Doromu-Koki dialect survey report

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18 February 2008

This paper is an attempt to delineate the Doromu-Koki language dialect situation. Doromu-Koki is a Papuan language spoken by approximately 1,500 people of the Central Province, Inland Rigo District of Papua New Guinea. The language speakers have identified three dialects, which are borne out by the data. These dialects are very similar, having a high percentage of lexical cognates, and a few regular phonological changes. It has been decided that the largest and most central dialect (Koki) will best communicate to all the groups. There are no apparent problems with reading comprehension or acceptability of the Koki dialect as the medium of translation and literacy materials. The dictionary will contain words and terms particular to the other dialects in order to give them prestige, while the translation will focus on using the Koki dialect. This report endeavours to verify these important decisions.

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1. Introduction

This work is a dialect survey report discussing the results of sociolinguistic dialect surveys in the **Doromu-Koki** [do'romũ 'qok^hi] language group of Central Province, Papua New Guinea. It was conducted in order to assess the dialect situation of the language to determine the implications of Bible translation, Scripture use, and literacy within the language community.

The survey was conducted by the author under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, by obtaining word lists from nine Doromu-Koki villages¹ in the Inland Rigo District, in October 2007.² Previous works were also compared, including word lists collected in 1973, 1988, 1993, and 2002.

1.1 Language classification

The Doromu-Koki language is a Papuan language of the Trans New Guinea family, Southeast Papuan, Manubaran (Pawley 2005:94)³, spoken by approximately 1,500 people, half of whom are living in the national capital, Port Moresby. The other language in the family is Maria (or Manubara), for which a brief linguistic description has been written (Dutton 1970: 879-983), comparing the Manubaran and Kwalean languages. Note: 'The Manubaran Family is named after *manubara* the local pronunciation of "Mount Brown" a prominent peak in that area (ibid:978).' Alternate names for the Doromu-Koki language include *Doromu, Dorom, and Koki*.

The name *Koki* is actually the name of one of the three dialects. The three dialects are Koki, Kokila, and 'Origo. According to Dutton (1970:890), Koki is 85.9% cognate with Kokila, 77.2% with 'Origo and Kokila is 77.5% cognate with 'Origo. According to Quigley and Quigley (1993:14), Koki is 86% cognate with Kokila, 87% with 'Origo and Kokila is 84% cognate with 'Origo.

As will be seen below, this analysis has established higher cognate percentages than both of these previous analyses. This is most likely because longer, more extensive research has further clarified cognates, which can be missed due to elicitation errors. An example follows, comparing one item from all the lists cited, to point out what types of problems can be encountered:

¹ The villages listed in a northwest to southeast direction are: Sirimu, Gagaradobu, Oduika, Kasonomu, Amuraika, Mamanugeagi, 'Ai'anomu, Nimunimu, and Badai'a. Included in the Kokila dialect area between Sirimu and Gagaradobu are the villages of Nevore, Iaromenomu, and Nemonomu, for which it was not possible at the time to obtain word lists. However, since these three villages are between two other Kokila dialect villages which are 98% cognate, they would most likely not reveal any new information. It should also be noted that Iaromenomu and Nemonomu are very close together (about 10 minutes walking distance), and Nevore is quite close to Sirimu as well. (cf., 9.1 Maps, p. 15.)

² The following abbreviations have been used in the paper: 1 (first person), 2 (second person), 3 (third person), DS (different subject), FUT (future), P (plural), PRS (present), PST (past), PURP (purpose), S (singular), SIM (simultaneous), sp (species), SS (same subject), SUB (subsequent).

³ It was previously identified as: Trans-New Guinea phylum, Central and South-eastern stock, Manubaran family (Dutton 1970:882; Wurm 1975:614; Wurm 1982:163-4; Gordon 2005).

Table 1: Comparison of word lists

According to dictionary entries:

- bauye is glossed as 'throat' (Bradshaw 2007b:7)
- *kuri* is glossed as 'neck' (ibid:29)
- sofuka is glossed as 'front of shoulder' (ibid:45)

1.2 Location

The **Doromu-Koki** language group is located in the lowland rainforest areas of the Owen Stanley ranges of the Inland Rigo District of Central Province, approximately 80 kilometres east-southeast of Port Moresby (136 kilometres by road and foot). Part of the language group extends into the Oro Province in the east 'Origo dialect area. The village of *Kasonomu* (*Efaika*) is located at 9° 40' south latitude, 147° 52' east longitude at approximately 147 metres elevation. The language group occupies an area of approximately 400 square kilometres (Quigley and Quigley 1993:1) and comprises the *Uma* (Margaret) River (a tributary of the *Mimani* [Kemp Welsh] River) and *Ora* (Ormond) River valleys to the west of Mount Brown (Dutton 1970:890).

The **Doromu-Koki** language group area is bounded by the *Barai* language (a *Kwalean* language) to the north and west, *Sinaugoro* (an Austronesian language) to the south, *Maria* (a *Manubaran* language) to the southeast, by the *Uare* language (a *Kwalean* language) to the west, bordering the *Mimani* (Kemp Welsh) River, and an uninhabited area to the east in Oro Province.

It is a very mountainous area in which the people reside either in river valleys or on ridge summits. Travel between villages is primarily by bush track, which in many parts traverse mountain ridges and then follow stream and river courses. To get to the village area from Port Moresby one must first travel 130 kilometres by road. Past *Kwikila* (Rigo District) Station the road is unsealed, and therefore travel is more difficult, especially during the rainy season. At the road's closest point to the language group is located the *Sinaugoro* village of *Debadagoro*. From there, one hikes for approximately six kilometres to arrive into the language area, descending the mountain ridge to the *Uma* River, and from there following the river course to the village of *Gagaradobu*. This is the first *Doromu-Koki* village, and is in the *Kokila* dialect. From there, one can hike on to *Oduika*, and then on to the main village of *Kasonomu*, in the *Koki* dialect. Travel to other areas in the language group is much the same, over mountainous tracks.

An airstrip is located at *Orom*, in the *Maria* language area, and is one to two days walk from 'Ai'anomu; there is also an airstrip at *Dorobisoro*, in the *Barai* language area, three days walk from 'Ai'anomu. People do not normally make use of them.

2. Linguistic variation

Linguistic variation in Doromu-Koki will be discussed on three levels: lexical, phonological and grammatical/morphological. Lexical variation is the most in evidence, while grammatical/morphological variation is not in evidence.

2.1 Lexical

Cognates were determined on the basis of the following criteria:

- 42.3% of the vocabulary items elicited were exact (identical) cognates, or able to be construed as such due to the preponderance of evidence from remaining forms.
- In general, when there was a variance in vocabulary, it was normally along dialect lines, such as the very regular –bai suffix in Badai'a (cf., items #91-121, pp. 19-20)⁴, or else with some occasional slight vowel changes⁵. These variances constituted 48.8% of the elicited forms.
- Unrelated words accounted for only 6.6% of the data.

Therefore, 91.1% of the data were cognates in some form. Following is a listing of the cognate percentages for the nine villages in which an SIL expanded and modified (to fit the particular language) Survey Word List was elicited. A complete listing of variations is recorded for each term in the Appendix (9.2 Word lists, p. 17).

Sirimu 98% Gagaradobu Oduika 98% 100% 92% 94% 94% Kasonomu 94% 92% 94% 100% Amuraika 92% 94% 94% 100% 100% Mamanugeagi 92% 93% 93% 92% 92% 92% 'Ai'anomu 92% 99% 92% 93% 93% 92% 92% Nimunimu 89% 90% 90% 91% 91% 91% 95% 95% Badai'a

Table 2: Cognate percentages

These villages can be categorised into three dialect groups, at a threshold of 95% cognate or above: 1) **Kokila**—Sirimu, Gagaradobu, and Oduika; 2) **Koki**—Kasonomu, Amuraika, and Mamanugeagi; and 3) **'Origo**—'Ai'anomu, Nimunimu, and Badai'a.

2.2 Phonological

Phonological variation is the second most common distinction in Doromu-Koki. The regular sound correspondences are expounded below in order of frequency; altogether they make up 30% of the data.

• The intervocalic voiceless velar plosive /k/ in the Kokila (except Sirimu) and Koki dialects is realised as the glottal stop /?/ in the 'Origo dialect (except Badai'a) and Sirimu (Kokila). There are 29 items (13.6%) in this category.

⁴ This form is very productive, occurring in 15.5% of the forms. In three examples it is realised as *-ba*, and in five instances it also occurs in the other 'Origo villages ('Ai'anomu and/or Nimunimu).

⁵ Vowel changes were not very productive, commonly exhibiting only one to two examples, so it was not possible to draw any conclusions regarding them. They included i/e, i/u, e/o, and a/e.

- The word initial Kokila, Koki and 'Origo tap/flap /r/ is realised as the lateral /l/ in the extreme Kokila village (Sirimu). These variations constitute 4.7% of the data. In 40% of the items Nimunimu follows Sirimu, and in some cases the other 'Origo villages also do so.
- The word initial voiceless velar plosive /k/ in the Kokila and Koki dialects is realised as the glottal stop /?/ in the 'Origo dialect. These constitute 4.2% of the data.
- The intervocalic voiceless labial fricative /f/ in the Kokila, Koki and 'Origo dialects is realised as the velar fricative /h/ in the extremity of the 'Origo dialect (Badai'a). There are no exceptions in the data. These amount to 4.2% of the data.
- The intervocalic velar fricative /h/ in the extreme Kokila village of Sirimu is realised as the coronal fricative /s/ in all other locations. Exceptions include item #129 (p. 20) for Nimunimu and Badai'a with -hi/-si 'SUB.SS', and #130 (p. 20) jahara/jasara 'wind' for 'Origo. These items make up 3.3% of the forms.

These phonological variations are grouped together in the following table. In general, Kokila and Koki group more closely together.

ŀ	Kokila			Koki			'Origo		
Sirimu	Gagaradobu	Oduika	Kasonomu	Amuraika	Mamanugeagi	'Ai'anomu	Nimunimu	Badai'a	
V?V	VkV					V	?V	VkV	
#1	#r					#1/r			
#k						#'			
	VfV							VhV	
VhV	VhV VsV								

Table 3: Comparison of phonological variations

In the table below (based on the Koki phoneme inventory) bolding indicates the phonological variations described above. It can be seen that four of the 12 consonant phonemes (33.3%) undergo these phonological changes, affecting every type except nasals and the approximant, not considering the unsubstantiated cases. Whenever there is a voicing distinction, the variation occurs with the voiceless counterparts.

⁶ Note that items #131 (p. 20) *sena/hena* 'already' and #202 (pp. 22-23) *-sa/-hia* '2s.PRs' have the reverse correspondence s/h, however, there is not enough information to draw any further conclusions.

		Labial	Coronal	Velar
Plosives	voiceless		t	k [k ?]
	voiced	ь	d	g
Nasals		m	n	
Tap/flap			r [r 1]	
Fricatives	voiceless	f [f h]	s [:	s h]
	voiced	β		
Approxima	nt		j	

Table 4: Phonological variation of consonant phonemes

As a matter of course, when there is a form which does not follow these rules, it is often a fringe village (either Sirimu or Badai'a), such as #144 (p. 21) bei'a/beika 'what, why?', which in Badai'a is beiha, although there are no other examples of a contrast between ?/k and h. (Note above that in each variation, except one, either Sirimu and/or Badai'a contrasts with the other villages in its dialect grouping.)

Various other changes are in evidence in one to two examples, but again, there is not enough data to draw any further conclusions. These include ?/r, ?/j, d/?, d/b, d/r, d/s, n/d, n/j, r/?, f/s, h/r, and j/v, as well as the vowel changes already mentioned.

Of particular interest is the term glossed 'claw/nail' (item #121, p. 20) which has undergone metathesis. It is realised as *goiso* in the Koki dialect, *giso* in the 'Origo dialect, as *sigo/sigoi* in the Kokila dialect, and *sigobai* in the extreme 'Origo village of Badai'a. 8

2.3 Grammatical/morphological

The only 'grammatical/morphological' variations are actually lexical or phonological in nature. Variances between grammatical forms, such as item #122 (p. 20) –afa/-aha '1P.PST' follow the regular sound phonological correspondences as discussed above.

Variations such as #129 (p. 20) -hi/-si/-ro 'SUB.SS' and #202 (pp. 22-23) -dia/-sa/-hia '2S.PRS' can be classified as lexical, as there is no change in structure.

3. Social variation

3.1 Clans/groups

People are primarily oriented to their family, then to their clan, and then to their dialect group. A group of two or more families makes up a clan. A group of clans would make up a village.

The **Koki** dialect is spoken in the villages of *Amuraika/Dorom*, *Kasonomu/Dorom*⁹, and *Mamanu(geagi)*. The major concentration of the people within the language group area is in *Kasonomu* village, with approximately 170 people, but otherwise they are more or less evenly distributed throughout the dialects.

The **Kokila** dialect is spoken in the villages of *Gagaradobu*, *Iaromenomu*, *Nemonomu*, *Nevore*¹⁰, *Oduika*, ¹¹ and *Sirimu*. ¹²

⁷ There is no evidence to prove which is the original form.

⁸ Note that -bai is a regular correspondence found in the 'Origo dialect, and discussed above (2.1 Lexical, p. 5).

⁹ Previously moved from *Efaika* and *Eroroika*.

¹⁰ Previously moved from Arafara, Auduika and Barataka.

The **'Origo** dialect is spoken in the villages of *'Ai'anomu/Kaikanomu*, *Badai'a/Badaika*, and *Nimunimu*. ¹³ *'Ai'anomu/Kaikanomu* reportedly has about 100 people in Port Moresby, and about 76 people in the village.

3.2 Prestige area factors

Each dialect group prefers its way of speaking, but does not have negative perceptions concerning the others, or any difficulties in understanding them. As most people speak the *Koki* dialect and it is the most central, it is accepted as the most prestigious or best to use for uniting the group in translation and literacy endeavours, and as a name for the language as a whole as well. It is in *Kasonomu* where most things happen, as the school and main church are located there.

3.3 Dialect attitudes

When two people from different dialects meet, they speak their own dialects to each other. The dialects are not very different, with the few phonological and lexical changes described above. Those people living in Port Moresby have the same attitudes as those in the traditional areas.

4. Lingua franca, church and neighbouring languages

4.1 Language shift

To the north of *Doromu-Koki* is the *Barai* language; to the west is the *Uare* language, to the south the *Sinaugoro* language, and to the southeast the *Maria* language. There is limited knowledge of these neighbouring languages, particularly in areas further removed from them. In general they are not known or used, but instead English or *Hiri Motu* is used. The people know English quite well, and *Hiri Motu*, which is used in the church, and *Tok Pisin* to some extent. Rather than language shift, multilingualism has been observed, and which is expounded further below.

4.2 Multilingualism

With a *Barai* speaker people normally speak *Hiri Motu*. Some *Kokila* dialect speakers might know a few *Barai* words, due to closer proximity.

People go to *Tabunomu* and *Dirinomu*, *Uare* language villages, but only for elections, passing through on the way to *Sirimu*, or for church gatherings every few years. Therefore, their use of the *Uare* language is limited to a very few old people, or those who have intermarried, as in the case of the *Uare* village of *Buridobu/Buridomu*.

On the way to Port Moresby, people often pass through *Baugabuna* village, which is in the *Boku* dialect of *Sinaugoro*, and located about 3.5 kilometres from *Kasonomu*. *Debadagoro* village, in the *Taboro* dialect of *Sinaugoro*, is also important in the sense that it is a key place on their route to Port Moresby, where they can leave things when they pass through. It is important for them to keep good relations with that village, and therefore they value learning their language to some extent, although they primarily speak *Hiri Motu* with *Sinaugoro* speakers. *'Origo* dialect speakers do not know any *Sinaugoro*, unlike *Koki* and *Kokila* speakers.

The 'Ai'anomu village people go to Buradubura, in the Maria (Manubara/Mt. Brown) language area, which is a five-hour walk away. When they go to Buradubura, they speak 'Origo, but slightly change their accent, and the Maria people can then understand them. The 'Origo people are the only ones who understand some Maria.

¹¹ Previously moved from *Bobenomu* and *Vayanomu*.

¹² Moved recently from Keketavata, Muianomu and Waironomu.

¹³ Previously moved from Erenaika, Iroronomu, Kofatika and Rofaika.

The people have a good knowledge of English (especially the young people, and those living in Port Moresby) and *Hiri Motu*, but they mainly use these languages when interacting with outsiders. Those who do know *Tok Pisin* have spent time in Port Moresby. The younger people do not know *Hiri Motu* as well as the older people.

4.3 Language attitudes

People are very favourable to using their language, and other languages as the situation may require. The language situation has not changed considerably since Quigley and Quigley (1993)'s report. Even those living in Port Moresby continue to use their language. The situation will most likely not change much in the future, due to people constantly travelling between the villages and Port Moresby. Lambrecht (2002a:3) reports that everyone he asked said that their language would be alive forever. There is a very real influence on the language from English, *Hiri Motu*, *Tok Pisin*, and other languages; but it does not look like they will replace *Doromu-Koki* any time soon.

The people have positive attitudes to the neighbouring and national languages. They particularly like English, Hiri Motu, and Sinaugoro. They value learning first English, then Hiri Motu and then Tok Pisin.

4.4 Language use patterns

People primarily use *Doromu-Koki* in all situations with other *Doromu-Koki* speakers regardless of age, unless interacting with non-speakers, as mentioned above. Among themselves, Port Moresby speakers use the vernacular in the same domains as those living in the traditional areas. The following table shows the domains of language use. (Note that in only two domains is Doromu-Koki not used, and that is because they are not able to do so in those situations.)

Doromu-Koki	Hiri Motu	English	Tok Pisin	Sinaugoro	
Announcements					
Bride p	rice				
	Church sin	ging			
	District	court			
Village	court				
Home					
	Market (<i>Kwikila</i>) Port Moresby				
	Prayer at church				
	Prayer at home				
Preaching					
School		Sch	nool		
Scripture readings		Scripture readings			
Singsing				Singsing	

Table 5: Domains of language use

4.5 Loan words and spelling

Most realise that loan words have to be included to some extent. People want to preserve what words in the language they can, but many words have already been replaced in day-to-day conversation, and so it would be difficult to impossible to get people to revert to the vernacular term. At this point in time the

people have shown a preference to spell loan words (especially names) in vernacular materials as they are spelled in the source language, particularly when they are coming from English. This is because they feel it will facilitate bridging between the languages, and finding information in English reference materials. When words are borrowed from other languages, spelling usually is not an issue, but if it is, the preference is to spell it as a vernacular word.

5. Language work already done

5.1 Language analysis

Following is a list of works produced to date concerned with the language:

Bradshaw, Robert L. 2002. *Orthography and Phonology Description – Doromu (Koki) Language*. Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea: Summer Institute of Linguistics. MS.

2004. Sociolinguistics and literacy study – Doromu-Koki language. Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea: Summer Institute of Linguistics. MS.

2006. Social organisation paper – Doromu-Koki language. Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea: Summer Institute of Linguistics. MS.

2007a. Doromu-Koki worldview. Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea: Summer Institute of Linguistics. MS.

2007b. *Doromu-Koki ago. 'Doromu-Koki language'*. Dictionary trial edition. Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea: Summer Institute of Linguistics. MS.

In progress. Doromu-Koki grammar. Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea: Summer Institute of Linguistics. MS.

Dutton, T.E. 1970. Languages of the Rigo Area of the Central District. Pacific Linguistics C-13:879-983.

1975. 'South-eastern Trans-New Guinea phylum languages.' In Wurm, Stephen A., ed. *Papuan Languages and the New Guinea linguistic scene. Pacific Linguistics* C-38.613-64.

Kikkawa, Keiko. 1999. *Doromu Organised Phonology Data*. Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea: Summer Institute of Linguistics. MS.

Lambrecht, Philip. 2002a. Doromu Notes. Personal Communication. (3 April 2002).

2002b. Doromu SIL survey word list. Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Quigley, Ed and Susan Quigley. 1993. Sociolinguistic Survey of the Doromu Language Group. Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea: Summer Institute of Linguistics. MS.

Quigley, Susan. 1993. Doromu SIL survey word list. Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

SIL. 1973. Doromu survey word list. Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

5.2 Vernacular materials produced/response

The following materials have been produced in the vernacular to date. To date only a few copies of the shell books have sold; the remaining copies were stored in Kasonomu village. The Trial Spelling Guides were produced and distributed to the participants of the **Doromu Alphabet Design Workshop**, as were the 2007 Writers' Workshop booklets to those participants who wrote stories.

Ageva, Sam, et al. 2007. Bura arena di buka. 'Writers' workshop stories.' Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Bradshaw, Robert L. 2007b. *Doromu-Koki ago. 'Doromu-Koki language'*. Dictionary trial edition. Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea: Summer Institute of Linguistics. MS.

Borogo, Michael, et. al. 2002. *Doromu Language – Trial Spelling Guide and Stories*. Kasonomu village, Central Province, Papua New Guinea: Summer Institute of Linguistics and Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID). MS.

Aberahamo di mokena vari gira 'Abraham's faith' - Genesis 22.1-19. 2002. Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea.

¹⁴ Twenty-one from the Koki dialect, four from the Kokila dialect, and three from the 'Origo dialect.

Genesis and Exodus portions - the creation and Moses' song. 2003. Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea.

Ia yokoi di gaukara tora – Keresimisi sisina 'One Star's big work - Christmas Story.' 2001. Trial edition. Ukraumpa, Papua New Guinea.

Kerisimi di sina. 'The Christmas Story.' Trial edition. 2007. Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea.

Komunio di usa usa. 'Communion prayers.' 2007. Trial edition. Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea.

Paska di sina. 'The Easter story.' Trial edition. 2007. Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea.

Ruth. Trial edition. 2005. Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea.

Sei di ago - Ruth bona Titus. 'God's word - Ruth and Titus.' 2007. Trial edition. Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea.

Sei yaku oma bona kono riyo. 'God made the heavens and the earth.' (Genesis 1:1-2:4). 2007. Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea.

SIL. 2003. *Auna yaku dona eru reyo* 'The dog that tricked the pig.' Trial editon. Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

2006. HIV bona AIDS di sina 'HIV and AIDS information.' Trial edition. Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

2007a. 2008 Calendar. Trial edition. Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea: Summer Institute of Lingustics.

2007b. *HIV bona AIDS di sina*. 'HIV and AIDS information.' Second trial edition. Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea: Summer Institute of Lingustics.

2007c. Yauta di buka. 'Songbook.' Trial edition. Papua New Guinea: Summer Institute of Lingustics.

5.3 Titles planned/production

The following Scripture Shell Books were drafted at the Translation Awareness Workshop held in Kasonomu village in 2001:

Bodaka di tora yaku Iesu eveyo 'Satan tested Jesus' - Matthew 4.4-11. 2001. Papua New Guinea.

Iesu ya mida nimatimati reyo 'Children come to Jesus' - Matthew 19.13-15. 2001. Papua New Guinea.

Iesu yaku aura fora miyoma bere niyo 'Jesus calms the storm' – Luke 8.22-25. 2001. Papua New Guinea.

Iesu yaku refera amiye moi buni riyo 'Jesus heals a leper' - Matthew 8.1-4. 2001. Papua New Guinea.

'Jesus casts out an evil spirit' - Mark 1.21-28. 2001. Papua New Guinea.

'Jesus heals two blind men' - Matthew 20.29-34. 2001. Papua New Guinea.

Matthew 18.12-14. 2001. Papua New Guinea.

'The parable of a lost coin' - Luke 15.8-10. 2001. Papua New Guinea.

As well, Genesis 1:1-7:5, 17, 23; 8:15-9:15; 12:1-22:24; 25:19-34; 28:10-19; Exodus 11:1-7; 12:1-40; 14:5-28, 31; 15:1-18; 20:1-17; Leviticus 1:1-9; 13:1-3; 17:10-11; 19:1-2, 17-18; 20:1-2, 6; 24:19-22; Numbers 21:4-9; Deuteronomy 4:1-2, 6-8, 39-40; 6:4-8; 7:1-11; 8:2-3, 12-18; 11:18-19, 26-28, 32; 18:9-22; 2 Samuel 7:1-5, 8-17; 1 Kings 2:10-12; 3:3-5, 7-14; 4:20-21, 25; 6:1, 11-14; 11:1-5, 7-8, 10-13, 42-43; 16:30-33; 2 Kings 17:5-10; 17:24-29; 18:1-18; 2 Chronicles 36:14-19, 21-23; Psalms 23:1-6; 95:1-11; 110:1-7; 119:9-16; Proverbs 8:17; Isaiah 7:10-14; 9:6-7; 40:1-5; 42:1-4; 53:1-12; 54:5-10; 55:6-11; 61:1-3, 7-11; 64:4-6, 8-9; Jeremiah 1:4, 6-10; 23:1-6; 31:31-34; 38:4-6; Ezekiel 2:1, 3-5; 17:22-24; Matthew 1:1-26:75; Mark 1:1-16:8; Luke 1:1-24:53; John 1:1-2:25; 3:16; 5:1-10:42; 13:1-15; 17:1-18:40; 1 Thessalonians, Titus, Philemon, Hebrews 1:1-6; 4:14-16; 5:7-10, 1 John, 2 John, 3 John and Jude have been translated, with plans to publish in due course.

6. Churches

Originally the area was administered by the London Missionary Society (LMS), but after some *Doromu-Koki* people attended a Catholic school in *Hanuabada* (Motu village near Port Moresby), they decided to invite the Catholic Church into the area, because they were not happy with the LMS school.

The Roman Catholic Church is the only established church in the area, except for one clan in 'Ai' anomu, which is Baha'i.

6.1 History and influence

The Roman Catholic Church arrived in the area in 1964 (Quigley and Quigley 1993:7). The first priest, Fr. Desmond Mo, was from Australia. He was followed by Fr. Linden, from Holland. They most fondly remember him, as he lived with the people for ten years and learned some of the language. After Fr. Linden, there was Fr. Roger, an Australian. These first three priests were of the order 'Missionary of the Sacred Heart (MSC).' They were the last regular priests in the area.

Presently the *Doromu-Koki* area is administered by Filipino priests of the 'Missionaries of the Society of the Philippines (MSP),' based at Boregaina Mission¹⁵ in the *Sinaugoro* language group area. There are no priests within the language group area, but rather a local worship leader at the St. Stephen's *Dorom* Church in *Kasonomu* leads the Mass and other activities. The priest at *Boregaina* is normally posted there for a couple of years, and during that time makes two to three short visits, approximately every six months. Therefore, the people do not get to know the priest well, as he visits once or twice, and then is replaced by a new priest. Some people are dissatisfied with the present situation, as they feel neglected by the Roman Catholic Church hierarchy; some have considered changing to Salvation Army or CLC/Revival, which are located in the *Sinaugoro* villages closest to the Doromu-Koki area.

Most of the population is involved in the church; they regularly have fellowship and prayer (Rosary) meetings. The Mass is primarily in *Doromu-Koki*, except for Scripture readings and some songs, which are in *Hiri Motu*. All announcements are in *Doromu-Koki*, and some songs have been written in the language as well. There are also small churches, or chapels at 'Ai'anomu, Amuraika, Badai'a, Mamanu(geagi), Nevore, Nimunimu, Oduika, and Sirimu. About 95% of the population is affiliated with the Catholic Church.

In Port Moresby, while the majority attend the Roman Catholic churches, many people go to different church denominations (Baptist, Christian Revival Crusade, PNG Revival, Salvation Army, and Seventh Day Adventist), especially among those who live there permanently.

6.2 Attitudes towards vernacular

The church is very much a local institution, as it has much community involvement. The leaders favour use of the local language. They are very much a part of the church, only having outside (priest) influence infrequently. ¹⁶ These local leaders would like to see more use of the *Doromu-Koki* language, rather than *Hiri Motu*. The priests mainly use English, as they are not around long enough to learn any other languages.

The local leaders would like to promote literacy among the church members. The church members have the same attitudes as the leaders, especially since the leaders are local people themselves. They believe that literacy will help to preserve their language. The Port Moresby people feel the same.

6.3 Cooperation, development and influence

There is a willingness to cooperate in the development and use of vernacular materials. At this point there are no "rival" groups. As mentioned above, the current priest is favourable to the translation work, as also is the bishop in Port Moresby.

¹⁵ About an eight-hour walk from Kasonomu.

¹⁶ Though actually, at the time of carrying out this survey, the current priest was in fact visiting Kasonomu, and was very favourable to the work of SIL.

7. Conclusion

...it seems at this point that the Koki dialect would be the best option for a language program. The Kokila people can understand and use the Koki dialect, and the Kokila people at Gagaradobu referred to Koki as the most important language in the area. (Quigley and Quigley 1993:18)

As we have seen, the Doromu-Koki language consists of three dialects, which are very closely related (overall 91.1% lexical similarity). Since Koki is the largest, most central, and most widely visited area, having both the church and school, it makes for a natural choice to use in the translation work. Furthermore, Kokila, Koki and 'Origo have a high degree of lexical and phonological similarity and no grammatical/morphological variations, thus allowing for good comprehension of Koki by both Kokila and 'Origo speakers. These other two dialects can readily read and comprehend Koki, as has been tested through interaction with the various speakers. When presented with materials written in Koki, Kokila and 'Origo, speakers had no difficulty in comprehension. They are readily accepting for materials to be produced in the Koki dialect; having their dialects represented in the dictionary highlights their importance. And as also observed by Quigley and Quigley (1993), as cited above, Koki is regarded as the most important dialect.

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9. Appendix

9.1 Maps

The following maps include: 1) **Doromu-Koki language area, Central Province, Papua New Guinea**; 2) The location of Doromu-Koki and its neighbouring languages ¹⁷; 3) The Languages of the Rigo District, and 4) The dialect boundaries.

Central Province is located in the Southern, or Papua Region. *Doromu-Koki* is in the lower half of the province, along the inland border with Oro Province, east-southeast of Port Moresby. It is to the north of the largest language in the Rigo District, Sinaugoro, and is comprised of the three dialects of *Koki*, *Kokila* and '*Origo*.

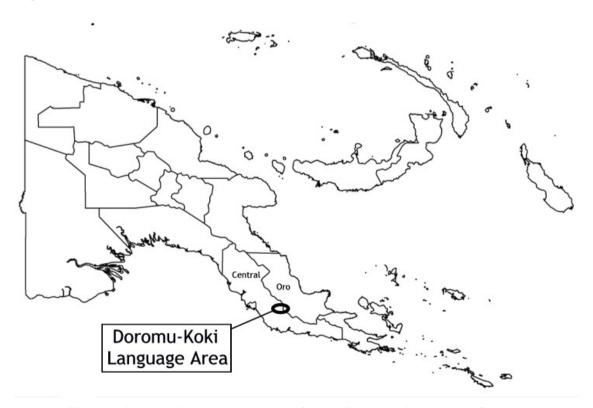


Figure 1: Doromu-Koki language area, Central Province, Papua New Guinea.

¹⁷ Note the discrepancy in the boundaries between the Doromu-Koki, and Grass Koiari language groups on the maps in Figures 2 and 3. Figure 2 is though to be the more accurate, but more research is necessary.

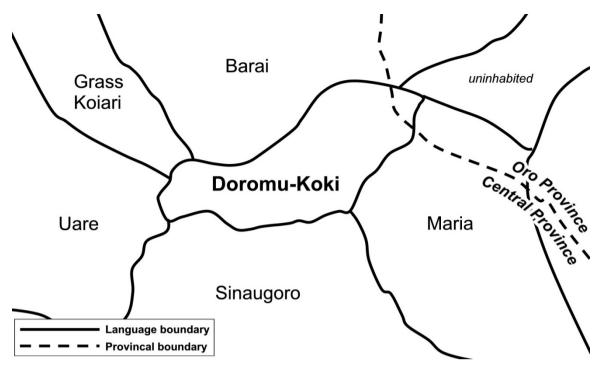


Figure 2: The Doromu-Koki language and neighbouring languages.

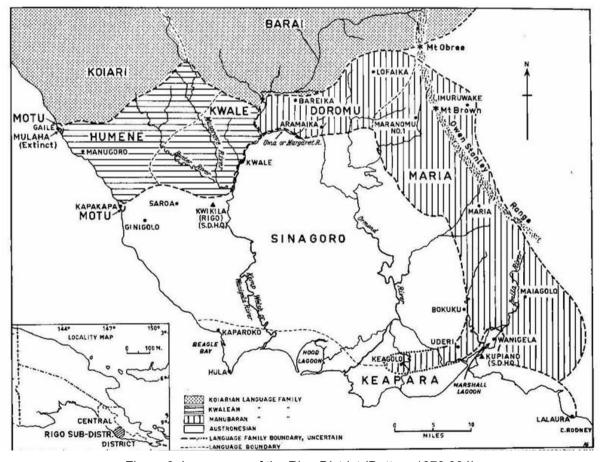


Figure 3: Languages of the Rigo District (Dutton, 1970:894)

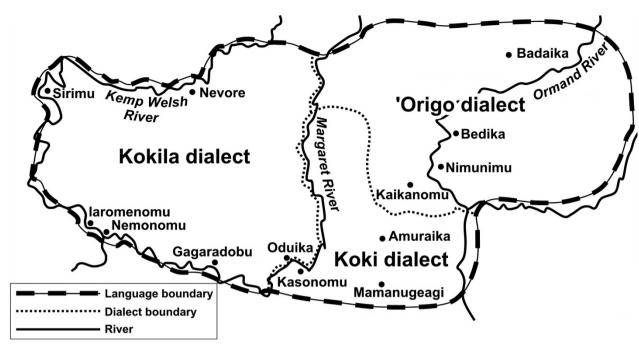


Figure 4: Dialect boundaries.

9.2 Word lists

Following is a compilation of the 213 morphemes gleaned from the elicted lists.

1. ada 'head' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 2. afije 'tongue' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 3. agija 'yesterday, tomorrow' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 4. anema 'ear' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 5. are 'stand' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 6. aruma 'snake' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 7. auna 'dog' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 8. autu 'empty' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 9. bae 'come' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 10. bani 'yam' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 11. daru 'root' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 12. di 'go over' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 13. diba 'knowledge' '18 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 14. dona 'pig' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 15. dubuini 'brother' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 16. ejo 'moon' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 18. eta 'wing' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 19. fairo 'flame' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 20. fore 'ston	No	Term	Gloss	Attested word lists
3. agija 'yesterday, tomorrow' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 4. anema 'ear' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 5. are 'stand' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 6. aruma 'snake' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 7. auna 'dog' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 8. autu 'empty' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 9. bae 'come' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 10. bani 'yam' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 11. daru 'root' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 12. di 'go over' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 13. diba 'knowledge' 18 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 14. dona 'pig' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 15. dubuini 'brother' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 16. ejo 'moon' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 17. erena 'bird' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 18. eta 'wing' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 19. fairo 'flame' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 20. fore 'stone' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 21. gade 'tooth' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 22. gadeva 'fierce' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 23. -gedi '2/3P.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 24. geduna 'elbow' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 25. -gida '1S.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 26. -gija '2S.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 27. -go '3S.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 28. gue 'louse' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 29. ida 'road, path' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 30. ina 'he, she, it, they' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 31. ini 'his, her, its, theirs' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 32. ita 'fire' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 33. ja 'you (sg/pl)' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 34. jabo 'tree, wood' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12	1.	ada	'head'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
4. anema 'ear' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 5. are 'stand' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 6. aruma 'snake' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 7. atuna 'dog' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 8. atutu 'empty' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 9. bae 'come' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 10. bani 'yam' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 11. daru 'root' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 12. di 'go over' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 13. diba 'knowledge' 18 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 14. dona 'pig' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 15. dubuini 'brother' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 16. ejo 'moon' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 17. erena 'bird' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 18. eta 'wing' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 19. fairo 'flame' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 20. fore 'stone' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 21. gade 'tooth' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 22. gadeva 'fierce' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 23gedi '2/3P.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 24. geduna 'elbow' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 25gida '1S.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 26gija '2S.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 27go '3S.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 28. gue 'louse' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 29. ida 'road, path' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 30. ina 'he, she, it, they' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 31. ini 'his, her, its, theirs' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 32. ita 'fire' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 33. ja 'you (sg/pl)' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 34. jabo 'tree, wood' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12	2.	afije	'tongue'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
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14. dona 'pig' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 15. dubuini 'brother' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 16. ejo 'moon' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 17. erena 'bird' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 18. eta 'wing' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 19. fairo 'flame' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 20. fore 'stone' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 21. gade 'tooth' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 22. gadeva 'fierce' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 23gedi '2/3P.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 24. geduna 'elbow' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 25gida '1S.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 26gija '2S.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 27go '3S.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 28. gue 'louse' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 30. ina 'he, she, it, they' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 31. ini 'his, her, its, theirs' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 32. ita 'fire' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 <td< th=""><th><i>12</i>.</th><th>di</th><th></th><th>1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12</th></td<>	<i>12</i> .	di		1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
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17. erena 'bird' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 18. eta 'wing' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 19. fairo 'flame' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 20. fore 'stone' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 21. gade 'tooth' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 22. gadeva 'fierce' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 23gedi '2/3P.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 24. geduna 'elbow' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 25gida '1S.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 26gija '2S.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 27go '3S.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 28. gue 'louse' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 29. ida 'road, path' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 30. ina 'he, she, it, they' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 31. ini 'his, her, its, theirs' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 32. ita 'fire' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 33. ja 'you (sg/pl)' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 34. jabo 'tree, wood' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 <th><i>15</i>.</th> <th>dubuini</th> <th>'brother'</th> <th>1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12</th>	<i>15</i> .	dubuini	'brother'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
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20. fore 'stone' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 21. gade 'tooth' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 22. gadeva 'fierce' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 23gedi '2/3P.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 24. geduna 'elbow' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 25gida '1S.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 26gija '2S.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 27go '3S.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 28. gue 'louse' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 29. ida 'road, path' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 30. ina 'he, she, it, they' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 31. ini 'his, her, its, theirs' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 32. ita 'fire' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 33. ja 'you (sg/pl)' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 34. jabo 'tree, wood' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12	18.	eta	'wing'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
21. gade 'tooth' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 22. gadeva 'fierce' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 23gedi '2/3P.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 24. geduna 'elbow' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 25gida '1S.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 26gija '2S.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 27go '3S.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 28. gue 'louse' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 29. ida 'road, path' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 30. ina 'he, she, it, they' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 31. ini 'his, her, its, theirs' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 32. ita 'fire' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 33. ja 'you (sg/pl)' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 34. jabo 'tree, wood' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12	19.	fairo	'flame'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
22. gadeva 'fierce' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 23gedi '2/3P.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 24. geduna 'elbow' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 25gida '1S.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 26gija '2S.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 27go '3S.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 28. gue 'louse' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 29. ida 'road, path' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 30. ina 'he, she, it, they' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 31. ini 'his, her, its, theirs' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 32. ita 'fire' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 33. ja 'you (sg/pl)' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 34. jabo 'tree, wood' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12	<i>20</i> .	fore	'stone'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
23gedi '2/3P.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 24. geduna 'elbow' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 25gida '1S.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 26gija '2S.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 27go '3S.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 28. gue 'louse' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 29. ida 'road, path' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 30. ina 'he, she, it, they' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 31. ini 'his, her, its, theirs' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 32. ita 'fire' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 33. ja 'you (sg/pl)' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 34. jabo 'tree, wood' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12		gade	'tooth'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
24. geduna 'elbow' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 25gida '1S.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 26gija '2S.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 27go '3S.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 28. gue 'louse' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 29. ida 'road, path' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 30. ina 'he, she, it, they' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 31. ini 'his, her, its, theirs' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 32. ita 'fire' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 33. ja 'you (sg/pl)' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 34. jabo 'tree, wood' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12	<i>22</i> .	gadeva	'fierce'	
25gida '1S.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 26gija '2S.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 27go '3S.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 28. gue 'louse' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 29. ida 'road, path' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 30. ina 'he, she, it, they' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 31. ini 'his, her, its, theirs' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 32. ita 'fire' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 33. ja 'you (sg/pl)' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 34. jabo 'tree, wood' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12	<i>23</i> .	-gedi		
26gija '2S.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 27go '3S.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 28. gue 'louse' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 29. ida 'road, path' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 30. ina 'he, she, it, they' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 31. ini 'his, her, its, theirs' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 32. ita 'fire' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 33. ja 'you (sg/pl)' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 34. jabo 'tree, wood' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12		geduna		1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
27go '3S.FUT' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 28. gue 'louse' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 29. ida 'road, path' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 30. ina 'he, she, it, they' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 31. ini 'his, her, its, theirs' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 32. ita 'fire' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 33. ja 'you (sg/pl)' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 34. jabo 'tree, wood' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12		_		
28. gue 'louse' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 29. ida 'road, path' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 30. ina 'he, she, it, they' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 31. ini 'his, her, its, theirs' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 32. ita 'fire' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 33. ja 'you (sg/pl)' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 34. jabo 'tree, wood' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12				
29. ida 'road, path' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 30. ina 'he, she, it, they' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 31. ini 'his, her, its, theirs' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 32. ita 'fire' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 33. ja 'you (sg/pl)' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 34. jabo 'tree, wood' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12		-		
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31. ini 'his, her, its, theirs' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 32. ita 'fire' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 33. ja 'you (sg/pl)' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 34. jabo 'tree, wood' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12			. •	
32. ita 'fire' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 33. ja 'you (sg/pl)' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 34. jabo 'tree, wood' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12				
33. ja 'you (sg/pl)' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 34. jabo 'tree, wood' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12				
34. jabo 'tree, wood' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12				
35. java 'house' 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12		v		
	<i>35</i> .	java	'house'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12

No	Term	Gloss	Attested word lists
<i>36</i> .	jo	'yes'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
<i>37</i> .	joga	'laugh'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
<i>38</i> .	keto	'fall down'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
<i>39</i> .	та	'give'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
<i>40</i> .	-ma	'SUB.DS'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
41.	maena	'vine, rope'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
<i>42</i> .	meda	'sun'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
<i>43</i> .	mida	'child'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
44.	mija	'rain'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
<i>45</i> .	moi	'get (catch)'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
46.	na	'I, me'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
47.	nao	'forehead'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
48.	neide	'hear'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
<i>49</i> .	ni	'say'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
<i>50</i> .	nono	'mother'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
<i>51</i> .	nuga	'cut'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
<i>52</i> .	- 0	'3S.PST'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
<i>53</i> .	oteima	'show/teach'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
<i>54</i> .	rauna	'hunger'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
<i>55.</i>	re	'do'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
<i>56</i> .	=ri	'in, at, to'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
<i>57</i> .	-ri	'SIM.DS'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
<i>58.</i>	rumana	'man'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
<i>59</i> .	sei	'god'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
<i>60</i> .	tau	'all'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
61.	tobaini	'sister'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
<i>62</i> .	u_{\perp}	'hit'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
<i>63</i> .	uboma	'back'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
<i>64</i> .	ueta	'feather, body hair'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
<i>65</i> .	ugava	'old (person)'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
<i>66</i> .	итије	'kill (hit-die)'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
<i>67</i> .	una	'we, us'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
<i>68</i> .	uruma	'nose'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
<i>69</i> .	vana	'hand'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
<i>70</i> .	vena	'mouth'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
<i>71</i> .	vene	'people'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12

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¹⁸ Borrowed from Hiri Motu.

No	Term	Gloss	Attested word lists
72.	-adi	'2/3P.PST/	7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
<i>73</i> .	bo	'go up'	7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
<i>74</i> .	fidi	'shoot'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9
<i>75.</i>	-gi	'PURP'	7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
7 6.	jogije	'wallaby'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9
77.	saufa	'wallaby sp'	1, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11
<i>78.</i>	jomina	'this one'	7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
<i>79</i> .	mina	'this'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9
<i>80</i> .	kare	'taro'	7, 8, 9
<i>81</i> .	kodu	'stick'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9
<i>82</i> .	mirona	'that'	5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11
<i>83</i> .	nana	'walk'	1, 7, 8, 9
<i>84</i> .	tauga	'banana (generic)'	5, 6, 7, 8, 9
<i>85</i> .	namo	'banana sp'	1, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12
86.	ne	'go down'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9
<i>87</i> .	rafo	'sole'	5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
88.	rivo	'abdomen'	5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
<i>89</i> .	ufo	'clap'	5, 6, 7, 8, 9
90.	vibani	'animal, protein'	5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
91.	aita	'light (weight)'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11
	aitabai		12
92.	baba	'father'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11
	babai		12
93.	bora	'yellow'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11
	borabai	J	12
94.	buni	'good'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11
	bunibai	S	12
95.	dava	'blood'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11
	davabai		12
96.	doba	'long, tall'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11
	dobabai		12
<i>97</i> .	dou	'wet'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11
	doubai		12
98.	fejo	'white'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11
	fejobai	41.1.	12
99.	gabu	'black'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11

No	Term	Gloss	Attested word lists
	egobai		12
100	. ije	'hair, leaf'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11
	ijebai		12
101.	. itu	'cold'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11
	itubai		12
102	. <i>jo</i>	'seed'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9
	jobai		10, 11, 12
103	. keva	'liver'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10
	kevabai		11, 12
104	. nena	'bone'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11
	nenabai		12
105.	. no	'bad'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11
	nobai		12
106	. toe	'heavy'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11
	toebai		12
107.	. tora	'big'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
	torabai		11, 12
108.	. tumu	'short'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11
400	tumubai	. 1	12
109	. udo	'ashes'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11
110	udobai	,	12
110	. unema	'egg'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11
111	unemabai	(1 ,)	1.5 6 7 8 9 10 11
111.	. vava	'hot, warm'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11
112	vavabai 	'tail'	1 5 6 7 8 0 10
112	. vi vibai	tan	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 11, 12
112	vibai . ada gaigai	'horn (sharp head)'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
113	i ada gaigai javara	nom (sharp nead)	10, 11
	javara javaraba		10, 11
114	. jegu	'green, life'	1, 5, 6, 10, 11
117	vegu	green, me	7, 8, 9
	jegubai		12
115	. kaka	'red'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9
110	'a'a	100	10, 11
	ʻa'abai		12
116	. kei'a	'small'	1, 10

No	Term	Gloss	Attested word lists	No	Term	Gloss	Attested word lists
	keika		5, 6, 7, 8, 9		-si		5, 6, 7, 8, 9
	kei'abai		11, 12		-ro		7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
<i>117</i> .	kori	'old (object)'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9	130.	jahara	'wind'	1, 10, 11, 12
	ʻori		10, 11		jasara		5, 6
	ʻoribai		12		aura		7, 8, 9
118.	lo	'skin, tree bark'	1, 10, 11	131.	sena	'already'	7, 8, 9
	ro		5, 6, 7, 8, 9		hena		12
	lobai		12	132.	vaha	'sand'	1
119.	lo'o	'dry'	1, 11		vasa		5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
	roko		5, 6, 7, 8, 9	133.	laga	'run'	1, 12
	ro'o		10		raga		5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11
	ro'obai		12	134.	lalo	'line'	1
120.	muha	'meat, muscle'	1		raro		5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
	musa		5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11	135.	laufa	'tobacco'	1, 11
	musabai		12		raufa		5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12
121.	sigo	'claw, nail'	1	136.	legode	'three'	1
	sigoi		5, 6		regode		5, 6, 10
	goiso		7, 8, 9		regode/nu		7, 8, 9, 11, 12
	giso		10, 11	137.	lema	'woman'	1
	sigobai		12		rema		5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
122.	-afa	'1P.PST'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11	138.	lemanu	'two'	1, 11
	-aha		12		remanu		5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10
123.	afa	'sugarcane'	1, 5, 6		jemanu		12
	arefa		7, 8, 9, 10, 11	139.	lua'a	'new'	1
	areha		12		ruaka		5, 6, 7, 8, 9
124.	fofire	'cliff'	5		luve'a		10, 11
	fofure		6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11		luve		12
	hohure		12	140.	nadina	'cassowary'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11
125.	-gifa	'1P.FUT'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11		jadina		10, 12
	-geha		12	141.	-a 'a	'1S.PST'	1, 10, 11
<i>126</i> .	rafe	'wash, swim'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11		-aka		5, 6, 7, 8, 9
	rahe		12		<i>-a</i>		12
127.	safi	'tasty, nice'	7, 8, 9, 10, 11	142.	ato'a	'chin'	1, 10, 11, 12
	sahiba		12		atoka		5, 6, 7, 8, 9
128.	urufa	'night'	1, 5, 6	143.	auri	'neck'	1
	urusa		7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12		kuri		5, 6, 7, 8, 9
129.	-hi	'SUB.SS'	1, 11, 12		ʻuri		10, 11, 12

No

Term

ebe

157. jukana

Gloss

'walking stick'

No	Term	Gloss	Attested word lists
144.	bei'a	'what, why?'	1
	beika		5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11
	beiha		12
145.	buni 'a	'fat, grease'	1, 10, 11
	bunika		5, 6, 7, 8, 9
146.	buru'a	'elderly' ¹⁹	1, 10, 11, 12
	buruka		5, 6, 7, 8, 9
<i>147</i> .	efo'a	'knee'	1
	efuka		5, 6, 7, 8, 9
	efu'a		10, 11
	ehu'a		12
148.	esiro'a	'cough'	1, 10, 11
	esiroka		5, 6, 7, 8, 9
	oto		12
149.	fisi'o	'bean'	1
	fisiko		5, 6, 7, 8, 9
	bisi 'o		10, 11, 12
<i>150</i> .	go'ai	'how?'	1, 10, 11
	gokai		5, 6, 7, 8, 9
	go'are'o		12
<i>151</i> .	go'ahanu	'how many?'	1
	go'asanu		5, 6
	gokaisa		7, 8, 9
	go'aisa		10, 11, 12
<i>152</i> .	go'va'a	'when?'	1, 10, 11, 12
	goivaka		5, 6, 7, 8, 9
<i>153</i> .		'mountain'	1, 10, 11, 12
	ika		5, 6, 7, 8, 9
154.	iro'a	'smoke'	1, 10, 11, 12
	iroka		5, 6, 7, 8, 9
155.	jonema	'leg, foot'	1
	juka		5, 6, 7, 8, 9
	ju'a		10, 11, 12
156.	jo'oi	'one'	1, 10, 11
	jokoi		5, 6, 7, 8, 9

ju'ana 10, 11, 12 158. kae'e 'who?' 1, 5, 6 7, 8, 9 kaere 10, 11, 12 *'aere* 'knife' 1, 5, 6 **159.** kasire kaija 7, 8, 9 10, 11 *'asire* 12 ʻaija **160.** kaijoma 'sweet potato' 1, 5, 6 7, 8, 9 mosara *'aijoma* 10, 11, 12 **161.** kefu'a 'ankle' 1, 10, 11 kefuka 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 kehu'a 12 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 **162.** kojomu 'rat' *'ojomu* 10, 11, 12 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 'ground, earth' 163. kono 'ono 10, 11, 12 **164.** ko'u 'water, river' 1, 5, 6 7, 8, 9 koru 'oru 10, 11, 12 **165.** ma'a 1, 10, 11, 12 'only, alone, just' 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 maka **166.** me'o 'fruit' 1, 10, 11, 12 meko 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 **167.** me'una 'round' 1, 10, 11 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 mekuna 12 me'uba 'ball' 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 **168.** moko 10, 11, 12 mo'o **169.** ro'a 'name' 1, 10, 11, 12 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 roka 'all' 170. tauva'ai 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 tauvakoi 10, 11, 12 noiganu

Attested word lists

12 7, 8, 9

¹⁹ Borrowed from Hiri Motu.

	Term	Gloss	Attested word lists	No	Term	Gloss	Attested word lists
171. u	u'a	'stomach'	1, 10, 11		minai		12
ι	uka		5, 6, 7, 8, 9	188.	ise	'that one'	1
C	outa		12		isena		5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11
172. ı	urija'u	'morning'	1, 10, 11, 12		isenai		12
ι	urijaku		5, 6, 7, 8, 9	189.	тије	'die'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10
173. a	adina	'dance'	1, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12		lu'e'a		11
C	adena		7, 8, 9		тије		
174. a	ате	'sit'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11		lu'e muje		12
C	ато		12	190.	nai	'my/mine'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9
175. a	amije	'person'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10		nei		10, 11
C	ате		11, 12		na di		12
176. t	behu	'other'	1	191.	ne	'eye'	1, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12
ŀ	berou		5, 6, 7, 8, 9		nemoko		7, 8, 9
177	-da	'1S.PRS'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11	192.	ojena	'fish'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11
-	-bida		12		vejona		12
178. a	de	'no, not'	1, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12	193.	sisu	'breast'	1, 10
i	ide/de		7, 8, 9		susu		5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12
<i>179</i>	-dedi	'2/3P.PRS'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11	194.	sosogi	'spear (black palm)'	5, 6, 7, 8, 9
-	-bedi		12		sosoge	1 (1)	10, 11, 12
180	-dibo	'3S.PRS'	1, 5, 6	195.	tobi 'o	'frog'	1
-	-do		7, 8, 9, 10, 11		tobije	C	5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
-	-bo		12	196.		'our/ours'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11
181. g	gade	'very (much)'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11		una di		12
٤	ge		12	197.	urijenau	'afternoon'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9
182. g	goina'ere	'which (one)'	1, 5, 6		urijena		10, 11, 12
٤	goini		7, 8, 9, 10, 11	198.		'see'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10
٤	goinai		12		veja'a		11
183. g	goini	'where?'	1, 5, 6		oja'a		12
٤	goidu		7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12	199.	audi	'spear (steel)'	1, 5, 6
184. ii	iri	'eat'	1, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12		auri	1	7, 8, 9
i	ir		7, 8, 9	200.	bajavo	'full'	1, 5, 6
185. v	va	'sleep'	1, 5, 6		vata bajo		7, 8, 9
ı	vare		7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12		buaru		10
186. l		'lie down'	1		dulari		11
	lu'e'a		10, 11		fulubai		12
1	7 .		12		•	(1 11)	1
	lu'e	'here'	12 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11	201.	betara	'shoulder'	I

No	Term	Gloss	Attested word lists
	megea		7, 8, 9
202.	-dia	'2S.PRS'	1, 5, 6
	-sa		7, 8, 9
	-hia		10
203.	-difa	'1P.PRS'	1, 5, 6
	-sifa		7, 8, 9
	-ifa		10, 11
	-iha		12
204.	dura	'net bag'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11
	inahi		12
205.	ebuna	'thumb'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9
	bado		10, 11, 12
206.	idona	'there'	1, 5, 6
	iseni		7, 8, 9, 10, 11
	isenai		12
207.	ija	'star'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9
	nana		10, 11, 12

- 12 Badai'a

1	Sirimu
5	Gagaradobu ²⁰
6	Oduika
7	Kasonomu
8	Amuraika
9	Mamanugeag
10	'Ai 'anomu
11	Nimunimu

²⁰ Numbers 2, 3, and 4 have been reserv	ved for Nevore, Iaronenomu and Nemonomi	и.

No	Term	Gloss	Attested word lists
208	8. jai	'your/yours'	1, 5, 6
	ji		7, 8, 9
	i		10, 11
	ja di		12
209	9. mariboi	'flying fox'	1, 5, 6
	oro		7, 8, 9
	mauba		10, 11, 12
210). mudije	'taro sp'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11
	mahi		12
211	l. ora	'fly, swim'	1
	o'a		5, 6
	fururu		7, 8, 9
212	2. seu'a	'cloud'	1, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12
	seuja		7, 8, 9
213	3. viro	'axe'	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9
	mogo		10, 11, 12