

### 7.4.3. HIRI MOTU

#### 7.4.3.1. THE LANGUAGE ITSELF

T.E. Dutton and H.A. Brown

##### 7.4.3.1.1. INTRODUCTION

Hiri Motu is the name currently used to refer to the principal lingua franca of Papua, which is a pidginised form of Motu, the Austronesian language spoken in and around Port Moresby.<sup>1</sup> Today this language is spoken throughout most of Papua and serves as the unofficial language of administration as well as the principal means of communication between Papuans (and to some extent New Guineans and Europeans)<sup>2</sup> speaking mutually unintelligible languages. In recent years it has assumed increasing importance in national politics in Papua New Guinea<sup>3</sup> and is receiving increasing attention by linguists interested in the formation and development of pidgin languages.

This chapter discusses the origin, development, nature, and use of this language. It is based on published and unpublished material as well as on the authors' own knowledge of the language.<sup>4</sup>

##### 7.4.3.1.1.1. HISTORY OF DEVELOPMENT OF HIRI MOTU

When Europeans arrived to settle in Papua, the Motu were involved in a network of trading relationships with linguistically related and unrelated groups east and west of their present position. The keystone of this network was the hiri,<sup>5</sup> or annual trading voyage to the Gulf of Papua some 200 miles to the west. During these voyages, the Motu visited such groups as the Elema (or Toaripi) around Freshwater Bay at the eastern end of the Gulf, and the Koriki<sup>6</sup> around the Purari River delta

in the heel further west. These groups speak non-Austronesian languages unrelated to Motu and markedly different from it.

On these visits (and on return visits by the same groups)<sup>7</sup> the Motu exchanged clay pots, shell ornaments and stone axes/adzes for sago, canoe logs and other Gulf products, but the primary purpose was to obtain sago which the Motu and others in the drier areas around Port Moresby needed to supplement their diet during the periodic shortages of food that generally accompany the fall-off in rainfall during the South-East Monsoon season. Although the origin of these visits is unknown it is generally agreed that it lies with the Apau Motu section of Boera<sup>8</sup> just west of Port Moresby who are supposed to have migrated to their present position in stages from somewhere in the vicinity of Cape Possession.<sup>9</sup> This tradition is embodied in a myth which tells how knowledge of the hiri was revealed to one, Edai Siabo, a Boera man, by a spirit in an ocean cave.<sup>10</sup>

But even though the hiri were the most spectacular of the Motu trading voyages, they did not represent the only ones they entered into: they also engaged in shorter ones to such neighbouring groups as the Doura and Gabadi to the west and the Hula and Aroma to the east, all of which speak Austronesian languages very closely related to Motu. These shorter voyages were known variously as gaura, daiva, and hirilou (< hiri + lou 'return')<sup>11</sup> and like the hiri were stimulated by the periodic shortages of food experienced during the South-East Monsoon season.

Thus the Motu and other groups around Port Moresby and in the Gulf spent much of their time visiting and being visited by their trading partners. During these visits, the Motu and their partners from the Gulf apparently (that is, as far as we can tell from the presently available sources) communicated with each other in a trading language which was never properly recorded but which seems to have been some kind of mixture of Motu and Toaripi. There are no records of the language used by trading partners involved in the more local voyages such as the hirilou but presumably this was of a different kind since those involved were speakers of closely related Austronesian languages. However, we shall return to these questions in the next section where the possibilities are discussed in more detail.

#### 7.4.3.1.1.1. The hiri Trading Language

The first references of any sort to any 'unusual' language spoken by the Motu is that contained in references to W.G. Lawes' early attempts to learn Motu from villagers in Port Moresby harbour where he and his wife first settled in 1874. According to several recent reports,<sup>12</sup> the

Motu were never keen on teaching him their 'true' language but instead attempted to communicate with him in and later to teach him 'a simplified form of their language' (Chatterton 1970:96). However, it was not until some time later that his son, Frank, who played with the boys of the village and learned the 'true' language from them drew his father's attention to the deception. Even so it was only with difficulty that Lawes was able to learn the true language, because many of the villagers were still opposed to imparting this knowledge to strangers, a position some of the older men maintained until the 1920s (Chatterton 1970:95).<sup>13</sup>

Unfortunately there are no records of this simplified language taught to Lawes although it might be possible to reconstruct some of the features of it from a careful study of some of Lawes' early translations, especially his first one *Buka Kunana: Levaleva Tuahia Adipaia* which appeared in 1877 (Lawes 1877b), before he had become fully conversant in the 'true' language.<sup>14</sup> Nor is there any indication of how widespread the use of this 'simplified Motu' was. However, judging by some of the comments in Lawes' letters to the headquarters of the London Missionary Society to which he belonged, it, or something between it and the 'true' language, was known at least amongst the Hula on Hood Point 60 miles to the east, for on one occasion Lawes notes (Lawes 1877a:197): '... we anchored ... off one of the villages of Hood Point ... I preached to a large and very attentive congregation in the Port Moresby dialect, which they understand pretty well.'

Something different, however, was apparently spoken between the Motu and the Elema tribes to the west for Lawes was unable to communicate with them very effectively and noted (1877a:199) that 'for any satisfactory communication we want a Port Moresby chief as introducer and interpreter. The tribes a long way along the coast have a savage character but are on friendly terms with the Port Moresby people.' Although Lawes did not know it at the time, what he needed was a knowledge of the special hiri trading language which Motu tradition also associated with the hiri - knowledge of both having been revealed to Edai Siabo already mentioned - and which had apparently developed out of the contact between the Elema and other Gulf tribes with the Motu.

Many of those Europeans living and working in Port Moresby and surrounding districts soon after, if not at that time, undoubtedly knew of the existence and use of such a language, but judging by the extant record most of these apparently never thought it worth their while mentioning it, let alone recording it or discussing it in a serious way. Consequently the little that we now know about it has had to be reconstructed from a few incomplete and passing references to it in the

available early literature cross-checked whenever possible with present-day informants.

There are three references to the language in the early records. Two of these (MacGregor 1891:xxv, and Chalmers 1895:94) merely indicate that a trading language was spoken between the Motu and the Toaripi but do not discuss it beyond casually mentioning, as MacGregor (op.cit.) did, that it was 'a jargon ... blended from both languages'.

The third observer, Barton, was a little more helpful although he too leaves much to be desired. His reference to the language is in a chapter on the hiri that he wrote for C.G. Seligman's book *The Melanesians of British New Guinea* in 1910 (Barton 1910). In this he baldly presents, as though as an afterthought, a 182-word 'vocabulary of the trading language (used) by the Elema natives and their visitors (the Motu)' under the rubric 'Lakatoi Language'. This list is very interesting not only because it is the only extant linguistic record of the language but also because approximately 87% of its items are from Elema or Elema-related languages and only 13% from Motu, most of which in turn are those for items associated with trading (e.g. 'bundle' (listed as 'bale'), 'beach', 'belly', 'cooking pot', 'drum', 'farewell', 'hunger', 'no', 'payment', 'pig', 'river', 'sleep', 'South-East', 'strike (or fight)', 'tobacco', 'yam', and 'yes'). The annoying thing about this list is, however, that Barton did not indicate how typical he thought the vocabulary in it was of the language as a whole so that much of its value is lost. However, knowing what we do of contact languages elsewhere and of the Papuan trading situation in particular, it is likely that the proportion of Motu to non-Motu elements of vocabulary in the speech of any two individuals at any one time was not fixed, but varied (within limits) according to the situation and the linguistic abilities of the speakers involved at that time. Thus, for example, if a Motu man were talking to a Toaripi partner in a Toaripi village it is highly likely that he would use as much Toaripi as he could muster. On the other hand if a Toaripi man were talking to a Motu partner in a Motu village he would be likely to air all the Motu he knew. Yet a certain amount of Motu must have been involved in all contacts, and the Motu must have been held in reasonably high regard, for all the languages and dialects around the Gulf of Papua today have Motu loans embedded in them whereas Motu shows little or no borrowing from Gulf languages in return. Consequently Barton's list should be treated with caution and probably taken as no more than indicative of the sort of Motu to non-Motu elements that one could expect in the circumstances. It is regrettable, however, that Barton did not spell this out definitely for us. So far present-day

informants have added nothing new to the hiri vocabulary picture but this source has hardly been little more than casually tapped as yet.

Structure-wise we have even less to work with than for vocabulary but from what evidence there is it is probably safe to conclude that the structure of the hiri language was something between the 'simplified Motu' taught to Lawes and a combination of elements from Motu and Gulf District languages. It could not have been 'pure' Elema otherwise Chalmers (1895:94) would hardly have complained that 'I have been trying to translate two hymns, but I find the Motuans do not know a word of the true Elema dialect ...' (suggesting that they knew something less, such as would be the case if the trade language contained some(?)/a considerable amount(?) of Elema vocabulary but was different grammatically) and it could not merely have been 'simplified Motu' as he was himself, like Lawes, fluent in the 'true' language. Certainly present-day Hiri Motu contains elements which are non-Motu and which probably came from this source though they need not have. For example, whereas 'true' Motu verbs have a complex negative conjugation, Hiri Motu simply uses the form lasi 'not' as a negative marker after the verb. For example 'true' Motu se kamonai 'he does not hear' would be said as ia kamonai lasi in Hiri Motu. Now because this construction is similar to ones in both Toaripi and Kiwai languages which use kao and tato<sup>15</sup> for 'not' respectively, it is probably true that lasi in Hiri Motu represents a continuation of an old construction used in the trading language since it would have been easily assimilated by the Kiwai-speakers who formed the backbone of Sir William MacGregor's newly formed Armed Constabulary in the early 1890s and from which time Hiri Motu in its present form dates.<sup>16</sup> Similar comments can be made about the use of vadaeni as a sentence connective meaning 'and then, well' which corresponds with the use of soka and aime in Toaripi and Kiwai respectively.<sup>17</sup>

The other *point de départ* is aspect. In 'true' Motu the suffixes -va and -mu are attached to the verb to indicate continuous action in the past and continuous action in the present respectively. Of these two Hiri Motu has only a counterpart to the second. This is noho 'stay, dwell' which is placed after the verb, e.g. ia helai noho 'he is sitting down'. A similar structure is used in Toaripi to express the same idea except that the form used is pea and not noho which is a Motu form. Thus whereas in 'true' Motu one says e kirimu 'he is laughing', in Hiri Motu and Toaripi one says ia kiri noho and are area laipea respectively. As there is no corresponding form to this in Kiwai it must be that this construction derives from the trading language.<sup>18</sup>

However, to return to the trading language, there is one further point and that is the question of the range of use of the trading language. The only reference to this in the published and unpublished literature so far examined is Barton's (1907:16) reference to the 'curious trading dialect in vogue between the Motu and Gulf tribes'. This statement was made by Barton in the course of explaining how he induced three Kaimare (i.e. Purari Delta) visitors to Port Moresby to return with him to the Gulf of Papua in the government launch 'Merrie England' and how he also took along as interpreter 'an elderly Motu man who was well acquainted with the curious trading dialect in vogue between the Motu and Gulf tribes'. This is interesting from the point of view that the observation about the distribution and use of the language corresponds well with the known distribution of hiri trading partners. On the other hand there is no indication in this of whether essentially the same language as he later described for the Elema-Motu contact already discussed above was used by the Motu in talking with the Kaimare as with the Elema. In other words was the trading language a fairly uniform variety or did it consist of a number of dialects? Chatterton (1970:95) has argued that it must have consisted of several dialects/varieties because of the different and unrelated languages involved and this would seem to be a reasonable expectation in view of all that has been said so far. It would be interesting to know however, what the relationship between these was and how they developed - whether independently or via mutual (intermediate) contacts.

So much then for the hiri trading language. But what of its relation to those used in more local trading, e.g. such as in gaura, daiva, and hirilou contacts? Unfortunately, here again, there are no extant records. From what has been said about the hiri language, however, it is unlikely that such groups as the Doura, Gabadi, and Hula, which as already noted, speak Austronesian languages very closely related to Motu, would have found it necessary to learn special vocabulary suited to trading with Gulf District peoples, if in fact they never traded directly with those people themselves, but only with the Motu. Besides, if they had learned this special vocabulary, surely someone among the early missionaries and government representatives would have commented on this since these were the first groups of peoples to be contacted and have their languages studied by Europeans after the Motu. What is more likely is that they used some variety of Motu, more or less simplified, according to their frequency of contact with the Motu.

In review then it is probably true to say that at contact, the Motu had developed - or at least were using - a range of contact languages

which they found suitable for trading with various groups along the Papuan coast. These languages, or varieties of one language, were based on their own language but probably varied considerably in vocabulary and to a lesser extent, grammar, over time and distance. The two extremes of this range are represented by the hiri trading language (characterised by much Elema vocabulary) and the 'simplified Motu' taught to Lawes, about which little is known, but which was probably something like the Central or Austronesian variety of present-day Hiri Motu discussed below.

#### 7.4.3.1.1.1.2. Hiri Motu

As already noted, when Europeans first arrived as missionaries in 1874 they were lucky enough to land in the very centre of a Papuan world dominated by the Motu with established contact languages and themselves 'favoured nation' along much of the coast of Papua. When the Government arrived ten years later and also settled amongst the Motu, the London Missionary Society was firmly established and had already reduced Motu to writing, knew something of the peoples around about, and had begun formal schooling for local Papuans. It was natural to expect, therefore, that Motu in one form or another would serve as a contact language and lingua franca for the development of this new colony.

In the beginning the Government relied heavily on the mission,<sup>19</sup> the Motu, and others who may have preceded it and had learned something of Motu,<sup>20</sup> for assistance and guidance in communicating with local peoples. However, as Government control and contact expanded this situation gradually changed until by 1904 Barton was acknowledging the existence of a 'pidgin Motu'<sup>21</sup> and Murray, soon afterwards, was complaining about the use in the police force of 'a kind of dog Motu - hardly intelligible to those who speak Motu as their native language'.<sup>22</sup> Although there is no record of the stages by which this change came about, nor of the varieties in use, it is clear from the record that the principal agents in this change were members of the police force (serving<sup>23</sup> and retired<sup>24</sup>) and 'discharged convicts'<sup>25</sup> from gaols in Port Moresby and on outstations dotted around the country.

Initially this force consisted of 'a dozen Solomon Islanders ... two Fijian non-commissioned officers ... and some eight Papuans',<sup>26</sup> seven of whom were from the Kiwai area of the Western Division of Papua and the remaining one from the (then) Eastern Division. Subsequently all of the Solomon Islanders and Fijians were replaced by locally recruited Papuans from the various districts being opened up. Initially many of these belonged to the Western District

chiefly to the islands of Kiwai and Parama, at the mouth of the Fly River ... (because) these men come into frequent contact with white people (and) ... many of them have worked aboard pearling luggers ... (and) speak English ... (although) equally good men belong to the Central and Eastern Divisions, but they are in most cases handicapped by not speaking English.<sup>27</sup>

Later, however, recruits were added from the Northern and North-Eastern Divisions as these were opened up and by 1905 recruits from these areas outnumbered those from the Western Division and represented more than one-third of the total force of 150 members.

Right from the beginning the languages of the force were English and Motu<sup>28</sup> and even though English was regarded as the official language and attempts were constantly made to suppress Motu,<sup>29</sup> Motu continued to be used as the means of communication between members speaking different languages, because, as MacGregor (1891:xxx) noted, Motu, for Papuans, was 'more easily acquired than English'. However, at some point between then and 1904 the Motu of the police force had generally 'degenerated' into the kind of 'pidgin Motu' that Barton (1904:16) had noted and the 'kind of dog Motu' that Murray (1907:21) had complained of. Whether this was a completely new development unrelated to the varieties of trade language existing before the coming of the White Man as already outlined, or whether it was merely a continuation of one or more of these or a modification of them, is difficult to say with any certainty given the lack of evidence. It would seem most likely, however, that, given that the police force largely consisted of Papuans from outside the Central District,<sup>30</sup> that some form of the hiri trading language, relexified with Motu vocabulary to suit the new circumstances, would have formed the basis of their new language which became generally known, through its association with the police force, as Police Motu. Through time and the interaction of this language with 'true' Motu, which was widely used throughout Central Papua as a church language, this language developed its own variants which today fall into two clearly distinguishable dialects which are described in the next section.

Meanwhile the name Police Motu (and to a lesser extent Pidgin Motu) continued to be used to refer to this unofficial lingua franca<sup>31</sup> until about 1970 when there was a growing feeling amongst Europeans in Papua interested in the language that this title was no longer appropriate and should be changed. These views were expressed publicly by Chatterton in a paper to the Third Annual Congress of the Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea and later published in the society's journal *Kivung* as follows:

Assuming that Police Motu will have a continuing usefulness as a lingua franca in the foreseeable future, the question of

finding a more suitable name for it arises, especially as, following the post-war amalgamation of the Papua and New Guinea police forces, it has largely dropped out of use as a lingua franca within the police force, though of course, used extensively by police in their contacts with Papuans. I hope that in the discussion which follows this paper someone will come up with a bright idea for a new name for this language.<sup>32</sup>

Sometime afterwards a Conference on Police Motu was convened by the Department of Information and Extension Services, Port Moresby, in May 1971.<sup>33</sup> At that conference it was decided to recommend that the name Police Motu be changed to Hiri Motu in all future references to the language. As part of a campaign to help publicise this name Chatterton's little grammar and vocabulary of 1950, *A Primer of Police Motu*, was revised and reissued under the new title *Hiri Motu* (1972). Other authors have since followed suit<sup>34</sup> so that now there is quite wide acceptance of the new name - at least amongst Europeans and most educated Papua New Guineans. For most others, however, Hiri Motu is still simply Motu or Motu gado (lit. '*Motu language*'). Those who know the difference between this language and 'true' Motu make the distinction as necessary by referring to Hiri Motu as polis Motu (lit. '*Police Motu*'), pisin Motu (lit. '*Pidgin Motu*') or gwau nao (lit. '*speech foreign/European*')<sup>35</sup> and/or to 'true' Motu as Motu korikori. Note, however, that Hiri Motu of today is not the same as the trading language of yore although the name may suggest so.

#### 7.4.3.1.1.2. DISTRIBUTION AND VARIETIES

A survey of the distribution of Police Motu (now Hiri Motu) by Brett et al. in 1962<sup>36</sup> showed that Police Motu was at that time spoken throughout the whole of Papua except for those areas which have had little contact with the Administration (as in distant parts of the Western, Gulf, and Southern Highlands Districts) or where there were competing church languages (e.g. in the Milne Bay District (see Wurm 1970)). The highest percentage of speakers is, understandably, to be found in the Central District with the percentages diminishing as one moves away from Port Moresby and inland except for the Purari River delta area where it has almost become a vernacular following the Tommy Kabu Movement there in the 1950s.<sup>37</sup> At that time the number of speakers was estimated to be approximately 65,000 although this did not include 12,000 Motu and Koita villagers around Port Moresby who speak 'true' Motu as first or second languages. In the 1966 Census, however, something like 110,000 persons over ten years of age in Papua claimed to be able to speak 'simple Police Motu' (that is, could answer census questions in it)<sup>38</sup> but others have suggested the figure could be as high as 200,000.<sup>39</sup>

Understandably then if the language is spoken by such a large number over a wide area it is natural to expect that there will be some variation in it from one area to another. Thus there is no such thing as standard Hiri Motu but a series of varieties (distinguishable chiefly by their sound systems) representing varying degrees of difference within two dialects - the Central, or Austronesian, dialect and the non-Central, or non-Austronesian, dialect. The first of these is that used mostly by speakers from the Central District (now Province) whose native languages are Austronesian; the other variant is the Hiri Motu used by speakers from other parts of the Central District and from other districts (now provinces) of Papua where the languages are mostly non-Austronesian (or Papuan). This latter variant is much more widespread and several authors have advocated that it (or selected parts of it) should be regarded as the standard variety for purposes of general communication throughout Papua.<sup>40</sup> It differs from the Central or Austronesian variant in having a number of grammatical features which are not typical of that variety. For example, whereas the Central dialect generally follows the 'true' Motu manner of indicating possession with parts of the body and kinship terms, as well as in its manner of marking pronoun objects in the verb, the non-Central dialect does not. Compare for example, the following:

English	'true' Motu	Central Hiri Motu	non-Central Hiri Motu
<i>my father</i>	tama- <u>gu</u>	{ <u>lau-egu</u> tamana tama- <u>gu</u>	<u>lau-egu</u> tamana
<i>your father</i>	tama- <u>mu</u>	{ <u>oi-emu</u> tamana tama- <u>mu</u>	<u>oi-emu</u> tamana
<i>his head</i>	kwara- <u>na</u>	<u>ia-ena</u> kwara-na	<u>ia-ena</u> kwarana
<i>I saw you</i>	na ita- <u>mu</u>	lau lta- <u>mu</u>	{ <u>oi</u> lau ltaia lau itaia <u>oi</u>

Generally too, the phonology and grammar of the Central or Austronesian dialect is closer to 'true' Motu. As already suggested, the reason for this is to be found in the linguistic history of the area. This area is occupied by Austronesian-speakers whose languages are very similar in structure to 'true' Motu. It is therefore natural to expect that in using Hiri Motu they will use language forms that are already familiar to them from their own linguistic background unlike speakers of non-Austronesian languages to whom these forms are strange. Not only that but as 'true' Motu is used as a church language throughout much of Central Papua this also helps to keep speakers oriented towards the

'purer' forms. Further differences will be pointed out in the grammatical and phonological descriptions which follow.

#### 7.4.3.1.1.3. THE LINGUISTIC STRUCTURE OF HIRI MOTU

No descriptive grammar of Hiri Motu has yet been attempted and none will be attempted in this chapter.<sup>41</sup> However, since Hiri Motu is similar in many ways to 'true' Motu from which it is derived it will be convenient to discuss its structure in terms of that language. The following notes therefore represent a summary account of the main features of Hiri Motu particularly as they distinguish it from 'true' Motu.<sup>42</sup> These notes are based on material contained in Brett et al. 1962a, Wurm 1964, and Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974.

##### 7.4.3.1.1.3.1. Phonology

Consonants: Hiri Motu has the following consonants:<sup>43</sup>

		Bilabial	Dental-alveolar	Velar	Glottal
Stops	plain	vl	p	t	k
		vd	b	d	g
	labialised				gw
Nasals		m	n		
Fricatives		vl	f	s	h
		vd	v		
Flaps			r		
Laterals			l		

Of these the voiceless plain stops are unaspirated, and /f/ only occurs in English loanwords like faiv 'five', foto 'photo'. In some varieties of the Central dialect the distinction between /r/ and /l/, /f/ and /p/, and /b/ and /v/ may not be maintained, and /h/ may not occur. Similar variations may also be heard in the non-Central dialect as well as the following:

- i) /r/ may be replaced by /d/ word-initially;
- ii) /l,r/ may be replaced word-medially by /n/;
- iii) voiced stops may be devoiced;
- iv) /gw/ will generally be replaced by /kw/.

Consonantly, Central Hiri Motu differs from 'true' Motu in having:

- 1) a voiced velar stop /g/ corresponding to both a voiced velar stop /g/ and a voiced velar fricative /ɣ/ in 'true' Motu, e.g. guria

'to bury' and *γuria* 'to pray to' in Motu are both *guria* 'to bury, to pray to' in Hiri Motu;

ii) free fluctuation, in most varieties, between /r/ and /l/ so that *lau* 'I' and *rau* 'leaf' of 'true' Motu are both heard as *rau* (or *lau*) in Hiri Motu for both 'I' and 'leaf'.

Vowels: Hiri Motu has five vowels:

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

There is little variation in vowel quality across dialects and between varieties within dialects. Length of vowel is not significant. All sequences of vowels occur within words but *ae*, *oe*, *ao* only occur across morpheme boundaries, e.g. the sequence *ao* occurs in the bi-morphemic word *haorea* 'to complete (something)' but only across the morpheme boundary *ha-* 'causative' and *orea* 'to finish'.

Thus, whereas Motu has the following pairs of phoneme sequences within words, Hiri Motu does not, both pairs being realised by the same sequence, e.g.:

Motu	Hiri Motu
<i>ae</i> <i>ai</i> }	<i>ai</i>
<i>ao</i> <i>au</i> }	<i>au</i>
<i>oe</i> <i>oi</i> }	<i>oi</i>

Thus Motu *lao* 'to go' and *lau* 'I' both become *lau* 'to go, I' in Hiri Motu. The same is true of the non-Central dialect except that *au* never occurs in any environment since it is replaced by /o/ in words that contain *au* in the Central dialect, e.g. *koraia* in the non-Central dialect.

Syllables: All syllables in all varieties of Hiri Motu are open and the following syllable patterns occur:

V	o	'or'
CV	diba	'know'
CVV	tau	'man'
VV	oi	'you'

In sequences of vowels stress determines the interpretation of syllable structure. For example *táu* 'man' is regarded as one syllable because stress falls on the first vowel, but *niú* 'coconut' would be regarded as consisting of two syllables because stress falls on the second vowel.

Stress: Each Hiri Motu word contains only one stressed syllable, the placement of which is not predictable.

i) words consisting of two syllables of which the second begins with a consonant have their stress (marked ' in examples) mostly on the first syllable, e.g.:

<i>gíni</i>	'to stand'
<i>áne</i>	'song'

Exceptions:

<i>idáu</i>	'different'
<i>dogái</i>	'widower'
<i>metáu</i>	'heavy'
<i>niú</i>	'coconut'
<i>heáu</i>	'to run'
<i>heái</i>	'to fight'

ii) words of more than two syllables never have their stress on the final syllable, e.g.:

<i>bogakúnu</i>	'full (with food)'
<i>dábarere</i>	'dawn'

iii) words of more than two syllables are variously stressed depending on morphemic structure, e.g.:

<i>kubórukubóru</i>	'round'
<i>dogoatáo</i>	'to hold'
<i>magánibada</i>	'ridge pole'
<i>dúrua</i>	'to help'
<i>taunimánima</i>	'people'
<i>hadikáia</i>	'to spoil'

iv) in a few instances the position of the stress in a word undergoes regular changes when a suffix is added, e.g.:

<i>námo</i>	'good'	<i>namóna</i>	'(a) good one'
		<i>namódia</i>	'good ones'
<i>néga</i>	'time'	<i>negána</i>	'(a) time'
		<i>negádia</i>	'times'
<i>héreva</i>	'talk'	<i>herevána</i>	'the thing which is said'
		<i>herevadia</i>	'the things that are said'

Except for the following cases, the stress patterns of Hiri Motu are similar to those of 'true' Motu. These cases concern only a small subset

of words in Motu. In these different stress placement (marked ') distinguishes between singularity and plurality of the noun, e.g.:

hahíne 'woman' versus háhine 'women'  
 kekéni 'girl' versus kékeni 'girls'

In Hiri Motu there is no change in the position of the stress to indicate number so that both these words would appear as hahíne 'woman, women' and kekéni 'girl, girls'.

#### 7.4.3.1.1.3.2. Grammar

This is the area of principal difference between Motu and Hiri Motu. Compared with 'true' Motu, Hiri Motu has a much reduced structure, particularly as regards verb morphology, as well as several features not found in 'true' Motu. Each of these will be discussed in turn.

The principal difference between Motu and Hiri Motu is that the many Motu words and affixes indicating tense, aspect, mode, person, and number do not occur in Hiri Motu. Thus in Motu, tense is always indicated by one form or another but in Hiri Motu the words vadaeni (and in some cases vada) indicating past tense and dohore or do indicating future tense are the only ways of showing tense, e.g.:

Hiri Motu	lau itaia vadaeni	}	'I saw it'
Motu	Na itaia(va)		
Hiri Motu	Dohore	}	lau itaia
	Do		
Motu	Baina itaia	}	'I'll see it'

If neither of these is used the tense may be read as either present, past, or future depending on other elements in the same or neighbouring sentences, e.g.:

lau itaia 'I see it' or 'I saw it' or 'I'll see it'  
 depending on circumstances.

There are two suffixes of continuous action in Motu, notably -va indicating past continuous action and -mu indicating present continuous action.<sup>44</sup> These suffixes are not found in Hiri Motu although Hiri Motu uses the form noho (lit. 'stay, remain') after the verb to indicate continuous action, e.g.:

Hiri Motu	lau helai noho	}	'I am sitting down'
Motu	na helaimu		
Hiri Motu	lau itaia	}	'I see it'
Motu	na itaia		
Hiri Motu	lau itaia noho	}	'I am watching it'
Motu	na itaiamu		

Although mode can be expressed in Hiri Motu there are few special forms. Whereas Motu has several words expressing adjunctive mode, only one - bema - occurs in Hiri Motu. However, while in Motu this is used only for the third person singular and plural forms of verbal expressions, in Hiri Motu it is used with all persons in both singular and plural, e.g.:

Hiri Motu	Bema lau helai...	} 'If I sit down...'
Motu	Bama helai...	

Similarly Hiri Motu uses only lasi 'not' as the negative mode marker after the verb<sup>45</sup> whereas Motu has a number of variant forms depending on tense, person, and number, which come before the verb.

Hiri Motu	Do lau itaia lasi	} 'I'll not see it'
Motu	Basina itaia	

Hiri Motu	lau itaia lasi	} 'I did not see it'
Motu	asina itaia	

Again in Motu, objects of transitive verbs must be referred to in the verb by one of a number of suffixes which agree with the object in number and person, e.g.:

(ia) e ita- <u>gu</u>	'he saw <u>me</u> '
(lau) na bota- <u>ia</u>	'I hit <u>him</u> '
(idia) e utu- <u>mui</u>	'they cut <u>you</u> (pl.)'

In the Central variety of Hiri Motu this system is retained while in the non-Central variety the object is merely placed before or after the verb, which usually ends in -a (a fossilised form of the Motu third person singular object), except for third person plural objects when -dia (which is the same as the Motu form) is added to the verb and replaces the final -a on those transitive verb forms on which it occurs, e.g.:

lau itaia oi	'I saw you'
boroma lau itadia	'I saw pigs'

Standard Motu also has a complex system of marking possessive case. There are different classes of nouns (generally referred to as 'inalienable' and 'alienable') and rules for changing vowels from e to a when foods are possessed, e.g.:

lau-egu ruma	'my house'
lau-agu aniani	'my food'
adavagu	'my spouse'
adavana	'his spouse'

None of these distinctions is made in Hiri Motu - one construction is used for all cases and so there are no noun classes although there is some variation again between the Central and non-Central varieties and

some exceptions for certain kinship words, e.g. while *lau-egu tamana* 'my father' is the term of reference, one uses *tamagu* (the normal standard Motu possessive form) as a term of address.

Standard Motu adjectives too take the suffixes *-na* and *-dia* to indicate whether the nouns they qualify are singular or plural in number but this is not generally carried over into Hiri Motu except for a few common adjectives like *namo* 'good' and *dika* 'bad' but again with variations from area to area, e.g.:

<i>kekeni namona</i>	'a good girl'
<i>kekeni namodia</i>	'good girls'
<i>hereva dikana</i>	'bad language'
<i>hereva dikadia</i>	'bad things that are said'

Also in standard Motu there are four nouns which have a special form for plural number. These are *tatau* 'men' (from *tau* 'man'), *memero* 'boys' (from *mero* 'boy'), *háhline* 'women' (from *hahfne* 'woman') and *kékeni* 'girls' (from *kekéni* 'girl'). Few speakers of Hiri Motu maintain this distinction in Hiri Motu, however.

Finally, as already noted in section 7.4.3.1.1.1.1. above, Hiri Motu uses *vadaeni* (lit. 'enough, sufficient') as a sentence connective whereas this is not a feature of standard Motu. There are other differences which have been treated in some detail by Wurm (1964) (e.g. irregular verb forms, reflexive forms, temporal clauses, *dekenai* or *dekena*) and need not be elaborated upon here.

#### 7.4.3.1.1.3.3. Vocabulary

Hiri Motu has a restricted vocabulary compared with 'true' Motu. This has several consequences for the language. On the one hand it means that the same form has to serve many functions and cover a wider range of meaning than the corresponding form in 'true' Motu in which the vocabulary is more specialised. For example, *atoa* in Hiri Motu may mean 'to contribute (funds) to, to put, to put on (clothes or paint), to place' depending on context, whereas the same form in 'true' Motu merely means 'to place or set (something)'. On the other hand, it also means that many of the ideas expressed by particular vocabulary items in standard Motu can only be expressed in Hiri Motu by circumlocutions, paraphrases and roundabout explanations. This is particularly true of specialised technical vocabulary. In basic vocabulary, however, Hiri Motu shares approximately 90% with Motu, the difference being made up principally by borrowings from English, New Guinea Pidgin, Polynesian, and for two special items, *nakimi* 'any relative or close friend' and *kiki* 'story', from Papuan languages in the Gulf of Papua and the Northern

District respectively.<sup>46</sup> In general these go hand in hand with new cultural ideas introduced by the white man and/or his assistants. So historically, a few words like pakosi 'scissors', tamaka 'shoes', auri 'iron' found their way into the language via South Sea Island pastor-teachers that came with the early missionaries of the London Missionary Society; others like motuka 'car, truck', plein or plaimasin 'aeroplane', gavamani 'Government Administration', sitoa 'store, shop', sisima, sitima, bouti 'ship, steamer, boat', soka bolo 'soccer ball', etc. indicate the range of European industries and services introduced; others again like baibel 'Bible', basileia (from Greek) 'kingdom' are part and parcel of new religious concepts. A few words like didiman 'agricultural officer', sikuru 'joint' and balusi 'aeroplane' and cardinal numbers 4 to 10 (poa, paip, sikis, seven, et, nain, ten) and ordinal numbers (namba wan, namba tu, etc.) used in some areas, have come in from New Guinea Pidgin, though not necessarily directly, since they are also popularly used by English-speakers in Papua New Guinea. On the other hand, some of the English words in Hiri Motu may have come via New Guinea Pidgin especially in the Southern Highlands and the northern parts of the Central and Northern Provinces where the two languages are in close contact. Elsewhere, however, this is unlikely as Hiri Motu has been in contact with English for almost a century while it has been in contact marginally with New Guinea Pidgin for only the past two decades. However, this contact is increasing as more Papua New Guineans become fluent in both these lingue franche.

One interesting effect of this growing contact is that some speakers are beginning to use Pidgin verbs in their Hiri Motu. This is especially noticeable when Pidgin verbs are simpler (in the sense that a single form conveys the same sense as several Hiri Motu words) than the corresponding Hiri Motu ones. For example, Pidgin skelim conveys the same sense as Hiri Motu atoa sikeli dekenai (lit. 'to put (something) on the scales') 'to weigh or share out (something)'. Now if this kind of borrowing continues it could eventually have important consequences for the language by way of complicating its transitive verb formation rules. Thus whereas Pidgin transitive verbs are normally marked for transitivity by a final syllable -im (e.g. skelim, lukim), similar verbs in Hiri Motu are normally marked by a final a or ia (e.g. atoa 'to put', itaia 'to see'). Consequently when Pidgin verbs are taken over into Hiri Motu their transitivity goes with them and so they are not marked in the normal Hiri Motu way and thereby constitute exceptions in the language.

A short vocabulary of Hiri Motu was published by Chatterton (1946, 1972) and a dictionary of approximately 2,000 items by Brett et al. in 1962 (Brett et al. 1962b). This latter is being revised at the present time by a group of interested persons in Port Moresby which includes (or included in the case of Brown) Messrs P. Chatterton, F. Wood, R. Brown, T. Dietz, R. Lean and several Papuan advisers.

#### 7.4.3.1.1.4. *THE LINGUISTIC STATUS OF HIRI MOTU*

Hiri Motu is constantly contrasted with 'true' Motu (the standard variety of which is taken to be the speech of the large village of Hanuabada in Port Moresby Harbour) and because it is generally simpler in structure than 'true' Motu in ways already indicated, it is often described pejoratively as 'barbarous', 'debased', etc. The question thus arises as to the scientific status of Hiri Motu - is it a dialect of Motu or is it a separate language? and as a follow-on to that, if it is not a dialect of Motu what kind of language is it?

The first problem has been examined and answered in some detail by Wurm (1964) who came to the conclusion that although Hiri Motu shares 90% or more of its vocabulary with 'true' Motu, it is nevertheless not immediately nor necessarily intelligible to speakers of 'true' Motu, and therefore cannot be considered a dialect of it. Hiri Motu is a language in its own right with an established grammatical structure, in some ways similar to, but in other ways markedly different from 'true' Motu as already illustrated.

The second problem is answered more or less by the same observations. Thus since Hiri Motu is structurally derived from more than one source and is reduced in structure compared with its principal source, 'true' Motu, it is technically a pidgin language, albeit closely related to Motu. Moreover, whereas Motu is the vernacular or mother tongue of the Motu people, Hiri Motu is no one's (except for some isolated cases) mother tongue but is instead generally only learned as a second language for communicating with others outside one's own language.

#### 7.4.3.1.1.5. *USE OF HIRI MOTU*

As already indicated, Hiri Motu is the major lingua franca of Papua and is spoken in most provinces. For many years it was despised and discredited as a corrupt form of 'true' Motu partly because of the attitude towards pidgin languages in general at that time, and partly because of its particular illegitimate beginning (that is, born out of the contact between non-Europeans in a government police force where

English was the only recognised language of instruction and communication). Although these attitudes are not yet dead they are changing as Papuans have begun to assert themselves and their ideas more<sup>47</sup> before and after the independence of Papua New Guinea, and as the language is used more and debated more in public.<sup>48</sup> It has also probably profited from the growing prestige of Pidgin which has always tended to receive more attention than Hiri Motu (outside of Papua that is) because of its wider use, the greater number of publications in the language, and the public debates about its potential as a future national language.<sup>49</sup>

Government-wise Hiri Motu has always been recognised as a useful service tool and has served as the unofficial language of contact and administration since about the mid-1890s when its existence was first reported - see section 7.4.3.1.1.2. above. Today the Government sponsors classes in the language<sup>50</sup> and supports local and national broadcasting stations that use the language daily for news broadcasts, items of general interest, music request programmes and story telling. Hitherto it was responsible for the publication of Chatterton's little introduction to the language *A Primer of Police Motu* (1946) and produced until recently a fortnightly newspaper *Iseda Sivarai* ('Our News') and a number of small departmental publications on medicine, agriculture, and education.<sup>51</sup>

Mission attitudes to the use of Hiri Motu vary according to the size and/or state of development of the mission. Generally most ignore it or use it only as a crutch or contact-language-cum-lingua-franca until such times as they are able to learn and use a local language as a church language. About the only exceptions to this are the Papua New Guinea Union Mission of the Seventh Day Adventist Church (hereafter simply the Seventh Day Adventist Church Mission) and the Jehovah's Witnesses who use it more generally in their work for reasons peculiar to their own missions.

The Seventh Day Adventist Church Mission is an old mission in Papua having begun at Sogeri in 1908 but now with stations scattered throughout southern Papua at Marshall Lagoon, Efogi, Vailala and Domara in the Central Province and Karaisa and Isurava in the Northern Province.<sup>52</sup> It is a small organisation with staff spread over a wide area and in many languages so that it has been impractical for them to use anything other than *lingue franche* for church purposes. In Papua this was Hiri Motu and this was used for all purposes until about 1955 when, in keeping with government policy on education, English was used for education. Of course indigenous members of the church were/are free to use their own vernaculars in their own areas but they would naturally use Hiri Motu at larger meetings involving people from a number of languages.

As was the case everywhere before World War II, it was anathema to publish in Hiri Motu, the accepted thing being to use only the 'true' language in print. After World War II, however, Pastor L.N. Lock insisted that Hiri Motu be used instead, because the reception of the 'true' Motu material they had previously printed (notably lesson pamphlets) was naturally enough (because 'true' Motu is not intelligible to Hiri Motu speakers) not good enough. In general the Central dialect is used as the standard for this mission. For those non-Austronesians outside of the Port Moresby area this means that they have to learn to use the Central dialect as a church language.

The following are publications in Hiri Motu by the Seventh Day Adventist Church Mission in Papua:

*Keriso Laohenia Dalana*, (Warburton, Victoria: Signs Publishing Company) n.d. Translated from an English text written by Ellen G. White. Name of translator not given.

*Sabati Sikulu Lessoni*, a quarterly, published by the Papua New Guinea Union Mission.

*S.D.A. Ekalesia Harina Papua New Guinea Lalonai*, a quarterly, published by the Papua New Guinea Union Mission.

Jehovah's Witnesses on the other hand began work in Papua in areas along the coast from Port Moresby in the post-World War II developmental period. Initially they used 'true' Motu but found it unsatisfactory for some areas and so now concentrate on Hiri Motu. However, some of their missionaries have learned local languages and have published some literature in some of these, e.g. in Hula (Keapara), Toaripi, and Kiwai. Their publications in Hiri Motu include:

*Gima Kohorona*, (Brooklyn, New York: Watchtower Bible and Tract Society of New York), appears monthly.

*Mauri ia lao henia Hereva Momokanina*, (Brooklyn, New York: Watchtower Bible and Tract Society of New York) 1969.

Finally, it is worth noting in the present context that the former London Missionary Society (now part of the United Church) which was in a singularly good position to promote the use of Hiri Motu in Papua in fact made little use of it. After World War II the Society did experiment with 'simplified Motu' (as distinct from Hiri Motu) in a newsletter called *Harina*, but this only survived for three years. However, the Mainland Region of the United Church (which covers the south coast regions of Papua from the Irian Jaya border to Milne Bay and includes

the former London Missionary Society) now uses Hiri Motu as the official language in its Synod meetings. English is also allowed but it must be translated into Hiri Motu.

#### 7.4.3.1.1.6. PUBLICATIONS IN HIRI MOTU

Many of these have already been listed in the previous section dealing with the use of Hiri Motu. However, there are several other publications which should be mentioned but which do not come within the categories so far used. These are:

1) *Poroman* - (New Guinea Pidgin for 'companion') - the newspaper of the United Party in Papua New Guinea which is published by Kantri Press, Port Moresby. This paper contains political articles in English, Hiri Motu, and Pidgin and appears irregularly. It was commenced in 1973.

ii) the following translations by Messrs R. Lean and Abe Mamata (with the help of others) published by branches of the United Bible Societies:

- 1964 *Mareko* [Mark's Gospel]. London: British and Foreign Bible Society. Revised edition published in 1973 by The Bible Society in Papua New Guinea, Lae, Port Moresby, Rabaul.
- 1970 *Aposetolo Edia Kara* [Acts of the Apostles]. Canberra and Port Moresby: British and Foreign Bible Society in Australia.
- 1973 *Genese Bona Esodo*. Lae, Port Moresby, Rabaul: Bible Society of Papua New Guinea.

Work is also proceeding towards a complete translation of the complete New Testament into Hiri Motu.

iii) the following Missionary Association of Papua New Guinea publications:

- (a) *Dala ia Lao Guba* (= The Way to Heaven). Port Moresby 1959.  
A diglot prepared by Freda Lea.
- (b) *Sivarai Momokani* (= True Stories). Port Moresby. First published in 1952 as a quarterly diglot. Later changed to *Kamonai*. In 1961 was replaced by *Onward* in simple English but still with a few Hiri Motu items. Still continuing in simple English.
- iv) two books by Nigel Gore:
- (a) *Guba Hanua Dekenai Lao Tauna Ena Kiki* (= Pilgrim's Progress). Auckland, New Zealand: Wentworth Press - no date. This is basically in the non-Central variety of Hiri Motu.

- (b) *The Rhyming List of 2,100 Common English Words with Explanations in Police Motu*. No publication details on book.
- v) The following Scripture Gift Mission publications:
- (a) *Gau Hani Dirava ia Ura Oi Diba*. London 1964.
- (b) *Dirava Ena Haere* (= God's Answer). London 1969.
- (c) *Tanobada Ena Hamauria Tauna* (= Saviour of the World). Forthcoming.
- vi) *Iesu Ena Mauri Sivaraina* (= The Life Story of Jesus). Printed and produced by David Cook Foundation, U.S.A. 16pp. in coloured comic form.
- vii) A booklet *Sivarai Momokani* (= True Stories) containing six diglot stories was printed by Stanmore Mission Press for MAPANG. (Date unknown).
- viii) *Evanelia Buka*. A 65-page Harmony of the Gospels by P. Chatterton (1946). More 'simplified' Motu than Hiri Motu.

#### 7.4.3.1. HIRI MOTU - THE LANGUAGE ITSELF

#### N O T E S

1. See Dutton 1973a for a listing of Motu villages. Also see Pawley's description in chapter (II) 4.4.2.
2. 'Europeans' is used here and elsewhere throughout this chapter to cover all non-indigenous inhabitants of Papua New Guinea.
3. For example it is one aspect of Miss Abaijah's *Papua Besena* (or Papuan Separatist) Movement. See Griffin 1973. Speaking knowledge of it has become (along with New Guinea Pidgin) one of the prerequisites for Papua New Guinean citizenship.
4. We should like to express our thanks to the following for supplying information upon which this account is based: Professor S.A. Wurm, The Australian National University, Canberra, for information about, and material in, Kiwai and related languages; Mr P. Chatterton, Port Moresby, for discussing with us his views on the origin and development of Hiri Motu and for comments on a first draft of this chapter; Dr A.J. Taylor, United Bible Societies, Lae, and Mr R. Lean, Commonwealth Department of Works, Port Moresby, for so kindly helping to compile lists of publications; Mr J. Smith, of the Jehovah's Witnesses Organisation, Mr W.G. Merriweather of the Asia Pacific Christian Mission, Pangoa, and Pastor L. Lock of the Papua New Guinea Union Mission of the Seventh Day Adventist Church, Lae, for information kindly supplied through Dr Taylor; and finally, but by no means least, Mr N.D. Oram of the University of Papua New Guinea for supplying further corroborative information from Boera village.
5. For descriptions of the hiri see Barton 1910, Turner 1878, and Wedgwood 1955 for example.

6. 'Koriki' is the name commonly applied by the Motu to various groups of people living around the Purari Delta (e.g. I'ai, Koriki, Kaimare, Barai, Vaimuru, Maipua) although, as Chatterton (1970:95) has previously pointed out, the name, strictly speaking, only applies to one of those groups.

7. See Barton 1910:118-19, Turner 1878:471, 473, and Williams 1932. for descriptions of various aspects of these visits. Note, however, that Williams' (1932) account relates to trading voyages from Orokololo begun there after the Vailala Madness, i.e. in the 1920s. Williams' article is misleading too in that nowhere does he seem to realise that the Toaripi and Moripi-Elema, in contrast to other Elema groups, began the practice of making hiri voyages in imitation of the Motu long before European contact. There were Toaripi vavaea (= Motu lagatoi) in Port Moresby Harbour when Captain Moresby entered there and gave the place his family name.

Whereas the Motu set out for the Gulf at the end of the laurabada (or South-East Monsoon) season (i.e. September-October) and returned about the end of the year during the lahara (or North-West Monsoon) season, the Toaripi-Moripi made their sariva, as they termed it, towards the end of the lahara season (called in Toaripi avora (< Motu lahara), i.e. March, and returned westwards at the beginning of the laurabada season (called mauta (< Motu laurabada) in Toaripi), i.e. April. A description of the Toaripi-Moripi sariva is given in Brown 1956.

8. Boera is a mixed Motu-Koita village. Koita is a non-Austronesian language spoken around Port Moresby - see chapter (II) 2.0., especially (II) 2.9.5.2.1.1.).

9. Chatterton (personal communication) has suggested that if this is true then the origin of the hiri may have been due not so much to the discovery (or revelation!) of the techniques of building the large canoes required (called lagatoi) as to the fact that they knew about the sago lands which lay beyond Cape Possession. This is a very important point and suggests that it is also at least a possibility that the language of the hiri predated the hiri itself and began as the language of communication between the Apau Motu and their Elema neighbours.

10. Cf. Barton 1910 and Chalmers 1895:94.

11. Cf. Taylor 1970:4 and Brown 1974:8.

12. Viz. Chatterton (1970:95-6) and Brown (1974:2).
13. Brown (1974:2) also makes the point that there was obviously a decided advantage for the Motu in maintaining this position in that while they could understand the simplified version, 'true' Motu remained unintelligible to speakers of the simplified version.
14. We have to say 'might' here because we have not yet seen a copy of this book. We do know, however, from a study of his first grammar, that by 1885 when he published it he was well beyond the 'simplified Motu' stage.
15. *tato* is still used as the normal form for 'not' in Wabuda but represents an 'old' form in Kiwai itself (Wurm, personal communication).
16. Actually, of course, it could represent a Kiwai innovation but that would seem a little too coincidental given the other evidence.
17. Brown (1974:6) gives the following as illustrative material:  
 At the end of a Toaripi sentence there will often be found the verb in a finite form. When it is desired to carry forward the thought of the completed sentence into a new sentence, the latter will begin with the verb repeated in its converb form; e.g. *Are oroti evoe voa forea au avope. Avi...* 'She boarded the canoe at the stern and sat down. Seating herself...' Should there be a break in thought between the two sentences, then *soka* will introduce the new sentence, and it will in effect say 'enough!' to what has preceded it. Thus: *Marai miri voa kavai vei maea leipe. Soka karikara karu arero taiape, 'Marai set off to go to the beach. Well, the village people were waiting for him.'* In the second sentence there is a change of subject and of location; hence the *soka*.
18. Kiwai uses the suffix *-diro* 'continuous' which is not related to their form *omioi* for 'to stay, dwell' (Wurm, personal communication).
19. See, for example, mention in Stuart 1970 of Erskine (page 30), Sir Peter Scratchley (page 35), and Musgrave (page 36). Lawes also published his first grammar of Motu in 1885 in anticipation that it will be of the first importance that all who have to do with the natives in an official capacity should be able to speak with the people in their own language. This little work will, I hope, be of some use to those who may be located in the Port Moresby district. (Lawes 1885:iv).

20. For example, the government employed (to the disapproval of the Colonial Office) men like the Hunter brothers who first came to Papua in 1881 'as traders of sorts' (Stuart 1970:24), Frank Lawes, son of the first missionaries in Papua, and A.C. English, a young naturalist who had arrived in Papua just before Chester's annexation in 1883. All of these (except Robert Hunter) served as government agents for various periods at Rigo, the first outstation established in Papua.

21. Barton (1904:16).

22. Murray (1907:21).

23. For example, Barton (1905:16) noted that:

The police force has done a great deal by way of disseminating a knowledge of the Motu dialect which they readily pick up whilst serving the first period of their engagements as recruits at Port Moresby, and which is now rapidly becoming the most widely diffused of all the native dialects.

24. Many retired policemen became village policemen in their own villages and served as useful go-betweens between the Government and the local population. See Legge 1956 for a discussion of the Village Constable system.

25. MacDonald (1898:95; 1903:43).

26. MacGregor (1898:xxv). The Armed Constabulary was formed in 1894 by Sir William MacGregor. See MacGregor 1890.

27. Barton (1901:103).

28. MacGregor (1894:xxx).

29. Green (1897:77); Bramell (1898:63); MacDonald (1898:115); Murray (1907:21).

30. Initially 'no native of the Central District, which includes Port Moresby' joined the force (MacGregor 1892:xix) but by 1905 they made up approximately a quarter of the contingent.

31. See for example Brett et al. 1962a; 1962b, Chatterton 1950; 1970, Wurm 1964, and Wurm and Harris 1963.

32. Chatterton (1970:97-8).

33. The actual impetus for this conference came from Mr T. Dietz, then Chief Interpreter, House of Assembly, who was keen to have the Brett et al. *A Dictionary of Police Motu* (1962b) revised. He wrote to the Department of Information and Extension Services and the Director at the time, Mr L. Newby, then decided to hold an open conference to test attitudes. This conference was opened by the Administrator Mr L. Johnson and was attended by all who were interested in the question including Dr J. Guise, former Speaker of the House of Assembly. No papers were presented but the proceedings were recorded on tape by the Department.

34. For example, Livingston (forthcoming), and Dutton and Voorhoeve (1974), a revised version of Dutton and Voorhoeve (1974) - see chapter 7.4.3.2.1., and Chatterton (1975).

35. According to Chatterton (personal communication), this expression *gwau nao* is applied not to the language as such but to the mispronunciation of Motu words by foreigners, particularly Europeans. Latterly the word *nao* has been used almost exclusively for Europeans, but originally it presumably meant non-Motu.

36. Brett et al. (1962a).

37. This movement stressed the use of Hiri Motu as part of the means to achieve a better life that the movement was aimed at. See Maher 1958:79, 1961:60.

38. Note that this figure is for Papua only; there were reputed to be a further 10,000 speakers in New Guinea.

39. Balint (1973:2).

40. For example, Brett et al. (1962a:11) recommended that the type of Hiri Motu spoken in the Western District should be adopted as standard in preparing material for mass communication. Chatterton (1970:98) however, thought that the Purari Delta (or Koriki) variety should be, for a number of linguistic reasons which he listed.

41. There is, however, an increasing body of descriptive material becoming available in the form of a growing number of relatively recent language-learning publications, viz. Chatterton 1950, 1972, 1975, Wurm and Harris 1963, Livingston (forthcoming), Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974, and a revised version of Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974 - see chapter 7.4.3.2.1., and *The Dictionary and Grammar of Hiri Motu* (Port Moresby: The Office of Information, 1976). These publications contain explanatory notes and hints on the structure of the language arranged and presented in various ways according to the aims of each and generally (except for *The Dictionary and Grammar of Hiri Motu* and Chatterton's little primers) accompanied by illustrative tape recordings of increasing sophistication and scope.
42. For descriptions of 'true' Motu see Lister-Turner and Clark n.d.a and Taylor 1970. The standard variety is taken to be that described by Lister-Turner and Clark.
43. Note that the phonemic script used here is not to be confused with the orthography used in publications. In this section phonemic symbols are used to better bring out the differences between Hiri Motu and 'true' Motu. In published material the 'true' Motu script is largely used to maintain parallelism with 'true' Motu and to help distinguish between homophones like lau, lao, etc. in Hiri Motu.
44. Cf. discussion of aspect in section 7.4.3.1.1.1.1. above.
45. Cf. discussion of lasi in section 7.4.3.1.1.1.1. above.
46. Chatterton (1970:96).
47. Cf. the Papua Besena movement mentioned in section 7.4.3.1.1. in this chapter.
48. As exemplified by the Conference on Police Motu already mentioned and the subsequent name change 'Police Motu' to 'Hiri Motu'.
49. See the chapters 7.4.1.4.5.-6. above.
50. For further details see chapter 7.4.3.2. below in this volume.
51. See Brett et al. 1962a:10 for further details.

52. The church also has stations in New Guinea.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABAIJAH, Josephine

1973 'They're Just Trying to Dump Us!'. *PIM* September 1973:4-5.

BALINT, A.

1973 'The Majority Speak Pidgin'. *Post-Courier* 4 October 1973:2.

BARTON, F.R.

1901 'Appendix U: Report of the Acting Commandant, Armed Native Constabulary'. *British New Guinea Annual Report for 1899-1900*:103-4.

1904 *British New Guinea Annual Report for 1903-04*. Melbourne: Government Printer.

1905 'Administrator's Notes on Reports by Officers: Armed Native Constabulary'. *British New Guinea Annual Report for 1904-05*:16.

1906 *British New Guinea Annual Report for 1905-06*. Melbourne: Government Printer.

1910 'The Annual Trading Expedition to the Papuan Gulf'. Chapter 8 (96-120) of C.G. Seligman *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*. Cambridge University Press.

BRAMELL, B.W.

1898 'Appendix Q: Report of the Government Agent for the Mekeo District'. *British New Guinea Annual Report for 1896-97*: 62-3.

BRETT, R., R. BROWN, Ruth BROWN, and Velma FOREMAN

1962a *A Survey of Motu and Police Motu.* Port Moresby: Department of Information and Extension Services.

1962b *A Dictionary of Police Motu.* Port Moresby: Department of Information and Extension Services.

BRITISH NEW GUINEA (PAPUA)

*Annual Reports.* See under Barton, Douglas, MacGregor, Murray.

BROWN, H.A.

1956 *The Eastern Elema.* Typescript. For Post-Graduate Diploma, Anthropology. London School of Economics and Political Science. London.

1974 *Hiri Motu Origins.* Typescript.

CHALMERS, J.

1895 *Pioneer Life and Work in New Guinea 1877-1894.* London: Religious Tract Society.

CHATTERTON, P.

1946 *A Primer of Police Motu.* Cairns: The Cairns Post.

1970 'The Origin and Development of Police Motu'. *Kivung* 3:95-8.

1972 *Hiri Motu (Police Motu).* Papua New Guinea Unevangelised Fields Mission Press.

1973 'Footnotes: Josephine of Arc in a Hurry'. *PIM* September 1973:26-7.

1975 *Say it in Motu.* Sydney: Pacific Publications.

DIETZ, T.A.

1972 Review of C.P. Livingston's *A Course in Hiri Motu.* In: *Kivung* 5:206-7.

DOUGLAS, J.

1889 *British New Guinea Annual Report for 1887-88.*

## DUTTON, T.E.

- 1973a *A Checklist of Languages and Present-Day Villages of Central and South-East Mainland Papua.* PL, B-24.
- 1973b *Conversational New Guinea Pidgin.* PL, D-12.
- forth-  
coming Review Article: *The Dictionary and Grammar of Hiri Motu.*  
Port Moresby: The Office of Information, 1976. To appear  
in *Kivung*.

## DUTTON, T.E. and C.L. VOORHOEVE

- 1974 *Beginning Hiri Motu.* PL, D-24.

## FORT, G.S.

- 1886 'Report on British New Guinea, from Data and Notes by the  
Late Sir Peter Scratchley, Her Majesty's Special  
Commissioner'. *Queensland Parliamentary Papers 1886:939-80.*

## GREEN, J.

- 1897 'Appendix Q: Report of the Government Agent for the North-  
East Coast'. *British New Guinea Annual Report for 1895-96:*  
75-7.

## GRIFFIN, J.T.

- 1973 'Papuan Separatism'. *Australia's Neighbours* September-  
October 1973:5-8.

## HUNT, A.

- 1905 'Memorandum Concerning British New Guinea: The Public  
Service'. *Commonwealth of Australia Parliamentary Papers*  
vol.2. *Report by Mr. Atlee Hunt* 25-7.

## LAWES, F.E.

- 1894 'Appendix J: Report of the Resident Magistrate for the  
Central Division and Secretary for Native Affairs'. *British  
New Guinea Annual Report for 1892-93:43-5.*

## LAWES, W.G.

- 1877a 'Section III: New Guinea'. In: *The Chronicle of the London  
Missionary Society.* London: John Snow.

1877b *Buka Kunana: Levaleva Tuahia Adipaia.* Sydney: Reading and Foster.

1885 *Grammar and Vocabulary of Language Spoken by Motu Tribe, New Guinea.* Sydney: Government Printer.

LEGGE, J.D.

1956 *Australian Colonial Policy: A Survey of Native Administration and European Development in Papua.* Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

LISTER-TURNER, R. and J.B. CLARK

n.d.a *A Grammar of the Motu Language of Papua.* Second edition, edited by P. Chatterton. Sydney: Government Printer.

n.d.b *A Dictionary of the Motu Language of Papua.* Second edition, edited by P. Chatterton. Sydney: Government Printer.

LIVINGSTON, C.P.

forth-coming *A Course in Hiri Motu.* Port Moresby: Department of Education.

LOVETT, R.

1899 *The History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895.* London: Henry Frowde.

MacDONALD, J.

1898 'Report on Prisons by the Head Gaoler'. *British New Guinea Annual Report for 1897-98*:112-15.

1904 'Report on the Port Moresby Gaol'. *British New Guinea Annual Report for 1902-03*:43-5.

MacGREGOR, W.

1890 *British New Guinea Annual Report for 1889-90.*

1892 *British New Guinea Annual Report for 1890-91.*

1894 *British New Guinea Annual Report for 1892-93.*

## MAHER, R.F.

1958 'Tommy Kabu Movement of the Purari Delta'. *Oceania* 29:  
75-90.

1961 *New Men of Papua: A Study in Culture Change*. Madison:  
University of Wisconsin Press.

## MURRAY, J.H.P.

1907 *Papua Annual Report for 1906-07*. Melbourne: Government  
Printer.

## PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA: BUREAU OF STATISTICS

*Population Census 1966 Preliminary Bulletin No.20*.

## PAPUA NEW GUINEA: OFFICE OF INFORMATION

1976 *The Dictionary and Grammar of Hiri Motu*. Port Moresby.

## SELIGMAN, C.G.

1910 *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*. Cambridge Univer-  
sity Press.

## STUART, I.

1970 *Port Moresby - Yesterday and Today*. Sydney: Pacific  
Publications.

## TAYLOR, A.J.

1970 *Syntax and Phonology of Motu (Papua): a Transformational  
Approach*. Ph.D. dissertation, Australian National  
University, Canberra.

## TURNER, W.Y.

1878 'The Ethnology of the Motu'. *JRAI* 7:470-98.

## WARD, R.G. and D.A.M. LEA, eds

1970 *An Atlas of Papua and New Guinea*. Department of Geography,  
University of Papua and New Guinea, and Collins-Longman.

## WEDGWOOD, Camilla H.

1955 *The Hiri*. Melbourne: Longman, Green.

## WILLIAMS, F.E.

1932 'Trading Voyages from the Gulf of Papua'. *Oceania* 3:139-66.

## WURM, S.A.

1964 'Motu and Police Motu, A Study in Typological Contrasts'.  
PL, A-4:19-41.

1970 'Lingue Franche'. In: Ward and Lea, eds 1970:21.

## WURM, S.A. and J.B. HARRIS

1963 *Police Motu: An Introduction to the Trade Language of  
Papua (New Guinea) For Anthropologists and Other Fieldworkers.*  
PL, B-1.

