

CHAPTER 3

THE TEBERAN LANGUAGE FAMILY

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3.1. The Area, People and Languages

It may be of benefit to consider the geographic and population situation of the Teberan Family and some of its neighbors before discussing the family itself.

Franklin (1968:25) delineated the area covered by the Teberan family as extending "...from Karimui in the Chimbu District south to the headwaters of the Era River, then west to the junction of the Sirebi and Kikori Rivers, and then finally northwards to the Kerabi valley (near the southeastern border of the Southern Highlands District)...". This description is accurate except that only the Sirebi headwaters area should be included, and not the complete Sirebi-Kikori junction area. From the Kerabi valley the family border is constituted by the ridges overshadowing the northern bank of the Erave River as it goes eastward to join the Tua River, which forms the border curving northward to include the Bomai area, thence back to Karimui. (See Map 3 p.121).

Limiting ourselves to a north-south area bounded roughly on the east by the Purari River (where it runs south) and on the west by the Kikori-Sirebi River system, the area may be divided into:

1. a belt of 12,000 population along the coast and inland to about 25 miles, with a density of 7.66 per square mile;
2. a second belt approximately 25 miles north to south, with almost zero population, comprising the southern few miles of the Pepike Census Division, the southern half of the Upper Purari C.D., and the north halves of the Kikori Kairi, Gope and Era C.D.s;
3. a third belt of about 25 miles encompassing the bulk of the Polopas and many of the southern Pawaians, but still of relatively light

population density (1.67 per sq. mile) and consisting of the northern parts of the Upper Purari C.D. and the former part of Pepike C.D. now in the Kerabi C.D. of the Kaguā Sub-District of the Southern Highlands District;

4. north of this the edge of the Highlands, with a rise in population density to 8.21 per sq. mile in the Karimui-Bomai areas and 32 per sq. mile in the Pangia area, before reaching the Highlands, with still higher figures.

It is thus seen that south of the Polopas, in particular, there is a no man's land which, as also demonstrated by lexicostatistical figures presented below, effectively separates the Polopas from the Kairi language group.

The spelling of village names will follow government Village Directory spellings, with alternate spellings in parentheses identified as to the author.

The Teberan Language Family consists of two languages: Daribi (Mikaru) and Polopa (Foraba). It was previously labelled the "Mikaruan Family" by Franklin (1968:19,25). The change in the family designation has been made because Lake Tebera is somewhat more central than the Daribi area geographically, and because Lake Tebera serves as a convenient reference point when locating the family on a map. As noted below, Mikaru as a language name is being replaced by Daribi.

The Daribis, as may be seen from Map 3 (p. 121), inhabit the Karimui-Bomai area plus three villages along the Erave River. The remainder of the Teberan Family area as described above is occupied by the speakers of Polopa.

A word regarding some of the language names is in order. Since Wurm (1961:20) had already published using the designation "Mikaru" for the language spoken by the people living adjacent to Mt. Karimui to the north and west, I followed his lead in the data supplied to Eunice Pike (1964), although aware that the people spoke of themselves and their language as Daribi.¹ Wagner's statement (1967:4) that "The name Mikaru ... has been retained by the Summer Institute of Linguistics and by other linguists, including S.A. Wurm,..." may be chronologically misleading, i.e., one might think Wurm followed my lead. Wagner later corrects this situation (1969:56) by noting "The term Mikaru has been retained as a label for the Daribi language by Wurm (1964) and the Summer Institute of Linguistics." This 1964 citation apparently overlooks Wurm's earlier use of Mikaru in a report on his 1958-59 survey

of the Highlands districts (Wurm 1961:20), although Wagner lists the report in his bibliography. Glasse used the term Daribi in writing about leprosy at Karimui (1965:95).

Since Wagner (1967, 1969, 1970) and Hughes (1969) have given the designation Daribi wider currency, and since it is the term the people themselves use, it is used in this chapter instead of Mikaru.² At times the terms "Karimui Daribi" and "Erave Daribi" will be used, to distinguish the main body of Daribi speakers, living on the Karimui plateau, from the speakers living along the Erave River in the villages of Kele, Saki, and Suani.

This distinction conflicts with Wagner's view (1970:91) that Foraba is the primary language spoken at "Soari", if Suani and Soari are variations on the one name. During the 1970 survey I helicoptered into Suani and was told that their language is Daribi and that the "Kewah" speakers I was seeking lived further west at Wopasali. Wagner recognises (1970:91) that Kewah is the Daribi term for the Foraba people and language. If the Suani residences were Foraba themselves, they would not have sent me on to Wopasali. (My departure after a brief stay disappointed them, so it is unlikely they were trying to deceive me about their identity.)

As a further, independent, check on this matter I requested an administration medical officer (Dr. John McMahon) going into the area in December 1971, to ask the Suani people what their primary language is. He later reported that they claimed it is Daribi.

On April 4, 1972, I visited (by helicopter) the Polopa villages at Lake Tebera, Tobare, Pupitau (twice), and stopped at Kele on the Erave River. There I was told that Daribi is the language of Kele, Saki and Suani, Kele being the border between Daribi and the Kewah spoken at Wopasali, Pupitau and other villages. (The language at Lake Tebera was called Kena, which is in reality Gena, Wagner's Genaa, the Teberans' name for the lake itself). My informant, a male in his twenties, claimed ability to understand the Wopasali language but not to speak it. He stated that Foraba is the language at Odani. Wagner (1970:91, footnote 2) says his informants at "...Soari identified themselves as **o**oraba, Odani, or Oda'ani." It would appear that either (a) Soari and Suani are different villages, which is unlikely, or (b) Wagner's informants were visitors only and were not full residents of Suani. Undoubtedly the people of Kele, Saki and Suani are the "Urubidi, a group probably of phratry size living to the southwest of Mt. Karimui

along the Bore River" (Wagner 1967:4), since Wagner himself (1970:92, map) equates the Bore River with the Erave River.

Ryan (Patrol Report, 1970) noted under "Languages" that what he spells as "Poroba" is spoken at Kele, but under "Dialects" Kele and Suani are listed as speaking "Burupo". In Daribi *Buru-po* means literally *place-talk* or *place-language*, and parallels the Pidgin term *tokples* except that the descriptive morpheme precedes the head noun, following Daribi usage. As mentioned earlier, *Foraba* is understood at Kele, and is probably spoken to some degree there and at Saki and Suani. But Daribi is the primary language of these three villages. In all likelihood government interpreters from Erave would speak *Poroba* but not Daribi, and the Kele-Saki-Suani people would have to use *Poroba* with them. The knowledge of Pidgin at these places is about as advanced as it was at Karimui ten years ago, that is, it is poorly understood and spoken, due to the area's isolation. Police Motu appears to fit the same description.

It is felt necessary to distinguish Erave Daribi from Karimui Daribi at this stage because of several minor differences between the speech of the two areas. At Karimui the suffix *-go* added to a noun functions as a possessive marker or to make the noun the subject of a verb having an expressed object. At Erave (Kele, Saki and Suani) the morpheme takes the form *-yo*. In some words Erave-dwellers substitute *t* where Karimui-dwellers use *s*, word-initially. Because of their small numbers and their isolation from the bulk of Daribi speakers differences in speech at the Erave villages are to be expected. Further investigation is needed to determine the full extent of the variations.

The name *Kewah* (Franklin 1968:25) or *Kewá* (Wagner 1967:6) is used by the Daribi people to refer to the people living to their south (toward Lake Tebera) and to the west and southwest. Eastern Daribi have no known contact with the *Kewah* people, but the western villages of Kalabai, Suani, Kele and Saki (at least) intermarry with the *Kewahs*.³ The term *Kewah* does not appear to function as a term for *stranger*, *foreigner* as it does in languages further west.

In August 1966, I attempted to learn more about the identity of the *Kewah* language and people, and while staying in the western Daribi village of Masi I secured a word list from a woman of Gena village (Wagner's *Gena*, 1970:91) on Lake Tebera. I was not aware at that time of the exact location of the village, knowing only that it was in a general southwesterly direction. She had married a Daribi man, and they lived in Daribi territory, probably at or near Kalabai (southwest of

Masi). The man's older sister had married into a Tebera group, and as a boy he had accompanied her and was raised as a bilingual. On the basis of this word list Franklin (1968:25) included Kewah in his Mikaruan family. In order to distinguish this name from the Southern Highlands Kewa (/kéwa/), Franklin chose to spell it Kewah.

It is now clear that my location of the language as "...somewhere in the vicinity of the junction of the Tua and Erave (upper Purari) Rivers" (Franklin, loc. cit.) was in error. Because the informant and her husband were so bilingual, it was suspected at the time that the cognacy count based on her word list (45%) might be unduly high. The survey findings verified this suspicion.

As a result of the survey we now know that Kewah is actually the name used by the people at Lake Tebera and some other parts of the Polopa area for their language. They pronounce the name /k^hewá/, with the stress/pitch on the last syllable rather than on the first as with Southern Highlands Kewa, and with the first vowel /e/, compared to Kewa's /e/. Some villages, while aware of the name Kewah, seem to prefer the term Nqai as the name of their language. This is true in Boro, Tobare and Pupitau, and the latter attribute it also to Urupio and Sirigi/Siligi.⁴ Others prefer the name Foropa or Poroba, from which Franklin gets Polopa.

The bulk of the Daribi have as their nearest and most intimate neighbors the group known in print primarily as the speakers of Pawaia/Pawaia (Capell 1954; Wurm 1961, 1962; Pike 1964; Trefry 1969, and others). They designate themselves as "Tɔdɔhwe" (Wagner's "Tɔdawe", 1967:2; Hughes' "Tundawe", 1970:273; Glasse's "Tudawhe", 1965:95). Glasse (loc. cit.) notes that south of Mt. Karimui "...another language group, the Yasa, have small settlements." Actually, Yasa is the Daribi term for the Pawaia people and their language, and the reference to their living south of Mt. Karimui would probably include the village of Gurimatu (pronounced dʒuʃimadu by the inhabitants).⁵ Considering the early date (September 1962) at which Glasse did his Karimui fieldwork and the limited local knowledge of Pidgin English then prevailing, his informants' lack of clarity regarding the term Yasa is understandable.

The area inhabited by Pawaia speakers extends southeastward from Karimui as far south as the village of Keka on the Vailala River. The western border is rather indistinct until one reaches the Purari River near Ururu, from whence it follows the river northward to include the Gurimatu area and returns to the eastern slopes of Mt. Karimui. The

larger part of the population lives on the Karimui Plateau.

Capell (1954:58), basing his remarks on information supplied by a geologist, speaks of Pavaia (Pawaia) being a widespread language in the Upper Purari area, and of a different language being found at Songu and Harahu near Mt. Favenc. "The Harahu people number about 5,000. Of the Pavaia-speaking group, the Sira number probably some 2,000. In Lake Tebera there are two island villages of a group known as Mamisu, but those number only about 1,000 altogether...Police Motu is as yet no use in this region."

As a result of the survey we now know that the language spoken at Lake Tebera, Harahu and Songu is Polopa. (Harahu is actually pronounced harahwi, with -hwi being the term for *man, person, people*). Capell's population figures are very high compared to present census tallies. In 1970 there were only 109 people counted at "Harahwi" (the village census book bears the name "Tobare" and this is how it is listed in the Village Directory), and 57 at Lake Tebera. Exact figures for the village of Sera in the Pepike C.D. are not available (I am assuming this is the same as Capell's "Sira"), but Sera and eleven other groups had a combined population in 1968 of only 249. The figure of 2,000 for Sira exceeds the combined total for the Upper Purari Census Division, Gulf District (1,300 in 1968), and the Tura and Pio C.D.s, Chimbu District (97 and 189 in November 1971), which together encompass much of Pawaiian territory.

Either there has been a catastrophic loss of population over the last 14 to 18 years, or the 1954 figures were a very rough guess complicated by the absence of an adequately understood lingua franca. Today Police Motu is understood and spoken in varying degrees in the southern Polopa areas and among the Pawaiians along the Purari, but its usefulness decreases as one progresses northwestward.

During the course of the survey certain cultural differences were noted between the Daribi and the Polopa peoples. Wagner (1967:18-19) describes and illustrates the Daribi *sigibe* and *kerobe*, the double and single story variations of the Quonset-hut type house. A *kerobe* measures approximately 50 ft. long and 20 ft. wide, with the *sigibe* somewhat larger. Glasse (1965:96) suggested that the double-storied *sigibe* may be unique in New Guinea. None were observed among the related Polopas. In both styles females and small children are segregated from the men and older boys; in the *sigibe* the men have the upper story, in the *kerobe* they live in the front half of the house, separated from the women by an interior wall.

The Polopas (observed personally at Omo, Suri, Boro, Negebare, Pupitau and Wopasali) favour a different arrangement, with the men and older boys living in a long house and the women and children in small satellite houses by families. Both house sizes feature gable roofs of sago leaves. The Boro men's house appeared to be typical, and was approximately 90 ft. long and 20 ft. wide, with the floor raised about 20 inches from the ground. The roof extended perhaps 10 ft. beyond the end walls to shelter ground-level verandahs where open fires may be built. Guided tours of the Wopasali and Pupitau men's houses revealed full-length center hallways with walled rooms opening onto them from both sides. On a given side of the hallway each adjoining pair of rooms shares a fireplace, necessitating an opening in the partition between them. One or two men sleep in each small room.

Hughes (1969, Plate III) pictures some of the sago-thatched, gable-roofed walled houses at "Genaa" on "Haiduru" island in Lake Tebera. He does not mention segregation of women in his text. At the time of my overnight visit (December 1970) only two houses, on another island to the northeast of Haiduru, were above water and habitable - all the Haiduru houses were submerged to roof-level by a change in the level of the lake. The two habitable houses, obviously temporary, were merely raised platforms sheltered by sago-leaf roofs, occupied by a family and a single man. No segregation of the woman was observed, but because of the flooding the situation may have been abnormal. (Later the village policeman at Wopasali, who had trekked to Lake Tebera a year previously, mentioned to me that at Tebera the men and women live together, in contrast to the custom among other Polopas.) On a return visit to Tebera in April 1972, it was noted that the population, back to its normal size, were living on still a third island, "Hazobao", nearer the northern edge of the lake. The women were apparently segregated this time.

The islands in Lake Tebera are very small, and it is difficult to imagine them ever having housed a population of anything like 1,000.

In spite of the fact that the same basic raw materials are available to the Daribis and the Polopas, each group has its own style in housing, at least partially influenced by the degree of female segregation practiced. Wopasali appeared to represent one end of a continuum regarding segregation. The men's house was surrounded by a fence of rough vertical planks embedded in the ground, over which the women hand food to the resident men and older boys. Although other Polopa

villages featured men's houses, none were observed with a fence as at Wopasali.

Synthesizing the Wopasali man's remark with personal observations, perhaps it could be said that segregation at Tebera is not as rigid as among other Polopas. The construction of a large men's house plus satellite women's houses would certainly crowd the islands. The Karimui Daribis would appear to be at the other end of the continuum, with family members living under one roof but separated horizontally or vertically. The Erave Daribis follow the Polopa custom of separate housing, probably due to their proximity to the Polopas.

The differing general situations of the Daribi and the Foraba (Polopa) people as to physical environment, demography and ecology have been described by Wagner (1970:93), although his Polopa contacts have been limited. However, in the Wopasali-Keba area - the northwestern border of Polopa territory - one is nearing the Highlands and some life features differ from places like Omo in the south, Tebera in the east, and Boro in the center. For example, the Erave River is less navigable from Wopasali westward, and Wopasali and Keba are situated on ridges at approximately 2,500 ft. above sea level instead of down on the banks of the river like Saki and Suani to the east. It would seem that travel by canoe is thus not as important an aspect of life in this part of the Polopa area as elsewhere. Travel on a north-south axis, of course, is of necessity by foot in most of the Polopa country, as the majority of the rivers flow eastward, paralleling the limestone ridges.

Hughes (1970:273, footnote) mentions that "...relocation of settlement is characteristic of the [Lower Erave] area". As we have seen earlier, this area is Daribi rather than Polopa, but this tendency to shift differs from the Karimui Daribi pattern of retaining their relatively fixed village locations while shifting garden sites nearby, since they are not obliged to follow the prevailing sago supply like their western cousins.

Having helicoptered over nearly the entire Polopa area, my general impression is that many Polopa villages, particularly those in the north, are relatively fixed as to site. Many are situated on ridges, with gardens in intervening valleys, and tend to be larger than the southern villages, increasing the difficulty of shifting. By contrast, the southern villages are smaller, tend to be located near larger streams, and are probably more dependent on sago than the northern people who live at higher altitudes further from the delta swamps.

It was noted that the use of betel-nut, not in vogue among the Karimui Daribi although it grows there, was practiced in some Polopa villages. In contrast to other areas of New Guinea where the betel-lime mixture is rather thin and is expectorated anywhere, Polopas chew a very thick mixture, which is emptied into a length of bamboo shared by a number of people. Disposal after that is still unknown.

Polopas and Erave Daribis, particularly women, were observed wearing bark capes, as did their Karimui neighbors more commonly ten years ago. The advent of a few trade stores at Karimui has changed the custom, but there are no known trade stores inside Polopa territory.

The villages of Pupitau, Waraga and their near neighbors appear to be the most densely populated Polopa area, and probably constitute the customary "center" of the language area.

3.2. Lexicostatistical Overview

The following percentage relationships are based on 89 items from the Swadesh 100 list, and demonstrate among other things that Daribi, Polopa and Pawaia are not closely related to the languages to the south and west. Wurm (1964:80) has already shown that Daribi and Pawaia are not closely related to the East New Guinea Highlands Stock, to their north, nor to Witu to the west. Lloyd, in Chapter 2 of this volume, demonstrates that Pawaia is not related to the Angan Family to the east. Pawaia is included in these comparisons in an effort to further delineate its position relative to its neighbors.

Table 1

Daribi (DAR)									
35	Polopa (POL)								
10	16	Pawaia (PAW)							
8	8	2	Witu (WIT)						
8	7	7	3	Saniyo (SAN)					
7	13	5	12	6	Samberigi (SAM)				
6	11	4	11	1	86	Tiri (TIR)			
5	9	7	4	1	6	3	Kairi (KAI)		
5	14	7	3	7	11	7	4	Foi (FOI)	
3	4	4	7	3	1	0	5	3	Gibaio (GIB)
3	6	6	6	5	2	1	7	5	70 Anigibi (ANI)

In determining these percentages 12 Polopa lists (see Table 4) and 3 Pawaia lists (Karimui, Uraru and Koni) were used. The *average* relationships to each of the other languages is represented in Table 1. The same procedure was used in Tables 2 and 3 below.

Table 2

Lexicostatistical comparisons based on 22 assumed cultural items:

Daribi (DAR)										
39	Polopa (POL)									
19	12	Pawaia (PAW)								
14	9	12	Witu (WIT)							
7	9	7	8	Kairi (KAI)						
7	13	19	21	17	Foi (FOI)					
7	10	5	15	0	7	Samberigi (SAM)				
7	12	11	21	0	13	79	Tiri (TIR)			
6	8	7	0	8	7	7	13	Anigibi (ANI)		
5	1	3	7	0	7	0	0	6	Saniyo (SAN)	
0	4	13	7	23	7	7	20	56	6	Gibaio (GIB)

Table 3

Lexicostatistical comparisons based on the full 231-item list:

Daribi (DAR)										
29	Polopa (POL)									
9	12	Pawaia (PAW)								
7	8	3	Witu (WIT)							
6	10	7	4	Kairi (KAI)						
5	12	7	6	5	Foi (FOI)					
5	11	4	11	3	7	Samberigi (SAM)				
4	11	5	12	2	8	86	Tiri (TIR)			
3	4	4	3	1	5	5	3	Saniyo (SAN)		
2	4	5	5	6	4	2	3	4	Gibaio (GIB)	
2	5	5	3	4	4	3	3	5	65	Anigibi (ANI)

Table 4

Comparisons of twelve Polopa wordlists:

Pedege (PED)

86	Trabedesare (TRA)									
84	83	Aurei (AUR)								
74	76	65	Waraga (WAR)							
72	79	73	66	Suri G. (SUG)						
70	76	66	55	64	Tebera (TEB)					
70	75	69	65	69	65	Negebare (NEG)				
69	78	73	77	75	71	75	Wopasali (WOP)			
67	71	70	68	73	59	73	74	Sopese (SOP)		
59	76	66	66	69	60	69	81	69	Boro (BOR)	
59	69	58	57	69	52	58	67	65	59	Suri K. (SUK)
57	68	54	57	60	46	56	60	61	52	69 Gaiyamo (GAI)

Suri G. and Suri K. represent lists taken, respectively, by MacDonald at Suri village and by Franklin from a pupil from Suri. The lack of harmony between the two lists is probably due to the degree of familiarity with the languages, i.e. Franklin was recording a Teberan language for the first time. The relationships above are based on 89 items from the Swadesh 100 list.

3.3. Daribi

3.31. Phonology

The segmental phonemes of Daribi are displayed below.

Consonants:

p	t	k
p ^h	t ^h	k ^h
	s	h
m	n	
	l	
w	y	

The stop series were originally interpreted as b, d, g, and p^h, t^h, k^h, with the difference thought to have been in voicing versus voicelessness, and with some tendency toward a loss of voicing. More precise study, using a prosodies machine developed by Dr Charles Peck at Ukarumpa, has shown the difference to be the lack versus the presence

of aspiration. There is a tendency for the unaspirated forms to occur intervocally and the aspirated forms initially, although at times they are difficult to distinguish aurally. In the Daribi examples to follow, p, t, and k are written as phonemic b, d, and g, p^h, t^h, and k^h as p, t, k, and medial s as z.

No consonant clusters appear in the language, unless labialization is interpreted as a sequence of two consonants.

Vowels: i, u, e, o, a.

Nasalized counterparts occur for each vowel. Each oral vowel in isolation constitutes a word, but of the nasalized vowels only *ɔ taro* does this.

The following allophones occur: *ɪ* fluctuates with *i* ; *ɛ* fluctuates with *e* ; in a few instances *ɔ* occurs as an allophone of *ɔ*. The vowels *i* and *e* are sometimes difficult to distinguish word finally, as are *o* and *u*. Clusters of up to four vowels occur.

Daribi exhibits basically only two syllable patterns, V and CV. If labialization is interpreted as a sequence of two consonants, a third (less frequent) pattern of CCV emerges.

Pike (1964:124) noted that "Both when in isolation and within a sentence there is a tendency for words to take the same length of time. This causes a vowel in a word with one syllable to be long, whereas the same vowel in a word with several syllables will be short." This feature of Daribi (and other languages) she termed "word-timing".

Daribi also features a syllable-tone system with high and low tones, carrying a low functional load.

3.32. Grammar

A number of features of Daribi grammar are presented below in order that they may be compared where possible with Polopa and Pawaia. Only limited Polopa grammatical data is available on the basis of the material gathered on the survey. It is expected that further study of Polopa will reveal additional similarities to Daribi structure.⁶

In contrast to many Highlands languages, Daribi is not characterized by complicated sentence-medial verb forms. Inflection is by suffixation only, but person and number are indicated only rarely. Pronouns are free forms. Wurm (1964:89) noted that "...the entire negative marker has the form *me-* + *-e* which is at variance with the forms found in it [the E.N.G.H. Stock]." Actually *me* means *another*, *more*, *also* and is not involved as a prefix or clitic in constructing a negative expression.

The verbal negative marker is *-be*, e.g., *Te bidi eno su-be*, literally *That man I see-negative*, or *I didn't see that man*.

Daribi verbs are morphologically more complex than any other feature of the language. Verb stem vowels frequently change when the verb are affixed. The verbs *come* and *go* may each appear as the final verb in a compound construction expressing purpose, with the morpheme *-gi-* joining it to the initial verb. Thus *I went to see* is *Ena su-gi-padi*, literally *I see-purpose-went*. The initial verb appears as a stem only, with the final verb taking all the inflection.

The various types of Daribi imperatives all involve the suffix *-a*, which may only be followed by the suffixes *-o* (vocative) and *-we* (question marker, a final order suffix). Number appears in the simple imperative forms: *az-a-o*, *come-imperative-vocative* versus *az-i-a-o*, *come-plural-imperative-vocative*.

Present tense/incomplete aspect is indicated by *-bo*. Customary or habitual action is denoted by the use of *-bo* followed by *-da*, which when used as a free morpheme means *is*. Thus *We customarily get wives there* is *Da-go we a-de sa-bo-da*, literally *We-subject of verb (with expressed object) women there-at get-incomplete-are*.

Adverbs precede the verb they modify, e.g., *podo padi*, *quickly went*.

Nouns exhibit no distinction in form for singular versus plural, and there are no "obligatorily possessed" nouns. The question marker *-we* and prepositional clitics may be suffixed to nouns. A third noun suffix is *-go*, mentioned on page of this chapter, which functions as a possessive marker or marks a noun as the subject of a verb with an expressed object. This second function parallels the *-go* suffix in SET B of the personal pronouns below. It has a third function also, that of instrument marker, e.g., *E ni hwą-go pedao*, *This wood axe-WITH split*, or *Split this wood with an axe*.

Descriptive words precede the noun being modified, and numerals follow it, thus *My two small black dogs* is *Ena dwaizanu sizi yowi si*, literally *My small black dogs two*.

Locational terms also follow the head noun in a phrase, e.g., *be tomo-de*, *house inside-at*.

Demonstratives appear phrase-initially, e.g., *E bidi*, *this man*.

Daribi features three sets of personal pronouns, with SET A having dual functions:

SET A: Function as objects, or as subjects of verbs lacking expressed objects.

	Singular	Plural
1st	ena	da
2nd	nagi	dagi
3rd	əgə	augwadi

SET B: Function as subjects of verbs with expressed objects.

	Singular	Plural
1st	eno	dago
2nd	nago	dagigo
3rd	əgəi	augwadigo

SET C: Function as possessives.

	Singular	Plural
1st	ena	dena
2nd	naga	duga
3rd	əgə	augwa

There are no dual personal pronoun forms as such, but they may be constructed by following the appropriate pronoun with *si* (Karimui Daribi) or *ti* (Erave Daribi), which means *two*. Note the similarity, especially in the case of Erave Daribi, to the Kairi dual suffix, (Chapter 7 of this volume). In the case of SET B the *-go* suffix shifts to the *si*, so that the expression meaning *you* dual, for example, is *dagi si-go*, literally *you* (plural) *two*-subject with expressed object.

3.4. Polopa

3.41. Phonology

The segmental phonemes of Polopa are displayed below:

Consonants:

p	t	k	ʔ
p ^h	t ^h	k ^h	
p f			
	s z	h	
m	n		
	r		
	l		
w	y		

As with Daribi, the unaspirated stops tend to be heard as their voiced counterparts, especially between vowels. This is reflected in some of the Polopa examples appearing throughout the chapter.

Glottal stop appeared in some Polopa lists, e.g., AUR naʔasi *arm*, BOR fobaʔai *nose*, SUG nasi daʔa *palm of hand* (note the lack of glottal in nasi, contrasting with the AUR example). The bilabial fricative β fluctuating to *f* is not shared by DAR, although some DAR speakers approach it in words where the norm is p^h , word initially.

Labialized and palatalized consonants, if interpreted as sequences of consonants, would constitute the only consonant clusters observed, except for *dʃ* as in BOR bugudʃi *knee*, SUG dʃigi *black*. However, since BOR has diʃigi for *black*, it is suspected that the *dʃ* sequence would prove under closer scrutiny to be a hurried *d-vowel-ʃ* sequence.

Vowels: *i, u, e, o, a.*

The following allophones occur: *ɪ* fluctuates with *i*, *ɛ* with *e*, *ɔ* (in a few examples) with *o*, and *ʌ* with *a*. Nasalized vowels, including allophones, are: *ĩ, ỹ, ẽ, ɛ̃, ɔ̃, ɔ̃, ɔ̃, ɔ̃*, and *ʌ̃*. Nasalization appears to be phonemic, on the strength of examples such as TEB wá *cassowary* vs. wá *netbag* and AUR o *sago* vs. ɔ *taro*.

Several vowels in isolation were observed to constitute words, e.g., AUR *i bi this house*; SUG *e I*.

Polopa syllable patterns include basically *V*, and *CV*, with *CVV* also a possibility depending on the interpretation of some vowel glides. If the *dʃ* sequence above proves to be a sequence indeed, it would constitute a (less frequent) *CCV* pattern.

It is suspected that further investigation would reveal the presence of phonemic tone in Polopa. One example is AUR and BOR *yà fish* vs. *yá mosquito*.

3.42. Grammar

As in Daribi, verbs in Polopa appear to be inflected only by suffixation. Free pronouns were found, indicating that perhaps person is not an important element in verb forms.

Like Daribi the imperative suffix is *-a*, but Polopa appears to use *-i* as the vocative suffix following *-a* (cf. Daribi *-o*), e.g., BOR *fai go!*

Whereas Daribi uses *-bo* for present tense/incomplete aspect, and *-boda* for customary/habitual action, Polopa apparently exhibits *-dabo* for the latter, as in AUR *ya su-dabo, (he) fish sees.*

Adverbial forms precede verbs, as in GAI *polo pai run!*, literally *quickly go.*

No distinctive noun forms denoting singular versus plural were noted. Descriptives precede the head noun in a phrase, as in AUR *tuřu na'asi, right hand*, and numbers follow the noun, AUR *hwj tamu two men*, both features of Daribi also. Prepositional clitics follow nouns, also as in Daribi, e.g., SOP and NEG *be-pa fai house-to go!*

In place of Daribi's *-go* as possessive marker, Polopa has *-ne* or *-nu*, as in TEB *sq-ne sa woman's clothes* or *sq-nu ami woman's breast.* No instances of this functioning as marker of subject with expressed object (cf. Daribi) occurred in the limited data, nor of it functioning as instrument marker. Two nouns may be juxtaposed without a possessive marker to denote their innate whole-to-part relationship, as in *ni du*, literally *tree fruit*, i.e., *fruit of a tree*, found in all the Popola lists and identically in Daribi.

Demonstratives appear phrase-initially, as in AUR *i bi this house*, cognate with Daribi *e be this house.*

It appears that Polopa may have two sets of personal pronouns, although none of the lists show even one satisfactory complete set. This author originally encountered difficulty in determining the full Daribi sets, particularly the third person plural forms, and Trefry (1969:78) noted that "...Pawaian has no third person pronouns. It uses demonstratives instead, often in conjunction with a noun." When *give him* was elicited BOR and SUG provided *u hwj-ba manai that man-to give!*, i.e., they used demonstrative plus noun constructions. However, TEB used *qj-ba manai him-to give.*

The following are the Polopa personal pronouns obtained to date:

	Singular	Plural
1st	ɛʋɛʋe	da
2nd	njyɛ	tiyɛ
3rd	qjʋai	

Similarities to Daribi SET A are obvious. In addition, the form *yano* was noted, as in BOR *yano nogui yadubo I dream do* (I dream), and appears (like Daribi *eno*) to function as subject of a verb with an expressed object. This suggests a second set of pronouns paralleling Daribi SET B.

Attempts at eliciting inclusive versus exclusive pronominal forms met with obvious confusion on the part of informants, indicating a probable absence of such forms. Daribi shares this lack. No dual personal pronouns were discovered either, but, as with DAR, the word for *two* may be used with the appropriate pronoun to form a constructed dual when needed, e.g., BOR *dabara damo* or SUG *da damo*, *we two*.

The Polopa question marker is *-ye* or *-ye*, as in SUG *ɲiyɛ de-ye you who-?*, cf. Daribi *nagi de-we*, same meaning, that is, *Who are you?*

Miscellaneous Observations

Daribi has 5 terms which cover 10 days from *today*, e.g., *do yesterday/tomorrow*, *duba day before yesterday/day after tomorrow*, *tegiga two days ago/two days hence*, etc. Polopa exhibited *doɔdɔ* for *yesterday/tomorrow*, but *dua* for *day before yesterday/day after tomorrow*. This is probably a cognate, but additionally *dua* in DAR means *later*, perhaps indicating a semantic shift.

Other more likely shifts are: TRA *iyei cry*, cf. DAR *yei to mourn* but *geda wabo crying*.

Polopa *so/sou woman*, cf. DAR *sou female animal* but *we woman*.

Several multiple cognate sets appeared in the data. Daribi uses both *ɛj* and *wɛ* for *water*; some Polopa speakers gave one term, some another. Both are probably known everywhere. WAR had both *asi* and *tiki* for *skin*, where DAR uses *tigi*, and the other Polopa lists had *asi*.

The Polopa counting system seems oriented to twos, as with DAR, and parallels DAR in having a specific term for *three* (BOR *sɔʃé*, DAR *sɛʃá*) as well as a constructed term, *two one* (AUR *damu beta* and DAR *si dededi*). Whereas TEB and BOR show *mɛ* for *one*, DAR uses *mɛ* for *another/also* but in constructions such as *mɛ...mɛ* its meaning shifts to *one...another*.

3.5. Neighboring Languages

3.5.1. Phonological Features

PAWAIA

Pawaia, as described by Trefry (1969), is very close to DAR phonologically.

The consonants are the same as for DAR, with the addition of *b* as an allophone of */p/* along with *p^h*, and with *t^h* and *t* allophones of one phoneme and *k^h*, *k* and *g* allophones of one phoneme.

The basic vowels *a*, *i*, *e*, *o*, and *u*, are identical to DAR, and *ɔ* also only rarely occurs. All six vowels may be oral or nasal, and all

constitute words in isolation in both oral or nasal forms. A high-low tone system exists, and either tone may occur on all vowels.

Pawaia syllable patterns are V, CV, VC and CVC. Consonants which occur finally are limited to m, n, t^h, t, d, ʃ in fluctuation; and ʎ/ʃ in fluctuation. There are no consonant clusters; the CVC pattern occurs only word finally.

WITU

Kerr (1962) lists Witu consonants as p^h, t^h, k^h, m^b, n^d, ng, l, w and y. This differs from DAR/POL in the lack of s and h and in the presence of the prenasalized stops and ng. There are few word-final consonants. The vowels consist of i, ε, a, u, and ɔ.

The language features phonemic tone, length, stress, and two types of nasalization (phonemic, and non-phonemic conditioned by a contiguous nasal consonant within a word in free variation with non-nasalization).

Syllable patterns are V, CV, CVV, CVC.

SAMBERIGI (Sau)

Consonants observed are p, m^b, t, n^k, n^d, h, s, m, n, l, w and y, roughly the same basic list as for DAR and POL. The vowels differ in that æ is included with i, e, u, o and a. The phoneme t has the allophone [ʃ] intervocalically.

Syllable patterns are V, CV, CVV, CVC. The only consonant clusters involve prenasalizing stops.

TIRI (Sau)

The consonant list appears identical to SAM above with the addition of ʃ and possibly b. The vowels are i; e, ε, (perhaps allophones), u; o, ɔ, (perhaps allophones), ə and æ. Two nasalized vowels occur, ɛ̃ and ɔ̃.

Syllable patterns are identical to SAM, and prenasalizing of stops (except p) occurs.

FOI

Phonetically Foi is much more complex than DAR/POL and the other languages in this section, especially in the stop series.⁷

Consonants are:

p	t	t ^h	k	k ^h	
ɸ			ḳ	ḳ ^h	x
b	d		g		
ɓ					
f	ɣ		h		ʔ
	s				
m	n	ɲ			
	ɻ				
	l				
	ɭ				
w	y				

Vowels include: i, e, ɛ, u, o, a, ə, ʌ and æ. Nasalized counterparts occur for all except e and ɛ.

Syllable patterns are the basic three observed heretofore, V, CV and CVV. Labialization is the closest approximation to consonant clusters.

KAIRI

Turning from the west to the southern neighbors of Daribi and Polopa, we note that KAI lacks s but its consonant inventory is otherwise very close to DAR/POL.

Consonants are: p, t, k, b, d, g, h, m, n, ɻ, l, r, w and y.

The vowels, lacking only an ɪ allophone of i, are the same as in the Teberan Family. Nasal vowels do not occur.

Syllable patterns are V, CV, CVV, with labialization occurring.

GIBAI

The s phoneme is also missing here, along with y.

Consonants are: p, t, k, b, ɓ, d, g, ɣ, h, ʔ, m, n, r, ɻ and w.

Vowels are: i, i:, e, e:, o, o:, ɛ, ɛ:, a and a:, with V: representing length. Again, there is no nasalization of vowels.

Syllable patterns are limited to V, CV and CVV.

ANIGIBI

The presence of a v phoneme is distinctive here, the rest of the phonemes being shared by most of the preceding languages.

Consonants are: p, t, k, b, ɓ, d, g, ʔ, m, n, v, ɻ, l, r, w and y.

Vowels are the usual five plus what might be allophones: i, ɪ, e, ε, o, u, a, ə and ʌ. Nasalization is absent.

Syllable patterns are C, CV and CVV. No consonant clusters appeared.

SUMMARY

Pawaia appears to be closer phonologically to Daribi and Polopa than any other neighboring language. It is the easternmost language featuring nasalized vowels in a belt stretching far to the west. Languages to the south of Pawaia and Polopa lack this feature. Tone is common to Daribi, Polopa, Pawaia and Witu, but is not apparent in neighboring groups. The major phonological difference between Pawaia and the Teberan Family is the presence of a few word-final consonants. (Listening to Pawaian conversation one gets the impression that nasal vowels occur more frequently than in Daribi.)

Foi's phonetic complexity would seem to set it quite apart from the Teberan Family, and from the Kairi-Gibaio-Anigibi neighbors which appear relatively simple phonologically.

3.52. Grammatical Features

As the survey was not intended to provide insights into grammatical structure only Pawaia will be considered here, using Trefry (1969).

Pawaia resembles Daribi in the following respects: It does not have complex sentence-medial verb forms. Inflection is by suffixation, with person and number distinctions absent (except for the first and third person singular stative forms). Focus seems to be on aspect (of which there are two) rather than on tense (although there is a future tense suffix). There is a tendency toward short phrases, and simple clause structure is preferred to complex constructions, with no medial clause types. Verbs are morphologically the most complex part of speech.

Pronouns are free forms, with possessives (there are only two) filling one function of DAR SET B personal pronouns.

Nouns exhibit no obligatorily possessed category. Numbers follow the noun being modified, adjectives precede it (except if more than one is used and one denotes colour, in which case the colour term follows the noun). Demonstratives appear phrase-initially.

It may be seen that Pawaia and Daribi share a number of structural features. Further comparison must await pending study of Daribi structure, particularly higher level features.

3.6. Wider Affinities

Wagner (1969:56, footnote 2) states "I have noted quite distinct series of cognates linking the [Daribi] language to that of Lake Kutubu (as reported by Williams) and to the Metlpa [*sic*] language of Mount Hagen, though in each case the number of cognates is unimpressive. As a matter of interest this author compared Daribi and Foi (Kutubu), and arrived at a 5% cognacy figure based on 89 items from the Swadesh 100 list (see Table 1, p.122). The comparison of 22 assumed cultural items raised the figure to 7% (Table 2), and on the basis of 231 items the figure was back down to 5% (Table 3). It would not appear that the two languages enjoy any special relationship, 5% barely qualifying them for a micro-phylum link. As already noted, there are many phonological differences. The Foi data were taken from a word list by M. Rule, on file at S.I.L.'s Ukarumpa headquarters.

However, when Foi and Polopa were compared the percentages showed quite a rise. Taking the three lists in the same order as above, the figures are 14%, 13% and 12%. These exceed the figures for Polopa vs. Sau, although Sau lies between Foi and Polopa on the map.

No comparison of Daribi and Medlpa was made, but with the Daribi-Polopa relationship established it is highly unlikely that Medlpa would be unusually close to Daribi. Wurm has noted (1964:89) that "Mikaru [Daribi] displays the greatest aberration from the Stock in its structure [comparing Karam, Kutubu, Mikaru and Pawaia]. ...In tabulating the four features ... which are of particular importance in assessing the typological resemblance of a language to the Stock, ... Mikaru [shows] none at all." Medlpa is definitely part of the Stock.

Others have suggested to this author that there might be a relationship between Daribi (on the southern edge of the Highlands) and the Sepik Hills family (on the northern edge), particularly Saniyo. A comparison was made, using Saniyo data elicited from two Saniyo men temporarily resident at Ukarumpa. The cognacy rate was 3%, with 8 cognates out of 229 comparisons. When compared with 12 Polopa lists Saniyo showed nothing over 7% (one case) in the full lists; with the 89 Swadesh items the average figure was 7%. Comparing only 22 assumed cultural items, Daribi and 4 Polopa lists showed a 5% relationship and 9 Polopa lists showed a 0% relationship to Saniyo.

A cursory comparison of some material from Alambak, at the other end of the Sepik Hills family geographically, failed to turn up anything unusual either, so it appears safe to assume that there is no particular

relationship between Daribi-Polopa and this distant family.

Table 5

The following information is included for general interest, showing the relationships of the various languages in terms of family, stock and micro-phylum. Using Swadesh's figures, the lower limits of membership in each category are 28%, 12%, and 4% shared vocabulary, respectively.

Daribi - Polopa	Family (35%)
Daribi - Pawaia	Micro-phylum (10%)
Polopa - Pawaia	Stock (16%)
Daribi - Witu	Micro-phylum (8%)
Polopa - Witu	Micro-phylum (8%)
Pawaia - Witu	Less than Micro-phylum (2%)
Daribi - Samberigi	Micro-phylum (7%)
Polopa - Samberigi	Stock (13%)
Pawaia - Samberigi	Micro-phylum (5%)
Witu - Samberigi	Stock (12%)
Daribi - Foi	Micro-phylum (5%)
Polopa - Foi	Stock (14%)
Pawaia - Foi	Micro-phylum (7%)

3.7. CONCLUSIONS

Daribi and Polopa constitute a language family by themselves. Their closest common relative is Pawaia. In spite of the fact that many of the lexicostatistical comparison figures do not reach 81%, this author feels that the various Polopa lists represent basically one language made up (as suggested by Franklin 1968:25) of a chain of dialects. No pattern of area relationships is evident except that AUR, PED and TRA all in the southeastern part of Polopa territory, show over 81% relationships to each other. Pedege as a village no longer exists, their descendants perhaps having merged into AUR or other southern villages, so its high figure must be treated with caution.

In determining cognacy, this author has used a conservative approach, so that many figures may be too low. Errors have been noted in the data which would raise the percentages in some cases. Wurm and Laycock (1961:129) have spoken of lowering the 81% figure by as much as 10%. If this were done, a large proportion of the Polopa comparison figures

would certainly qualify the villages as speaking dialects of the one language. Mutual intelligibility testing was not a feature of this survey, so Wurm's and Laycock's procedures could not be applied to the data.

Pawaia, hitherto classified only as an isolate, shows more relationship to the Teberan Family than to anything else with which it has been compared. Since it is lexically closer to Polopa than to Daribi, further studies of Polopa in particular may well uncover additional links in both structure and lexicon between it and Pawaia.

N O T E S

1. The author and his wife have worked among the Daribi intermittently since August 1962, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Papua New Guinea Branch.
2. Wagner's use of the letter r in Daribi is to represent a flapped alveolar sound. I would prefer to see d used instead, as I have observed most English speakers tend to interpret the r as an ordinary English r and thus mispronounce "Daribi".
3. A young woman from Kele was married into Pupitau, and I met a middle-aged Daribi man from the Suani area who was living uxori-locally in Boro.
4. The spelling of this village name varies. It was formerly included in the Gulf District's Pepike Census Division and spelled (Saketau-) "Siligi". It is now in the Southern Highlands' Kerabi C.D., and spelled "Sirigi".
5. Gurimatu men have married at least four Daribi women - two from Masi village, one from Maina, one (deceased) from Dibe - and one from Lake Tebera. During my visit two young men, sons of Daribi wives, spoke to me freely in Daribi. It would appear that the conversion of Pawaia speakers into Daribi speakers, in progress on the Karimui Plateau, has begun at Gurimatu also.
6. Conclusions regarding grammatical features of Daribi were reached with the aid of a concordance of 16,000 words of Daribi text, produced by a joint project of the Oklahoma University Research Institute and

the Summer Institute of Linguistics, which was partially supported by Grant GS-1605 of the National Science Foundation.

7. This description no doubt includes allophonic variations.

W.M. Rule (unpublished, 1965) lists the following phonemes for F*oi* (F*oe*):
b, t, d, k, g, r, x, f, v, s, h, m, n, w, y, a, e, i, o, u, and
nasalized counterparts for each vowel. See also Chapter 4 for comments
on F*oi*.

8. See Chapter 6 for more details on the Kiwaian Family, of which
Gibaio and Anigibi are members.

APPENDIX A

This section lists alphabetically the Teberan Family languages, plus Pawaia. Alternate names follow each entry, with sources in parentheses.

- DARIBI- Karimui and Erave- Bólubi (MacDonald 1973); Burupo (Ryan 1970); Mikaru (Wurm 1961); Nikuniya (MacDonald 1973).
- POLOPA- Foraba (Franklin 1968); this now includes the following names and their alternates (source - Franklin 1968):
Bara- Harahui (Cribb, n.d.); Harahu (Capell 1962).
Ibukairu- (A.R. 1920-1).
Kewa- (Wagner 1967); Kewah (Franklin 1968).
Mamisu- (Capell 1962).
Ro- Keai or Worugl (A.R. 1921-2).
Sesa- (A.R. 1924-5).
Songu- (Capell 1962).
- PAWAIA- Pawaia (Capell 1954); Tūdāhwe (MacDonald 1973); Tūdawe (Wagner 1967); Tundawe (Hughes 1970); Tudawhe (Glasse 1965); Yasa (MacDonald 1973).

APPENDIX B

Because there are as many as five terms in use for the name of a given group of people or their language, this chart is included as a cross-reference. The left-hand list represents whoever is speaking, the other lists what he calls each language. Blanks indicate gaps in our knowledge.

SPEAKER	European	Karimui Daribi	Erave Daribi	Karimui Pawaia	Ururu Pawaia	Polopa
European	English/ Pidgin	Mikaru	Foraba (Wagner), Daribi	Pawaia	Pawaia	Polopa/ Foraba+
Karimui Daribi	Kanima po (= Pidgin, lit. <i>tan talk</i>)	Daribi	Daribi	Yasa	Yasa	Kewá
Erave Daribi		Daribi	Daribi			Kewá, Odani
Karimui Pawaia		Haʃihwi		Tydaqhwe	Dudá toi (toi = men)	Kewá
Ururu Pawaia		Nikuniya				Irohi*
Polopa		Daribi (Teberans use this)	Bólubi (Wopasali) Daribi (Tebera)		Yasa (Tebera)	Kewá (Tebera), Nqai (Boro, Tobare, Pupitau, etc.

+ Plus all the older terms listed on p.139.

* The Ururu Pawaians use this term to cover more than just Irou village, alias Trabedesare, the closest Polopa village. The -hi segment may indicate this is the Ururu attempt at the Polopa term Irou hwj.

APPENDIX C

Population Figures and Village Names

DARIBI

The Daribi population has increased from an estimated 4,000 to 5,000 ten years ago to an estimated 6,000 plus at present. Some of this apparent increase may be due to more complete censusing. Exact figures are impossible to arrive at since villages in the border area between Daribi and Pawaia feature a mixture of speakers of both languages. In addition, the population at Boma is a mixture of Daribi speakers and people from "Chimbu" languages to the north. Official census figures do not deal with the individual's primary language.

Chimbu District

Karimui Census Division

(* = primarily Pawaia but mixed Daribi)

Boisamalu
 Daia
 Dibe
 Hau
 Hoiayo *
 Hwaiyo *
 Kauluabo
 Kilibari
 Korabame
 Maia
 Meiu *
 Moiyo *
 Naiyo *
 Noluwai
 Peria *
 Soboro
 Sogo No.1
 Sogo No.2
 Solita *
 Waime
 Wediai
 Yauwi *

Total as of August 1971 - 3,379

Daribi Census Division

Anabai
 Bope
 Bunibidi
 Delege
 Dobeda
 Dobu
 Gelabi
 Hagane
 Hobe
 Kebu
 Kuburu
 Maina
 Negabo
 Noru No.1
 Noru No.2
 Ogwanima
 Punale
 Saia
 Sora
 Sorarai
 Tilige
 Tua
 Wai
 Walai
 Wiamani
 Yogobo

Total as of November 1971 - 3,079

Bomai Census Division

Arubidi
 Auwiku No.1
 Auwiku No.2
 Bakane
 Biabe
 Bilkane
 Daribi
 Deragora
 Gegu
 Hwoiyo
 Kebilkane
 Komaisibi
 Kumai
 Negabo
 Samabe
 Sulu
 You

Total as of October 1971 - 798

Southern Highlands District

Kerabi Census Division

Kele		
Saki.	No figures	?
Suani		

PAWAIA

Gulf District (Figures as of August 1970).

Upper Purari Census Division

Gurimatu	95	
Kairuku	139	
Koni	80	
Pawaia No.1	80	
Pawaia No.2	47	
Senadu	77	
Tatu	97	
Uraru	68	
Uri	19	
Weijana	84	
Weme	62	
	<hr/>	
	1,341	1,341

Chimbu District (Figures as of November 1971).

Tura Census Division

Haia	26	
Hwalla	42	
Yale	29	
	<hr/>	
	97	97

Pio Census Division

Dyane		
Po		
Soliabedo		
Wiid		
	<hr/>	
	189	189

Karimui Census Division

Villages listed under Daribi which are starred are mixed Pawaia and Daribi, but as noted there exact figures are impossible to determine.

TOTAL 1,627+

The estimated total number of people whose primary language is Pawaia is 2,300.

POLOPA

Gulf District (Figures as of August 1970).

Era Census Division

Aurei	101	101
-------	-----	-----

Upper Purari Census Division

Lake Tebera	57	57
-------------	----	----

Pepike Census Division

Diauwereke	30	
Haubrere	70	
Koaru	No figures	
Negebare	30 (author's estimate)	
Omo	110	
Pepike	44	
Sera	67	
Sui	62	
Tetrebare	80	
Tikarapou	78	
Tobare	111	
Trabedesare	42	
Urunite	63	
Urupio	112	
	<hr style="width: 50%; margin: 0 auto;"/>	
	899 + Koaru	899+

Southern Highlands District**Kerabi Census Division**

Figures in the 1968 Village Directory are not given by individual villages, but the total population for this C.D. was 2,432. According to Ryan (1970) there are 2,300 persons in "both dialects" of "Poraba". Since several villages are known to be Sau, Franklin's figure (1968:25) of 1,500 Polopa speakers

for the Kerabi Valley area is probably much more accurate. What Ryan takes to be two dialects may well be bilingualism in some villages. While Franklin (with Wagner) lists Suani as a Polopa village, Ryan lists it and Kele under his "Burupo".

Boro
Keba
Pupitau
Sirigi
Sopese
Suri
Waraga
Wopasali

1,500 estimated total	<u>1,500</u>
	2,600

The estimated total number of people speaking Polopa as their primary language is 2,600.

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