SIMPLIFIED KORIKI:
A SECOND TRADE LANGUAGE USED BY THE MOTU IN THE GULF OF PAPUA

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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. 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 (NAH) 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 informants 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. 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.

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. These are: the Maipua, the Iai (or Iare), the Koriki proper, the Kainari, the Baroi, and the Baimuru. 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, 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). 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 Holmes (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 NAHM 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. 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. 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, 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. 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) 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 haïdaua. 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
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 dekenal anena we Maipua to come.and Maipua wake 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'anve va'pea 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,16 '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 baulked 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 v (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 v 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: 17 aie, na nava pene
gee  fish piece
'Gee, if I could eat a little bit of fish I'd feel good'

na navai. Rae
I eat  inside 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
you go your village
'When you go to your village
and see your wife you will be happy'
ni ae inamoia. 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 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'į
'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' Korikiri way (e.g., a'į 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!'.

Examples:

MH/1: Eria!
none

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

MH/76: Aia eria.
pot(s) none

'No aia pots'

MH/77: Amua oko eria?
chief(s) also none

'No chiefs either'

19
MH/41: Apau apare.
        'Not Apau village'

MH/3: na...aneai (< ane 'come')
        I come

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MH/96: Koriki vake enavaria...
        Koriki friend go.will
        'Koriki friend, go...'

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

(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) 23
to the verb stem:

Examples:
MH/3: na...aneai (< ane 'come') 'I went'
        I come

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

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

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

MH/109: Hi 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
        also pig kill.will not.acc a pig'
        (< ava 'kill')

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

MH/96: Koriki vake enavaria...
        Koriki friend go.will
        'Koriki friend, go...'

MH/97: ipa mianeai oukuaria
        asi get.come give.will
        '(You) bring an asi
        and give it to me'
(ku(?) 'give')

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

(oka 'make')

MH/139:0aio, 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 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.

MH/88: mi anei! get come 'Bring it!' 
MH/91: mapua na ikuai! give me a shell 'Give me a toea shell!' 
MH/113: Anene pei navai! come food eat 'Come and 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: Eoia peo! tell lies not 'Don't tell lies!' 

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

(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'

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 aaneai
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. 28

(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. 29 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 vakē 'person';

(iii) inamoiai, from 'true' Koriki inamuoi '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). 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?* '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 Kolia, 1977:21);

(d) Ore never uses any locative/direction suffixes as expected, for example, in phrases like *eki ravi* 'to which *ravi*', *Maipua* '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 your house food not 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'ı and it also uses peo as the general negative whereas eria is expected.³²

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. 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.

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). 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.
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 1960.¹ 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dialect/Census Division</th>
<th>1960 Villages</th>
<th>1968 Villages</th>
<th>1973 Villages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baimuru</td>
<td>Amipoke</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bekoro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kamaua</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kemei</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Onau</td>
<td>Unau</td>
<td>Unau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pakemuba</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Piepoka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ravipaka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Population:</strong></td>
<td><strong>584</strong></td>
<td><strong>648</strong></td>
<td><strong>822</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baroi</td>
<td>Akiaravi</td>
<td>Akiaravi No.1</td>
<td>Akiaravi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Evara²</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Koravake</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oravi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Population:</strong></td>
<td><strong>525</strong></td>
<td><strong>624</strong></td>
<td><strong>669</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koriki</td>
<td>Akiaravi</td>
<td>Akiaravi No.2</td>
<td>Akiaravi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Akoma</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ikinu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kairaravi</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kairimai</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Kairu'u No.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kairu'u No.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kakariravi</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Karararavi</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Miraaravi</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Navararavi No.1</td>
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¹ See Maher (1961:31-33) for a description of these 'villages' in former times.
² Said by Mari'a and Kolia (1977:5) to be Koriki dialect speaking.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>1941</th>
<th>2043</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Navararavi No.2</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukunukua</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Population</strong></td>
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<td>2043</td>
</tr>
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<table>
<thead>
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<th>1941</th>
<th>2043</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>Iari</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aikavaravi No.1</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aikavaravi No.2</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kairiravi</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maipenairu</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okaikenairu</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onoporavi No.1</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Onoporavi No.2</td>
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<td>Ravikaupara No.1</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ravikikau No.2</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ravikikau No.3 (=Old Iari)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Population</strong></td>
<td>1766</td>
<td>1997</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>1941</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kaimari</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apiravi</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apiravi No.1</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barea</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kauravi</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koiravi</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Population</strong></td>
<td>824</td>
<td>900</td>
</tr>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
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<th>2043</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maipua</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aivei</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apiope</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivira(^1)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapai</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Population</strong></td>
<td>278</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total Population     | 5808 | 6747 |

---

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 WABU), 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 HAKIWAKEPA'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)\(^1\) 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.\(^2\)

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 \textit{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 \textit{iri vapea} or craft - and how the \textit{hiri} began. It also explains how the Motu came by the word \textit{hiri} and the idea of a \textit{hiri lagatoi} - they did so by borrowing the Koriki word \textit{iri} for 'tree' and transliterating their phrase \textit{iri vapea} (lit. 'tree canoe') into their own form \textit{hiri lagatoi}.\(^3\)

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

\(^2\) Ivia is contesting this claim in court at the time of writing.

\(^3\) 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

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

---

31
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? 'Whose canoe is this?'

who.poss canoe.acc

M: na vapeo

my canoe.acc

M: na vapeo 'My canoe.'

my canoe.acc

K: Ni noe koanai? 'What's your name?'

your name who.Q. (?)

M: Lau ladagu be Moi.

my name.my is Moi

'My name is Moi.'

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

M: Evara Inako.

Evara Inake.acc

'Evara Inake.'

K: E:

yes

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

---

1 Motu translations were supplied by MH at the same time.

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

3 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).

4 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 go.and
Evara enane, na inamoiai.1
Evara go.and me see
MH: They'd do and say:

K: Evara Inake, a-- vaira'a
    Evara Inake ah-- Motu
    ua'anе 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, auanama ni! Ni
    gosh fancy you
    hiri imana?2
    hiri good.Q
MH: 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

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

2Moi 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?  
   you chief.Q

K: Na pairi amua.  
   I village chief

M: Imau. Pu peo? Na  
   good.acc sago not.acc I

e ne muo. Mi aneina  
   hungry.acc get come.and

na navaia.  
   I eat

---

3 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

Tape P24/78a:

OA: Nai o ipariai ni hiri
    I that know.want you hiri
    ena pani ni koau ena ou
    go time you whom.to go that
    I'ai pa'iri?
    Iare village/place

MH: 1 Erai. 2 Na iare pairi ipapea.
    none I Iare village know.not
    3 Eaieai na iare pairi aneai.
    now.now I Iare village come

OA: Na ipariai ni eki ravi
    I know.want you which ravi
    enavai, ni enava'i?
    went you went

005)MH: 4 Nai o lavi noe ipapea.
    I that ravi name know.not
    5 Eai pani na Iare aneai. 6 Oaio,
    now time I Iare come okay
    Iare vake ipapea.
    Iare man know.not

OA: 0i paua?
    you know.not

MH: 7 E, na paua mikio.
    yes I know.not truly.acc

'I want to know: when you went on the hiri whom did you go to at our place (lit. at that Iare village)?'

'None. I didn't know (any) Iare villages until I went there recently.'

'I'd like to know which ravi (clan, men's house) you went to.'

'I don't know the name of that ravi. I only recently went to Iare. Consequently I don't know any men (i.e., I don't have any Iare tradepartners).'

'Don't you know (any(?))?'

'Yes, I really don't know (any(?)).'
OA: Ni mai pani ni mai your father time your father kiripai enavai?
together go

MH: 8 A-- Maipua. ah-- Maipua.to

OA: Mapua eno? Maipua.to to

MH: E, Koriki 10 Na vaapea lealea. yes Koriki.to I canoe two

OA: Ni pani re'e re'e enavai(?)? you time two go

011) MH: E rearea. Eni vaapea yes two former canoe
      aivei e--pairi noe Maipua, Aivei um--village name Maipua
      lavi noe Rurupuravi na
      ravil name Rurupuravi I
      ipo. 12 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. 13 Na ipa ourue 14 Koriki, Mai I know that.one Koriki
      Maipua, ourue. 15 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
     pairi oro enavai I'ai pa'iri village they go I'ai village
     hiri o vaapea piri enavai
     hiri or canoe tie go
     ni rokoa pani, pani varomo?
your sailing time time some

MH: E: yes

'When your father was alive did you go together with him?'

'Ah-- to Maipua.'

'You went to Maipua did you?'
Yes, to Koriki. I had two canoes.

'Did you go two times?'

'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.'

'In your day did your villages go to I'ai villages on hiri or did they make canoes and go sometimes(?)?'

'Yes.'
'Did some of your people go to I'ai villages? Sometimes?"

'Before?'

'Yes.'

'Yes.'

'Oh, in your father's time?'

'Yes.'

'Did your father go to this village and unload sago and take pots? or (was this done) in your father's time(?)?'

[No answer].

'Didn't your father make a canoe?'

'No, Apau village didn't know Iare village. I've only recently gone to Iare.'

'Yes, it's true, you want to know it(?)'.

'Yes.'

'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

tie/make went that your time

033)MH: 25
E.
yes

OA: Uo, pani varomo una ene
or(?) time some that our
pa'iri a'a mo Koivi Raua,
village man one Koivi Raua
u pokoia pani u enavai
he staying time he went
I'ai pa'iri?
I'ai village

'Yes.'

MH: 26
A'i, na ipapeare.
no I know not

OA: Koivi u enavai Orokolo pa'iri...
Koivi he went Orokolo village

'(So) Koivi went to
Orokolo village...

MH: 27
Orokolo pai ri. Nai, vapea
Orokolo village I canoe
mo, Koivi oko vapea ka(?) mo
one Koivi too canoe (?) one
vapea rere o aio Orokolo pairi.
ocanoe two okay Orokolo village

OA: Koivi Orokolo pa'iri?...
Koivi Orokolo village

'Koivi (went(?)) to
Orokolo village?...

MH: 28
E.
yes

OA: ...ni enavai Koriki?
you went Koriki

',...and you went to
Koriki?

MH: 29
A'i.
no

OA: Maipua?
Maipua to

'Maipua to

'No.'

038)MH: 30
A'i, Orokolo. 31 Vapea rere.
no Orokolo to canoe two
Koivi, nai. 32 Vapea rere. 33 o aio
Koivi my canoe two okay
nai o Iare pairi ipapeare.
that Iare village know not

'No, to Orokolo. 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.'
Eaieai pani na Iare inamoiai [ending
now now time I Iare see
indistinct]

OA: Naia iparai a a'a varomo
I know want your men some
oro enavai I'ai pa'iri? A'a
they went I'ai village man
varomo ane oro vaapea piria
some came they canoe tie/build
enavai a'a varomo paiekavai
went man some help
vana mo...
pots and

I want to know: did some of your men go to I'ai villages? Did they make canoes and go and some (i.e., those that had no canoes) help with pots and...

049)MH: A'i, nai o nao ve
no I that European his
vaapea, kata, vaapea miki apea.
canoe cutter canoe true not

No, I-- that European's canoe (went), a cutter, not a real canoe. That European's canoe, or cutter, went to Iare village. Yes, that's true.

36 Nao ve vaapea, kata,
European his canoe cutter
ia ena -- kata ia ena Iare
it went cutter it went Iare
pairi. E.
village yes

OA: E, na ipa.
yes I know

Yes, I know.

MH: Nn.
yes

'Yes.'

OA: Ou pani na mai u' pani.
that time I boy time

'That's when I was a small boy.'

MH: E.
yes

Yes.'

050)OA: Naia eia oporo eire
I see sago type cut
ou pani oporo eira kei
that time sago cut stay
Va'ara kei pu komo
Va'ara river stay sago camp
piri lare. Na mai pani.
tie time my father time

'I saw (those lagatoi) while we were at that sago camp cutting oporo sago and staying there tying it up. (That was in) my father's time.'

MH: Iove (?) [indistinct]

?
A, our I'ai pa'iri pani
ah that I'ai village time
vau'uvau'u Porebada oro enavai
always Porebada they went
pni vau'u I'ai pa'iri.
time all I'ai village

'Oh, when (in that I'ai
time) Porebada went to
I'ai villages all the
time.'

Porebada.
Porebada.village

'Tubuserei.'

Tubuserei.
Tubuserei.village

'Tubusereia...'　

Tubusereia.
Tubusereia.village

'Gaire, Barakau,
Hanuabada...'

Gaire, Barakau, mavara
Gaire Barakau mavara.clan
Hanuabada...
Hanuabada

'Not Apau village. Apau
village didn't take
canoes to Iare villages.'

Apau apeare. Apau pairi Iare
Apau not Apau village Iare
pairi vapeake ena a-- miai
village canoe went ah-- get
enapea.
go.not

'So you didn't go? And
your father didn't go
either? You wanted to go
to two villages...

Oai, ni ena peo? Ni mai
okay you go not your father
oko ena peo; ni enavaria
too go not.acc you go.will
pa'iri re'ere'e...
village two

Yes.'

Maipua mo Koriki?
Maipua and Koriki

'Maipua and Koriki.'

059)Na vapeake Koriki, Maipua,
my canoe Koriki Maipua
Orokolo, Moveave, Motumotu,
Orokolo Moveave Motumotu
Keuru. Ni Keuru ipana?
Keuru you Keuru know.Q

'(I only took) my canoe
to Koriki, Maipua,
Orokolo, Moveave,
Motumotu, and Keuru. Do
you know Keuru?'

Na ipou. Ou pa'iri uriria
I know.acc those villages all

'I know. I know all those
villages.'
na ipou. I know.acc

MH: 46E. yes

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

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

OA: Nai? 'Me?
me

MH: 48E. yes

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

MH: 49Ore Api! 50Ni 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: 51Onoporavi. 52Mai noe 'Onoporavi. What's your
Onoporavi father name
koana? who.Q

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

MH: 53Ni mai? 'Your father?'
your father

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

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

'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 village or (not)? Which village are you living in?'

'O, 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 Tomato a pana time
u aneoko iaka irinai pu
he went also work did sago
u riariaka riame Mosbi
he made made get and Pt.Moresby
inaeakaa ou aiai pa'iri oko
sell that why village also
eria u karikia pa'iri no'ore
none he made villages now
miae
get

MH: 63 0... vana ekaramariai?
'Oh, what is a vana pot
oh vana pot what like
64 Vana... pot
'Vana pots?'

087) OA: Vana? pot
vana pot

MH: 65 Oupekei?
Are there any (still in the
those staying villages)?'
OA: Oupekei. stay
'they're there!

MH: E. yes
OA: Vagomo oavekakei varomo ou-
'Some are spoilt and some
some stay some those-
spolit those children to eat from.'
pokina(?) pokoia ukua
stay child
navai na pei.
food eat (?)

MH: 66 Vana pevi eviai?
'syes, pots to cook in?'
67 Vana yes pots food cook

OA: E...
'Yes...'

MH: 68 Vana Nn. yes

OA: Vana pei ima'a. Ou sospan
'(Earthenware) pot food is
pot food good that saucepan
good. That (aluminium)
pei ima pe. U ripi. U mo
saucepan food is not good.
food good not it bad it one
It's bad. It's not sweet.
Pot food is sweet and makes
the body strong. Now what
sort of pots do modern men, girls and women make? Don't they know (how to make the old style earthen ware) ones? Modern girls and women?

'No, all the Motu village men?'

'Pots?'

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

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

'Yes.'

'Don't you know?'

'Mo-- yes.'

'Do they know?'

'(They) know.'
OA: Karikia laria?
    make not.want.to

MH: E.
yes

OA: Iaki kani a?
    work hard eh

MH: E, iaki kani mikio.
yes work hard true.acc

OA: E, na ipou, vana iaki yes I know.acc pot work
    kani miki. 0, ei pani
hard true/very oh this time
sospan pei u iva miki apea,
saucepan food it hot very not
u mera pea. Mo oko a'a
it sweet not and also man
mo navai, navai (MH: Nn 'yes')
and eat eat yes
a-- vana pei u navairia peu.
ah pots food it eat.want not.acc
Mau'u na'a oai nemu kape
little eat okay stomach skin
venea mo oko mera miki ou aiai
strong and too sweet true that why
ene vana lae a-- kapea eria
we pots want ah-- road none
ene voa ei opara
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: Aiaka oupekei?
aia.pots those.staying

'Are there any aia pots
(still in the village)?'

OA: Aia eria.
aia none

MH: Aia eria?
aia none

'No aia pots.'
OA: Vana monou, vana monou pekei. vana only vana only staying
MH: E. yes
OA: A'a varomo vana eria a'a men some vana none man varomo pokoia. Eire'e amua some stay here chief opera iki oro vana pokoi custom now they pots stay amua eria iki oro vana chief none now they pots eria. home
MH: Amua oko eria? chief too none
OA: O, amua oupokoia pa'iri oh chief those stay village a'a varomo. man some
OA: E. yes
MH: E. 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 aialave policeman he elder.brother Iko Lohia u anea vapea pirie Iko Lohia he came canoe tie 'There are only vana pots.' 'Yes.' 'Some people don't have pots, some do. Some chiefs of the villagers have pots. People who are not chiefs don't have pots.' 'No chiefs either?' 'Some village chiefs are still alive there in the village.' 'Oh, is Eravo still alive?' 'Yes.' 'Yes.' '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:80 A 'Ah (surprise) he my father give ah.so
pái 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're'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:81 A'i na ipapea. 'No I don't.'
no I know.not

OA: Koivi. 'Koivi.'
Koivi

MH:82 Koivi? 'Koivi?'
Koivi

OA: Io. 'Yes.'
yes

MH:83 Koivi, na ipa mikio. 'I know Koivi well.'
Koivi I know well.acc

OA: Oaio? okay/finish 'Is that all?'
okai

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

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

133) TED: Moi, I'd like to know - when you went to the Koriki area
what things did you talk about in the Koriki language?
MH: [Tells what they received for pots and toea shells. Mainly
refers to what happened at Elema.]

205) TED: But when you went to Koriki what language did you speak?
Can you give me some examples?
MH: [Explains what happened on arrival at Koriki.]
TED: But can you say it in Koriki please.
MH: But I don't know it well enough. If I knew it - I'd go on
a hiri and learn a bit and then again and learn some more -
when I knew it they would grab my hand and say [and the
following illustrates how one trader would talk to the
other]:

220) MH: Ni nai vake monou ou.
you my friend only acc
'My only friend.'

85 A! na rario.
ah I want not acc
'Ah(surprise). I don't want any.'

224) Ni vake imana?
you friend good Q
'Are you a good friend?'

87 Ei, na amuo -- amua mikio.
beh I chief chief true acc
'Heh, I'm a real chief/big man. Go and kill me a pig!
Then bring it and I'll eat it.'

88 o-- ena-- na-- na auri mo
oh-- go-- me-- me pig one

avai-- avai a me aneai! Na navai.
kil kill get come I eat

MH: D aio, ni eio(?), vake ima.
okay you (?) friend good
'Okay, (if you do that then)
you'll be a good trade-
partner.'

229) MH: Al mapua na ikuai!
ah toea me give
'Ah, you give me a toea shell!'

91 Ni mapua na ikuai!
you toea me give
'You give me a toea shell.'

92 Al na mapua -- na mapua peo.
beh my toea my toea not acc shell
'Ah! It's not my toea
shell.'

93 Al na oko auri avaria.
beh I too pig kill will
'Ah, me too, I'll not kill
a pig.'
All right I'll go and kill a pig for you to eat."

"Yes, Koriki friend, go and kill a pig and bring it and give it to me. Give it to me the Motu friend and I will eat it. Then go and bring an asi and give me ah-- make a gorugoru (and) -- give me."

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

ipa mianei, 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

All right, O chief!"

"Then later on bring it and 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

'That's it(i.e, the language). It's finished.'

[TED asks more questions to prompt Moi and he continues giving other examples]
'Gee, I'm hungry!

'Gee, if I could (only) eat a little bit of fish I'd feel good/be happy. Um--'

'Ah, I'm going for a stroll.'

'I'm going for a stroll.'

'Hey, how are you?'

'Yes, I'm fine.'

'I'm going to work.'

'Don't you know?'

'Don't tell lies!'

'(That's) not correct language.'

'Come (here)!'

'Come and eat!'

'Where are you going?'

'I'm strolling about.'

'Heh, small boy, what are you doing?'

'Heh, what a very bad little boy!'

'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: 119
Enane pu puou miai go.and sago betelnut get anea!
come

'Go and bring sago and betelnut!'

334) 120
Emaiemana! quickly

'Quickly!'

335) 121
He, emaiemana! heh quickly

'Quickly!'

339) 122
Ni aboabo mikio! you stupid.stupid very.acc

'You're very stupid!'

343) 123
Ni lae peo! your insides not.acc

'You're brainless.'

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

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

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

349) MH: 125
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: 126
Eire, ni vana miai this.one you pots get
miri pokoi'ai! put

'This one -- take your pots and put them on the beach!'

368) MH: 127
Miai ena ni mareal! Ni get go your house your
vana mikio! pots true.acc

'Take them to your house. They're your pots.'

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

373) MH: 129
Ni vana ekaraharunana? 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:  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:  Ei vake na mai  'These pots belong to this
this friend my father

vake ve uro-- ah-- era'a  friend his pots ah-- pots

TED:  What about, "I'll give you this pot for sago."

400) MH:  Eire, eraio na ni okuai  'This one, I give you this
this one pot I you give
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:  Eire, ni pu okavariario. '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

TED:  Can you say the same thing in different ways?

MH:  Yes. They mean the same thing. For example,

134 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]:

135 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:  Na ena'o.  'I am going.'
I go acc

TED:  "Okay, off you (pl) go."

436) MH:  Oaio, ena'a.  'Okay, off you (sg) go!'
okay go
TED: "When you get to your village you'll be happy."

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

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

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

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

464) MH: 141 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: 142 Ni na inamoai 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: 143 Naio, ni inamoiai rae '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]:

144 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 ]:

145 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: Ni ena'a peo! you go not.acc

TED: How do you say "Stay!"?
MH: Ni pokoiai! you stay

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

Comparative data are given in the Finder List following.

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<td>arirokoai ena</td>
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<td>pig</td>
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<td>kill(pig)</td>
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<td>aavoav</td>
<td>stupid</td>
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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).

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<td>M, I: aie 'gee, sorry, alas, heh'</td>
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<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Motu</td>
<td>Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apau</td>
<td>Apau section in Boera village</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>areca nut</td>
<td>M,I: -ana 'question tag'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aren't you?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asi</td>
<td>M,Ko,I: ripi 'bad'; K: lipi 'bad'; B: dipi 'bad'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bad</td>
<td>ripiripi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beach</td>
<td>miri 'beach'; Ko,I: miri 'sand'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>betelnut</td>
<td>puou (large); ku (small) ki 'ukani (roasted) 'betelnut'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>big</td>
<td>ovara 'big'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big Man</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boera</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boy</td>
<td>ukua (mau'u) 'young boy', child' B: ukua 'child'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bring</td>
<td>mailaia 'bring'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>build(canoe)</td>
<td>piria 'tie (rope)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canoe</td>
<td>vapea 'large canoe, boat'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canoe log, asi</td>
<td>ipa 'canoe'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chief</td>
<td>amua, amua vake 'chief'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>ukua 'child'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clan - see ravi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>come</td>
<td>M,K, Ko: ane; I: 'ane 'come'; B: ane 'come'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cook</td>
<td>M,B: evi(a); I: 'evi' 'cook'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cut (sago)</td>
<td>karene</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

61
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cutter, boat</td>
<td>kata</td>
<td>English: kata 'cutter'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>die</td>
<td>imua</td>
<td>I: imue; K: imua 'die'; B: imu'a 'dead'</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>difficult - see 'hard'</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>English: ai 'eye'; K,B: inamu 'eye'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>nao</td>
<td>Motu: nao 'foreigner, European'</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>mai</td>
<td>M,K,Ko,I,B: mai 'father'</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>finished</td>
<td>oaiio</td>
<td>M: o'aiio, B,K: o'ai'o, I: oaiio 'okay, all right, that's it, finished';</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fish</td>
<td>nava</td>
<td>M,K,B: nava, Ko: emeke, I: ina 'fish'</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>food</td>
<td>pei, pevi</td>
<td>M: pei 'sago soup, thing'; I: pei 'food'; B: pe(?) 'food'; K: navai 'food'</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>former</td>
<td>eni</td>
<td>B: eni(pa'iri) 'former (site)'</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friend</td>
<td>vake</td>
<td>M,K,Ko,I: vake 'man, husband'; B: na'avake 'friend'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>future tense - see 'will'</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>get</td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>M,I: mi 'get'; K: mi'ine 'get'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>give</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td>Verb 'to give' is complex. No reliable evidence of full range of forms</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>ena</td>
<td>M,K,B: ena; I:'ena 'go'</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good</td>
<td>ima</td>
<td>M,K,Ko,I,B: ima 'good'</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gorugoru</td>
<td>ama</td>
<td>No evidence</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>happy</td>
<td>kupai</td>
<td>K: kopai 'happy'; B: kopae (or kopa'i(?)) 'happy'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hard</td>
<td>kani</td>
<td>K: kani 'hard'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>ia</td>
<td>Motu: ia 'he'</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heh</td>
<td>e,e,i,aie</td>
<td>M,I: e 'heh'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hesitation</td>
<td>element</td>
<td>Koita: ono 'what-is-it?' as hesitation element</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>marea</td>
<td>M,K,Ko,I: marea 'house'; B: mare'a 'house'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>how many</td>
<td>ekarakaharuana</td>
<td>M: ekara'aruana, K: ekaraorua, I: eka'a aruana, B: ekava'aru'ana 'how many, how much'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Motu</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hungry</td>
<td>nemu</td>
<td>M,K,Ko,I: nemu 'belly'; B: nemu 'pregnant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>na, nai</td>
<td>M,K,Ko,I: nai 'I', na 'me'; B: na'i 'I', na' 'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I'ai - see Iare</td>
<td>Iare</td>
<td>Motu name for the I'ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iare</td>
<td>Iare</td>
<td>Motu name for the I'ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilimo tree</td>
<td>kuro</td>
<td>No evidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>insides</td>
<td>rae</td>
<td>No evidence except K: raekora 'to think (lit. talk inside)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isn't it? - see aren't you?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kill (pig)</td>
<td>avai</td>
<td>M,B: a' a, I: e'oa 'kill(pig)'; B: ava 'kill'; I: 'eva 'hit (with hand)'; K: a'ane 'kill'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koivi</td>
<td>Koivi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>know</td>
<td>ipa</td>
<td>K,B: ipa 'know'; I: voa ipa 'understand language'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>language</td>
<td>voa</td>
<td>M,I: voa 'language'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>later</td>
<td>rekopani</td>
<td>M,I: maura 'later'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>like what?</td>
<td>ekaramariai</td>
<td>No evidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>little - see 'small'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>little piece/ bit of</td>
<td>pene</td>
<td>HTL(E): pene 'little piece/bit of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>live</td>
<td>pokei, peke</td>
<td>M,K: pokoi, I: pu oi 'stay, live, dwell'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>look for</td>
<td>evoroi ena</td>
<td>M: meve, K,I: veve'e 'look for'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inamoiai,</td>
<td>M: inamu'i, I: oi 'see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>make (sago)</td>
<td>oka-</td>
<td>M: pu o'o 'make sago'; B: oka 'make (but pu'o'o 'make sago')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>vake</td>
<td>M,K,Ko: vake, I: a'a 'man'; B: bake 'person'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M: a'a 'people'; I,B: a'a 'man'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>many</td>
<td>aira</td>
<td>K,B: aira 'many'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>na, nai</td>
<td>M,I: na 'me'; B: na'i 'me'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me (?)</td>
<td>naio</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>men's house - see ravi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td>mei</td>
<td>B: meio 'mother'; K: ai 'mother'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Motu  Moku
my  na,nai  I: na 'my'; B: na'i, na', na'i'oko 'my'
name  noe  M,I: no'e 'name'; K: neo 'name'; B: ne'o 'name'
no!  a'i!  M,I: a'i 'no!'; B: ai'i 'no'
one  eria  I: erio 'none'
ot  pea,peare  M,I: peo 'not'; B: pe'o 'not', K: pe 'not', peo 'no'
not want  raria  No evidence
now  eai(eai)  I: eai rare 'now'; B: eai 'now'
O: eae miki 'now'
okay - see 'all right'
one  mo  M: mo 'another'; B: mo'u 'one'
only  monou  M: monou; K,I: monou 'one'; B: mono'u 'one only'
or  o  Motu, English: o 'or'
    eiava  Motu: eiava 'or'
past tense - see 'tense-aspect marker'

piece of  pene  HTL(E): pene 'a little piece/bit of'
pig  auri  M,K,Ko,B,I: a'uri 'pig'
place  mako  M,I: mako 'place'; Ko: ra'a 'place'; K: omako 'place'

possessive marker  ve  HTL(E): -ve 'possessive marker'
pot  vana  M,Ko: vana 'pot (uro)'
aia(ka)  M: 'eia 'pot (lau)'
era'a,eraio  HTL(E): era 'pot' Motu: uro 'pot'
uro  Motu: uro 'pot'
present tense - see 'tense aspect marker'
put  pokoi-  K: ai'ine 'put'; M: pokoi, I: pukoi 'stay'

question tag - see 'aren't you'
quickly  emaiemana  M: epuana; Ko,I,K,B: emana 'quickly'
ravi  ravi  Mo,I: ravi 'men's house'; B: ravi 'clan'
really - see 'accentuation' and 'true'
recently - see 'now'

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sago pu M,Ko,I,B: pu 'sago'
second namba tu Police Motu: namba tu 'second'
see inamoiai M: inamu o'i, K: oia, I: o'i,
small mau( mau), maue B: inamu o'i a'i 'see'
      N: mau 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 eoaia No evidence
tense-aspect markers V-ai See section 3.21.2 para (c)
       V-(v)aria(ri/io)
that o, ou M: o, I: ire 'that'
that one oure, ioure B: o'ure'e 'that one (near the
person spoken to)'; i'ore'e 'that one (away from both)'
this ei M: ei, K: ire, I: ere 'this'
this one eire B: i'ire'e 'this one'
those - see 'that'
tie - see 'build (canoe)'
time pani I: pani 'time'; I: rare, K: lare
      'day, time'
to ø M,I: -a'i 'to, at'
toea shell mapua No evidence
too oko K,I,B: oko 'also, too'; M: oko
      'together with, also'
trade partner - see 'man'
true, truly, well, very miki M,K,I: miki 'true'; B: miki 'truly, very,'
two rearea, rere M: re'e re'e, Ko: re'e ko;
      I: re'e ko; B: de'ere'e 'two'
very - see 'true'
village pairi M,K,Ko,I,B: pa'iri 'village, place'
walk around - see 'stroll about'
not want raria I: na rario 'I don't want it' versus na rai mikio 'I want it badly'
(like)what? ekaramariai M,I: oiana 'what', K: ekaraoma 'where at'; M: ekarama 'where from' ekara'ena 'where to'
what(are you doing?) oiamanika'e B: o'i'ana'a 'what'
where(go)? ekeimenae B: ekimere 'where from'
which ekei M: ekei mako'o'ana, I: ekeima'oana 'where at'; B: ekimere 'where from'
who koana M,I: koana 'who'; B: ko'ana 'who'
wife ae M,K,Ko,I,E: a'e 'wife'
will - see '-(v)aria in Section 3.21.2 para (c)
work iaki I,B: iaki 'work'
yes e M,I,B: e 'yes'
oibe Motu: oibe 'yes'
you(subject, object) ni M,K,Ko,I,B: ni 'you'
your ni I,B: ni 'your'
? eio
? -ka
? lano
? mouru
? -re

-----------------------------------------------

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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 indentification 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 Elaman 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.
17. MH/102 refers to utterance 102 by Moi Higo. All other examples are similarly identified.

18. Sentences ending in -o or -u are usually derived morphophonemically from those ending in other vowels, the -o and -u being in both Motu Koriki and in 'true Koriki an accentuation (or 'affirmation' (Ray, 1907:330)) morpheme which means something like 'really' in English.

19. Apeare appears to be either a derivative of, or an invention based on, the 'true' Koriki form api'a (Kairi and Kolia, 1977:17, 34).

20. Vivian Ore said that this was the Koriki proper dialect form but I have been unable to check this. It is not mentioned in either Ray (1907) or Holmes (1913).


22. Sometimes speakers do say na ipapea but I do not know under what circumstances or whether this is a recent development in the language. The monimal question and answer forms, positive and negative, are, I am assured, as follows:

   Q: Ni ipana? 'Do you know?' A: Na ipou. 'I know.'
       you know. Q  I know. acc

   Q: Ni pauana? 'Don't you know?' A: E, na paua o! 'Yes, I
       you not know. Q  yes  I not know. acc don't.'

23. -ao and -eo could also be counted as variants but since they derive from ai or ae + o and ei + o it is not necessary to include them as such here.

24. The meanings given here may look more or less incongruous but are those implied by the context from which the examples are taken.

25. Ray (1907:328-29) has substantially the same set (viz., -riai, kiai, kavai) although he interprets them all as 'causatives'.

26. Note that the examples that Holmes (1913:138) gives imply that there are several imperative suffixes: -aia, -ne [=ne'e], -ra which include reference to the location where the action is to take place, e.g., kikiriiaia 'Write, write down!'; kikirine 'Write, write here!'; kikirira 'Write, write here!'. -ne'e is, however, the only form I was given in elicitation.

27. There is the odd example where Moi used -(v)aria also (v. utterance 96: enavaria ' (you) go and...') or some other 'true' Koriki form (v. utterance 137: Oaiq. ena'a! 'Okay off you go!' or utterance 148: ena'a 'Go!') although these are not the correct imperative forms in Koriki as already noted.

28. See Kairi and Kolia (1977: 32, para (d)) for a set of different conditioned variants of -a'i.
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. Orie 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): minimasi 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.


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 Porobada, 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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