vanigela) as their main entry route<sup>3</sup> and have spread out on either side of it until they completely occupied all the territory between this river and the Ormond, and beyond, to the east. It is an interesting feature of their present distribution that they occupy little mountainous country (except in the north-west in the Boku, Wiga, Ikega areas). Indeed their territory is practically limited to all land south of the rain forest line. This distribution may simply be a reflection of time of possession, or it could be dependent on a number of other factors (e.g., defence, religion). However, further development was arrested when Europeans arrived, though some coastal groups (e.g., the Motu at Kapakapa) took advantage of Government protection to encroach on the territories of inland peoples (English, 1899).

1

A previous patrol officer had endeavoured to trace local movements in the Rigo area but did not leave any results of his investigation. He (Vivian, 1927a:2) remarked, however, that "by all accounts the districts hereabouts, not long before Government occupation, were very unsettled, the "drives" sometimes being of consequence."

2

Indeed this is probably the underlying reason for the movement of the Koiari westward also.

3

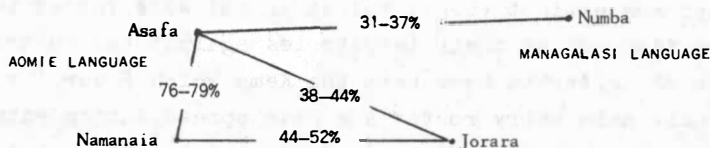
An hypothesis which was also considered by Haddon (1900b:416, fn.): "Perhaps the Sinaugolo originally migrated up the Vanigela from the coast, and then returned towards the coast in a westerly direction." This suggestion is given added strength by the fact that this kind of movement seems to be characteristic of AN occupation in the Central District. Note the position of such groups in relation to large rivers in the Kairuku, Port Moresby, and Rigo Sub-Districts.

### 3.34 Aomie

3.34.1 The Aomie occupy the south-western slopes of Mount Lamington along the Mamama River, and a small area in the Upper Kumusi Valley (see Map 11, p.77). And like many others of the Koiarian peoples their traditional homeland is Haganumu.<sup>1</sup>

#### 3.34.2 Linguistic Picture

The following chart identifies the Aomie language.



That is, it consists of at least two dialects--one centred around Namanaia, which I shall call Zuwadza after the peoples' name for themselves, and one around Asafa, which I shall call by the same name. Informants said that the Gora villagers speak slightly differently also, so that a third dialect may be represented there. The two recorded dialects share approximately the same percentage cognates with Managalasi dialects closest to each.

The Aomie language is small and only numbers about 1,000.

#### 3.34.3 Historical Interpretation

Historically the Aomie are reputed to have once occupied territory around the present day villages of Ajeka and Wairope (Wire Rope), the Kumusi crossing point. According to their most immediate Orokaiva (Binanderean) neighbours--Sairope and Sirorata--the Aomie were forced back into the Mamama and Kumusi Valleys by the Orokaiva who were moving inland.

Sairope informants maintained that they originally came from a locality down the Kumusi River near Ombisusu (see Map 11, p.77),

<sup>1</sup>

Mr. J. Austing--a member of the Summer Institute of Linguistics who has been living amongst the Aomie at Asafa since mid-1965--has recorded the Aomie version of the Haganumu story. He suggested (oral com.) that this story might be a loan from Orokaiva, but I found no evidence of this.

having been evicted by the Koropata, an apparently hostile group of Orokaiva further downstream.<sup>1</sup> The remnants wandered about the area between the Kumusi and the base of Mount Lamington in response to hostilities by the Wasida, and probably the Aomie, who eventually retreated to their present position. Sairope have only lived in their present area since just before the arrival of Europeans in the first decade of the twentieth century.

Sirorata informants likewise claim to have formerly lived at Tarora, downstream near the Kumusi crossing of Wire Rope. They moved to their present site through a long list of old villages (whose positions I was unable to determine at the time), apparently in a general upriver direction, in response to similar pressure from the Koropata/Wasida. In so doing they came into collision with the relatives and ancestors of the present day Namanala (Namandza or Wora) people of the Upper Kumusi, who are closely related linguistically to the Aomie.<sup>2</sup>

These two Orokaiva villages also have a strong tradition of having come from towards the coast. Sairope informants expressed this in a story about three light-skinned men--Eiboro, Poru, and Jona--who came inland from near Popondetta, and met a dark-skinned nude girl--Dapero Sipa--at the base of a tree near the Embala River. Two of the men cohabited with this young woman after making her a bark skirt. These tried unsuccessfully to have light-skinned children from the dark-skinned woman, but only dark-skinned ones ever resulted. The third companion died of some serious illness, and turned to stone. The other two men were blessed with six children each, and these spread out in different directions to populate the Northern District.

1

Williams (1923:0.96) classified Koropata in Wasida linguistic group, and Sairope, Wire Rope, Papangi, Sauni, Hunjiri, Autembo and Kokoda in the Hunjara group. He does not have any information to offer about the tribal relationship between the Koropata/Wasida and Sairope/Sirorata, except to say (0.514) that the Koropata were kitoho (outsiders, aliens, enemies) with Papaki, who are inland from Wire Rope. Reay (1953-54:118) classifies Koropata with Wasida, and relates how the Koropata helped their allies at Isivita (a Wasida group) in wars against "their traditional enemies - the Togaho, the Managalasi, and the Orokaiva of Sairope." Managalasi in this context refers to the Aomie, or Upper Managalasi, as they used to be called (Reay: oral com.).

2

MacDonnell (1914a:23): "When I was in this district (SONGE-Sirorata) five years ago the SONGE tribe lived further up the Kumusi, and high up on the hill sides."



The Sirorata tradition is slightly different: the original ancestors had different names--Biblical ones--Paul, Abriel, and Jona; the woman lived in a cave and was not immediately discovered until one of the men dared to enter; six children were born to Paul and Abriel.<sup>1</sup> Colour of skin was not an important feature of the Sirorata story.

Present day land disputes between the Sirorata-Sairope and the various Aomie groups is a legacy of pre-contact (European) movement of these two peoples.

Thus the pattern of movement of the Aomie seems to have been down the Kumusi River valley initially, with a later, forced return to their present position in this, and the Mamama Valleys.

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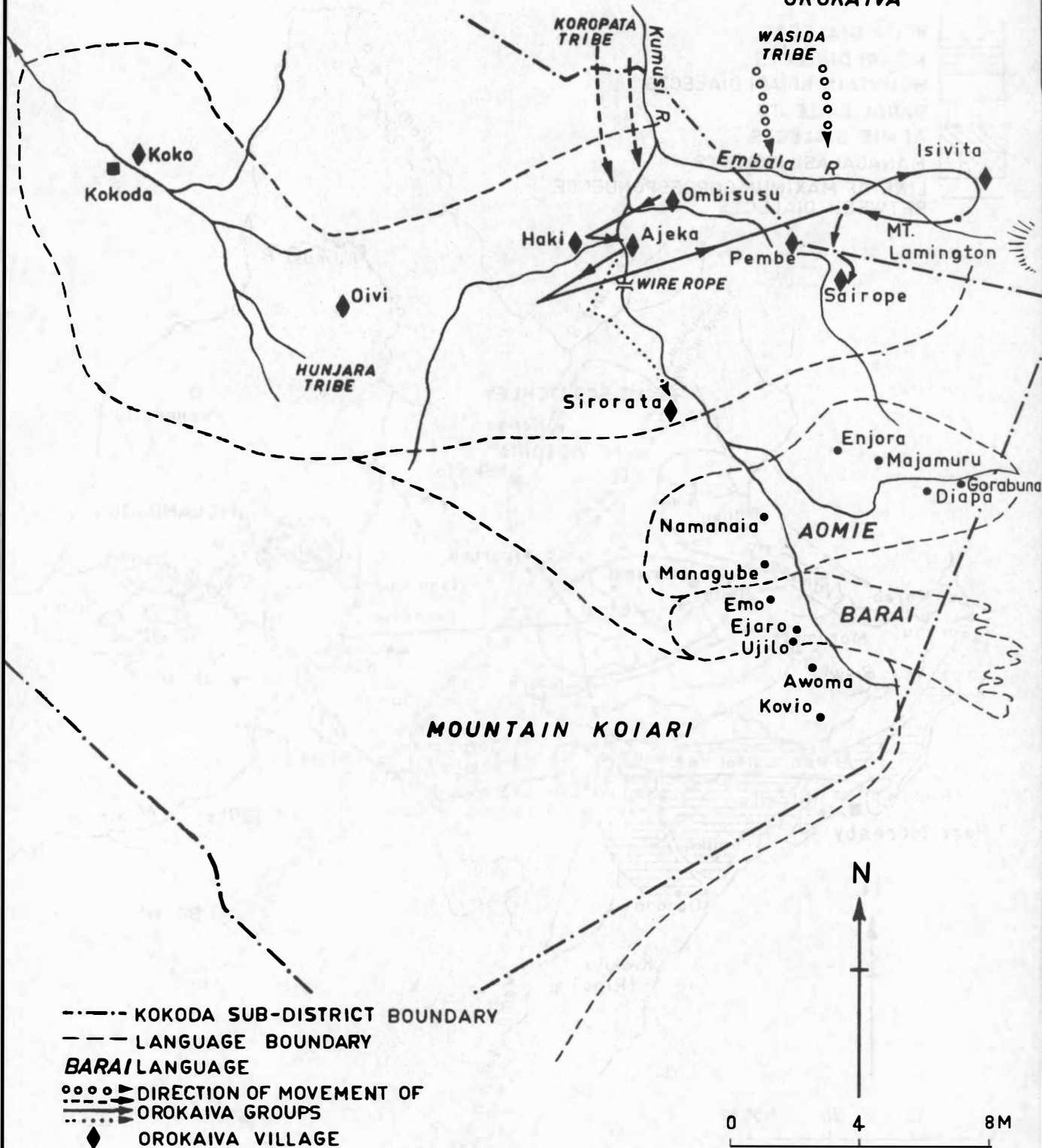
<sup>1</sup>

The names of these were recorded by David Lekembo in an English version of the story--Paul's children: Havurete, Sasa, Peki, Kuei, Ombota, Huruko; Abriel's children: Upupu, Ohuraembo, Ehirari, Jaja, Timumu, Gasi.










# DISTRIBUTION OF AOMIE VILLAGES

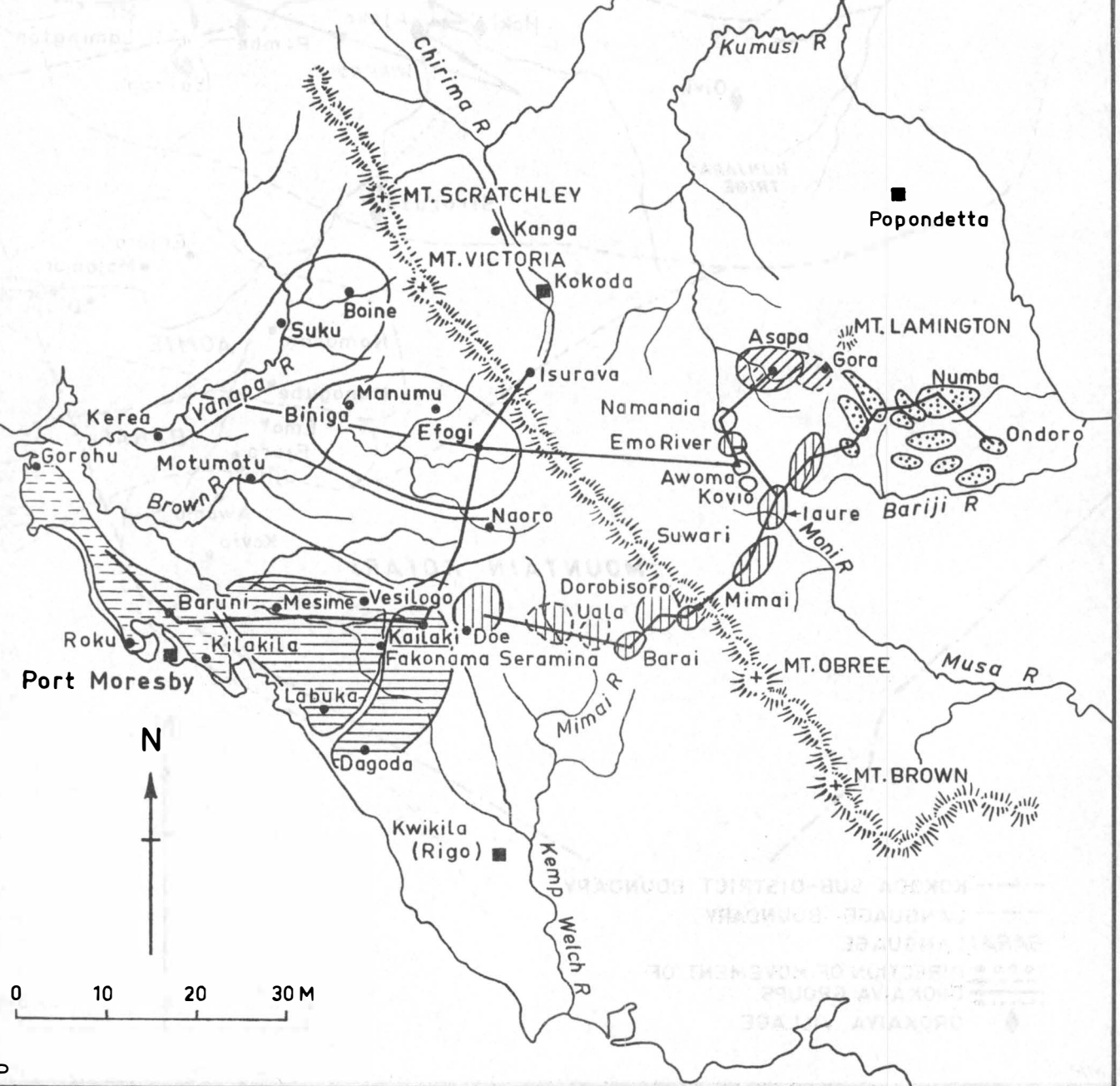
OROKAIVA



MP

# KOIARIAN DIALECT CHAINS

-  KOITA DIALECTS
-  KOIARI DIALECTS
-  MOUNTAIN KOIARI DIALECTS
-  BARAI DIALECTS
-  AOMIE DIALECTS
-  MANAGALASI ISOLECTS
-  LINE OF MAXIMUM CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN DIALECTS

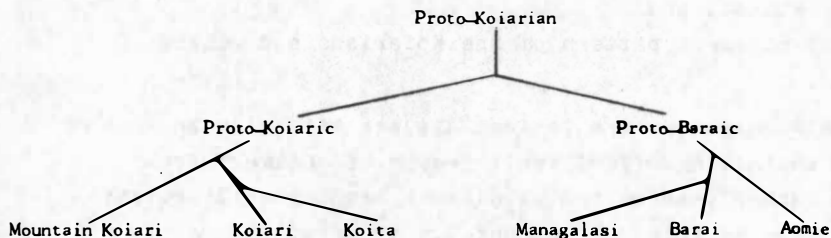


MP

#### 4.0 CONCLUSION

In the foregoing sections I have given a general account of the linguistic picture of the Koiarian Family and discussed some conclusions that can be drawn from the historical information available on various parts of it in association with linguistic evidence. Reviewing this it appears that in recent pre-contact times the Koiarians on the southern side of the Owen Stanley Range have generally been moving in a north-south direction coastwards. On the northern side, however, they have been forced to retreat from territories north of their present locations back towards the Main Range.

Of the more remote prehistorical movements of the Koiarians we have, at the moment, little information. Yet given the above linguistic and historical pictures we may attempt some tentative reconstruction of these movements. Thus if we take the "family tree" view of linguistic relationship and diversification (and, as has already been said, this is implied in the lexico-statistic technique used in this survey) as a model for reconstructing the diversification history of the Family we can schematise Koiarian linguistic history as follows:



Interpreted, this reads as follows: The Koiarian languages have descended from a common ancestor (conventionally known as a proto-language) by a series of divergent splits. Thus Proto-Koiarian is seen to have initially split into Proto-Koiaric and Proto-Baraic. These in turn have each subsequently split into their constituent languages in a similar way. In Proto-Koiaric Mountain Koiari diverged from Koita-Koiari before these split into two languages, and in Proto-Baraic Aomie split off from Managalasi-Barai before these later split into two languages. For historical purposes the implication behind such a schema is that the present Koiarian languages dispersed from some centre originally occupied by the parent language, Proto-Koiarian. Dyen (1965:15) has proposed that the centre of distribution of

languages may be ascribed to "the area in which the genetically most diverse members of the family are to be found."<sup>1</sup> If this criteria can be accepted and applied to the Koiarian Family<sup>2</sup> it would appear that the centre of distribution of the Koiarian languages is somewhere in the Mountain Koiari-Aomie region, since these two languages appear to be the most divergent members of the Family. Dialect evidence further suggests that we may be able to localize this centre somewhere around the headwaters of the Upper Kumusi, Musa and Bariji Rivers, since this area is the "hub" of four of the six languages of the Family--Aomie, Mountain Koiari, Managalasi and Barai (see Map 12, p.78).

Such an hypothesis is, of course, an hypothesis about languages, and not necessarily about peoples speaking those languages. Supposing, however, that there is a close connection between the movement of peoples and the diversification of languages for the Koiarian area then there appears to be a more-than-coincidental correlation between the proposed centre of distribution (with a subsequent general north-south movement for many of the Koiarians) and such other "evidence" as:

- (a) the Haddon-Capell hypothesis of a north-south movement of "culture" in south-east Papua;
- (b) the widespread belief amongst the Koiarians that they came from the Upper Kumusi; and
- (c) the recent movement pattern of the Koiarians and others as already outlined.

This latter point also explains the lexical dialect situation as having arisen from the hiving off of small groups of speakers from established points rather than as the wavelike spreading of linguistic features (although some of this has undoubtedly occurred) across static populations.

If we cannot accept, however, that the diversification of the Koiarian languages and the movement of peoples are closely connected then we are left with a much less convincing correlation, viz. the one between the proposed dispersal pattern of the languages of the Koiarian Family and the diffusion of culture (Haddon-Capell). We have

1

This is a restatement of a principle worked out earlier by Isidore Dyen in "Language Distribution and Migration Theory," *Language*, 32(1956), 611-26, though it has precedents in Sapir's work on the Athapaskan Family of Indian languages in North America.

2

There is a theoretical problem involved here, viz. What is the least number of languages, dialects etc. to which Dyen's principle can be applied?

also the question of relating the recent movement pattern and beliefs of the peoples to the diversification of the languages and the dialect situation.

The question remains open, with many associated questions which still have to be answered before any "complete" account of the pre-history of this area can be given. Thus, for example, I have not discussed here the possibility of the existence of earlier populations, as seems to be suggested by some archaeological evidence (e.g., stone implements, mortars and pestles),<sup>1</sup> and by Capell's regional languages. Nor have I attempted to rationalise the present geographical distribution of non-Austronesian languages in Central Papua with the distribution of similar languages in other parts of New Guinea. In answering these and/or other questions linguistics has undoubtedly much more to contribute, e.g., by a study of the history of the individual languages, and of the distribution of particular vocabulary items which may be associated with cultural drift, trade routes, etc., though the best use can only be made of its results when more detailed work has been carried out in the same geographical area in as many other disciplines as possible.

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Ethridge (1908), E. Bramell (1939), and McCarthy (1949).

## 5.0 APPENDIXES

## 5.1 Population Figures for Languages of the Koianian Family

## (A) KOIARIC Sub-Family

Koita	2260?
Koiari	1776?
Mountain Koiari	3734?
TOTAL	<u>7770?</u>

## (B) BARAIC Sub-Family

Barai	3008?
Managalasi	3681?
Aomie	995
TOTAL	<u>7684?</u>

FAMILY TOTAL 15454?

Details of each language are now set out below.

## 5.11 Population Figures for Koita

VILLAGE	POPULATION	NO. OF SPEAKERS	REMARKS
Gorohu	245	245	
Kido	312	312	
Lealea	749	0?	Motu-Koita village.
Papa	290	290	
Boera	444	5?	Motu-Koita village.
Porebada	1459	3?	Motu-Koita village.
Koderika	122	122	
Roku	266	266	
Tatana	675	0?	Motu-Koita village.
Baruni	452	452	
Boteka	98	30?	Estimated 1/3 village Koita.
Kuriu	50	8?	Motu-Koita village.
Hohodae	130	15?	Motu-Koita village.
Korobosea	153	153	
Kilakila	354	354	
Vabukori	534	2?	Motu-Koita village.
Pari	800	3?	Motu-Koita village.
Tupuseleia	1478	0?	Motu-Koita village.
TOTAL		2260?	

## 5.12 Population Figures for Koiari

DIALECT	VILLAGE	POPULATION	NO. OF SPEAKERS	REMARKS
Eastern	Kallakinumu	133	133	
	Ogotana	149	149	Includes Boredabu.
	Maiaari	35	35	
	Boreberi	23	23	
	Luburu	43	30?	Village part Moroka.
	Agitana	31	31	
	Dagoda	57	57	
	Seme	51	51	Censused with Torenumu.
	Vaivai	62	62	
	Senunu	52	52	
	Futinumu	20?	20?	Estimated. Censused at Wahonadada.
-----				
Western	Kerekadi	27	27	
	Labuka	37	37	
	Dabunari	59	59	
	Vesilogo	139	139	
	Gubabegai	83	83	
	Manurunumu	89	89	
	Ianabevai	42	42	
	Kalakadabu	49	49	
	Boda	39	39	
	Fakonama	85	85	
	Gurumunumu	61	61	
	Boteka } Haima }	98	98	Estimated 1/3 Boteka Koita
	Mesime	38	38	
	Fulumuti	53	53	
	Vaivai } Maiberi }	46	46	
	Wahonadada	218?	218?	All Sirinumu Dam villages censused at this point.
TOTAL			1776?	

## 5.13 Population Figures for Mountain Koiari

DIALECT	VILLAGE	POPULATION	NO. OF SPEAKERS	REMARKS
Southern	Naoro	177	177	Eava-Herei speakers mixed.
	Vioribaiwa	49	49	Includes Bisiatana village.
	Uberi	40	40	
	Luburu	43	13	Also part Koiari speakers.
	Edebu	33	33	
	Motumotu	35	35	
Central	Efogi	145	145	Censused under 'Bagianumu'.
	Enivilogo	85	85	
	Elologo	47	47	
	Madilogo	57	57	
	Manari	245	245	Censused under 'Vadulogo' and 'Emoia'.
	Manumu	71	71	
	Dubi	67	67	
	Biniga	43	43	
	Boridi	79	79	
	Bodinumumu	179	179	
	Nadunumu	86	86	
	Kagi	243	243	Censused under 'Eguri' and 'Samoli'.
	Launumu	137	137	
Hailogo	101	101		
Western	Badiloho	53	53	
	Fodu Kanobada }	41	41	
	Boine	139	139	
	Gosisi	38	38	
	Horigi	71	71	
	Enage	77	77	
	Kerea	124	124	
Northern	Isurava	52	52	
	Alola	51	51	
	Abuari	84	84	
	Hagutawa	42	42	



Mountain Koiari - *continued*

	Pelai Usikari }	116	116	
	Kenandara	114	30?	Estimated 3/4 village Orokaiva (or Hunjara).
	Kovelo	159	159	1964 Census.
	Savaia	185	185	1964 Census.
	Seiba	24	24	Includes some Karukaru speakers. 1964 Census.
	Kanga	26	26	1964 Census,
-----				
Eastern	Ujilo	80	40?	Estimated 1/2 Barai.
	Awoma	252	252	
	Tedebede	76	76	Old villages of Konibes, Tetubes, Birai, Munedabu, Evagi, Gagiber.
-----				
Lesser Eastern	Kovio } Gida }	122	122	
TOTAL			3734?	

## 5.14 Population Figures for Managalasi

ISOLECT	VILLAGE	POPULATION (CENSUS 1966)	REMARKS
Akabara	Beamatu	62	
	Togofu	88	
	Boreara Sigara	62	
	Banderi	185	
-----			
Numba	Siurane	161	
	Numba	131	
	Kaura	184	
	Awaro	157	
-----			
Minjori	Kwena	268	
	Sila	92	
-----			

Managalasi - *continued*

Averi	Tabueni	230	
	Dea		
	Tambaruri,	277	
	Ogonome		
	Bomhouji	30?	Estimated. Censused at Gora (Aomie).
-----			
Mesari	Natanga,		
	Jorara	281	
	Howaja,		
	Silimbo	205	
-----			
Nami	Kwarue	216	
	Korua	14?	Estimated.
-----			
Afore	Afore	183	
	Semari	17	
-----			
Wakue	Dareki 1,		
	Dareki 2,	89	
	Kawowoke	166	
-----			
Oko	Niniure		
	Bua	265	
-----			
Karira	Ondoro	131	
-----			
Jimuni	Uoive		
	Marasi	142	
	Buarore	45	
-----			
	TOTAL	3681?	

## 5.15 Population Figures for Barai

DIALECT	VILLAGE	POPULATION	NO. OF SPEAKERS	REMARKS
Emo	Emo (River	176	176	Old villages of Uruabe, Ava, Velilo.
	Ejaro	132	132	
	Ujilo	80	40	Half village Mtn. Koiari.
Kokora	Tahama	172	172	Old villages of Tama, Gunuri.
	Kokora	166	166	
Mogoni	Iaure	101	101	Old villages of Isuru, Bubosa, Unia, Balatana, Agema, Malulubes, Dai-eki.
Manoa	Suwari	115	115	Old villages of Manoa, Lillimube, Auri, Iwerabe-e.
Laroni	Mimai	26	26	Includes Manubara speakers.
	Ipoiduburu	35	35	
	Oidobi	65	65	
Pitoni	Abaro	56	56	Old villages of Dobi (later Pitoni), Laha (later Durebe), Gobairi, Mimai, Dorobisora, Gobere, Nonu, Abowana.
	Idagigolo	18	18	
	Huavolo	39	39	
	Somore	47	47	
	Dorobisoro	112	112	
	Abowana	107	107	
Tabu	Dodi (Dobi)	27	27	
	Tabu	98	98	
	Imidiru	40	40	
	Ibaradoku	11	11	
Barai	Boro	9	9	
	Sorikoro	26	26	Old village of Bagorolo.
	Guranoumu	51	51	
	Meiadobu	11	11	
Waifanomu	33	33		

Barai - *continued*

Nigubaiba	Doe	122	122	Includes descendants of Seramina.
Umwate	Umwate	89	89	
Ufia	Itogama	153	153	Old villages of Iu-ai, Kufia, Kandoro, Samaniho, Mikero(?).
	Ufia	150	150	
	Matakoro			
	Naukwana			
	Kaura	119	119	
Pirimi	Segamaisa	161	161	Bodoima and Arahora censused at Umboworo.
	Umboworo	301	301	
	Kiara } Ambia }	200	200	
	Bodoimi } Arahora }	100?	100?	Estimated. Censused at Umboworo.
		<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>3008?</u>	

5.16 *Population Figures for Aomie*

DIALECT	VILLAGE	POPULATION	NO. OF SPEAKERS	REMARKS
Zuwadza	Namanaia	171	171	Old villages of Managula, Guwara, Borumaila, Wora.
	Managube	73	73	
Asafa	Enjora	74	74	Enjora, Majamuru, and Diapa now a composite village at Asafa.
	Majamuru	150	150	
	Diapa	79	79	
	Gorabuna	115	115	
Gora?	Gora	333	333	Censused together. Includes some Managalasi speakers from Bomohouji.
	Kero			
	Kanoja			
		<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>995</u>	

## 5.2 Listing of Linguistic Materials Collected

DATE	VILLAGE	LANGUAGE	TYPE OF MATERIAL <sup>1</sup>	TAPE NO.
1966				
March	Dombada	NOTU	L	P1
	Kailakinumu	KOIARI	T	
	Kemabolo	SINAGORO	LT	M3
	Gomoredobu	" "	LG	M4
April	Barakau	MOTU	L	M2
May	Kailakinumu	KOIARI	LMWTS	P2,3,4,5,7,8,9
June	Ogotana	" "	C	Unrecorded
July	Senunu	" "	L	Unrecorded
	Efogi	MOUNTAIN KOIARI	LGWTSQ	P9,10,11
August	Menari	" " " "	LGS	P11
	Naoro	" " " "	LGTS	P9,12
	Manumu	" " " "	LTSQ	P9,11,13
	Boridi	" " " "	LS	P11,13
	Bodinumu	" " " "	LS	P11,13
September	Efogi	" " " "	M	P14
	Enivilogo	" " " "	LST	P11,13,15
	Hailogo	" " " "	LST	P11,15
	Madilogo	" " " "	LS	P11,15,16
	Elologo	" " " "	L	P15,16
	Vioribaiwa	" " " "	LST	P15,16
	Uberi	" " " "	LST	P15,16
	Naoro	" " " "(Eava)	LMST	P9,12,17
October	Gorohu	KOITA	LQ	P18
	Kido	" "	LQWTS	P8,18,19
	Papa	" "	L(unre- corded)GS	P19
	Kuriu	" "	SL	P18

<sup>1</sup>

The following abbreviations are used:

L = Lexicostatistical List	C = Conversation Material
M = Grammar Manual	W = Word List (other than L)
G = Some Grammar	T = Text
S = Socio-linguistic Material (folktales, genealogies)	Q = Intelligibility Test

Materials collected - *continued*

	Kilakila	KOITA	LMSTC	P9,19,21,22,23
	Hohodae	" "	WS	Unrecorded
	Labuka	KOIARI	LTQ	P9,20
	Dabunari	" "	S	
	Haima	" "	L1/4	P20
	Boteka	KOITA-KOIARI	LS	P20
November	Mesime	KOIARI	L1/2	P20
	Fulumuti	" "	L3/4	P20
	Vaivai	" "	L1/2	P24
	Boera, Lealea, Porebada, Vabukori, Pari, Tatana	KOITA-MOTU	S	
	Kerea	MOUNTAIN KOIARI	LST	P9,19,25
	Badiloho	" " " "	LST	P9,19,25
	Motumotu	" " " "	L	P24
	Douramoko	GABADI/DOURA	L	P25
	Vekabu	DOURA	L	P25
	Kilakila	KOITA	WR	P24
	Roku	" "	WS	P24
	Korobosea	" "	S	
December	Kilakila	KOITA	W	P23,26
	Kailakinumu	KOIARI	QTW	P4,23,26
	Vesilogo	" "	LTS	P16
	Fakonama	" "	LGS	P5
	Futinummu	" "	LS	P5
	Agitana	" "	L3/4S	P5
	Boro	BARAI	LS	P27
	Dorobisoro	" "	LSTGC	P9,27,28
1967				
January	Badaika	MANUBARA (Kokila)	LS	P27
	Lofaika	" " " (Koriko)	LS	P30
	Alamaika	" " " (Doromu)	LSG	P30
	Mararoum No.1	" " "	LS	P33
	Iaure	BARAI	LS	P30
	Mimai	" "	L1/2	P30
	Doe	" "	LS	P31
	Abowana	" "	MSCWTQ	P28,29,34

Materials collected - *continued*

	Kalekodobu	SINAGORO	LS	P31
	Kubuirubu	" "	L	P33
	Ikega	" "	LS	P31
	Bokukomana	" "	LS	P32
	Memekakomana	" "	LS	P33
	Bobokomana	" " (Wiga)	LS	P33
	Maria	MANUBARA (Maria)	LS	P33
	Kwale	KWALE	LS	P31
February	Lagume	" "	LS	Unrecorded
	Lonidairi	" "	LS	Unrecorded
	Gea (Garihe)	" "	LS	Unrecorded
	Sairope	OROKAIVA (Hunjara)	S	P35
	Kanga	MOUNTAIN KOIARI	SQLG	P36
	Karukaru	FUYUGE	SLG	P36
	Sirorata	OROKAIVA (Hunjara)	S	P35
	Putemo	" " " " " "	S	P35
	Namanaia (Vora)	AOMIE	SLG	P36
	Managube	" "	S	
	Diapa (Asapa)	" "	LGTS	P9,38
	Emo (Emo River)	BARAI	SLGTQ	P37,36
	Ejaro	" "	S	
	Ujilo	" "	SL	Unrecorded
	Awoma	MOUNTAIN KOIARI	SL	P37
	Kovio	" " " "	L	P37
	Kaili	" " " "	LS	P35
	Domara	MAILU	LG	P37
	Gorowaku	FUYUGE	L1/2	P35
March	Avuari	MOUNTAIN KOIARI	L1/2S	P35
	Alola	" " " "	LS	P35
	Kovelo	" " " "	LS	P35
	Hamara	OROKAIVA (Hunjara)	L	P34
	Numba	MANAGALASI	LGTSQ	P9,39
	Kwena	" " "	LS	P34
	Kokora	" " "	LS	P39
	Ondoro	" " "	L1/2S	P39
	Lilimube	" " "	LS	P34
	Afore	" " "	S	

Materials collected - *continued*

Jorara	MANAGALASI	L1/2	P40
Dea	" " "	LS	P40
Kindjaki No.1	BARUGA	LS	P40
Toma	BARIJI	L	P39
Mokonumu	KOIARI	L1/2	P40

## 5.3 KOIARIAN ORIGIN STORIES

## 5.31 Haganumu

5.31.1 Preamble: 'Haganumu' was the name of the story which I first heard describing a common origin for the Koiarian peoples. This story was told by Efogi informants. It was later found to be common to a large area of the Mountain Koiari, Barai, Aomie, and western Managalasi. Each of these groups have different names for the site and principal actors.

The site, which will hereafter be referred to as Haganumu is located about 1000 feet up on top of a steep ridge which runs westward from the Kumusi River valley, between Ujilo village and Emo River Anglican Mission station. These villages are situated close to the Ziguai and Umiesiri tributaries of the Kumusi, which tumble down the steep valleys along either side of the ridge (see map, section 5.31.3 below). The site is concealed in a clump of tall pine trees (Klinki?),<sup>1</sup> which may clearly be seen from near Ujilo village. The track up the ridge passes through abandoned village sites before reaching Ava hamlet, where the owner of the land and guardian of the site lives. It takes about an hour and a half to reach Haganumu from Emo River, where there is a small mission airstrip suitable for light aircraft in good weather.

According to the story Haganumu is supposed to be a large cave, but this is only mythical. It is, instead, a number of small caverns

<sup>1</sup> These trees were called eidiri by informants from Emo River, who speak a dialect of the Barai language. Californian Pine (diru) and Norfolk Pine (eno) are reported by Vivian (1928b) to be growing near L. Aro, south-east of Mt. Brown. The similarity between eidiri and diru may be significant either as evidence of cultural borrowing or of genetic relationship.

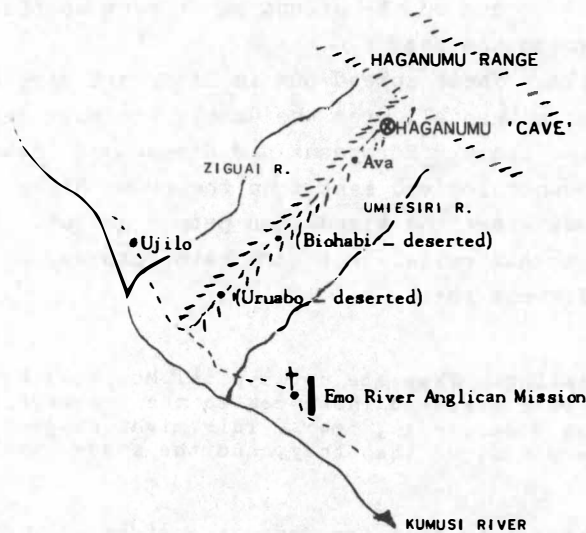


and shelters under large folded boulders (about 20 feet by 15 feet) of granite-like material,<sup>1</sup> from which surrounding topsoil has been partly eroded. Emo River informants call this 'cave' e-iri, which means 'man-hole.' Haganumu is actually the name of a principal range running parallel to the Kumusi, to which the ridge containing the site is a spur.

Up and around one side of the 'cave' runs a graded incline, which informants called the Ancestral Way (sene dala in Police Motu)--the putative path of the ancestors coming up out of the ground. At the top of this path is a small flat area about a chain long, and ten yards wide, which is reputed to be the dancing ground on which the ancestors made their first cooking fires. Informants assured me that charcoal can still be dug up from below the surface as evidence of this. Nearby are two large rectangular boulders of the same granite-like material. These are reputed to be the petrified forms of the original male and female progenitors--named Tuagila and Anetama, respectively by the Emo River (= Barai) informants; Nihula and Vezamo by Awoma (= Mountain Kolari) informants.

Coloured photographs of various parts of the site were taken.

#### 5.31.3 Map Showing Location of Haganumu 'Cave'



<sup>1</sup> Government Geologist Stanley (1918:76) writes in a survey: Traces of the granitic outcrops have been noticed about Mt. Obree, Namudi, and the headwaters of the Kumusi, and I am inclined to believe that the denudation of the overlying soft schists and sericite slates has only occurred in this area within late tertiary times.

## 5.31.2 'Haganumu' by Ubui BABILA, Launumu village, via Efogi.

Edited version. (Tape P10)

This story tells of how we were born and how our ancestors settled in the mountains behind Port Moresby.

Long, long ago our ancestors came from a place called Haganumu. This is on the other side of the Owen Stanley Range in the mountains at the head of the Kumusi River. There our ancestors lived in the ground. You may think we came from some other place--no, we came from out of the ground.

There was a man and a woman. Their names were Lemambu and Fesambu.<sup>1</sup> One day they were dancing with Hornbill beaks on their heads, when they saw a small hole in the earth above.<sup>2</sup> A very small beam of light was coming through. They saw this and dug with their Hornbill beaks to make the hole larger. When they had made it large enough all the people came forth into the world.

The dog was first to come out. He brought fire with him. As he came out of the hole in the ground he grabbed a fire stick from the mumu which the people had made to cook their food. He ran through the kunai grass and set it alight.

Then came the pig. It dug up the ground as it went so that now there are mountains down to the sea.

Next came the people. These spread out in different directions and settled in different places all over the land. The Motu came out and settled along the coast. Europeans and Mixed-Race (habokasi) people were put in a coconut log and sent down the Brown River. This took them down to the sea where the Mixed-Race people go out. The Europeans continued on to Australia. Now some have returned to the land and settled in different parts.<sup>2</sup>

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1

These names are interesting. They are not typical Mountain Koiari ones, and they are the only observed instances in the language in which prenasalised stops occur, e.g., -mb-. This might suggest that either the names are very old, or that they, and the story, are cultural loans.

2

Some versions of the story say that the dancers accidentally pricked the hole in the roof of the cave with their Hornbill beaks while they were dancing.

3

While this rationalisation of the current racial situation cannot be reconciled with the narrator's closing affirmation, it is interesting to see how their stories are adapted to include new knowledge.

As our ancestors came out the Favaga (or Wawanga/Wawonga in other, European literature) people sat near the exit, and hid the best yams and sugarcane. But our ancestors stole the sugarcane and brought it with them. The Favaga people were angry and chased them until they caught them at a mountain named Molonama. There they grabbed one end of the sugarcane and our ancestors the other. They pulled and pulled until at last the sugarcane broke in halves. The Favaga people got the top and our ancestors got the bottom. Then the Favaga people returned and we came and planted our sugarcane near a tree named Goloba. Our ancestors climbed this tree and slept. Next morning the sugarcane had grown up very high. They got bush rope and tied it up. It was also from this place that they could hear neighbouring peoples cutting down trees to build gardens. They knew then that all the land was taken, and so they settled there. They made a feast and everybody got a share of sugarcane. But now if you see this cane it is not as big as the sugarcane grown by the Favaga people; nor are our yams, because they hid the best ones for themselves.

Well this is the story of how we were born from the earth at Haganumu, and how the land was peopled. This is how my fathers told it to me in the time before the Mission came. Goodbye.

5.32 *'How Manumu People Came to Live at Gorohu,' by Eseve Hade, Manumu Village, Port Moresby*

Edited version. (Tape P10)

A long time ago Bisolobiagini and Keisigobeli and some of their kin went looking for birds eating berries. They took tree sap with them, and climbed up and put it on the fruit. In this manner they caught many birds.

But a man came to their house. He destroyed their fireplace and possessions. The bird hunters returned and found their house in a shambles. They said, "Wait! What say our small brother waits here till these house wreckers come back. He can climb up a tree and sit there and observe the house."

So it was that this small fellow sat up in a tree. Then while he was watching, along came an old man named Koli to wreck the house. The small boy sat and watched--but he was very frightened.

When Koli had finished wrecking the place he raced off into the bush. Later our small friend descended from the tree and sat in the house. Then the birdhunters came back. "Well," he said, "while I was in the tree just now Koli came and wrecked the house. It's in a mess."

So they were very angry with that old man. They came to Totola [place where Koli lived]. When they arrived they killed one of Koli's big pigs. They cut it up and made a feast. Afterwards they gave some of the stomach fat to Koli's wife. Then they took the pig and climbed up a Gogilu tree whose limbs were riddled with holes. They entered the tree and stayed there. Keisigobeli stayed at the base and Bisolobiagini stayed at the top. They closed up the holes with charcoal. All the boys stayed inside the trunk and inside the limbs.

When Koli returned he could not find hide nor hair of his pig around the house. He realised the pig was missing and became very angry. So he went along the track seeking the scent of his pig but he could not locate it. About half way along he found it and followed it to the base of the Gogilu tree. When he saw it he was angry. He wanted to cut this Gogilu tree down. But he was not good enough. He cut all right but ants, snakes and wasps came out of the bole of the tree, so that when he went to cut it, these things went to bite him, and he jumped around to the other side of the tree and fell down. But they followed, and he fell down the other side--he was not up to it. He was not able to cut it. Then when he wanted to cut it again, his axe--not a modern (steel) one, but an old style one--a stone axe--was not sharp. The handle broke, and he brought it back to his house and gave it to his wife. He said, "My axe handle broke. You fix it up and sharpen the edge. I'll get another and go back and continue cutting." And he took one and went. He cut--no edge! The handle broke too. So he got it and brought it back and gave it to his wife. His wife fixed it. She fixed up the handle and sharpened the edge. He got another one and went back to cut. But it broke too. But the tree was about to fall and he heard it make a noise (preparatory to falling).

Well, Koli raced up Kibia River side and then down. When he arrived and turned to look, alas, the Gogilu had fallen a different direction--on Gabilumu River side, and it dug a huge hole. Koli followed this Gogilu tree but he could not catch it. The tree slid down and dug a water course. Koli chased it, but was stopped by the river bank. He stretched out his hands but could not grasp it. And the tree crossed over and dug the water course. And he (Koli) went too but only arrived at the bank. He tried to grab it but could not. And it turned around and went digging the water course. It arrived at a river. And Koli still could not get it. And so it went on

until this Gogilu had dug this large river called Brown. Now Koli raced to the side of the Brown River but still could not get it. He tried to grasp it but stood on a Magoia thorn. It speared into his foot. He tried to run but could not. So he returned home.

But the Gogilu kept going until it bumped into the beach at Manumanu. When it stuck fast Keisigobeli knocked out the charcoal bungler. He saw light through the small hole. He thought, "Gosh, I think we've found a good spot." He opened up the hole and came out. Outside he stood and realised he had no food. So he went to a garden, but found only hard food there. Then he went to a banana tree named Sabari and got some bananas which he ate to surfeit. Then he got up, gathered up all the ripe Sabari and hid them in his hair. Then he wrapped up his head and came back. He said, "Oh, Younger Brother come and see what's wrong with my itchy hair, please. I want you to come and delouse me."

So he came and searched for lice with his hands but the Elder Brother said, "Please bite it and see."<sup>1</sup> So his younger brother bit and found the ripe bananas. Then he ate up all the bananas that were in the hair. The Elder Brother said, "I went to the big garden and saw plenty of food. It would be a good idea if, say, five boys go to that garden and get some food."

So all the boys went to this garden and collected food and put it in bilums. They brought it back to where the Gogilu was. Then they went back and got more. But now the owners of the garden--many girls--came. They came into the garden and hid behind the banana bushes. They covered themselves with banana leaves and waited. Then our friends went to get food. They arrived, climbed over the fence--they were going to collect whatever they wanted and go--but the girls jumped up and said, "Ah, my husband, my husband, my husband." They grabbed a boy each, just like that. When that was all over, they all collected food and returned to where the Gogilu was. They ate. The Gogilu was standing at Manumanu. This Gogilu they cut up and made into a canoe. When they had made the canoe they paddled quickly away on the sea.

So now at Gorohu there is a mixture of Manumu and Manumanu peoples. They live there. Now these beach people use canoes to move about on the water. Manumu people still live inland.

Our story ends here.

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<sup>1</sup> Lice are often killed by biting.

## 5.33 'Salayoli' by Wienna Babaga, Kailakinumu Village, Sogeri.

Edited version. (Tape P4, side 2)

The story begins with Salayoli (a red bird-man) who lived on top of Sala. There were two rocks there--Sala and Togo. They are up behind Kailakinumu, close by. Well when Salayoli was living there he made a rope for tying up pigs. As he was twisting the rope on his leg he threw the loose end over the edge of the rock. It fell down into the Togolowo River and then went down this river into the Yuwana. The water took it down as Salayoli kept twisting more. It went into the Aillowo River and there it stuck fast. The name of this place--a mountain between Kwale and Yove--is Wudurumava.

Once it stuck fast there two girls (sisters)--Duha Nobone and Maru Nobone--found it when they came to have a bath after working in their garden. The elder sister found it first and said, "Oh, Younger Sister come and see this rope coiled up that I found." And the younger sister said, "Gee, let me see it." They pulled the rope up and saw that it ran upstream. So they said, "Good," and the elder sister said, "Oh, Younger Sister, let's follow this rope."

So they left their garden and followed the rope. As they went they rolled up the rope. They kept coiling till darkness came and they slept. In the morning they continued on. They kept going on like this until after the fourth night when they arrived at Togo. They slept at the base of Togo and Sala under palm umbrellas.

But in the early hours of the morning Salayoli got up to urinate. Normally when he did this it made a "dududududu" kind of sound but this morning it sounded differently--"dadadadadada." So Salayoli was puzzled and went to his mother (who lived with him) and said, "Oh, Mother, always when I urinate it goes "dududududu," but this morning it went "dadadadadada."

His mother went down to investigate and found the two girls sleeping under the rocks. So she went back and hid Salayoli under banana leaves. Then she descended again to the two girls. They were still sleeping, so she said, "Oh Relatives, what are you doing there?" The girls got up and replied, "Oh Relative, we found this rope and followed it here, but because we had no way of scaling the rock we slept here."

Salayoli's mother then said, "Relatives, come up on to my rock." So they went up. Salayoli's mother then gave them a mat to sit on and got betel nut, pepper, and lime, and put it in front of them. Then she said, "Relatives, I live here alone. Who is there to do my work do you suppose? There's fire there but no wood, who's going to cook our food?"



Well the elder sister got up and sent off the younger saying, "Go and get some wood. I don't want to." So the younger one did that. When she put the wood down the old woman said, "Relatives, who's going to cook our food with this wood?" Then the big sister commanded the smaller one, "Go and cook. I don't feel like it." So the younger one, obeying, got up and cooked. Then they ate.

After that she went to bring out Salayoli. She went inside and said, "Come and see the two girls who have come." So Salayoli got up and came out. Now Salayoli's skin was red--like red paint. His skin, legs, hair, all of his fingers and toes were all red. But before he came out he dressed up with bird of paradise feathers in his hair, breast shell, leg, arm and stomach bands. He then stood in front of the girls. They stood up and shouted, "Our husband." Then the bigger one said, "My husband," but Salayoli was not listening. Instead, he said, "Let's not have idle wishing, but wait." He came and sat down and broke open two betel nut. He took one and gave it to the elder girl. He then gave one to the younger girl. He said, "Both of you eat and whoever chews the reddest betelnut will become my wife."

When the elder one chewed hers it was not red but black. But the younger one's was red just like Salayoli's skin. So he said, "Good, young girl, you'll be my wife because your betel nut is red. And you, chewer of black betel nut, will return to Wudurumava." So she got her kiapa and set out.

After five months she sent word back to Salayoli and her sister to say she had prepared a feast for them. So Salayoli and his wife set out to go to Wudurumava too. Now Salayoli had wings and could fly. He always flew. But before he left he said to his mother, "Oh Mother, you see I am going to this feast that I was called to, but if you see that the clouds close in on this mountain you will know that I have met with some misfortune. And if you see that you can say, 'Oh, my son has had bad luck,' and if not, 'Oh my son is safe.'"

Then they set off. His wife walked with the messengers who had brought the invitation to the feast, and he flew. As he flew he would call out, "Salayolivio, Togoyolivio." Then he would descend to his wife and sit with her and eat betel nut. Then they would press on again--she walking and he flying. They kept going in this manner and soon reached the village. The wife reached there first and got her relatives to make a cane landing platform for her bird husband, Salayoli. They did this and put it in a tree. Then Salayoli arrived

and circled the village four times calling out, "Salayolivio, Togoyolivio," then landed on his perch. Later he sat with his wife and her elder sister on a mat. He also took off his feathers and was a man and sat on the mat. Later he descended to dance. As he danced he sang:

Salayoli loloi biage da gumigumia  
Salayoli dance chief I very good style

Togoyoli lau\* be\* biage da  
Togoyoli I am chief I

bokobokoiyo  
make very good style

-----  
Idule hole di nuanua o sereva  
Power that my dance this poison

nonoiyo  
wind quickly

-----  
Walole hole di dogadogave mamata nonoiyo  
Power that my dance poison wind quickly

-----  
Salayoli di moeke Sala sa vidoli kima  
Salayoli my son Sala stand mirror doing  
lo yobu ni fofoyo  
eye shines

Togoyoli di maeke Togo be\* fareni fofoyo  
Togoyoli my daughter Togo be eye shines

-----  
Ugelo mavi kevi biagelo manu dodowalo  
Bird woman shell chief hill cut

Namanu mavi yagi biagelo guba dodowalo  
Bowerbird woman shell chief hill cut

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Salayoline mesulu mawoi wagalowege  
Salayoline aphrodisiac burn glow

Ugelo mavi kevi biagelo manu dodowalo  
Bird woman shell chief hill cut

Togoyoli ne wadiki mawoi sasamawege  
Togoyoli aphrodisiac burn glow

Namanu mavi yagi biagelo guba dodowalo  
Bowerbird woman shell chief hill cut

\* Motu words.



After the dance he returned to the house. He begged his wife for some betel pepper but she said, "No, I have none." However, her sister (the elder one) was there and she said, "That does not matter, I have some." And she picked up some pepper and lime shell, and in handing it to Salayoli cut his hand with the snell. That was bad luck for him. And as the blood ran down he shook his hand and said, "Salayolivio, Salafitofito." He cried like this, "Togoyolivio, Salayolivio vio, Salaviovio, Togoviovio."

As he shook his hand different kinds of blood came out. The heavy black blood became the black skinned people (of the interior), the lighter blood became Europeans and red blood the AN's along the coast.

When the blood stopped flowing he came home to Sala and Togo. And just as he had warned his mother about bad luck and the clouds so it had happened and his mother knew what had befallen him. Salayoli could no longer fly--he had to walk. He arrived and climbed up on top of Sala. Those stones are very high but are flat on top. Then he asked his mother for a dish. He let the blood run into it until it was full. He closed it up and when he came back a boy had emerged from it--from inside the dish of blood. The lad's name was BADAMU.<sup>1</sup>

That's the end.

1

BADAMU is the earliest remembered ancestor. The informant chanted the following list of descendants with the following explanation:

Our ancestors are these:\* (Starting from most recent)

MOMO KANI  
KANI BIAE  
YORI KAUKA  
KAUKA MIANA  
MIANA UGERO  
UGERO NAHUYA  
NAHUYA DAVERA  
DAVERA SENAU  
SENAU BADA  
BADA WAMIKA  
BADA MU

They are also the ancestors of the Korohi, Nidori, Hogeri, Maiari, Baruari, Yaritari, Haveli, Borebere groups (Williams:1932). Actually two fellows were born of the blood BADAMU and BADA WAMIKA and these lived with their father Salayoli. They made a canoe--a very big one. When they were finished heavy rain fell. All the mountains were covered.\*\* They took their possessions and sailed away. They sailed out on to the sea. They put people down at various points on the beach until they got as far as Manumanu and Gorohu. Our language finishes there. The Sogeri language finishes there.

\* The author tried to obtain the complete family tree of this group but was unable to finish it.

\*\* Later the informant said they went down the Yunawa and Alilowo Rivers to the Kemp Welch and out into the sea that way.

5.34 'The Origin of the Koita', by Damena Goasa (Gata Clan),  
Papa Village

Edited Version. (Tape P19)

Koiari and Koita ancestors originated from the same place. They lived at Goubavaga.<sup>1</sup> When they opened the door (supposedly from inside a cave) there were no people and not much land. So they said, "Close the door lest the supply be finished." So they closed the door. The rest of the people stayed inside. These were the ancestors of the Koiari who now live inland.

We are the Koita who came towards the coast. They first gathered together at Togosala.<sup>2</sup> But they left there and came and settled at Idabemu. They were not very happy there either. They were always fighting. So two men--Maria Siluga and Guba Siluga (their father's name was Siluga Eiya)--left and descended to Dairoto. Then they returned to Idabemu and said, "There is plenty of land down there. When we all live together we are not happy: we fight day and night. Would it not be better therefore if we split up and lived in different parts of the land?" So they did. Some went to Taurama side and some, the Gata group, came to Gatamata. The others went to Behorimata. They gave these names to the tracts of land. So now the Gata group lives on Gatamata and their village name is Papa. Their clan used to be Gata but now it is (changed to) Venehako.

1

Informants said the Koiari name for this is Gudurumava. See also Kilakila Land Title Claim No.32 evidence.

2

Note the significant correspondence between the names Wudurumava and Togosala in this story and the Koiari 'Salayoli' story in Appendix 5.33.

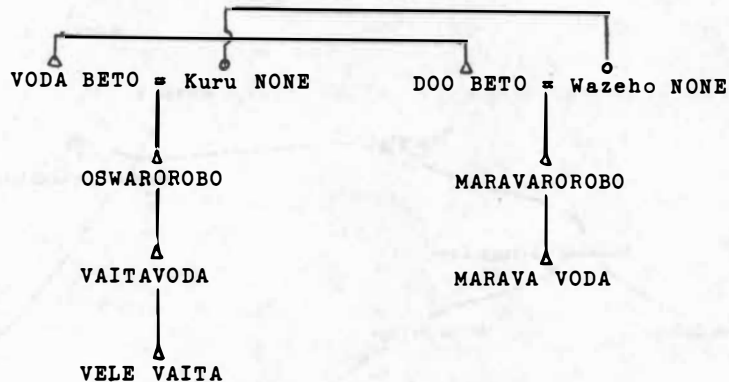
Subsequently the author visited Wudurumava in Kwale territory in the Rigo Sub-District. They told the following story which suggested that the mythological tradition of the Koiari and Koita has some basis in the oral history of the Kwale.

KWALE STORY

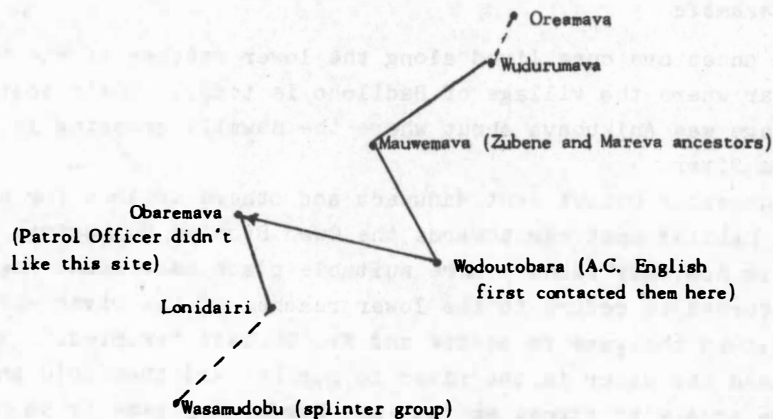
There were two men and two women at Wudurumava, the birthplace of the Lagume (a sub-group of the Kwale) ancestors. This family developed as follows:

(continued on Page 103)

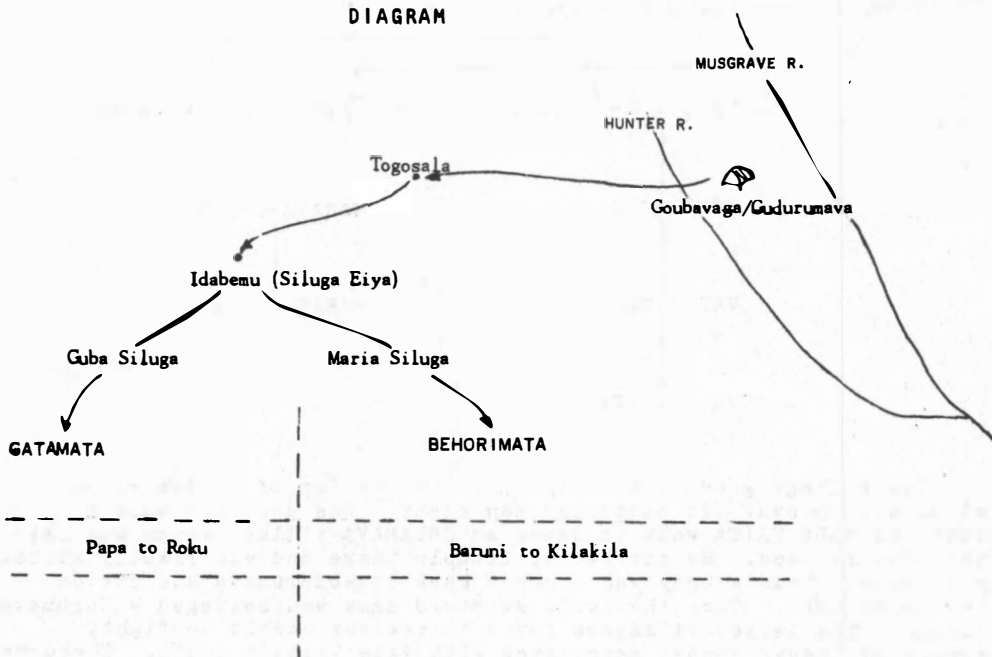
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The village grew to be very large on the top of a high ridge called Wudurumava. It contained ten clans. One day they made a feast and VELE VAITA went to dance at OREAMAVA village which was only small but related. He stirred up trouble there and was finally killed by a woman. Vele's body was brought back to Wudurumava and put on the ZUBENE dubu. Then the Kwale warriors came and besieged Wudurumava village. The latter villagers found themselves unable to fight, because of 'heavy hands' associated with Vele Vaita's death. There was a very big fight, and the women escaped and fled in all directions. Some went to Koiari (especially Ogotana), some to Koita side--Baruni, Boteka, Gorohu villages--and some to other Kwale villages--Manugoro, Garihe, Gea and Wasira. The surviving men built a new village at Mauwemava. Subsequently they have built new villages as follows:



N



### 5.35 OVIOVI AND WADUWADU

#### 5.35.1 Preamble

Suku ancestors once lived along the lower reaches of the Vanapa River, near where the village of Badiloho is today. Their southernmost village was Anikubava about where the sawmill crossing is now on the Vanapa River.

One ancestor Oviovi sent Waduwadu and others to look for better water and habitat upstream towards the Owen Stanley Mountains. This story tells how they found a more suitable place near Mount Magani but were forced to return to the lower reaches of the river when Oviovi allowed the game to escape and Mt. Obobasi 'erupted.' This event caused the water in the river to run hot and then cold and filled the area with stones so that now hardly any game is to be found in that area and most of it retreated to more suitable habitat lower down the river.

The story also explains why Suku own all the land on the western bank of the Vanapa River and the Kotoi and Gosisi people own the land on the eastern bank. These latter peoples were also included in the general movement. Their return to their present position may have been

hastened by the war mongering of the Boxura who live to the north east. Recently the Government has encouraged settlement in the lower reaches of the Vanapa for administrative and economic advantages.

See map at end of story.

5.35.2 '*Oviovi and Waduvalu*' by Hegeri Gobori, Badiloho Village

Edited version. (Tape P19)

Oviovi went up first. Oviovi said, "There are pigs and people there." He sent Waduvalu saying, "Go up and see the cold river and the place of game. Wait there and later I'll come. I'll find you wherever you are. We'll stay there. You find game and send some down to us. If you do this I'll come up to you. We sent game off to this place, but we stayed here where the water is warm. There is no game here either." So Waduvalu went up to the source of the river.

Later Oviovi bedecked himself in a headdress of Turumu feathers. He went. As he went he used the feathers to divine where Waduvalu was.<sup>1</sup> When he stepped into water which was not flowing past Waduvalu the feathers did not move, but when he stepped into water that had come past Waduvalu the feathers would vibrate. Thus he knew that he was on the right track when he stepped into the Vanapa River because the feathers shook. So he followed the Vanapa River upstream until the feathers stopped vibrating. Then he followed the Dala River up to the Agure tributary when he saw smoke rising up ahead. He knew that Waduvalu had slain game. He said to himself, "It seems he must have come up this way and found the place of cold water and game. So here he is and the smoke from his fire rises." So he went on and came to Mt. Magani and stood underneath it. He went on and saw that Waduvalu was cooking game. Some were in a ground oven cooking also.

When he arrived his friend said, "You've come, eh?" "Yes. I came, and now I've found you here." They were very happy. Waduvalu said, "You sent me and now you've come. You can see that this is a very good place. There is plenty of game to be found here." His friend said, "Yes. It's very good."

They opened the ground oven, ate some meat and went to sleep. In the morning Oviovi sent Waduvalu saying, "You go and hunt." So Waduvalu cut vines to make a handle for his stone axe and went to hunt.

<sup>1</sup>

The idea was that Waduvalu's present whereabouts could be divined from the water that flowed past him, because of the power that emanated from him, or from contact with him, e.g., when he washed, urinated, etc.

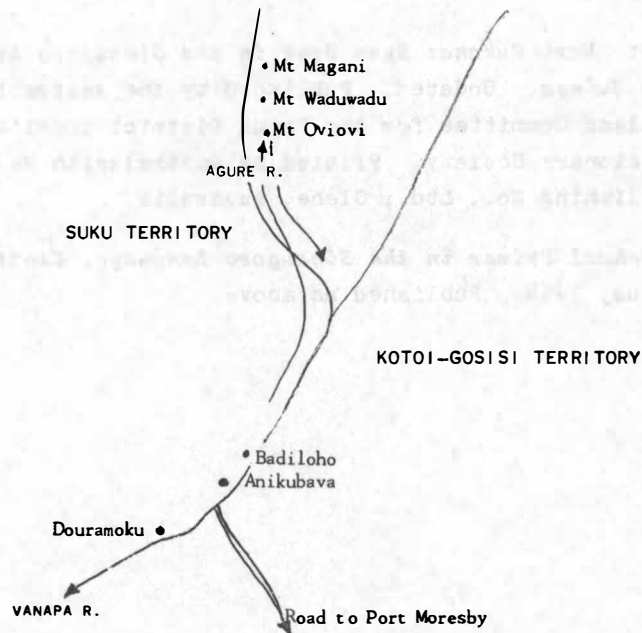
At about four o'clock as the sun was going down Oviovi went and opened the cage in which Waduwadu had put cassowaries, pigs and wallabies which he had caught. He killed many and threw them outside, and then he closed the door. When Waduwadu returned they ate and slept.

Next day Waduwadu went to the garden and Oviovi again opened the door but this time the animals escaped and raced off through the bush and Waduwadu's garden. Waduwadu was working when he heard the sugar-cane leaves rattling so he went to investigate. He saw a cassowary come racing past, then a pig, then a wallaby--and all the animals he had caught. He said to himself, "Oh, my friend has made a serious mistake. All my game is running away." So he went and looked and sure enough there wasn't a thing in his cage. The ground animals had run off to their feeding places, the tree animals had climbed back up to their trees, and the hole dwelling animals had again entered their holes.

So Waduwadu called out, "Go down! Don't stay here! Go down and live where the grass is and stay there!" But the wallaby did not care to leave. Waduwadu picked up a stone and closed the mouth of a cave in Wobasi mountain and said, "This is a good place, is it not?" And he pressed the stone down. But the ground suddenly broke open and stones and vegetation went rolling down into the river. And now you can see that place. Oviovi came down too chasing the game as he went.

Water opened too and ran down. Cold water came down too. Hot water came first followed by cold water. And game came down too. Oviovi followed and said, "See here this thing has come." And Waduwadu answered, "Yes, all kinds of game have come here." Oviovi and I were talking and these things came--game, hot then cold water. They are staying here." Now we'll all live here.

## 5.35.3 Map



## 5.4 CONTRAST BETWEEN KOIARI-BARAI AND MOTU-SINAGORO

The following list and chart show all the probable (+), possible (+?), and possible but highly unlikely (+??) correspondences between the two Koiarian languages of Koiari and Barai, and two neighbouring AN languages, Motu and Sinagoro, on Wurm's modified TRIPP list. Grace's (1956) and Dempwolff's (1938) proto-AN forms are also given. The numbers in the lefthand column correspond to those in Wurm's list. All words are given in phonemic orthography: Koiari and Barai phonemes are those described below in Appendix 5.8; the Motu and Sinagoro ones are as they occur in published material, with slight modifications (explained below):

(A) Motu: Lister-Turner, R. and Clark, J.B.:

*A Dictionary of the Motu Language of Papua*, Education Department of Papua-New Guinea Administration, 1931. Second edition edited by Rev. Percy Chatterton of the London Missionary Society.

Lister-Turner, R. and Clark, J.B.:

*A Grammar of the Motu Language of Papua*, Education Department of Papua-New Guinea Administration, 1931. Second edition edited by Rev. Percy Chatterton of the London Missionary Society.

- (B) Sinagoro: *Mari Bukana: Hymn Book in the Sinaugoro Language of New Guinea*. Undated. Published by the Australian and New Zealand Committee for the Papua District Committee, London Missionary Society. Printed by Australasian Medical Publishing Co., Ltd., Glebe, Australia.
- A School Primer in the Sinaugoro Language, Central Division, Papua, 1954*. Published as above.



LIST OF CORRESPONDENCES

NO.	ENGLISH	KOIARI	BARAI	MOTU	SINAGORO	GRACE	*AN	DEMPWOLFF
9	father	mama	baba	tama	tama	OMO(OC)	tama	(t)ama
10	mother	neina	sei	sina	sina	OMO(OC)	tina	(t)ina
11	sib, same sex, older	nana	?uvo	kaka	kaka	OMO(OC)	kaka	
33	jaw	auki	ano?u	auki	gare	OC(OMN)	anse	dangut
34	throat	tau	sado	gado	godo	PB	ia	lihig
37	shoulder	bagi	siroi	paga	gaba	OC	(paRa qaqRa	baga
38	arm	ada	ira?u	ima	gima	OC(EB) EG	(lima lina linma	
49	leg	vahi	de?u	ae	kwaku(?)			kaki<
77	ground	vata	sa?i	tano	tano	OC(EB)	tana	tanah
93	tree stump	idi umuka	idu dinu	au badibadina	gau tugukana		(kau	puhun
98	kunai	kuru	ruboido	kurukuru	regi			(dukat limput
129	big	keare	bado	bada	barego			bəta [ɿ]
140	yellow	mayakonika	bora	labora-labora	borabora			kuniŋ
154	drink(v)	i-nu	i-o	inu-a	niuni	OC	inu	<inum
161	take(v)	ma-nu	abe-ho	abi-a	gabiani	OC	kapi	<alap
206	thick	baruta	adunu	uduna	barukana	EG	matolu	baluan (as in 'thick fur')
208	narrow	misuka	amu	hekahi	misina			tə(m)pit
249	louse	umu	umu	utu	gutu	O(EB)	kutu	kutu
281	fight(v)	vara-ha	ara-ha	heai	vagini			

## CHART OF CORRESPONDENCES

NO.	KOIARI-MOTU	KOIARI-SINAGORO	BARAI-MOTU	BARAI-SINAGORO
9	+	+	+	+
10	??	??	+	+
11	??	??		
33	+			
34			+	+
37	+			
38			??	??
49	??			
77			+	+
93		+		
98	+			
129			+	??
140			+	+
154	+	??	+	??
161			+	+
206		+	??	
208		+		
249	+	+	+	+
281		+		+

-----  
TOTALS

+	3	2	4	3
+	3	4	6	5
??	3	3	1	3
	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>
Minimum percentage:	1.6%	1.2%	1.9%	1.6%

(Total less  
+?, +??)

-----

It is apparent from these charts that apart from possible cognates, or possible chance correspondences (as in father, arm, leg, ground, tree stump, fight) the remainder are probably borrowed terms. The direction of borrowing can be determined by considering the occurrence or non-occurrence of like forms in the Proto-AN lists.

Suggested groupings are:

AN TO NON-AN LOANING

father  
 mother  
 sib, same sex, older  
 shoulder  
 kunai?  
 drink  
 take  
 louse

NON-AN TO AN LOANING

jaw  
 throat  
 big?  
 yellow?  
 thick  
 narrow?

None of these words occurs in Capell's Central Regional Language List (1943:187-8). And, in reverse, none of the non-IN words given in this same list is reflected in the contemporary vocabulary of Koiari and/or Barai. This would seem to indicate that these languages are unrelated to Capell's Central Regional Language as far as he has been able to outline it (1943:168, 187, 266ff.).

Finally, it may be pointed out that the probability of chance correspondences occurring between these languages is quite high (though it is impossible to work out without statistics on the relative frequency of occurrences of individual phonemes), since all four languages have similar phoneme systems and syllable patterns. In the following chart some Motu and Sinagoro phonemes have been omitted, as the author considers that some pairs of phonemes as published, are overdifferentiated. Thus in Motu *t* and *s* are combined into *t* in the present instance, since *s* appears to occur only before high front vowels. In Sinagoro *t* and *s* are also combined into *t*, and *p* and *f* into *p*. The validity of *r* is also questioned.

LANGUAGE	VOWELS (SIMPLE) <sup>1</sup>	CONSONANTS	SYLLABLES
Sinagoro	i e a o u	p t k b d g - - - m n l v - kw gw g r?	Open
Motu	i e a o u	p t k b d g - - h m n l v - kw gw g r	Open
Koiari	i e a o u	- t k b d g f s h m n - v y - - - r	Open
Barai	i e a o u	- t ʔ b d g - s h m n - v ʒ - - - r	Open

Typological characteristics common to AN and Koiarian languages are also shown below:

+ denotes presence of the feature

- denotes absence of the feature

The AN features are those suggested by Wurm (1954) based on earlier suggestions by Schmidt (1920), Ray (1927), and Capell (1933). Two of Wurm's suggested features--similarity of grammar in large numbers of languages, and homogeneous pronouns--have been omitted as being insufficiently powerful for discriminating between the two different types of languages.

#### TYPOLGY CHART

AN FEATURES	NON-AN					AN
	Ka	K	MK	B	A M	MOTU
1. Existence of article	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Nouns invariable for number	+	+	+	+	+	+
3. Prepositions rather than postpositions	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Natural gender only and/or absence of noun classification with sentence concord	-	-	+	+	+	+
5. Inclusive/exclusive distinction with pronouns	-	-	-	-	-	+
6. Distinction between body parts, kinship etc., and other nouns in manner of showing possessive relation	-	-	-	-	-	+
7. No incorporation of Subject, Object, or Dative pronouns into verbs (except by suffixation)	-	-	-	-	-	+
8. Simple verbs with tense indicated by particles	-	-	-	-	-	+
9. Numerals based on quinary, decimal, vigesimal systems	-	-	-	-	-	+
10. Word orders S V O	-	-	-	-	-	-

<sup>1</sup>

Vowel glides also occur in these languages, but these are interpreted here as vowel sequences for the purpose of this comparison.

(where Ka = Koita  
 K = Koiari  
 MK = Mountain Koiari  
 B = Barai  
 A = Aomie  
 M = Managalasi)

Obviously then, the Koiarian languages are unrelated typologically to AN languages.

### 5.5 *Outline History of Contact with, and Pacification of, Koiarian Peoples*

- Nov. 1872 LMS South Sea Island teachers landed at Manumanu. Supervised by Murray from Somerset, Cape York.
- 1873 Captain Moresby discovers Fairfax Harbour in "Basilisk," and returns sick LMS teachers at Manumanu to Somerset.
- Nov. 1873 LMS teachers relocated at Hanuabada, Port Moresby.
- Nov. 1874 LMS missionary Lawes arrives at Port Moresby to supervise developing mission.
- 1877 LMS station established at Hula.  
 LMS missionary Chalmers arrives. Remains to do wide pioneering exploratory work amongst the Koiaric peoples and elsewhere.
- 1884 British Protectorate formally proclaimed over British New Guinea (or Papua).  
 Melbourne *Age* expedition under Morrison reaches Goldie River in Mountain Koiari territory. Attacked by Varagadi-Ebe (or Eburi) warriors.
- Aug. 1885 Government established in British New Guinea with arrival of Sir Peter Scratchley in Port Moresby.  
 Forbes establishes station on Sogeri Plateau.
- 1887 Rigo Government Station established under Hunter. Kemp Welch River valley patrolled for first time up to slopes of Mt. Obree.  
 Cuthbertson scales Mt. Obree for the Geographical Society of Victoria.

Government expedition under Forbes repulsed by the Ebe-Baura confederation of Mountain Koiari sections.

- 1889 MacGregor scales Mt. Victoria and explores area around headwaters of Vanapa River.
- 1891 MacGregor visits Koiaric, and North-East Coast peoples establishing friendly relations.  
Trepang fishers already established in Cape Vogel area.
- 1892 Sinagoro, Koiari, and Kwale areas now under control in Rigo Sub-District.
- 1895 Second visit of inspection of North-East Coast. Government station established on the Mambare River.
- 1896 Expeditions up Mambare, Kumusi, and Musa Rivers. Miners already prospecting in these areas.  
English patrols Kokila area for first time and is attacked.  
Later MacGregor accompanies English on a revisit.
- 1897 Blayney journeys into Uberi and Hagari territory of Mountain Koiari.  
Buchanan reports proceedings of prospecting party into Barai territory at the head of the Kemp Welch River.
- 1898 Western Barai visited.  
MacGregor patrols area between Brown and Goldie Rivers, and contacts Ebe, Wamai, Baura and Hagari peoples.
- 1899 Ballantine opens up Mountain Koiari territory around the headwaters of the Goldie and Brown Rivers.  
MacGregor crosses Papua from Mambare River. Contacts Neneba section.  
Government Surveyor, Stuart-Russell, examines possibility of road from Port Moresby to Kokoda via Brown River valley and The Gap.
- 1901 Ballantine patrols Koiari and Barai areas around headwaters of the Musgrave River.

Musgrave reports Orokaiva and Biagi peoples around Kokoda less belligerent.

- 1904 Buna Bay to Yodda Valley road completed.  
Kokoda station established.  
First contact with Managalasi people.
- 1905 Port Moresby and Rigo Sub-Districts under complete control.  
Overland mail service established between Port Moresby and Kokoda through Mountain Koiari country.
- 1909 "Wawonga" (= Upper Kumusi River) peoples contacted.  
Managalasi visited again.
- 1912 First complete patrol of Managalasi area.
- 1913 "Wawonga" area patrolled for first time.
- 1914 All Koiarian areas now under control and Government plans cross patrols to link stations at Kokoda, Port Moresby, Rigo, Tufi (Cape Nelson), and Abau.
- 1915 Pacification complete and all districts under full control.  
Government officers concentrate on collecting ethnological information for publication in Annual Reports.

5.6 Comparison of the Grouping of Non-AN Languages of Central Papua by Ray, Capell, and Dutton

RAY (1929)	CAPELL (1962a)	DUTTON (1968)
"Languages more or less related to one another" (p.70)	(No relationship suggested between A, B, and C, except as listed below)	Koiarian Family
A. KOIARI GROUP	A. KOIARI-KOITA	A. KOIARIC SUB-FAMILY
1. Neneba Sub-group (Neneba)	"Dialects of Koiari-Koita form a wide-spread group stretching from the Fuyuge-Kumi country behind Port Moresby practically to Kokoda" (p.144).	1. Mountain Koiari Language (with dialects corresponding somewhat to Ray's sub-groupings)
2. Kotoi Sub-group (Kotoi, Gosisi, Suku, Uabari)		2. Koiari Language (which includes Ray's Koiari, Sogerl, Iarumi, Eikiri, Maiari, Favele)
3. Wowonga Sub-group <sup>1</sup> (Wowonga, Biage, Hugu, Isurava, Karukaru, Iworo)		3. Koita Language (Ray's Koita)
4. Kagi Sub-group (Kagi, Hagari, Wamai, Itu, Meroka, Uberi, Ebe)		B. BARAIC SUB-FAMILY
5. Koita Sub-group (Koita, Koiari, Sogerl, Iarumi, Eikiri, Maiari, Favele)		1. Barai Language (includes Ray's list and others from the Northern District)
B. SERAMINA GROUP	B. SERAMINA	2. Aomie Language
Seramina, Barai, Nigubaiba, Mogoni		3. Managalasi Language
	C. MANAGALASI	
	"There are no adequate records of Manugulasi or Wavonga. Dr. Strong connected the latter through Biagi with the Koiari and Koita...but this needs to be verified" (p.148). <sup>2</sup>	

<sup>1</sup> Wowonga (or Wawonga) is the Orokaiva equivalent of Favaga. See section 3.24.25 above.

<sup>2</sup> See sections 2.17 and 3.24.25 above.



### 5.7 Six Koiarian Word Lists

These word lists were obtained using Wurm's Modified TRIPP list discussed in Section 1.2 above. They do not represent the full word lists obtained but are sufficient to show the lexical correspondences between the languages. Much of the information that is contained in the unpublished part of the lists obtained is presented in a different manner in the description of the grammatical characteristics of the Koiarian languages given in Appendix 5.9 below.

In this presentation of the lists language equivalent "stems" of the English items are given in phonemic alphabet.<sup>1</sup> Apparent cognates are marked by the same numbers in brackets behind each "stem." In some cases the numbers marking apparent cognates are followed by a question mark to indicate that these items may or may not be acceptable as apparent cognates. This is necessary since no sound correspondences have been established. Gaps in the lists indicate that the relevant items were not obtained or were regarded as unreliable for some reason. In some instances more than one lexical item is included where informants were uncertain as to which form was most commonly used in the speech community. The following key explains the symbolization used by Wurm for the English glosses.

_____	main items.
-----	first supplement to Wurm list.
. . . . .	second supplement to Wurm list.
.....	unreliable.
//	additional to Swadesh TRIPP list.
[( )]	hard to obtain.
CAPITALS	cultural terms.

<sup>1</sup>

See Appendix 5.8 for sketch descriptions of the phonemes of the languages of the Koiarian Family.

	KOITA	KOIARI	Mtn. KOIARI	AOMIE	BARAI	MANAGALASI
1. <u>man</u>	ata (1)	ata (1)	maraha (2?)	barue (2)	e baru (2)	parua (2)
2. <u>woman</u>	mayi (1)	mavi (1)	keate (2)	magenaha (1?)	e meina (1?)	napara (3)
3. / <u>old man</u> /	ata iahu (1)	(ata) yohi (1)	kori (1?)	ama vodzie (1)	e bado (2)	ema (3)
4. / <u>old woman</u> /	mayi iahu (1)	mabata (2)	mabata (2)	magenama vodzie (3)	e meina bado (4)	parana (5)
5. <u>child (m)</u>	moe (1)	moe (1)	mo (1)	harihe (2)	vari (2)	hariha (2)
6. / <u>young boy</u> ( <u>manki</u> )/	yamika (1)	vami misuka (1)	mo ese (2)	asɔsɔʔe (2)	vahamu (3)	sesama (2)
7. <u>husband</u>	mobora (1)	mobora (1)	koria (2)	barue (1?)	baru (1?)	parua (1?)
8. <u>wife</u>	mabara (1)	mabara (1)	keate (2)	vaborare (3)	bara (1)	napara (1)
9. <u>father</u>	mama (1)	mama (1)	mama (1)	apo (2)	baba (1)	oma (3)
10. <u>mother</u>	neina (1)	neina (1)	neina (1)	mamo (2)	sei (1)	oha (3)
11. <u>sibling,</u> <u>s.sex,older</u>	nana (1)	nana (1)	nana (1)	murie (2)	?uvo (3)	poka (4)
12. <u>sibling,</u> <u>s.sex,younger</u>	yoʔo (1)	vovo (1)	hoho (1)	ɔe (1)	?uvo (1?)	u?ua (1?)
13. <u>sibling,</u> <u>opp.sex,older</u>	amakina (1)	amakina (1)	amakina (1)	ma?ine (1)	ma?i (1)	ma?ina (1)

	KOITA	KOIARI	Mtn. KOIARI	AOMIE	BARAI	MANAGALASI
14. <u>sibling</u> , <u>opp. sex, younger</u>						
15. <u>I</u>	da (1)	da (1)	di (1)	na (1)	na (1)	na (1)
16. <u>you (sing.)</u>	a (1)	a (1)	a (1)	dʒa (1)	a (1)	a (1)
17. <u>he</u>	au (1)	aʰu (1)	eu (1) au (1)	hu (1)	aʰu (1)	hu (1)
18. <u>we two incl.</u>						
19. <u>you two</u>						
20. <u>they two</u>						
21. <u>we incl.</u>	no (1)	no (1)	no (1)	no (1)	no (1)	ne (1)
22. <u>you (pl.)</u>	ya (1)	ya (1)	ʒaia (1)	dʒeme (1)	ʒa (1)	dʒa(ra) (1)
23. <u>they</u>	yau (1)	yabu (1)	abu (1) uke (1)	dʒabu (1)	ʒabu (1)	pu (1)
24. <u>all</u>	inuyati (1) bouge (2?)	nunuta (1) tahigau (6)	baita (2) bahata (2)	aʰo (3)	vota (2?)	poka (2?)
25. <u>head</u>	omoto (1)	kina (2)	kina (2)	simane (1?)	avono (3)	hemata (1)
26. <u>hair of head</u>	hana (1)	homo (2)	numu (3) fomo (2)	ue (4)	ui (4)	sapasa (5)
27. <u>/forehead/</u>	vari (1)	emo (2)	fari (1)	odae (3)	vare (1)	varlera (1)

	KOITA	KOIARI	Mtn. KOIARI	AOMIE	BARAI	MANAGALASI
28. <u>eye</u>	ni (1)	nitaha (1)	ni (1)	nuni (1)	nio (1)	nia (1)
29. <u>nose</u>	uri (1)	uri (1)	uri (1)	nu (2)	ugo (1?)	ura (1)
30. <u>ear</u>	ihiko (1)	ihiko (1)	gorema (1?)	hia?i (1)	gada (2)	atae (2)
31. <u>tooth</u>	eyi (1)	evi (1)	ai (1)	ana (2?)	gobai (1?)	opadza (1?)
32. <u>tongue</u>	meina (1)	neme (2)	neme (2)	bitare (3)	bitaru (3)	metara (3)
33. <u>/jaw, chin/</u>	hata (1)	auki (2)	aura (2)	negatu (3)	ano?u (4)	sanoa (4)
34. <u>/throat/</u>	eno (1)	tau (2)	gobe (3)	hua (4)	sado (5)	maramarara (6)
35. <u>nape</u>	tuyu (1)	eno (2)	tu (1)	sano?aha (3)	noi (2)	oroa (4)
36. <u>mouth</u>	ava (1)	ava (1)	aka (1)	dzo?e (2)	iru (3)	ira (3)
37. <u>/shoulder/</u>	bagu (1)	bagi (1)	bego (1)	boahē (1?)	siroi (2)	sireha (2)
38. <u>arm</u>	ada (1)	ada (1)	ada (1)	ove (2)	ira?u (3)	idza (3?)
39. <u>/elbow/</u>	(ada) komuko (1)	(ada) komuko (1)	(adae) komuōa (1)	(ovo) taegue (2)	(ira?u) gamoi (1?)	idza toka (2?)
40. <u>palm of hand</u>	(ada) uhu (1)	(ada) uhu (1)	(adae) foto (2)	(ovo) gudue (1?)	vata?o (3?)	idza vadza (3?)
41. <u>/fingers/</u>	(ada) kaki (1)	(ada) gohino (1?)	(adae) firo (2)	(ovo) gaene (1)	ira?u orohu (3)	idza rono (3)

	KOITA	KOIARI	Mtn. KOIARI	AOMIE	BARAI	MANAGALASI
42. <i>/finger_nail/</i>	ada kouka (1)	(gohi) karu (1?)	(adae) okofe (1?)	(ovo) gisu (2)	ira?u sigori (3)	idza voka (4)
43. <i>/chest/</i>	doyoka (1)	kahaha (2)	ifuka (3)	vinebi (4)	gogol (5)	tera (6)
44. <i>breast (of woman)</i>	amu (1)	amu (1)	amu (1)	amu (1)	mosu (1)	musa (1)
45. <i>belly (bel)</i>	vayata (1)	uni- (2)	uni (2)	dæ (3)	de (3)	teahua (3)
46. <i>/navel/</i>	demo (1)	demodi- (1)	demodo (1)	vinehu (2)	memei (3)	mesipa (3)
47. <i>back</i>	dehi (1)	gadiva- (2)	inu (3)	dænuage (4)	lonadu (5)	tepa (6)
48. <i>/buttocks/</i>	deyanimu (1)	deva- (1?)	defura (2?)	dæridini (2)	debira (2?)	teira (2?)
49. <i>leg</i>	vasa (1)	vahi- (1)	geina (2)	huru (3)	de?u (4)	di?a (5) omora (3?)
50. <i>/thigh/</i>	beha (1)	beha- (1)	figu (2)	du?ahe (3)	du?a (3)	ubuone (4)
51. <i>/knee/</i>	komuko (1)	koha- (1?)	kome (1)	agu (2)	ate (3)	atoka (3)
52. <i>sole of foot</i>	(vasi) uhu (1)	(vahi) uhu- (1)	foto (2)	huru hitahie (3)	de?u vata?o (4)	omora hara (5)
53. <i>skin</i>	vada (1)	vate- (1)	fate (1)	sine (2)	sa (2)	haha (1?) sisa (2)
54. <i>/body_hair/</i>	homo (1)	homo- (1)	fomo (1)	vinebi ue (2)		
55. <i>blood</i>	tayo (1)	tavo- (1)	taho (1)	ko (1?)	avodu (1?)	a (1?)

	KOITA	KOIARI	Mtn. KOIARI	AOMIE	BARAI	MANAGALASI
56. <u>fat</u>	yul (1)	ul- (1)	bata (2)	guhe (1?)	godu (3?)	vare (4)
57. <u>bone</u>	ita (1)	ita- (1)	tafa (1)	idza?ahe (1?)	?adu (1?)	ata (1?)
58. <u>heart</u>	soru (1)	unikokota- (2)	ruti (1?)	vovobadze (3)	oi?o (3?)	odza (3?)
59. <u>liver (blakliwa)</u> .....	ihiru (1)	iruhuni- (1)	roki (1?)	va (2)	va (2)	kamuviradza (3)
60. <u>/sore/</u>	kuhi (1)	bata bata- (2)	(fate) ohe (3)	sagehe (4)	(sa-no) buretu (5)	adzu (6)
61. <u>/dream/</u>						
62. <u>to dream</u>	yayo- (1)	yao- (1)	ðamiðami- (1?)	nia?uv- (2)	naosi nai (1?)	
63. <u>sun</u>	vani (1)	vani (1)	fani (1)	madza?e (2)	ve (3)	vea (3)
64. <u>/moon/</u>	bata (1)	bata (1)	bata (1)	manara (2)	sa?o (3)	masape (2?)..
65. <u>star</u>	vamumo (1)	koro (2)	didi (3)	dzldze (3)	magani (4)	dzina (3)
66. <u>sky</u>	va (1)	va (1)	otogo (2)	?o?ido?e (3)	uo?u (4)	akupa (5)
67. <u>cloud</u>	gousa (1)	yuva (2)	goe (1)	su (3)	iso (3)	imiti (4)
68. <u>fog</u>	yuva (1)	gousa (2)	fafita (3)			
69. <u>rain</u>	veni (1)	veni (1)	feni (1)	ane (1)	ve (1)	neha (1?)
70. <u>night</u>	vahi (1)	vaubu (2)	fafi (1)	vahi (1)	na?ire (1?)	na?imo (1?)

	KOITA	KOIARI	Mtn. KOIARI	AOMIE	BARAI	MANAGALASI
71. <u>day</u>						
72. <u>/morning/</u>	vagutu (1)	vararati (2)	fafita (3)	sisonu (4)	na?i tuba?o (5)	su?o (4?)
73. <u>/evening/</u>	vahiyeta (1)	vamaba (2)	gutu (3)	dzeni (4)	na?i sone (5)	nutuma (6) nusirei (5?)
74. <u>water</u>	eya (1)	ita (1)	e (1)	dzovo (1)	ido (1)	toa (1)
75. <u>river</u>						
76. <u>round water,</u> <u>pond</u>						
77. <u>ground</u>	vateta (1)	vata (1)	fata (1)	sa?a (1)	sa?i (1)	moe?a (2)
78. <u>stone</u>	muni (1)	muni (1)	mune (1)	muna (1)	umari (1)	muna (1)
79. <u>sand</u>	siyu (1)	heu (1?)	esaga (2)	ne?ue (3)	alaru (2?)	adzara (2)
80. <u>mountain</u>	nimu (1)	numuta (1)	tana (2)	daheru (3)	rua?u (4)	hareha (5)
81. <u>bush</u>	maha (1)	mata (1)	boto (1?)	dze?a (2)	boto (1?)	net?i?a (2)
82. <u>GARDEN</u>	yeye (1) buru yeye (2)	buru (2)	buru (2)	mu (3)	zo (4)	dzusi?a (4)
83. <u>FENCE</u>	yara (1)	vara (1)	hara (1)	boru (2)	veru (1)	vera (1)
84. <u>wind</u>	nono (1)	hihi (2)	heburu (3)	sigage (4) bure (3)	uburu (3)	pura (3)

	KOITA	KOIARI	Mtn. KOIARI	AOMIE	BARAI	MANAGALASI
85. <u>wind blowe</u>						
86. <u>fire</u>	vene (1)	vene (1)	fene (1)	vani (1)	menu (1)	vena (1)
87. <u>smoke</u>	vene duka (1)	vene dul (1)	fene dul (1)	?u?e (1)	o?u (1)	ua (1)
88. <u>ashes (black)</u>	utuyo (1)	utuvu (1)	uti (1)	uone (2)	tu?otu (1)	e?a (3)
89. <u>path</u>	yuma (1)	uma (1)	humaha (1)	ori (2)	uriru (2)	unama (1?)
90. <u>tree</u>	idi (1)	idi (1)	idi (1)	idze (1)	idu (1)	itja (1)
91. <u>/trunk of tree/</u>	idi nomuaka (1)	idi hataka (2) idi gabaka (5)	idi tafafe (3)	idze ?ahē (4)	idu aho (4)	itja aha (4)
92. <u>/branch of tree/</u>	idi adaka (1)	idi adaka (1)	idi dofe (3) idi ada (1)	idze hane (2) idze ade (1)	idu donu (3)	itja pesa (4)
93. <u>/stump of tree/</u>	idi yaika (1)	idi umuka (2)	idi umukafe (2)	idze bahi (3)	idu dinu (4)	itja nedza (5)
94. <u>root of tree</u>	idi umuka (1)	idi umuka (1)	idi umukafe (1)	idze dirume (2)	idu girigu (3) idu alai (5)	itanapa (4)
95. <u>bark of tree</u>	idi vataka (1)	idi vateka (1)	fatefe (1)	idze sine (2)	idu sa (2)	itja sisa (2)
96. <u>/tree top/</u>	idi teteka (1) idi koboka (4)	idi totoka (1)	tosafe (2)	idze name (3)	idu nibore (3?)	
97. <u>fruit of tree</u>	idi madika (1)	idi taha (2)	baife (3)	idze badze (3)	idu voho (4)	itja ?ina (5)
98. [(kunai)]						



	KOITA	KOIARI	Mtn. KOIARI	AOMIE	BARAI	MANAGALASI
99. <u>SWEET POTATO</u>	inueri (1)	ina (1)	gobeu (2)	gogi (2)	gobe?u (2)	takoko (??)
100. <u>TARO</u>	vadu (1)	vadu (1)	fadia (1)	varuhe (1) mage (2)	madu (1?)	noha (3)
101. <u>YAM</u> (a) maho (b) taitu	sina (1) vaya (1)	hago (2) vaya (1)	rovi (3) boruka (2)	dedze (4) vadzlege (3)	iro (5) sanaru (4)	ahadza (2?) vadzaka (3)
102. <u>BARANA</u>	uhl (1)	uhl (1)	ufe (1)	udzl (1)	momo (2)	adzudza (1)
103. <u>SUGARCANE</u>	imi (1)	imi (1)	imi (1)	ime (1)	unol (1?)	osa (2)
104. <u>PANDANUS</u>	gereka (1)	vani (2)	raoka (3)	suhl (4)		
105. <u>BETEL NUT</u>	haya (1)	hava (1)	sibo (2)	ha (1)	zose (3) seru (4)	siera (4)
106. [(/ <u>tanket</u> /)]	vabe (1)	vabe (1)	fabere (1)	suhudzl (2)	moga (3)	dzona (4)
107. <u>salt</u>	eve (1)	eve (1)	madea (2)	so (3)	misu (2?)	misa (2?)
108. <u>dog</u>	totoka (1)	to (1)	to (1)	?oe (1)	u?o (1)	ua (1)
109. <u>PIG</u>	oho (1)	oho (1)	ofo (1)	mahu (2)	mahu (2)	maha (2)
110. <u>dog's tail</u>	to teteka (1)	to teteka (1)	detefe (1)	?cuhe (2)	uko ivenu (3)	ua vina (3)
111. <u>/dog's fur/</u>	to homoka (1)	to homoka (1)	fomo (1)	?o ue (2)	uko ui (2)	ua sapasa (3)
112. <u>bird</u>	uguha (1)	ugu (1)	ugu (1)	uge (1)	mi?ena (2)	uka (1)

	KOITA	KOIARI	Mtn. KOIARI	AOMIE	BARAI	MANAGALASI
113. <u>feather</u>	homo (1)	homo- (1)	fomo (1)	uge ue (2)	mi?ena ui (2)	uka sapasa (3)
114. <u>egg</u>	uni (1)	uni- (1)	uni (1)	?une (1)	mi?ena amu (2)	keha (3)
115. <u>/wing/</u>	akaha (1)	ada- (1)	atugu (2)	vivodzɪ (3)	mi?ena adahu (1) mi?ena ira?u (4)	taha (1?)
116. <u>CASSOWARY</u>	lya (1)	lya (1)	duba (2)	tubore (2)	tubo (2)	{umaha; umahi} (3)
117. [( <u>snake</u> )]	yarematayo (1)	varaka (2)	ute (3)	sigebe (4)	taba (5)	tapera (5)
118. <u>fish</u>	karava (1)	mehuya (2)	hulena (3)	visu (4)	huionu (3)	kidza (5)
119. <u>/fly/</u>	honeyo (1)	hinova (1)	homedo (1?)	vonivoni (2)	uanu (2?)	kuta (3)
120. [( <u>mosquito</u> )]	una (1)	tavota (2)	unuku (1)	?orovo?orove (3)	?umusiri (4)	sisiena (5)
121. <u>/butterfly/</u>	beberuka (1)	avako (2)	oako (2)	viodzodzɛ (3)	agome (2?)	tati?ura (4)
122. <u>HOUSE</u>	yaga (1)	yaga (1)	o (2)	dzavu (1?) ?ame (4)	aru (3)	ara (3)
123. <u>BOW</u>						
124. <u>ARROW</u> (substitute 'spear')	valga (1)	bi (2)	bi (2)	bldzɛ (2)	zuvo (3)	pldza (2) yuha (3)
125. <u>string, rope</u>	yote (1)	vote (1)	hote (1)	ɔ?i (1)	ai (1?)	adza (1?)
126. <u>NETBAG, BILUM</u>	yaya (1)	yago (1)	ɔaha (1)	bodzɔ (2)	lnati (3)	naha (3?)

	KOITA	KOIARI	Mtn. KOIARI	AOMIE	BARAI	MANAGALASI
127. [( <u>woman's clothes</u> ) (pulpul)]	nigi (1)	nigi (1)	nigi (1)	nlogu (1)	e?i (2)	ateha (3)
128. <u>SINGSING</u> .....	yavaya (1)	koa (2)	habu (1?)	dzava (1)	do (1?)	dzava- (1)
129. <u>big</u>	bauge (1)	keare (2)	baruga (1)	bɔrɔme (1?)	bado (1?)	natoho (3)
130. <u>small</u>	avie (1)	misuka (2)	ese?e (3)	bise?e (4)	amu (5)	u?ua (6)
131. <u>good</u>	maye (1)	malteka (1)	duafe (2)	ma (1)	ma?ina (1)	mai, mama! (1)
132. <u>bad</u>	daure (1)	komara (2)	toeranu (3)	sisɔ (4)	ta?ena (5)	sisea (4)
133. <u>long</u>	ege (1)	ege (tonitoni va) (1)	egetana (1)	ɛge (1)	!?eto (2)	dʒodʒora (3)
134. <u>short</u>	tuake (1)	duaka (1)	fugefe (2)	bune (3)	!bitu (4)	tu?ua (1)
135. <u>sick</u> ....	dika- (1)	gorogo- (2)	fafahani- (3)	guomo- (2?)	iona- (4)	ata?one- (5)
136. [( <u>hungry</u> )]	yuburaya- (1)	vavi- (2)	fai- (2?)	hɔme- (3)	nouga- (4)	matu- (5)
137. <u>red</u>	kereka (1)	kokira (2)	tahote (3)	kavu?ɔ (4)	?abo (4)	ama (4?)
138. <u>white</u>	kae (1)	kaekae (1)	taete (1)	?adziva (2)	abaru (3)	saesa?ina (4)
139. <u>black</u>	dubu (1)	dubuka (1)	bukate (1?)	rɔva (2)	aie (3)	adʒa (3)
140. <u>yellow</u>	mayakotave (1)	mayakonika (1)	belfate (2)	hɔva (3)	bora (4)	karakara?ina (5)

	KOITA	KOIARI	Mtn. KOIARI	AOMIE	BARAI	MANAGALASI
141. [(green)]						
142. <u>hot</u>	hedoka (1)	vanivani- (2)	fufune (3)	giəgəve (4)	ya?iru?ina (5)	ohoa (6)
143. <u>cold</u>	ribike (1)	ribirika- (1)	seri- (2)	səgəne (3)	babatu?ina (4)	paha (4?)
144. <u>blind</u>	ni kopu (1)	ni hayaka- (2)	(nife) kedu- (3)	sisə (4)	(ni-o) ta?ena (5)	(ni) supavi?ina (6)
145. <u>deaf</u>	ihiko kudiba (1) ihiko banutaka (7) ihiko badiba (8)	ihiko koroka- (2) ihiko banutaka (7) ihiko boketaha (9)	goremate (3)	tugohə (4)	(gada) moto?ina (5)	pahedza?ina (6)
146. <u>full</u>	toboroŋo- (1)	toboka- (1)	toba (1)	iridzəm- (2)	Itotia- (3)	itu?o- (3)
147. <u>come quick</u>	vaine oro- (1) ruri oro- (3?)	soreka oro- (2)	soreka (2)	burərov- (3)	ragade iro (4)	maraku ro- (4?)
148. <u>old (house)</u>	emene (1)	subuta (2) ehēbiava- (5)	subuta (2) mamife (6)	nami (1?)	mo?oru (3)	tamana (4)
149. <u>new (house)</u>	isaye (1)	iha- (1)	doga (2)	?i?ə (3)	oi?o (4)	mai?u?ina (5)
150. <u>rotten (house)</u>	muduke (1)	bataka- (2)	faha (3) sakafa (5)	burove (4)	sagade (5)	sakara- (5)
151. <u>right hand</u>	vamaya (1)	vamava- (1)	inute (2)	mae (3)	ira?u ma?ina (3)	mano?o (3)
152. <u>left hand</u>	vaka (1)	vagada- (1)	agite (1?)	ɔuadə (2)	ira?u madaru (3)	ana?ina (4)
153. <u>eat</u>	i- (1)	i- (1)	i- (1)	i- (1)	i- (1)	idz- (1)

	KOITA	KOIARI	Mtn. KOIARI	AOMIE	BARAI	MANAGALASI
154. <u>drink</u>	i- (1)	i- (1)	i- (1)	i- (1)	i- (1)	id3- (1)
155. <u>stand up</u>						
(a) <u>arise</u>	uri- (1)	uri- (1)	hoferaha- (2)	ri- (1)	uri- (1)	urid3- (1)
(b) <u>stand</u>	ra- (1)	rami- (1)	rami- (1)	nami- (1)	rami- (2)	namid3- (1)
156. <u>sit down</u>	ugurama- (1)	gura- (1)	uguma- (1)	hi- (2)	idasu ahi- (3)	asumahid3- (3)
157. <u>speak</u>	roi- (1) gava- (3)	roi- (1) heduva- (4)	hotofa- (2)		ro- (1)	
158. <u>/call out/</u>	toyo- (1)	tovo- (1) totova- (1)	hoa- (2)	?uv- (1?)	u(me)- (1?)	umed3- (1?)
159. <u>/run/</u>	rurua- (1)	namare va- (2)	dibua- (3)	d3u?ebi- (4) tutuv- (1?)	gugugu- (1?)	nu- (1?)
160. <u>walk</u>						
161. <u>/take/</u>	ma- (1)	ma- (1)	ma- (1)	bad3- (1)	abe- (1)	aped3- (1)
162. <u>give me</u>	mo- (1)	mo- (1)	mi- (1)	bo- (1)	ma- (1)	mah- (1)
163. <u>give you</u>						
164. <u>give him</u>						
165. <u>hit (with hand)</u>	yama- (1)	vama- (1)	hama- (1)	?an- (2)	ana- (2)	ana- (2)
166. <u>break (tr.)</u>	bokova- (1)	bokova- (1)	eguma- (2)		ato- (3)	tokod3u- (3)

	KOITA	KOIARI	Mtn. KOIARI	AOMIE	BARAI	MANAGALASI
167. <u>fall (from standing)</u>	dova- (1) youha- (6)	kureva- (2)	eseti- (3)	borov- (4)	aʔobi- (5)	odʒ- (1?)
168. <u>fall (from height)</u>		dobiva- (1)	doba- (1)	berov- (2)		
169. <u>sleep</u>	yaya- (1)	yava- (1)	ɔaha- (1)	niav- (2)	nal- (2)	nedʒ- (2)
170. <u>lie on ground</u>	yaya- (1)	yava- (1)	ɔaha- (1)	niav- (2)	nal- (2)	nedʒ- (2)
171. <u>see</u>	eraya- (1)	ereva- (1)	ere- (1)	gav- (1)	aga- (1)	ka- (1)
172. <u>hear</u>	ihi- (1)	ihi- (1)	efi- (1)	hedʒ- (1)	lhe- (1)	hedʒ- (1)
173. <u>cry</u>	nivi- (1)	nivi- (1)	nina- (1)	niv- (1)	ni- (1)	nirav- (1)
174. <u>singsing (v)</u>	yavayava- (1)	koaki- (2)	habua- (3)	dʒoʔi- (4)	dosi- (4)	dʒavav- (1)
175. <u>cook (kukau)</u>	yonoyo- (1)	maruva- (2)	rotieho- (3)	nem- (4)	ane- (5)	nihidʒ- (5?)

5.8	PHONOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE KOIARIAN LANGUAGES
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5.83	INDIVIDUAL LANGUAGE CHARACTERISTICS
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## 5.81 INTRODUCTION

No phonemic statements have been published on any of the languages of the Koiarian Family although tentative statements have been prepared by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics who have worked, or are working in the Aomie and Managalasi languages.<sup>1</sup> These statements have been discussed with the members currently working in these languages<sup>2</sup> and have been utilized in the following description, with certain modifications, which are discussed in the relevant language subsections below. All other phonemic statements are based on my survey materials, Koiari being the most complete.

## 5.82 GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

### 5.82.1 Overview

Chart I shows all of the phonemes which occur in the six languages of the Family. The phonemic symbols have conventional values except that /f/ and /v/ are bilabial fricatives, /r/ is generally a flapped alveolar vibrant, /y/ is an alveo-palatal flat fricative and /e/ is normally realized as [ɛ].<sup>3</sup> In the chart an "x" at the intersection of a phoneme row and a language column indicates that the phoneme specified by the row occurs in the particular language specified by the column. From this chart it is apparent that the phonemic systems of the languages of the Family are very similar. Thus in each language there are sets of stops,

<sup>1</sup>See A. and M. Tobitt (1964) on Aomie, and J. and J. Parlier (1964) on Managalasi phonemes. These statements, and mine which follows, describe phonemes which are arrived at by the application of traditional phonemic principles, as expounded, for example, by Pike (1947).

<sup>2</sup>J. and J. Austing have now replaced A. and M. Tobitt in Aomie.

<sup>3</sup>In this description phonetic symbols are those suggested by the International Phonetic Association in their "The Principles of the International Phonetic Association" (1949). The following diacritics are used:

+	(below a letter)	fronted variety
-	(below a letter)	backed variety
~	(below a letter)	interdental variety
˘	(above a letter)	flapped variety
˘	(below a vocoid)	more open variety
˘	(below a vocoid)	more close variety
˘	(before a syllable)	primary phonetic stress
˘	(before a syllable)	primary phonemic stress
"	(below a letter)	fortis production



fricatives, affricatives, nasals, a vibrant, and at least five vowels.<sup>1</sup> General features of each of these sets are as follows:

Chart 1: Phonemes of the Languages of the Koiarian Family

Phoneme		Koita	Koiari	Mtn Koiari	Aomie	Barai	Managalasi
<b>CONSONANTS</b>							
Stops	p				x		x
	t	x	x	x	x	x	x
	k	x	x	x	x		x
	ʔ				x	x	x
	b	x	x	x	x	x	
	d	x	x	x	x	x	
	g	x	x	x	x	x	
Fricatives	f		x	x			
	s	x	x	x	x	x	x
	h	x	x	x	x <sup>2</sup>	x	x
	v	x	x		x	x	x
	y	x	x				
	ʒ					x	
	ð			x			
Affricates	tʃ						x
	dʒ				x		x
Nasals	m	x	x	x	x	x	x
	n	x	x	x	x	x	x
Vibrant	r	x	x	x	x	x	x
<b>VOWELS</b>							
	i	x	x	x	x	x	x
	e	x	x	x	x	x	x
	æ				x		
	ɛ						x <sup>3</sup>
	ə				x		
	a	x	x	x	x	x	x
	ɔ				x		
	o	x	x	x	x	x	x
	u	x	x	x	x	x	x

Footnotes overleaf

### 5.82.2 Stops

In all languages stops contrast as to bilabial, alveolar and velar points of articulation, although Managalasi does not have contrast between voiced and voiceless subsets. In this latter language only voiceless contoids [p], [t] and [k] occur, and these are allophones of /p/, /t/, and /g/, respectively. /ʔ/ is characteristic of the Baraic Sub-Family, although [ʔ] also occurs in the Koiari Sub-Family languages either as an extra-systemic phoneme as in [oʔɛ] 'yes' in Koiari, or as a phoneme in some dialects (e.g., the Southern Dialect of Mountain Koiari). In Barai [k] occurs as an allophone of /ʔ/. It is also of interest that no /p/ occurs in most of the languages of the language family. However, it will be noticed that /f/ (a voiceless bilabial fricative) occurs instead in Koiari and Mountain Koiari. Thus /f/ may be interpreted as /p/ in these languages,<sup>1</sup> thereby giving more symmetry to the set of stops, but less symmetry to the set of fricatives.

### 5.82.3 Fricatives and Affricates

This is the area of apparent widest consonantal variation between the member languages of the family. However, this variation is more apparent than real. Thus all of the languages have a common set of fricatives /s/, /h/, and /v/ (except Mountain Koiari which has no /v/), and there are some correspondences between the affricates of the Baraic languages and the fricatives /ð/ of Mountain Koiari and /y/, of Koita and Koiari.<sup>2</sup>

Footnotes from previous page

<sup>1</sup>It is hardly necessary to point out, however, that this does not automatically mean that there is a one-to-one correspondence between the phonemes of the languages. Reconstruction of the phonological system of the parent language, Proto-Koiarian, has not yet been attempted.

<sup>2</sup>/h/ only occurs in the phonemic system of some informants (Tobitt, 1964) - see Section 5.83.52 below.

<sup>3</sup>See discussion of /w/ in Section 5.83.72 below.

<sup>1</sup>In some languages, e.g., Koiari and Aomie, an f-p contrast is being introduced into the phonemic systems of the younger speakers learning English.

<sup>2</sup>For example:

<u>English</u>	<u>Koita</u>	<u>Koiari</u>	<u>Mtn.</u> <u>Koiari</u>	<u>Aomie</u>	<u>Barai</u>	<u>Managalasi</u>
'you(pl.)'	ya	ya	ða(ia)	dʒeme	ʒa	dʒa(ra)

#### 5.82.4 *Vibrant*

All of the languages have a common vibrant /r/. This phoneme also has a common set of allophones in all of the languages. These allophones are usually unflapped in word initial position, and flapped in word medial position. They also have a vibrant quality in the environment of front vowels and a lateral quality elsewhere. Barai and Mountain Koiari have extra allophones which are discussed below.

#### 5.82.5 *Vowels*

All of the languages share a common set of five vowels: /i e a o u/. These common vowels contrast in high, mid, and low tongue positions. High and mid vowels contrast in front and back tongue positions. Managalasi and Aomie have additional (generally central) vowels. In none of the languages is vowel length phonemic.

#### 5.82.6 *Syllable Structure and Stress*

The syllable structure of Koiarian languages is simple. There are no consonant clusters and all syllables are open, being either a vowel, or a combination of consonant and vowel. Vowoid glides are interpreted as sequences of vowels, although in Koita, Mountain Koiari, and Barai this needs further investigation together with the interpretation of stress. In the three languages of the Family studied in more detail (viz., Koiari, Aomie, and Managalasi) stress has been found to be phonemic.

None of the Koiarian languages is tonal.<sup>1</sup>

Intonation has not been studied in any detail in any of the languages.

### 5.83 *INDIVIDUAL LANGUAGE CHARACTERISTICS*

#### 5.83.1 *General*

The following sketch statements give the phonemes of each language together with a short list of words used for identifying phonemic contrasts in those languages hitherto unstudied, and,

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<sup>1</sup>This is in contrast to many other non-Austronesian languages of New Guinea for which tonal systems have been described, e.g., Telefol (Healey, 1964), Awa (Loving, 1966). See E.V. Pike (1964) for a description of the types of tonal languages to be found in New Guinea.

where necessary, some further comments on allophonic variants and other phonological features.

### 5.83.2 *Koita*

#### 5.83.21 *Phonemes*

Thirteen consonant and five vowels phonemes occur in Koita. The consonant phonemes are: /t k b d g s h v y ɣ m n r/. These phonemes contrast in analagous or identical environments:

b//v	/bata/ 'moon'; /vata/ 'ground';
t//d	/ata/ 'man'; /ada/ 'arm';
k//g	/vaka/ 'cave'; /vaga/ 'left hand';
m//b	/mata/ 'land'; /bata/ 'moon';
d//n	/idi adaka/ 'tree branch'; /idi hanaka/ 'tree leaf';
ɣ//r	/ɣamanu/ '(I) hit it'; /ramanu/ '(I) stood';
ɣ//h	/oyo/ 'village'; /oho/ 'pig';
t//s	/ita/ 'bone'; /isaye/ 'new';
d//r	/ɣudi/ 'lime pot'; /uri/ 'nose';
t//r	/toyonu/ '(I) called out'; /royonu/ '(I) came';
r//n	/varike/ 'forehead'; /vani/ 'sun';
g//ɣ	/yaga/ 'house'; /yaya/ 'net bag, bilum';
b//ɣ	/mabi/ 'unmarried woman (young)'; /mayi/ 'married woman';
y//l	/yaga/ 'house'; /iahu/ 'old (man)'. 

The vowel phonemes are: /ieaou/. These contrast in identical environments:

l//e	/mayi/ 'woman'; /maye/ 'good';
a//e	/a/ 'you'; /e/ 'that';
a//o	/(di) mabare/ '(my) wife'; /(di) mobore/ '(my) husband';
o//u	/ogo/ 'cloth'; /ugu/ 'bird'.

#### 5.83.22 *Allophonic Variants and other Phonological Features*

/e/ and /a/ may have allophonic variants [ɛ<sup>l</sup>] and [a<sup>l</sup>] respectively before [j], e.g.,

[ɛ<sup>l</sup>ja] 'water'; [βa<sup>l</sup>ja] 'yam (taitu)'.

Final vowels, and sometimes /m/ and /v/, are often omitted in normal conversation, e.g.,

... 'abu 'abu... may appear as... a 'babu... '...twenty...';  
 ... 'di 'ade... may appear as... 'dade... '...my arm...';  
 ... 'da ka mu... may appear as... da 'kau... '...I just... '.

5.83.3 *Koiari*5.83.31 *Phonemes*

Thirteen consonant and five vowel phonemes occur in Koiari. The consonant phonemes are: /t k b d g f s h v y m n r/.<sup>1</sup> These phonemes contrast in analagous or identical environments:

- b// - /bata/ 'noon'; /ata/ 'man'; /baba/ 'father'; /aba/ 'hole';  
 t//d /ata/ 'man'; /ada/ 'arm'; /ta/ 'and'; /da/ 'I';  
 k//g /ekehe/ 'there'; /egehe/ 'before'; /koro/ 'star'; /gorogo/ 'sick';  
 s//t /soreka/ 'quick'; /toroka/ 'hard'; /ita/ 'water'; /isasa/ 'uncooked';  
 m//b /mata/ 'bush'; /bata/ 'moon'; /mabara/ 'wife'; /mamaka/ 'father';  
 n//d /ana/ 'rattan'; /ada/ 'arm'; /numu/ 'mountain'; /dumo/ '(personal name)';  
 f//v /faragi/ 'leaf for mat making'; /varaka/ 'snake'; /diafanivati/ 'weeds'; /vani/ 'sun';  
 d//r /udiava/ 'doorway'; /uri/ 'nose'; /da/ 'I'; /ra-/ 'to stand';  
 t//r /mabata/ 'old woman'; /mabara/ 'wife'; /ta/ 'and'; /ra-/ 'to stand';  
 b//v /mabi/ 'big girl (unmarried)'; /mavi/ 'woman (married)'; /bata/ 'moon'; /vata/ 'ground';  
 v// - /vuma/ 'axe'; /uma/ 'road, track';  
 y//i /ya/ 'you (pl.)'; /iya/ 'cassowary'; /yuva/ 'cloud'; /iyu/ 'wasp';  
 u//v /vuma-ni-gene a va/ 'Do you want (the)axe?'; /vuma-ni ura-vehitene<sup>2</sup> a ua/ 'Don't you want (the)axe?'

The vowel phonemes are: /i e a o u/. These contrast in analagous or identical environments:

- i//e /veni/ 'rain'; /vene/ 'fire'; /ikohe/ 'here'; /ekehe/ 'there';  
 e//a /veni/ 'rain'; /vani/ 'day'; /ate/ 'friend'; /ata/ 'man';  
 a//o /('da) mabare/ '(my) wife'; /('da) mobore/ '(my) husband'; /ote/ 'go (imperative sg.)'; /ate/ 'friend';  
 o//u /unu/ 'it is'; /ono/ 'thing'; /ugu/ 'bird'; /ogo/ 'cloth'.

<sup>1</sup>Glottal stop occurs in one word, viz. [ɔʔɛ] 'yes'. It is not counted as a phoneme of the language.

<sup>2</sup>ura is a Motu loan 'to want, wish' that is now widely used by the Koiari.



## 5.83.32 Allophonic Variants and Other Phonological Features

The voiceless bilabial fricative /f/ may have [p] as a free variant with [ɸ] word initially preceding back vowels, e.g.,

[pu'ɸuri] or [ɸu'ɸuri] 'Fufuri (name of rock)'.

The voiced bilabial fricative /v/ has the variant [w] before back vowels: e.g.,

[ˈwami] 'boy'; [ˈwowo] 'younger brother'; [ˈwuma] 'axe';

and [β] before front vowels: e.g.,

[βehi'tɛlo] 'not'; and [ˈmaβi] 'woman'.

Front vowels may be non-phonemically nasalized after /h/, e.g.,

[ˈhĩhĩ] 'wind',

and an intrusive /h/ sometimes occurs between vowels across grammatical "word" boundaries when the second "word" begins with /a/, e.g., /ada hakibehe-h-abuti/ where -h- signifies the intrusion. Vowels and consonants may be non-phonemically lengthened in the syllables of "words" which carry primary stress, e.g.,

[daˈk:iˈnake] 'my head' and [ˈβe:ni] 'rain'.<sup>1</sup>

Vowels are also phonetically long in single syllable utterances such as:

[ˈbi:] 'spear'; [ˈwa:] 'sky'; [ˈto:] 'dog'.

/a/ may be also phonetically long in stressed syllables containing /v/ as onset, e.g.,

[ˈwa:du] 'taro'; or [ˈwa:βɛ] 'crotin'.

Finally vowels and consonants may be elided in normal conversation as follows:

## (a) Vowels

Final vowels are elided before following words beginning with a vowel: e.g.,

/ˈata ˈeke/ becomes /aˈteke/ 'that man'

/ge ahu/ becomes /ˈgahu/ 'and he'

/ne ˈa ua/ becomes /ˈnaua/ 'are you'

except (a) if the two vowels are the same, as, for example, in /ˈada aˈbuti/. In such instances the syllable

<sup>1</sup>Sometimes demonstrative and locative words may be deliberately lengthened to emphasize the distance (in time or place) involved, e.g. [ˈwa:::βɛhɛ] 'a very long time ago', (from [wa:βɛhɛ] 'a long time ago') or [ˈmo:::rɛhɛ] 'way down there' (from [ˈmorɛhɛ] 'down there').

boundary may disappear and both vowels may be assimilated and realized as one long vowel. Thus the last example,

/ʼada aʼbuti/ becomes /aʼda:ʼbuti/  
'two hands';

(b) in the following observed instance:

/yaga uhu va go/ becomes /yagahu va go/  
'It's in the house';

(c) if the preceding word is a pronoun:

/da ihikone/ becomes /da<sup>i</sup>hikone/  
'my ear'.

(b) *Consonants*

Voiced bilabial consonants and /r/ may sometimes be elided,

e.g.,

- (a) /b/: /evuri tabugo/ becomes /evuri taugo/  
'It's high up';  
/da bebe erevanu/ becomes /daebe:revanu/  
'I didn't see it';  
/vadibe va ne yabu roia/ becomes /vadibevane  
yau roia/ 'What did they say?'
- (b) /v/: /matare da beki vima/ becomes /matare da  
beki:ma/ 'I'm sweeping';  
/yaviso/ becomes /yaiso/ 'Goodbye'.
- (c) /m/: /da momi/ becomes daomi/ 'Give me!'  
/da a momirihero/ becomes /da:omirihero/  
'I'll give you';  
/varemime.../ becomes /vareime/ 'left  
and ...'.
- (d) /r/: /gurama/ becomes /guama/ 'Sit down!'

### 5.83.33 *Syllable Structure*

Syllables consist of a vocalic nucleus with an optional consonantal onset. Two syllable types occur:

- (i) V: /a/ 'you' and /a.ta/ 'man';  
(ii) CV: /ma.vi/ 'woman',

where the period indicates syllable boundaries within the "words". No closed syllables occur. Glides are interpreted as a sequence of two vowels. There are no distinctive distributions of vowels or consonants. Only three combinations of vowels were not observed, viz. /eo/, /uo/ and /ie/.

5.83.34 *Stress*

Stress is phonemic in Koiari. It is symbolized (') where its placement cannot be predicted. Generally the second last syllable of two to four syllable words is stressed, e.g.,

/'ata/ 'man'; /ma'bara/ 'wife'; /go'roto/ 'betel nut pepper'; /ero'kai/ '(tree name)'.

However the placement of stress is not completely predictable as the following examples show:

/ada'hotove/ 'back of hand'; /'adaka/ 'hand'; /'babaka/ 'sugar banana'; /ba'baika/ 'father'; /'balahu/ 'tree climbing kangaroo'; /'gorogo/ 'sick'.

The placement of stress may vary as words appear in different environments, e.g.,

/'adaka/ 'hand': /'da:'dake/ 'my hand': /eke're 'da:da'kero/ 'that's my hand!'

From these examples it is also apparent that utterances of more than three syllables may have more than one stress.

5.83.4 *Mountain Koiari*5.83.41 *Phonemes*

Twelve consonant and five vowel phonemes occur in Mountain Koiari. The consonant phonemes are: /t k b d g f s h ð m n r/.

These phonemes contrast in analagous or identical environments:

t//d /ata/ 'people'; /ada/ 'arm';

k//g /gobe/ 'throat'; /kome/ 'knee';

b//f /bata/ 'moon'; /fata/ 'land';

d//r//s /udi/ 'betel nut lime'; /uri/ 'nose'; /si/ 'flower'; /di/ 'I'; /erehanu/ '(I) saw (it)'; /esefe/ 'small';

ð//r /ðahanu/ '(I) slept'; /rahanu/ '(It's) cooked';

g//h//f /ofof/ 'pig'; /ogo/ 'cloth'; /hoho/ 'sibling, same sex, younger'; /fomo/ 'hair'; /fafif/ 'night'; /hafaf more/ 'far away'; /goe/ 'cloud'.

The vowel phonemes are: / i e a o u/. These contrast in identical environments:

i//e /uti/ 'ashes'; /ute/ 'snake';

a//o /boto/ 'bush'; /bata/ 'moon';

o//u /ogo/ 'cloth'; /ugu/ 'bird'.



### 5.83.42 Allophonic Variants and Other PHonological Features

/f/ and /h/ have voiceless allophones word initially and voiced ones word medially, e.g., [ˈfɔmo] 'hair'; [diˈβomo] 'my hair'; [xuˈmaja] 'path, track'. /s/ has allophone [s] word initially e.g., [sɛriˈanu] 'It's cold' and [z] word medially, e.g., [ɛˈzɛβɛ] 'small'. Sometimes [z] is well fronted, as in [ɛˈz̥aga] 'sand' or [ɛˈz̥ɛβɛ] 'small', and approximates to the allophone [ð] of /ð/. /ð/ is usually realized as a voiced interdental fricative with quality varying from [j] to [l] to [ð], e.g., [ðaˈɣanu] 'I slept' may also be heard as [l̥aˈɣanu] 'I' or [jaˈɣanu]. /r/ also has a wide variety of allophones which range from [r] or [ɹ] in the environment of high front vowels to [l] elsewhere, e.g., [ˈuri] or [uɹi] 'nose'; [ɸiɹiˈɸiɹiˈanu] 'It turns around'. Sometimes the flapped variants are more nearly [ɹ̥] (flapped voiced alveo-dental fricative), e.g., [ˈɸiɹ̥iˈɸiɹ̥iˈanu] 'It turns around', and [ˈa<sup>u</sup>ɹ̥a] 'chin', or [faˈɹ̥ute] 'how much'.

### 5.83.5 Aomie

5.83.51 Aomie phonology has been described by A. and M. Tobitt (1964). These authors give the following as a tentative phoneme inventory for the Asapa dialect of the language (with common allophones given in square brackets):

#### CONSONANTS

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Glottal
Stops (vl.)	p[p,ɸ,f,p <sup>h</sup> ,h]	t	k	ʔ
(vd.)	b	d	g	
Fricatives (vl.)		s[s,ts]		
(vd.)	v[β,w]		dʒ[dʒ,dʒ]	
Nasals	m	n		
Vibrant		r[r,l]		

#### VOWELS

	Front	Central	Back
High	i[i,j]		u
Mid	e[e,ɛ] æ		o[o,ɛ] ɔ[ʌ,ɔ]
Low		a	

5.83.52 In their description the authors also point out that /p/ has a wide variety of allophones. Not all speakers have the same set. Different groups of speakers have different sets depending on their age group and their contact with Police Motu and English. Thus younger speakers who know Police Motu and/or English tend to distinguish between [p,  $\phi$ ] and [h, f]. For others there is a contrast between [p<sup>h</sup>,  $\phi$ ] and [h]. A. and M. Tobitt also interpret palatalization and labialization of all consonants as consonant plus vowel. Thus [ˈg<sup>w</sup>aβɛ] 'bury' is interpreted as /ˈguave/. [ə] is interpreted as an allophone of /o/.

For purposes of this survey I have separated /h/ from /p/ on the basis that /h/ is a phoneme in the other dialect of Aomie, viz. Zuwadza, at Namanaia village. This dialect has the following phonemes (with allophones):

#### CONSONANTS

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Glottal
Stops(vl.)	p[p, b]	t[t, d]	k[k, g]	ʔ
Fricatives(vl.)		s[s, ts]	tʃ[tʃ]	h
(vd.)	v[β, w]		dʒ[dʒ, ʒ, dʒ̣, j]	
Nasals	m	n		
Vibrant		r[r, ɹ, ɹ, l]		

#### VOWELS

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e[ɛ]		o ɔ
Low		a[a, ə, ɐ]	

I also include /ə/ as a vowel phoneme in the Asapa dialect on the advice of Mr. J. Austing (oral communication). The vowel phonemes of the Asapa dialect which I shall use then are:

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e ə	ə	o ɔ
Low		a	

#### 5.83.53 *Stress*

A. and M. Tobitt found stress to be contrastive on first and second syllables of words.

5.83.6 *Barai*5.83.61 *Phonemes*

Twelve consonant and five vowel phonemes occur in Barai.

The consonant phonemes are: /t ʔ b d g s h v ʒ m n r/. These phonemes contrast in analagous or identical environments as follows:

- ʔ//g /ginigu/ 'hole'; /ʔiʔu/ 'bat';  
 t//d /tereɪ/ 'river frog'; /dedi/ 'faeces';  
 r//d /iru/ 'mouth, a boil'; /idu/ 'tree';  
 ʔ//t /maʔu/ 'wall'; /matu/ 'tortoise-shell breast plate';  
 s//t /sa/ 'skin'; /ta/ 'breadfruit';  
 h//v /vahamu/ 'young boy'; /a-va eiraha/ 'Who are you?'  
 s//ʒ /sa/ 'skin'; /ʒa/ 'you (pl.)'.

The vowel phonemes are: /i e a o u/. These contrast in analagous or identical environments:

- i//e /vari(no)/ '(my) son'; /vare(no)/ '(my) forehead';  
 o//u /ido/ 'water'; /idu/ 'tree';  
 e//a /ageho/ '(I) saw them'; /agaho/ '(I) saw it';  
 a//o /ʒa/ 'you (pl.)'; /ʒo/ 'garden'.

5.83.62 *Allophonic Variants and Other Phonological Features*

The following phonemes have important allophones:

Phoneme	Allophones
/ʔ/	[ʔ] is the phonemic norm but it may fluctuate with [k] in some words, e.g., [ʔiʔu] or [ˈkiku] 'bat'.
/h/	[h] word initially with [h] or [ɣ] word medially, e.g., [ɛˈhote] and [ɛˈbaɪuˈɣote] 'many men'.
/r/	[r] in the environment of high front vowels word medially, e.g., [ˈnirimu] 'I don't know'; [ɪ] elsewhere, e.g., [ɛˈbaɪu] 'man'. Unflapped variants occur in similar environments word initially, e.g., [ˈrihuve] 'wet' and [ˈluve] 'bandicoot'. [r] may fluctuate freely word medially with [ɪ] and [ɔ̃], e.g., [ˈiɪu] or [ˈiɔ̃u] 'a boil', and [ˈnirimu] or [ˈnidimu] 'I don't know'.
/ʒ/	[j] varies freely with [ʒ], e.g., [ˈʒo] or [ˈjo] 'garden', although /z/ may also be realized as [dʒ] word medially.
/a/	[a] occurs in stressed syllables and [ɛ] elsewhere. See examples under /h/above. /a/ may also be realized as [ɤ] in the environment of /ʔe/ word medially, e.g., [ˈtəʔɛne] 'bad'.
/o/	[o] may vary with [ɔ̃] or [o <sup>u</sup> ] after /h/, e.g., [ˈageho <sup>u</sup> ] or [ˈagehɔ̃] '(I) saw it'.

5.83.63 *Stress*

Insufficient time was spent on this aspect of the language to determine the status of stress in it. My impression is, however, that stress is probably phonemic since primary stress has variant positions in words of the same number of syllables, e.g.,

[moˈga] 'tanket (shrub)'; [ˈmɪsu] 'salt'.

5.83.7 *Managalasi*

5.83.71 Managalasi phonology has been described by J. and J. Parlier (1964). These authors give the following as a tentative phoneme inventory for the language (with the statistically most frequently occurring allophones given in square brackets where necessary):

## CONSONANTS

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Glottal
Stops	p[p]	t[t]	k[k]	ʔ
Fricatives(vl.)		s	ʃ[tʃ,ts]	h
(vd.)	v[β,b <sup>w</sup> ]		j[dʒ,dʒ]	
Nasals	m	n		
Vibrant		r[r,ɹ]		

## VOWELS

	Front	Back
High	i	u[w,u]
Mid	e[e,ɛ]	o[o,ɔ]
Low	a[a,ə]	

5.83.72 In their interpretation J. and J. Parlier treat a sequence of vocoids as a sequence of vowels. They also treat a high central rounded /ɯ/ as a sequence of two vowels /i/ and /u/ with stress on the second vowel, for the following reasons:

- that /ɯ/ contrasts with /i/ and /u/;
- that /ɯ/ has a very limited distribution;
- that the sequence /iu/ does not occur so that the interpretation of /ɯ/ as a sequence of two vowels /i/ plus /u/ fills an otherwise observed gap in the vowels sequences which occur.

For comparative purposes, however, it is probably better to retain the identity of /ɯ/ in the phoneme chart thus:

High	i	ɯ	u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

This is the system displayed in Chart I above and which I have used in transcribing the word list for Managalasi in Appendix 5.7 above. I have also used the following symbolization for some of the consonants given above so as to be in keeping with that used for the other languages of the Kolarian Family:

/c/ is written /tʃ/ and /j/ is written /dʒ/.

#### 5.83.73 *Stress*

J. and J. Parlier show stress to be contrastive on first and second syllables of words.

**5.9 GRAMMATICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE KOIARIAN LANGUAGES****5.91 INTRODUCTION****5.92 SIMPLE SENTENCES**

- 5.92.1 *Verbal Sentences*
- 5.92.2 *Non-Verbal Sentences*
- 5.92.3 *Sentence Constituents*

**5.93 QUESTION AND NEGATIVE VARIANTS OF SIMPLE SENTENCES**

- 5.93.1 *Questions*
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**5.94 PHRASAL AND CLAUSAL COORDINATION**

- 5.94.1 *Noun Phrase Coordination*
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**5.95 PHRASE TYPES**

- 5.95.1 *Noun Phrases*
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**5.96 POSSESSIVE CASE CONSTRUCTIONS****5.97 OTHER MISCELLANEOUS FEATURES**

- 5.97.1 *Pronouns*
- 5.97.2 *Number in Nouns*
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- 5.97.4 *Time and Tense*
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## 5.91 INTRODUCTION

This is an unformalized general account of the principal syntactic features of the Koiarian languages together with some morphological and lexical features.<sup>1</sup>

The account is based on the following sources: (a) one published paper on Managalasi verb structure (Parlier, 1964); (b) several unpublished papers by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. These deal with aspects of Aomie (Austing, 1967) and Managalasi morphology and syntax (James Parlier, 1965; Judith Parlier, 1965; J. and J. Parlier, 1963; Kerr, 1964); (c) survey material which I collected; and (d) my grammatical sketch of the Koiari language which is to be presented elsewhere.

For present purposes it is convenient to distinguish between sentences containing one clause (in the traditional sense) and those containing more than one clause. Sentences containing only one clause will hereafter be referred to as Simple Sentences. Sentences of more than one clause may be said to be derived from Simple Sentences by conjunction or subjunction (or embedding). Subjoined clauses will be treated incidentally as the description proceeds and conjunction will be treated separately in Section 5.94 following a description of Question and Negative variants of Simple Sentences. It is also convenient to use

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Theoretically the comparison of the syntax of two or more languages ought to be the comparison of two or more sets of rules each generating an infinite number of possible sentences with assigned structural descriptions. One method of doing this for the Koiarian languages would be to attempt to write a set of syntactic rules which generate a highly restricted set of basic strings (each with an associated structural description called a Base Phrase Marker) commonly underlying each of the six languages of the family. Variation from one language to another would then be illustrated by different sets of transformational rules which produce terminal strings from the enumerated basic strings. The number and variety of such transformational rules necessary to produce terminal strings in each language would then be some index of the structural divergence of the languages relative to each other. That is, where one transformational rule could be used to generate similar terminal strings in more than one language these languages may be considered to be closely related at this point. This kind of approach is an extension of the principles inherent in the theory of Transformational Generative Grammar as expounded by Noam A. Chomsky in *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1965) and elsewhere, and specifically experimented with by Halle (1962), Klima (1964), Saporta (1965), Kazazis (1967) and others. However, at this point of time our linguistic knowledge of the Koiarian languages is so incomplete that such an approach is beyond our most pious hopes.

the functional notions of Subject (symbolized Subj), Object (symbolized Obj) etc. in lieu of such statements as "the Noun Phrase which functions as Subject...."

In the following description language names are abbreviated as follows: Koita (Ka), Koiari (K), Mountain Koiari (MtnK), Aomie (A), Barai (B), and Managalasi (M). Examples are given in phonemic orthography as presented in Appendix 5.8 above, and are written with spaces between "words" when necessary, and hyphens between morphemes within words. English glosses are given in single quotes and individual morphemes are glossed below the relevant language equivalents. For clarity also corresponding examples are given from each language to illustrate the particular syntactic features discussed.<sup>1</sup>

The following symbols are also used:

- + obligatory occurrence of the category which this symbol precedes
- ( ) optional occurrence of the category enclosed
- { } disjunctive listing of the morphemes enclosed

Other Symbols are explained as they are introduced throughout the text.

## 5.92 SIMPLE SENTENCES

Simple sentences in the Koiarian languages are of two general types: (a) verbal; (b) non-verbal. Verbal sentences will be treated first.

### 5.92.1 Verbal Sentences

Verbal sentences are those which contain a Verb Phrase (symbolized VP). These sentences are of the general form: + Subj (Obj) + VP. Although this may be taken to represent also the normal order of arrangement of these high order constituents, Subject and Object may be rearranged. This is possible since all of the languages (except Managalasi) have syntactic features indicating which element is the Subject. This is usually achieved either indirectly by enclitics on constituents preceding the Subject, as in Koiari (see below), or by markers on the Subject itself as in the other languages.<sup>2</sup> These two

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes this is not possible since during the survey sets of exactly equivalent sentences could not always be elicited.

<sup>2</sup> For Koita and Mountain Koiari these so-called Subject Markers may in fact turn out to be Specifiers similar to those of Koiari on more detailed investigation of the deep structure of these languages.



types of Subject indicators will be referred to hereafter as Specifiers (symbolized Spec) and Subject Identifiers (symbolized id) respectively. The Subject Identifiers of the various languages are:

	Ka	K	MtnK	A	B	M
Subject Identifiers	{ -(ka)ki } <sup>1</sup> { -(va)ra(ki) }	-	{ -u } { -ike }	{ -(*)ro } { -ho <sup>2</sup> }	{ -ru(va) <sup>3</sup> } { -bora(va) }	-

*Examples:*

- (Ka)            da-kaki mari be erevanu        'I saw a woman'  
                   I id woman a see past  
                   ata-raki mari be erevanu        'The man saw a woman'  
                   man id woman a see past
- (K)             da mavi erevanu                    'I saw (a) woman'  
                   I woman see past  
                   mavi-re da erevanu                'I saw (a) woman'  
                   woman-Spec I see past
- (MtnK)         da-u ofo hamanu                    'I killed (the) pig'  
                   I id pig hit past  
                   da-ike ofo hamanu                    'I killed (the) pig'  
                   I id pig hit past  
                   maraha more-u ofo hamanu        'A man killed (the) pig'  
                   man a id pig hit past
- (A)             ama'e-ro vabore gave                '(The) man saw (the) woman'  
                   man id woman see past
- (B)             zabu-ru na bizanaha                'They speared me'  
                   they id me spear past  
                   e-bora taba aganama                'The man saw the snake'  
                   man id snake see past
- (M)             -

<sup>1</sup> Koita uses -(ka)ki for pronominal Subjects and -(va)ra(ki) for nominal Subjects. Note also the similarity between the Specifier -ike in Koiari and the Subject Identifiers of Koita and Mountain Koiari. There also seems to be a close correspondence between the Specifiers -re, vare, -wahe in Koiari and Subject Identifiers -ro, -hu, -ru(va) and -bora(va).

<sup>2</sup> Mr. J. Austing informs me that -ho, and -oho, -hu, -ohu may be 'definite' category markers, rather than Subject markers.

## 5.92.2 Non-Verbal Sentences

These are of the general form: + Subj + Complement + Copula.

## Examples:

(Ka)	e-ra ata-ra (ki)	'That's (a) man'
	that id man Cop	
	da-ka mare-raki	'I am good'
	I id good Cop	
(K)	eke-re ata-ro	'That's (a) man'
	that Spec man Cop	
	(da-ike) maiteka-vahe da unu	'I am good'
	I Spec good Spec I Cop	
(MtnK)	di e ike-ko	'That's my water'
	My water that Cop	
	di duave	'I am good'
	I good	
(A)	aruhe ae go-dze	'That's a man'
	that man a Cop	
	na mae-dzeve	'I am good'
	I good Cop	
(B)	gare-va e baru	'That's (a) man'
	that id man	
	na ma?-ina	'I am good'
	I good Cop	
(M)	kera parua <sup>1</sup>	'That's (a) man'
	that man	
	na ni <sup>2</sup> ma-rano	'I am good'
	I Int good Cop	

footnote 3 from previous page:

Barai has different Subject Identifiers for human versus non-human, singular and plural variants. Aomie too has special distributional distinctions between -ro and -hu.

<sup>1</sup>Note in this example that the ra in kera is probably related to the -ra and -re forms on Koita and Koiari Subjects respectively.

<sup>2</sup>/ni/ is some kind of intensifier ('just, yet'), which also occurs in verbal sentences. These intensifiers are common (in different forms) to the Koiarian languages, e.g., ni in Barai, ma in Koiari, mu in Koita, and ba in Mountain Koiari.

Non-verbal sentences (as their name suggests) do not contain Verb Phrases (see section 5.95.2 below). Instead some sort of Copula relates the Subjects to Complements although in many of the languages it may be deleted optionally. In the Koiaric languages the copula is unchanging for tense though it may be inflected for number and person, and is based on the vowel /u/. Thus in Koiari *unu* is used for 1st and 3rd person singular, and *ua* is used for all other persons. Koita is a little more complex in that *-unu* is now only used in certain constructions, for example, questions: *ata be-na ore unu* 'Where is a man?' These forms  
 man a Q where be  
 seem to be closely related to the verb 'to stay, remain' whose stem is also *u-* in Koiari. On the other hand copulae in the Baraic languages do not seem to be as closely related to one another as those in the Koiaric languages.

### 5.92.3 Sentence Constituents

Subjects, Objects and Complements are manifested by some Noun Phrase. Complements may also be manifested by some Adjective Phrase, or by any one of the following Adverbial Phrases of Location, Accompaniment, or Benefaction. These phrases, together with those of Time, Manner, Instrument, Purpose, and Reason/Cause also occur as optional constituents of verbal sentences. There is generally no fixed order amongst Adverb Phrases, although adverbs of manner may optionally occur inside or outside of the Verb Phrase.<sup>1</sup> The structure of these phrases is discussed in Section 5.95.3 below.

## 5.93 QUESTIONS AND NEGATIVE VARIANTS OF SIMPLE SENTENCES

### 5.93.1 Questions:

Kolarian languages have generally simple rules for the formation of Yes-No and Information Question variants of Simple Sentences.

Yes-No Questions are achieved by either phonological (e.g., change in the intonation pattern or in the phonemic structure of some grammatical form already present) or by morphological (e.g., by the addition of some new formative) means. In either case the phonemic form of the formative is either *ne* or *na*. In Managalasi *w* may be added in sentence initial position instead. In none of the languages is the form of the verb phrase altered in any way.

<sup>1</sup>Except in Managalasi where adverbs of manner occur only outside of the verb phrase.

## Examples:

- (ka)            a-na mare-nu            'Are you good?'  
                  You Q   good-be
- (K)            maiteka-vahene a    ua    'Are you good?'  
                  good - Spec Q you be
- (MtnK)        a-na duave            'Are you good?'  
                  You-Q   good
- (A)            na dza mahe bidzoho?i wa'andeze    'Are you going in order  
                  Q   you pig   spear-to   going            to kill the pig?'
- (B)            a-ne ma'ina            'Are you good?'  
                  You-Q   good
- (M)            e kera parue            'Is that (a) man?'  
                  Q   that man  
                  a-ne marenao            'Are you good?'  
                  You-Q   good

Information Questions (that is, those corresponding to the wh-questions in English) are formed simply by the substitution of Question pro-forms for Noun Phrases, Adverbs of Location, Time, Manner, Reason etc. These are all very similar in each of the member languages:

ENGLISH	Ka	K	MtnK	A	B	M
'who'	un uhu	oine	ore	rahu	ira(ra)	ira(ra)
'whose'	un uhu	oine	ore	(?)	ira'onu	(?)
'what'	otado(vane)	vadibe	(ono)fade	rabe	ida	ira(ka)
'where' (at)	ore-he	ore-he	ore-fe	dino'e	ide(de)	itjine
'how many'	esebu	vahuti	faerute	{dimine dimina'e}	ida'i(me)	itjarona
'which'	ore	vore	orete	di	ira(ha)	itjihi
'when'	vaisu	vahutehe	farufera	divare	{vedaha vede}	(?)

'Why' is not listed because it has no one form in the Koiarian languages. There are a variety of ways of expressing this concept depending on what information one wishes to elicit. Thus 'why' may be equivalent to 'what's the matter that (you...),' or 'because of what (are you...),' or 'what are (you) going to do that (you...),' or 'for what reason are (you...).'

### 5.93.2 Negation

This is generally achieved by some free word or verb prefix<sup>1</sup> containing a bilabial stop or a suffix e.g.,

	Ka	K	MtnK	A	B	M
Negative	-veite-	bebe	-hori-	bogo	ba-	pa-

Negation in the Koiaric languages is more complex than in the Baraic languages. Koiaric languages have different selections of negativity for different syntactic structures. Thus in Koiari *bebe* is only used for sentences containing a Verb Phrase which has not optionally been expanded by using *unu* the verb 'to be.' Where this expansion has occurred either *vehite* (cf. the Koita form just given), or the discontinuous constituent *bene...gene* must be chosen. *bene* also occurs in Mountain Koiari but with only the future tense. Koita has *beta* in this case and Managalasi has *pana*. Consider:

(Ka)	e-ra beta ata-ra	'That's not (a) man'
	that-id not men-Cop	
	ata-ra beta ororo-vara	'(The) man will not come'
	man-id not come-future	
(K)	eke-re ata bene	'That's not (a) man'
	that-Spec man not	
	da bebe ota-rihe-ro	'I'll not go'
	I not go-future-Tas	
	ota-rihe-vehite-re da unu	'I'll not go'
	go-future-not-Spec I be	
(MtnK)	abu roho-rife-bene	'They'll not come'
	they come-future-not	

<sup>1</sup>Negatives are possibly the only prefixes that occur in the Koiarian languages.

- (A)        na bogo kodzari e dzeve    'I am not (a) Koiari man'  
              I not Koiari man be
- (B)        ze-va e baru ba'una        'That's not (a) man'  
              that-id man not (be?)
- (M)        hu parua pana                'He's not (a) man'  
              he man not  
              parue pa-rou                '(A) man is not coming'  
              man not-come

## 5.94 PHRASAL AND CLAUSAL COORDINATION

### 5.94.1 Noun Phrase Coordination

Noun Phrases are conjoined with the same morpheme suffix on each phrase except in Koita where *mati* is used between the last two constituents only.<sup>1</sup> These morphemes are:

ENGLISH	Ka	K	MtnK	A	B	M
'and'	-	-ta...-ta	-ta...-ta	-ʔo...-ʔo	-ʔo...-ʔo	{ -o...-o } { -ho...-ho }

### 5.94.2 Clausal Coordination

Clauses may be joined by overt conjunctions, such as:

ENGLISH	Ka	K	MtnK	A	B	M
'or'	se	o(ibe)	mena	o	{ ba } { o } { be }	ho
'but'	(?)	bane(eke)	to <sup>2</sup>	rɔhu	gero(?)	(?)

or by juxtaposition, with appropriate intonational and pausal features. Juxtaposition is commonly used to express the comparative construction of English. For example, 'he is taller than you are' would be expressed as 'You are small; he is tall.' The most common method of conjoining

<sup>1</sup> *mati* seems to be related to the Mountain Koiari suffix *-ti* 'also.'

<sup>2</sup> This is probably a Motu loan.



clauses is however by the so-called "medial verb construction."<sup>1</sup> These are special forms of the verb which occur when no overt conjunction is used. Conjunction by "medial verb" expresses a wide range of time and other relationships between the conjuncts. The morphology of these verbs is generally complex in New Guinea languages. Koiarian medial verbs by comparison are relatively simple, though the Baraic ones are more complex than the Koiaric ones. In all of the languages, however, similar suffixes are used to indicate when the same or different persons are performing or have performed the actions. When the same persons (symbolized ss) are involved the suffix is either -me or -mo, and when different persons (symbolized ds) are involved the suffix is -ge or ga. These suffixes only appear on those verbs which do not occur in sentence final position.

*Examples:*

- (K)        ahu orovonu-ge da otinu    'When he came I went'  
              he came - ds I went  
              da mi-(me da) otinu        'I got it and went'  
              I got-ss I went
- (B)        ahu iro-ho-ga na wa'ize        'When he comes I'll go'  
              he comes(?)ds I go-future  
              wari-no iro-me ahi'zano        'My son came and sat down'  
              son-my come-ss sat

Medial verbs are much more complex than this and require much more familiarity with the languages than I was able to obtain on the survey to determine the correspondences between the many possible forms. From text material collected, however, it does appear that all of the languages use a similar technique for joining clauses in connected discourse. Thus all informants often repeat the final verb of a preceding sentence in medial form to introduce a following sentence. This expresses the idea of say 'having done such and such...' Another technique is to use a Demonstrative plus Reason Postposition as introducer, or sentence connector. In this construction the demonstrative "stands for" the previous statement, e.g., in Koiari this is e-ru-ge... 'because of that....'<sup>2</sup> Finally a Verb Phrase in medial form may be

<sup>1</sup>The term "medial verb" was first introduced into New Guinea linguistics by Pilhofer (1933). See Wurm (1964:81ff.) for a general description of the characteristic structure of these verbs in New Guinea Highlands languages.

<sup>2</sup>In Aomie, for example, the equivalent would be æ-huni 'that-because.'

repeated several times to express the idea of 'until', e.g.,

(B)            na ahi-no ahi-no ahi-no na'izezo.  
I    sit        sit        sit    sleep past

'I sat and sat and sat until I went to sleep.'

## 5.95 PHRASE TYPES

### 5.95.1 Noun Phrases

The structure of Noun Phrases is generally simple:

(Rel Cl) N (Adj) (Num) (Dem), where Rel Cl = Relative Clause, N = Noun, Adj = Adjective, Num = Numeral, and Dem = Demonstrative, though there is some variation across the languages of the Family with regard to the location of Demonstratives relative to head Nouns. In Koiari Demonstratives occur after the noun head, while in Aomle they occur before the head Noun.

Adjectives and numerals follow the Noun head in all of the languages, and usually occur in that order relative to each other. Order of Adjectives is not important and Koiarian speakers rarely use more than one adjective per phrase. Adjectives may be subclassified by various intensifiers (e.g., 'very') which can occur with them. Consider, for example, 'very good' (K) maiteka-mava, (B) ma'ina tau; and 'very big' (K) keare kaye, (B) bado ma'ina. Adjectives do not agree with nouns.

Relative clauses precede the Noun head in the Koiaric languages but may follow in the Baraic languages. Relative clauses are marked by the following forms in the different languages:

	Ka	K	MtnK	A	B	M
Relative Clause Markers	{ -are (future) } { -ane (past) }	-are	-are	-doho	{ -zorū } { -horū } { -monū }	{ -(dʒ)ora } { -(n)ona }

#### Examples:

(Ka)    vire-ra mu    ata di ohe ram-ane                    au-ka mu    vire-nu  
that-id Int man my pig hit-who (past) he-id Int there-be  
'That's (the) man who killed my pig'

<sup>1</sup>It is interesting that tau or tabu only occurs with (as far as can be ascertained at the moment) the Adjective evuri 'high' in Koiari.



- (K) eke-re da ohe bi-ni-are ata-varo  
that-Spec my pig spear-past-who man-be  
'That's (the) man who speared my pig.'
- (MtnK) ata ko-u di ofo bi-are ike-ko  
man this-id my pig spear-who this-Cop  
'This is (the) man who speared my pig.'
- (A) oe-ro mahe dʒa'iha-doho na'anodedze  
dog-id pig bit- which I shot  
'I shot (the) dog which bit (the) pig.'
- (B) e baru ʒe-va mahu-no ibedi-ve-monu  
man that-id pig-my shot -do-who is  
'That's (the) man who shot my pig.'
- (M) iaho dʒora ve-nona  
he garden do-who is  
'He's (a) worker.'
- iaho nana'e edzora  
he fights who is (?)  
'He's (a) warrior'

### 5.95.2 *Verb Phrase*

5.95.21 The Verb Phrase is the most complex constituent morphologically of the Koiarian languages. It is typically a mirror image of the sentence and contains at least the following elements: + Vroot + SR + OR + TAS, that is, a Verb Root, plus some Subject and Object Referent (which agrees in number with the Subject and Object Noun Phrases respectively), and a Tense-Aspect-Person-Number morpheme or morphemes.

5.95.22 Verb Phrases in Koiarian languages may be unusually long since they may include elements such as Adverbs of Manner, and Benefaction, and in addition in the Baraic languages, Reciprocity, Reflection, and even, as in Aomie, Location markers.

5.95.23 Verb roots in the Koiarian languages have no particular syntactic or morphological features. There is, however, a certain small subset of verbs which should be mentioned as possibly distinctive of this family. This subset contains those verbs (e.g., 'to carry,' 'to put') which have number implicit in the verb root. Thus, for



Thus, for example, in the punctiliar aspect of the past tense, we get the following:

- (Ka): one suffix for all persons and numbers;  
 (K): two suffixes--one for first and third person singular, and one for the remainder (2nd person singular, 1st, 2nd, 3rd person plural);  
 (MtnK): two suffixes--one for all persons, singular, and one for all persons plural;  
 (B): two suffixes--one for 2nd and 3rd person singular, and one for the remainder (1st person singular, 1st, 2nd, 3rd person plural);  
 (A): five suffixes--one of which serves for 1st and 3rd person plural;  
 (M): three suffixes--one for first person singular, one for 2nd and 3rd person singular, and one for 1st, 2nd and 3rd person plural.

5.95.26 Finally Imperative forms of the Verb Phrase show some similarity in their positive forms though they vary widely in their negative forms. For some of the languages (not consistently within Sub-Families) the negative imperative form of the verb is achieved by a change in form of the Imperative suffix on the verb; in the others a special free form negative is used as well. The following chart gives the Imperative forms for 2nd person, singular and plural, positive and negative:

Imperative	Ka	K	MtnK	A	B	M	
Pos	Sg	-∅	-∅	{-∅} {-nera}	{-no} {-e}	-∅	(?)
	Plur	-yahe	-yahe	-fe	{-he} {-ze}		
Pos	Sg	+Prn + negu + VP-me	-hama	-hare-nera <sup>1</sup>	+nadi + VP{-no} {-e}	ba-VP {-ho {-zo(?)}}	(?)
	Plur	Prn+negu +VP-me	-hava	-hare-fafe (?)	+nadi+VP -he	ba-VP{-ho {-zo}}	

All the languages distinguish between immediate and non-immediate imperative forms.

<sup>1</sup>It is not certain whether the hare element is merely the arresting imperative form 'stop VP-ing.'

5.95.3 *Adverbial Phrases*5.95.31 *General*

Adverbial Phrases typically consist of some Noun Phrase or embedded clause plus enclitic (or for Purpose and Reason clauses, suffix). Different enclitics are characteristic of different phrase types as described below.

5.95.32 *Time and Location*

Time and location phrases or clauses are marked by similar enclitics, e.g.,

ENGLISH	Ka	K	MtnK	A	B	M
'at'	-he	-he	{ -fe } { -ðe } { -e }	{ -(i)re } { -?e } { -(æ)ro }	{ -he } { -?e } { -he }	-?i

Direction to a place<sup>1</sup> and to a person are generally distinguished also by different enclitics, e.g.,

ENGLISH	Ka	K	MtnK	A	B	M
'to a place'	{ -va } { -he }	{ -va } { -he }	{ -fe } { -ðe } { -e }	-ro	-ʒe	-?i
'to a person'	-vasina	-hina	-e	(?)	-niri	(?)
'from a place'	{ -va } { -he }	{ -va } { -he }	-e	(?)	{ -tite } { -ite } { -he } { -de }	-rene
'from a person'	-vasina	-hina	-e	(?)	-?one	(?)

5.95.33 *Accompaniment*

Accompaniment enclitics differ according to whether one or more persons is/are accompanied. In Koiari these Accompaniment enclitics are *vore* and *ruhuta*, and in Managalasi *hu'umo* and *pu'umo* for singular and plural respectively.

<sup>1</sup>Direction to geographical locations is usually unmarked in these languages.

5.95.34 *Benefaction*

-ni (or some morpheme containing ni)<sup>1</sup> is a common benefactive enclitic, though in Managalasi and Aomie benefaction is indicated by a verb suffix.<sup>2</sup>

5.95.35 *Manner*

There do not appear to be any particular corresponding markers of Manner Phrases amongst the Koiarian languages. It has already been pointed out above (Section 5.92.3) that adverbs of manner may optionally occur inside or outside of the verb phrase.

5.95.36 *Instrument*

Instrumental enclitics are:

ENGLISH	Ka	K	MtnK	A	B	M
'with'	-ma	-va	{ -ta } { -mo }	{ -re } { -ro }	-de	-i

5.95.37 *Purpose and Reason*

Purpose and Reason/Cause are usually expressed by embedded clauses. Purpose is marked by a suffix on a tenseless-aspectless Verb Phrase and Reason/Cause by a suffix which usually contains /u/. The respective markers for each language are:

	Ka	K	MtnK	A	B	M
Purpose	-ri	-ha	-(ri)ho <sup>3</sup>	-i(ro)	-ʔi(me)	-i(ro)
Reason/ Cause	-u (ge)	-u (ge)	-aremo	{ -ni <sup>4</sup> } { -ani } { -ohuni } { -ro }	{ -hu(ge) } { -mu(ge) }	-uʔe

<sup>1</sup>For example, the Barai form is -boni. In Mountain Koiari the benefactive marker is -ho.

<sup>2</sup>In Managalasi benefaction is marked in the verb by -h-, and in Aomie by -ʔamidz-. It is probable that the Managalasi form is related to the Mountain Koiari form -ho just mentioned.

<sup>3</sup>The -ri- in -riho appears to signal future intention.

<sup>4</sup>-ni also appears in Koiari in such sentences as:  
 ahu boro bi-me bataka-va-ni maia-ma-nu  
 he lizard spear-ss rotten-SR-for put-SR-past

'He speared a lizard and put it to get rotten,' where -ni signals the reason for doing something.



## 5.96 POSSESSIVE CASE CONSTRUCTIONS

Possessive case is marked by a bound suffix (symbolized Pos) either on the possessed Noun head as in Koita and Koiari, or on the possessor Noun or Pronoun, as in the other languages. In the Baraic languages the possessor Noun or Pronoun may occur before or after the possessed Noun. In the Koiaric languages the possessor occurs only before the possessed Noun.<sup>1</sup> The following examples illustrate possessive constructions in the various languages:

(Ka)	di mam-e	'my father'
	my father Pos	
	di mata-me	'my land'
	my land Pos	
(K)	da mam-e	'my father'
	my father Pos	
	da mata-me	'my land'
	my land Pos	
(MtnK)	di mama	'my father'
	my father	
	maraha-e to	'the man's dog'
	man Pos dog	
(A)	na-si apo	'my father'
	my Pos father	
	ae go-hesi simane	'a man's head'
	man a Pos head	
(B)	bara-no	'my wife'
	wife my	
	e behi-ahonu avo	'a man's head'
	man a Pos head	
(M)	ne-ni oma	'my father'
	my Pos father	

<sup>1</sup>In Koita the possessive suffix occurs after the adjective, e.g.,  
 e-ra di mama mare-ve-ra 'That's my good father!'  
 that-id my father good-Pos-Cop

Nouns may be possessed in a string in which case the rules remain the same:

- (Ka)            a    mam-e            mam-e            'your father's father'  
Your father Pos father Pos
- (K)            a    mam-e            mam-e            'your father's father'  
Your father-Pos father-Pos
- (MtnK)        a    mama-e        mama            'your father's father'  
Your father-Pos father
- (A)            na-si    vavo-hesi    vavo-hesi    vavo-e        'my father's  
I Pos father-Pos father-Pos father-Pos father's father.'
- (B)            a    baba-ho-ahonu    baba-ho<sup>1</sup>        'your father's father'  
you father-Pos-Pos father-Pos
- (M)            nɛ-ni o midzi-huni    oma            'my father's father'  
I-Pos father-Pos-Pos father

As for possessive pronouns the Koiari languages differ slightly from the Baraic languages in the manner in which possessive case is indicated. In the Baraic languages a possessive suffix is attached to the possessor so that for pronoun possessors we get the following forms:

		Ka	K	MtnK	A	B	M
	1	- <sup>2</sup>	-	-	(na)si	no	(nɛ)ni,
Sg	2	-	-	-	(ya)si	vo,ho	(o)ni,na
	3	-	-	-	(he)si	vaho	(hu)ni,na
	1	-	-	-	(no)si	nuvo	(nɛ)ni,na
Plur	2	-	-	-	(dzeme)si	ʒo	(ʒo)ni,na
	3	-	-	-	(dzabe)si	ʒabo	(pu)ni,na

<sup>1</sup>Barai has morphophonemic variants for 'your' which in this example happen to correspond with the morpheme for 'his.'

<sup>2</sup>It is apparent that the Koita equivalents di, ai, au, ni, yai, yau which occur could be reconstructed as say \*da-i, \*a-i, \*au-i, \*no-i, \*ya-i, \*yau-i, when their relationship to the Aomie forms then becomes obvious.

## 5.97 OTHER MISCELLANEOUS FEATURES

## 5.97.1 Pronouns

The pronominal systems of the six languages are similar and clearly, closely related. Only six Pronouns occur. These correspond to the combinations of 1st, 2nd and 3rd person, singular and plural number. No distinctions are made between dual and plural number, or for inclusive and or exclusive referents. There are also no gender distinctions. The forms of the Subject Pronouns are:

		Ka	K	MtnK	A	B	M
Sg	1	da	da	di/da	na	na	na
	2	a	a	a	dza	a	a
	3	au	ahu	{au} {eu}	hu	ahu	hu
Plur	1	no	no	no	no	nuvo	nɛ
	2	ya	ya	ɔa(ia)	dzeme	za	dza
	3	yau	yabu	{abu} {uke}	dzabu	zabu	pu

In the Koiaric languages the same forms are used as Object Pronouns. In the Baraic languages corresponding object referents occur in the Verb Phrase (see section 5.95.24 above).

Reflexive pronouns differ also between the Baraic and Koiaric languages:

		Ka	K	MtnK	A	B	M
Sg	1	da-varu	da-vau	da-igai	na-isive	na-nosure	na-nasi
	2	a-varu	a-vau	a-igai	dza-isive	a-osure	a-asi
	3	au-varu	ahu-vau	au-igai	he-isive	ah-osure	hu-husi
Plur	1	no-varu	no-vau	nahi-unaha	no-isive	nuvo-nuvo- sure	nɛ-nɛsi
	2	ya-varu	ya-vau	ɔaia-unaha	dzeme-isive	za-zosure	dza-dzasi
	3	yau-varu	yabu-vau	e-bia-unaha <sup>1</sup>	dzabe-isive	zab-osure	pu-pusi

<sup>1</sup>e-bia means 'those (people).' yau-unaha should be the expected form but informants preferred similar forms to the one given.



5.97.2 *Number of Nouns*

Number is not inherent in nouns (that is, the same form is used for singular or plural reference) except for kinship terms, when plurality is usually marked by -uhu or something similar, e.g.,

	Ka	K	MtnK	A	B	M
Plural Marker	-uhu	-uhu	-ufu	(?) <sup>1</sup>	-raha	{-hu~-hidza} {-pu~-pidza}

*Examples:*

- (Ka) di mam-uh-e 'my fathers'  
I father-Plur-Pos
- (K) no mam-uh-e 'our fathers'  
we father-Plur-Pos
- (MtnK) di mum-ufu 'my fathers'  
my father-Plur
- (A) -
- (B) baba-raha-no 'our fathers'  
father-Plur-our
- (M) nɛ-ni o-pidza 'my fathers'  
I Pos father Plur

5.97.3 *Demonstratives*

Demonstratives in all the languages also seem to be closely related:

	Ka	K	MtnK	A	B	M
'this'	o	oko	ko	{iə} {ave}	ge	{iaho} {ia}
'that'	o	eke	ke	{æe} {arue}	gare	(e) kera

All the languages make fine distinctions between Demonstratives according to distance and direction away from speaker.

<sup>1</sup>In the survey materials collected the same forms were given for plural (e.g., na-si apo ni?oi 'my two fathers') as for singular nouns (e.g., na-si apo 'my father').

## 5.97.4 Time and Tense

In these languages semantic information on 'time' is distinct from the grammatical information on 'tense' since the same lexical items are used for past and future reference:

ENGLISH	Ka	K	MtnK	A	B	M
now/today	negu (butu)	negetu	doga	dzaruvo	zaruma?e	ivesi
yesterday/ tomorrow	{nu vahiru}	nuhe	nivu	næri	neru	{niri nira}
day after tomorrow/ day before yesterday	{varihe vahiruvata}	urihe	(?)	dzame	{nituve nitohe}	netuvo
afterwards	ihiye	gabidahe	gabie	idzəno	{gabine iso?ina mo?oru o}	təna?i

## 5.97.5 Counting System

All languages have a counting system based on two:

Examples:

	one	two	three
(Ka)	koburabe	abu	abigava
(K)	igau	abuti	abuit-ta igau-ta
(MtnK)	igai	abui	abui-ta igai-ta
(A)	{go gemu}	nio?i	æhi nio?i æhi gemu
(B)	ogonu	ino?i	ino?i-?o ogonu-?o
(M)	kuinu	no?o	no?o pei?o

and all have a similar form for an indefinite 'one':

ENGLISH	Ka	K	MtnK	A	B	M
'a, one'	be	be	{more be}	{gemu go}	behi	pina

## 6.0 BIBLIOGRAPHY

This bibliography contains a list of works referred to in the text. The following abbreviations for periodicals and institutions are used:

AA	American Anthropologist
AIAS	Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies
AL	Anthropological Linguistics
AR	Annual Report of British New Guinea, or Annual Report for the Territory of Papua
CA	Current Anthropology
CSIRO	Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation
IJAL	International Journal of American Linguistics
JPS	Journal of the Polynesian Society
JRAI	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute
Lg.	Language
O	Oceania
OL	Oceanic Linguistics
SJA	South-Western Journal of Anthropology

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