REVIEW ARTICLE

The Dictionary and Grammar of Hiri Motu. The Office of Information, Konedobu, Port Moresby, 1976.

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Introduction

Hiri Motu is the name currently used to refer to what used to be called "Police Motu" or "Pidgin Motu", the second largest lingua franca in Papua New Guinea.[1] Today this language is spoken throughout most of what used to be called Papua and serves as the unofficial language of administration as well as the principal means of communication between Papuans (and to some extent others coming to live in Papua) speaking mutually unintelligible languages. In recent years it has assumed increasing importance in national communication and politics within Papua New Guinea and is receiving increasing attention by linguists interested in the formation and development of pidgin languages.

For all that, however, the language has never been properly studied and described. The reasons for this are complex, and need not be gone into here, although it is important to know that the present publication was sponsored by the Government in an effort to foster an interest in the the the language and to update an earlier dictionary that it has also sponsored. That dictionary, called A Dictionary of Police Motu,[2] proved to be very popular, and when stocks ran down the Department of Information and Extension Services (now the Office of Information) had to decide whether to reprint it, and if so, in what form. This was not an easy decision to make for other things were happening which suggested that the dictionary could not merely be reprinted in its original form. For one thing the language was changing in response to changing social conditions as the country gained increasing independence. For another the growth and status of the language vis-a-vis its larger and long-standing rival, Tok Pisin (or Neo-Melanesian), the largest lingua franca in Papua

New Guinea, seemed to be being threatened.[3] Consequently the Department eventually decided to hold a conference in Port Moresby to discuss reprinting the dictionary and other matters associated with the language. This conference was held in May, 1971, and a report containing the resolutions reached at the conference was published by the Department in June of the same year.[4]

That meeting was chaired by Rev. (now Dr.) Percy Chatterton, M.H.A., and was attended by "a representative group of people, experienced in the use of Police Motu" (Foreward to Report). At the meeting it was agreed that the old name Police Motu should be changed to Hiri Motu (for reasons set out in the Preface to the new volume and to which we shall return later) and that a Standing Committee and a Dictionary Committee should be set up "to deal with the problems of Hiri Motu" (Report, p.9), and to prepare the new dictionary. This dictionary, it was agreed, should include more sections than the old one (e.g., Motu-English, English-Motu, Motu-Pidgin, and Pidgin-Motu)[5] as well as explanatory notes on usage where necessary.

Committees were duly set up and the task of preparing the new dictionary begun. However, because these committees consisted for the most part of volunteer public servants they suffered from changing membership and other problems that resulted in the volume being a compromise between the original goals set down in 1971 and the practical problems of getting the task done. Thus there are no Hiri Motu-Pidgin or Pidgin-Hiri Motu vocabularies as originally intended (though these are promised in the not too distant future) and the explanatory notes on usage and pronunciation have been turned into reprints of previously published accounts. Nevertheless it is a well produced little booklet with considerable consumer appeal which I am sure will go a long way towards fostering the interest in the language that the Government hopes for.

As a dictionary and grammar, however, it is much less successful, and it is this aspect of the work that I want to concentrate on particularly in the remainder of this review, for if the Government is going to continue to use this language for development purposes

a more complete and accurate record of what is in it is needed for the future. Consequently I shall be concerned to point out in more detail than might otherwise appear to be necessary where I think the present volume is inadequate so as to highlight what I think still needs to be done and where research priorities lie for the future. I do this without wishing in any way to detract from the work of the committees that have produced the present volume for I am well aware of the difficulties under which they laboured and that they make no claim to have produced a professional work. My aim is solely to use the present volume as a convenient base from which to review present knowledge in an effort to encourage the Government to build on the foundations laid down in this volume and to help it to think more clearly about future needs.

Let me begin with the Preface.

The Preface

One of the first things that arises from reading this section, and which I think should be commented on and worked on as soon as possible, is the dialect situation. The position adopted in this volume is that there are two main dialects of Hiri Motu -- one a Central one, spoken around Port Moresby and neighbouring coastal areas in what used to be called the Central District, and a Non-Central one, spoken elsewhere. This is the position as described in 1962 when the language was surveyed by a team of Summer Institute of Linguistics members for the Government.[6] However, that is now fifteen years ago and many things have happened since then which are known to have had an effect on the language, not the least being an expanded educated elite of English speakers, a fast growing urban population composed of immigrants from pretty well every other part of the country, and a developing national economy and political structure. Consequently, one of the research questions that immediately arises is what is the present situation regarding variation (both social and geographical) in the language? In particular, does the Central/Non-Central dialect dichotomy still exist, or has it been replaced by a continuum of social types ranging, perhaps, between some kind of "bush" variety and a more sophisticated "urban" variety? The answer to this question is

obviously important for deciding which variety to use for what purposes and when, as well as for deciding which variety to describe and in what detail. This is a research task needing urgent attention.

A second problem is the name of the language, and related to that the question of the origin and history of the language.[7] As already indicated the language used to be called Police Motu or Pidgin Motu until the 1971 Conference recommended a name change to Hiri Motu believing that the use of the language today has little to do with the present Police Force and that the present-day form of the language is a "lineal descendant of the language of the Hiri" (p.1), the annual trading cycle conducted between the Motu and Gulf peoples. This latter claim has been expressed in several places in recent years[8] although it has never been substantiated by any kind of documentary evidence. Indeed we do not know if there was such a thing as <u>a hiri</u> trading language. There is no documentary evidence describing one or indicating whether there was one, or several, or a continuum of variants, or what. It is impossible therefore to claim that the present-day form of the language is a continuation of an earlier one about which no one has any reliable evidence. The only documentary evidence we do have to work on at the moment (although there may well be more in as yet unconsulted unpublished sources) are three brief comments about the existence of a trade language. The first of these was by MacGregor (1891:xxv) who said it was "a jargon... blended from both languages." The second observer, Chalmers, who actually went on a <u>hiri,</u> described it (1895:94), as "a trading dialect well understood by both parties, but neither can tell whence it came, nor who first used it, and it is only used by the Motuans and themselves." The third observation was made by Captain Barton in C.G. Seligmann's book <u>The Melanesians of British New Guinea</u> published in 1910. In his chapter on the <u>hiri</u> in that book Barton gives a brief description of what he called "The Lakatoi Language" and a short wordlist of 182 items which he recorded on board some Elema canoes in Port Moresby. Unfortunately this description and wordlist is virtually useless as it is without other corroborative evidence, because Barton did not say anything about how typical

he thought this "language" was of the language used between <u>hiri</u> trading partners in different circumstances, and how it related to other languages used in other circumstances, for example, between the Motu and other closely related Austronesian language speakers east and west of themselves (e.g. Hula, Roro) who were also involved in trading with the Motu. In fact we can only trace the existence of a <u>pidgin Motu</u> back to 1904 with any certainty at the moment, when Barton again commented on the existence of a "Pidgin Motu" and Murray, soon afterwards, was complaining of the use of "a kind of dog Motu -- hardly intelligible to those who speak Motu as their native language" in the Police Force, and from which the language subsequently derived its name.[9] These reports do not relate this "pidgin Motu" or "dog Motu" to earlier languages used for trading by the Motu, although Barton was in a perfect position to do so. We do know, however, that the Motu apparently did have a tradition o simplifying their language in contact situations. We know this because of Dr. Lawes' experience in trying to learn the "pure" language at Hanuabada when he first arrived in the 1870's, and because of the simplified form of the language he is said to have used in making his first translations into Motu.[10] We might presume therefore that the Motu being typical versatile Papua New Guineans probably used some form of simplified, or bastardised, versions of their own language for communication with the different groups of people they came in contact with. Those that participated in the <u>hiri</u> probably used a trade language or languages based on their own and Gulf area languages which probably varied from speaker to speaker and under different circumstances. Those who came in contact with others nearer home who spoke languages closely related to their own (e.g., Hula, Roro) probably spoke something more akin to village Motu. However these are questions for further investigation, not points to be advanced as known. Yet because it is now many years since the <u>hiri</u> ceased to be a regular event it is becoming increasingly difficult to obtain the kind of field evidence that is necessary to begin to answer these questions. Still the Department of Language, University of Papua New Guinea, has made a start by appointing a Papua New Guinean, Mr. Iru Kakare, to the position of Research Officer in Hiri Motu in the department.

His task is to travel from village to village in the Port Moresby and Gulf areas interviewing old men, who were once involved in hiri trading, about the language or languages they used. Although it is too early to discuss the results of this survey in detail, preliminary indications are that the language of contact was some kind of mixed Motu-Toaripi, though with Toaripi elements predominating.[11] If this is true then we have some evidence for accepting Barton's "Lakatoi Language" as probably representative of hiri trading languages at that time, for it too was a Motu-Toaripi mixture, but again with predominately Toaripi vocabulary.[12]

But even if this research eventually gives us some firmer basis for recognizing and discussing the existence and nature of hiri languages there is still the crucial question of the relationship between any such language, or languages, and present-day Hiri Motu. How did one or more hiri languages become present-day Hiri Motu? What social factors would have influenced the police force (from which the language originally derived its name) to adopt a hiri trading language as its lingua franca? What happened in the twenty years between the establishment of law and order in Port Moresby in 1884 and the first comments about the existence of a "Pidgin Motu" or "dog Motu" in the police force in 1904? Again we do not know the answer, or answers, to these questions at the moment. However, we do know a number of things which may help in forming a more substantial hypothesis about the origin of the language which can be used to guide further research into these questions.

The most important thing we know is, I think, that present-day Hiri Motu is a continuation of Police Motu, the "Pidgin Motu" or "dog Motu" used by members of the first police force and others (e.g., released prisoners) as a lingua franca amongst themselves, and as a language of contact in new areas opened up by the Government. This police force was first formed in Papua (then British New Guinea) by Sir William McGregor in 1890 with "a dozen Solomon Islanders...two Fijian non-commissioned officers...and some eight Papuans" seven of whom came from the Kiwai area of the Western Division (now Province) of Papua.[13]

Given then that twenty-two men from different parts of the Pacific were suddenly thrown together in a foreign language environment in a foreign port what sorts of sociolinguistic consequences could we expect to follow from that event?

Clearly, one of the first things that is likely to have happened was that these men would have communicated with each other within the force in a language that was common to all. Of course we do not know what that language was at the moment, and will probably never know unless someone with an interest in those things recorded it somewhere as yet unseen. Still, we do know that all except one of these foundation policemen came from areas where some form of Pidgin English was spoken -- the Solomon Islands, Fiji, and the Western Division (now Province) of Papua--[14] although we do not know whether these particular men could actually speak the variety used in their part of the world at that time. On the other hand we might suspect that one of the reasons why these particular men were chosen for this particular police force was that they could communicate with Europeans in one form or another, and the only possibilities here would have been Pidgin English and/ or English (because this was a British colony as the name British New Guinea testifies). If we can assume that most, if not all, knew at least some form of Pidgin English (though this still has to be determined),[15] and only some English (to a reasonable standard, that is), then it is likely that the common language of this embryonic police force would have been a mixture of Pacific Pidgins -- Solomon Islands, Fiji Plantation Pidgin, and Torres Straits or Papuan Pidgin English[16] -- which in themselves would have been quite similar to one another; at least they would have been more similar to one another than any is to Tok Pisin spoken in Papua New Guinea today, although they all were, and still are, sisters of that language.[17] Given also that these men had to spend most of their time dealing with the Motu around Port Moresby (at least for the crucial first few years until the force was established and large enough to allow transfers out to outstations) who themselves had a tradition of simplifying their language in contact situations, what linguistic consequences were likely to have followed?

My guess is that a new pidgin was born -- a kind of pidgin-of-a-pidgin, and one which took structure from both sides but borrowed its vocabulary mostly from Motu, the dominant language at the time (because of the social situation the men that made up the police force found themselves in).

Now this seems fantastic at first but rather obvious once the social and linguistic factors are taken into account. What is more interesting, however, is that such a hypothesis explains a number of otherwise seemingly unconnected facts about the language. Thus it not only explains the similarities and differences between Hiri Motu and its arch rival Tok Pisin,[18] but also why there are no Gulf area words in the language as one would expect if the language was a continuation of a hiri trading language, a point which troubled previous observers. It perhaps also explains why the Motu dispise the language as a bastardized form of their own "purer" language, just as English-speaking colonials dispised Tok Pisin as a bastardized form of English. The only weakness in the idea is, of course, that the hypothesis rests as yet on a good deal of unsubstantiated evidence. Yet in a way this is also its strength, for as good hypotheses should, it will direct research into new and important lines of investiga- tion. As I have said some of this is being attempted at the University of Papua New Guinea, and some at other centres.[19] Nevertheless it will be some time before the results of this research will be sufficient to answer the questions originally posed.

Meanwhile because of the uncertainty surrounding the origin of this language I think that the name change Police Motu to Hiri Motu was premature, and that we should therefore be cautious about promoting the name Hiri Motu until some more definite proof of its origin is obtained or demonstrated.[20]

Pronunciation and Grammar

These are areas where much more research needs to be done and related to that con- cerning variation already discussed above. There is no justification for continuing to reprint the sort of highly selective and therefore misleading sketches that appear in the present volume, especially as these have been published several times before and do not represent

any advance in understanding of the language since the first was published twenty-five years ago.[21] There is much more to Hiri Motu grammar and pronunciation than is presented in the present booklet (or could be presented in a booklet of this size) and future studies should concentrate on some of the so far less well described aspects. For example, one of the things that any learner of the language, or anybody who listens to, or reads the language for that matter, will come up against as soon as he/she begins, is the particle be. This particle occurs in all sorts of sentences (sometimes optionally, sometimes obligatorally) but always as a kind of topicalizer or focus marker. For example, one can say oi daika? (lit. you who) or oi be daika? 'Who are you?' But one normally doesn't say tau edeseni ia lao (lit. man where he go?) for 'Where did the man go?' One normally says tau be edeseni ia lao? But there is another particle in Hiri Motu which is in apparent complementary distribution with be in certain sentences, but in free variation with it in others. This is the particle ese. Thus while one can say tau be boroma ia gwadaia (lit. man focus pig he spear.it)[22] using be one can also say tau ese boroma ia gwadaia (lit. man subject pig he spear.it) using ese. However, one cannot say*tau ese edeseni ia lao? for 'Where did the man go?' Thus be has a much wider currency than ese, which is a subject marker in transitive clauses only. One cannot possibly speak Hiri Motu properly without being able to use be (and by implication ese) correctly. Yet the functions of be have never been adequately described.

Nor have those of another set of forms which indicate direction in Hiri Motu. These are mai (lit. come) 'movement towards the speaker', lao (lit. go) 'movement away from the speaker', daekau (lit. ascend) 'movement up', diho (lit. descend) 'movement down', and loaloa (lit. go or walk around) 'movement in no fixed direction'. These are used in combination with other verbs to indicate the direction in which an action is/was/will be etc. taking place. Thus abia mai (lit. get come) means 'bring (towards the speaker)', and abia lao (lit. get go) means 'take (away from speaker)'; or again, siaia mai (lit.send come) means 'send (towards the speaker)' and siaia lao 'send (away from speaker)'. Now these direction markers are simple enough to use but there is a complicating factor, and that is,

that most of them may also be used in combination with each other, but only in fixed orders.
Thus abia daekau mai 'bring up (towards the speaker)' is correct, but abia mai daekau is not
(unless daekau is being treated as a separate verb so as to indicate 'bring (it) and then come
up'). These direction markers are not mentioned in this volume though they are an important
and regular feature of the grammar of Hiri Motu. They need to be included in any future
study and description of the language.

Other aspects of structure and pronunciation deserving of more attention also are:
restrictions on adjective agreement and sequencing; comparison of adjectives; aspect markers
vadaeni, kava, noho, inai, hamatamaia, ia ore and lou; negation in combination with
aspects; reciprocity; dual and emphatic pronouns; complex sentence structure (e.g., various
types of subordinate clauses); sentence sequencing; stress; intonation; devoicing of final i's;
h-dropping; varying pronunciations for common forms like vadaeni, dohore, inai, iaena,
idia-edia, etc.[23]

Dictionary Sections

In terms of the aims of the volume under review the dictionary sections in it are to
be judged the best sections -- they are full of new terms like the following that do not appear
in the old volume: agenisi 'disagreement, conflict, opposed to', ampaea 'umpire',
aplikesini 'application', ba 'bar, hotel', bamepa 'bump into, have an accident', bandesi
'bandage', barasi 'brush', beibi 'baby', bilakbodi 'blackboard', bili 'bill, account, debit
notice', bilikani 'billy can', biriki 'brick', bomu 'bomb, grenade, shell', bukini 'to book
up, charge', elekseni 'election' memba 'member', piembi 'P.M.V., passenger truck',
treila 'trailer' etc. The committees faced some real challenges here for there are so many
new ideas being introduced into the country, and the culture of some areas (towns, for
example) is changing so fast that it is difficult to know where to draw the line between what
is "in" the language and what is not. Here the committees make a distinction between
"inclusion" and "introduction", the former being used to cover words which are borrowings

that are firmly entrenched in the language and now part of "common usage" (p.2), the
latter for those which are idiosyncratic or have not reached the "included" stage. This
is a useful distinction but one, nonetheless, that is hard to apply without extensive survey
evidence, for many words will be at different stages of inclusion, or introduction, in
different parts of the country at different times, and spreading out from Port Moresby, the
locus of introduction. Even so there are still many more words like <u>piknik karaia</u> 'to picnic',
<u>motobaiki</u> 'motorbike', <u>stopu</u> 'to stop', <u>telefoni</u> 'telephone', <u>rini</u> 'to ring' (on a telephone),
<u>independens</u> 'independence', <u>kendidet</u> 'candidate', <u>boksing</u> 'boxing', <u>bakadi</u> ((<u>bona</u>) <u>kok</u>)
'rum (and coke)' <u>sekap</u> 'to check up', <u>trai</u> 'to try', <u>seamani</u> 'chairman', <u>loliwara</u> 'softdrink',
<u>kota</u> 'court', <u>aspirini</u> ' asprin', <u>prais</u> 'prize', <u>haonea</u> 'to switch on' and others associated
with sports, politics, commerce, house-breaking, car stealing, drinking and brawling that
are sufficiently wide-spread and common now to have warranted inclusion, especially in
wordlists that are supposed to be "greatly expanded" (p.2) versions of the old ones.[24]
Certainly there are many less questionable forms which, for one reason or another, did not
find their way into this dictionary but should have. These are words like <u>lai</u> 'wind', <u>amudo</u>
'mumu, ground oven', <u>au flaua flaua</u> 'flower', <u>o</u> 'or', <u>duduna</u> 'end'. And then there are
others which were included but which are of questionable status, and should therefore have
been carefully screened for distribution. These are words like <u>gwau</u> 'guess', <u>duduia</u> 'offer',
<u>au todena</u> 'sap', <u>a</u> 'but', <u>na</u> 'subject marker', <u>-ai</u> 'at', <u>amo</u> 'from, with', <u>babalau</u> 'sorcery,
witchcraft', <u>lolo</u> 'to shout', <u>iahu</u> 'old', <u>buloa</u> 'to stir, mix', <u>dabu</u> 'lack, be in need of',
<u>dina gelona</u> 'mid-afternoon', <u>gaulatalata</u> 'tall', the object-cum-possessive pronoun suffixes
<u>-gu</u> 'me, my', <u>-mu</u> 'you, yours', etc. Most of these latter are not used outside of Port
Moresby or those areas where "pure" Motu is taught and used as a church language. They
should therefore be marked with a 'C' which is used in this dictionary to indicate limited
distribution.

Then again there are old forms which should also have been carefully screened for distribution before they were included, or if included, they should have been put in special categories or be marked in some way. For example, one would never use gorere rumana (lit. sick house) for 'hospital' anywhere these days. One would use hospitala. Similarly nao gado (lit. foreign talk) is not used for 'English (language)' (unless one is using it for a particular effect), Inglis gado is. Others in similar vein but more of a border-line nature are ami tauna for solodia, notisbodi for sainibodi, biru gaukara tauna for agrikaltia tauna or akrekals tauna, dehe for baranda or varanda, mirigini kahana for not etc.

Conclusion

Enough has been said I think to show that there is still a good deal to be done before Hiri Motu can be said to be well described. It is to be hoped that the Papua New Guinea Government will continue to support projects aimed at achieving the desired goals of completeness and accuracy.

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FOOTNOTES

1. There are estimated to be about 150,000 speakers of Hiri Motu.

2. See Brett et al. (1962b). This dictionary was never reviewed.

3. See, for example, Dr. John Guise (now Sir John Guise)'s address to the Study Conference on Police Motu referred to later on in this review.

4. This report is called Report (of the) Study Conference on Police Motu, 24-25th May, 1971.

5. "Pidgin" here means Tok Pisin or Neo-Melanesian.

6. See Brett et al. (1962a).

7. See Dutton and Brown (In Press, especially section 1.1) for a first attempt at reconstructing the history of the language. The views expressed in the present review supercede those in Dutton and Brown (In Press) although they are dependent on them.

8. See Chatterton (1970, 1971).

9. The first was by F.R. Barton and the second by J.H.P. Murray in annual reports on British New Guinea and Papua for the years ending 30th June, 1904 and 1907 respectively.

10. For details see Rev. Chatterton's opening remarks in the Report (of the) Study Conference on Police Motu already referred to, p.5. Dr. Lawes' first translations have never been studied in depth to see how simplified the language he used was and therefore how much it might tell us about what sort of a contact language the Motu had developed. Clearly, however, this evidence is important and should be looked at as soon as possible.

11. These results are contained in an unpublished paper presented to the Tenth Annual Congress of the Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea, September, 1976. See Kakare (1976).

12. In fact it contained approximately 87% Toaripi or Toaripi-related vocabulary.

13. MacGregor (1891:XXV).

14. Different but related varieties of Pidgin English were spoken in the Solomon Islands, Fiji and Western Papua about this time although these varieties have seemingly since died out in the latter two areas.

15. This destination will involve research work in Archives and/or visits to the homelands of the foundation members.

16. It is not clear if there is any difference between Torres Straits Pidgin and Papuan Pidgin yet but Dr. P. Muhlhausler formerly of the Australian National University is working on this question.

17. The connection lies in Kanaka English of the Queensland canefields. See Muhlhausler (1976) for the most complete account of the history of Pacific Pidgins to date. Further work is in progress.

18. Consider, for example, the following similarities and differences:

	Hiri Motu	Tok Pisin
(A)	Similarities	
1.	Yes-No Intonation Pattern	Ditto - same pattern
2.	Inclusive/exclusive pronouns	Ditto
3.	Inai N (= this N)	Dispela N (= this N)
4.	Nouns unchanging for plural	Ditto
5.	(Q tag) a ?	Ditto
6.	Conjunction o (= or)	Ditto
7.	idia ruaosi etc. (= those (2))	Emtupela etc. (= those (2))
8.	Conditional clause order	Ditto-same
9.	Oi sibona (=you yourself)	yu yet (= you yourself)

10. Ataiai momokani (= up.high really)[22]   Antap tru (= up.high really)

11. V +sisina (= V +a.little.bit)   V+ liklik (= V +a.little.bit)

12. V +vadaeni (= V +all.right)   V+ pinis (= V + finish)

13. V +kava (= V +mad)   V+ nating (= V + no.reason)

14. V +mai/lao (= V +come/go)   V+ i kam/i go (= V +come/go)

15. V+haraga (=V + quickly)   V+ kwik(taim) (= V +quickly)

16. V+ noho (= V+ stay)   V + i stap (=V + stay)

17. V + lou (= V + again)   V +gen (= V+ again)

18. Do +V (= later +V)   bai +V (= later + V)

19. Ura +V (= want +V)   laik (i) +V (= want +V)

20. Vadaeni (as introducer) (= all right)   Orait (ditto) (= all right)

21. Edena bamona? (= which like)   Olsem wanem? (= like what)

22. Henia lau dekenai (= give.it me to)   Givim long mi. (= give.it to me)

23. Edena negai? (= which time.at)   Long wanem taim? (= at what time)

24. Kiri maragi lasi (= laugh little not   Lap i no liklik (= laugh is not little
            = laugh a lot)   = laugh a lot)

25. Kiri mase (= laugh to die)   Lap inap long dai (= laugh enough to die)

26. Sisia ia gau badana ta (= dog it (is)   Dok em i bikpela samting (long lukautim
        thing important one)   pik) (= dog it (is) important thing (for
                        hunting pigs))

27. Kopina ia metau (= skin it (is) heavy)   Skin i hevi (= skin is heavy)

28. Bogahisi (= stomach.pain = sad)   Bel i pen (= stomach.pains= sad)

29. Moale dikadika (= happy bad.bad)   Amamas nogut tru (= happy bad very)

30. Sedira (= perhaps)   Ating (= perhaps)

31. Nega tamona (= time one = together)   Wantaim (= one time = together)

(B) Differences

1.   Word Order:

SOV (Motu based)   SVO (English based)

2.   Structure of NP:

(i) Postpositions (Motubased)   Prepositions (English based)

(ii) Adjectives after nouns   Adjectives before nouns
     (Motu based)   (English based)

3.   Structure of Relative Clauses:

Clause + <u>tauna</u> (Motu based)   <u>man</u> + <u>em</u> + clause (English based)

4.   Negation:

After verb (not Motu based)   Before verb (English based)

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There is no space to discuss these similarities and differences in detail here. However, I·shall be returning to them later in a separate paper.

19.   For example, The Australian National University.

20.   As it is the name Hiri Motu is now confused with "pure Motu" by a large percentage of Hiri Motu speakers. This seems to be because these speakers associate the Motu with the <u>hiri</u> and therefore presume that Hiri Motu is a new name for "pure Motu". I myself would have preferred Gavamani Motu or Pisin Motu.

21.   The sketches referred to are those in Chatterton (1950, 1972, 1975).

22.   In translations a full-stop is used to separate two or more English words that correspond to one Hiri Motu word.

23.   For pedagogical notes on these and other aspects see Dutton and Voorhoeve (1974).

24.   Numerically-speaking they are not "greatly expanded" versions of the old ones as a count of entries under a random selection of letters will soon show. However, as I have already indicated, qualitatively-speaking the new vocabularies are much improved versions of their 1962 counterparts.

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