

# THE LANGUAGES OF THE LAKE MURRAY AREA

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Lake Murray Area is the vast triangular stretch of swampy land bordered in the west by the Fly River, in the east by the Strickland River, and in the north by the higher and dryer grounds of the Yongom and Pare areas. In the centre of the triangle lies Lake Murray measuring about 35 miles from top to bottom, and from 3 to 5 miles from side to side. Its feeder rivers, the June, the Boi and the Kaim, all enter it from the north. In the south the Herbert River connects it with the Strickland River.

About 4000 people live in this area. Their villages are built on the low sand ridges that crop up between the innumerable swamps and lagoons. Of these people, 600 are newcomers: small groups of Kaeti, Yongom and Pare who have settled in the region in the recent past. The others have lived there from time immemorial.<sup>1</sup> They are organised into a number of tribes which all seem to have a dual organisation. Each tribe consists of exogamous moieties which are divided into a small number of totem groups.<sup>2</sup>

The two main languages in the area are Boazi and Zimakani. They constitute the easternmost subgroup of the Marind Stock, which stretches far to the south-west and west into West Irian. Boazi is spoken in three dialects: North Boazi, South Boazi, and Kuini. Zimakani is spoken in two dialects, Zimakani and Begua. The other languages, spoken by sundry groups are Kaeti, Yongom and Pare. A list of the tribes, the villages and the population figures is presented in the following chart:

## Chart I

## PEOPLE AND LANGUAGES OF THE LAKE MURRAY AREA

(The population figures have been taken from the Census 1968.)

TRIBE	VILLAGE	POPULATION FIGURES	LANGUAGE AND DIALECT
			<i>Boazi</i>
Bieki	Gamo	?	Northern dialect
Ingies	Mipan	217	" "
Sangizi	Manda	125	" "
Wamek	Boset	411	Southern dialect
Kameki	Tinunga	116	" "
	Aiambak	99	" "
Kuini	Boemburavu	112	Kuini
	Uisokov	272	"
	Demu	171	"
	Taugum	255	"
	Aewa	84	"
Total number of Boazi speakers: approximately 1900.			
			<i>Zimakani</i>
Begua	Miwa	308	Begua
	Kusikina	153	"
Zimakani	Boikumava	202	Zimakani
	Kaviananga	321	"
	Komaovai	78	"
Total number of Zimakani-Begua speakers: 1462.			
Kaeti	Kuem	} 200 appr.	Kaeti
	Maporoan		
Yongom	Nago	143	Yongom
	Buseki	184	"
Pare	Magipopo	67	Pare

Note: Nago has since moved to a new location and is now locally known as Kakutamangei.

The trade language in the Lake Murray area is Police Motu, but near the West Irian border the Indonesian language is generally understood and spoken. Amongst the younger generation, English is becoming more widespread as a second language since it is taught at the Government and Mission schools.

1.2. The first European to enter this part of New Guinea was Luigi d'Albertiz who ascended the Fly River for the first time in 1876, firing his rockets at the bewildered natives. From that time onwards the area had sporadic contacts with the outside world. In 1913 Massey Baker and Burrows discovered the lake, which they named after the Lieutenant-Governor, Hubert Murray, who himself visited it the year after.

The state of sporadic contacts lasted till about the beginning of the second world war, when the Unevangelized Fields Mission established a Mission Station at Kaviananga near Everill Junction. In 1947 they moved from there to their present headquarters at Pangoa in Lake Murray. About the same time the administration moved in and established a patrol post on the northern shore of the lake. Nevertheless Lake Murray remained a neglected part of the Western District till 1960 when a permanent government station was built on a new site and a start was made with the economic development of the area. Crocodile hunting was promoted, a start made with the planting of rubber, and the Lake Murray Co-operative Society was formed. There are at present three primary schools in the area: in the government station, on Pangoa, and in Boset.

In the border area west of the Fly River regular contacts with the outside world were established earlier than east of the Fly. The Dutch Roman Catholic Mission started operating in the region in the thirties working from their headquarters in Merauke. They established a Mission Station at Boset, and thereafter many children from the Boazi speaking area went to school in Merauke. After Dutch New Guinea became Irian Barat in 1962, the Dutch Roman Catholic Mission stayed on for a while but at last abandoned the Boset Mission Station. The station was later reopened by the Canadian Montfortan Mission, operating from Daru.

1.3. The earliest information on the languages around Lake Murray consists of short word lists in the *Papua Annual Reports* of 1916/17 (in Zimakani) and 1921/22 (in Zimakani and Boazi). More detailed information on the Boazi language became available through Boelaars' thesis (1950) which contains an abstract of notes on Boazi by the Dutch Missionary, P. Drabbe. Four years later (1954), Drabbe published these notes in the *Microbibliotheca Anthropos*.

The Unevangelized Fields Mission, working in Zimakani (Zimakani dialect), prepared translations of part of the New Testament (*Jesu'ba Woituwoituda*, 1956; *John'ba Lagitada Magata*, 1966). Capell (1962) gives a few notes on the Lake Murray languages, mentioning Zimakani, Kuni and Dea. His Kuni is the Kuini dialect of Boazi; a language named Dea does not exist in the area. Capell's examples show that Dea is to be equated with Boazi. The location of the languages as shown on his map (Map X, facing page 128) is incorrect.

The present author collected the materials for this report during a stay of three weeks in the Lake Murray area in March 1969.

## 2. PHONOLOGY

2.1. Boazi and Zimakani have very similar sound systems and it is therefore not necessary to present a complete survey of each of them. The sound system of the Boset dialect of Boazi will here be given in some detail. The sound systems of North Boazi, Kuini, Zimakani and Bɛgua will then be discussed insofar as they differ from the Boset dialect.

### 2.2. Boset-Boazi (Southern Dialect)

This dialect has 18 consonant phonemes and 5, or perhaps 6, vowel phonemes.

The consonant phonemes are:

		Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveo-dental	Velar	Back velar
Stops	vl.	p		t	k	q
	pren.	mb		nd	ng	nq
	vd.	b		d	g	-
Nasals		m		n		
Fricatives	vl.		f	s		
	vd.		v	z		y
Laterals				l		

Chart II, on page 5, shows the main allophones of the consonant phonemes as they occur in word-initial, word-medial and word-final position. A question mark indicates that in the collected data the phoneme has not been found in that position.

The vowel phonemes are:

i [i,ɪ]; e [ɛ̃]; ɛ [ɛ,ɶ]; u [u,ʊ]; o [o,ɔ,ö]; a [a,ɶ,ɶ̃].

#### NOTES:

The allophone [ö] of /o/ was found in the environment /d-v/ only:  
[dëvaiɶk, dovaiɶk] 'moon'.

The phonemic status of ɛ is uncertain. Only a few examples of possibly phonemic ɛ were found. Further, /a/ tends to be raised to ɶ in certain environments and then seems to overlap the phonetic range of the suspected ɛ phoneme.

Chart II  
BOAZI CONSONANTS AND THEIR MAIN ALLOPHONES

	p	t	k	q	b	d	g	mb	nd	ŋg	ŋq	m	n	f	s	v	z	ɣ	l
I	p	t	k	q	b	d	g	mb	nd	ŋg	ŋq	m	n	f, pf	s, ts	v	z, dz	ɣ, g	l
M	p	t	k	q	b	d	g	mb	nd	ŋg	ŋq	m	n	f	s	v	z	ɣ, g	l
F	p, p̥	t	k	q	?	?	g, k̥	?	nd	ŋg, ŋk̥		m	n	f	s	f̥v	ɕ, z	ɣ, ɣ̥	-

Unvoiced lax stops are indicated by a subscript <sub>l</sub>: k<sub>l</sub>, f<sub>l</sub>, s<sub>l</sub>, ɣ<sub>l</sub>.

NOTES:

Final /p/ is sometimes unreleased.

The fricative phonemes /f/, /s/, and /z/ have in initial position two allophones: a fricative and an affricated allophone which alternate freely.

The opposition voiced-voiceless of stops and fricatives is in word-final position sometimes replaced by the opposition tense-lax, the voiceless phonemes becoming unvoiced/tense, the voiced phonemes becoming unvoiced/lax.

Backed velar consonants occur only preceding /a/ or /o/ (in initial and medial position) or following /a/ or /o/ (in final position). Within these restricted environments however, they contrast with non-backed velar consonants.

The velar fricative /ɣ/ seems always to be backed, irrespective of the environment.

### 2.3. The North-Boazi Dialect

A few data were collected from an informant from Manda. The sound system seems to be identical to that of South-Boazi. In this dialect /l/ also occurs word-finally and then has strong lateral friction.

### 2.4. The Kuini Dialect

The data, collected from an informant from Boemburavu show only sub-phonemic differences from the system outlined above. Inter-vocally, /g/ has two allophones: [g] and [ŋ]. There is more evidence for setting up *ɛ* as a separate phoneme than in Boset-Boazi.

## 2.5. Zimakani, Zimakani Dialect

The main difference is the absence of phonemic backed-velar stops. On the allophonic level backed-velar stops [q], [ŋq] do occur when followed by /a/ or /o/. Preceding /o/ the stop is always backed, preceding /a/ backed and non-backed allophones seem to alternate freely. /l/ has flapped and lateral allophones in word-medial position.

There are 6 vowel phonemes:

i [i,ɪ]	u [u,ʊ]
e [e,ɛ]	o [o,ɔ]
ɛ [ɛ]	a [ɑ,a,æ]

Bɛgua seems to have an identical sound system.

2.6. Consonant clusters do not occur, neither in Boazi nor in Zimakani; Boazi permits word-final consonants, but Zimakani does not permit them. In both languages sequences of up to three vowels have been noted.

## 3. GRAMMAR

Very little is known of the morphological and syntactical structure of these languages. Drabbe's *Notes* (1954) are the only source available and the fieldwork by the present writer did not go into enough detail to improve much on what has been published before. The writer therefore refrains from presenting any data till a more thorough study in these languages has been made. Only a few general remarks may be made here: both Boazi and Zimakani seem to have a system of three noun classes, involving concord with pronouns, demonstratives, and adjectives. In Boazi there is a category of nouns which has plural forms marked by a pluralising suffix; in Zimakani and in the Kuini dialect of Boazi there is a category of nouns in which the singular nouns are marked by a singularising suffix. Verb forms may contain one or more prefixes and/or suffixes. Thus, a verb may contain prefixes marking completive aspect - subject - object (in this order) and suffixes marking plural number of subject - durative aspect - tense (in this order). Some verbs have suppletive roots, depending on the plurality of the subject or object, or depending on the tense of the verb.

4. COMPARATIVE WORD-LIST OF BOAZI (Boset and Kuini Dialects) AND  
ZIMAKANI (Zimakani and Begua Dialects), IN PHONETIC NOTATION

	South Boazi	Kuini	Zimakani	Begua
<i>afraid</i>	ma <sub>i</sub>	-	mo <sub>i</sub>	-
<i>all</i>	tandenge	-	-	utumatu ba <sub>u</sub> gu
<i>angry</i> <sup>1</sup>	nafe	ɣaɣa	pɔŋgɔa	pɔŋgɔa
<i>arm</i>	pingi	pingi	ŋgu	ŋgu
<i>armpit</i>	fiag	baya	-	-
<i>arrow</i> <sup>2</sup>	sangava	sangava	tsangava	sangava
<i>arrow</i> <sup>3</sup>	ngesu	ngasu	ngasu	ngasu
<i>ashes</i>	pəkək	pəkək	pu	fu
<i>axe, stone</i>	eto bovai	-	-	bɔvasi
<i>back (body)</i>	zita	tsita	kɔbe	zita
<i>back of knee</i>	-	-	lava	lavava
<i>bad</i>	sɣaya	sɔɣa <sub>i</sub> ma	babaka	babaka babak <sub>u</sub> babake } <sup>4</sup>
<i>bag, plaited</i>	ava	ava	ava	ava
<i>bamboo</i>	pfai <sub>f</sub>	fai <sub>f</sub>	-	-
<i>banana</i>	napət	nəpət	napətə	napətə
<i>bark</i>	gəina ŋgusu	-	təe ŋgusumi	ŋgusumi
<i>beard</i>	mai <sub>t</sub> u	mai <sub>t</sub> a	-	-
<i>belly</i>	ɣandam	-	gusu	gusə
<i>betelnut</i>	singi	singi	singi	sing <sub>i</sub>
<i>big</i>	kandamba	kanbɔɔbe	ndewi	kapaka
<i>bird</i>	pipisi	pipisiem } <sup>5</sup> pipisi	ɔvɔɔvɔ	kɔɣagiemu <sup>6</sup>
<i>black</i>	kekes	kəkəs	pɔinu	pɔinu
<i>blood</i>	kouk	kouk	kɔuku	kouku
<i>bone</i>	bazəg	bazək	bɛ:ki	bɛ:ki
<i>bow</i>	pfai <sub>i</sub>	fai <sub>f</sub>	pfai <sub>f</sub> a	pfai <sub>f</sub> a
<i>bowstring</i>	-	zava	-	zave
<i>boy</i>	mapenaka mapenaka <sub>i</sub> s } <sup>5</sup>	ɔpanaka ɔpanaka <sub>i</sub> s } <sup>5</sup>	ŋgɔiɛme } <sup>5</sup> ŋgɔi	ŋgɔiɛme } <sup>5</sup> ŋgɔ <sub>i</sub>
<i>branch</i>	tatəŋg	tanga	tɛtɛ:ŋgi	uaye
<i>breadfruit</i>	ɣazua	ba <sub>i</sub> ək	ɣazua	-
<i>breast</i>	tötö	tětə	tětə	tětə

<sup>1</sup>Boa: P. genafə: P. is angry; P. note gendonafə: P. is angry with me.  
Zim/Beg: pɔŋgɔanda: he is angry.

<sup>2</sup>arrow with wooden point. <sup>3</sup>arrow with bamboo blade.

<sup>4</sup>bad, of things, female beings, male beings respectively.

<sup>5</sup>singular, plural respectively. <sup>6</sup>singular.

	South Boazi	Kuini	Zimakani	Begua
<i>brother</i> <sup>1</sup>	ata	ata	eza <sub>i</sub> eza <sub>i</sub> pik <sub>i</sub> a } <sup>2</sup>	ezae } <sup>2</sup> ezaeza }
<i>brother</i> <sup>3</sup>	ati	ati	ɔmbeeki	ɔmbieki
<i>bush</i>	deg	deg	lɔsɔkɔ	lɔsɔkɔ
<i>buttocks</i>	ɣaɣɔma	ɔɣɔm	fɔgi	kumi
<i>calf of leg</i>	botovaka	bam	labuk <sub>i</sub> eme	labuki <sup>4</sup>
<i>cassowary</i>	kɔus	kɔus	kau	kau
<i>charcoal</i>	tetek	tekovɔt	ma	ma
<i>chest</i>	aɣa	savim	savi	savi
<i>cloud</i>	ean papaya	ozɔs	ka <sub>i</sub> a saka	ka <sub>i</sub> a saka
<i>coconut</i>	piwi	ɣangat	ɣangata	-
<i>cold (water)</i>	vatap	ɣatap	pumbu tanda	bumbu tanda
<i>come</i>	av	av	-	-
<i>crocodile</i>	aɣiam	aɣa <sub>i</sub> a	lawazu	-
<i>crooked</i>	-	kafigiap	kafitanda	kafita
<i>cut tree</i>	-	-	ʃava	lava
<i>day</i>	taveat	paveat	-	-
<i>deep</i>	igiam	-	lounu	-
<i>descend</i>	vis	vis	-	-
<i>different</i>	vinivinimba	vini	-	-
<i>dog</i>	gaɣ	ŋgevas	ŋgaɣɔ	gaɣɔ
<i>dry</i>	-	kap	pazi	pazɛ
<i>ear</i>	giæ	kea	gia	zia
<i>earth, ground</i>	mangai	mangai	mangɛ <sub>i</sub>	mangɛ <sub>i</sub>
<i>eat</i>	log	log	zia	-
<i>egg</i>	gava	ŋgava	bamɔkɔ	bamɔkɔ
<i>elbow</i>	kafikafi	nasis	ka <sub>f</sub> ɔ <sub>i</sub> ka <sub>f</sub> ɔ <sub>i</sub>	ka <sub>f</sub> ɔ <sub>i</sub> ka <sub>f</sub> ɔ <sub>i</sub>
<i>evening</i>	kagus	-	kagi	kagi
<i>excrements</i>	nagi	nagi, gapa	-	nagi
<i>eye</i>	bɔ <sub>i</sub>	bɔ <sub>i</sub>	bɔ <sub>i</sub> mo <sub>k</sub> ɔ	bɔe
<i>face</i>	bugug	bugug	-	-
<i>far away</i>	-	ɣamaɣapɛ	avunava	-
<i>fat, grease</i>	ɛnaɣ	ɛnak	ɛnaya	ɛnaya
<i>father</i>	tat, ve <sup>5</sup>	tat, eve <sup>5</sup>	ŋgai <sub>i</sub> ʃa <sup>6</sup>	ŋgai <sub>i</sub> la <sup>6</sup>
<i>feather</i>	ka <sub>v</sub> ai	ka <sub>v</sub> ui	-	-

<sup>1</sup>elder brother; Boa, Kui: *my elder brother*.

<sup>2</sup>singular, plural respectively.

<sup>3</sup>younger brother; Boa, Kui: *my younger brother*.

<sup>4</sup>plural.

<sup>5</sup>*my/our father, and his/their father respectively*. <sup>6</sup>*my father*.

	South Boazi	Kuini	Zimakani	Begua
<i>fence</i>	uta	uta	uta	uta
<i>few</i>	ɣapeləv	-	kɔakɔape	kɔakɔape
<i>finger</i>	-	kɔkɔsɔv	-	-
<i>fire, tree</i>	geinam	geina	tae	tae
<i>fish</i>	seva	zɔngajam } <sup>1</sup> zɔnga }	dzɔngaeme } <sup>1</sup> dzɔnga }	zɔngaeme } <sup>1</sup> zɔnga }
<i>fly (insect)</i>	ɣavayav	ɣavayajam } <sup>1</sup> ɣavayə }	ngamboeme } <sup>1</sup> ngambo }	ngamboeme } <sup>1</sup> ngambo }
<i>flying fox</i>	-	ngɔbɔ	-	-
<i>fog</i>	kaifa kaifa	kaifa kaifa	k <sup>x</sup> ɛifa k <sup>x</sup> ɛifa	gicfi
<i>forehead</i>	negezapa	kawa pap	langa	langa
<i>fruit</i>	geina nanga	tae nanga	tai mɔkɔ	tae mɔkɔ
<i>garden</i>	kae	kae	ɣaveka	ɣaveaka
<i>girl</i>	basinaka } <sup>2</sup> basinakais }	mbasnakam } <sup>2</sup> mbasnakais }	atɛemo kase } <sup>3</sup> ato kaise }	atɛjemɔ kase } <sup>3</sup> ato kaise }
<i>give</i>	etawam	etɔam	tawa	tawa
<i>good</i>	mboma	boma	mboma	mbambaime
<i>hair of head</i>	izimu	izum	gigifi	kigifi
<i>body hair</i>	kasu	kasu	anu	anu
<i>hand, foot</i>	zenda	zenda	zenda	zenda
<i>he</i>	ndene	ndene	ɛgiæ	ezie
<i>head</i>	kawa	kawa	gi	gi
<i>heart</i>	mbani	mbɔni	bune	bune
<i>heavy</i>	-	viniv	zinimu	zinimu
<i>here</i>	ngane	nganek	-	-
<i>hill</i>	-	ewaeve	mangɛi mɔkɔta	mangɛi mɔkɔta
<i>his</i>	tege, tego, } <sup>4</sup> teya }	tege, tegu, } <sup>4</sup> teya }	ɛɣiemba	ɛɣiemba
<i>hornbill</i>	-	tɛtɛfɔ	-	-
<i>hot</i>	tatas	tatas	tɔtɔsi <sup>5</sup> tetepe <sup>6</sup>	tetepe <sup>7</sup>
<i>house</i>	ven	ve, koev	fa	fa
<i>be hungry</i>	-	ifi vi-	lou kami	lou kami
<i>I</i>	no	no	nɔkɔ	nɔkɔ
<i>inside, under</i>	masi	mɔka	mɔkɔte	mɔkɔte
<i>jaw</i>	ete	-	tamiki	tamiki
<i>knee</i>	katuk	manazap	kakusi	gamigi

<sup>1</sup>singular and plural respectively. <sup>2</sup>singular, plural respectively.

<sup>3</sup>young woman/young women.

<sup>4</sup>with nouns of masculine, feminine and neuter gender respectively.

<sup>5</sup>of water. <sup>6</sup>of the day. <sup>7</sup>of water, day, sun.

	South Boazi	Kuini	Zimakani	Begua
<i>kunai grass</i>	wasangai	puti	sɛsɛka	-
<i>lagoon, lake</i>	keuan	meam	kibana	kibana
<i>language</i>	man̄ga	man̄gat	man̄gata	-
<i>leaf</i>	ɛsɔkɔ	ɛsɔkɔ	ɛsɔkɔ	ɛsɔkɔ
<i>leech</i>	-	kaɣajam } <sup>1</sup> kaɣa }	nangɔiɛme } <sup>1</sup> nangɔi }	-
<i>leg</i>	wajaiap	zenda	-	-
<i>light</i> (weight)	-	taɣ	kaenu	ka:nu
<i>lime</i>	gufɛ	gufa	gɔfɛ	-
<i>lip</i>	toɣ	toɣ	ta:gu	ta:gu
<i>long</i>	-	səkɛɣapɛ	ovaīnu } <sup>2</sup> ovaīne }	sakinu kapaka
<i>louse</i>	-	un̄g	-	numungi
<i>lungs</i>	faf	faf	tatafi	tatafe
<i>man, husband</i>	an̄ganea	an̄ganeam } <sup>1</sup> an̄gana }	an̄ganɛme } <sup>1</sup> an̄gana }	an̄ganɛ:me } <sup>1</sup> an̄gana }
<i>man</i>	matɔkɔsae } <sup>1</sup> matɔkɔs }	-	laɣɛme } <sup>1</sup> laɣ }	laɣɛme } <sup>1</sup> laɣ }
<i>old man</i>	daɣa ɣapɛ } <sup>1</sup> daɣ mbakik }	laɣa ɣapɛ	laɣɛme } <sup>1</sup> kapaka, laɣ mbaiki }	laɣɛme kapaka } <sup>1</sup> laɣ mbaiki }
<i>many</i>	maimba	maimba	sangazu	-
<i>meat</i>	savaka	sɛvaɣa	-	savaka
<i>men's part</i> <i>of house</i>	-	-	gia fa	-
<i>moon</i>	dovaīak, ɣavək	lɛveak	kaia pave	kaia pave
<i>morning</i>	ɣanayanus	ɔgɔnananis	ɣasuyasunu } <sup>3</sup> pɔitapɔitanu }	ɣasuyasunu
<i>mosquito</i>	nangat	nangatam } <sup>1</sup> nangat }	nangaitiɛme } <sup>1</sup> nangaiti }	nangaitiɛme } <sup>1</sup> nangaiti }
<i>mouth</i>	man̄ganga	man̄ganga	tagu mɔkɔte <sup>4</sup>	-
<i>mother</i>	ne } <sup>5</sup> vo }	evũ <sup>6</sup>	nea } <sup>5</sup> evupuka }	mɔ
<i>mud</i>	suapaɣa	ɣɔ	ɣɔɣɔ	ɣɔɣɔ
<i>my</i>	noge, nogo, } <sup>7</sup> noɣa }	noge, nogu, } <sup>7</sup> noɣa }	nɔmba	nɔmba

<sup>1</sup> singular, plural respectively.

<sup>2</sup> with nouns of feminine, masculine gender respectively.

<sup>3</sup> offered as synonyms by informant. <sup>4</sup> inside of mouth.

<sup>5</sup> my mother, your/his mother respectively. <sup>6</sup> my mother.

<sup>7</sup> with nouns of masculine, feminine, and neuter gender respectively.

	South Boazi	Kuini	Zimakani	Begua
<i>nail</i>	dakumuk	ḡanděs	siŋgi	siŋgi
<i>name</i>	iz	iz	iza	-
<i>nasal mucus</i>	-	kɔpɔḡa	-	-
<i>navel</i>	duku	dukum	lukumi	vɔsa
<i>navel of coconut</i> <sup>1</sup>	manggat			
<i>near</i>	-	-	avuka	-
<i>neck, nape</i>	ḡɔnæ	ḡɔna	ḡɔnɛki	mɔŋgɔ <sup>2</sup>
<i>netbag</i>	-	atayě	ataya	ŋguæ
<i>new (of house)</i>	ḡandi	ndakinaḡ	ŋgajimeeki	-
<i>night</i>	děvě	loḡa	pɔjta	pɔjta
<i>nose</i>	kěso	kěso	kisi	kisi
<i>nostril</i>	kěŋḡa	kěsoŋḡa } <sup>3</sup> ndoziŋḡa }	-	ḡɔpaḡauvaě <sup>4</sup>
<i>not, nothing</i>	-	-	najta	nava
<i>old (of house)</i>	ŋḡauanagi	ḡauŋagě	abeeki	-
<i>on top (of house)</i>	(ve) mu:m	(vě) mumat	(fa) mumeta	(fa) mumeta
<i>one</i>	kɔapɔ	kɔpɔ	kɔapɔma	kɔapɔma
<i>our</i> <sup>5</sup>	nige, nigo, } <sup>5</sup> niya }	nige, nigu, } <sup>5</sup> niya }	uayamba	uayamba
<i>palm of hand</i>	-	zenda mɔḡɔ	dzenda mɔḡɔ	-
<i>path, track</i>	nakya	naḡɔya	ɔvaia	ɔvaia
<i>penis</i>	mběa	mbea	-	-
<i>people</i>	-	ɛaɔyam	-	ŋgaě
<i>pig</i>	basik	basik	domɔ	domɔ
<i>pig (boar)</i>	basi bia	-	-	-
<i>pig (sow)</i>	basi evoyapuk	-	-	-
<i>put down</i>	-	-	-	kiava
<i>quick</i>	-	naḡamas	-	-
<i>rain</i>	yaě	yaia	afuafu	afuafu
<i>rainbow</i>	-	-	vikiene	-
<i>rat</i>	-	mambut	-	-

<sup>1</sup> small depression in the top of the coconut where the stem joins the fruit.

<sup>2</sup> Boa: mɔŋgɔ = part of the shaft of paddle just above the blade.

<sup>3</sup> offered as synonyms by the informant.

<sup>4</sup> perhaps 'mucus-passage' (see *nasal mucus*).

<sup>5</sup> with nouns of masculine, feminine, and neuter gender respectively.

	South Boazi	Kuini	Zimakani	Begua
rattan	tup	baning	baninga	k <sup>h</sup> andiki <sup>1</sup>
raw	ɣandi	-	lipɔki	lipɔki
red	bangas	ɣakuk	kakɛinu	kakɔinu
rib	-	sanga	-	-
ripe	ɣatə	ɣata	kateno	k <sup>h</sup> atena
river	ea:mba	kea	ɣae	ɣae
root	ngomo	tai lu	limi tunda, } <sup>2</sup> kikimi	sinepi
rotten (wood)	pos	paɣ <sup>x</sup> ə paɣ <sup>x</sup> ə	gaguvu	gaguvu
run (verb)	-	-	laju	-
sago	doɣ	doɣ, bai ta	loɣ	loɣ
sago grub	-	ama	-	-
sago swamp	doɣ ɣayai	-	-	-
sand	ndivind	ndivind	apundeiyi	apundeizi
scar	vaiətɛ	ngamave	e:	e:
shallow	ɛae:v	-	-	-
she	ndunu	ndunu	uaya	uaya
shell of coconut	voe	-	-	-
to see	-	-	teva	-
shin-bone	bazae:g	bazag	kambagi	k <sup>h</sup> ambagi
short	duvisigja	-	tɔkɔnu, } <sup>3</sup> tukunu	tɔkɔnu kasu
shoulder	nganga	nganga	ɣambafu	kambafo
shrimp	daka	-	-	-
be sick	eaŋgɔnɛ	iaŋɔni	ngɔsa	ngɔsa
sister, elder	-	ana <sup>4</sup>	ezaɪ	ezae
sister, younger	-	ɔtam, } <sup>5</sup> kapulav	ɔmbeeku	ɔmbieku
to sit	-	bɔm	bevi	bevi
skin	ngusum, tæg <sup>6</sup>	ngusəm	ngusumi	ngusumi
sky, day	ea:n	ɣaja	-	-
sleep	-	təna	-	-
slow	-	aɪav	-	-
small (of house)	ɣapelava	kapenavagasi	kakabieme	kase
smoke	ɣajfa	ɣajfa, əku <sup>7</sup>	ɣəjfa	ɣajfa

<sup>1</sup> liana. <sup>2</sup> big, small roots respectively.

<sup>3</sup> with nouns of masculine, feminine gender respectively.

<sup>4</sup> my sister (man speaking). <sup>5</sup> offered as synonyms by the informant.

<sup>6</sup> skin of fruit. <sup>7</sup> offered as synonyms by the informant.

	South Boazi	Kuini	Zimakani	Bɛgua
<i>snake</i>	oaza	oazeɣam	-	sazia
<i>a sore</i>	-	-	ŋgava	ŋgava
<i>speak</i>	-	-	kaɣ gi-	-
<i>spittle</i>	kasɛ	kasɛ	kefɛŋge	kefɛŋge
<i>stand</i>	-	tænd	tɛni	tɛne
<i>star</i>	duku	ndĩku	dikĩ	duku
<i>stem of tree</i>	-	taj zapa	-	-
<i>stomach</i>	-	ɛmũ	-	-
<i>stone</i>	mbɛŋga	-	gabaso	kei, kee
<i>straight</i>	-	ndefeamba	tiovo	tiovo
<i>string, rope</i>	oɔ	gumbang	ŋgavama <sup>1</sup>	ŋgavami <sup>1</sup>
<i>sugar cane</i>	Pfimaɔ	fimaɔ	fimeɔa	fimaɔa
<i>sun</i>	kawe	kawa	kaɣa	kaɣa
<i>sweat</i>	-	tata	-	-
<i>tail (of dog)</i>	oɔo	oɔo	zivusi	sivuse
<i>tall, high</i>	sakeaɣape	-	-	-
<i>take</i>	-	-	ɣuba	-
<i>taro</i>	ɔɔkia	ɔɔkea	ɔɔkia	ɔɔkia
<i>tears</i>	-	evev	-	-
<i>that (close by)</i>	-	ndɛɣ	ndagu	ndagu
<i>that (further away)</i>	-	-	matagu	-
<i>that (far away)</i>	-	-	maitagu	-
<i>their</i>	tige, togo, } <sup>2</sup> tiɣa	-	iaɣazamba	-
<i>there</i>	ŋgene	ndouko	matagu, maitagu	matagu
<i>they</i>	ndini	ndini	iaɣa	iaɣa
<i>thigh</i>	uaɣaɣa zapa <sup>3</sup>	-	bɔfo	bɔfo
<i>this</i>	ŋgane, ŋgene, } <sup>4</sup> ngunu	-	magu, meɣu, } <sup>4</sup> ma:gu	-
<i>these</i>	ŋgini	-	mieɣu, magu <sup>5</sup>	-
<i>thorn</i>	fakia	fakia	-	-
<i>three</i>	misika	miška	-	-
<i>throat</i>	uaɛf	naɣ	-	li:
<i>throw away</i>	-	gi	wayi	-

<sup>1</sup>bark string. <sup>2</sup>with nouns of masculine, feminine, and neuter gender respectively. <sup>3</sup>see 'stem' and 'leg'. <sup>4</sup>neuter, masculine, feminine gender. <sup>5</sup>masculine/feminine, neuter gender.

	South Boazi	Kuini	Zimakani	Begua
<i>thumb</i>	-	-	-	gevea
<i>thunder</i>	-	-	nda:nd	-
<i>tinea</i>	-	kivim	-	-
<i>today</i>	ngaigu	-	-	-
<i>tomorrow</i>	yasu	-	kausa	-
<i>tongue</i>	nasæ:me	sas	naseme	neseme
<i>tooth</i>	pakas	kaia	kama	k <sup>h</sup> ama
<i>tree</i>	gëinam	tae, tai	tae	tae
<i>two</i>	menes	mënas	nimapa	nimapa
<i>urine</i>	konɔ	ngaia	-	ngaia
<i>vein</i>	-	kiniḱ	sinepi	-
<i>water</i>	aɔḱ	ɔɔḱa	neja	neja
<i>we</i>	ni	-	niki	niki
<i>wet</i>	-	sɔsɔ	langɔsi	langɔsi
<i>what</i>	-	iaḱa	eta	-
<i>white</i>	papaya	papaya	payanu	payanu
<i>who</i>	giakanem, } <sup>1</sup> giakanum, } giakanim }	iaxa zoqam	etangaia	etangaia
<i>wife (my-)</i>	naias	neas	-	-
<i>wind</i>	kamai	kamui	buamba	buamba
<i>wing</i>	taf	taf	ḱavu	ḱavu
<i>woman</i>	matɔḱɔseva, } <sup>2</sup> matɔḱɔsaḱaḱis }	sevam, } <sup>2</sup> saḱaḱis }	atɔɛmɔ } <sup>2</sup> atɔ }	atɔiɛmɔ } <sup>2</sup> atɔ }
<i>old woman</i>	gai puka, } <sup>2</sup> gai paka }	ngei puka	ngama puka, } <sup>2</sup> ngai mbaiki }	ngai puka, } <sup>2</sup> ngai paka }
<i>wound</i>	ngamav	ngamav	-	-
<i>yellow, green</i>	ḱaḱavu	ḱagius	mbɔḱɔ	mbɔḱɔ
<i>you (sg.)</i>	yo	yo	yoḱɔ	yoḱɔ
<i>you (pl.)</i>	zo	zo	zoḱɔ	zoḱɔ
<i>your (pl.)</i>	zoge, zogo, } <sup>3</sup> zoḱa }	zoge, zogu, } <sup>3</sup> zoḱa }	zɔmba	zɔmba
<i>your (sg.)</i>	yoḱe, yoḱo, } <sup>3</sup> yoḱa }	yoḱe, yoḱu, } <sup>3</sup> yoḱa }	ɔmba	yoḱmba

<sup>1</sup>singular male, female; plural. <sup>2</sup>singular, plural respectively.

<sup>3</sup>masculine, feminine and neuter gender.

## N O T E S

1. The term is not quite appropriate, because the natives of Lake Murray are quite aware of their ancient history. One Zimakani informant showed this by telling the following story which also shows how contact with the Mission has fruitfully widened their historical perspective. The story, told in Police Motu, runs as follows:

'Inai luma bada herea dia haginia. Wad'idia herewa: "hari! ladan' ita hatoa, ita be tau badadia bona itana ruma ataia momokani dore ita haginia!" Idia haginia luma 'nai negana, guba karikari dia kamokamo. Wadan'inai God ia badu sisina idia dekena. Wadan idiena luma idia haginia bona God ia nek' idia: "inai gabu ibonai idia mai!" Wadan idia herew "ai be Asáki, ai be Kwíma, ai be Laviúmbu, ai be Kómaovài, ai be Rekmáre, o..ai be Bégua o ai be Kufni. Bona ai be Dzimakani o Kaméki o Wamuéki, Ingiési, Sangfizi", inai bamona idia hatoa, wad'idia mai. Sene hanaia gabuna ia noho iniseni. Idia hereva inai tano ladana idia hatoa 'Gusendémo'. Iniseni ia noho. Iniseni dia mai negana be..gunaguna be taunima dia mase las. Waden iniseni mase dia dawaria. Guna be dia no. Gado tamona. Bégua, Kuni, Dzimakani, inai be gado tamona sibona. Waden dia noho inai bamona, idia laloa be "ah! daka badina inai gado tamona ita noho bona gado tamona ita herew bona gabu tamona ita haboa be! Egeregere las! Namona be aida taudia, sedira gado ita giroa. Ita giroagiroa be, bona gado ta ita herew. Bona ladana ta ita abia". Wadan inai negana, idia noho, inai gwarume bodaga gauna ia noho, wadaen idia ereva "piképiké" - wadan ina be Tinunga be Kuni; Kuni gado idia abia, Wada, idia hereva be "pikiébo", ine be Dzimakani bona Bégua...

In free English translation:

*'They built this huge house. They said: "Now! Let us give names (to our tribes); we are big people and are going to build a really high house". And then they built the house, it nearly touched the clouds. But then God became a little angry with them. And when they had built the house He drove them out: "They all must come to this spot (i.e. Lake Murray)" (He said). And they said: "We are Asaki, and we Kwima, and we Laviumbu, we Komaovai, we the Lake Murray (people)"... or, "We are the*

Begua, we are the Kuini. And we are the Zimakani, the Kameki, the Wamueki, the Ingiesi, the Sangizi". Thus they mentioned their names and then they came (here). The location where our ancestors went is here. People say, that they called this place 'Gusendemo'. There they lived. At the time they came here they could die. Before, they just lived. They had one language. But when they were living thus (at Lake Murray), they thought: "Hey, why do we have but one language, and live together on the same spot? It's not as it should be! It would be better if some of us changed their language. Let's change it and let us speak different languages. Let us give different names (to the things)". Well, when they were doing this, there was a piece of rotten fish, and they called it pikepike - those were the Tinunga people, the Kuini. They adopted the Kuini language. Then the others called it pikiεbo - they were the Zimakani and the Begua...

(Then it is told how these groups started to make war amongst themselves and how they separated.)

2. Details of the dual organisation the author obtained from his Zimakani, Sangizi and Wamek informants. They gave the following information:

TRIBE	MOIETY	TOTEMIC GROUP
Zimakani	Mogava	Domonda pig
		Iasekui crocodile
		Kisakui dark crocodile
		γikui dark coloured pig
	Kaguakui	Baipaya baramundi
		Neapaya bad water
		Suevi fish species
		γamikui turtle species

The totem groups are called kagua tiata 'canoe'; the expression kagua tiata koapoma 'of one canoe' means 'belonging to the same totemic group'.

A cultural parallel is found in the Gogodala area where the totemic subgroups are called gawa 'canoe'. In the Asmat something similar is found: ci cowak apom canoe one we-sit means 'we belong to the same group'.

TRIBE	MOIETY	TOTEMIC GROUP
Sangizi	Mugav	Gasukuin kind of fish
		Baskuin pig
		γikuin crocodile

(continued)

TRIBE	MOIETY	TOTEMIC GROUP	
Sanggizi	Kaukuin	Baipay	<i>baramundi</i>
		Ngeyakuin	<i>marsupial</i>
. . . . .			
Wamek	Mogav	Koula	<i>cassowary</i>
		Basikuin	<i>pig</i>
		γikuin	<i>crocodile</i>
	Koukuin	Mbaipay	<i>baramundi</i>
		γamikuin	<i>turtle species</i>
		γoskuin	<i>fish species</i>

There is a reciprocal marriage relationship between Mogav and Koukuin. However, also marriages between γikuin and Koula or Basikuin are possible. Koula and Basikuin are "brother and sister": cassowary and pig are both land animals eating the same kind of food. Therefore they cannot marry. γikuin, although classified as Mogav, is a water animal and belongs to the same category as turtles and fish.

3. Drabbe (1954) gives the following list of groups and villages:

Biak	- no fixed location
Inggias	- Gambamit
Sanggizi	- Bovkaka
Wamek	- Vaoset (=Boset)
Kowmek	- Tunungg (=Tinunga)
Kuni	- Baiawis, Ndimu, Maelavuan
Mbāgu (Bēgua)	- Mbavu, Malava, Miwa, Fem
Zimakani	- Terarom, Kavenangga, Komove (=Komaovai)
Gizam	- no fixed location

The group Gizam has disappeared. Maelavuam is present-day Taugum. The people of Mbavu and Malava have joined Miwa. Terarom was situated on the Fly River opposite Suki Creek. The people of this village have since returned and live at Kaviananga.

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