

SIMPLIFIED KORIKI:  
A SECOND TRADE LANGUAGE USED BY THE MOTU IN THE GULF OF PAPUA<sup>1</sup>

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1.0. Introduction

In 1976 while at the University of Papua New Guinea I initiated research into a long-standing claim that the Motu people of the Port Moresby area and their trade partners of the Gulf of Papua used a special trade language for communication purposes during hiri visits in pre- and post-European contact times.<sup>2</sup> The background to this claim and a first report on the results of

an investigation into it were published in Dutton and Kakare (1977). In that volume evidence was presented identifying one such Hiri Trading Language (HTL), the Eleman HTL, or HTL(E). This language was based on Motu itself and on the languages spoken by that group of their trade partners in the Gulf that are known as the Elema, and whose languages are unrelated to Motu - they are Non-Austronesian (NAN) in contrast to Motu which is Austronesian (AN) - though related to one another at the family level (Brown, 1973). At the same time we noted (p.99, fn.9) that in trading with the peoples of the Purari Delta region immediately beyond the Elema one informant claimed that the Motu spoke to them in their own language and two of our Motu informants later gave some putative sentences in the language to support this claim. Although this claim sounded very challenging and was completely unexpected, since, on the one hand, it has never, to our knowledge at least, ever been mentioned in the relevant literature, and on the other, since it implied differences in the nature, and therefore probably also in the history, of contact between the Motu and these two different groups of people, we were unable to evaluate it at the time. However, in April 1978 I was able to visit the people of the Purari Delta referred to above and who I shall hereafter refer to collectively as the Koriki, one of the popular names for them, to investigate it.

I spent approximately one week firstly with Koriki speakers and then with a Motu informant in their villages talking to them about the hiri and the method of communication used by them on it, and gathering survey materials in Koriki itself for background information and comparative purposes. A listing of villages visited and materials collected is given in Appendix 3. Further details of exactly how these materials were collected and what they consist of will be discussed in later sections in the order in which the research was carried out.

In this paper I present the results of that investigation and some follow-up work in the Port Moresby area. Briefly this examination shows that the Motu did in fact know and use a version

of the Koriki language for trade purposes with their Purari trade partners. This was a simplified version of Koriki which shall hereafter be referred to as the Koriki HTL, or HTL(K). In general structure this language was similar to the HTL(E) which the Motu used with their Elema friends but different, naturally, in vocabulary, and, more interestingly in the degree to which the principal source language, Koriki, was simplified and new elements added.

## 2.0. The Koriki and their Language

The Koriki are a collection of tribes that inhabit the Purari Delta area of the Gulf of Papua.<sup>3</sup> They have been well described in the literature (Allen, 1951; Holmes, 1924; Maher, 1961; Williams, 1924) where they are also referred to as either the Namau (also spelled Namahu) or the Purari.<sup>4</sup>

There are about 6600 Koriki (and not 15000 as some have suggested - Capell, 1962:137; Voegelins, 1965:40) who speak dialects of a single language. Although these dialects have never been properly surveyed nor studied the presently available evidence would seem to indicate that there are six of them corresponding to the six tribes that have been discussed in the literature and after which census divisions in the area are named by the Government.<sup>5</sup> These are: the Maipua, the Iai (or Iare),<sup>6</sup> the Koriki proper, the Kaimari, the Baroi, and the Baimuru.<sup>7</sup> These inhabit low-lying, frequently inundated swampy land around the five major outlets - the Aivei, Panaroa, Urika, Baroi, and Wame - of the great Purari River that pours down into the Gulf of Papua from the central highlands of Papua New Guinea to the north. Their positions relative to one another and to speakers of other languages are shown on the map on page 73. Population estimates and other details are given in Appendix 1.

Koriki is a NAN (or Papuan) language surrounded by similarly classified ones - the Eleman languages in the east, Ipiko in the north,<sup>8</sup> and dialects of the North-Eastern Kiwai language to the west,

although none of these other languages is thought to be closely related to it. Koriki is thought to be only distantly related to the Eleman languages bordering it in the east and upon which it has had some influence (Brown, 1973).<sup>9</sup> Together Koriki and the Eleman languages form, with Tate, a small enclave within the Eleman languages near Kerema, what is currently called the Eleman-Purarian Stock (Franklin, 1973:861).

The first specimens of Koriki were collected by Government agents and missionaries and published as wordlists in Annual Reports of British New Guinea and as mission literature (Ray, 1907). Sketch grammars were published by Ray (1907), who based his account on these sources, the London Missionary Society missionary Hölmes (Holmes, 1913) who lived nearby amongst the Elema for many years and after 1907 amongst the Koriki proper at Urika where he established a mission station, and more recently, by Mari'a and Kolia (1977) and Kairi and Kolia (1977). Additional comparative information appears in Brown (1973).

However, the structure of the language can hardly be said to be well-described - there are still many parts of the grammar where the information is either confusing, unreliable or non-existent. This is particularly true of the subtler areas of the phonology and grammar, such as the use of glottal stop, variation in vowel qualities, variation in question forms, the complex areas of negation, the tense-aspect system, complementation, coordination and relativization. Notes collected by me in 1978 and others kindly supplied by Rev. G. Fox of the Methodist Overseas Mission do little to improve this situation but a combination of all sources gives a rough guide to the language, sufficient at least, to evaluate in broad terms the evidence that was collected for the present study when taken together with comments and some parallel material obtained from Koriki informants.

Briefly the language is SOV with, predictably, postpositions, relative clauses preceding a head noun, adjectives following the

noun and determiners preceding it. The verb is the area of greatest complication although apparently not nearly as complicated morphologically as many other NAH languages. Basically it consists of a verb root or stem to which are added suffixes to indicate tense, mood and aspect, which are themselves invariable for subject number and person. There is apparently no object incorporation or agreement within the verb although pronoun objects are closely associated with the verb and may appear phonologically as prefixes. Verb roots belong to different classes, however, according to how at least one tense is formed. There are also at least five negative morphemes which are unrelated in form and apparently distinct in function.

Sentence embedding and conjoining is achieved by a combination of free forms and morphological means. There is thus no highly developed medial verb system. A single suffix -ane apparently serves both to coordinate sentences and embed them translating English 'and', 'when' and 'if', although in the latter case special pronoun forms are also required. A free form uku 'base, reason' corresponds to English 'because'.

The pronoun system seems to be based on six pronouns, excluding dual forms which are easily derived from singular ones. Some of my informants maintained that there is a distinction between first plural inclusive and exclusive forms enei and ene but I have not been able to check this further. Ray (1907) and Holmes (1913) do not mention them. Kairi and Kolia (1977:4) give ene and enere'e respectively but this could be based on a misunderstanding of enere'e which to me looks as if it is merely the second person dual form derived from a combination of ene 'we' and re'e 'two' (Holmes, 1913:132).

Phonologically Koriki seems to have only seven consonants - p, k, ' (Glottal.), v, m, n and r - and five vowels - a, e, i, o, and u. p and v have stop and fricative variant counterparts in initial and medial positions and r has allophones ranging from

d or l or even th-like sounds initially to flap and trilled r (phonological-) word medially. h may appear as onset to vowel initial words. Glottal stop is common but its distribution is not understood and requires much further attention because it appears that it can be omitted under certain conditions thereby affecting the sound and rhythm of the language, especially when morphophonemic rules also apply. Syllables are open and there are no consonant clusters, although there are clusters of vowels. Stress is important. More particular details of the language will be presented as required by the discussion of the results of the investigation given below.

Unfortunately neither Williams nor Holmes makes any reference to trade languages, although Williams (1924:124-27) describes Koriki trading activities in some detail, and Holmes (1913:125) notes that the Koriki were keen to learn other languages if apparently this was to their advantage.<sup>10</sup> What Williams has to say indicates that the Koriki differed little, if at all, from their linguistically distant relatives the Elema nearby in their external trade relationships with the Motu as those relationships are described by Barton (1910). Thus like their Elema relatives the Koriki were visited annually by the Motu on their hiri to trade pots and other items for sago and canoe logs. During this time the Motu stayed in Koriki villages for up to five months while they disassembled their lagatoi, adzed out new hulls from logs supplied by the Koriki as part of their 'payment' for Motu trade goods, reassembled their lagatoi for the return visit, and waited for their load of sago to be prepared. During this time they slept on or near their vessels in makeshift shelters and on the whole are said to have kept to themselves, not having any intercourse with Koriki women. They visited all Koriki villages except those of the Baroi, which were, and still are, the farthest inland.<sup>11</sup> At the time of first contact only three of these villages (two Maipuan and one Kaimarian) were on the coast, most being some distance inland on or near one of the major mouths of the Purari already mentioned (Maher, 1961: Map II). Former mooring points are still said to be marked by

large numbers of potsherds, however.

Incoming lagatoi were escorted into and out of the waterways on arrival and departure by villagers of their destination. Williams (1924:125-7) reports that as many as five lagatoi have been known to be in a village at one time. According to Holmes (1913:25) this trade has been going on since 'time immemorial' yet Williams (1924:124-7) did not find any 'general legend concerning the origin of the traffic though the names Avaia and Kairi - obviously local Koriki names - have been given for the leaders of the first lakatoi to visit Koriki.' My observations support Williams' - there is no way of challenging Holmes' claim at the moment. Although there is no one recognized legend attributing the hiri directly to Koriki inventiveness, there are a number of stories which do so indirectly and point to a special relationship between the Koriki and the Motu,<sup>12</sup> a relationship which helped the migration of many Koriki to Port Moresby after World War II where many now live in Motu villages and in squatter settlements around Port Moresby (Maher, 1961; Oram, 1964; Hitchcock and Oram, 1967). These stories all attribute contact with the Motu to various Koriki men and women who left Korikiland for various reasons and ended up in Motuland where they married thereby providing the Motu with the wherewithal of establishing trade links with the Gulf peoples. Principal actors in these stories are Vaipa, Api, Kairi, Ke'a, I'a and Ava (see Appendix 2).

### 3.0. Materials Collected

Two sets of materials were collected - a 1976 set and a 1978 set. The 1976 set is very brief and is given in Appendix 4. The 1978 set consists of two types: that collected in Koriki villages and that collected in the Motu villages of Boera. The material collected in Koriki villages is not extensive and consists mainly of sociolinguistic observations made by villagers; that collected in Boera is quite extensive and consists of both linguistic examples and sociolinguistic observations made by informants. Each of these

is now described in more detail before returning to the 1976 material and the original claim in the next section.

### 3.1. The Koriki Evidence

Four Koriki villages were visited - Apiope, Maipenairu, Kaimari, and Kinipo - and in each the oldest men who professed to know anything about the hiri were sought out.<sup>13</sup> In all except Maipenairu sufficient of these came forward together with numbers of other villagers that I felt quite confident that the opinions and answers that were put forward to questions asked can be regarded as well-based, consensus views, and not private or manufactured ones for the particular occasion. The only exception was at Maipenairu where the recognized authority, Ore Api, was away in Port Moresby and no one felt like answering questions without his being there. However, Ore was contacted in Port Moresby and took part in a conversation experiment with Moi Higo, one of the 1976 Motu informants, and my principal informant on hiri language questions since then.

In other cases the reaction to questions put about this particular topic followed very much the same sequence. Initially, when asked directly if the Motu could speak their language all agreed that they could. But with further questioning this was soon qualified by phrases such as (in Police Motu, the lingua franca)<sup>14</sup> sisina idia mistim bamona (lit. 'little.bit they mix like') 'they mixed it up a bit' at Kaimari, and sisina sisina. Sisina lasi to idia haidaua. Koriki gado momokani lasi to hegeregere Hiri Motu bamona (lit. 'little.bit little.bit. Little.bit not but they change. it. Koriki language true not but equal Hiri Motu (i.e., Polict Motu like') 'Slightly. No, not much, but they changed it. It wasn't real Koriki but just like Hiri Motu' at Kinipo. These phrases indicate that it was an incomplete mastery and something like a broken or simplified form of the language. When asked to illustrate these claims they gave material which suggested that in their view there were four main characteristics of Motu Koriki speech. These were



that:

1) complex sentences were limited in variety and simplified in structure. Thus, for example, they said that if the Motu wanted to say something like 'We are coming to Maipua to make friends' they would say: Ene Maipua dekenai<sup>15</sup> anena  
we Maipua to come.and  
Maipua vake miaria (lit. 'we are coming to Maipua and we  
Maipua friend get.will  
will get a Maipua friend') whereas they themselves would use a different structure like ene Maipua'i rae va'ara  
we Maipua.to want friendship  
imakarika'i anemake'ina'a (lit. 'we are coming to Maipua to  
make.to come.pres.cont  
make friendship'), or again Ere enavaria. Vapea ovairia  
waves come.will canoe spoil.will  
versus Ere ena'ane vapea ovakana'a 'Waves will come and spoil/  
waves come.and canoe spoil.will  
break the canoe';

2) verb endings were restricted, but there was one ending in particular that appears to have stood out in the Koriki mind as being the marker of Motu Koriki. That marker was -(v)aria. Thus, for example, whereas in 'true' Koriki one would say either enamake'ina'a '(we) are (in the process of) going', or ena'a '(we) are about to go', or enavakana'a '(we) will go' depending on time and circumstance the Motu would simply use enavaria to cover all three. This same form might also be used by the Motu for imperatives although they more commonly used the verb root or the verb root plus -ai for this purpose, whereas in 'true' Koriki -ne'e (generally heard as ne) is the common imperative suffix (Holmes, 1913: 138; Kairi & Kolia, 1977:4), e.g.,

M: Vana mi'ai! '(You(sg)) get the pots!  
pot(s) get

K: Vana mi'ine'e! '(You(sg)) get the pots!  
pot(s) get

3) Motu elements were added where 'true' Koriki ones were not known or could not be remembered. Compare for example, the following in which present-day Police Motu elements are

double underlined:

M: Ai Maipua dekenai anevaria.<sup>16</sup> 'We'll come to Maipua'  
we Maipua to come.will

K: Ene Maipua'i ane'akana'a 'We'll come to Maipua';  
we Maipua.to come.future

4) the vocabulary was restricted in range, or a limited vocabulary was made to serve unlimited means. Thus the Motu used words like ovara 'big' to cover both 'big in size' and 'big in quantity' whereas the Koriki use ovara for the first and aira 'plenty' for the second. Consider, for example,

M: Naia pu ovara peo 'I haven't got much sago'  
I/my sago big not.acc

K: Na pu aira peo 'I haven't got much sago'.  
I/my sago much not.acc

This information which, although very restricted itself, was at least something positive and I was encouraged by the overall agreement shown by the comments obtained from the different villages visited. What remained now was to try to get a better view of the Motu side of the picture and this is presented in the next section.

### 3.2. The Motu Evidence

Having returned to Port Moresby I contacted Moi Higo an elderly Motu speaker and Big Man of Boera who had proved to be such a good informant in the earlier survey we had conducted of the HTL(E), and who is one of the few Motu still living who is a widely recognised authority on the hiri (Groves, 1960) having been on many of them as crew and captain to both Elema and Koriki ports. He was also one of those who professed to speak Koriki and who had given us some sample sentences in 1976. It had been agreed that if I could find an Eleman and/or Koriki speaker of comparable age and status to himself he would be prepared to demonstrate his knowledge of these languages as used in trading. I could not locate an Eleman informant but I was able to find Ore Api, the recognized Maipenairu authority, still in town and willing to participate in the experiment. So on an appointed day I took Ore to meet Moi in his village and recorded the

ensuing conversation between them in putative Koriki.

This conversation lasted for about eleven minutes during which time Moi spoke for about one third of the time. Ore generally controlled the conversation though Moi did so for some time around the middle of it and towards the end - see utterances 44-66 and 75-79 in Appendix 5. In general the conversation ran smoothly and there was only one place where Moi balked momentarily as he changed his answer from 'no' to 'yes' - see utterance 72 in Appendix 5. When the conversation was over I asked Moi what he thought of it and his only comment was 'He (that is, Ore) doesn't speak it properly' which I interpreted at the time to mean that Ore did not use forms which Moi was familiar with (e.g., complex verbal ones) which, while being off-putting, were not so opaque, nor sufficient in number, as to mask the general meaning of what was being said, or to bar him from at least guessing intelligently at what was being said and to reply to it. This interpretation was confirmed later to some extent by examining the conversation more closely, although as I shall point out in more detail later the differences between the two speakers was not nearly as great as Moi's comment was taken to suggest at the time.

After the conversation, however, Moi volunteered other examples of Koriki speech within the context of a Motu trader in a Koriki village situation. The conversation and this extra material were transcribed with the help of Vivian Ore, son of Ore, and appear herein in Appendix 5. Vivian also commented on the nature of the language used in the conversation by both participants and on the extra materials given by Moi. This commentary consisted of saying whether he thought individual utterances were 'good Koriki or not' and of illustration differences. On another occasion some parallel sentences were elicited from him in isolation as a check on his earlier claims. His comments when taken together with an analysis of the material obtained from Moi and Ore show that while Moi has a useful command of the language his speech contains a number of technical 'errors' which indicate that certain parts of the language

were not understood by him or that he was consciously operating with a different or modified set of Koriki rules. These 'errors' occur at all levels of linguistic structure and are described in more detail in the following subsections:

### 3.21. Moi Higo's Speech

#### 3.21.1. Phonology

At this level there is some variation between u and o (as in amua versus amoa 'chief'), n and r (as in rae versus nae 'insides'; ariroko ena versus arinoko ena 'walk about'), and m and y (as in Erave versus Eramo 'Eravo'), and glottal stop is seldom used where it is expected (as in, for example, auri for a'uri 'pig' and a for a'a 'man, people'). The first and last of these are partly explained by the fact that u and o are often hard to discriminate between in Koriki and that the use of glottal stop in Koriki is also deceptive. The variation between n and r and between m and y seems to represent carry-over features from Moi's knowledge of the HTL(E) where these sounds are in free variation for most speakers.

#### 3.21.2. Grammar

At this level there is:

(a) a turning of complex sentences into two or more simple sentences.

##### Examples

MH/102:<sup>17</sup> aiē, na nava pene 'Gee, if I could eat a little  
gee I fish piece bit of fish I'd feel good'

na navai. Rae imo.<sup>18</sup>  
I eat insides good.acc

MH/133: Ni pu okavariario. 'You will make sago and bring  
you sago make.will.acc. it and give it to me'

Mi aneai na okuai.  
get come me give

MH/138: Ni ena ni pairi 'When you go to your village  
you go your village and see your wife you will  
be happy'

ni ae inamoiai. Oiao  
your wife see okay

rae, imariari.  
insides good.will.be

MH/140: E, na ena na-- ae 'Heh, when I go and see my  
heh I go my wife wife I'll be happy'

inamoia na rae imaima  
see my insides good.good

mikio  
very.acc

MH/2-3: Na iare pairi 'I didn't know (any) Iare  
I Iare village(s) villages until I went there  
recently'

ipapea. Eaieai na  
know.not now.now I

iare pairi aneai.  
Iare village(s) come

(b) incorrect use of the full range of negative forms. Moi uses four forms:

- (i) a'i 'No!'
- (ii) eria 'none'
- (iii) peo (with variant peare) 'not'
- (iv) apeare 'not'

The first two and the last one he seems to use in substantially the 'true' Koriki way (e.g., a'i is used as a negative answer to yes-no questions; eria is used as the equivalent of English adjective 'no' and pronoun 'none'; and apeare is used in short answer replies denying a claim such as 'Not X!',<sup>19</sup>

Examples:

MH/1: Eria! 'None!'  
none

MH/71: Vana riaria mikio! 'They(?) don't really want  
pots not.want truly.acc any pots'

MH/76: Aia eria. 'No aia pots'  
pot(s) none

MH/77: Amua oko eria? 'No chiefs either?'  
chief(s) also none

pairi ipapeare.  
village know.not

MH/41: Apau apeare. 'Not Apau village'  
Apau not

(c) use of a very restricted range of declarative verb forms to cover a wide range of tense-aspect-mood forms existing in Koriki. Thus excluding those which are negated simply by adding the negative peo or eria (and variants) to the verb stem as already indicated the majority of declarative verb forms are of one of two types:

(i) those formed by suffixing -ai (and variants ae, ei)<sup>23</sup> to the verb stem:

Examples:

MH/3: na...aneai (< ane 'come') 'I went'<sup>24</sup>  
I come

MH/34: na...inamoiai (< inamu'o'i 'see') 'I've seen it'  
I see

MH/61: Ekei pairi ni pokoi? 'Which village are  
which village you be.in you living in?  
(< pukoi 'be in a place')

MH/67: Vana pevi eviai? (< evi 'cook') 'Pots to cook in'  
pots food cook

MH/109: Ii paoae? (< paua 'not know') 'Don't you know?'  
you not.know

MH/134: Na okuai. (< ku(?) 'give') 'Give me'  
me give

(ii) those formed by suffixing -(v)aria to the verb stem:

Examples:

MH/94: Na oko auri avaria peo. 'I'll not also kill  
I also pig kill.will not.acc a pig  
(< ava 'kill')

MH/95: na enavaria... (< ena 'go') 'I'll go and ...'  
I go.will

MH/96: Koriki vake enavaria... 'Koriki friend, go...'  
Koriki friend go.will  
(< ena 'go')

MH/97: ipa mianei okuaria '(You) bring an asi  
asi get.come give.will and give it to me'

(< ku(?) 'give')

MH/132:ni pu okavariaio! 'You will make sago..!'  
you sago make.will.acc

(< oka 'make')

MH/139:Oaio, rae, imariari. 'So (she) will be happy.'  
okay insides good.will.be

(< ima 'good')

Of these only the former, -ai, has any corresponding form in 'true' Koriki. Indeed there are at least five different verb forms in which this syllable occurs word finally, and four of those in which this syllable is also a morpheme. These cases are:

(i) the 'infinitive mood' form of the verb (Holmes, 1913:139), as, for example, in kikiria'i 'to write';

(ii) the causative markers eai (Holmes, 1913: 134,136), the reflective marker kiai (Holmes, 1913:134), and the auxiliaries liai 'to do' and okavai 'to make' (Holmes, 1913:134);

(iii) the present tense interrogative form of the verb 'to go' as in amenai? 'Do you go?' (Holmes, 1913:135), and the future tense interrogative forms of 'to come' and 'to go' as in amenavakai? 'Will you go?' and amaneakai? 'Will you come?' (Holmes, 1913:135);

(iv) the 'potential mood' form of the verb, (Holmes, 1913:139), as, for example, in kikiriane-iai 'that I may write';

(v) the first person singular and plural hortative forms of verbs and the negative of all hortative and imperative forms as listed in Kairi and Kolia (1977:19).

This form is used by Moi to cover a range of tenses and aspects excluding the future tense which seems to be the function of the second form -(v)aria given above. Where this latter comes from is not clear as there is no parallel in either 'true' Koriki or in Motu itself. Vivian Ore said that it meant 'want' but if so it does not appear to be related in form to either rai 'want' or raria 'not want' in 'true' Koriki.

(d) no imperative mood forms corresponding to those of 'true' Koriki. As already mentioned the normal 'true' Koriki imperative marker is -ne'e<sup>26</sup> although there are special negative forms with pa preceding the verb and -a'i following it. In Moi's speech imperatives are generally marked by -ai again as in the declarative forms of verbs, e.g.<sup>27</sup>

- MH/88: mi aneai! 'Bring it!'  
 get come
- MH/91: mapua na ikuai! 'Give me a toea shell!'  
 toea.shell me give
- MH/113: Anene pei navai! 'Come and eat!'  
 come food eat

Negatives are simply formed by adding peo, which, as already noted, is not the way negative imperatives are formed in 'true' Koriki, e.g.,

- MH/110: Eoafia pea! 'Don't tell lies!'  
 tell.lies not

(e) incorrect use of question forms. In 'true' Koriki verbs are questioned by adding ama before them, for example, as in ama-kikiri'e 'Do you write?' or ama-kikiri'i 'Did you write?' (Holmes, 1913:136). This form is not used by Moi (though he does use the corresponding -ana form for non-verbal sentences) who merely depends on intonation and context to signal interrogation, e.g.,

- MH/61: ni...uapekei o? 'Are you (still) living  
 you live or in...or (not)?'
- MH/65: Ou-pekei? 'Are there any (pots still  
 they-stay in the village)?'
- MH/109: ni paoae? 'Don't you understand?'  
 you not.know

(f) omission of the possessive marker -nu (Holmes, 1913:128) and Kairi and Kolia, 1977:21). In 'true' Koriki the possessive is formed by placing one of the possessive pronouns na, ni,... before the possessed noun (e.g., na marea 'my house') or, in extended possession, by linking the possessor with the possessed by nu, as in,



for example, ni ravi nu no'e  
your ravi poss name

'the name of your ravi'. In Moi's speech nu is never used. Consider, for example, the following:

MH/11: pairi noe Maipua. 'the village of Maipua'  
village name Maipua

MH/50: ni ravi noe koana? 'What's your ravi's name?'  
your ravi name who.Q

(g) omission of the locative-direction suffix -a'i or variant.

For example, in a sentence like MH/5: Eai pani na Iare aneai  
now time I Iare go

'I only recently went to Iare' Iare should have been marked as the intended locus of the movement by -e (a conditioned variant of -a'i) but Moi never uses any variant of -a'i.<sup>28</sup>

(h) an erratic use of prefixes on the verb 'to give'. For example, variation between i- and o(u)- to indicate 'me' and the use of o- to indicate all of 'me', 'you', and 'him'. Consider:

MH/91,92: ikuai '(you) give me'

MH/132,133,134: okuai '(you) give me'

MH/134: okumane '(you) give me'

MH/96,133: okune '(you) give me'

MH/97: okuaria '(you) will give me'

MH/132: okuai '(I) give you'

MH/99: okai '(you) give him'

According to Holmes (1913:135) the correct prefixes are:

i- 'me', ni- 'you', aw- 'him', and o- 'them'.

### 3.21.3. Lexis

At this level there are two main types of 'errors', excluding a number of Motu, English and HTL(E) forms which give the vocabulary a slightly 'mixed' flavour but which are insignificant.<sup>29</sup> These are:

(a) cases where a 'true' Koriki word has been misunderstood and applied to a semantically allied activity, e.g., navai 'to eat' and nemu 'hungry' in Moi's speech confuses 'true' Koriki navai

'hungry' and nemu 'belly';

(b) cases where there is a broadening of meaning, or use of another form closely allied to it, to fill a gap, e.g.,

(i) pokiai 'to put' is an extension of 'true' Koriki pukoi 'to stay, live, be in a place';

(ii) vake 'friend; trade partner' extends the 'true' Koriki vaké 'person';<sup>30</sup>

(iii) inamoiai, from 'true' Koriki inamuo'i 'to see', is used for 'to look for' as well as 'to see';

(iv) ima 'good' in combination with rae 'insides' (as in rae ima) substitutes for 'true' Koriki kopai 'happy'.

### 3.22. Ore Api's Speech

When Vivian Ore, his son, was first asked to comment on his father's speech in the taped conversation he simply said that his father was not speaking good Koriki but was trying to make his speech easier for Moi to understand. Although he was not able to list specific features at the time except to say 'we don't say it like that' in reference to a particular utterance, he agreed later, after the text had been transcribed and analysed that the following features are the principal ones that make his father's speech sound unusual to a 'true' Koriki speaker's ear:

(a) Ore uses simple verb forms and forms which do not occur in normal I'ai, his father's dialect of 'true' Koriki. Principal among these are those marked by -ai and -varia, as for example, in ipariai '(I) want to know', enavai '(you) went', pekei '(they) stay/are alive', enavaria 'want to go', navairia 'want to eat', the origin of which is uncertain (as already noted above for Moi's speech).<sup>31</sup>

Verbs marked by these forms account for more than 50% of all verbs by Ore (excluding repetitions within the same sentence, nominalizations such as ena pani (lit. 'go time') 'the time of going' or pokoia pani (lit. 'staying time') 'in X's lifetime' and subordinate verbs marked by -ane 'and, when', all except two of which belong to the -ai type;

(b) Ore does not use the question marker ama before verbs in questions as expected, as, e.g., in his ni eki ravi enavai?  
you which ravi go  
'to which ravi did you go? (Holmes, 1913:136);

(c) Ore never marks possession by nu as expected in phrases like na mai pani 'my father's time' (Holmes, 1913:129, Kairi  
my father time  
Kolia, 1977:21);

(d) Ore never uses any locative/direction suffixes as expected, for example, in phrases like eki ravi 'to which ravi', Maipua  
which ravi  
'to Maipua' (Kairi and Kolia, 1977:32, para (d)).

#### 4.0. Discussion of Results

Two sets of evidence have now been presented bearing on the claim that the Motu spoke Koriki in their trade contacts with Koriki villagers. One is the fragmentary sociolinguistic observations made by present-day Koriki villagers in their villages in the Purari Delta and set out in Section 3.1. The other is the linguistic evidence contained in the taped conversation and other materials that are analysed and described in Sections 3.21 and 3.22.

If the material in these sections is compared and considered along with the comparative data in Appendix 6, it is clear that Moi Higo did know something of the Koriki language but that that knowledge was less than complete. He obviously had a reasonably adequate grasp of the phonology (except for the use of the glottal stop which does not occur in Motu), a restricted grammar, and useful, if restricted range of vocabulary. That Ore Api, a native speaker of 'true' Koriki used a code with many of the same features in it (compare, for example, points a, b, c, d in Section 3.22 with points c,e,f,g respectively in Section 3.21.2) to converse with him, and that there is a high degree of correspondence between what Koriki villagers said the Motu did and what Moi Higo actually did in talking to Ore Api, must mean that the 'errors' made by Moi are more than simply errors made by a learner of 'true' Koriki. That is, it must

mean that the code used by Moi represents more than just 'broken Koriki' or the 'imperfect approximations of a language by a speaker of another language who is in the process of learning it" (Ferguson and De Bose, 1977:100). In fact it must mean that Moi (and Ore to some extent) was following a fairly well recognized set of conventions which must have been developed and passed on from one Motu speaker to another and/or from one Koriki trader to his Motu counterpart, as part of the knowledge of trading, and in much the same way as a knowledge of the Elema based trade language, HTL(E), presumably was. In particular these conventions concerned the restricted verb structure and the extended meanings of certain vocabulary items. That these conventions were not restricted to Moi is evident from the 1976 materials where Moi and another Motu speaker give their individual and separate examples which obviously contain the same 'errors' as those described for the 1978 materials and which therefore belong to the same language. Additional support has also subsequently been given to me by Nigel Oram (pers.com.) who collected it in 1974. This evidence was the following sentence obtained from Raho Rakatani, a Motu speaker from Hanuabada village, Port Moresby, who claimed it was an example of a trade language used with the Koriki. This sentence was ni marea pei peo, which was supposed to mean 'there is no food in my house'. From what has now been said it is fairly clear that this also belongs to the same language as that described herein although ni means 'your' and not 'my'. It lacks, for example, the locative suffix -a'i and it also uses peo as the general negative whereas eria is expected.<sup>32</sup>

Thus, even though it is not now possible to give a full description of how the Motu and Koriki communicated, it is fairly clear, from the range of evidence that has been presented and that which was obtained independently from widely separated and unrelated informants, that the Motu were able to communicate quite effectively with the Koriki in a restricted form of Koriki to express a limited range of ideas in a trading context, supplemented no doubt by some hand waving, pointing, and give and take between speaker and hearer.

Just how stable or fixed this restricted form of the language was is not known. That it contained a certain amount of variation across speakers is probably also true, as would seem to be suggested by the variation shown in Moi's materials.<sup>33</sup> We could certainly reasonably expect that to be so, given individual differences between speakers in linguistic abilities, the number of hiri each made, the length and type of contact each had with his trade partner on each visit etc. In that case the best we could say about the system was that it was probably not totally fixed or stable but that there was a core of general, fairly well recognized rules to which individual speakers added others according to their own experience. This core of rules presumably consisted of at least those that underlie or determine the 'errors' made by Moi and described herein in Section 3.21.

#### 5.0. Conclusion

From what has now been said it is clear that the Motu are partly correct in their claim that, during hiri trading, they spoke Koriki to the Koriki but something not quite Elema to the Elema. What they spoke to the Koriki was a simplified form of a single language so that the grammar and vocabulary does not show the same 'mixed' nature as that of the Elema one which draws its grammar and vocabulary from different languages of a family, and even from Koriki itself (e.g., in oroko 'dog'). So in one sense the Motu are right in claiming that they spoke Koriki, but not Elema, to their respective trade partners, although in another sense they were no nearer speaking 'true' Koriki than 'true' Elema, for both were similarly simplified and restricted, even though each has its own idiosyncratic features.<sup>34</sup>

Given then that the Motu spoke a simplified or restricted form of Koriki, HTL(K), there remains the technical question of how this language is to be classified. Is it a jargon, pidgin, creole or what? We have already established above that it is not 'broken Koriki' and it is obviously not a creole for it is no one's first

language and does not have the elaborated structure of such a language. Nor is it a jargon, the term I think most linguists would properly want to reserve to describe the very unstable beginnings of both a broken language and a pidgin. HTL(K) has gone beyond that stage. Yet while it has some of the classical characteristics of a pidgin (e.g., its simplified structure compared with its principal source language and its restricted social use) it is not as much a pidgin in some respects as the HTL(E) is, notably in the respect that the HTL(E) contains certain novel or self-created aspects of structure (i.e., aspects which are simply borrowings from one or the other source language).<sup>35</sup> It therefore lies somewhere on a continuum of types between a jargon and a well developed pidgin but closer to the pidgin end of that scale than the jargon end. Given its restricted function, however, it is unlikely that it would ever have developed into something autonomous, full and stable that would have put it out of the pidgin range. It was a language of the moment and has, alas, like other similar ones died with the moment.<sup>36</sup>

APPENDIX 1

Dialects-Cum-Census Divisions of Koriki  
and Past and Present Villages

These 'villages' are those recognized by the Government in its official village directories after 1960.<sup>1</sup> Ditto marks in the 1968 and 1973 columns indicate that the 1960 or 1968 name continues. Underlined names refer to villages that include Ipiko speakers.

Dialect/Census Division	1960 Villages	1968 Villages	1973 Villages
Baimuru	<u>Amipoke</u>	"	"
	Kamaua	"	Bekoro
	<u>Kemei</u>	"	"
	<u>Onau</u>	Unau	Unau
	<u>Pakemuba</u>	"	"
	<u>Piepoka</u>	"	"
	<u>Ravipaka</u>	"	"
Population: 584	648	822	
Baroi	Akiaravi	Akiaravi No.1	Akiaravi
	Evara <sup>2</sup>	"	"
	Koravake	"	"
	Oravi	"	"
	Population: 525	624	669
Koriki	Akiaravi	Akiaravi No.2	Akiaravi
	Akoma	"	"
		Apiravi No.2	"
		Ara'ava	"
	Ikinu	"	"
	Kaiaravi	"	"
	Kairimai	"	"
	Kairu'u No.1	-	-
	Kairu'u No.2	-	-
	Kakariravi	"	"
	Karararavi	"	"
	Miraiaravi	"	"
	Navararavi No.1	"	"

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<sup>1</sup> See Maher (1961:31-33) for a description of these 'villages' in former times.

<sup>2</sup> Said by Mari'a and Kolia (1977:5) to be Koriki dialect speaking.

	Navararavi Ho.2	"	"
	Ukunukua	"	"
Population:	1831	1941	2043
-----			
Iari	Aikavaravi No.1	"	"
	Aikavaravi No.2	"	"
	Kairiravi	"	"
	Maipenairu	"	"
	Okaikenairu	"	"
	Onoporavi No.1	"	"
	Onoporavi No.2	"	"
	Ravikaupara No.1	"	"
	Ravikaupara No.2	"	"
	Ravikikau No.1	"	"
	Ravikikau No.2	"	"
	Ravikikau No.3	"	"
	(=Old Iari)		
Population:	1766	1912	1997
-----			
Kaimari	Apiravi	Apiravi No.1	"
	Barea	"	"
	Kauravi	"	"
	Koiravi	"	"
Population:	824	832	900
-----			
Maipua	Aivei	"	"
	Apiope	"	"
		Ivira <sup>1</sup>	"
	Kapai	"	"
Population:	278	289	316
-----			
Total Population:	5808	6246	6747
-----			

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1

Said by Mari'a and Kolia (1977:4) to be I'ai (or Iare) speaking.



## APPENDIX 2

### Some Koriki Origin Stories

The following stories are said to explain the origin of the close ties holding between the Koriki and the Motu. They are summarized versions of originals told in Police Motu, the Lingua franca used in this survey.

At Maipua informants told a story of how two poor orphans, a woman named VAIPA and her younger brother API, were taken by a crocodile, a kind of medium of the Sky God, Guba, to Motuland where they married and the crocodile disappeared. Vaipa and Api never returned to the Gulf but the Motu did in their stead: they came in canoes to trade at AUKIA, the homeland of Vaipa and Api's ancestors.

At Kaimari the story was about a lone girl KAUMIA KAIRI who, after getting pregnant to one of the boys of the village had a bird cut down a tree, hollow it out, and build a kind of canoe. In this she floated down the river and out to sea. She eventually ended up in Motuland where she married KAURI MARI and gave birth to a daughter MAI'EA. When MAI'EA grew up she was driven away by the Motu village girls and returned to KAIMARELAUA (near HABU), the homeland of her mother, using a rope to show her mother where she went and thereby also showing the Motu where to come to trade.

At Kinipo the story was different again but with a similar result. Here informants told of how once there was a village called HAKIVAKEPA'IRI up the Baroi River in which KE'A and his wife I'A lived. In this village also all the men used to go hunting regularly as a group but would never bring back anything for the women to eat. Then on one occasion I'A's small son brought back some pork for his mother whom he felt sorry for. On the next occasion I'A and the rest of the women of the village ambushed the men on their return and killed them all. They then made rafts of bamboo like the hiri lagatoi and set out for Motuland. They took I'A's aged father AUAVANAIA with them as well as a stone APAIA which can still be seen on Konedobu beach in Port Moresby as testimony that they reached their destination. And that is why the Motu came to Korikiland to trade and why they know the Koriki language.

At Baimuru another informant, Ivia Laura told me that the Motu once resided with the Koriki and that when the Koriki first took them to Port Moresby they stopped off at Fisherman's Island

(or Daugo)<sup>1</sup> and that therefore Koriki have a legitimate claim to this island along with some Motu who are contesting ownership of it with certain Koita groups in Port Moresby.<sup>2</sup>

Later on in Port Moresby I was introduced to Geoffrey Ekai, also from Baimuru, who told me the story of how one, AUA, was put on a raft like a Motu lagatoi (or trading canoe), bound up with birdlime as punishment for stealing, and sent down the Purari into the Gulf of Papua. He sang as he went and at each village he came to he tried to get the people to set him free but no one could or would. So he eventually ended up where Fisherman's Island (or Daugo) is today. There the Motu found him and set him free. He stayed with them and told them about his village and sago. And when they asked him how to get there he showed them, after demonstrating how to make the necessary sailing craft. He was welcomed home but because he had married a Motu woman he did not stay. And that, according to the legend, is how Fisherman's Island came to be - it is AUA's petrified iri vapea or craft - and how the hiri began. It also explains how the Motu came by the word hiri and the idea of a hiri lagatoi - they did so by borrowing the Koriki word iri for 'tree' and transliterating their phrase iri vapea (lit. 'tree canoe') into their own form hiri lagatoi.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Note that Fisherman's Island is also referred to in the Kinipo story as a stopping-off place on the journey of the Hakivakepa'iri women to Port Moresby. I do not know if Ivia's claims are derived from this story or from a different one.

<sup>2</sup> Ivia is contesting this claim in court at the time of writing.

<sup>3</sup> This last claim has since been examined by me in Dutton (1979), a revised version of which is to be published in Kivung.

APPENDIX 3

Villages Visited and Materials Collected in 1978

In this listing the following abbreviations are used:

- C Conversation between Motu and Koriki speakers
- G Koriki Origin Stories
- HQ General questions about the hiri
- K Koriki language material
- L Lexicostatistical list
- M Sample material about the Motu's knowledge of the Koriki language
- m male
- V Supplementary vocabulary
- 1-292 Numbered items in L

Tape No	Side	Tribe	Village Visited	Material Collected	Speaker's Voice
20/78	a & b	Maipua	Apiope	HQ,M,G,L(1-153)	Ariki AUA, m, c.58-60 years
21/78	a	Maipua	Apiope	L(154-292), V,HQ	" " " " " " " " " " " "
	b	Kaimari	Kaimari	HQ,M,L91-74) G,K	Ilaia KEME, m, c.55-60 years Ivira A'AVIA, m, c.55-60 years
22/78	a & b	Koriki	Kinipo	HQ,M,L(1-140), G	Ore AKO, m, c.60 years Muri OMA'E, m, c.60 years; councillor
23/78	a & b	I'ai	Maipenairu	L(1-292),V, K	Ore API, m, c.60 years Vivian ORE, m, c.30
24/78	a & b	I'ai	Maipenairu	C,K,HQ	Ore API, m, c.60 years
		Motu	Boera	C,K,HQ	Moi HIGO, m, c.80 years

APPENDIX 4

The 1976 Materials

In these interviews Moi Higo and Kaila Aua from Boera are talking to Iru Kakare about the Koriki (whom they call the Namahu) and the language they used in trading with them. In them MH = Moi Higo, KA = Kaila Aua, IK = Iru Kakare, K = a Koriki speaker, M = a Motu speaker.

1. MOI HIGO (Tape P20/67 side 1, 240ff)

MH: The Namahu are Maipua, Koriki, Iare, and Kaimare. We call them Namahu. When they came on to our canoes they'd talk like this:

K: Koanu \ vapeo?<sup>2</sup> 'Whose canoe is this?'<sup>1</sup>  
           who.poss canoe.acc

M: na vapeo  
       my canoe.acc 'My canoe.'

K: Ni noe koanai?<sup>3</sup> 'What's your name?'  
       your name who.Q.(?)

M: Lau ladagu be Moi. 'My name is Moi.'  
       my name.my is Moi

K: Ni vakenu<sup>4</sup> noe koana? 'Who's your trade partner  
       your friend.poss name who.Q here?'

M: Evara Inako. 'Evara Inake.'  
       Evara Inake.acc

K: E: 'Yes.'  
       yes

MH: Than I'd ask:

M: Evara Inake, uapekei? 'Is Evara Inake here (lit.  
       Evara Inake that.stays alive/staying)?'

-----  
<sup>1</sup>Motu translations were supplied by MH at the same time.

<sup>2</sup>acc = accentuation. This only occurs sentence finally and is manifested by -o or -u. It translates roughly as 'really' in English.

<sup>3</sup>Koanai koa 'who' + ana 'question' + ai (?). I do not know why Moi uses the ai on the end of this however. But see discussion in Section 3.22, para (c).

<sup>4</sup>Vake translates as varavara in Motu which means 'relative, dependents' (Lister-Turner and Clark, n.d.).

K: E:, uapekei. 'Yes, he is.'  
yes that.stays

IK: Are you speaking their language or Motu's or (what)?

MH: No.No. Their real language.

IK: Didn't they speak Motu?

MH: No. Then continues with examples :

K: Enane, enane Eva-- 'Go and (tell Evara to come  
go.and go.and and) see me.'

Evara enane, na inamoiai.<sup>1</sup>  
Evara go.and me see

MH: They'd do and say:

K: Evara Inake, a-- vaira'a 'Hey Evara, the Motu have come.  
Evara Inake ah-- Motu That Motu man Moi, your  
tradepartner, is here.'

ua'ane o! Ni-- ni vake o!  
that.come. your--your

vake o! noe Moi o!  
friend acc name Moi acc

MH: He'd get up and come to the canoe and when he saw me he'd say:

K: Aie, auanamai e! Ni 'Gosh, fancy! How are you?'  
gosh fancy you

hiri imana?<sup>2</sup>  
hiri good.Q

M: E:, na imo. 'Yes, fine.'  
yes I good.acc

IK: Did you all know this language or only a few?

MH: No, not the young ones, no. Only the older fellows like me did.

Tape ends

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<sup>1</sup>Moi's Motu translation of this includes what is in brackets in the English given.

<sup>2</sup>Moi translated this in Motu as oi namo? 'How are you?' as shown in the English given. Literally, however, it should mean 'Was/is your hiri good?'

2. KAILA AUA (Tape P21/76 side 1, 142 ff)

M: Ni amuana? 'Are you the chief?'<sup>3</sup>  
you chief.Q

K: Na pai ri amua. 'I'm the village chief.'  
I village chief

M: Imau. Pu peo? Na 'That's good. Haven't you got  
good.acc sago not.acc I any sago? I'm very hungry.  
nemuo. Mi aneina Bring some to eat.'  
hungry.acc get come.and  
na navaia.  
I eat

---

-----  
<sup>3</sup>Motu translations were not given by Kaila at the time of recording.  
These were obtained later by IK.

APPENDIX 5  
The 1978 Materials

There are two sub-sections to this Appendix. The first contains the text of the conversation between Moi HIGO (Motu) and Ore API (Koriki, I'ai dialect) at Boera, in April, 1978. The second contains extra material given by Moi Higo after the conversation had concluded.

All the materials are transcribed in a broad phonetic script and the transcript presented here is based on a transcription provided by Vivian Ore, son of Ore Api, in his own hand. In this transcript utterances are numbered for reference purposes later on and a ? is used to indicate uncertainty as to what was said or what was meant by the speakers. Numbers in the left-hand margin are machine tape-counter numbers.

1. The Conversation

000)Tape P24/78a:

OA: Nai o ipariai ni hiri 'I want to know: when you  
 I that know.want you hiri went on the hiri whom did  
ena pani ni koau ena ou you go to at our place  
 go time you whom.to go that (lit. at that Iare  
 village)?'

I'ai pa'iri?  
 Iare village/place

MH: <sup>1</sup>Eria. <sup>2</sup>Na iare pairi ipapea. 'None. I didn't know  
 none I Iare village know.not (any) Iare villages until  
 I went there recently.'

<sup>3</sup>Eaieai na iare pairi aneai.  
 now.now I Iare village come

OA: Na ipariai ni eki ravi 'I'd like to know which  
 I know.want you which ravi ravi (clan, men's house)  
enavai, ni enavai? you went to.'

went you went

005)MH: <sup>4</sup>Nai o lavi noe ipapea. 'I don't know the name of  
 I that ravi name know.not that ravi. I only  
 recently went to Iare.

<sup>5</sup>Eai pani na Iare aneai. <sup>6</sup>Oaio,  
 now time I Iare come okay  
 Iare vake ipapea.  
 Iare man know.not

OA: Oi paua? 'Don't you know (any(?)?)?'  
 you know.not

MH: <sup>7</sup>E, na paua mikio. 'Yes, I really don't know  
 yes I know.not truly.acc (any(?)).'

- OA: Ni mai pani ni mai  
your father time your father  
kiripai enavai?  
together go 'When your father was  
alive did you go  
together with him?'
- MH: <sup>8</sup>A-- Maipua.  
ah-- Maipua.to 'Ah-- to Maipua.'
- OA: Mapua eno?  
Maipua.to to 'You went to Maipua did  
you?'
- MH: <sup>9</sup>E, Koriki <sup>10</sup>Na vapea lealea.  
yes Koriki.to I canoe two Yes, to Koriki. I had  
two canoes.'
- OA: Ni pani re'e re'e enavai(?)?  
you time two go 'Did you go two times?'
- 011)MH: <sup>11</sup>E rearea. Eni vapea  
yes two former canoe 'Yes, two. The first one  
went to Aivei um-- to  
the village called  
Maipua, to the clan  
called Rurupuravi it was  
(lit. I know), and the  
second canoe to Koriki  
village where I had a  
tradepartner named Kari  
Mai. I know those ones,  
that is, Koriki and  
Maipua. It's only  
recently I went to  
I'ai.'
- aivei e-- pairi noe Maipua,  
Aivei um--village name Maipua
- lavi noe Rurupuravi na  
ravi name Rurupuravi I
- ipo. <sup>12</sup>Vapea namba tu  
know.acc canoe number two
- na Koriki ena e-- Koriki  
I Koriki go um- Koriki
- pairi na vake noe Kairi  
village I man name Kairi
- Mai. <sup>13</sup>Na ipa oure <sup>14</sup>Koriki,  
Mai I know that.one Koriki
- Maipua, oure. <sup>15</sup>Iai, eai  
Maipua that.one Iare now
- pani na aneai Iai, e.  
time I come Iare yes
- OA: O, ni pokoia pani ni  
oh your staying time your 'In your day did your  
villages go to I'ai  
villages on hiri or did  
they make canoes and go  
sometimes(?)?'
- pairi oro enavai I'ai pa'iri  
village they go Iai village
- hiri o vapea piri enavai  
hiri or canoe tie go
- ni rokoa pani, pani varomo?  
your sailing time time some
- MH: <sup>16</sup>E:  
yes 'Yes.'



- OA: Ni a'a varomo oro enavai  
your people some they go  
I'ai, pani varomo?  
Iare time some  
024)MH: <sup>17</sup>Eni pani?  
former time
- OA: E'e  
yes
- MH: <sup>18</sup>A'i. <sup>19</sup>Na ipapeo  
no I know.not.acc
- OA: O, ni mai pani?  
oh your father time
- MH: <sup>20</sup>E.  
yes
- OA: Ni mai u enavai ou I'ai  
your father he go that Iare  
pa'iri vapea piri enavai  
village canoe tie go  
ei pa'iri pu oaia  
this village sago unLoad  
vana miaka enavai o(?) / ou(?)  
pots get go or that  
ni mai pokoia pani?  
your father staying time
- MH: [No answer].
- OA: Ni mai u vapea piria peo?  
your father he canoe tie not.acc  
'Didn't your father make a canoe?'
- MH: <sup>21</sup>A'i. <sup>22</sup>Apau pairi I'ai  
no Apau village Iare  
pairi ipapeare. <sup>23</sup>Eaieai na  
village know.not now.now I  
aneai Iare.  
come Iare  
'No, Apau village didn't know Iare village. I've only recently gone to Iare.'
- OA: E, u miki ni ipariai?  
yes it true you know.want/will(?)  
'Yes, it's true, you want to know it(?).'
- MH: <sup>24</sup>E  
yes  
'Yes.'
- OA: O ei, ni pa'iri a'a  
or ah-- your village people  
varomo oro enavai ou mako  
some they went that place  
'Or ah-- did some of your village people go to that place, to I'ai village? Did they make canoes and go in your time?'

- oro, I'ai pa'iri vapea  
they I'ai village canoe
- piriaika enavai, ou ni pani?  
tie/make went that your time
- 033)MH: <sup>25</sup>E.  
yes 'Yes.'
- OA: Uo, pani varomo una ene  
or(?) time some that our  
pa'iri a'a mo Koivi Raa, u  
village man one Koivi Raa  
u pokoia pani u enavai  
he staying time he went  
I'ai pa'iri?  
I'ai village
- 'Or(?) sometimes did one  
of our village men Koivi  
go to I'ai village in  
his time?'
- MH: <sup>26</sup>A'i, na ipapeare.  
no I know.not 'No, I don't know.'
- OA: Koivi u enavai Oroko pa'iri...  
Koivi he went Oroko village ' (So) Koivi went to  
Oroko village...
- MH: <sup>27</sup>Oroko pa'iri. Nai, vapea  
Oroko village I canoe 'To Oroko village.  
Koivi and I took(?) two  
canoes to Oroko.'
- mo, Koivi oko vapea ka(?) mo  
one Koivi too canoe (?) one  
vapea rere oao Oroko pa'iri.  
canoe two okay Oroko village
- OA: Koivi Oroko pa'iri?...  
Koivi Oroko village 'Koivi (went(?)) to  
Oroko village?...
- MH: <sup>28</sup>E  
yes 'Yes.'
- OA: ...ni enavai Koriki?  
you went Koriki '...and you went to  
Koriki?'
- MH: <sup>29</sup>A'i.  
no 'No.'
- OA: Maipua?  
Maipua.to 'To Maipua?'
- 038)MH: <sup>30</sup>A'i, Oroko. <sup>31</sup>Vapea rere.  
no Oroko.to canoe two  
Koivi, nai. <sup>32</sup>Vapea rere. <sup>33</sup>oao  
Koivi my canoe two okay  
nai o Iare pa'iri ipapeare.  
I that Iare village know.not  
'No, to Oroko. Koivi  
and I (went). There  
were two canoes, Koivi's  
and mine. Two canoes.  
Even so I don't know  
that Iare village. It's  
only recently that I've  
seen it.'

34. Eaieai pani na Iare inamoiai [ending  
now.now time I Iare see  
indistinct]
- OA: Naia ipariai ni a'a varomo 'I want to know: did some  
I know.want your men some  
of your men go to I'ai  
oro enavai I'ai pa'iri? A'a villages? Did they make  
they went I'ai village man  
canoes and go and some  
varomo ane oro vapea piria (i.e., those that had no  
some came they canoe tie/build canoes) help with pots  
and...'  
enavai a'a varomo paiekavai  
went man some help  
vana mo...  
pots and
- 049)MH: 35. A'i, nai o nao ve 'No, I-- that European's  
no I that European his  
canoe (went), a cutter,  
vapea, kata, vapea mikiapea. not a real canoe. That  
canoe cutter canoe true.not  
European's canoe, or  
36. Nao ve vapea, kata, cutter, went to Iare  
European his canoe cutter  
village. Yes, that's  
ia ena -- kata ia ena Iare true.'  
it went cutter it went Iare  
pairi. E.  
village yes
- OA: E, na ipa. 'Yes, I know.'  
yes I know
- MH: 37. Nn. 'Yes.'  
yes
- OA: Ou pani na mau'u pani. 'That's when I was a  
that time I boy time  
small boy.'
- MH: 38. E. 'Yes.'  
yes
- 050)OA: Naia eia oporo eire 'I saw (those lagatoi)  
I see sago.type cut  
while we were at that  
ou pani oporo eira kei sago camp cutting oporo  
that time sago cut stay  
sago and staying there  
Va'ara kei pu komo tying it up. (That was  
Va'ara.river stay sago camp in) my father's time.'  
piri lare. Na mai pani.  
tie time my father time
- MH: Iove (?) [indistinct] ?

- OA: A, oure I'ai pa'iri pani 'Oh, when (in that I'ai  
ah that I'ai village time time) Porebada went to  
vau'uvau'u Porebada oro enavai I'ai villages all the  
always Porebada they went time.'
- pani vau'u I'ai pa'iri.  
time all I'ai village
- MH: <sup>39</sup> Porebada. 'Porebada.'  
Porebada.village
- OA: Tubuserei. 'Tubuserei.'  
Tubuserei.village
- MH: <sup>40</sup> Tubusereia... 'Tubusereia...'  
Tubusereia.village
- OA: Gaire, Barakau, mavara 'Gaire, Barakau,  
Gaire Barakau mavara.clan Hanuabada...'  
Hanuabada...  
Hanuabada
- MH: <sup>41</sup> Apau apeare. <sup>42</sup> Apau pairi Iare 'Not Apau village. Apau  
Apau not Apau village Iare village didn't take  
pairi vapea ena a-- miai canoes to Iare villages.'  
village canoe went ah-- get  
enapea.  
go.not
- OA: Oai, ni ena peo? Ni mai 'So you didn't go? And  
okay you go not your father your father didn't go  
oko ena peo; ni enavaria either? You wanted to go  
too go not.acc you go.will to two villages...'  
pa'iri re'ere'e...  
village two
- MH: <sup>43</sup> E. 'Yes.'  
yes
- OA: Maipua mo Koriki? 'Maipua and Koriki.'  
Maipua and Koriki
- 059)MH: <sup>44</sup> Na vapea Koriki, Maipua, '(I only took) my canoe  
my canoe Koriki Maipua to Koriki, Maipua,  
Orokolo, Moveave, Motumotu, Orokolo, Moveave,  
Orokolo Moveave Motumotu Motumotu, and Keuru. Do  
Keuru. <sup>45</sup> Ni Keuru ipana? you know Keuru?'  
Keuru you Keuru know.Q
- OA: Na ipou. Ou pa'iri uriria 'I know. I know all those  
I know.acc those villages all villages.'

na ipou.  
I know.acc

MH: <sup>46</sup>E. 'Yes.'  
yes

OA: Ou pa'iri uriria ni 'You've been to all those  
those villages all you villages on the beach  
ei miri mekai rokoane side. The only inland  
this beach side sail.along/been.to Koriki village you've been  
ou monou ni ipa pa'iri to is Koriki.'  
that only you know village  
auari monou Koriki ni aki  
inland only Koriki you visit  
pani.  
time

MH: <sup>47</sup>Mo ni lano(?)-- ni noe 'And you(?) -- what's your  
and you (?) your name name?'  
koana?  
who.Q

OA: Nai? 'Me?'  
me

MH: <sup>48</sup>E. 'Yes.'  
yes

OA: Na Ore Api. 'I'm Ore Api.'  
I Ore Api

MH: <sup>49</sup>Ore Api! <sup>50</sup>Ni ravi noe koana? 'Ore Api. What's your  
Ore Api Your ravi name who.Q: ravi?'

OA: Na lavi Onopolavi. My ravi is Onoporavi.'  
my ravi Onopolavi

070)MH: <sup>51</sup>Onoporavi. <sup>52</sup>Mai noe 'Onoporavi. What's your  
Onoporavi father name father's name?'  
koana?  
who.Q

OA: Api mai, Api. 'Api is my father.'  
Api father Api

MH: <sup>53</sup>Ni mai? 'Your father?'  
your father

OA: Na mai Api. 'Api is my father.'  
my father Api

MH: <sup>54</sup>O ni mei noe koana? 'Oh, and what's your  
oh your mother name who.Q mother's name?'

- OA: Mei Aua'a  
mother Aua'a
- MH: <sup>55</sup>Aua'a. <sup>56</sup>Oupokei?  
Aua'a that.alive/staying
- OA: Oro ou enave.  
they those gone
- 075)MH: <sup>57</sup>Mouru(?). <sup>58</sup>Imua. <sup>59</sup>Nhn.  
(?) dead yes
- <sup>60</sup>Eai pani ni Iare pairi  
now time you Iare village
- uapeke o? <sup>61</sup>Ekei pairi ni  
staying or which village you
- pokoai?  
staying
- OA: O, ei pani ou Iare pa'iri  
oh this time that Iare village
- eni, ereia.  
gone none
- MH: <sup>62</sup>Nn.  
yes
- OA: Ou a'a Tomu ua anea pani  
that man Tommy he came time
- pa'iri eni uriria, pa'iri  
village went all village
- eni oaia pa'iri no'ore  
went finish village now
- miane  
get.and
- MH: Ye.  
yes
- 080)OA: Ou Koriki oko pa'iri no'orea  
that Koriki too village now
- mo Kaimare, Varoi, Baimuru,  
and Kaimare, Varoi Baimuru
- Maipua, I'ai pa'iri no'orea  
Maipua I'ai village now
- miai(?) pa'iri uriria,  
get(?) village all
- (MH: E 'yes') ou pa'iri eni'i  
yes those village old
- 'My mother is Aua'a.'
- 'Aua'a. Are they still alive?'
- 'They're both deceased.'
- '(?). Deceased! I see. And are you still living in your villageor (not)? Which village are you living in?'
- 'Oh, now that (old) village of Iare is gone. It's no more.'
- 'Yes.'
- 'When Tommy (Kabu) came all the (old) villages disappeared and he brought forth new ones.'
- 'Yes.'
- 'All the Koriki villages too and Kaimare, Varoi, Baimuru, Maipua, I'ai all became new. All those old villages were gone. When Tommy came he also came and worked and made sago and brought them to Port Moresby to sell. That's why the villages all disappeared. There are none left now. He brought forth new villages.'

uriria oai Tomi ua anea pani  
all finish Tommy he went time

u ane oko iaki irinai pu  
he went also work did sago

u riariaka ria miane Mosbi  
he made made get.and Pt.Moresby

inaieakaea ou aiai pa'iri oko  
sell that why village also

eria u karikia pa'iri no'ore  
none he made villages now

miai  
get

MH: <sup>63</sup>O, vana ekaramariai?  
oh vana.pot what.like

'Oh, what is a vana pot like?'

<sup>64</sup>Vana. Vana...  
pot pot

087)OA: Vana?  
vana.pot

'Vana pots?'

MH: <sup>65</sup>Oupekei?  
those.staying

'Are there any (still in the villages)?'

OA: Oupekei.  
those.staying

'They're there.!

MH: E.  
yes

'Yes.'

OA: Varomo oavekakei varomo ou-  
some spoilt some those-  
pokina(?) pokoia ukua  
stay stay child

'Some are spoilt and some are still there for the children to eat from.'

navai na pei.  
eat (?) food

MH: <sup>66</sup>Nn. <sup>67</sup>Vana pevi eviai?  
yes pots food cook

'Yes, pots to cook in?'

OA: E...  
yes

'Yes...'

MH: <sup>68</sup>Nn.  
yes

'Yes.'

090)OA: Vana pei ima'a. Ou sospan  
pot food good that saucepan  
pei ima pe. U ripi. U mo  
food good not it bad it one

'(Earthenware) pot food is good. That (aluminium) saucepan food is not good. It's bad. It's not sweet. Pot food is sweet and makes the body strong. Now what

mera pe vana pei mera mo  
sweet not pot food sweet and

iva mo kape vena a  
hot and skin/body strong ah--

eu miki pani eka opara  
this true time what sort.of

vana a'a no'ore paka a'e  
pot man now girls women

u no'ore vana karikia  
they now pots make

eka opara ei pani? Oro  
what sort.of this time they

ipapea? Ei pani paka  
know.not this time girls

a'e.  
women

MH: 68 Nai?  
me

'Me?'

OA: A'i mairea pa'iri a'a  
no Motu village men

'No, all the Motu village men?'

uriria?  
all

MH: 69 Vana?  
pots

'Pots?'

OA: E  
yes

'Yes.'

MH: 71 Vana raria mikio.  
pots want.not really.acc

'(They(?)) don't really want any pots.'

OA: Oroko raria karikia?  
they.also want.not make

'Don't they also want to make them?'

MH: E  
yes

'Yes.'

097)OA: Paua?  
don't.know

'Don't you know?'

MH: 72 A-- E.  
no--yes

'No-- yes.'

OA: Oro ipou?  
they know.acc

'Do they know?'

MH: 73 Ipou.  
know.acc

'(They) know.'



- OA: Karikia laria? 'Don't they want to  
make not.want.to make them?'
- MH: E. 'Yes.'  
yes
- OA: Iaki kani a? 'It's hard work eh?'  
work hard eh
- 104)MH: <sup>74</sup>E, iaki kani mikio. 'Yes, it's really hard  
yes work hard true.acc work.'
- OA: E, na ipou, vana iaki 'Yes, I know, pot-  
yes I know.acc pot work making is very hard.  
kani miki. O, ei pani Oh-- now food cooked  
hard true/very oh this time is saucepans is not  
sospan pei u iva miki apea, very hot and not sweet.  
saucepan food it hot very not And also one feels  
u mera pea. Mo oko a'a hungry (after eating).  
it sweet not and also man If you eat pot food you  
mo navai, navai (MH: Nn 'yes') won't feel hungry. If  
and eat eat yes you eat a little bit  
a-- vana pei u navairia peu. then your skin will be  
ah pots food it eat.want not.acc strong and also it's  
Mau'u na'a oai nemu kape sweet and very good  
little eat okay stomach skin that's why we want  
vena mo oko mera miki ou ai'ai pots. Ah-- there's no  
strong and too sweet true that why we say. In this time  
ene vana lae a-- kapea eria Motuan women don't know  
we pots want ah-- road none how to make pots,  
ene voa ei opara vana-type or aia-type...  
we/our language this way/custom  
ei pani maireia a'ero oro  
this time Motuan women they  
ipapea vana, vana o: aia  
know.not vana.pot vana or aia.pot  
ou...  
that
- MH: <sup>75</sup>Aiaka oupekei? 'Are there any aia pots  
aia.pots those.staying (still in the village)?'
- OA: Aia eria. 'No aia pots.'  
aia none
- MH: <sup>76</sup>Aia eria? 'No aia pots?'  
aia none

- 110) OA: Vana monou, vana monou pekei.  
vana only vana only staying 'There are only vana pots.'
- MH: E.  
yes 'Yes.'
- OA: A'a varomo vana eria a'a  
men some vana none man  
varomo pokoia. Eire'e amua  
some stay here chief  
opara iki oro vana pokoi  
custom now they pots stay  
amua eria iki oro vana  
chief none now they pots  
eria.  
home 'Some people don't have  
pots, some do. Some chiefs  
of the villagers have pots.  
People who are not chiefs  
don't have pots.'
- MH: <sup>77</sup> Amua oko eria?  
chief too none 'No chiefs either?'
- OA: O, amua oupokoia pa'iri  
oh chief those.stay village  
a'a varomo.  
man some 'Some village chiefs are  
still alive there in the  
village.'
- MH: <sup>78</sup> O, Eravo, uapekei? -- Eramo?  
oh Eravo that.stays Eramo 'Oh, is Eravo still alive?'
- OA: E.  
yes 'Yes.'
- MH: <sup>79</sup> E.  
yes 'Yes.'
- OA: Nai oko eire amua miki nu  
I too here chief true his  
ukua o na mai  
son/child or my father  
ou mau'u vakea ou na mai  
that small man that my father  
ovara vakea, Aki Arau, eire  
big man Aki Arau here  
Porebada Gauki Lohia u  
Porebada Gauki Lohia he  
polisman u ailavae  
policeman he elder.brother  
Iko Lohia u anea vapea pirie  
Iko Lohia he came canoe tie 'I am also the son of a  
chief. My father is small  
but my other father is big  
(important). That's Aki  
Arau. He's got relatives  
here in Porebada and one of  
those, Gauki Lohia is a  
policeman and his elder  
brother, Iko Lohia, who  
comes and makes canoes and  
gives them to my father.  
I am a true Onoporavi chief  
and my big brother lives at  
Kaugere. My small father's  
brother got married in this  
village and stays here.  
That's Koivi. He gave birth  
to two sons. Tau Boera and  
his people married sisters.'

u na mai okuai (MH: <sup>80</sup>A 'Ah (surprise)  
he my father give ah.so

pai oko Onopolavi amua vake,  
I too Onopolavi chief man

na aira vake u pokoia  
my elder.brother man he live

Kaugere. o na mai mauveke u  
Kaugere oh my father small he

na earei'i ei pa'iri a'e  
my brother this village woman

miare u pokoiare Koivi lahobada,  
got he lives Koivi chief/Mr

ukua re'ere'e aroa'a re'e  
son/child two sister two

kapoi u aroa'a mo u à'a  
(?) he sister and he man

mo miria u avai'i a'a  
and married his clan man

moaminae paua, ni ipau  
married not.know you know.acc

ou a'a...  
those people

MH: <sup>81</sup>A'i na ipapea. 'No I don't.'  
no I know.not

OA: Koivi. 'Koivi.'  
Koivi

MH: <sup>82</sup>Koivi? 'Koivi?'  
Koivi

OA: Io. 'Yes.'  
yes

MH: <sup>83</sup>Koivi, na ipa mikio. 'I know Koivi well.'  
Koivi I know well.acc

132) OA: Oaio? 'Is that all?'  
okay/finish

MH: <sup>84</sup>Oaio. 'That's (the end of) it!'  
okay/finish

[End of conversation. Elapsed time 11 minutes 30 seconds  
approximately.]

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peo.  
not.acc

- 95 Oaio, na enavaria auri mo 'All right I'll go and kill  
okay I go.will pig one a pig for you to eat.'

avaria ni navai.  
kill.will you eat

- 96 Oibe, Koriki vake enavaria 'Yes, Koriki friend, go and  
yes Koriki friend go.will kill a pig and bring it and  
auri avaria mi aneai give it to me. Give it to me  
pig kill.will get come the Motu friend and I will  
oukumeai na Moku vake eat it. Then go and bring an  
give.me I Motu friend asi and give me ah-- make a  
gorugoru (and) -- give me.'

okune, navai.<sup>97</sup> Oaio ena  
give eat finish go

[Moi asks Ore what the word for asi  
'canoe log' is and then continues]

ipa mianeai, oukuaria o--  
asi get.come will.give.me oh--

[Moi asks Ore what the word for  
gorugoru 'large bundle of sago' is  
and continues] ama mo  
gorugoru one

okavaria -- okuaria.  
make.will give.will

- 98 Oaio, amua vako! 'All right, O chief!'  
okay chief man.acc

- 247) 99 Oaio, [Moi asks Ore what the 'Then later on bring it and  
okay give it to the friend when he  
word for 'later' is and continues] has built the canoe.'

lekopani mailaia vake vapea  
later bring friend canoe

piria pani miai ena o  
tie time get go that

vake okai.  
friend give

- 252) 100 Voa ioure, oaio. 'That's it(i.e, the language).  
language that.one okay It's finished.'

- 257) [TED asks more questions to  
prompt Moi and he continues  
giving other examples]

- MH: 101 Aie, na nemu o!  
gee I hungry acc 'Gee, I'm hungry!'
- 263) 102 Aie, na nava pene na  
gee I fish piece.of I 'Gee, if I could (only)  
navai. 103 Rai imo.  
eat insides good.acc I'd feel good/be happy.  
Um--'
- 272) 104 A, na arinoko enao.  
ah I walk.around go.acc 'Ah, I'm going for a  
stroll.'
- 105 Na arilokoai ena  
I walk.around go 'I'm going for a stroll.'
- 274) 106 Aie, ni imana?  
heh you good.Q 'Hey, how are you?'
- 107 E, na imo.  
yes I good.acc 'Yes, I'm fine.'
- 278) 108 Na iaki evoroi ena'a.  
I work look.for go 'I'm going to work.'
- 109 Ni paoae?  
you not.know 'Don't you know?'
- 290) 110 Eoaiia pea!  
tell.lies not 'Don't tell lies!'
- 111 Voa mikiapea.  
language true.not '(That's) not correct  
language.'
- 296) 112 Anene!  
come 'Come (here)!!'
- 300) 113 Anene pei navai!  
come food eat 'Come and eat!'
- 304) 114 Ni ekeimena'e?  
you where go 'Where are you going?'
- 306) 115 Na arirokoai ena.  
I walk.around go 'I'm strolling about.'
- 308) 116 Aie, ukua maue ni oiamanika'e?  
heh boy small you what.do 'Heh, small boy, what are  
you doing?'
- 315) 117 Ei, ukua maumau lipilipi  
hey boy small.small bad.bad 'Heh, what a very bad  
little boy!'  
mikio!  
very.acc
- 322) 118 Ni ai ekaramariai?  
your eye what.like 'What's the matter with  
you, can't you see?'

TED: How do you say, "Bring some sago and betelnut to the canoe!"?

329) MH: <sup>119</sup> Enane pu puou miai 'Go and bring sago and  
go.and sago betelnut get betelnut!  
anea!  
come

334) <sup>120</sup> Emaimana! 'Quickly!  
quickly

335) <sup>121</sup> He, emaiemana! 'Quickly!  
heh quickly

339) <sup>122</sup> Ni aboabo mikio! 'You're very stupid!  
you stupid.stupid very.acc

343) <sup>123</sup> Ni lae peo! 'You're brainless.'  
your insides not.acc

TED: How do you say, "Go and cut - make some sago!"

348) MH: <sup>124</sup> Enane pu [asks Ore what the 'Go and cut sago!'  
go.and sago  
verb 'to cut' is] karere [Ore  
cut  
corrects with karene'e] --  
karene!  
cut

TED: How do you say, "Load the sago!"?

349) MH: <sup>125</sup> Pu eviai [Ore supplies the 'Cook the sago!'  
sago cook  
whole phrase]

TED: How do you say, "Put the pots down on the beach."?

361) MH: <sup>126</sup> Eire, ni vana miai 'This one -- take your pots  
this.one you pots get and put them on the beach!'  
miri pokoiiai!  
beach put

368) MH: <sup>127</sup> Miai ena ni marea! <sup>128</sup> Ni 'Take them to your house.  
get go your house your They're your pots.'  
vana mikio!  
pots true.acc

TED: What about, "How many pots have you got?"?

373) MH: <sup>129</sup> Ni vana ekaraharuana? 'How many pots have you  
your pots how.many.Q got?'

TED: Answer, "Plenty."

- MH: Ni vana aira mikio. 'You've got a lot.'  
 your pots many very.acc
- TED: What about, "This is my pot."?
- 382) MH: <sup>130</sup> Eire, ei vake na era'a 'This one, this man/friend/  
 this.one this friend my pots partner (gets(?)) my posts.'
- TED: This one, "This is my father's pot."
- 395) MH: <sup>131</sup> Ei vake na mai 'These pots belong to this  
 this friend my father tradepartner who is my  
vake ve uro-- ah-- era'a  
 friend his pots ah-- pots father's tradepartner.'
- TED: What about, "I'll give you this pot for sago."
- 400) MH: <sup>132</sup> Eire, eraio na ni okuai 'This one, I give you this  
 this.one pot I you give pot (and later) you will  
o, ni pu okavariaio, na  
 oh-- you sago make.will me  
okuai.  
 give
- TED: How do you say, "When you make sago bring it down here."
- 409) MH: <sup>133</sup> Eire, ni pu okavariaio. 'This one, you will make  
 this.one you sago make.will.acc sago and bring it and give  
Mi aneai na okuai, o na  
 get come me give or me  
okune.  
 give it to me.'
- TED: Can you say the same thing in different ways?
- MH: Yes. They mean the same thing. For example,
- <sup>134</sup> Na okumane, eiava na okuai! 'Give me!'  
 me give or me give
- TED: What about "I'm very happy."
- 424) MH: [Asks Ore the word for 'happy' then says]:  
<sup>135</sup> Aie, na kupai ovara mikio. 'I'm really very happy.'  
 hey I happy big very.acc
- TED: What about, "I want to go" or "I'm about to go"?
- 434) MH: <sup>136</sup> Na ena'o. 'I am going.'  
 I go.acc
- TED: "Okay, off you (pl) go."
- 436) MH: <sup>137</sup> Oaio, ena'a. 'Okay, off you (sg) go!'  
 okay go



TED: "When you get to your village you'll be happy."

447) MH: <sup>138</sup>Ni ena ni pairi ni 'When you go to your  
you go your village your village and see your wife  
ae inamoiai. <sup>139</sup>Oaio, rae you will be happy (lit.  
wife see okay insides feel good).'  
imariari.  
good.will.be

TED: "Yes when I see them I'll be happy."

456) MH: <sup>140</sup>E, na ena na-- ae inamoia 'Heh, when I go and see my  
heh I go my wife see wife I'll be very happy.'  
na rae imaima mikio.  
my insides good.good very.acc

TED: What about, "When I see you I'll also be happy."

464) MH: <sup>141</sup>Eire, na ni inamoiai 'This one, when I see you  
this.one I you see I'll be happy.'  
na rae imare.  
my insides good

TED: And "Will you also be happy when you see me?"

466) MH: <sup>142</sup>Ni na inamoiai ni rae 'When you see me are you  
you me see your insides happy?'  
imana?  
good.Q

TED: How do you say, "This man is angry."?

477) MH: <sup>143</sup>Naio, ni inamoiai nae 'Me, when I see you I'm  
me.acc you see insides not happy.'  
ima peo.  
good not.acc

TED: How do you say, "There's no one here."?

MH: [No answer for a long time then]:

<sup>144</sup>Ei mako a: pe, peo 'There's nobody here;  
this place man not not.acc there's really not.'  
mikio.  
true.acc

504) TED: How do you say, "Don't do that!"?

MH: [Asks Ore then says ]:

<sup>145</sup>Eire, ei ei pi-- pei 'This one, don't make this  
this.one this this food food!'  
ni okavaria peo!  
you make.will not.acc

527)TED: How do you say, "Don't go!"?

MH:<sup>146</sup> Ni ena'a peo!  
you go not.acc

TED: How do you say "Stay!"?

MH:<sup>147</sup> Ni pokoiai!  
you stay

TED: How do you say, "Don't stay!"?

MH:<sup>148</sup> Ni pokoia pe! Ena'a!  
you stay not go

TED: What about "Hit it!"?

MH: [Don't know.]

551)TED: What about "Look for an Ilimo tree!"?

MH:<sup>149</sup> Enane kuro inamoiai!  
go.and ilimo look.for/see

TED: How do you say, "I was looking for you but couldn't find you."?

MH: [Don't know.]

TED: Do you know any English?

MH: Not much, only a little bit. I can spell 'boy' and 'village' that's all. [Moi then illustrates and talks about being a pastor.]

621)TED: When you went on the hiri did you go to Apiope?

MH: I don't know it. I only know Aivei, Era, Panaroa, Era Urika, Era Arai, Era Piheie, that is, only the places where the canoes anchor, not the little (out of the way) villages. [Moi then describes the Delta and some Purari customs.]

650: Tape ends!

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**APPENDIX 6**

**A Simplified Koriki Wordlist with English  
 Finder List and Comparative Data**

This wordlist contains all morphemes that have been identified in the numbered utterances in Appendix 5. In this listing the following conventions are employed:

V = verb

Adj = adjective

:(after a vowel) = length

( ) enclose optional or variable parts of words or parts of words not in focus in the gloss

... = incomplete listing

underlining marks those instances where OA assisted MH

u

Comparative data are given in the Finder List following.

Simplified Koriki	Meaning	References Utterances
a:	man, person	144
a!	ah(surprise)	86,91,93,194,104
aboabo	- see avoavo	
ae	wife	138,140
aia(ka)	pot	75,76
V-ai	general tense-aspect marker for present, past, and imperative	1,5,15,23,34,42,61,67,88,89,91,92,96,97
ai	eye	118
a'i	no!	18,21...
aie	gee, alas, sorry, heh	101,102,106,116,135
aira	many	129
<u>ama</u>	<u>gorugoru</u> bundle of sago	97
amua, amua vake	chief, Big Man	77,88,98
-ana	question element	44,87,106,142
V-ane V	V and V	119,124,149
ane	come	3,5,15,23,...112,113

Apau	Apau,Boera	22
apeare	not	41
-aria(ri/io)	future tense,will be + Adj, will V	94,95,96,97,132,133,139
arinoko ena, arilokoai, arirokoai ena	stroll about, walk around	104,105,115
auri	pig	88,94,95,96
ava(i)-	kill(pig)	88,94,95,96
avoavo	stupid	122
e	yes,heh	7,43,46...107,140
eai(pani)	now	5,15,60
eaieai	now.recently	3,23,34
ei	heh	88,117
eiava	or	134
eio	?	90
eire	this one	126,130,132,133, <u>145</u>
ekaramariai	like what?	63,118
ekaraharuana	how many	129
ekei	which?	61
ekeimena'e	where go?	114
emaitemana	quickly	120,121
ena-	go	12,36,88,95,96,99,104...
eni	former	11,17
eoai	tell lies	110
era'a, eraio	pot	130,132
eria	none	1,76,77
eviai	cook(v)	67, <u>125</u>
evoroai ena	look for	108
ia	he	36
iaki	work	74,108
I'ai	I'ai,Iare	15,22
Iare	Iare	2
ikuai - see k- 'give'		
ima(ima), imare	good	87,90,103,106,107,139...

imua	die	58
inamoiaia, inamoia(ia)	see, look for	34, 138, 140, 141, 143, 149
<u>ipa</u>	<u>asi</u> , canoe log	97
ipa-	know	2, 4, 6, 11, 13, 19, 22, 45, 73, 83
-ka(?)	?	27
kani	difficult, hard	74
<u>karene</u>	cut (says)	124
kata	cutter, ship	35, 36
koana	who?	47, 50, 54
Koivi	Koivi	27
k-	give	
ikuai	(you) give (me)	91, 92
okai	(you) give (him)	99
okuai	(you) give (me)	132, 133, 134
okuaria	(you) will give (me)	98
okumane	(you) give (me)	134
okune	(you) give (me)	96, 133
okuaria	(you) will give (me)	97
oukumeai	(you) give (me)	96
kupai	happy	135
kuro	ilimo tree	149
lano	?	47
lae - see rae		
lavi - see ravi		
<u>lekopani</u>	later	99
lipilipi - see ripiripi		
mai	father	52, 131
mailaia	bring	99
mako	place	144
mapua	<u>toea</u> shell	91, 92, 93
marea	house	127
mau(mau), maue	small	116, 117
mei	mother	54
mi-	get	42, 88, 96, 97, 99, 119, 126, 127, 133

miaiena	take away	42
miane'i,miaiana'e,		
mianeai,imana'e	bring	88,96,97,114,119,133
miki	true	35
	truly,well,very	7,71,74,83,88,111,117, 122,128...
miri	beach	126
mo	one	27,88,95
	and	47
moku	Motu	96
monou	only	85
mouru(?)	?	57
na	I	2,3,7,11,83,94...
	me	88,133,142
	my	10,44,93,141
nae - see rae		
nai	I	4,31
	me	69,91,92
	my	85
naio	me(?)	143
namba tu	second	12
nao	foreigner,European	35,36
nava	fish	102
nav-	eat	89,95,96,102,113
nemu	hungry	101
ni	you(subject)	45,47,90,95,106,109, 114,116...
	you(object)	132,141
	your	53,118,123,126,127,128, 129,138...
noe	name	4,11,12
o	or	60,133
	that	4,33,35
	um(hesitation)	132
-o	accentuation,really	86,101,104,107,117,122 128,135...
oaio	okay,all right, finish,that's it	6,33,84,90,95,97,98,99, 100,137
oiamanika'e	what doing?	116

oibe	yes	96
okune,okumane,okuai, okai	- see k- 'give'	
oka-	make (sago)	97,132,133, <u>145</u>
oko	too,also	27,77
ono	what-is-it? (as hesitation element)	103
ou	that,those	56,65,75,96
-ou	accentuation	85
oukuaria,oukumeai	- see k- 'give'	
oupekei	stay,live	65,75
oure,ioure	that one	13,14
ovara	big	135
pairi	village	2,3,138
pani	time	5,15,17,60,99
paua,paoae	not know	7,109
pe	not	144,148
pea	not	2,4,6,35,42,110,111...
peare	not	22,26,33,41
pei	food	113, <u>145</u>
pene	a little piece/ bit of	102
peo	- see pea	
(ou)pekei	stay,live,be in a place	65,95
pevi	food	67
pipei	?	145
piria	tie,build canoe	99
pokei	live,stay	56
pokoi-	put	126
	stay	147,148
poko-	stay,live	61
pu	sago	119,124, <u>125</u> ,132
puou	betelnut	119
rae,rai,lae,nae	insides	103,123,139,140,141,142,143
raria	not want	71,86
ravi,lavi	<u>ravi</u> ,clan, men's house	4

-re	?	142(imare), 22,26,33,41 (peare)
rearea,lealea	two	10,11
rere	two	27,31,32
ripiripi	bad	117
uapeke-	stay, live	60,78
ukua	child, boy	116,117
uro,era'a	pot(s)	131
vake	man, friend, trade partner	6,85,90,96,99,130,131
vana	pot(s)	63,64,67,70,71,126,127, 138,129
vapea	canoe	10,44,99
-(v)aria - see '-aria'		
ve	possessive suffix	36,131
voa	language, speech	100,111
∅	to(a place or person)	8,9,23...

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### Finder List and Comparative Data

In this list M, I, K, Ko and B refer to Maipua, I'ai (or Iare), Kaimari, Koriki proper, and Baimuru respectively. HTL(E) refers to the Eleman HTL. The comparative data for M,I,K and Ko come from Ray (1907), Holmes (1913) and my own unpublished fieldnotes and those supplied by Rev Fox; those for B are taken from Kairi and Kolia (1977).

English	Simplified Koriki	Comparative Data
accentuation	-o, -ou	M,I: <u>-o</u> 'really'
ah(surprise)	a	M,I: <u>a</u> 'ah'
alas	aie	M,I: <u>aie</u> 'gee, sorry, alas, heh'
all right	oaio	M,I: <u>oaio</u> 'okay, all right'; B: <u>o'ai'o</u> 'okay'
also - see 'too'		
and	V-ane	I: V-ane 'and, when, if'



	mo	K: mo 'and'; M: mo 'another'; B: <u>mo'u(?)</u> 'and'; M: <u>mono'ou</u> ; I: <u>mono'u</u> 'one'
Apau	Apau	Motu: <u>Apau</u> section in Boera village
areca nut - see	'betelnut'	
aren't you?	-ana	M,I: -ana 'question tag'
<u>asi</u> - see	'canoe log'	
bad	ripiripi	M,Ko,I: <u>ripi</u> 'bad'; K: <u>lipi</u> 'bad' B: <u>dipi</u> 'bad'
beach	miri	M,K,B: <u>miri</u> 'beach'; Ko,I: <u>miri</u> 'sand'
betelnut	puou	M: <u>pu'ou</u> ; Ko: <u>pu'au</u> ; I: <u>kiu</u> B: <u>pu'au</u> (large), <u>ki'u</u> (small) <u>ki'ukani</u> (roasted) 'betelnut'
big	ovara	M,K,Ko,I,B: <u>ovara</u> 'big'
Big Man - see	'chief'	
Boera - see	'Apau'	
boy	ukua	M,K,Ko,I: <u>ukua</u> ( <u>mau'u</u> ) '(young) boy, child'; B: <u>uku'a</u> 'child'
bring	mailaia, mianeai, mianei. miaianea, imana'e	Motu: <u>mailaia</u> 'bring' M,K,I: <u>mi</u> (a) 'get' + M,K,I: <u>ane</u> 'come'
build(canoe)	piria	M,I: (no) <u>piri</u> 'tie (rope)'; B: <u>piri'a'i</u> 'bind'; K: <u>pirine</u> 'tie (rope)'
canoe	vapea	Ko: <u>vapea</u> 'large canoe, boat'; K,I: <u>vi'i</u> 'canoe'
canoe log, <u>asi</u>	ipa	No evidence.
chief	amua, amua vake	K: <u>amua</u> 'chief'; Ko: <u>amovake</u> 'chief' B: <u>amo'a</u> 'chief'
child	ukua	M,K,Ko,I: <u>ukua</u> 'child'; B: <u>uku'a</u> 'child'
clan - see	<u>ravi</u>	
come	ane-	M,K,Ko: <u>ane</u> ; I: ' <u>ane</u> 'come'; B: <u>ani</u> 'come'
cook	evi-	K,B: <u>evi(a)</u> ; I: ' <u>evi</u> 'cook'
cut (sago)	karene	No evidence.

cutter, boat	kata	English: <u>kata</u> 'cutter'
die	imua	I: <u>imue</u> ; K: <u>imua</u> 'die'; B: <u>imu'a</u> 'dead'
difficult - see	'hard'	
eat	navai	M,Ko,I: <u>navai</u> 'hungry'; B: <u>na'a(?)</u> 'eat'; K: <u>navai</u> 'eat, hungry' M: <u>oama'i</u> 'eat'; Ko: <u>a-</u> , I: <u>peina</u> 'eat'
eye	ai	English: <u>ai</u> 'eye'; K,B: <u>inamu</u> 'eye'
European	nao	Motu: <u>nao</u> 'foreigner, European'
father	mai	M,K,Ko,I,B: <u>mai</u> 'father'
finished	oaio	M: <u>o'aio</u> , B,K: <u>o'ai'o</u> , I: <u>oaio</u> 'okay, all right, that's it, finished';
fish	nava	M,K,B: <u>nava</u> , Ko: <u>emeke</u> , I: <u>ina</u> 'fish'
food	pei, pevi	M: <u>pei</u> 'sago soup, thing'; I: <u>pei</u> 'food'; B: <u>pe(?)</u> 'food'; K: <u>navai</u> 'food'
former	eni	B: <u>eni(pa'iri)</u> 'former (site)'
friend	vake	M,K,Ko,I: <u>vake</u> 'man, hunsband'; B: <u>na'avake</u> 'friend'
future tense - see	'will'	
get	mi	M,I: <u>mi</u> 'get'; K: <u>mi'ine</u> 'get'
give	k-	Verb 'to give' is complex. No reliable evidence of full range of forms
go	ena	M,K,B: <u>ena</u> ; I: ' <u>ena</u> 'go'
good	ima	M,K,Ko,I,B: <u>ima</u> 'good'
gorugoru	ama	No evidence
happy	kupai	K: <u>kopai</u> 'happy'; B: <u>kopae</u> (or <u>kopa'i(?)</u> ) 'happy'
hard	kani	K: <u>kani</u> 'hard'
he	ia	Motu: <u>ia</u> 'he'
heh	e,ei,aie	M,I: <u>e</u> 'heh'
hesitation element	ono	Koita: <u>ono</u> 'what-is-it?' as hesitation element
house	marea	M,K,Ko,I: <u>marea</u> 'house'; B: <u>mare'a</u> 'house'
how many	ekaraharuana	M: <u>ekara'aruana</u> , K: <u>ekaraoruana</u> , I: <u>eka'a aruana</u> , B: <u>ekava'aru'ana</u> 'how many, how much'

hungry	nemu	M,K,Ko,I: <u>nemu</u> 'belly'; B: <u>nemu</u> 'pregnant'
I	na,nai	M,K,Ko,I: <u>nai</u> 'I', <u>na</u> 'me'; B: <u>na</u> 'i 'I', <u>na</u> ' 'I'
I'ai - see Iare		
Iare	Iare	Motu name for the I'ai
ilimo tree	kuro	No evidence
insides	rae	No evidence except K: <u>raekora</u> 'to think (lit. talk inside)'
isnt it? - see aren't you?		
kill (pig)	avai	M,B: <u>a'a</u> , I: <u>e'oa</u> 'kill(pig)'; B: <u>ava</u> 'kill'; I: 'eva 'hit (with hand)'; K: <u>a'ane</u> 'kill'
Koivi	Koivi	
know	ipa	K,B: <u>ipa</u> 'know'; I: <u>voa ipa</u> 'understand language'
language	voa	M,I: <u>voa</u> 'language'
later	rekopani	M,I: <u>maura</u> 'later'
like what?	ekaramariai	No evidence
little - see 'small'		
little piece/ bit of	pene	HTL(E): <u>pene</u> 'little piece/bit of'
live	pokei,peke	M,K: <u>pokoi</u> , I: <u>pu oi</u> 'stay, live, dwell'
look for	evoroai ena inamoiai,	M: <u>meve</u> , K,I: <u>veve'e</u> 'look for' M: <u>inamu'o'i</u> , I: <u>oi</u> 'see'
make (sago)	oka-	M: <u>pu o'o</u> 'make sago'; B: <u>oka</u> 'make (but <u>pu'o'one</u> 'make sago)'
man	vake	M,K,Ko: <u>vake</u> , I: <u>a'a</u> 'man'; B: <u>bake</u> 'person' M: <u>a'a</u> 'people'; I,B: <u>a'a</u> 'man'
many	aira	K,B: <u>aira</u> 'many'
me	na,nai	M,I: <u>na</u> 'me'; B: <u>na</u> 'i 'me'
me(?)	naio	
men's house - see ravi		
mother	mei	B: <u>meio</u> 'mother'; K: <u>ai</u> 'mother'

Motu	Moku	
my	na,na'i	I: <u>na</u> 'my'; B: <u>na'i</u> , <u>na</u> ', <u>na'i'oko</u> 'my'
name	noe	M,I: <u>no'e</u> 'name'; K: <u>neo</u> 'name'; B: <u>ne'o</u> 'name'
no!	a'ii!	M,I: <u>a'ii</u> 'no!'; B: <u>ai'ii</u> 'no'
none	eria	I: <u>erio</u> 'none'
not	pea,peare apeare	M,I: <u>peo</u> 'not'; B: <u>pe'o</u> 'not', K: <u>pe</u> 'not', <u>peo</u> 'no'
not want	raria	No evidence
now	eai(eai)	I: <u>eai rare</u> 'now'; B: <u>eai</u> 'now' K: <u>eae miki</u> 'now'
okay - see 'all right'		
one	mo	M: <u>mo</u> 'another'; B: <u>mo'u</u> 'one'
only	monou	M: <u>mono'ou</u> ; K,I: <u>mono'u</u> 'one'; B: <u>mono'u</u> 'one only'
or	o eiava	Motu, English: <u>o</u> 'or' Motu: <u>eiava</u> 'or'
past tense - see 'tense-aspect marker'		
piece of	pene	HTL(E): <u>pene</u> 'a little piece/bit of'
pig	auri	M,K,Ko,B,I: <u>a'uri</u> 'pig'
place	mako	M,I: <u>mako</u> 'place'; Ko: <u>ra'a</u> 'place'; K: <u>omako</u> 'place'
possessive marker	ve	HTL(E): <u>-ve</u> 'possessive marker'
pot	vana aia(ka) era'a,eraio uro	M,Ko: <u>vana</u> 'pot (uro)' M: <u>'eia</u> 'pot (lau)' HTL(E): <u>era</u> 'pot' Motu: <u>uro</u> 'pot' Motu: <u>uro</u> 'pot'
present tense - see 'tense aspect marker'		
put	pokoi-	K: <u>ai'ine</u> 'put'; M: <u>pokoi</u> , I: <u>pukoi</u> 'stay'
question tag - see 'aren't you?'		
quickly	emaiemana	M: <u>epuana</u> ; Ko,I,K,B: <u>emana</u> 'quickly'
<u>ravi</u>	ravi	Mo,I: <u>ravi</u> 'men's house'; B: <u>ravi</u> 'clan'
really - see 'accentuation' and 'true'		
recently - see 'now'		

sago	pu	M,Ko,I,B: <u>pu</u> 'sago'
second	namba tu	Police Motu: <u>namba tu</u> 'second'
see	inamoiai	M: <u>inamu o'i</u> , K: <u>oia</u> , I: <u>oi</u> , B: <u>inamu oi'a'i</u> 'see'
small	mau(mau),maue	M,K,Ko,I,B: <u>mau'u</u> 'small'
sorry - see 'alas'		
speech - see 'language'		
stay, live - see 'live'		
stroll around	arinoko ena	No evidence
stupid	aboabo	No evidence
take - see 'get'		
tell lies	eoiaia	No evidence
tense-aspect markers	V-ai V-(v)aria(ri/io)	See section 3.21.2 para (c)
that	o,ou	M: <u>o</u> , I: <u>ire</u> 'that'
that one	oure, ioure	B: <u>oure'e</u> 'that one (near the person spoken to)'; <u>i'ore'e</u> 'that one (away from both)'
this	ei	M: <u>ei</u> , K: <u>ire</u> , I: <u>ere</u> 'this'
this one	eire	B: <u>i'ire'e</u> 'this one'
those - see 'that'		
tie - see 'build (canoe)'		
time	pani	I: <u>pani</u> 'time'; I: <u>rare</u> , K: <u>lare</u> 'day,time'
to	∅	M,I: <u>-a'i</u> 'to, at'
<u>toea</u> shell	mapua	No evidence
too	oko	K,I,B: <u>oko</u> 'also, too'; M: <u>oko</u> 'together with, also'
trade partner - see 'man'		
true, truly, well, very	miki	M,K,I: <u>miki</u> 'true'; B: <u>miki</u> 'truly, very'
two	rearea, rere	M: <u>re'e re'e</u> , Ko: <u>re'eko</u> ; I: <u>re'eko</u> ; B: <u>de'ere'e</u> 'two'
very - see 'true'		
village	pairi	M,K,Ko,I,B: <u>pa'iri</u> 'village,place'

walk around - see 'stroll about'		
not want	raria	I: <u>na rario</u> 'I don't want it' versus <u>na rai mikio</u> 'I want it badly'
(like)what?	ekaramariai	M,I: <u>oiana</u> 'what', K: <u>ekaraoma</u> 'where at'; M: <u>ekarama</u> 'where from' <u>ekara'ena</u> 'where to'
what(are you doing?)	oiamanika'e	B: <u>oi'ana'a</u> 'what'
where(go)?	ekeimena'e	B: <u>ekimere</u> 'where from'
which	ekei	M: <u>ekei mako'o'ana</u> , I: <u>ekeima'oana</u> 'where at'; B: <u>ekimere</u> 'where from'
who	koana	M,I: <u>koana</u> 'who'; B: <u>ko'ana</u> 'who'
wife	ae	M,K,Ko,I,E: <u>a'e</u> 'wife'
will - see '-(v)aria in Section 3.21.2 para (c)		
work	iaki	I,B: <u>iaki</u> 'work'
yes	e	M,I,B: <u>e</u> 'yes'
	oibe	Motu: <u>oibe</u> 'yes'
you(subject, object)	ni	M,K,Ko,I,B: <u>ni</u> 'you'
your	ni	I,B: <u>ni</u> 'your'
?	eio	
?	-ka	
?	lano	
?	mouru	
?	-re	

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## NOTES

1. This is a revised version of a seminar paper given at the Australian National University in December, 1978. In publishing it I am extremely grateful to all those who contributed either directly or indirectly to it. There are some, however, that I should like to thank especially for particular reasons. These are:

-all of those Koriki villagers who extended hospitality and assistance of various kinds to me in their villages;

-Ore Api of Maipenairu for helping me understand something of his language and for participating in the conversation experiment with Moi Higo;

-Ore's son, Vivian, for helping me transcribe Koriki materials and for providing extra materials;

-Moi Higo of Boera for talking so readily and volubly to me about the hiri and the language questions put to him, and also for participating in the conversation experiment with Ore;

-Nigel Oram for sharing with me his knowledge of things Papuan and other information.

Lastly I am extremely grateful to the Australian National University for providing me with the opportunity and the funds to enable me to carry out the investigation described here.

2. I assume that readers will be familiar with the location of the Motu and the general nature of the hiri. For those who are not see Barton (1910) and Groves (1972).
3. The term 'tribe' is notoriously difficult to define and I do not propose to attempt to define it here. Instead it will be used in the sense that Maher (1961: 14, fn.2) uses it, notably as "the largest social unit with which the individual Purari [=Koriki] had a feeling of identification in the old culture."
4. Williams (1924:3) discusses these briefly.
5. This is based on evidence collected by me in 1978 together with that obtained from other available sources. It is to be noted here, however, that the distinctions that once existed and helped keep tribes apart may be breaking down as a result of largescale external migration to Port Moresby and the spread of the Koriki dialect as a mission lingua franca in the past (Mari'a and Kolia, 1977:4-5). In any event the differences do not seem to have been great - a few basic vocabulary differences and some minor grammatical differences, some of which are given in Mari'a and Kolia (1977:5):
6. Iare is actually the Motu name for the I'ai.

7. The spelling of Koriki names has not been standardized. As will be seen later b and v are variants of one phoneme in Koriki and are used interchangeably in spelling. Glottal stop is also generally omitted.
8. Ipiko is thought to belong to the scattered Inland Gulf Stock (Franklin, 1973:269) and North-East Kiwai is a member of the Kiwai Family to the south (Franklin, 1973:249).
9. This influence extends, in diminished form, as far as the Roro around Hall Sound two hundred odd kilometres to the east and is evident in the style of their club houses and in the word marea that they apply to them (Seligmann, 1910:223). The former are obviously patterned on Koriki men's houses (ravi), though of course this may not have come directly from them, and the latter is clearly a borrowing with semantic shift of the Koriki word marea 'house'.
10. For example, they did not learn Muru and/or Kaura the languages of two small isolated Eleman tribes formerly living on their eastern and north-eastern boundaries respectively.
11. This would seem to be contradicted by Stone (1880:64) who says that "some of the hiri canoes go as far as Ipiko". The difference may be that the Ipiko who live further inland up the large inlet of Port Romilly may have been more easily reached than the Baroi for navigation reasons. Another difference may be that the Ipiko came to one of the other trading points used by the Motu and received special mention because they were different from the Koriki.
12. Chalmers (1880:18-19) refers briefly to these stories noting in the process that "the people of Port Moresby speak of themselves as one with Gulf natives being of one origin."
13. It should be remembered that these villages are not in the same position today as they were at first (European) contact (Maher, 1961: 14-67). They are, however, lineal descendants of those visited by the Motu in former times.
14. I use the term "Police Motu" for what is now referred to increasingly as Hiri Motu to avoid confusion of Hiri Motu with the Hiri Trading Languages ,HTL(E) and HTL(K).
15. We ignore here the fact that dekenai is from Police Motu. It is significant, however, in terms of what is said in Section 3.22 para (g) below, in showing that the Motu did not know or use Koriki locative/direction markers. See also para 3 below.
16. I assume that the ai and the dekenai in this sentence are from Police Motu, as this was the language we were using for communication at the time. They also occur in "true" Motu although dekenai would not be used for 'to' in a sentence like this one. The use of dekenai is significant here just as it was noted to be in the first illustrative sentence in para 1 above.





29. There are, for example, words like:

mailaia (M)	bring
kata (E)	cutter, boat
nao (M)	foreign, European
ia (M)	he
pene (HTL(E))	little bit
-ve (HTL(E))	possessive marker
uro (M)	pot
namba'tu (PM)	second
oibe (M)	yes
o (PM & E)	or

These are not significant, however, because most can be explained by topic of conversation requiring words which postdate contact (kata, nao), slips of the tongue (oibe, o, ia, mailaia), and carry-over features from HTL(E) (pene, -ve).

30. I am not really sure how legitimate this supposed extension is as I have had confusing results when trying to elicit words for 'friend, trade partner'. Some say that vake is the word; some say ipa'a (? < ipa + a'a lit. know(n?) man) is.
31. Ore also uses navai for 'to eat' when according to other evidence this is supposed to mean 'hungry' in 'true' Koriki.
32. This sentence was contrasted by Raho with the following one which is supposed to be in the HTL(E): mininasi tutume kenakena which is supposed to mean 'you're a fool' or 'you've got no brains' (from 'inside.head by small'). This sentence will be discussed in another publication later.
33. Consider, for example, the phonological variation described in Section 3.21 above, the variation in forms of the verb 'to give' given in Section 3.22, para (h) above, the use of the possessive marker -nu in the 1976 materials, and the examples given in footnote 27 above.
34. The historical relationship between these two languages will be considered in another paper later.
35. See Dutton and Kakare (1977:14).
36. Since submitting this article for publication I have been able to interview two other old former Motu hiri traders about their knowledge and use of the Koriki language in hiri trading. These two men were Mr Vaieke Igo of Elevala, Port Moresby, and Mr Seri Bodibo of Porebada, west of Port Moresby. In those interviews further material was obtained on the nature and use of the language called HTL(K) described in the above article. In brief this material is similar to that obtained from other informants in 1976 and 1978 and upon which the above article is based. It therefore supports the conclusions reached in that paper and strengthens them by providing a much broader base upon which the article was written.

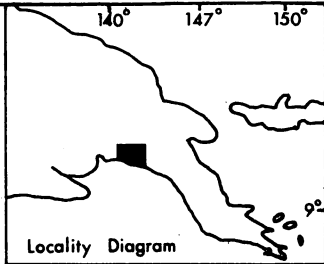
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# The Koriki Language Area

Approx. Scale 1:1000000



**LEGEND**

- Language Boundary
- Ipiko** Language Name
- Koriki Tribal Dialect Areas
- Bai, Kor** Koriki Dialect Codes
- 1 Apiope Village
- 2 Maipenairu Village
- 3 Kinipo Village
- 4 Kaimari Village

