Grammar of the Lihir Language of New Ireland, Papua New Guinea

Karl Neuhaus

Translated and edited by Simon Ziegler

Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies
Front-cover illustration:
Bible procession led by the Malie group at the ordination service for Fr. Walter Pilai, Palie Catholic Church, 2009. (photo: David Haigh)
Grammar of the Lihir Language of New Ireland, Papua New Guinea
Originally published as:

Grammar of the
Lihir Language of New Ireland,
Papua New Guinea

Karl Neuhaus

Translated and edited by Simon Ziegler
Don Niles, Technical Editor

Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies
2015
Contents

Illustrations vii
Contributors ix

The Lihir Language in Modern Social and Historical Context, by Nicholas A. Bainton xiii

The Lihir Language, a Member of the Austronesian Language Family, by Malcolm Ross xxv

A Lihirian Perspective on the Translation of Father Neuhaus’s Work, by Luke Kabariu xxxiii

Papua New Guinea Languages and the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, by Don Niles xxxvii

Editor’s Introduction, by Simon Ziegler xli

Acknowledgements, by Simon Ziegler li

Grammar of the Lihir Language of New Ireland, Papua New Guinea, by Karl Neuhaus 1

General Information, §§1–3 3
Some Conceptual Remarks on the Lihir Language, §§4–46 9
Phonetics, §§47–93 31
Morphology, §§94–128 55
Stress, §§129–37 77
The Noun, §§138–69 83
The Article, §§170–77 99
Singular and Plural, §§178–87 103
Case, §§188–94 117
The Adjective, §§195–205 125
Number, §§206–10 131
The Pronoun, §§211–31 135
The Verb, §§232–73 151
Tense, §§274–83 177
The Adverb, §§284–87 191
The Preposition, §§288–94 201
The Conjunction, §§295–96 209
The Interjection, §297 213

Glossary of Languages, Geographic Names, and Other Terms 215

References 221
Illustrations

Black-and-white images
Karl Neuhaus
Page 104 of Neuhaus’s original manuscript
Page 105 of Neuhaus’s original manuscript
Confirmation day, 4 June 1933
“Fr. Neuhaus with some of his little sheep”
Komat missionary station
Komat missionary station at the foot of Mount Kamendar
Petrus and Paulus
Mountains in the centre of the island
Komat as seen from Mount Kamendar
Angler on a high bamboo construction
Young women from Lihir

Colour images
Lihir Cultural Heritage Association members, cultural heritage planning workshop
Londolovit townsite
Lihir gold mine
SIL Bible translators with Lihir elementary-school teachers
Ailaya rock and mine site
Bishop Ambrose Kiapseni with students
Bible procession at ordination service
Palie Catholic Church
Performing on top of the balo men’s house during the tuntunkanut feast
Kabelbel outrigger canoe
Lihirian shell money known as mis
Tandal carving
Lihir dictionary workshop
Music recording 115
Namatanai Catholic Church 116
Lihir Cultural Heritage Association members, Lihir
dictionary workshop 116

Maps
Oceanic and non-Oceanic Austronesian speakers and Lapita sites xxvii
New Ireland Province, Papua New Guinea 4
The Lihir Group of Islands 5
Contributors

Nicholas A. Bainton is currently Manager Sustainable Development and Environment for Newcrest Mining Limited at the Lihir gold mine in Papua New Guinea. He holds a PhD in social anthropology from the University of Melbourne, and between 2007 and 2010 was a research fellow in the Centre for Social Responsibility in Mining at the University of Queensland. He is an honorary senior research fellow with the Centre and with the School of Social Sciences at the University of Queensland. He continues to research the social and cultural changes associated with large-scale resource development in Melanesia. He is the author of numerous publications, including a book on his earlier work in Lihir, *The Lihir Destiny: Cultural Responses to Mining in Melanesia* (2010). [email: Nick.Bainton@newcrest.com.au]

Luke Kabariu is a Lihirian from Masahet Island in the Lihir Group of Islands. He was educated at the Catholic Minor Seminary at Ulapia, East New Britain, before he enrolled at the Holy Spirit Major Seminary at Bomana, in the National Capital District. He left seminary studies to attend the University of Technology in Lae. On 17 October 1988, he took up employment with Kennecott Niugini Mining Joint Venture at Ladolam, on the main island in the Lihir Group, in the role of Lands and Relocation Officer. He became a member of the project negotiation team that negotiated for the Putput plant site land, Kapit village relocation, and the Lihir Integrated Benefits Agreement with the landowners from 1988 to the signing of the agreements in 1995. He became Lands and Community Relations Superintendent in 1998. In 2001, he was assigned the responsibility of Superintendent Cultural Awareness, to document and provide awareness on the Lihirian culture through factsheets, newsletters, and awareness to project employees, schools, and the community. He is a founding member of the Lihir Cultural Heritage Association, which aims to preserve and document the Lihir cultural heritage. [email: Luke.Kabariu@newcrest.com.au]

Karl Neuhaus was a German missionary, linguist, and ethnographer. He was born in Corvey, North-Rhine-Westphalia, Germany, on 16 October
1884. After being ordained to the priesthood in 1910, he volunteered to do missionary work for the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (MSC) in New Ireland, Papua New Guinea, where he lived almost uninterrupted—Neuhaus only once returned to Europe, from 1929 to 1932—until 1944, when he died in the turmoil of the Second World War. He was in his own right a successful missionary, linguist, and ethnographer. His mission district included Namatanai on the east coast of central New Ireland, including a number of auxiliary stations, as well as the Tanga Islands and the Lihir Islands where he became the first missionary. The body of Neuhaus’s linguistic and ethnographic work is impressive and reflects his considerable abilities in these areas. Unfortunately, many of his manuscripts were lost during the war, and we are fortunate that his *Grammar of the Lihir Language of New Ireland, Papua New Guinea* survived.

**Don Niles** is acting director and senior ethnomusicologist of the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, where he has worked since 1979. He is interested in research and publication on all types of music and dance in Papua New Guinea, including traditional, popular, and Christian forms. The author/editor of numerous books, articles, and audiovisual publications on various aspects of music, dance, and archiving, Don also edits the Institute’s music monograph series (*Apwitihiire: Studies in Papua New Guinea Musics*) and journal (*Kulele: Occasional Papers in Pacific Music and Dance*). He is Vice President of the International Council for Traditional Music and former editor of their journal, the *Yearbook for Traditional Music*. [email: dniles.ipngs@gmail.com]

**Malcolm Ross** is an emeritus professor of linguistics at the Australian National University in Canberra, where from 1983 until his retirement in 2007 he taught and researched the histories of Pacific languages, especially those of Papua New Guinea. From 1973 to 1982 he lived and worked in Papua New Guinea, first as head of the English Department at Kerevat National High School, then as a lecturer and finally as principal of Goroka Teachers’ College. Although he is retired, he continues his historical research on the languages of Papua New Guinea and Taiwan. In recent years he has spent a portion of each year as a researcher at the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology in Leipzig, Germany. He has published numerous articles and several books, including *The Oceanic Languages* with John Lynch and Terry Crowley. [email: malcolm.ross@anu.edu.au]
Simon Ziegler is a cultural anthropologist with a background in ethnolinguistics. He holds an MPhil in ethnology, cross-cultural communication, and speech science from Ludwig-Maximilians-University in Munich, Germany. Simon is interested in linguistic research across Melanesia and Australia with regard to the documentation of endangered languages. After moving to Australia in 2006, he worked in the community-development sector prior to collaborating as a consultant anthropologist and linguist with Newcrest Mining Limited on the Lihir Islands. In this role, he has worked on several projects that aim to preserve and document Lihirian cultural heritage, which is threatened by the extensive goldmining activities there. Simon is currently working on the development of digital language-learning resources for the Miriwoong language, a critically endangered Aboriginal language spoken around Kununurra in the Kimberley, Western Australia. [email: simon.ziegler1@gmail.com]
Lihir society has witnessed some dramatic changes over the past two decades and will no doubt experience more in years to come. These changes have generated significant shifts in both the use and awareness of the Lihir (or Lir) language amongst Lihirians and visitors to the Lihir Islands.¹

The context for this publication and a broader language preservation project is the development of a large-scale gold mining operation on the main island of Aniolam which has provided Lihirians with an opportunity to enlarge their world on a scale that was previously not possible. In their daily interaction with expatriates and other Papua New Guineans, Lihirians have been exposed to many foreign ideas and things and have learnt to communicate in new ways—both with outsiders and amongst themselves. Older Lihirians remember the time before mining and often compare the current changes with the past, sometimes with nostalgia for localised cultural life-ways and traditions that are now lost. There is also a new generation of Lihirians who have grown up in these changed times—a generation that is “of the mine” and that has developed a different worldview and has come to expect new things in life.

But the current mining era is only the latest wave of modern change in Lihir. When the German administration first raised the flag in northeast New Guinea in 1884, it was not long before Lihir was drawn into its sphere of influence. The twentieth century soon ushered in other significant forms of change, including the arrival of the Catholic Mission in 1902, the events of the Second World War throughout New Ireland, the development of a plantation economy, the presence of the Australian administration, and national Independence in 1975. At the same time, ¹

1. In this publication we have settled upon “Lihir” as the most common exonym for the island group, the people, and the language. In oral form Lihirians commonly use the endonym “Lir,” and it is occasionally used when writing in the vernacular. However, Lihirians more commonly write in English or Tok Pisin, and thus use the exonym “Lihir.” This publication follows this local convention.
the emergence of a national lingua franca, Tok Pisin, which had certainly gained hold in Lihir by the 1960s, coupled with the development of an English based education system, laid the foundations for new ways of communicating and a new consciousness of ‘talk place’. This century of change ensured that some of the most fundamental shifts and impacts upon the Lihir language were set in train well before the advent of mining.

Throughout this period, the Lihir language has remained strong and for most Lihirians it is the preferred language for everyday communication. However, it is not commonly used in written form, which partly reflects broader national trends where Tok Pisin and English are more frequently associated with the realm of business, government, formal education and written documentation. Compared with neighbouring districts, there has been very limited linguistic research in Lihir which might have provided the basis for a written standard.

The recent re-discovery of Fr. Karl Neuhaus’s *Grammatik der Lir-Sprache in Melanesien*, written in 1935 and posthumously published in German in 1954 by the Anthropos Institute on microfilm, is a welcome corrective to this situation. This grammar is the most substantial body of work on the Lihir language to date. We hope that this English translation as *Grammar of the Lihir Language of New Ireland, Papua New Guinea* will make the language more accessible and will provide a foundational point of reference for the future preservation and strengthening of this language in both oral and written form. The remaining part of this introduction will trace out three related areas: the early records of the Lihir language, the life and work of Fr. Karl Neuhaus, and contemporary use and changes to the Lihir language.

**Early accounts and recordings**

One of the earliest known written examples of the Lihir language is found in William Dampier’s account of his voyage on-board the HMS *Roebuck* to the South Seas beginning in 1699. On 3 March 1700, Dampier encountered the Lihir Islands, which were then collectively referred to by the Dutch name Gerret Dennis Isle. He describes a group of Lihirians approaching the *Roebuck* by canoe:

> Their speech is clear and distinct; the words they used most, when near us, were *vacousee allamais*, and then they pointed to the shore. (Dampier 1981:211)
Based upon Dampier’s phonetic transcription and the description of their actions, these Lihirians were most likely saying *wakasie alames*, ‘you come and get coconuts’. This greeting certainly accords with Lihirian notions of hospitality and perhaps reflects the terms of mutual-ity Lihirians have often sought with outsiders. The 1800s gave way to increased engagement with Europeans as whalers and labour recruiters travelled regularly throughout the region (see Wichmann 1909). A number of Lihirians went to work on plantations in Fiji, Queensland, and other parts of Papua New Guinea (see Bainton 2008), and these experiences helped to lay the foundation for future use of Tok Pisin. Indeed, the presence of several classic Tok Pisin words in Neuhaus’s grammar, such as *rot*, *kalabus*, and *maski* (terms for ‘road’, ‘jail’, and ‘forget it’, respectively) is indicative of the early colonial experience that was characterised by new forms of governance and labour. In 1900 Robert Koch and the ethnographic collector Lajos Biró travelled to Lihir. Their account notes the assistance provided by a Lihirian plantation worker who could speak Pidgin English (Benningsen and Koch 1900).

Various scientific voyages to the Lihir Islands in the early 1900s produced basic word lists, ethnographic accounts, and descriptions of the physical landscape and native flora and fauna (see Parkinson 1999 [1907]; Schlaginhaufen 1918–19; Sapper 1910; Friederici 1912; and Meyer 1934). Prior to Neuhaus’s work, the main source of documentation on the Lihir language was Fr. Gerhard Peekel’s *Grammatik der Neumeklenburgischen Sprache, speziell der Pala-Sprache* (1909a), in which a short index of Lihir words is listed for comparison with neighbouring languages. Significant work was also undertaken by the German ethnologist Otto Schlaginhaufen, who first came to Lihir in 1908 as part of the Deutsche Marine Expedition throughout the Bismarck Archipelago. Schlaginhaufen documented various ritual and subsistence activities and recorded a series of Lihir songs on wax cylinder. These are the only audio records of the Lihir language from the early contact era. Schlaginhaufen described his experience of recording at the southernmost tip of the island of Aniolam:

More than a hundred people had gathered in Leo for the aforementioned festivity of the natives; it was said, as I heard, that my phonograph had in part enticed them, as they had already heard of its miraculous ability to reproduce things spoken and sung. To begin with, one of the many people allowed themselves to be persuaded to sing a song into the phonograph’s funnel. Hereupon the people listened with astonishment to the playback of what had been sung, and now the ice was broken; one after
another stepped up to the phonograph and supplied a musical contribution, so that eventually I used up the entire stock of phonographic cylinders which I had brought with me to Lihir. (Schlaginhaufen 1959:133; trans. Hilary Howes)

Fortunately Schlaginhaufen’s original recordings have been preserved in the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv in Germany, and the collection is documented in Ziegler’s book on the cylinder collections housed there (Ziegler 2006). With financial assistance from the mining company, Lihir Gold Limited, it has been possible to repatriate a copy of the nineteen cylinders to Lihir, already digitised by the staff of the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv (Bainton et al. 2011; Gillespie 2008). Most of the wax cylinder recordings are easily understood and could be transcribed and translated by Lihirians, as the songs are in everyday Lihir language; other songs proved more difficult to understand and impossible to transcribe and translate, as they employed an archaic language no longer used in Lihirian conversation, a language form that persists only in ritual and expressive formats. Ritual performance has long provided a means for language borrowing throughout the New Ireland region and it continues to provide an important cultural context for the contemporary use of the Lihir language.

Fr. Karl Neuhaus

Two important texts provide insight into the life and work of Fr. Karl Neuhaus: an introduction for a posthumous publication of his ethnographic material on Pala, New Ireland, edited by Carl Laufer, MSC, and Carl A. Schmitz (1962); and an introduction to the Lihir grammar publication by Arnold Burgmann in Anthropos (1954). The known works of Neuhaus which refer to Lihir are provided in the bibliography at the end of this introduction. These have now been translated from German to English, and have been repatriated to Lihir. These articles are an important source of historical information about Lihir and include ethnographic material on Lihirian society, including spiritual beliefs, trade and exchange, seafaring practices and residential patterns, archival images, and details on the establishment of the Catholic mission, notably the baptism of Targolam who became the patriarch of Christianity in Lihir.

Neuhaus was born on 16 October 1884 in Corvey, North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany. He was ordained in the Catholic Church on 21 March 1910 and volunteered immediately for missionary work in the Bismarck
Archipelago. In the same year he reached Namatanai station on the east coast of central New Ireland, founded in 1905 by Fr. Gerhard Peekel, MSC. In 1910 there were seven auxiliary stations belonging to this centre: Kanapit, Namarodu, and Sohun on the coast, along with Nabumai, Ramurang, Bisapu, and Maranangas in the interior. A small boarding school had been erected at the Namatanai station where local ‘teachers’ or catechists were to be trained.

Peekel’s strong and fruitful ethnographic interest no doubt stimulated and encouraged Neuhaus to undertake similar work. At that time Peekel had already produced a significant body of ethnographic work on the Pala district (Peekel 1908, 1909a, 1909b, 1910), as well as a manuscript for a dictionary of the Pala language in 480 pages. Midway through 1911, Peekel was given the task of founding a new station in Kavieng, at the northern tip of mainland New Ireland, and Neuhaus remained alone in Namatanai. The local population in Namatanai was relatively small, so Neuhaus focussed his efforts on building more auxiliary stations, which he soon increased to ten. He regularly visited his auxiliary stations, which provided the opportunity to gain a better understanding of the local population and their customs and language. Within a short time he had mastered the Pala language. Neuhaus avidly recorded the details of his experiences with the local population, which were captured in approximately 700 typewritten pages, providing the material for his posthumous ethnographic publication on the Pala (Laufer and Schmitz 1962). From his notices Neuhaus published valuable details on the culture and language of the Pala people in the *Hiltruper Monatshefte*.

In 1913 the bishop of the mission, Msgr. Louis Couppé, took Fr. Neuhaus on his first voyage to the Lihir Islands with the view towards purchasing land for mission purposes. Upon finding a much larger population compared with the thinly populated Namatanai district, Neuhaus was designated as the first pioneer missionary to the Lihir Islands. The outbreak of the First World War delayed the realisation of this plan by several years. During this time, the German missionaries, having sworn an oath of loyalty to the Allies, were permitted to remain at their stations. But restrictions were laid upon them, and their freedom of movement was very much hindered. They remained isolated at their stations and were not permitted to visit their neighbouring stations or the mission centre at Vunapope in New Britain. The situation for the missionaries did not improve until 1919 and the spiritual and physical strains of these years cannot be underestimated.
During this time, Neuhaus expanded his district and gathered additional teachers. It is likely that by 1919 Neuhaus had already sent his best teachers to Lihir, whose work he oversaw from Namatanai with the assistance of a small cutter that enabled him to travel throughout the district. Shortly afterwards the Tanga Islands were also assigned to his mission district. On 6 October 1924, Neuhaus made his first journey to the Tanga Islands in order to install five local teachers in the new region. The following years brought an abundance of work, as new languages had to be recorded, studied, and set out in writing. It was necessary to compose school books in these idioms and to produce translations. It was not until 1928 that Neuhaus received an assistant in the form of Fr. Heinrich Maurer, MSC, who relieved him of many journeys to auxiliary stations.

After nineteen years in New Ireland, Neuhaus took leave and returned to Europe. Yet he hardly rested, and between 1930 and 1931 he attended two semesters of ethnology in Vienna and took part in an ethnological study week in Luxembourg. Following his return to the mission district, the Lihir Islands were assigned to him as his sole area of activity and he took up residence in the Komat district in the southern part of Aniolam Island. Just as his long term commitment to mission work and his perseverance in difficult and remote conditions is remarkable in its own right, the corpus of ethnographic and linguistic work he produced is testament to his capacity as a field researcher and a linguist and the classical training of the MSC missionaries.

Fr. Maurer continued to administer Neuhaus’s legacy at Namatanai with the same enthusiasm and interest in linguistics until the end of 1933. Maurer then relocated to Tanga, and Namatanai was then left to the elderly Fr. Scherhag. After five years of active mission service Scherhag had to leave, and so Neuhaus returned to his old station amongst the Pala, after he had trained the young Fr. K. Schlüter and left him as his successor in the Lihir Islands. Details of Schlüter’s first tour around the Lihir Islands with Neuhaus are captured in the former’s 1937 article, where he describes their attendance at a large ceremonial feast in Londolovit, the Londolovit plantation run by a Swedish manager, the presence of some 450 baptised people on Masahet Island, and the continued use of caves at Kunayie for domestic dwelling.

Once Lihir and Tanga became independent parishes the burden back at Namatanai station was considerably eased. It is likely that the Lihir grammar, which was completed in 1935, was finalised in Namatanai. Neuhaus had also compiled a Lihir dictionary and detailed ethnography about Lihir encompassing Lihirian mythology. It is not clear whether
these works were completed in Lihir or Namatanai. Neuhaus had plans to undertake more scholarly work but these were thwarted when the Second World War broke out, and on 23 January 1942 Japanese invading forces occupied the entire mission district. While all missionaries on the Gazelle Peninsula were immediately interned, Neuhaus was still able to remain at his post for some time. One day the message came that he was to be brought to Rabaul for court martial, along with Fr. Hemig, MSC, because, it was claimed, he had attempted to assist a European man hiding in the forest. Several local people claimed to have seen Neuhaus tied to a chair during his interrogation. Both priests were eventually acquitted and it was planned that they would be transferred to the concentration camp at Vunapope. Neuhaus insisted on returning to New Ireland to his station at Namatanai to remain with the Sisters and the local population. From this point onwards there is no known trace of Neuhaus, and it is assumed that Neuhaus and Hemig met a similar fate as the other missionaries from New Ireland and Manus who were killed by the Japanese in 1944—a fate which on 23 August 1945 also threatened the inmates of the large concentration camp in New Britain.

Unfortunately the manuscripts produced by Neuhaus which remained in Namatanai and Kavieng during the war did not survive. The mission stations were razed to the ground and it is likely that comprehensive records of the ethnography of the Anir, Tanga, and Lihir group of islands, including the Lihir dictionary, were lost. It is fortunate that Neuhaus published some of his Lihir material in the *Hiltruper Monatshefte* and that some documents had been copied and were held at the Vunapope Mission, including the ethnographic material on Pala. Neuhaus had apparently left the writings there because he had completed a revised version of the Pala material in the meantime. During the subsequent search of the premises by the Japanese military police, a number of copies of the older version of the Pala material vanished, while the remainder was brought to safety afterwards. These documents survived the war in a concrete safe belonging to the mission bishop, although the Japanese soldiers had tried in vain to dynamite the safe (Scharmach 1960:15). The later, revised versions, in which, perhaps, the results of his studies in Vienna had also appeared, were completely lost. While it is unclear how the Lihir grammar survived—whether a copy of this work was held in Vunapope for safekeeping or if it had been sent to Germany after it was completed in 1935—we are privileged to have this work in our possession now.
More recent documentation work

Lihir has been the focus of much recent anthropological research, but none of this work has explicitly concentrated on the Lihir language. Research interests have largely been directed towards social and political changes associated with the late colonial era and recent large-scale resource extraction activities. Researchers working in Lihir have gained varying degrees of proficiency in the Lihir language, and have made important contributions towards vocabulary lists, knowledge of kinship terms, etymology of place names, ethno-botanical terms, the recording of oral histories, myth and song, expressions of self and others, and semantic analysis. In retrospect I certainly wish this Lihir grammar had been available during my initial field research in Lihir; such a resource would have made the task of learning Lihirian considerably easier.

Between 2000 and 2008 Korean Bible translators Minha and Shinhee Park from SIL International (formerly, Summer Institute of Linguistics) were based in Londolovit village on Aniolam Island. Working with the Lihir Bible Translation Committee and elementary school teachers they produced an initial lexical database, consolidated the Lihir alphabet, and translated the Book of Ruth and the Book of Mark. This was the first sustained body of work on the Lihir language since Neuhaus. Although these translations have not been widely accepted or used throughout Lihir, largely due to decisions regarding the choice of dialect and orthography, this work has generated further Lihirian interest in the documentation of the Lihir language.

In 2009 an interim Lihir Cultural Heritage Committee was established, later incorporated as the Lihir Cultural Heritage Association. The founding members of the Association include Peter Toelinkanut, Luke Kabariu, Joanne Saet, Rosemary Toehilats, Martin Bangel, Lawrence Klamga, Peter Arau, Leonard Pamas, and Patrick Turuan. With the assistance of external researchers and cultural heritage experts, including Chris Ballard, Nicholas Hall, Kirsty Gillespie, and myself, the Association developed a long term plan for strengthening and preserving important aspects of Lihirian cultural heritage (see Bainton et al. 2011). The plan was titled The Lihir Cultural Heritage Plan: Defining the Lihir Cultural Heritage Program / A irir wana mamalien a anio Lir: A plan for social stability and harmony on Lihir.

The plan included a clear emphasis on the Lihir language, specifically Action Plan 4: Encourage, strengthen and teach Lihirian language to all people in Lihir. A number of actions were listed:
• strengthen the use and teaching of Lihirian in local schools
• develop adult literacy classes in Lihirian
• complete the translation of the Bible into Lihirian
• document plant and animal names in Lihirian (a traditional ecological knowledge study)
• translate the corpus of work by Fr. Neuhaus from German into English and commence a linguistic study of Lihir language

Work has commenced on most of these tasks, most significantly the translation of Fr. Neuhaus’s work and the regular publication of Lihirian stories in the Lihir language in the community newspaper *Lihir i Lamel* (Lihir Today).

A Lihir dictionary workshop was held in early 2012 with the Association that was facilitated by linguists René and Lydia van den Berg from SIL International, with assistance from Kirsty Gillespie and Simon Ziegler and financial support from Lihir Gold Limited. The outcome of this workshop was the development of a Lihir picture dictionary and word list and definitions for letters A and B using the *We Say* language program. This has provided a solid foundation for future work on the Lihir language, helping to reinvigorate the earlier work by the Parks.

**Choice of dialect**

There are several dialects and sub-dialects in the Lihir Islands and this has presented some challenges for the task of developing a written standard. People who live in the north of Aniolam speak slightly differently from people in the south, and people on the outer islands of Malie, Masahet, and Mahur speak differently again, although people can understand each other. Sometimes the differences are small and have to do with pronunciation, but occasionally completely different words are used in the dialects. Generally words are pronounced in a longer fashion in the southern parts of Aniolam, while they appear to be cut short on the outer islands, evidenced in the Tok Pisin nick-name *sot kat* used by Lihirians to describe the dialect on the outer islands. For example, the word for ‘stone’ is pronounced *ot* or *hot*, the word for ‘walking stick’ is *ang* or *hong*, the word for ‘my head’ can be *hoong* or *koong*, the word for ‘bed’ is *at*, *hat*, or *niee*, and the word for ‘woman’ can be pronounced and written in at least ten ways: *weheen*, *weyeen*, *wehieen*, *wehyen*, *wehein*, *weien*, *wehin*, *wehen*, *ween*, and *wen*.

From a linguistic perspective, the southern dialect, found around the Komat and Palie area where Neuhaus was based, is considered the
best basis for a written standard of the Lihir language. During the 2012 dictionary workshop the members of the Lihir Cultural Heritage Association unanimously decided to use the southern dialect as the written standard for Lihir, while allowing for a variety of pronunciations in reading as well as including many dialectal variants in the dictionary. The members of the Lihir Cultural Heritage Association stated two important factors to validate this position. The first is that when songs are sung and composed in the Lihir language it is predominantly the southern dialect variety that is used in these songs. Secondly, when Lihirians from various dialect areas meet, they tend to converse in the southern dialect. The fact that the earlier work by Neuhaus and others (including liturgical materials) uses the southern dialect also points in this direction. It may also be the case that the historical use of the southern dialect (especially in liturgical material used throughout the Lihir Islands) has established a precedence which has influenced current opinions.

Language shift and the future of tok ples

Lihirians now use Tok Pisin and English to a far greater extent than ever before. The majority of young children quickly learn to comprehend Tok Pisin and by their early teens are completely fluent. While most adults are fluent, some older Lihirians have only limited ability and confidence in using Tok Pisin, especially some older women with less formal education and less experience engaging with government and employment.

It is rare to hear Lihirian youths and adults complete a sentence in Lihir without using some Tok Pisin or English terms and expressions. Tok Pisin verbs, nouns and expressions are frequently slotted into daily conversation. Such lexical borrowing has partly arisen out of necessity, where there are simply no Lihirian nouns for modern or introduced things, such as cars, trucks, mobile phones, TVs, DVDs, computers, or budget spreadsheets—things that are now fully part of Lihirian life. Such things are easily “pidginized,” and Lihirian Tok Pisin is now replete with freshly transliterated words. However, as Neuhaus points out, there was a time when such foreign things were simply glossed as ki na sip—‘of a ship’—as a way of describing objects of strangers, or strange objects, that had evidently arrived by ship. Interestingly, in the absence of an equivalent Lihir term for ship (since even the largest canoes could not resemble the dimensions of a ship, with decks to walk on and rooms to sleep in), many Lihirians aptly called these large boats aniokaka—‘the moving
But the sheer diversity of things which have now arrived in Lihir—much of which came via ship—is simply too much for even the most inventive masters of this language to incorporate, further necessitating the use of English and Tok Pisin.

Language shifts in Lihir have arisen through pragmatic necessity and correlate with other recent macro-sociological variables such as industrialisation, increased engagement with the outside world, and rapid immigration. At school, work and in town, or through negotiations and involvement with the mining company and the government, the use of Tok Pisin and English is not only common place, but a requirement. Simultaneously, there are other social factors such as mobility, aspiration and prestige which also account for language shift in the Lihir Islands.

The rhetorical use of Tok Pisin by leaders as an expression of oratorical ability has a long history that is well documented throughout Papua New Guinea. For many younger Lihirians the use and mastery of Tok Pisin and English is an expression of their modernity—their commitment to the new ways, or *nupela pasin*, of the modern world. The socio-linguistic phenomenon of borrowing and code switching is likely to be exacerbated in the current context of rapid change and heightened engagement with external influences and “outsiders.”

Important micro-sociological changes in Lihirian society have also contributed to language shift. Increased levels of marriage between Lihirians and other Papua New Guineas has resulted in more households where Lihirian is not the primary daily language, where children grow-up more comfortable with Tok Pisin than Lihir. Changing residential patterns have altered traditional hamlet dynamics as men spend less time in the clan men's house and prefer to reside in their own house with their family. The gradual shift away from the men's house as the focal point of daily life for a hamlet group has affected one of the major pathways of vernacular knowledge transmission between generations. The impact upon young children is significant, as fewer young males are socialised into adulthood in the men's house setting and have less exposure to storytelling, traditional and technical knowledge, or simply discussion of clan affairs.

Customary feasting and performance continues to provide one of the most important contexts for the use of Lihir. On the one hand there has been major change in the substantive nature of customary activities on Lihir, especially in regards to feasting and performance and community involvement in these occasions. But on the other hand, there has been an expansion of customary activities enabled through greater access to
money and resources. In some ways this efflorescence of custom has helped to counter the effects upon language that have arisen through broader social changes.

Most Lihirian children still grow up learning Lihir as their first language, and the first three years of education are in the vernacular (similar to other areas in Papua New Guinea following national education reforms), but they are soon introduced to Tok Pisin and English. Children in the villages that are closest to the mine site with access to electricity, such as Putput, Lipiko, Londolovit, Kunayie, and Zuen, are quickly exposed to the world of television and radio and have greater opportunity to hear English.

The patterns of language acquisition are also changing as Tok Pisin and English are increasingly regarded as more important. It is not uncommon to hear some parents and teachers denigrate the Lihir language, or the emphasis on early vernacular education, as an impediment to a child’s ability to speak English at school and to achieve success in the modern world. At the same time there is a definite tension here, as most Lihirians also regard Lihir as an important cultural diacritic, or marker of difference, that signifies Lihirian cultural identity. The most telling moments occur as leaders unconsciously slip or switch into Tok Pisin during passionate speeches about the importance of Lihir to Lihirian culture at public gatherings in the men’s house.

The time is now ripe for a more sustained linguistic research focus in Lihir, linked with a program that supports the strengthening of Lihir in everyday contexts which is both owned and driven by the speakers of this language. The economic and infrastructural development provided through resource extraction means that local radio, television and print media in the vernacular are real possibilities. Such programs could well provide the basis for continued relevance of Lihir in the context of modern life. We hope that this publication will inspire others to take up this task to ensure that the linguistic bedrock of Lihirian society and culture remains steadfast—a firm foundation upon which to embrace the future and all its opportunities.

Publications by Fr. Karl Neuhaus that concern Lihir are the following, as listed in the References: 1912a, 1912b, 1912c, 1916, 1920, 1926a, 1926b, 1927a, 1927b, 1928?, 1931, 1932, 1934a, 1934b, 1954, 1962. Some of Neuhaus’s publications concerning his work in other areas are listed by Carrington (1996:280).
The Lihir Language, a Member of the Austronesian Language Family

Malcolm Ross

The welcome publication of Fr. Karl Neuhaus’s *Grammar of the Lihir Language of New Ireland, Papua New Guinea* makes this description of the Lihir language accessible not only to a wider range of scholars but also to Papua New Guineans who are interested in the nation’s many languages, including native speakers of Lihir, who may well discover that their language has changed since Neuhaus described it.

Fr. Neuhaus was one of many German-speaking missionary priests who wrote descriptions of Papua New Guinea languages between 1880 and the Second World War (though some were only published later), several of them accessible in the same microfilm series as Neuhaus’s grammar. One may well ask why German-speaking priests were particularly able to write grammars of previously undescribed languages. One reason, of course, is that they learned the languages of the people among whom they ministered. Another is that their traditional secondary education in the classics meant that they learned Latin, Greek, and Hebrew in high school, and deepened this learning during their seminary training. Because of this they were well prepared to learn further languages and to analyse them. Several of these priests worked in New Ireland. As well as Fr. Neuhaus, they include Fr. Josef Stamm, whose work on Lavongai (Tungak) was translated into English by Clive Beaumont and published as Stamm (1988); Fr. Hans Maurer, whose description of the Tangga language became available as a microfilm in 1966; and Fr. Gerhard Peekel, who wrote descriptions of Patpatar and Label, published respectively in 1909 (listed as 1909a in the references) and 1930. Neither Maurer’s nor Peekel’s work has been translated from the German. It is very likely that there were other manuscripts which were destroyed when mission stations were burnt down during the Second World War. We know, for example, that Fr. Peekel also worked on Kara-Lemakot, but only part of the manuscript survives, in an archive of the University of Hawai‘i.

More recently, others have described New Ireland languages. They include Beaumont (1979) on Tigak, Dryer (2011) on Kara-Lemakot, Du

Neuhaus’s description of Lihir includes frequent comparisons with other languages, especially languages of the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu. He was able to make these comparisons because he evidently possessed a copy of Codrington’s marvellous 1885 book, The Melanesian Languages. But the similarities that Neuhaus observes in these languages are due to the fact that, along with Lihir, they are members of a single language family, as he was well aware. A language family is a collection of languages that are all descended from a single, earlier language that no longer exists. Lihir and almost all the languages that Neuhaus mentions belong to the Oceanic language family, which includes many coastal languages of the Sandaun, East Sepik, Madang, Morobe, Oro, Milne Bay, and Central Provinces of Papua New Guinea, most of the languages of the New Guinea Islands (the Manus, East and West New Britain, and New Ireland Provinces, and the Autonomous Region of Bougainville) and of the Solomon Islands, and all the indigenous languages of Vanuatu, New Caledonia, Fiji, Polynesia, and Micronesia (except Guam and Palau). The Oceanic languages are all descendants of a language that linguists call Proto Oceanic, about which I will say more below (see also Lynch, Ross, and Crowley’s 2002 book, The Oceanic Languages).

But the story stretches back much further, because the Oceanic language family is itself a branch of the even larger Austronesian language family, which includes not only the Oceanic languages, but also certain languages of Timor-Leste, almost all the indigenous languages of Indonesia and Malaysia, the language of Madagascar (closer to Africa, but settled from Borneo), all the indigenous languages of the Philippines, and the Formosan languages that were spoken in Taiwan before the seventeenth-century arrival of Chinese from the mainland (see map on following page).

The mother of all Austronesian languages is known to linguists as Proto Austronesian. As textbooks of historical linguistics explain, historical linguists are able to reconstruct the history of a language family from present-day language data, working out what changes have occurred to arrive at the various languages of that family and reconstructing the family relationships among these languages.
Geographic limits of historically known Oceanic and non-Oceanic Austronesian speakers and of documented Lapita sites (updated from Kirch (1997:17, 54) and David et al. (2011)).
Fr. Neuhaus clearly knew that Lihir was an Austronesian language. However, he evidently accepted Fr. Schmidt’s Austric theory (Schmidt 1906). This theory stated that Austronesian languages are related to the Austro-Asiatic languages that are scattered across the Malay Peninsula, the Nicobar Islands, Cambodia, Vietnam, Myanmar, and parts of India. In other words, Proto Austronesian was a sister of Proto Austro-Asiatic, and their mother was Proto Austric. Despite a fairly recent attempt to revive the Austric theory (Reid 1999), most historical linguists who have examined the theory reject it, finding that it is not well supported by the evidence. Indeed, there have been several attempts to trace the history of Austronesian languages back beyond Proto Austronesian, but none has gained general acceptance.

It is reasonably clear that Proto Austronesian was spoken in Taiwan: in other words, some or all of the Formosan languages are immediate daughters of Proto Austronesian. It is also clear that speakers of Austronesian languages migrated from Taiwan to the Philippines sometime around 2200 BC, and from there across Malaysia, Indonesia, and along the north coast of New Guinea, reaching the Bismarck Archipelago (New Britain, New Ireland, and Manus and their offshore islands) around 1450 BC. It would be wrong, though, to think that today’s speakers of Austronesian languages are all descended from the Austronesian speakers who left Taiwan. Austronesian speakers encountered speakers of other languages along the way and intermarried with them, a point increasingly confirmed by genetic evidence.

It is interesting that until they reached the New Guinea area, Austronesian languages almost without exception displaced the languages of earlier inhabitants, but on mainland New Guinea Austronesian speakers made only small inroads, so that most of the population continued to speak what we call Papuan (non-Austronesian/pre-Austronesian) languages. Papuan languages also survive in Timor and its offshore islands, in Halmahera and in Bougainville, and in enclaves on New Britain, on New Ireland (just one language, Kuot), and the western Solomons. Why did Papuan languages survive in the New Guinea area, but not further west or north? We cannot be completely sure, but it seems likely that Austronesian speakers, who were agriculturalists, seafarers, and traders, brought with them a desirable culture to which earlier inhabitants readily adapted, and language was part of that culture. In the Philippines at least, it is reasonably clear that the pre-Austronesian inhabitants were hunter-gatherers. In New Guinea, however, the situation was different. Agriculture had long been practised, and the sea-oriented culture that
Austronesian speakers carried with them was in many ways irrelevant to the peoples of inland New Guinea. There was also well-established agriculture in at least some areas of the north coast (Swadling and Hide 2005), and there was evidently less reason to adopt the culture or language of Austronesian-speaking newcomers. As a result, Papuan languages continued to dominate mainland New Guinea.

The situation changed again, though, in the Bismarck Archipelago. There were certainly Papuan speakers there, and indeed as far east as the central Solomons, but in coastal areas they integrated into Austronesian-speaking communities, Papuan languages generally surviving only in the more mountainous parts of New Britain and Bougainville (Kuot of New Ireland is a coastal language, but we know nothing of its history).

Before we pursue this history further, two points need to be made. First, I wrote above that Proto Austronesian was spoken in Taiwan sometime before 2200 BC. In fact, archaeology suggests strongly that the ancestors of the Proto Austronesian community came to Taiwan from mainland China sometime before 3500 BC, but there is no evidence on the mainland of languages descended from an early Austronesian-like language. The Austronesian linguistic trail simply fades out and we can trace it back no further than Taiwan. Second, as I have just implied, archaeology plays a major part in the reconstruction of this history. We can reconstruct the (pre)history of languages, but we cannot derive dates from linguistic evidence. For these we have to rely on correlating the prehistory of languages as reconstructed by linguists with the material prehistory reconstructed by archaeologists. This correlation is not always straightforward, but it is easier for Austronesian than for some other language families (Bellwood et al. 2011).

In the Bismarck Archipelago the correlation is clear: the arrival of Austronesian speakers around 1450 BC corresponds with the rise of a new culture, Lapita, and the language of this culture was Proto Oceanic, ancestor of more than 600 languages of New Guinea and the Pacific islands. The Lapita culture is particularly well known for its dentate-stamped pottery, which often has repeated representations of what appear to be human faces (Kirch 1997). However, the decorated pottery probably had only a ceremonial significance. More important from a linguistic perspective is the fact that from sometime around 1250 to sometime around 950 BC widely dispersed communities in the Bismarcks were connected by trade networks (Pawley 2003, 2008). We know this because the bits of pots found by archaeologists can be sourced according to the materials they are made of, and each piece of obsidian (black volcanic glass), used
to make cutting tools before the modern arrival of steel, has a chemical signature which tells us its origin. Many pots and obsidian pieces travelled long distances from where they were made. The archaeology tells us that Proto Oceanic speakers originally settled on smaller offshore islands, perhaps because these gave ready access to the sea and perhaps also because the larger islands were already occupied by Papuan speakers. Archaeology suggests that the trade networks of three thousand or more years ago included settlements on Boduna and other small islands off the Willaumez Peninsula of New Britain, the Arawe Islands of the southwest coast of New Britain, Watom Island north of the Gazelle Peninsula, the Duke of York Islands, the smaller islands of the Manus Province, Mussau and nearby islands, and the string of islands off the east coast of New Ireland stretching from Tabar through Lihir, Tangga, and Anir to Nissan. These networks were the realm of Proto Oceanic. Thus inhabitants of Lihir were among speakers of Proto Oceanic dialects, and there is no reason to believe that continuity between Proto Oceanic and the modern Lihir language has ever been broken.

From around 1100 BC, and perhaps earlier, speakers of Proto Oceanic moved eastwards into the Pacific. To the east and south of Santa Isabel in the Solomons they were the first settlers, carrying the Lapita culture with them. The map shows the area in which Lapita sites have been found, including recent discoveries requiring the inclusion of the coast of Papua New Guinea’s Central Province (David et al. 2011). Although their culture changed so as to be no longer recognisable as Lapita, Oceanic speakers continued on to settle a vast area of the Pacific. These eastern settlers probably largely lost contact with their cousins in the Bismarcks, but the Bismarcks trading network continued for another century or so, with the result that its languages display similarities identifiable as Western Oceanic.

Western Oceanic later extended its domain in two directions, resulting in a division that corresponds roughly with the Willaumez Peninsula. A westward extension, apparently from the area around the Vitiaz Strait, included offshore islands and enclaves along the north coast of New Guinea (Ross 1988 calls this the “North New Guinea linkage”) and the islands and much of the mainland of the Milne Bay Province, as well as much of the Central Province coast as far west as Yule Island (the “Papuan Tip linkage”). An eastward extension from either the south of New Ireland or perhaps from Nissan established Western Oceanic speakers in coastal areas of Bougainville, as well as Buka and the islands of Choiseul, the New Georgia group, and Santa Isabel in today’s Solomon Islands.
The western and eastern extensions are today quite distinct. Speakers in the western extension and in southwest New Britain have interacted greatly with Papuan languages of mainland New Guinea, and although their languages are today still obviously Oceanic, they have in some ways become more like Papuan languages. The languages from the Willaumez Peninsula eastward (the “Meso-Melanesian linkage”), on the other hand, are more conservative and mostly less influenced by Papuan languages.

Relationships among Western Oceanic languages were studied by Ross (1988), who found that the languages of north and central New Ireland and the islands to its north and east (but not Mussau) belong to the Meso-Melanesian linkage, and form three smaller groups, each probably descended from a single shared ancestor. From north to south these groups are Tungak-Nalik (Tungak/Lavongai, Tigak, Tiang, Kara, and Nalik), Tabar-Lihir (Tabar/Madara, Lihir, and Nochi), and Madak-Barok (Madak, Lamusaong, and Barok). The languages of the south are also Meso-Melanesian but do not fall so readily into groups.

Thus we are able to slot Lihir into the history of Western Oceanic languages and to trace its history back three thousand years to Proto Oceanic times. In the last twenty years, participants in the Oceanic Lexicon Project at the Australian National University in Canberra have reconstructed a portion of the vocabulary of Proto Oceanic, and the reconstructed vocabulary encapsulates aspects of the Lapita culture that cannot be captured by archaeologists. This work is ongoing, but volumes on material culture, the physical environment, plants, and animals have been published so far (listed below as Ross, Pawley, and Osmond 1998, 2003, 2008, 2011).

I end this brief account of the history of the Lihir language by taking a number of Lihir words at random from Neuhaus’s grammar and listing them together with the reconstructed Proto Oceanic forms from which they are derived (the Proto Oceanic forms are reconstructed on the basis of data from many Oceanic languages; an asterisk indicates a reconstruction). At first sight the relationship between a Lihir form and its Proto Oceanic ancestor is sometimes a little difficult to recognise. This is partly because the vowels of many Lihir words have changed (Neuhaus shows that many Lihir words have more than one form, often involving vowel changes). But there are some regularities. The words in section A of the table show that the Proto Oceanic suffixes for ‘my’ and ‘his/her’ are consistently reflected in Lihir. Sections B and C show that Proto Oceanic words that ended in a vowel have consistently lost that vowel in Lihir unless like ‘I’ and ‘thou’ they had only one syllable. Section D shows that
Proto Oceanic words that ended in a consonant have lost not only that consonant but also the vowel in front of it.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.</th>
<th>Proto Oceanic</th>
<th>Lihir</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘my name’</td>
<td>*qase-gu</td>
<td>yase-ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘my insides’</td>
<td>*lalo-gu</td>
<td>lili-ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘my liver’</td>
<td>*qate-gu</td>
<td>yati-ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘my leg’, ‘his leg’</td>
<td>*qaqe-gu</td>
<td>kake-ŋ, kakia-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘his/her skin’</td>
<td>*kuli-ŋ</td>
<td>kulie-n ‘his/her body’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘his child’</td>
<td>*natu-ŋ</td>
<td>natuo-n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B.</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘stone’</td>
<td>*patu</td>
<td>iot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hand, arm, five’</td>
<td>*lima</td>
<td>liem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘man’</td>
<td>*tam”ata</td>
<td>tomat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘woman’</td>
<td>*papine</td>
<td>wahen, wayen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘fire’</td>
<td>*api</td>
<td>yeh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘banana’</td>
<td>*pudi</td>
<td>win</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘vomit on’</td>
<td>*luaqi</td>
<td>luek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘conch shell, Triton’s trumpet’</td>
<td>*tapuRi</td>
<td>tawil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C.</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘I’</td>
<td>*iau</td>
<td>yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘you’ (= ‘thou’)</td>
<td>*ko</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D.</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘house’</td>
<td>*Rumaq</td>
<td>liom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hear, obey’</td>
<td>*loŋoR</td>
<td>lan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘cry, weep’</td>
<td>*tanis</td>
<td>tanis, ten, tensie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘neck’</td>
<td>*liqoR</td>
<td>lio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘egg’</td>
<td>*qatoluR</td>
<td>kator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘leaf’</td>
<td>*laun</td>
<td>lolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘rain’</td>
<td>*qusan</td>
<td>wuos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘moon’</td>
<td>*pulan</td>
<td>ulen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A Lihirian Perspective on the Translation of
Father Neuhaus’s Work

Luke Kabariu

I commence with this question: What does the publication of the *Grammar of the Lihir Language of New Ireland, Papua New Guinea* reflect and mean to the present and future generations of Lihir? In the minds of wise thinkers, they would definitely conclude that Lihirians are privileged to have the work of Fr. Karl Neuhaus, MSC, translated from its original German into English for interested scholars and readers in Lihir, Papua New Guinea, and around the world.

All Lihirians should express sincere appreciation to the Catholic Church and be thankful for the tremendous, dedicated work of this German pioneer missionary priest to Lihir (1933–44). Fr. Neuhaus’s original work survived the destructions of the Second World War, was published by the Anthropos Institute in 1954, and has now been made available in translation.

This translation reminds Lihirians of their responsibilities to adjust to the changes and developments occurring in Lihir, and to work towards the preservation, continuation, and maintenance of the Lihir language in order to ensure its survival. We can think of many new linguistic changes taking place with the borrowing of Tok Pisin and English words to replace Lihirian words in everyday communications in workplaces, schools, and communities. Many Lihirians have developed a “no-care attitude” in their everyday communication, without taking a moment to pause and think over a Lihirian word to express their intent and instead borrow Tok Pisin and English words as substitutes. Do we realise the quick pace of the decline in the daily use of the Lihir language? Failure to appreciate and understand the importance of this foundational work and to actively promote the Lihir language will see the gradual extinction of many Lihirian words.

Our language is important to us because it is the base of our cultural identity. We are Lihirians because we speak the Lihir language. Once we lose our language, then this will signal the end of our identity as a unique Lihirian tribe. We have already witnessed changes to names of Lihirian
places during the early colonial period. For example, Ladalawit hamlet, which is now a village, was misinterpreted by Mr. Kyllert, the Swedish plantation owner, as Londolowit, and Barahun has been renamed as Marahun. During the mining exploration and negotiation period in the 1980s and early 1990s, the name of Potpot village changed to Putput. Potpot is a Lihir name for mountain, and in this context, it described the mountain or potpot inhabitants, scattered at each clan settlement high on the Ladolam caldera (located above what is now the open mine pit). When cannibalism ended on Lihir in the late 1800s, the inhabitants moved down from their mountain hamlets and settled at the new Potpot village on the coast (which is now the location of the mine plant site). Potpot was the name of the new village until 1982. During the mine exploration phase, Kennecott geologists and engineers wrote down Putput instead of Potpot as the name for the village. Thereafter, government, company, and others agencies have written Putput as the name for the village with little thought about restoring the original name. In Catholic Church documents, such as baptism and death records, Fr. Neuhaus and other priests to Lihir maintained the original names for Potpot, Ladalawit, and other village names. Although many Lihirians still use these names in their daily communication, most tend to use the new names in written form. These examples demonstrate how names can change, and that the true meaning of names and words can also be lost if the original terms are not retained in written form.

In the Lihir language, there are names for seasons and events. For example, atunumat (the northeast wind) and the alawir (southeast wind) period, which is the longest of the seasons; the latter is also the term for the year. Today people refer to the year as krismas (Christmas), even though there is a Lihirian name for the year. As another example, our ancestors named large sailing boats aniokaka (land that moves) as they saw that men lived on these boats with the same possessions and shelter that they find on land.

I encourage Lihirians to be conscious of the importance of preserving our language. Let us work together as responsible communities to protect and preserve the language from extinction. A way forward is to record words in Lihir and their Tok Pisin and English meanings, which will remind us of what words to use. For example, there are many Tok Pisin and English words which are commonly included in speeches and discussions, but there are Lihirian words which can be used instead of borrowing foreign words. Some common examples include the substitu-
tion of Tok Pisin “rot” (road) for nes, “yo yusim” (using) for yo petspets sam nie, “pipia” (rubbish) for per, and many others.

I am most grateful for this translation which has encouraged me to play my part in the protection and preservation of the Lihir language as an individual and as a member of the Lihir Cultural Heritage Association. It is important for Lihirians to realise that their language is under threat. This is the time to save it from being lost.

I appreciate the dedicated expertise from the Australian National University, the University of Queensland, and Newcrest’s Cultural Awareness Section and the original Cultural Heritage Committee, which led to the development of a cultural heritage plan, called A irir wana mamalien a anio Lir (in Lihir), Plen bilong gutpela sindaun (Tok Pisin), or in English, A Plan for Social Stability and Harmony in Lihir.

During the workshop for this plan, the team visited villages all around Lihir. Contributors to these village workshops identified that “Lihirian skills are important for our future identity and the strength of our culture,” and that “Lihirians should make it their objective to encourage, strengthen and teach Lihirian language to all people in Lihir.” The cultural heritage plan identified Fr. Neuhaus’s work as a key resource to learn about the Lihir language, since his work was undertaken when the language was free from the threat of outside influences. While there is a need to prepare for the future sustainability of Lihir in all forms, it is important to preserve and maintain the Lihirian identity through the language we speak today, especially for the future generations.

On behalf of the people of Lihir, the present and future generations, I thank the following people for their contributions: Simon Ziegler for translating this work from German to English; Don Niles, the technical editor from the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies; Nick Bainton from Newcrest; and Kirsty Gillespie from the University of Queensland. Apuet si go kdiol (thank you to all of you).
The Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies is very pleased to publish the Grammar of the Lihir Language of New Ireland, Papua New Guinea, by Karl Neuhaus, which has been superbly translated and edited by Simon Ziegler. Kirsty Gillespie first asked me in November 2011 if the Institute might be interested in such a publication. Although we had done little publishing of works outside of music and dance for quite a few years, I told Kirsty that I’d be very happy to take a look at the grammar: it certainly seemed like the kind of thing we would be interested in.

By January 2012, I began communications with Simon Ziegler, who would be responsible for translating the book and generally bringing most pieces of the publication together. In March, we met in Port Moresby and discussed various aspects of the book. But ever since our first email contact we have been exploring many issues concerning eventual publication. On 3 December 2013, I received Simon’s completed translation, plus introductions by himself, Nicholas Bainton, and Malcolm Ross.

Over the next few months, the manuscript was peer reviewed by two anonymous referees, and their comments and suggestions are very much reflected in this published version. There was now no doubt that this was a book that we should publish. As editor of a number of Institute publications, I also went through the text to fine-tune various details, query a number issues for further discussion, copyedit the text to Institute specifications, apply appropriate formatting styles, do layout, etc. The result is the book before you.

Although the study of languages has never been explicitly listed as one of the functions of the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, it is an essential part in just about everything we do concerning the collection, documentation, preservation, and promotion of Papua New Guinea music, dance, and folklore.

Beyond that, however, from the very beginning of the Institute in 1974 we have published books and articles concerning various Papua...
New Guinea languages. In the case of Lala and Vaimuru, these have been grammars and vocabularies, thus most similar to the Lihir grammar. Sometimes the publications have been original works in specific languages, such as readers in Balawaia, Kuanua, Lala, and Motu. Other publications contain translations of song texts from a local language into English, such as songs in Enga, Kewa, Kilivila, Manambu, Melpa, Motu, and Wiru. We have also published collections and translations of stories, legends, and myths in Takuu and Toaripi, a book about Motu customs, and many other publications that reference language in passing in journals such as *Oral History*, *Gigibori*, and *Bikmaus*. We have also published translations of stories into Kalam and Tok Pisin, and promoted the use of the latter language in academic articles and its study in songs. In the past few decades, our music series has explored traditions in cultures as diverse as Watakataui, Duke of York, Jabêm, Kaulong, Iatmul, and Banoni. In all of these publications, issues of language remain key to the discussion.

However, this Lihir grammar also continues a long-established Institute tradition of making available English translations of writings about aspects of Papua New Guinea cultures originally written in other languages. As in the case of Neuhaus’s manuscript, most of this work has involved the translation from German sources, but we have also published translations of materials originally published in French, Japanese, and Mandarin Chinese. Such translations increase the accessibility of Papua New Guineans to these important writings.

All of this proves how well this publication of Neuhaus’s Lihir grammar fits in with the work of the Institute. We know that this book will be of interest to Lihir speakers and linguists, but we also hope that it will inspire others to write about many different aspects of the cultures of Papua New Guinea.

Neuhaus’s manuscript was completed in the first month of 1935 and was originally published nineteen years later as the twentieth volume of *Micro-Bibliotheca Anthropos* on microfilm. Now, almost eighty years after its completion and precisely sixty years after its German publication, we are very happy to publish an English translation that is able to reach a much wider audience.

I would like to thank Kirsty Gillespie and Nick Bainton for originally suggesting that we might be interested in publishing this work. I also appreciate the helpful comments of the anonymous readers who provided insightful peer reviews of this translation. Nick Bainton, Luke Kabariu,
Patrick Turuan, David Haigh, and Simon Ziegler helpfully commented on many aspects of this book as we were finalising its publication. David Haigh also generously shared his wonderful Lihir photographs for our consideration. We are most grateful for the financial support from the Lihir Cultural Heritage Association and the Lihir Sustainable Development Plan to enable this book to be translated, printed, and distributed widely throughout Lihir.

Checking various aspects of this book were made much easier with my access to Internet resources at the Australian National University, through my appointment there as Research Associate in the Department of Anthropology, School of Culture, History, and Language, College of Asia and the Pacific. I am very grateful for their support, particularly at such a distance. Craig Völker made valuable suggestions regarding tricky translation issues at precisely the right moment.

Most importantly, however, I must acknowledge the tremendous hard work and dedication of Simon Ziegler as editor and translator of this volume. In addition to his meticulous effort on the translation of the often difficult-to-decipher manuscript, he requested and obtained wonderfully insightful introductions from Nick Bainton, Malcolm Ross, and Luke Kabariu. These additions very much heighten our understanding of this work, its author, the Lihir language, and its speakers. It has been a wonderful experience for me to collaborate with Simon to finalise the contents of this book.

The Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies has supported this publication from the very beginning. I feel privileged to work at an institution that tries to do so much to promote knowledge about Papua New Guinea cultures. The Institute warmly welcomes this addition to its publications.
Editor’s Introduction

Simon Ziegler

Translating and editing Neuhaus’s work

Translating Neuhaus’s document and getting it into a formally consistent and presentable shape was not as straightforward a task as I had first imagined. This was not so much a problem of finding the right words in English for what Neuhaus had written in German; rather, it had to do with the state of the document that I received from my co-collaborator on Lihirian cultural heritage, Kirsty Gillespie—220 pages, printed off 35 mm film that contained Neuhaus’s original work. As typical of manuscripts in the 1930s, he produced his work on a typewriter. At the time, a typewriter was a valuable tool, but its functionality was limited. Consequently, Neuhaus complemented or amended the text with handwritten annotations and symbols.

In the copy I received, blackened right margins swallowed whole words or parts of words, and Neuhaus’s difficult-to-read handwriting also presented several challenges for translation. Single letters, particularly from Lihir words, were often hard to decipher because the typewriting had faded. With no contextual knowledge of how to write a particular word, it was often a guessing game to decide, for instance, whether the word contained an e or an o. At the end of the first attempt at translation, I had marked thirty-three text passages as illegible. Gillespie then was able to order another copy of the microfilm from the National Library of Australia. Using a microfilm reader at the University of Queensland’s library, I then worked through the document again and was better able to interpret the problematic text passages.

Besides these physical challenges of the document itself, problems also occurred in regard to its contents. A few factors came into play here, all of which probably contributed to the fragmented state and loose structure of the original document, and the difficulties in trying to make sense of some of his statements and establish a coherent context. First, Neuhaus originally produced the description of the Lihir language for his private use, as is noted in the introductory pages of the original German
text. Although his manuscript was completed in 1935, it was not until 1954 that the Anthropos Institut made this document accessible on microfilm, thereby presenting Neuhaus's work in its raw state, without any additional editing or formatting. Accompanying this publication was a short introductory article by Albert Burgmann (1954) in the ethnology journal *Anthropos*, which provided some insights into Neuhaus and his work.

Second, Neuhaus only had a limited collection of books at his disposal for cross-reference purposes, most notably Codrington's *The Melanesian Languages* (1885) and parts of Brandstetter's series *Monographien zur indonesischen Sprachforschung* and *Wir Menschen der indonesischen Erde*, which were published between 1906 and 1934. As a result, he could only provide “occasional” references to other linguistic texts, a point he acknowledges at the end of §§1–3. Burgmann (1954) notes that this exacerbated two tendencies: attempting to provide etymologies and seeking relations of Lihir with other languages. The problem with the first tendency is that Neuhaus provides an excess of information on his suggested origin of single words, sometimes only based on his assumptions, rather than on evidence from other sources. And his comparisons with other languages reveal similar limitations, as his conclusions were not adequately supported by linguistic data (see Burgmann 1954:1091–92).

Another, more practical problem occurred with the difficulty of identifying all of Neuhaus's many references to other languages. Many of the languages have either become extinct (such as Butam, a Papuan language that was spoken in East New Britain Province) or are now known by different names (like Gog, which is an old name for Nume, a language spoken on Gaua Island in Vanuatu). Neuhaus also frequently uses alternate names of a language (such as Komalu, which is today better known as Barok, a language spoken on New Ireland). Sometimes he only presents an abbreviated form of the language name, without providing referential information.

To give the reader an impression of what the original document looked like and to exemplify some of the aforementioned issues, two random, but typical pages of the original document are included in this article. Of course, Neuhaus knew his document, but, unfortunately, we cannot ask him to clarify some of the aforementioned issues.

Despite all efforts to present this publication in a coherent, structured, and comprehensible way, there remain a few text passages where we simply do not know what he intended (e.g., §294 Lenaroro, a language that could not be identified). Luckily, these are only minor issues and must
not distract from the fact that Neuhaus’s work deserves much credit and recognition. His careful study of the available literature, interest in the people of Lihir and their language, as well as his skills as a linguist, contributed to his expert knowledge of the Lihir language and the rich material that is presented in this publication.

The following two sections describe editorial decisions about formatting changes and orthography.

**Formatting changes**

This publication aims to reflect the content and format of the original document as faithfully as possible in order to preserve its historic authenticity and value. At the same time, it seeks to enhance readability and clarity, in spite of the fragmented state of the original document. Formatting changes include the introduction of indented lists to mark language examples in Lihir or other languages.

An abbreviation sheet is included at the beginning of the original document where Neuhaus introduces the abbreviations he uses. These abbreviations are spelt out here as: the Northern, Southern, and Island dialects of the Lihir language, as well as indicating the Pala language of mainland New Ireland.

Neuhaus also introduces a double slash (///) on the abbreviation sheet to separate two different words or compound sentences that are compared. However, his usage is not consistent, and the double slash has been replaced here by a comma.

Rather than following the original document’s outmoded style of quoting publications, all references in the text are represented in the modern author–year (Harvard) style.

A bibliography has been provided at the end of the book, combining all references by Neuhaus and the contributors of the introductory articles. This bibliography replaces Neuhaus’s references on the abbreviation sheet of the original text.

I have added occasional footnotes to provide information on a variety of subjects. First, the original document contains many handwritten annotations by Neuhaus. Such an addition is labelled a “Text annotation” in the footnotes. Second, footnotes also present additional information to contextualise and explain terms that the reader might not be familiar with, especially ethnographic and linguistic expressions. They further serve as a means to indicate Neuhaus’s formatting inconsistencies in the
text, for instance jumping from §244 to §246. These inconsistencies are not altered here; they are explained in footnotes at their first occurrence in the event that the reader wishes to compare the original text. The manifold languages appearing throughout the grammar are listed in the glossary at the end of the book with a short description of their language family and location. Wherever possible, Neuhaus’s names are related to
The identification of some of these languages would not have been possible without the expert help of linguists Malcolm Ross and Alexandre François, both from the Australian National University (Canberra), and René van den Berg from SIL International (Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea). Luke Kabariu from the Lihir Cultural Heritage As-
association was of great help in explaining some Lihir terms. These personal communications and dates are identified in the footnotes.

Formatting changes also relate to translation issues. In some cases, the translation of a German word into English requires additional information regarding the determination of the English word. To avoid inaccuracies in translation, the following abbreviations are added after the word in question (combinations of abbreviations are not listed here, but are found throughout the document):

[masc], [fem], [neut] masculine, feminine, neuter gender
[sg], [pl] singular, plural
[incl], [excl] inclusive, exclusive
[nom], [dat], [acc] nominative, dative, accusative
[pro] pronoun
[pp] past participle
[poss] possessive
[refl] reflexive

Many words from the Lihir language that Neuhaus translated into German allow for several translation possibilities in English. These are here separated by a slash (/). For example, Neuhaus translates the Lihir word wir with the German ‘drehen’, which I have translated throughout the publication as ‘to rotate / to spin / to turn’.

If the translation of a Lihir word into German has two different meanings, they are separated by a comma. This was maintained when translating into English. For instance, the Lihir word lan is translated as ‘to hear, to obey’.

Numerous handwritten diacritical marks are found throughout the original document. Most common are the acute (´) and grave (´) accents. Neuhaus identified them as stress accents in §§129 to 137, and it is most likely that he used them to indicate primary and secondary stress in all previous and subsequent sections. However, this cannot be confirmed and is actually of little significance to the document as a whole. Therefore, acute and grave accents have only been retained in §§129 to 137; they have been removed from all remaining sections. Other diacritical marks remain unaltered in this publication and predominantly appear in the sections concerning phonetics.

In the original German document, Neuhaus introduces a slash (/) on the abbreviation sheet to separate affixes from the root. This is an unusual practice and can be confusing since in some instances the slash can
be misread as the letter l. Affixes are therefore separated here by a hyphen (-), as is common in linguistics.

A right-pointing arrow (→) has been introduced in this publication. It is used to better illustrate examples of the Lihir language that Neuhaus adduced to indicate that the word in question experiences change under certain circumstances. That is, the word before the arrow denotes its state before the change, and the word following the arrow indicates the changed version of that particular word, hence the arrow indicates a transformation.

In contrast to the original document, on two occasions I have added an asterisk (*) before a word to indicate that it is not directly attested, but has been reconstructed on the basis of other linguistic material.

**Contemporary Lihir orthography and that used by Neuhaus**

This publication seeks to capture the Lihir language in the way Karl Neuhaus depicted it when he was the missionary on the Lihir Islands. However, his standardisation of the language into a written form does not always conform to contemporary orthography. With so few linguists having conducted research on Lihir, it is important to present the available material as an incentive for a continuation of the linguistic study of the Lihir language.

Neuhaus used the symbol η from the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) to represent the velar nasal, such as the ng-sound in the English word *singer* [ˈsɪŋə], where no hard g-sound is pronounced. In contemporary Lihirian orthography, it is common to use *ng* instead of η for this sound. This publication retains the symbol η since Neuhaus occasionally employed both *ng* and η, apparently treating them as having different phonetic values (see §94 when introducing word-initial sounds). He probably used *ng* to mark a combination of the sounds *n* + *g*. We also find *ng*, the *ngg*-sound as in the English word *finger* [ˈfɪŋɡə], where the *g* is pronounced.

Neuhaus’s use of the glottal stop proves difficult too. In §50 he introduces the hamza, a letter in the Arabic alphabet, to represent the glottal stop (IPA ?). This is a consonantal sound that is produced by obstructing airflow in the vocal cords, like the sounds before the vowels in “uh-oh” [ʔʌʔoʊ] in English, uttered to express alarm or dismay. In subsequent sections, Neuhaus does not use the actual sign that represents the hamza (‘), nor the IPA symbol; instead, he employs a handwritten, apostrophe
to indicate the glottal stop. A few other remarks are appropriate here: Neuhaus described the glottal stop as phonemic, and hence, included it as part of his Lihir orthography (e.g., §§89, 94). As the glottal stop is non-phonemic in the present-day Lihir language, however, it is not represented in the orthography now used. In addition to marking the glottal stop, he uses the apostrophe to indicate elided vowels (e.g., §70). Burgmann (1954:1090, 1093) similarly noted that Neuhaus’s use of the glottal stop is vague. Moreover, he mentioned that Neuhaus crossed out the hamza sign before word-initial vowels. In this translation, I have similarly omitted such signs before vowels in this position.

Contemporary spelling rules were defined during a Lihir dictionary workshop in Londolovit village on Aniolam Island in February 2012. Linguists René and Lydia van den Berg from SIL International facilitated the workshop and produced a draft Lihir spelling guide (2012). Members of the Lihir Cultural Heritage Association decided which orthography to use for standardising the spelling of the Lihir language. The workshop sought to build upon the earlier translation and orthography work by Minha and Shinhee Park from SIL International.

Modern-day Lihirian spelling has seven vowels: a, e, ee, i, o, oo, u. The letters ee represent [ɛ], the close-mid front unrounded vowel, pronounced approximately as the first vowel in English main [mem]. Single e symbolises [ɛ], the open-mid front unrounded vowel, as in English pet [pet]. The letters oo represent [o], the close-mid back rounded vowel, approximately the first vowel in English code [kood]. Single o symbolises [ɔ], the open-mid back rounded vowel, as in English dog [dɔɡ].

Neuhaus also writes the vowels a, e, i, o, u. He indicates short vowels with an underscore (_), according to the table in §48. He leaves long vowels without diacritical marks in this table, but introduces a macron (‘) to indicate them in §73 and states that short vowels are unmarked. This inconsistency is found throughout the sections on phonetics, §§47–93. He further introduces the semivowels w and y, as well as the umlaut i. The pronunciation of i hovers between i and u.

The following consonants are used in present-day Lihirian orthography: b, d, g, h, k, l, m, n, ng, p, r, s, t, ts, w, and y. The letters b, d, and g are prenasalised when they occur word internally. This means that an m can be heard before b, an n before d, and an ƞ and g. However, m and n are not written, hence, taboh (not tamboh) ‘big’, dadoon (not dandoon) ‘middle’, and sagoyee (not sangoyee) ‘to make’. In §78 of his grammar, Neuhaus similarly notes that b, d, and g are almost always prenasalised, thus becoming mb, nd, ng, and ng (see discussion of the velar nasal above). But
in contrast to present-day orthography, Neuhaus writes the $m, n,$ and $\eta$ before $b, d,$ and $g$.

Neuhaus writes the following consonants: $b, d, g, h, \text{hamza (‘)}, j, k, l, m, n, \eta, p, r, s, t, ts (z), x.$ He introduces the consonant $ts$ in §77, but does not use it consistently, and we often find $z$ being used instead of $ts$. Note that in German, the letter $z$ is pronounced $ts$, so it was a natural choice for him to use that letter. He seems to give both symbols the same phonetic value since he sometimes uses $z$ and provides the variant $ts$ in brackets and vice versa, as in §73 and §86. Burgmann (1954:1093) also remarks on this irregularity.

In contemporary Lihir orthography, $z$ is no longer used and has been replaced by $ts$. Compare present-day $tsik$ ‘child’ to Neuhaus’s $zik$. The letter $z$, however, is still found in the names of villages on the main island Aniolam, like Zuen and Potzlaka. But as many Lihirians will attest, the use of the letter $z$ seems to be a point of confusion for many non-Lihirians, who often insist on pronouncing the letter $z$ with the sound in English $zinc$, rather than with a $ts$-sound, as in $cats$. The Lihir Cultural Heritage Association agreed to change the letter $z$ to $ts$ in order to preserve phonetic accuracy.

Nearly eighty years have passed since Neuhaus finished his work on the Lihir language. Yet it remains to this day the most comprehensive account of it. This publication will be the point of reference and incentive for the continuation of linguistic research on this language. I also hope that the reader will be able to learn about the Lihir language and its speakers, and appreciate the achievement and life of an extraordinary man—Karl Neuhaus.
Acknowledgements

Simon Ziegler

The publication of this book has been facilitated in many ways through the kind assistance of a number of individuals and organisations. My first debt is to Prof. Joachim Piepke, the director of the Anthrosos Institut in Sankt Augustin, Germany, for granting permission to reproduce the copyrighted material in the English translation in this book. The Anthrosos Institut published Neuhaus’s work in 1954 on microfilm, and the Institut’s diligence in conserving such little-known documents proves to be of vital importance for further linguistic research and the safeguarding of the Lihir language.

I would like to express my deep gratitude to the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (MSC) in Münster, Germany, particularly to Fr. Hans Pittruff. He is the present editor of the Hiltruper Monathshefte, a magazine that Neuhaus regularly wrote for when he was a missionary on New Ireland and on Lihir Island. Fr. Pittruff located and sent me a number of articles that Neuhaus wrote for the Hiltruper Monathshefte between 1912 and 1934, as well as two booklets that he published in 1931 and 1934. Information about Neuhaus’s life is scarce and scattered, and these documents were a precious source in illuminating some parts of his life. Some of the articles contained photographs of Neuhaus’s time on Lihir Island, and Fr. Pittruff kindly granted permission to use these photographs in this publication.

I would also like to thank the following linguists for sharing their expert knowledge and advice: Malcolm Ross, at the Australian National University (ANU), for writing an introductory article and for his kind support in identifying some of the languages found in the text. Malcolm also introduced me to Alexandre François, also at ANU, a specialist on the languages of Vanuatu, who was very helpful in identifying many languages of that area. From SIL International, René van den Berg and his wife, Lydia, facilitated the Lihir Dictionary Workshop on Lihir in February 2012. In the context of this workshop, René compiled a first draft of a Lihir spelling guide, whose content is partly reproduced in the “Editor’s Introduction.” René also patiently answered the many questions I had
with regard to the content of Neuhaus’s document. Rob Pensalfini, from the University of Queensland, provided guidance and help with orthographic questions.

I appreciate the kind support of all members of the Lihir Cultural Heritage Association, particularly Luke Kabariu. As a native speaker of the Lihir language, Luke was very helpful in identifying many Lihir words that left me puzzled when I saw how Neuhaus translated them into German. I would like to thank Nick Bainton, Manager Sustainable Development and Environment at Newcrest Mining Limited, for contributing an introductory article and for being my first point of contact on Lihir Island regarding all questions relevant to this publication. Kirsty Gillespie, from the Centre for Social Responsibility in Mining at the University of Queensland, initiated the idea of having Neuhaus’s document published and introduced me to Don Niles, the acting director of the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies. Kirsty also ordered a microfilm that contained Neuhaus’s work from the Australian National Library and arranged for me to use a microfilm reader at the University of Queensland’s library. This was an invaluable help in being able to translate certain text passages.

I am very grateful for the immense help and support of Don Niles. Don’s wealth of experience, knowledge, and enthusiasm made for a great working relationship. I appreciate his insight and advice on all editorial questions relevant to this publication.

Two anonymous referees provided helpful comments on the introductory articles and the main text. I would further like to acknowledge the following photographers for their contributions: David Haigh, director of Sanida Communications, Luke Kabariu, Nicholas Bainton, and Sarena Ruediger.

In particular, I would like to thank the Lihir Cultural Heritage Association for funding the initial German to English translation.

Finally, I am deeply grateful for the kind support of the Lihir Sustainable Development Plan for funding the printing and distribution of this book.
Grammar of the
Lihir Language of New Ireland,
Papua New Guinea

Karl Neuhaus
The language whose structure I am going to examine is spoken by the inhabitants of the Gerard de Nys Islands. This archipelago of the South Pacific is to be found approximately thirty English miles eastwards off the coast of central New Ireland, at 153°E and 3°S. It covers the main island, Lihir, and the smaller isles, Mahur, Masahet, and Malie. The smaller islets, Mandoh and Sinambiet, are joined to Malie by a shallow reef. The inhabitants of the smaller isles refer to the main island as Nuolam, Nualam, and Niolam. The name signifies ‘big island’ (nua ‘island’ = nuha, nusa + lam ‘big / large / outspread’). The inhabitants of the Tanga Islands know it as Medu. The Pala people of the opposite coast of New Ireland call it Lihir, the people of Tabar call it Roviri, while the inhabitants themselves call it Lir. The smaller islands are referred to by the name that their inhabitants choose, even by natives of the closer and more distant neighbouring islands.

Nuolam is very mountainous and fissured. Each of the surrounding islands consists of only one higher crest with a narrow and flat coastal strip located offshore. The widespread root word nuo, nua occurs in the Lihir language in this one given meaning only. Otherwise, the extended basic form anio, hanuo, haniao, which translates as ‘homestead, cultivated land, weather’, is employed.

The number of inhabitants of the archipelago amounts to just four thousand. They are Melanesian. The type, however, is not homogenous. Slender, long figures are particularly noticeable on Malie and Masahet. The mountain dwellers of the main island are stockier. Every now and then, one meets natives with wavy instead of frizzy hair. Nowadays their relations do not extend beyond the adjoining islands. They primarily maintain commerce with the people of Tabar. They call the island Tawak or Tulat. They sell their piglets there in exchange for shell money. Specialised woodcarvers from there are sometimes brought to the island to carve the well-known Malagan figures for the people of Lihir. They maintain trade relations with the inhabitants of central New Ireland too. They call the island Hieben, in particular the central part between

---

1. In contrast to the other individually numbered sections in the document, §§1–3 are only labelled together as a group in this heading.
Namatanai and Karu. They name the northern part *a nuznuz na anuo* ‘the end of the populated land’, which in ancient times might have meant ‘the end of the world’. They also visited the Tanga Islands occasionally. The inhabitants of the smaller islands Mahur, Masahet, and Malie are most of all the actual mariners. Those of Nualam were naturally familiar with a bamboo raft only. They either rode along in the neighbours’ canoes or hired these from them for their trips. Only sporadically did they deal with the construction of the canoe itself.

All of them claim to be in a kinship-like relationship with the inhabitants of the adjacent Tanga Islands, New Ireland, and Tabar, and that several of their totem classes are to be found there as well, although under different names.

Mortars and pestles made from stone, similar to those found in the whole of the Bismarck Archipelago, are relicts of older settlements. I was given knobs made from stone, like those attached to Baining cudgels. They were produced here on the spot since I found each stage of their development. Plate-like stone knobs with a thin edge and thickened centre were found occasionally, affixed to cudgels in the way they are in New Guinea. However, the drilled holes in the centre of all of these objects
were so narrow that they hardly could be employed as handles for cudgels. Perhaps they were considered as merely objects of value, as money. Nowadays the natives use these boulders for magic purposes only, the
solid pounders to produce hard taro, the drilled knobs to get the auger beetle into the taro fields of unpopular neighbours.

During the previous year, two interesting discoveries were made at the southeastern tip of Nualam. A spearhead or a hand axe, made from obsidian, was located among debris in a river course. The soil collapsed near this spot above an underground watercourse, and another object made from obsidian, which looked similar to a fishing rod for large fish, was exposed at a depth of one to two feet [30–60 cm]. However, obsidian is nowhere to be found in the whole archipelago. These stone and obsidian objects do not belong to the natives’ current culture. They are summarised under the name *a kiamkiam* ‘stars’, that is to say, they have fallen from the sky.

Lihir is a Melanesian language with attributes that make it appear important for Austric linguistic research. It draws heavily upon the immediate parataxis of root words that qualify each other. This immediate juxtaposition has progressed with suffix formation for verbs. The suffixes keep their mobility and independent meaning to a large extent. They are root words that partially have directional meaning. The Lihir language is therefore linked to the Nicobarese languages. It hardly makes use of suffixes and has a particular tendency towards monosyllabism. The contraction of the suffixes with the root word is of special interest, as is the fragmentation of disyllabic Indonesian words into two monosyllabic roots.

Lihir is essentially a homogenous language on all the islands of the archipelago, yet it varies tremendously within each region. Deviations particularly appear in phonetics, but also appear in vocabulary and grammar. Three regional dialects can be roughly distinguished; I will identify them as southern, northern, and island. The first two are spoken on Nuolam, the third refers to all smaller islands. The boundaries of these regional dialects have not been drawn strictly. There are similarities in details with languages of adjoining archipelagos, the differences, however, are significant too. Thus Tabar has predominantly final vowels, while Lihir has final consonants and vowels. Pala makes use of living prefixes to a higher degree than Lihir. It places the status particle *te* before the verb or adjective, while in Lihir it is placed after the verb or adjective. Tanga contains an *f* in phonology, while it is missing in Lihir. Individual characteristics of Lihir are found in Melanesian, Indonesian, and Austro-Asiatic languages. The question of what to classify as loanwords or native words in the Lihir language can be realised by extensive comparative analysis
only. Since the means for that purpose are missing on this lonely island, I am satisfied with providing only occasional references. The natives’ explication of certain words is not always correct.

The Pala explained the name of a bird that is called munmun tauan as follows:

\[ \text{munmun 'hidden' + tauan 'Pometia tree' = 'the one which hides behind the trunk of the Pometia tree'} \]

This explication, however, is wrong. Munmun signifies ‘bird’ in Lihir mon, in Pala man, manu, manumanu. Tauan signifies ‘forest’, toen in Lihir. In Pala munmun tauan therefore signifies ‘woodland bird’ too. In Lihir the bird is called munumunun toen, munmun tambial, ‘woodland bird’. Toen and tambial both mean ‘forest’.
Some conceptual remarks on the Lihir language, §§4–46

§4. The way of thinking and the language of a people are very closely related. A pure technical dissection does not do justice to any language. The framework of a language is also rooted in its lively spirit. The best way of detecting these internal forces of a language would be to have a profound knowledge of the natives’ way of life, their habits and customs, and their innermost character. Since no written documents of the Lihir language exist, some introductory information regarding their way of thinking is pointed out below. Later on, the grammar is to be supplemented by an ethnographic monograph.

§5. The native is above all concerned with care for his family, relatives, tasks, merrymaking, love, acquisition of shell money, and the dead. He primitively cultivates the land and additionally hunts and fishes. Thus he is attuned to the concrete and the sensuous. Therefore, there are manifold expressions for the singular and most elementary acts of his activities. The different stages of planting have expressions of their own.

The weeding of pest plants encompasses various terminologies:

- puazkie ‘to pull out grass’
- kue ‘to remove weed in a growing plantation’
- pire ‘to clean a harvested plantation from weed’

§6. His attitude towards the concrete does not prevent the native’s ability to form abstract terms.

The concrete acts naturally as a starting point for abstract ideas:

- a wuon na ye ‘the base of the tree’, a wuon ‘the cause’

Lihir does not have any particular bound morphemes to form abstract words:

- pet ‘good’, a pet ‘the good [masc sg, neut sg]’

Concrete and abstract nouns are formed in the same way. Lihir frequently makes use of the possessive pronoun in third person to form abstract nouns:

- a tambohwan ‘his height / his greatness’
Among simple nouns and adjectives, verbs serve the generation of abstract words too:

- tel ‘to lay / to place / to put, tel ‘to become, to be; i tel na ziktun ‘he became man’

§7. Lihir strongly emphasises the concept of personality, outstanding personality, and the individual.

To indicate this, he makes use of the particles i, ya:

- puat ‘to make a gift / to donate’
- a i-punuat ‘the generous one [masc sg]’

Equally important is ownership or belongings. The possessive pronoun is mainly formed through words that express ownership, like ki, nu, si, to which the pronoun is added:

- a liom ki yo ‘a house ownership my’, ‘my house’
- nu-ŋ² liom ‘ownership my house’

The concept of causal coherence is firmly anchored in the native’s way of thinking. He knows of a creator of all things who created him and who has given him the social order insofar as he does not know of a human cause for its particulars. It is through the creator’s directive that humans speak and are reasonable, while the animal is not. It is through education that the child gradually becomes rational. The way humans learnt and acquired some practical arts can be heard in the narratives of the elder people. The tradition of the beginning of house building reads as follows:

Once upon a time, a man was swallowed by a whale. During his stay in the whale’s stomach, he was in the right mood to study this peculiar residence. When the whale beached, and the man was finally freed, he made use of the newly acquired knowledge to build a barrel-shaped house. When he positioned the ridgepole on top of the evenly chipped posts, it came loose and hit a dog’s head. His glance was directed towards the animal by the dog’s howling. Its upright standing ears gave him a new idea. He notched the top side of the post so that the ridgepole could no longer roll off. The basic idea is that man has copied some of the arts from nature.

---

2. ƞ: a velar nasal, representing the sound of ng in English, as in sing.
§8. Man consists of body and soul:

- *a kulien* ‘the body’
- *a tonuan* ‘the soul’

The soul is the body’s companion; it is with the body, not inside it. When the soul finally leaves the body, man has to die. In this way, he articulates only allusively the dependence of all man’s abilities from the soul.

§9. ‘To speak’ in Lihir is *pite*. Derived from that is the noun *a pinde* ‘the language’. The tenuis consonant *t*, influenced by the ending *n* of the infix *-in-*, becomes the medial consonant *d*. The *i* of the root word *pite* is constricted by the infix *-in-*, the *i* in *pinde* is therefore a long vowel, in *pite* it is a short vowel. Through variation of this root word, new terms like *piatpiat* ‘to have a conversation’ are generated. Doubling indicates the continuity of the conversation. *Piazpiaz* signifies ‘to scold’.

Linking the root word with determinant epithets creates:

- *pite pilik* ‘to forbid’
- *pilik* ‘contrary to’
- *pite berber* ‘to talk nonsense’
- *berber* ‘to get lost / to lose one’s way’
- *pite ta-ban* ‘to talk biasedly / to emphasise only one side of a matter’, which
  - *ban* ‘side’
- *pite talen* ‘to coax’
- *ta-lan* ‘the behaviour’
- *lan* ‘to hear, to obey’
- *pite piel* ‘to talk secretly’ (about someone)

Compare Hova:

- *teni* ‘word’, *fiteni* ‘language’

Compare Balinese:

- *peta* ‘word’ (Brandstetter 1931:8)

Compare Lihir:

- *a lien* ‘the word, the speech, a tattle’
- *a e lien pet* ‘those are good words’

Compare Masarete:

- *lien* ‘voice’ (Brandstetter 1931:25)
  - this word appears in some unique expressions:
§10. Other root words that are deployed in the various regional dialects of Lihir with similar denotation are:

Northern dialect:

- res 'to speak', resres 'to have conversation'
- res-nenie 'to praise someone, to laud someone'
- ne, directive: 'to / towards', when addressing someone: ‘to laud’

Pala:

- ma-ras ‘recent news, news’

Compare Dayak:

- interjection rat ‘to bang’

Pala:

- lat ‘to laud’

Island dialect:

- weŋ ‘to talk’, weŋweŋ ‘language’

Compare Pala:

- yanya ‘to talk, to speak’

Dayak:

- mi-jaŋ ‘to chatter’ (Brandstetter 1931:22)

Commonly used is te, taye ‘to say’, ate ‘to announce, to say’, root = ta.

Derived from doubling the root to tata are:

- tat-genie ‘to narrate, to tell tales’
- tat-nenie ‘to refuse something’, ne ‘away from’, root word tata ‘to speak’, Indonesian root ta (Brandstetter 1931:16)
- zek ‘to say’, zaki ‘to say it’, compare Indonesian root tak, interjection for ‘to tap / to knock’, Lihir z instead of t elsewhere (Brandstetter 1931:11)

to, toto 'to call'
toro 'to call, to greet / to hail', compare Pala tor, tau 'to call', compare Indonesian root tur (Brandstetter 1931:17). Compare Pala hamatur 'to announce'
zer 'to know'
azerie 'to say, to inform'
azer-kenie 'to announce something / to reveal something'
ziner 'to scold'
compare Pala ser 'to know'

§11. He places the sounds of the animals and the noises of other things on one level with the crying of humans.

a ziktun e tenten 'the person cries' as well as a mon e tenten 'the bird sings'
a kilok e tenten 'the clock strikes'
a nol e tenten 'the wind howls'
'to peep', however, is expressed by ziuziu

§12. The native employs nase for 'to think'. The verbal noun a ininanse indicates both, the act of thinking and the thought.

a ininanse pet 'a good thought'
a ininanse tambo 'a big contemplation' (that is, an intense contemplation)
nase lak 'to think – to skip' signifies 'absent-minded'
nase bialaye 'to think – to lose' signifies 'to forget'
nase berber 'to think – to get lost' means 'to think wrongly'
a ba denotes 'a fool'. Through the meaning of the word a ba 'the infant', the fool is on a par with an underage child. A ba also refers to mute, deaf, and deaf-mute persons, but not to the blind

For the native, the act of thinking is an exertion of the head, in the same way as the source of stupidity is a defect of the head.

a kan e ba 'his head is dull'
a zimazien e ba 'his brain is dull'
a kan o tua 'his head is hard, nothing wants to go inside'
a kan sa bi 'his head is empty'
sa las 'is hollow', sa buam 'is closed'

These expressions are familiar to European people. The prudent one is considered as a 'bright head', a kan sa parar te.

§13. Emotions generally are located inside the body.

a lili-ŋ e kata 'my inside loves it'

5. Text annotation: “Or nines.”
The expression *a liliŋ e wirwir an* ‘my inside is constantly spinning, my inside is confused’ is deployed for any kind of inner excitement, though particularly for being in love.

One can say instead *a liliŋ e zaket* ‘it is bad, it is not in order, it is in turmoil’. However, this expression signifies a moral badness and wrath as well.

He perceives solicitude and hardship as a heavy burden, as dense scrub and a dark night.

§14. *Liliŋ* ‘my inside’ is derived from the root *li* that also exists independently in the Lihir language:

- *a li* ‘the ditch’
- *a lien am* ‘the inside of the cave’

The word *le*, which means ‘inside, hole’ as well, is derived from the variant *lia*:

- *a len am* ‘the inside of the cave’
- *a lia, a laia* ‘the cave of the spirits’

§15. The words *lia, li* ‘the inside of the chest’ generate the word *le* ‘to want, to say’.

- *yo kasi le* ‘I do not want’

By suffixing the bound morpheme *t*, which equates to either the particle *te* that indicates direction or the status particle *te*, the root word *lit* ‘to desire something / to crave for something / to have passion for something / to indulge in something’ is generated.

- *a lit niyen* ‘the one who craves for food’
- *a i-lilit karat* ‘someone who is always keen on providing a feast’
Lit also denotes a firm will that has become a decision:

die go lit piel ‘they have decided it secretly’

The common word for ‘sensual love’ includes the morpheme le:

le-imulien ‘to want him for, to long for someone’

The second meaning of le is ‘to say’. It serves as an introduction to direct speech:

I go zakie isien, e go le ‘he said to him, he spoke’

Le is further found in some compound words:

lele gumur, lele gurut: both indicate ‘to growl, to grumble for oneself quietly, to mumble’

Compare Tettum lia ‘language’ (Brandstetter 1931:25).

§16. We can find one analogy to these derivations in the root word te, contracted from tia ‘stomach, the inside’. Tia is not known in this meaning in Lihir, only in the extended form tian ‘pregnant’.

However, in Lihir te denotes ‘to long for something’ and ‘to say’.

a liliŋ sa te si na min ‘my inside longs for someone’

Regarding te, taye, tata ‘to say’, compare §10.

§17. The word kan represents our German word Stimmung ‘atmosphere’.

yo kan pet ‘I am in a good mood’

yo kan zaket ‘I am in a bad mood’

Yet it seems to tend more towards happiness since the plain expression yo kan, without qualifying it, also means ‘I feel good’.

In Pala kan complies with kanakana ‘to be happy’.

Whereas in Qunan Tuna kankan means ‘to be wrathful’.6

The related word kenken translates in Lihir as ‘pain of the body and mind’.

a kony e kenken ‘my head aches’

a liliŋ e kenken ‘my mind is sadly moved’

---

6. Text annotation: “As well as in Lihir.”
§18. The root word kan might have derived from the root ko, which in Pala means ‘the inside’.

*na ra ko* ‘inside’ (the house)

Compare:

Mtw. *kua* ‘word, to speak’  
Makasar *kana* or *kuwa* (poetic) ‘word’

The variant *kenken* would have to be derived from the root *ke*.

Analogous to the Lihir word *laia* ‘cave of the spirits’, we find the Qunan Tuna word *kaia* with similar meaning.

Fijian *kaikai* ‘a way of speaking’, *kaya* ‘to say’, *kainaka* ‘to pronounce / to speak out’.

Analogous to *lia* ‘the inside’, *le* ‘to say, to want, to wish’, we would find *tia* ‘the inside’, *te* ‘to say, to want’, *ko* ‘the inside’, *kua* ‘word’, *kan* ‘to feel’, *kaia* ‘cave’, *kaikai, kaya* ‘to speak’, *kenken* ‘to feel pain’.

Also compare *kan* to Dayak *kanai* ‘stomach’ (Brandstetter 1906:32).

§19. The native expresses nice, enjoyable, and exalted sentiments with the much used word *sangor* or *sangosangor*.

If he is tickled, he says:

*a kulìn e sangosangor* ‘my body is enjoyably aroused’

If he likes a laplap, he will use the same expression:

*a pu-wam e sangosangor* ‘the laplap is exquisite’ (and transfers, like we do in German, the personal sentiment to the laplap)

He says of someone who impresses him:

*e sangosangor* ‘he is excellent / magnificent’

The word denotes, apart from the external appearance, the internal feeling that is triggered by the appearance:

---

7. It cannot be deduced which language Neuhaus refers to, but it could be Mentawai.

8. Text annotation: “The words *sangor* comprises everything that arouses a person physically and mentally, both joyously and painfully. It has many expressions in the passive voice.”
some conceptual remarks, §§4–46

§20. The word *sangor* is an extended form of the root word *sango* ‘to make’. The bound morpheme *r, re* establishes the relation to the object. *Sangor*, in intransitive form, denotes ‘to be occupied with something’.

Compare:

lo ‘to run’, lor ‘to run after someone, to chase’
to ‘to call’, tor ‘to call someone’

Compare Samoan *sanga* ‘to be arduously occupied with’ (Kern 1886:224).
Maybe also Bareqe *dago* ‘good’ (Brandstetter 1933:6).

§21. Another expression for ‘to love’ is:

*a yati-ŋ mesien* ‘my liver at it’

There is an analogy to it in Pala, in which the root word *kat* is used verbally:9

*yau katkatigu tam* ‘I + my liver + to you [sg]’

However, it cannot be concluded that the native is displacing the seat of love into the liver. The Pala states that it is said in such a way because any inner arousal can be perceived in the sternum, which he refers to as *a mata na katigu* ‘liver pit’, due to a faster pulse beat.

In Lihir, *yati-ŋ* means ‘my liver’ (Indonesian root word *hati*), *buzo-ŋ* ‘my lung, my heart’ (Indonesian root word *puso*), *a komtin lames* ‘the young, soft, heart-sized coconut’. The change of meaning of the root words *hati, puso* that already occurred in Indonesian has exerted its influence on the Lihir language. Whilst concrete objects are called *buoz*, feelings were reproduced as *yati* since *hati* often enough means ‘heart’ too (see also Brandstetter 1906:47).

§22. Regarding compound words in Lihir and Pala that connote excitement, the word itself that denotes excitement is put first, contrary to Indonesian regional dialects:

*a le ot* ‘the inside [neut] stone’ (that is, the miser)

Pala *a bala hat* ‘the inside [neut] stone’ (that is, the miser)

---

§23. The native does not have a word for gratitude, as we perceive it. He puts it more precisely:

*i pinawon ‘he returns it’*

He will return what was given to him with equal value. The natives’ affluence with money in the past was certainly not as high as it is today. They earned money by trading with Tabar, even though it was not as active. Therefore, the exchange of goods was widely common, and the insistence on fulfilling mutual obligations was particularly stressed. By saying *yo hen wa* ‘I give you [sg] a present,’ the native does not yet refuse a return. He would do that by saying *yo hen bise wa* ‘I give it to you [sg] for free.’ Therefore, he does not lack a sense of gratitude. It is embodied in the act of being good to someone:

*yo pet si wa, o pet si yo* ‘I am good to you [sg], you are good to me’

The word *pinawon* has another important connotation. When someone has accomplished a heroic deed, others are encouraged to do the same:

*wan a pinawon ‘repeat [sg] it’*

The idea of rivalry, of ambition is put into words in this way. It is in the native’s blood. The effort of another person, be it a feast or something else, does not let him rest, just the same as any kind of claim that has not been compensated for. He seeks to balance the difference as soon as possible. This aspect dominates his idea of justice too. *Pinawon* also denotes ‘to put on the same scales’ or ‘that is just.’ His feelings more or less cry out for compensation or retribution.

§24. One cannot deny that the natives have an idea of mercy:

*e tanis yo* ‘he feels sympathy for me / he commiserates with me’

Furthermore:

*e man-tanis yo* ‘he feels sorry for me’ as well as ‘he loves me’ (that is, not so much in a sexual sense)

Love and pity are closely related, however, pity does not extend to his enemy. He differentiates friend and enemy in a unique way:

*nu-ŋ e makil* ‘my people’ (that is, my friends)
*gu e makil* ‘people for me to eat’ (that is, my enemies)
§25. The word *tanis* seems to be made of two roots. One is the transitive form *ten-sie*, which contains the root word *ten* ‘to cry’ (Ambonese *tani*, Bariai *tan*, Qunan Tuna *tanji*, and common Austronesian *tanjis*) and the synsemantic word *s*, *si* that denotes a connection to an object or to the preposition ‘above / at / by / over’:

*ten* ‘to cry’, *tensie* ‘to cry over, to mourn for’ = *tanis*, before personal pronouns

*Tanjis* seems to have been fragmented into two roots *tan* + *jis*, as *jis* also means ‘to cry’. Brandstetter (1933:§117)\(^\text{10}\) refers to them as common Indonesian roots.

The root *jis* seems to be made of the root *ji* + bound morpheme *s*.

Pala alters the root to various root words:

- *ji-jii* ‘a species of bat’ (named after the sound that they produce)
- *jikyik*, *jijik* ‘to beep’
- *ji-jii-rik*, *njiriknjirik* ‘to growl, to speak through the nose’

The root *ji* therefore is originally onomatopoeia.

The root *tan*, *tan* seems to be made of root *ta* + bound morpheme *n*, *η*.

In Tabar *ta* means ‘to cry’. However, Tabar is one of the languages that predominantly have final vowels; it could have elided the consonant.

The crying of the natives quite often is more of a tearful talking, therefore also *ta* ‘to talk’.

§26. *Gaŋ* means ‘to be pleased’. Yet an exorbitant gladness degenerates to ridiculousness:

*a i-ra-ginaj* ‘the dandy’ (*i* ‘someone’, *ra* ‘augmentation, duration’, *ginaj* ‘gladness’). The native knows as well that pleasure has its time and that one should not ‘run around with bouquets like a dandy all the time’, according to the words of a native.

Another word for ‘gladness’ is *gas*, *gasgas*. It particularly denotes ‘to contribute so that something succeeds well’ (for example, a dance or a celebration). For the native it is of utmost importance to do well in front of

---

10. Neuhaus is inconsistent in how he cites various works by Brandstetter, sometimes indicating page numbers, sometimes section numbers. Since it has not been possible to check these sources, Neuhaus’s inconsistencies have been retained here.
foreign spectators, and not to disgrace oneself. He therefore supports his efforts with magic remedies:

- *e agasie a karat* ‘he makes the celebration a success’
- *a pu-ges*, that is, ‘an act of magic for a successful dance or a fertile plantation, etc.’ Related to that is *a gunes* ‘the dance; gues ‘to dance’

§27. Gladness, success, and dance belong together. They derive from one root: *ga + η, ga + s*. I would like to point out, and later I will give further examples, that the bound morpheme η indicates ‘to go into, to reflect on oneself, to be absorbed in thoughts’. In contrast, the morpheme s indicates a relation to other things:

- *ga-ŋ* ‘to be pleased’ (which relates to the inner and external gladness of the person himself)
- *ga-s* ‘to do something different in a joyful manner’

Compare *taŋ* and *taŋis* too.

§28. The native loves the joke. *Ertek* and *arakse* are two expressions for ‘to joke / to jape’. Both expressions are closely related.

I asked one of them, “What do you actually laugh about?” The response was representative, “We laugh at those who get rejected by a woman, those who stumble or fall, those who are hungry, those who let a pig escape when trying to catch it.” All shortcomings, small and big, are prone to mockery. All deformations of the body have peculiar names and are often drastically accentuated. What opportunities for mockery provided from just the nose of fellow men:

- *yus po* ‘bent nose’
- *yus rambon* ‘thick nose’
- *yus kuer* ‘angular nose’
- *yus mon* ‘flat nose’
- *yus war* ‘dented nose’
- *yus pares* ‘wide nose’ (with big nostrils)

He is copious when drawing comparisons. The natives greet one another by the name of a third whose ridiculous characteristics are well-known in the village:

- *a lo tenan sa bara a pol* ‘he has ears like a dog’
- *a i-bot biah* ‘he is short and fat like a *kulis*’

---

11. *Kulis* is apparently a local Tok Pisin word for the *yawos* fruit tree that produces green fruits (Luke Kabariu, pers. comm., 13 January 2014).
some conceptual remarks, §§4–46

*a lio e kuon bara a luon a katagalgal* 'your neck is long like that of a heron'
little boys are called 'frog', etc.

§29. Moreover, the root word *tek*, *takie* has the meaning 'to chop off, to chip, to cut' (with a knife). In Indonesian languages, *tak* is an interjection for 'to knock / to tap'; in Pala it denotes a rattling sound and 'to peck at with the beak' (Brandstetter 1931:11).

The word *rakse*, *arakse* consists of the root *rak* + bound morpheme *se*.

*Rak* is an Indonesian root too (Brandstetter 1931:22), denoting 'to twaddle maliciously'. *Se* refers to an object 'to mock at somebody'.

§30. *Erteŋe* denotes 'to mutually insult one another'.

A common dispute is *ersanger* 'to argue', in the northern dialect *herkundel*.

The long list of relevant expressions is proof of the fact that the native is a master of grumbling, men no less than women.

§31. The word *er-to-ne* consists of particles that denote reciprocity: *er* + *root* + bound morpheme *ne*. *To* can be traced back to *tau* or *tua*.

in Pala *tau* 'to call'
in Lihir *to* 'to call', *tua* 'firm / hard / stiff'
'to talk out loud / to speak intensely' is expressed with *pite tua*.
Old Javanese *twas* 'hard / firm / stiff / intense' (in music and when speaking), New Javanese *tos* (Brandstetter 1931:21)

*Ersanger* is related to the aforementioned *sangor* 'to be occupied with something'.

prefix *er* + *sanger* 'to be excited / to be aroused'

*Kundel, erkundel* 'to argue'.

*Kuonle* 'to berate someone' is possibly derived from root *dal* 'to move'.
Compare Javanese *kodal* 'to move [refl]', *kedal* 'movement of the tongue when speaking' (Brandstetter 1931:7).

§32. All kinds of temperament are found among the natives. The expressions by which they characterise their fellow men are numerous:

*a ma-mbor* refers to someone who does not talk much, does not make a noise. It also denotes the sea that does not make a sound, that does not break at the reef, still water. *Mboro* 'still, hidden’
if someone says nothing due to obtuseness, he is referred to as a ŋoŋ or a ŋulo ‘the stupid one, the obtuse one’, compare Nicobarese languages ŋoŋ ‘empty, not one’ (Schmidt 1906:82)
the wrathful one is compared to a hot ginger, a laye ‘the ginger’
*a ziktun malum ‘the mellow man’, a ziktun ole ‘the slow man’ are names for peaceful and thoughtful persons
*a ziktun tua ‘the hard man’ means the wrathful daredevil
the melancholic is characterised by the expression *a matan bara biakis ‘his face like that of a bat’
*a ziktun pite pet ‘a person who speaks well’
*a pa-sol ‘someone who does not catch’ (that is, someone who is not able to catch a fish or to beat a man to death)
*a i-kiskis ‘someone who sits’ (refers to a shirker who is neither available to fight nor to work)
*a ro-kek ‘someone without manners, who does not know how to behave, who does not offer anything to his guest, etc.’
*a taken biak ‘dirt of the flying dog’ (is the name of a wretch who has nothing and therefore counts for nothing)
someone who just pretends to have nothing in order to keep everything for himself earns the name *a pewa wa na anio ‘cripple of the village’
a pilepile describes a man who never succeeds in doing proper work, who is only doing small-scale planting, and soon stops what he began. The word is mainly used for a pig that hardly leaves the homestead
the pig is compared to an avaricious person too: *a yen kiah solo a bual ‘the one who eats by himself, just like a pig, and never shares with other people’

Further expressions for an avaricious person are:
*a le ot ‘the inside (like) stone’
*a purun kanut ‘the rear of a corpse’

The fierceness of these expressions indicates how much the native detests such persons.
*a ya-zane ‘the one who proffers’ (that is, someone who, as soon as seeing another person, provides food for him) and *a i-punuat ‘the donor’ are epithets for a charitable person

The people of Lihir do not feel sympathy for squanderers, particularly not for women who do not know how to deal economically with field crops, who urge their husbands to work constantly in order to have food available at all times.

12. Denotes a good talker or a person with a good sense of humour (Luke Kabariu, pers. comm., 7 May 2013).
Some Conceptual Remarks, §§4–46

*a i-zom wurwur* ‘the one who is always chewing’, *a i-ra-tiniat* ‘the one who is always digging something out’, are not adulatory terms for women. An inventive expression is *a i-wat las len gian o ten* ‘the one who is stretching out her legs into the food basket’. That refers to a woman who eats everything, who leaves nothing in the food basket for the next morning so that it is not worthwhile hanging it up to keep mice away. She throws it on her bamboo camp and stretches her feet inside the basket whenever she lies down to rest.

*a wayen kape na talan* ‘a woman with no manners’ (refers to those women who do not look after their guests or neglect their husbands).

In Pala the word *demdem* denotes a ‘wasteful woman’, while in Lihir it encompasses anyone who finishes his meal early and who is looking for a new meal.

Those who do not like to work and rather want to live on other people’s expenses earn little affection:

*a yon moal* ‘the flabby eater’ (that is, without motivation at work but always ready to eat)

*a ka-papez* ‘who does not work’ is the name for such persons.

Someone referred to as *a ya-takne* ‘someone who takes precautions, someone who is looking after his things’ has a good reputation.

Those who keep a close eye on the fingers of a person who is eating excite more of a laugh than anger. This is signified by *a i-giar pazen* ‘someone who sees, adheres to something’ (that is, someone whose eyes are drawn to food, which reveals the wrong behaviour clearly enough).

*A i-giar kazor* ‘someone who sees something and directly approaches it’ (denotes someone who is distracted by any meal, even though he has other work to do).

The people of Lihir frequently use the word *tiek, tiken* ‘powerful / strong’ to signify a deviation from the normal way:

*a tiken ya-nien* ‘the robust eater’

*a tiken lilan* ‘the babbler’, as well as other distinguishing epithets like *tamboh* ‘big / high / large / tall / great’, *zen* ‘very’, etc.

This paragraph could be elaborated much further:

*a i-nan biah* ‘someone who never laughs’

*a i-pazpaz wayen* ‘someone who adheres to a woman’ (refers to a man who is jealous, etc.)
Yet with the aforementioned, it also becomes evident how the native’s personality is preserved within the clan’s community and conventions.

§33. The native alternates one root word to create a cluster of related expressions:

- pite ‘to say it’, piat ‘to babble’, piaz ‘to rant’
- zian ‘to blossom’, ziao ‘blossom of taro’, ziaz ‘taro sprout’

§34. He derives modern expressions from old root words too:

- pusul ‘to bang’ becomes ‘to shoot’. Unfortunately, he prefers names introduced by white people to his own creations

§35. When evaluating the relation of different terms, he draws upon similarities between objects. He expresses this approximation of one thing to another, an already known object, by doubling the root word.

- a le ‘the alang-alang grass’, a lele ‘a species of grass, similar to alang-alang grass’

Not just the similarity regarding the overall appearance is considered, but also peculiar features of objects:

- a yel ‘the reed with sharp edge, the knife, the axe, the giant clam’ (from which the axe was made)
- a nuz ‘the head / the cusp, the tail / the end’, a nuznuz ‘the cape / the headland’
- pin ‘to burn’, a pinpin ‘the stinging nettle’
- keh ‘to churn / to stir something up’, a kehkeh ‘the flounder that stirs up the sea sand’

§36. Therefore, the native has no difficulty in relating a concrete fundamental term to a figurative sense:

- a dal ‘the blood, the red colour, to be red’
- moalmoal ‘to be soft, to be pulpy, to be weak, to be tired’
- wirwir ‘to rotate, to float, to be above’
- zirie ‘to fissure / to split, to rend / to tear, to sow the seeds of discord’
- memel ‘to live / to reside’, a miniel ‘the living / the housing, the habit / the demeanour’

§37. The native creates new phrases by onomatopoeia or by trying to reproduce visual or aural contrasts through sound differences. Bird names in particular are generated by reproducing the sound:
§38. He combines multiple expressions in order to create a new one:

- $ze$ ‘the snake’, $ka$-$lo$ ‘thin, long’ → $a$ $ze$ $kalol$ ‘the worm’
- $a$ $towan$ ‘her liquid’, $su$s ‘the breast’ → $a$ $tewan$ $su$s ‘the breast milk’
- $giar$ ‘to see’, $ure$ ‘everywhere’ → $giaure$ ‘to search’

§39. The natives confer the name of a whole object upon its single parts if it is important or elementary to them. Names for trees and their fruits are the same:

- $a$ $lames$ ‘the coconut palm, the coconut’
- $a$ $buo$ ‘the betel palm, the betel nut’

Yet he uses particular terms for fruits in different stages of ripeness and for trees in different growing stages:

- $a$ $ye$ ‘tree, wood’
- $a$ $tes$ ‘the sea, saltwater’
- $a$ $don$ ‘the water, water container’
- $a$ $yeh$ ‘the fire, the pipe’
- $a$ $liem$ ‘the arm, the hand’
- $a$ $kuil$ ‘the body, the skin’
- $a$ $giam$ ‘the snail, the snail shell’
- $a$ $bual$ ‘the pig, the pork’
- $a$ $mazien$ ‘the fish, the fish meat’

As fish is one of the natives’ main supplementary foods, they name other supplementary food sources in the same way:

- $a$ $meznen$ ‘supplementary food consisting of meat’ (pork or fish)

The Pala and the Indonesians do the same.

---

13. That is, for smoking tobacco.
§40. They emphasise the person, the individual, particularly the one who excels.

A kiamkiam ‘the star’, a i-kiamkiam ‘the individual star, a notably shining star’. This characteristic is found among many Austro-Asiatic people. The article is frequently used when emphasising the individual.

The people of Lihir often refer to the position of objects in space to their own person:

- an-la-kan ‘above his head’, that is, ‘above’
- a matan ‘his face’, that is, ‘in front of him’
- ke-mulien ‘at his back’, that is, ‘behind him’

The demonstrative pronoun re, mel ‘this / that’ is valid likewise for space and time ‘here, now’.

The native refers to his own body when generating numerals:

- a liem ‘five, the hand’
- a lo-liem ‘ten, both hands’
- a ziktun ‘twenty, the person’, that is, fingers and toes

singular a min coincides with a min ‘somebody, the individual’

§41. The continuous observation of things, their idiosyncrasies and common features, make it somehow easy for the native to relate one object to another, to speak allegorically and metaphorically. He employs the words for ‘sand’ and ‘ant’ to denote ‘rice’. He refers to the sternum as a ‘rivulet’, and a piece of shell money that extends from one nipple beyond the centre of the chest is indicated as e lak a i-de-don ‘it crosses the rivulet’.

Someone affected by the tirpa14 illness is termed a fish, due to the flaky skin.

He is quickly prepared to employ exaggerated comparisons:

- a mazien solo a i-riem ‘a fish like an iriem tree’,15 that is, particularly tall

He names things after striking characteristics:

---

14. Possibly either the skin disease known as grile in Tok Pisin or pellagra (Luke Kabariu, pers. comm., 13 January 2014).

15. An iriem tree refers to one of the biggest trees in the forest, tall and big in diameter, like the eagletree (Luke Kabariu, pers. comm., 21 September 2012). Eaglewood or agarwood is a dark, resinous heartwood that forms in certain species of trees when they become infected with a type of mould. The resin-embedded wood is valued for its fragrance.
a sure-kekek-don ‘stretching the feet to the water’ (denoting the dragonfly)
a muremuren lames ‘a lover [fem] of coconut meat’ (denoting a small ant species)

§42. Euphemistic expressions cloak words that he does not want to express publicly:

flatulence is referred to as a keke ‘a species of odorous plants’
sexual characteristics in general are denoted as a maret ‘the thing’
the vagina as a tiet ‘the Inocarpus plant’, or a yel ‘the Tridacna clam’
the penis as a kuer (a species of liana)

Not all metaphorical expressions relating to sexual characteristics are reproduced above. Their number is limited though, and all sexual matters are neither the foundation of their world-view nor of their religious views of the Supreme Being and their relation to it. That, however, does not keep them from being sensual.

§43. Several taboo prohibitions are the cause for using representative verbalisms. The native does not call his uncle’s maternal children by their proper names, but refers to them as rat ‘cousin’. He is forbidden to name his cousin’s head and teeth. He therefore says a kambek ‘chalk, coral’ for tooth and tirowan ‘his something’ or a martien ‘his thing’ for head.

If someone slaughters a pig for a dead person, and the brother-in-law of that dead person asks why the pig is being slaughtered, he is told that it is not for ‘the rising of his mortal remains’ but for ‘hollowing out a trunk to build a canoe’. The opening of the grave is compared with the indicated work.

§44. The people of Lihir do not know any particular religious cult or specific language concerning this matter. Quite a few celebrations are dedicated to the dead.

These celebrations and all other feasts are called a karat.

zakie a karat ‘to announce a celebration’
a karatwan ‘his feast / the feast for him’

In Old Javanese we find the word karatwan ‘kingdom’.

In Lihir language the size of feasts is still the singular attribute by which a big man can be recognised. In this sense, both words may truly be related.
§45. Symbolism is firmly anchored in the native’s way of thinking and is based on concrete relations. The souls of men and animals, which are indeed connected with persons and animals, nonetheless have a life of their own outside the realm of men and animals. All have their place of residence in trees, plants, and stones. Whenever the native sees a notably slim and beautiful tree, it could be the place of residence of a human soul because the soul forms its domicile in its image. Similarities in shape and colour between fish and plants or stones originate for the same reason. A shark-like stone or root in fact is a shark in the sea, the soul of a shark lives inside. Fish and stone are connected in the same way as a man and a man’s soul—both are of the same complexion, the same shape, yet each has a life of its own. Such a stone can be the totem of a whole school of fish. The fisherman scrapes something off the stone’s surface and thus has power over the fish and will catch it. For as long as this stone exists, or the native keeps catching fish with the help of the stone powder, there are still souls of this species of fish inside the stone. These collective totems may originate from the native hardly paying attention to the individuality between two fish of the same species. Nearly all magic is based on this symbolism and the notion that, wherever similarities in nature occur, they derive from a common source and that man is capable of transferring characteristic traits from one object to another. This equation of two objects that derive from a common source accounts for the natives’ way of identifying objects. In this regard, the notions of the Lihir and Pala people are identical. This is how I illustrate the natives’ expressions:

- aum ‘to perform magic’; all acts involving magic derive their name mostly from a symbolically potent action or from an object that was used while magic was carried out
- a punual ‘the act of applying’ (colour, etc.)
- a kuikuih ‘the act of blowing’
- a’eryambis ‘the act of spitting at’, this word also means ‘bulletproof’ and ‘invulnerable’ since with this act of magic the spitting of chewed substances at someone is frequently practised
- a gamun sio ‘the piece of liana’
- a pizipizin suak ‘the bamboo branch’

§46. The natives’ poetry is of unique style. It occurs as a verse that is chanted, played on a jew’s harp or panpipes, or as narrated tale. The songs often involve incidents and are concentrated in a few short lines. For instance:
A man meets a girl, who was given new ear jewellery made from shell money. He observes the way the ear jewellery dangles when she walks, and how she looks at herself in a mirror that belongs to white people.

This is described as follows:

_A wayen ti-pel, ka yo a wayen ti-pel, a pabay me tenan e wirwir, se ka menie, e ko tiro ta lien me lielien a i-tier ki na sip._

‘The woman there, and her the woman there, the shell money in her ear it dangles when she walks so that she reflects herself in a mirror from the ship’.

The expression _ki na sip_ ‘of a ship’ signifies ‘objects of strangers’, _kiz i-lakan a sip_ ‘to be on a ship’ in general means ‘to be in foreign countries’.

An extended disquisition on chants and myths will be published later on.

_til, tilted ‘to sing’, til might be an onomatopoetic root_
_a tinil ‘the chant’_
_a buot, a bot ‘the bot songs’, the genre to which the aforementioned example belongs. But, buot is contained in the Malay root word _sebut_ ‘to enunciate / to pronounce’_

The corresponding Dayak word _sewut_ ‘what has been said, reputation, fame’ (Brandstetter 1931:16) expresses the content of the bot songs that mostly deal with the reputation or fame of fellow men.

The word for ‘tale’, _a pil_, is the _i_-variant of the root word _pulipuli_, which in Makasar poetic language is employed for ‘speech’. In Pala it is _a pir_. That may be a reference to the origin of some tales.

Also compare Makasar _uq_ ‘scalp hair’ and Pala _hi, ih_ ‘scalp hair’.
Phonetics, §§47–93

§47. A huge number of sounds that occur in Lihir can be put into groups with those of other Austronesian and Austro-Asiatic languages. Similarities and differences with other languages will be summarised in later chapters. In general, I will be content to point out analogies since I lack the means for a more comprehensive analysis.

§48. The vowels: 16

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>like the German:</th>
<th>like the English: 17</th>
<th>Lihir:</th>
<th>English translation:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i sie Fisch süss</td>
<td>i sit bindie</td>
<td>tunio</td>
<td>to pick it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[approx.]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>groundless, for no reason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e See Messe a</td>
<td>e set mas</td>
<td></td>
<td>to flow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a like Berlin</td>
<td>fun (?) 18</td>
<td></td>
<td>to lie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regional dialect</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Kahn’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Bohne</td>
<td>code boyah</td>
<td></td>
<td>species of tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a komm</td>
<td>raw bgr</td>
<td></td>
<td>plural particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u gut</td>
<td>food bumbuh</td>
<td></td>
<td>brittle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u Mutter</td>
<td>book kygol</td>
<td></td>
<td>cudgel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only once did I hear the umlaut ö and therefore do not want it to be among the stock of sounds for Lihir.

§49. The umlaut ī varies between i and u. It can be replaced in all cases by i or u:

\[ \text{tunuo 'to cook' emerges in the southern dialect as } \text{tinio, tuno, tunio, tinio.} \]

16. Underlining here indicates a short vowel.
17. This column of approximate English vowel equivalents does not appear in the original manuscript. It has been added to help readers of this translation.
18. It is not clear what vowel sound Neuhaus refers to. It might be an a-sound that is a bit shorter than is found in standard German Kahn, as Neuhaus's underlining suggests (Robin Cackett, pers. comm., 10 February 2014). As a result, the suggested English sound is even more of an approximation.
ziktun ‘human being’ emerges in the southern dialect as ziktun, zuktun.

This can be explained from the contrast of the i-dialect and u-dialect on the island and an advanced intermixture of both. It seems to me that the natives prefer the more comfortable u-position of the mouth. With his fast way of speaking, he anticipates the u-position of the mouth and thereby seeks to say i, like in ziktun, or he keeps the u-position at the second i as well, like in tunio.

§50. The e-sound partly corresponds to the Indonesian pepet:

- Indonesian tepu ‘chicken’
- Lihir te’ ‘chicken’
- Ambonese lepa ‘fathom’
- Lihir le’ ‘shell money’ (I employ the apostrophe ['] mark for the hamza)

On the other hand, it is a contraction of ia or ai:

- southern dialect kiah ‘another’, island dialect keh ‘another’
- southern dialect baia ‘shark’, island dialect be ‘shark’

§51. The o-sound represents the Indonesian pepet in the first place:

- Indonesian telu ‘three’, Lihir tol ‘three’
- Indonesian beli ‘to buy’, Lihir pol ‘to buy’

Secondly, it is a contraction of ua:

- southern dialect bual ‘pig’, island dialect bol ‘pig’

§52. Some words vary between i and e, u and o and a. The crasis is dissolving into its components:

- mon ‘to lie’ can be muan, mun, man

The Lihir word betbet ‘wart’ has the variant bitbit in Pala.

The variance could also be a result of assimilation:

- tut lon, tot lon signify ‘to light the stove’
- liman, laman ‘his hand’, limon and lomon ‘my hand’
- kemuo, komuo ‘to go ahead’

For the same occurrences in Indonesian languages, compare Brandstetter (1915:$44).
§53. Each vowel can be combined with any consonant, either before or after it. Every vowel, except for the umlaut \( ï \), can be a word-initial and word-final sound. The umlaut \( ï \) appears as a word-internal sound only.

§54. Root words with word-initial vowels are less frequent than those with word-initial consonants. Extended root words are mainly marked by \( a + e + i \), either by causative \( a \) (northern dialect \( ha \)), by prefix \( er- \) (northern dialect \( her- \)), which denotes mutual relations, or by particle \( i \), denoting individuality. In non-extended root words, consonants also occur frequently as word-final sounds. However, in many cases evidence can be produced that the root word is a consonantly extended root word, initially with a vowel as a word-final sound.

  *to* 'to shout', *to-r* 'to call'

§55. Double vowels are very frequently used in Lihir and add a special touch to the language. They appear in all possible combinations: \( ia, ea, oa, ua, ei, eo, yo, ii, ou, ue, ui, uo \). Missing only are \( eu \) and \( oe \) that I have not yet come across.

All double vowels are pronounced separately, except for \( ai \) and \( au \), which in some words are treated as proper diphthongs:

  *maut, maul, kalai*

Diphthongs are rare:

  *baia* 'shark'
  *kaio* 'brush turkey'
  *laia* 'cave of the spirits'

In these examples, \( ai \) is pronounced like a proper diphthong.

Combinations, such as vowel + semivowel + vowel, are not unusual:

  *aye, uye, iwi*, etc.

Double vowels are of falling or rising intonation, rather seldom level. All possible double vowels can be rising, falling, or level. The rules by which a vowel in a diphthong attracts stress have not yet been uncovered.

When combining vowel + semivowel + vowel, stress is most often on the first vowel, as in *laye* 'the wrath'.

Since the natives tend towards monosyllabism, one of the double vowels is treated as a glide most of the time. A level diphthong can only be iden-
ifyed when speaking slowly. The $e$ of the object ending in transitive verbs has the character of a schwa. In the words *lasie*, *zakie*, $a$ is a full vowel, $i$ is a glide, and $e$ is a schwa.

Yet intensity and timbre changes a lot with individual pronunciation.

§56. This preference for double vowels in Lihir contrasts with Indonesian languages (Brandstetter 1915:§160). Lihir is not alone in this respect. Compare Rotuman (Codrington 1885:402).

§57. How are double vowels generated in Lihir?

(a) A certain basis of words with double vowels derives from Austro-Asiatic dialects (see Schmidt 1906:78ff.):

- no. 19 *kaid* ‘claw’, Lihir *kiat*, *kiatkitat*; *ketket* ‘to claw’ (as said of cats)
- 30 *kiep* ‘to pinch’, Lihir *kie* ‘the pliers’, *kiez* ‘attached / compact / firm’
- 49 *haiak* ‘to stride’, Lihir *hiak*, *hek*, *yak* ‘to come’
- 119 *piat* ‘to heal’, Lihir *piet* ‘to have wounds’
- 157 *lain* ‘to turn’, Lihir *lain* ‘cord’ (not derived from the English ‘line’)
- 185 *wial* ‘to turn / to rotate’, Pala *hiel*

Analogies to 119, where the corresponding Lihir word has contrary meaning, are found in neighbouring languages too.

- 159 *lep* ‘acccustomed, expert’, Pala *lep* ‘ignorant, unaccustomed’
- 206 *hok* ‘easily provoked’, Pala *hok* ‘peaceful’

Pages 92ff.:

- 306 *sai* ‘to disseminate’, Lihir *sai* ‘to pay money’
- 316 *mosiet* ‘without value’, Lihir *siej* ‘without value, humiliated’
- 324 *siar* ‘insidious’, Lihir *siar* ‘secret sound, rustling’ (whose cause is not visible)

Pages 121ff.:

- 15 *koah* ‘tree lizard’, Lihir *kua* ‘grasshopper, beetle, spider’
- 19 *kuar*, *kuer* ‘to grate’, Lihir *kuel* ‘to abrade, to grate’
- 128 *lemuot* ‘adhesive, slithery’, Lihir *muot* ‘to slobber, the vomit’

(b) Double vowels are also generated by joining the causative prefix $a$ (*ha*) with root words with word-initial vowel:

- *ao* ‘to complete / to end / to lock / to terminate’
- *autie* ‘to let escape’
(c) By the omission of the aspirate \( h \) in the word-internal sound:
\[ \text{lae} = \text{lahe} \text{ 'towards him'} \]

(d) By extending the infix \(-in\)- to \(-ien\)-:
\[ \text{a pinpom} = \text{a pienpom} \text{ 'the act of strangling'} \]

(e) By extending the suffixes \(-en\), \(-in\), \(-on\) on nouns to \(-ien\), \(-ian\), \(-uon\), \(-uan\), following certain rules.

(f) By suffixing the object pronoun to verbs:
\[ \text{zakie} \text{ 'to say it'} \]
\[ \text{tunio} \text{ 'to cook it'} \]

(g) By changing the aspirated \( wh \) to \( wu \):
\[ \text{whos} = \text{wuos} \text{ 'to rain'} \]

(h) By metathesis in order to establish neutral root words:
\[ \text{liem} \text{ 'hand'} = \text{lima} \]
\[ \text{puok} \text{ 'to fall'} = \text{puko} \]
\[ \text{kiak} \text{ 'foot'} = \text{kake} \]
\[ \text{miat} \text{ 'dead'} = \text{mate}, \text{ one says } \text{ e sa miat} \text{ 'he is dead'} \text{ and } \text{sa mate} \text{ 'to beat him to death'} \]

(i) By inserting the glide \( i \) or \( u \) before other vowels, resulting in an \( i\)- and \( u\)-dialect, a brighter and a darker dialect.

§58. Double vowels are reduced by

(a) Omission of the first vowel:
\[ \text{puet} \text{ 'good'} = \text{pet} \]

(b) Omission of the second vowel:
\[ \text{gienzan} \text{ 'to reciprocate'} = \text{ginzan} \]

(c) Merging two vowels into one:
\[ \text{kiah} \text{ 'other'} = \text{keh} \]
\[ \text{bual} \text{ 'pig'} = \text{bol} \]

(d) Metathesis:
\[ \text{liem} \text{ 'hand'} \text{ becomes liman} \text{ 'his hand'} \]
\[ \text{poal} \text{ 'to paint (the face/body)'} \text{ becomes palo} \text{ 'to paint on something'} \text{ (see Brandstetter 1915:§§168ff.)} \]
§59. The preference of the Lihir language for double vowels, which is based on a striving for short words and on grammatical rules, does not prevent it from employing a number of words with only one vowel, which in neighbouring languages exhibit diphthongs.

Pala tau ‘to call’ = Lihir to
Pala hilau ‘to run’ = Lihir lo

§60. Throughout the Lihir language there is a difference between a brighter and a darker dialect. The first one prefers the vowels $i + a$, the latter $u + o$.

The dark dialect stresses this difference in particular. It still prefixes $u$ to the vowels $e$ and $o$, which are already a combination of $ia$ and $ua$. These two dialects are also more or less regionally divided:

- the southern dialect prefers $i, a$
- the island dialect prefers $u$
- the northern dialect often employs the combination $e, o$, yet it does not indicate a strict separation

The bright dialect uses $i$ less frequently than the dark dialect uses $u$. Where the latter uses *tunuo* ‘to cook it’, the southern dialect employs *tinio, tïnio, tunïo, tunio, tunuo* in an unpredictable manner.

A certain combination of both dialects has occurred too:

- southern dialect *bual* ‘pig’, island dialect *buol*

The words *kuih* ‘to wave / to blow’ and *kuir* ‘to rotate / to spin / to turn, to weave’, which in Pala equate with *kih* and *hir*, are adapted to the dark dialect by an inserted $u$, but are common in this form on the whole island. The impact of intermixing can be seen in the use of different variants at the same place. Here in Komat you can either hear *muan* ‘to lie’ or *mon, man, and mun*. Yet the dark dialect is not as prone to this inconsistency as is the bright dialect. The difference of both variants does not occur in all words that could come into question; yet again, the dark dialect is most consistent in this regard.

§61. Examples for both variants in Lihir:

- *balis, bulis*
- *didi, dodo*
- *ben, buen*
- *pet, puet*
- *miat, met, muet*
§62. This vowel variation also applies to the adjacent Pala dialect on New Ireland to a large extent. On the west coast the Pala say *biaka*, on the east coast *beka*, likewise *kariaka*, *kareka*; *tiaka*, *teka*; *kiaka*, *keka*; *piaka*, *peka*.

The e in *kareka*, *teka*, *keka* is long, which indicates that it was contracted from *ia*. Below are some examples from Lihir and Pala. The first word is Lihir, the second Pala:

- pit, putu
- bilis, bulus
- gine, gune
- rumrumis, ramramis
- rianrian, rekrek
- kiel, kuhule, kuhila
- wilis, hurus
- wih, uh
- win, hudu
- kua, ko
- buil, bul
- kuir, kur

§63. The same occurrence can be found in other Austronesian languages:

- Javanese *gigit* ‘to bite’, *gugut* ‘to break with teeth’
- Makasar *uq*, *uhu* ‘scap hair’
- Pala *ihi* ‘scap hair’ (see Brandstetter 1906:41, 66)

On Mota Island, language is divided between an *i*- and *u*-dialect too (Codrington 1885:254; see also Brandstetter 1911:§156).
§64. In the region of Linau, Lihir, some vowel variants fall into line with the Pala dialect. See for instance (first word in Lihir, second in Pala-Lin-au):

- poz, pas 'taro'
- yeh, yah 'fire'
- lan, lon 'night'
- hot, hat 'stone'
- moh, mah 'in one piece / undamaged'

§65. The variation of vowels, outside the framework of i- and u-dialects, is a consciously applied means to differentiate the meaning of a word:

- kasiŋ 'my brother', kisiŋ 'my sister'
- kakian 'his leg' (of a person), kekeyan 'the table leg, the chair leg'
- natuong 'his child', nitin 'his young'
- tal 'to cut', teltel 'to carve adornment scars'
- yes 'knife', yos 'to cut'
- tun 'to lower the head', tan 'to bend the head upwards'
- piz 'to strap / to buckle', puz 'to thud'
- kiptie 'to cut into little ends, to break', koptie 'to cut field crops into pieces'
- zu-nut 'to sting' (of a needle, of a fish), nit 'to sting' (of a mosquito)
- torme 'together', tariam 'to overgrow'
- imen 'here', imon 'here, there'
- bel 'to have disappeared', bialaye 'to forget something, to lose something'
- kua belbel 'spider', koko bala 'spiderweb'

Every now and then, a variant that is deviant from the vowel shift, according to grammar, is used to avoid semantic mistakes:

tatirie a kambek 'to fill in chalk', the short form is tator kambek instead of regular tater kambek. Tater kambek could denote 'to break the chalk pot'

§66. A pure vowel dissolves, according to certain rules, or outside of any rules, into its components:

- pomie, pamuo
- woltie, luatie
- tabon, tabuan
- mol, a imalion
- tonmie, tandum
- mon, a munian
- iyok, yakuon
- sesenony, sianwoŋ

Lihir pet, Pala patit

See also §122.
§67. Assimilation of vowels

The Lihir language generally adjusts the subsequent vowel to the preceding.

(a) Regarding temporal particles, the particle de that indicates intended actions is absorbed by the vowel of the preceding noun as well as the particle se that denotes a finished action. However, assimilation is not a fixed rule here:

\[
\begin{align*}
no de ka &= no do ka \ ('I will go') \\
da de ka &= da da ka \ ('we will go') \\
yo se ka &= yo so ka \ ('I go')
\end{align*}
\]

Yet assimilation of the future particle na in first, second, and third-person singular is established:

\[
yo no ka, wa na ka, (i, e, n) ka \ ('I will go', 'you will go', 'he will go')
\]

(b) To some extent, there is assimilation at noun endings of third-person singular:

\[
natuon \ ('his child'), nitin \ ('his young'). \text{See also §65}
\]

(c) Assimilation of the preceding vowel to the subsequent vowel sometimes happens arbitrarily in a sentence:

\[
tut lon = tot lon
\]

Assimilation of the preceding vowel to the subsequent vowel occurs in singular words as well:

\[
\begin{align*}
sangoye &= songoye \\
liman &= laman \\
kemuo &= komuo \\
lomuj &= lomuj
\end{align*}
\]

(d) Some verbs, in conjunction with the variation of i- and u-dialects, assimilate as follows:

\[
tut \ ('to ignite'), tutuo \ ('to ignite it'), titio \ ('to ignite it') \\
u\text{-dialect regularly: tutio, i-dialect variant: titio}
\]

---

19. The German word vollendeten ‘finished’ is put in brackets and replaced by gesetzt, which best translates as ‘intended.’
§68. Metathesis of vowels

Metathesis appears occasionally with singular words, without changing their meaning:

\[
\begin{align*}
a \text{ tambawon} &= a \text{ tambohwan} \\
m\text{anduh} &= \text{ munda} \\
m\text{anokien} &= \text{ minokuan}^{20}
\end{align*}
\]

§69. Elision of vowels

The island dialect quite often elides the vowel of the first syllable, less often the second, but never the third. The vowel reappears when speaking slowly. This aspect can be found to some extent in the northern dialect and in the southern dialect, yet it is not as striking as in the island dialect.

Some examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
t\text{amboh}, \text{tmboh} & \text{ 'big / large'} \\
\text{Mandarez}, \text{Mndarez} & \text{ (name of a village)} \\
p\text{izopizok}, \text{pzokpzok} \\
\text{Kaletau}, \text{Kletau} \\
p\text{ake tapeka}, \text{pke tapeka} \\
m\text{ikino}, \text{mikno} \\
k\text{akui}, \text{kkui}
\end{align*}
\]

If w follows the first two consonants, the first vowel is not elided.

\[
p\text{ake whin} \text{ 'banana leaf', but: pka tapeka \text{ 'papaya leaf'}}
\]

The sound is not decisive here:

\[
\begin{align*}
p\text{azie}, \text{pzio} \\
t\text{amboh}, \text{tmboh} \\
m\text{iikino, mikno}
\end{align*}
\]

It has yet to be investigated if a relation to Indonesian pepet rules can be established. In Philippine languages, pepet has been lost in individual languages. Cam language also elides the pepet of the second last syllable (see Conant 1912:920–56).

There are also some Melanesian languages, like Motlav and Gog, which Codrington reports that they elide a great many vowels:

\[
\text{liman} \text{ 'hand' becomes na limak \text{ 'my hand'}} \text{ in Gog language (Codrington 1885:368)}^{21}
\]

---

20. Text annotation: “For the generation of neutral verbs, see §93c.”

21. Text annotation: “Also compare Tabar in some dialects.”
Furthermore, one would have to look at the Sulka language that relates to Lihir in some other aspects too (Müller 1915–16:75–97, 523–52).

Lihir Island dialect Mon-kka, Ppuo-bol (proper names).

We have an aspect here that occurs in Melanesian, Papuan, and Indonesian languages.

§70. The elision of vowels is common locally, when word-final vowels and word-initial vowels of two words collide. The word-final vowel then is elided:

- kaka an, kak’ an
- kanda e anio, kand’ e anio
- ka e zakie, k’ e zakie
- ma o, m’ o
- le o, l’ o
- buruo a lon, buru’ a lon

Particularly the conjunctions ma, ka, and le usually elide the vowel before subsequent vowels. When speaking slowly, elision is not always employed. Compare the Melanesian languages Florida Islands and Bugotu (Codrington 1885:537, 550).

§71. Regular elision of nominal and verbal vowels occurs under special circumstances. See also §113, §127.

§72. Contraction of vowels:

- contraction of double vowels ia into e and ua into o happens in different ways:
  - southern dialect bual, island dialect bol
  - southern dialect biah, island dialect beh
  - if the nominal prefix ni- collides with word-initial vowel i, both i’s then contract into long i
    - il ‘to weave’ → nil ‘weaving’

§73. Quantity of vowels:

In Lihir vowels are short or long. In everyday speech, long and short vowels hardly differ in many cases.

(a) A vowel is short if more than one consonant follows, the same applies before z (ts).
(b) A vowel is short before word-final $h$ and $k \rightarrow keh, kek$.

(c) A vowel can be short or long if only one consonant follows.

(d) A vowel is long if two vowels are contracted:

$$ka\ a\ buo = kā\ buo$$
$$bual = bōl$$

This does not apply before $k$ and $h$:

$$kiak = kek$$
$$biah = beh$$

I employ the macron diacritical mark (ˉ) to indicate long vowels and do not indicate short vowels.

(e) A vowel is long if the subsequent consonant is elided:

$$put\ te \rightarrow pū\ te$$
$$got\ te \rightarrow gō\ te$$
$$yoh \rightarrow yō\ te$$

If $z$ follows a vowel, then, according to this rule, a consonant of the subsequent word is elided. The vowel, however, contrary to the rule, becomes long:

$$kiz\ te \rightarrow kīz\ e$$

(f) A short vowel becomes a long vowel if the noun ending of third-person singular is suffixed to a verb, and rule (a) of this paragraph does not contradict this:

$$kuin \rightarrow kuīni$$
$$pom \rightarrow pōmie$$

but: karuz = korzie

(g) If the double vowel $au$ becomes $aw$, $a$ remains long:

$$lāuŋ \rightarrow lāwon$$

Likewise, if $w$ and $y$ occur as mediating sound, the preceding vowel is long too:

$$bo \rightarrow bāwon$$
$$lo \rightarrow lāwo$$
$$te \rightarrow tāye$$
$$ti \rightarrow tiye$$
$$li \rightarrow liye$$

(h) If the individual particle $i$ is altered to $ya$, it is long:

$$a\text{ indal} \rightarrow a\text{ yāndal}$$

(i) The prefix $ka$ – ‘not’ and the suffix -an ‘always’ are at all times long:

$$kā\text{-papez} \text{ ‘to not work / a lazy one’}$$
$$kiz\text{ -ān} \text{ ‘to sit continuously’}$$

(k) The prefixes $ta$-, $ka$-, $ba$-, $ya$-, and $ma$- are often long, without me having been able to establish a rule yet:

$$yāwil \text{ ‘fishing rod’}$$
$$tāwil \text{ ‘Triton sea snail’, both words are derived from the root word wil ‘bent / contorted’}$$
$$pārak \text{ ‘hoarse’}$$
$$tāli \text{ ‘flea’}$$
$$tālies \text{ ‘a type of cudgel’}$$
$$tānu \text{ ‘Tridacna clam’}$$
$$tūtu \text{ ‘outrigger woods’}$$
$$tamālus \text{ ‘stripped / shed’}$$

(l) Word-final vowels in monosyllabic words are long: $bī$, $bā$, $lē$. However, this does not apply before the hamza:

$$le \text{ ‘shell money’}$$
$$te \text{ ‘chicken’ (see Brandstetter 1915:§§67ff.)}$$

§74. Quality of vowels

The quality of vowels depends on the literal sense of the word in Lihir:

$$rē \text{ ‘to fall down’ (of rain), } rē\text{ ‘to flow’ (of a stream)}$$
$$ber \text{ ‘erroneous’, } begr \text{ ‘hard’}$$

Long vowels and short vowels can sound open and closed:

$$ber \text{ and } begr \text{ are short}$$
$$re \text{ and } rē \text{ are long}$$

If there are no semantic differences, a vowel can be pronounced more open or less open:

$$lerenie \text{ and } lernie$$

If in a root word the sound varies between $i$ and $e$, $e$ is bright:

$$kiz, kez$$
$$erlih, lese \text{ ‘to change’}$$

23. No subsection (j) is included in the original.
If the sound in a root word varies between $u$ and $o$, $o$ has dark pronunciation:

$mun, mon$ (see Brandstetter 1915:§§82ff.)

Monosyllabic root words have in many cases three or four meanings in Lihir:

- $ba$ ‘deaf, bait, to forbid, a species of tree’
- $bar$ ‘to blockade, perhaps, similar’
- $ben$ ‘little rod for dancing, day, to close’
- $ber$ ‘to imbrute, unknowing, solid, dandruff’
- $re$ ‘to flow, to fall down (of rain), this, to move’

One would have to examine whether the dependency of the quality from the meaning of a word is influenced by tone languages.

For variable pronunciation in Indonesian idioms, compare Brandstetter (1915:§44).

§75. Numerous vowel shifts occur when extending nominal or verbal root words. Compare §§114ff.

§76. Semivowels $y, w$

$Y$ in southern dialect becomes $h$ in singular words in northern dialect and island dialect:

- $wayen, wahren$
- $toye, tohe$

Word-initial $y$ of some verbs in absolute form becomes $i$ in correlated form:

- $yos, iso$ ‘to cut’

Word-initial $y$ of correlated form becomes $i$ in absolute form:

- $yasmie, isen$

The noun $yaseŋ$ ‘my name’ occurs also as $iseŋ$.

One variant for $yambis$ ‘to spit out’ is $umbis$.

Word-internal $y$ after $l$ arbitrarily becomes $i$:

$gulyal = gulial$
Y is elided in some cases when generating verbal nouns by inserting the infix -in-:

\[ yok, a\ inok \]

Regarding verbs, \(y\) forms a bridge between two vowels in the object ending \(aye\):

\[ buot, buotaye \]
\[ bialy, bialaye \]
\[ pe, paye \]

Y in Lihir is replaced by \(k, h\) in other Austronesian languages:

\[ hati, kati, yati \text{‘liver’ in Indonesian, Pala, Lihir} \]
\[ taya, tahe, takie \text{‘to punch through something, to knock off, to cut off’ in Fijian, Pala, Lihir} \]

In Lihir \(y\), instead of the individual particle \(i\), is placed before vowels in some cases:

\[ iel = yel \text{‘Paragum plant’} \]

In the southern dialect, \(y\), instead of \(h\), is placed between two vowels:

\[ lah \text{‘to swim’, a ilayen ‘his fin’} \]

In individual pronunciation \(y\) converges with \(j\) very often.

\(W\) of the southern dialect becomes \(h\) in northern dialect and island dialect in some cases:

\[ wayen, hohen \]

Word-initial \(w\) of nouns and verbs in some cases, when extending the words in question, becomes \(u\):

\[ wes \rightarrow usi \]
\[ wit \rightarrow utie \]
\[ wel \rightarrow ulien \]
\[ wil zik = ul zik \]

Word-initial \(w\) of extended verbs sometimes becomes \(u\) in absolute form:

\[ wartie \rightarrow urot \]
\[ wolsie \rightarrow ulos \]
\[ wasmie \rightarrow uson \]

Sometimes \(w\), instead of \(u\), is prefixed to another vowel:

\[ kunuir = kunwir \]
$W$ forms a bridge between two vowels, replacing $u$:

\[
\text{lau} \rightarrow \text{lawanie}
\]

In the southern dialect, $w$ is strongly aspirated in some words, influenced by the northern dialect.

No other word-initial aspirates are known in the southern dialect, yet they are in the northern dialect.

The latter employs $huolan$, in southern dialect $wholan$.

Therefore, two forms in southern dialect:

- $we, wue$
- $wos, wuos$
- $won, wuon$
- $wot, wuot$
- $wo, wuo$ (see Brandstetter 1915:$§53, §56$; see also Stresemann 1927:115–16)

§77. The consonants

The Lihir language employs:

- the labial consonants $p, b$
- the guttural consonants $k, g, x, j$
- the dental consonants $t, d, s, ts$
- the nasal consonants $m, n, ŋ$
- the liquid consonants $r, l$
- the laryngeal consonants $h$, the hamza

§78. The plosives $b, d, g$ are almost entirely prenasalised: $mb, nd, ng, ŋg$

Sometimes the nasal is omitted arbitrarily, or it is stressed very weakly:

- $sangoye = sagoye$
- $mbisenie = bisenie$

Instead of $ŋg$, we find occasionally $ng$ or $ŋ$:

- I heard $ŋgetŋget, ngetŋget, and ŋetŋet 'sand fly'$

§79. The medial consonants $g, d$ easily become the tenuis consonants $k, t$
as soon as prenasalisation elides:

- $ndo nde ka \rightarrow do te ka$
- $gape \rightarrow kape$
- $kandos \rightarrow katos$
§80. The tenuis consonants \( k, t, p \) become medial consonants after \( l, m, n \):

- \( \text{pite} \) ‘to speak’ \( \rightarrow \) \( a \text{ pin-de} \) ‘the language’ \((-in-\) is an infix of verbal nouns)
- \( \text{sa buam te} \) \( \rightarrow \) \( \text{sa buam de} \)
- \( \text{sa mel te} \) \( \rightarrow \) \( \text{sa mel de} \)
- \( \text{pom-pom} \) \( \rightarrow \) \( \text{pombom} \)
- \( \text{malkok} \) \( \rightarrow \) \( \text{malgok} \)
- \( \text{a puniot} \) \( \rightarrow \) \( \text{a punden koko} \)

§81. Nasal plosives lose the plosive consonants, according to certain rules, that is, as soon as a subsequent third consonant would occur and sometimes sporadically. All that remains is the nasal:

- \( \text{a kambuten} \) ‘the dirt’
- \( \text{kamtie} \) ‘to bemire’
- \( \text{ugut, ungut} \) ‘to bear’
- \( \text{ontie} \) ‘to bear it’
- \( \text{kurbuz} \) ‘to strap’, \( \text{kumzie} \) ‘to strap it’
- \( \text{rambet} \) ‘to frighten’, \( \text{riamtie} \) ‘to frighten it’
- \( \text{tandum} \) ‘together’, \( \text{tonmie} \) ‘to amass’
- \( \text{gantie} \) ‘to disturb / to trouble’, \( \text{gantie} \) ‘to disturb it / to trouble it’

Regarding doublings, sometimes only the first syllable contains the nasal:

- \( a \text{ ndandan a ye} = \text{nandon ye} \)
- \( a \text{ mbamben liom} = \text{mamben liom} \)
- \( \text{ndandolo} = \text{nandolo} \)
- \( \text{ŋangoh} \) ‘to run away’ \( = \text{ŋangoh} \)
- \( \text{mbise} \) and \( \text{mise} \) ‘baseless / without any reason’ are used without distinction

Pala \( \text{siribe} \) ‘rattan’ becomes \( \text{siriem} \) in Lihir.

§82. Sometimes plosives are inserted after a nasal:

- \( \text{kenken} \) ‘to hurt’, \( \text{sango kankandien} \) ‘to cause pain’
- \( \text{ki} \) ‘to get firewood’, \( \text{yo se kiane tan, yo se kiande tan} \)
- \( \text{karomzie, a karomzin, a i-karombiz} \)

§83. Nasals \( n \) and \( m \) are often swapped randomly:

- \( \text{zumer, zu ner} \)
- \( \text{zalnie, zalnie} \)
- \( \text{tambuam, tambuan} \)
The people of the Kosmaiun region are known for starting each sentence with a strongly nasalised *mmm*:

*Mmm aso imen? ‘What is this?’*

§84. The liquid consonants *l, r*

*R* is made with the movement of the tongue. I have not yet heard the velar *r*. Yet it happens that a native treats any *r* as velar. The alveolar *r* equates to *l* in Lihir:

- Pala *tahur*
- Lihir *tawil* ‘Triton sea snail’

The alveolar *r* also occurs in Lihir. MP *rusuk*, Lihir *rusorusion* ‘rib’. In Lihir both *r*s are merged into one sound.

§85. Dental consonants *t, d*

The Lihir language only makes use of the common alveolar *d*:

- UAN *danum*, Lihir *don*  
- UAN *daven*, Lihir *lo* ‘leaf’  
- MP *hadiri*, Lihir *tur* ‘house post’

§86. The sibilants *s, ts* (= *z*)

*S* is always pronounced sharply. It complies with *d* elsewhere:

- MP *hudan* ‘rain’, Lihir *wos*

Likewise *s*:

- MP *isi* ‘content’, Lihir *isien*  

*Ts* replaces *s* or *t* elsewhere:

- Pala *sik* ‘little’, Lihir *tsik* ‘child’  
- Lihir *ziktun* = *tsiktsun*  
- Pala *kis* ‘to sit’, Lihir *kits*  

*Ts* changes in terms of sharpness in individual pronunciation (see Brandstetter 1915:$^60$, §65). Also compare some Melanesian languages, like Tabar.

§87. The guttural consonants *k, g, x, y*

*K* in southern dialect becomes *x* in northern dialect and island dialect:
$kon$ ‘his head’ $\rightarrow$ $xon$

$ka$ ‘to get’ $\rightarrow$ $xa$

$X$ changes with individual pronunciation, from a hard guttural $x$ to a stronger aspirate. Women tend to pronounce it less hard than men do.

$Y$ is often treated as $j$:

$\textit{wayen}$, or (more or less strong) $\textit{waijen}$

$Y$, treated as $j$, is only employed if the word is pronounced in a somewhat stressed way.

§88. The aspirate $h$

The use of $h$ in Lihir differs from region to region. In southern dialect, $h$ occurs as word-final sound, but not as word-initial sound or word-internal sound. However, $h$ as a word-final sound only appears in very isolated cases, possibly influenced by the northern dialect.

$\textit{Hieben ‘New Ireland’, wih ‘yam’}$.

The northern dialect heavily aspirates word-initial, word-internal, and word-final sounds:

$\textit{hul ‘head’}$
$\textit{hot ‘stone’}$
$\textit{bahlaye ‘to forget’}$
$\textit{kaha ‘to take’}$
$\textit{wih ‘yam’}$

In the southern dialect these words become:

$\textit{ul}$
$\textit{ot}$
$\textit{bialaye}$
$\textit{ka}$
$\textit{wih}$

In the southern dialect, $w$ or $y$ is occasionally employed, whereas the northern dialect uses $h$:

$\textit{wayen, hohen, wahen}$
$\textit{bawun, bahun}$
$\textit{wuon, huon}$

$H$ of the northern dialect becomes $k$ in the southern dialect sporadically:

$\textit{her ‘to come’} \rightarrow \textit{ker}$
grammar of the lihir language

Word-final \( h \), when extending the word, becomes \( s \):

- \( kiah \) ‘alone’ → \( kisenie \)
- \( biah \) ‘baseless / without any reason’ → \( bisenie \)
- \( doh \) ‘to wipe’ → \( dosie \)

If a particle or the object ending of a verb follows a word with a word-final \( h \), \( h \) is randomly elided, and the preceding vowel is stretched:

- \( wes ruh \) → \( wes ruh ye, wes rū ye \)
- \( karoh \) → \( karoh lie, karōlie \)
- \( tiah \) → \( tiah senie, tiāse \)

§89. Hamza

A hard word-final sound is mostly common; less common is a hard word-initial sound, or a hard word-internal sound:

- \( te \) ‘chicken’
- \( le \) ‘shell money’
- ‘\( anako \) ‘to drown someone’
- \( la \) ‘toward him’

In Melanesian languages, the hamza evolves into a chain of \( [\cdot], h, s \):

- \( kia, kiah, kiose \) ‘to change / to alter’ in Qunan Tuna,
- \( vi, vih, visa \) in Sasar, Leon, Mota
- \( ge, geh, gese = Sasar, Leon, Mota \) (Codrington 1885:338)

§90. Change of consonants

As with vowels, the sound change of consonants is in many cases a means to differentiate the meaning of the root word:

- \( L \) to \( r \):
  - \( wilis \) ‘to roll’, \( wiris \) ‘to rotate / to spin / to turn’
  - \( kaliam \) ‘to lick’, \( kariam \) ‘the goanna’ (as it is a peculiarity of a goanna to stick its tongue out far)
  - \( ulun \) ‘his head’, \( urun \) ‘his pillow’
  - \( ol \) ‘young’, or ‘new’

- \( T \) to \( ts \):
  - \( piat \) ‘to gab’, \( piats \) ‘to inveigh’
  - \( kulit \) ‘to peel’, \( kuliz \) ‘bowl’, \( do kuliz \) ‘only the bowl’
Nasals are represented by the plosives $\eta,g$:

\[ \eta \text{a} \ 'open, opening / aperture' \]

\[ G a \text{ is a bound morpheme for verbs that ‘create an opening’, or verbs that encompass this meaning:} \]

\[ \text{paŋaŋ} \ 'to open the mouth' \]
\[ \text{ga-rir} \ 'to drill out' \]
\[ \text{ŋetŋet} \ 'sand fly' = \text{getget} \]

\[ M \text{ to } n, \text{ often without noticeable change of meaning:} \]

\[ \text{zumer} = \text{zuner} \ 'to be angry with' \]

Nasal for nasal, $\eta$ to $n$:

\[ \text{sisian} = \text{sisianie} \]

Tenuis consonants become medial consonants:

\[ p \text{ to } b: \text{pilpil } sio = \text{belbel } sio \ 'coppice of lianas'} \]
\[ d \text{ to } t: \text{kando} = \text{katos}^{24} \]

The same aspects of sound changes can be found in many Austronesian languages (Brandstetter 1915:$§208$; see also Brandstetter 1908:$§59$).^{25}

§91. Elision of consonants

The elisions of plosives, of $h$ when extending root words, of $t$ after $ts$, and of $t$ before subsequent $t$, have already been mentioned before.

§92. Gemination of consonants

The natives pronounce double consonants as single consonants, they pronounce the first consonant so weakly that it is hardly audible, or they elide one consonant and make the preceding vowel long. Gemination becomes truly apparent when speaking slowly. Only in the northern dialect is the second consonant also stressed if gemination by elision of the vowel of a syllable has formed. Yet an attentive ear is necessary to hear the second consonant.

In Lihir gemination can be formed as follows:

\[ ^{24} \text{ Text annotation: “As soon as nasal elides.”} \]
\[ ^{25} \text{ Text annotation: “Bindi’ to make bigger incisions’, } p\text{indie ‘to make smaller incisions’; see also Czermak (1928).”} \]
(a) By adding the prefix *er* (*her*) to a root word with word-initial *r*:

*er-rakse* ‘to ridicule one another’ → *ērakse*, with long *e*

(b) By the same word-final and word-initial sound of two closely related words:

*put te* → *pū te*

*kuel lie* ‘to abrade’ → *kuē lie*

(c) By elision of a vowel within a word that was between the same consonants:

*kaka* ‘without anything’ → *kka*

*kakui* ‘difficult / heavy / massive / severe’ → *kkui* (both consonants are stressed)

(d) By joining two root words into one, of which the word-initial sound of the second word equals the word-final sound of the first word:

*par* ‘to thunder’, *rut* ‘to thunder’ → *pārut*

Since this word has an onomatopoetic root, in which *r* plays a crucial role, it happens that *parrut*, with rolled *r*, can be frequently heard, which otherwise does not occur.

(e) By doubling a word with same word-initial and word-final sound:

*tot* → *tottot, tôtot* ‘to go to sea’ (see Brandstetter 1915:§§83ff.)

§93. Metathesis of consonants

There are single cases in which the reordering of consonants is used to establish a new term:

*sursur* ‘bone’, *rusiorusion, rusrus* ‘rib’

*kiap* ‘chunk / slice / piece’, *pake* ‘a unit’ (small)

*lolo* ‘bush, plant’, *pake lolo* ‘leaf’

Metathesis of consonant and vowel is used to:

(a) Establish neutral nouns:

*lima* ‘hand’, *liem*

*kakian* ‘his leg’, *kiak*

(b) Generating neutral verbs that, in correlated form, have word-initial *w*:

*wartie* ‘to break it’ → *urot*

*wilsie* ‘to lay’ → *ulis*
(c) Occasionally, without shift in meaning:

\[ \text{woltie} \text{ 'to free/ to dispense / to loosen / to solve'} \rightarrow \text{ulatie} \rightarrow \text{luatie} \rightarrow \text{laut} \]

(neutral) (see Brandstetter 1906:65)

As will be shown later, to establish neutral nouns or verbs, metathesis originates from another important rule of Melanesian languages, which has not yet been identified. See also §17, §18.
§94. Word-initial and word-final sounds

Words have word-initial and word-final consonants as well as simple vowels, double vowels, and semivowels.

Word-initial sounds are a, e, i, o, u; b, p, g, k, x, t, d, ts, s, m, n, η, ng, ηg, l, r, w, y, hamza, h; ao, ae, au, ai.

Word-final sounds are a, e, i, o, u; p, k, x, t, ts, s, m, n, l, r, h, hamza; io, iо, uо. Double and triple consonants are frequently found as word-initial sounds.

Double consonants are generated:

by nasal + plosives mb, nd, ηg
by elision of the first vowel, particularly in the island dialect

Multiple consonants are created by the elision of a vowel only:

mnd, pts, tmb, kr, pk, tp, etc.

Y and w often occur as word-initial sounds, but never as word-final sounds; η seldom appears as a word-initial sound and as word-final sound of the root word, yet it frequently occurs as the word-final sound of the suffixed possessive pronoun of first-person singular, aη, eη.26 Single consonants frequently occur as word-final sounds, with the exception of ts, which is very common.

Lihir does not tolerate word-final medial consonants. Instead, we find nasals or tenuis consonants:

a zumben koko ‘the remainder of the thorny yams’27 generates the neutral nouns ziom and ziop
a punden koko ‘the waste of the thorny yams,’28 a punuot

27. A type of yam called mami in Tok Pisin and koko in Lihir.
28. Refers to small thorny yams that are prepared and cooked for pigs, thrown away, or burnt in fires since they are too small for eating or planting (Luke Kabariu, pers. comm., 21 September 2012).
§95. Word-internal sound

Most different vowels can follow one another as word-internal sounds. See also §73.

Every now and then, a semivowel is inserted between two vowels:

\[ bialy, bialaye \]
\[ laun, lawon \]

Or there is \( \text{h} \) or the hamza:

\[ lae, lahe, \text{root word } la \text{ ‘to go’}, \text{neutral form } le, \text{transitive form } lae \text{ (see Brandstetter 1915:§184)} \]

Word-internal double consonants are common. They are generated by

- combining several root words: \( ul\text{-tomat} \)
- doubling: \( kuir\text{-}kuir \)
- combining the root word with prefix \( er\text{-}: \text{erpurek} \)
- elision of a vowel: \( mikino, mikno \)
- inserting infix \( -ien- \) when generating verbal nouns: \( pom, a \text{ pienpom} \)
- suffixes: \( mas, masle \); I cannot substantiate the origin of the word \( makrez \text{ ‘to sweat’} \)

Three or four consecutive consonants can possibly evolve in word-internal sounds:

\[ tsihtsun \text{ ‘man / human being’} \]
\[ ptsokptskok, \text{derived from } ptsokptskok \]

§96. The entry of word-initial vowels can be silent, voiced, or aspirated:

- southern dialect \( il \text{ ‘to be glassy’} \)
- northern dialect \( hil \text{ ‘to be glassy’} \)
- northern dialect \( akne \text{ ‘to greet’} \)

The closure of word-final vowels can also be silent, voiced, or aspirated:

- \( me \text{ ‘at / by / during / in / near / next to / on / with’} \)
- \( te\text{ ‘chicken’} \)
- \( kiah \text{ ‘another’} \text{ (see Brandstetter 1915:§184)} \)

§97. Word-final vowels or consonants are interrelated in order to establish neutral and correlated nouns and verbs in some Melanesian languages. This has not been clearly recognised and enunciated so far.
§98. There are two types of Melanesian languages. One forms neutral (absolute) nouns and verbs with word-final consonants, yet it forms correlated verbs and nouns with word-final vowels. The other one proceeds reversely, it has word-final consonants for correlated verbs and nouns and word-final vowels for neutral nouns and verbs. Both types can be blended into one language too.

Some examples in the Lihir language:

neutral nouns, for the most part, have word-final consonants. This is accomplished through metathesis:

- liem ‘hand’, kiak ‘leg’, nit ‘cub’

  correlated forms: lima, kake, niti

for verbs:

- giar ‘to see’, poal ‘to paint (the face/body) [refl]’, banit ‘to close / to lock’

  correlated forms gare ‘to see it’, palo ‘to paint (the face/body)’, bentie ‘to close something / to lock something’

In order to attain consonantal closure of these neutral forms, in the case of banit, Lihir generates a new disyllabic word from the compound verbs ben-tie. It is remarkable that this group of verbs does not exclusively employ the vowels ie as a transitive bound morpheme, but allows any vowel to appear.

In Pala the same occurrence can be observed for several nouns and verbs. In general, Pala adopted the Malay form of neutral nouns:

- a kakina ri ‘foot of somebody’

Yet there are still some nominal forms:

- ih ‘the hair’, correlated form hi
- is ‘the cape / the headland, the crest / the cusp / the tip’, correlated form in Lihir zi

With verbs too, there are some forms:

- kukut ‘to hang oneself’, kute ‘to hang something up’
- kuos ‘to change’, kuose ‘to change something’

For an example of the second group in Mota, see Codrington (1885:260ff.):

absolute nouns matai ‘eye’, ului ‘hair’, qattiu ‘head’, vavae ‘a word’

their correlated analogies mata, ulu, qat, vava
Mota serves here as witness of the generation of absolute nouns by final vowels. However, it does not do so for word-final consonants of correlated nouns, except for the example of *qat, qat qoe* ‘pig’s head’. There are possibly more examples in the dictionary.

Neutral verbs have word-final vowels, however, the transitive, correlated verbs have word-final consonants. Some examples:

\[ \text{gava ‘to fly’, mata ‘eye’, vano ‘to go’} \]

The correlated forms are:

\[ \text{gavag ‘to fly with’, matag ‘to see it’, vanov ‘to lay / to place / to put’} \]

In Lihir there is a group of these verbs too:

\[ \text{lo ‘to run’, to ‘to call’, le ‘to happen’} \]

The correlated forms are:

\[ \text{lorie ‘to run after someone’, torie ‘to call someone’, lenie ‘to do something’} \]

It is remarkable that transitive verbs of this group have word-final *ia, ua*, or *ie*.

In Mota we have *vusia, nania*.

In Mota the verb *ilo* ‘to see’ may belong to the first group, as it does not suffix a consonant to the correlated form and uses *iloa* for ‘to see it’, and not *iloia*.

Root words are monosyllabic and polysyllabic. Lihir still shows a remarkable tendency towards monosyllabism. There are a huge number of monosyllabic root words that are used without any affixes. In particular, there are those that are monosyllabic that indicate a characteristic, a status, or the passive perfect.

Monosyllabic root words have word-initial and word-final consonants and vowels:

\[ \text{ol ‘young’} \]
\[ \text{to ‘to call’} \]

Some words consist of one vowel only:

\[ \text{i ‘to play the flute’, u ‘to howl’, e ‘to barricade / to block / to lock up’} \]
Root word and monosyllabism do not always coincide. A number of monosyllabic words are extended root words already:

- to 'to call', tor 'to call someone'
- ke 'to take', kes 'to gather, to collect'
- zu 'ending / finish / termination'
- nuz 'cape / headland' (zu = uz)

Some monosyllabic extended forms of Lihir are replaced by basic root words in adjoining regional dialects:

- Lihir bar 'to barricade / to block / to lock up', Pala ba 'wall'
- Lihir ten 'to cry', Tabar ta 'to cry'
- Pala is 'crest / cusp / tip', Lihir n-iz 'tooth'

§99. Word-final consonants on extended root words are:

(a) Parts or relics of otherwise independent words:

- mat 'face', generated from mata, compare §98

Root ta 'face' in Thai, miat 'dead' from mate, corresponding to §98. Root tai 'dead' in Thai

(b) Fixed nominal markers:

- e: dependant word-initial vowel in plural: e-n, e-l 'some / a few', independent root word
- i: dependant word-initial vowel to denote an individual
- i-n: independent root word, meaning 'a whole, an individual'

(c) Relics of doublings, established according to §98:

- ta 'to say', tat 'to speak'
- sus 'to suck', derived from susu

(d) Fixed, abbreviated auxiliary words:

- re 'movement towards something', independent root word
- re lie 'take [sg] it away'

Re is used as an auxiliary word in order to transform absolute verbs into correlated verbs and, while doing so, loses the vowel, according to §98:

- lo 'to run', lor 'to run after someone, to chase'

The auxiliary word reappears in parallel form lorenie 'to run after someone, to chase'. Re is the absolute, ren the correlated form, according to §98.
to 'to call', tor 'to call someone', torenie
zu-n wam 'a piece of fabric', n = preposition

§100. Word-initial consonants are of particular importance in many cases.

(a) Fixed nominal markers:

Pala is 'crest / cusp / tip', Lihir n-iz 'tooth'; is is absolute form, correlated form in Lihir zi, zizi 'crest / cusp / tip', according to §98:

zizi kuon 'tip of the tail'
il 'to braid'
n-il 'braiding', derived from niil
n-uz 'ending / finish / termination', variation of niz; correlated form zu, zun wam 'a piece of fabric'

(b) Fixed negative particles:

es 'to span', p-es 'not be able to span', Pala pa 'not'

§101. The reason why bound morphemes in Lihir are fixed to word-initial and word-final sounds is because the Lihir language represents, like other Austronesian languages, a compound of suffixing and prefixing languages. Lihir has the causative prefix a- (ha-) and the causative suffix -le. Lihir suffixes where other languages prefix.
Pala places the status particle before the verb, Lihir puts it after the verb:

Pala i te tahut 'it is good', Lihir e pe te

The fact that such particles can also grow together with the root word can be seen in the Ambonese language:

ola-ti 'big / high / large / tall', compared to Pala t-ola 'big / high / large / tall'
(Stresemann 1927:176)

§102. Generation of polysyllabic words from monosyllabic root words:

(a) By inserting the vowels u or i, according to §60:

bol → buol 'pig'

Yet the vowels are often pronounced so fast that the word in question is perceived as being monosyllabic.

(b) By repetition of the root word, that is, reduplication.
(c) By combining two monosyllabic root words of the same or similar meaning, that is, gemination.

(d) By the agglutination of monosyllabic root words with auxiliary words, prefixes, infixes, and suffixes.

§103. Repetition of the root word

Full repetition of the root word in Lihir almost entirely implies an interference of meaning. Partial repetition of the root word, however, does not.

Full repetition

(a) Denotes a more intense activity, a more significant characteristic than that of the root word. In that way it marks an object from other objects and thus individualises in a certain manner:

- tes ‘the sea’, testes ‘the moving sea’
- kiah ‘another’, kiahkiah ‘a gorgeous, an exceptional, a handsome person’

(b) Generates plural:

- ot ‘stone’, otot ‘stones’
- sur ‘the bone’, sursur ‘the bones / the mortal remains’
- lam ‘big / high / large / tall’, lamlam ‘many’

(c) Forms nouns and verbs that notably carry into effect the meaning of the root word:

- kuir ‘to rotate / to spin / to turn’, kuirkuir ‘a leaf / a sheet that was rolled to a pouch or a small packet’
- kat ‘to drill’, katkat ‘shipworm’
- kom ‘to germinate’, komkom ‘the young child’
- kol ‘to bypass’, kolkol ‘to direct the fish into the nets’
- paz ‘to adhere / to glue’, pazpaz ‘the jealous one’

(d) Expresses the effect or cause of the basic root word:

- miat ‘dead’, miatmiat ‘sick’
- kuor ‘to grunt, to rumble in the stomach’, kuorkuor ‘to be hungry’

(e) Expresses a similarity with what the root word refers to:

- le ‘alang-alang grass’, lele ‘a species of grass similar to alang-alang grass’
- nuz ‘the ending / the finish / the termination, the crest / the cusp / the tip’, nuznuz ‘the cape / the headland’
- wir ‘to rotate / to spin / to turn’, wirwir ‘to feel sick’
(f) Forms absolute nouns if the basic root word was to cause an ambiguity:

\[ \text{lak} \ '\text{branch, to vault, there}, \text{laklak} \ '\text{branch} \]

(g) Indicates a habit:

\[ \text{solo} \ '\text{that way}, \text{solosolo} \ '\text{to be that way all the time} \]

§104. Reduplicated words often have, besides a primary meaning, one or two secondary meanings. They can be deduced from context:

\[ \text{lamlam} \ '\text{many} = \ '\text{very far, very big, everywhere} \]
\[ \text{kuirkuir} \ '\text{ Düte}^{29} = \ '\text{to be twined a lot / to be coiled up a lot, to rotate proficiently / to spin proficiently / to turn proficiently} \]
\[ \text{patspats} \ '\text{to be jealous} = \ '\text{to adhere to firmly / to stick to firmly, to be in close proximity to each other} \]

The object pronoun is sometimes included in the full repetition too:

\[ \text{nitienitie} \]

§105. Partial repetition entails in many cases a change of meaning too. Compare this to one of the above mentioned paragraphs.

\[ \text{kuet} \ '\text{to hang}, \text{kukuet} \ '\text{to hang oneself} \]

Yet it is also used to improve phrasing and fluidity of word order. However, this is hard to determine since the native wishes to stress the root word in any way, in any semantic direction that is not immediately apparent to the European listener.

§106. Lihir employs the following types of partial doubling:

(a) The word is repeated without word-final consonant:

\[ \text{rut} \rightarrow \text{rurut} \]
\[ \text{pindir} \rightarrow \text{pindipindir} \]

(b) The first syllable is repeated:

\[ \text{yakuon} \rightarrow \text{yayakuon} \]

(c) The final syllable is repeated:

\[ \text{uro} \rightarrow \text{uroro} \]
\[ \text{kiak senie} \rightarrow \text{kiakak senie}; \text{senie} \text{ is an auxiliary word} \]

\[^{29.} \text{The Düte is a river in Lower Saxony, Germany.} \]
(d) The root word is suffixed to the verbal noun:

\[ kue \rightarrow kunue, kunakue \]

§107. Synsemantic words, pronouns, and numerals are rarely doubled. Most frequently, one hears:

\[ er \rightarrow erer \] prefix of mutual relation
\[ gito \rightarrow gitgito \] ‘the two of us’
\[ get \rightarrow getget \] ‘the three of us’ (see Brandstetter 1911:§84, §109)

§108. Extension of root words by combining two root words with identical or similar meaning:

- The doubling of the Lihir term zaket ‘bad’ contains sa ‘bad’ (Pala) and het ‘bad’ (Banks Islands)
- Lihir tanium ‘bowery / plantation / planting’ = tane ‘to plant’ + um, uma ‘bowery / plantation / planting’ (Qunan Tuna)
- Lihir pitsir ‘to inform, to say’ = pit ‘to say’ + ser ‘to know’ (Pala)
- Lihir san + ye h ‘to be out of breath’ = sa neh ‘to be out of breath’ (Pala)
- Lihir tanis ‘to weep, to commiserate’ = ta ‘to cry’ (Tabar) + nis, nis ‘to cry’
- Lihir rutrut ‘to thunder’ + parara ‘to thunder’ (Pala) = parurut ‘to thunder’ (Pala)
- Lihir pitsarie, pitsaranie ‘to clean’ = pit ‘to break’ (Pala) + sar ‘to sweep’ (Lihir)
- Lihir lo ‘to run’ + wi ‘to run’ (Tabar) = hilau (Pala), wilau (Qunan Tuna)

§109. Prof. Dr. K. Wulff (1910:225) points out a number of such compound words in Indonesian languages. Many of these components are alive as independent root words here in eastern Melanesian languages:

\[ is-kal \rightarrow is, es, yes \] ‘to copulate’ (Pala) + kal (Pala)
\[ kel \] (Lihir) ‘to lift field crops from the soil by seesawing the digging stick’
\[ kil \] ‘to copulate’ (Lihir)

Other cited root words:

- Pala kun ‘bow trap’
- Pala boŋboŋ ‘bent betel’
- boŋboŋogu ‘my chest’ (of a man = arched)
- dau, gau ‘bent’
- Pala loŋ ‘round cage, halo of the moon’
- Pala mas ‘futile’, maso ‘disgraced’
- Pala pis ‘narrow’

---

30 Made of bamboo and used to kill rats (Luke Kabariu, pers. comm., 11 August 2012).
Lihir *piz* ‘to move away quickly’
Pala *taka-pes* ‘pus’

This list, however, is not complete. As Dr. Wulff (1910) already mentioned, this aspect basically derives from the same principle as the doubling of the root word. I consider it to be an element of the oldest basic language, as it can be found in Polynesia too, yet not in a fixed compound, but in a flexible juxtaposition, in the way it partially occurs in verbs of Lihir.

§110. Yet it is questionable whether all monosyllabic root words that occur in East Melanesian languages are true root words. I rather believe that disyllabic Indonesian words also are fragmented to become monosyllabic roots, under the influence of languages that showed a tendency towards monosyllabism, as the Lihir language indicates. The Lihir word *tanium* ‘bowery / plantation / planting’ already appears in the Indonesian words *tanem, tanum.* Tanis is an Indonesian root word too (Tabar *ta* arises from *tan*, since Tabar in most cases has word-final vowels, *wi* = *wil*).

§111. The question whether the collocation of several root words that mutually qualify can be regarded as an extension of the root word depends on the way they are written.

\[ul-zik\] ‘boy’ = \[ul\] ‘age’ + \[zik\] ‘boy’
\[zik-yen\] = \[zik\] ‘child’ + \[yen\] ‘female’
\[yen-toye\] ‘mistress’ = \[yen\] ‘woman’ + \[toye\] ‘big man / chief / gent / lord / master / mister’
\[ka-do\] ‘undercooked’ = \[ka\] ‘not’ + \[do\] ‘cooked’
\[ka-papez\] ‘sluggard’ = \[ka\] ‘not’ + \[papez\] ‘to work’

One could also write *ul zik*, and *yen to* instead, yet a somewhat closer compound between these words has already occurred that naturally may have been looser. Also employed is *ul-tomat* ‘youngling’ = ‘the age’ + ‘man’.

The loose compound correlates more to the older spirit of the language.

§112. Generation of disyllabic and polysyllabic words by combining a root word with auxiliary words.

(a) Nouns in conjunction with prefixes, infixes, and suffixes:

\[weh \rightarrow nuweh\]
puat → punuat
kek → keken
a kul → a kuliom, compare §§147ff.

(b) Verbs in conjunction with prefixes, infixes, and suffixes:

purek → erpurek
nak → anako
zamer → zamnar
ke → ke-lie
ris → rizie
ben → bentie, banit, compare §§98ff.

(c) Pronouns in conjunction with possessive particles:

be → kambe, compare §§217ff.

(d) Adverbs in conjunction with adverbial particles:

wa → lawa, compare §§284ff.

The grammar, in other respects as well, will give enough examples for the extension of root words.

§113. Abbreviations

(a) Some pronouns have a basic form and a short form, compare §213.

(b) The numeral ‘two’ has a basic form and a short form:

liaklio, lo, compare §206

(c) Neutral nouns abbreviate the root word by cutting off syllables:

kator ‘egg’ → a kat
zumen ‘piece’ → a ziom
kapen ‘piece’ → a kiap
nitin ‘the cub’ → a nit
mazien ‘fish’ → a maz
kokonan ‘member’ → a ko, compare §§192ff.

(d) Some verbs elide the vowel of the last syllable, only seldom the second last, as soon as they get extended by the object pronoun:

karuz → korzie
osare → osrenie

(e) Sometimes a vowel is elided when doubling:

tare → tatre instead of tatare
(f) With arbitrary word formations:

- rake ‘to spread the legs’, derived from tara kake
- sueyober, derived from sueye a yo ka yo ber ‘one throws the spear without me noticing it’

(g) With kinship names:

- kesnalik ‘his brother’, a ber kes ‘the brothers’

(h) With proper names:

- Kuroh → Akuroh
- Bires → Ambires
- Karum → Ikarum, compare §175

(i) Abbreviation of the noun ending with immediate genitive conjunction:

- kakian → kaken pol
- a tinian a zik → a tinen zik, compare §190

(k)³¹ Abbreviation of verbs with immediate conjunction of the object:

- takie a ye → tek ye, compare §§267ff.

(l) When combining two words:

- pizipizi limon ‘my fingers’ = tsitsi limon
- a puruon boy ‘wound near the anus’ = a purboy
- tamboh ‘big / large’ = a zikiboh ‘a tall man’
- a itotmatan ‘the face painting’ = a itotmat

(m) Abbreviations to generate new terms. Abbreviations that are found in the Lihir language and whose extensions are common in other languages are possible hints to old infixes:

- Ambonese le-ve-n ‘den’ = Lihir le, len
- Pala lo-ha-n ‘midnight’ = Lihir lan
- Pala tu-lu-s ‘to show’ = Lihir tus
- Pala pa-te-p ‘to adhere / to glue’ = Lihir pap
- Pala pa-ti-t ‘slow’ = Lihir pet
- Pala tu-lu-r ‘egg’ = Lihir ka-tor

(n) Variation of the same word by abbreviation:

- kalamian ‘his tongue’ = kalamen = kanmen = kamen

---

³¹ No subsection (j) is included in the original.
§114. Sound change when extending root words occurs
(a) When doubling the root word; and
(b) When prefixing, infixing and suffixing.

§115. Sound change when doubling

Usually no sound changes arise with the full repetition of the root word. According to §80, tenuis consonants become medial consonants after \( l \), \( m \), \( n \):

\[
\begin{align*}
pombom \\
tundum
\end{align*}
\]

With partial repetition of the \textit{kakap}-type,\(^{32}\) the vowels \textit{e} and \textit{o} are changed to \textit{a} most of the time, however, \textit{e} remains unchanged as well as vowels \textit{a}, \textit{i}, \textit{n}.

\[
\begin{align*}
bor & \rightarrow \textit{bambor} \\
pesz & \rightarrow \textit{papez} \\
zaket & \rightarrow \textit{zakazaket} \\
kern & \rightarrow \textit{kekerie} \\
zep & \rightarrow \textit{zezepie} \\
kil & \rightarrow \textit{kikil} \\
ban & \rightarrow \textit{mbomban} \\
tunio & \rightarrow \textit{tutunio}
\end{align*}
\]

When doubling twice, a change of vowels also encompasses the second syllable:

\[
\begin{align*}
pez & \rightarrow \textit{papez} \rightarrow \textit{papapez}
\end{align*}
\]

With the repetition of the whole root word, the vowels \textit{e} and \textit{o} remain unchanged too:

\[
\begin{align*}
pez & \rightarrow \textit{pezpez} \\
bor & \rightarrow \textit{borbor}
\end{align*}
\]

Sometimes metathesis occurs with partial doubling:

\[
\begin{align*}
puzo & \rightarrow \textit{puzapuoz} \\
puur & \rightarrow \textit{purapuor}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{32}\) It remains speculative as to what Neuhaus means by “\textit{kakap}-type.” Alexandre François suggests a pattern of partial reduplication where, for example, \textit{kap} becomes \textit{kakap}, or \textit{kil} becomes \textit{kikil}. Hence, a sequence of consonant-vowel-consonant, whose reduplication only affects the first consonant and vowel. However, not all of Neuhaus’s examples support this interpretation (Alexandre François, pers. comm., 25 June 2012).
§116. Sound change with infixation

Infixation hardly influences the sounds of the root word:

- melam → minelam
- pom → piensom

(a) Change of tenuis consonants to medial consonants after the infix -in-, according to §80:

- pita → pinde
  - word-initial u changes to w before the infix -in-: winil

(b) Extension of vowel i by contraction, according to §72:

- pita → a pinde

(c) Nasal m, before b, is replaced by n, which is derived from the infix -in-:

- tambae → a tienba
  - n, derived from the infix -in-, can change to nasal ŋ if the subsequent prenasalised g occurs:
    - saŋgo → siengo
    - pangel → a pingel

(d) If the first syllable of a verb contains a or u, these vowels then are sometimes randomly elided before infix -in-:

- palaz → a pienalaz, a pienlaz
- maliaz → a minelaz, a minlaz
- tambae → a tienba
- saŋgo → a siengo
- gues → a gunes
- kuin → kunin
- salube → a sienlube

(e) Metathesis occurs occasionally:

- kasul → a kiensul, a kinenasul = kienasul

§117. Sound change with prefixation

(a) Verbal prefixes keep the root word unchanged:

- pare → apare
- purek → erpurek
- boh → tamboh
(b) The prefix *ni-* contracts with word-initial *i* of the root word to become *i*,
according to §72.

§118. Sound change with suffixation

Sound changes with suffixation are very numerous. I will treat:

(a) Monosyllabic verbs and their alterations with word-final consonants when suffixing the object pronoun
(b) Monosyllabic verbs and their alterations with word-internal vowels and word-final vowels when suffixing the object pronoun
(c) Polysyllabic verbs and their alterations with word-internal vowels when suffixing the object pronoun
(d) Monosyllabic words that have become disyllabic by agglutination with an auxiliary word, according to §98, and their alterations with word-internal vowels when suffixing the object pronoun
(e) Neutral verbs that, according to §98, have word-internal double vowels and word-final consonants through metathesis and their alterations of word-internal vowels when changing into the correlated form
(f) Neutral verbs with word-final vowels and their sound changes when suffixing the object ending
(g) Nouns that suffix the possessive pronoun and sound changes arising with it
(h) Compound of two nouns and sound changes arising with it
(i) Neutral nouns that become correlated nouns and the sound changes arising with it

§119. Regarding §118(a):

Verbs sporadically have word-final *l* in neutral form, and change it to *n* in the correlated form:

*lal* ‘to shine’ → *lanie* ‘to shine on something’

§120. Regarding §118(b):

If the word-internal sound is *a*, it remains unchanged when suffixing the object pronoun:

*lak* → *lakie*; *lal* → *lanie*; *las* → *lasie*; *nah* → *naye*; *nak* → *nakie*; *nam* → *namie*

Please note that there are almost no monosyllabic verbs with word-internal *a*, and the few that exist only have word-initial *l* or *n*. The *a*-sound

33. That is, long *i*.
and e-sound as word-internal sounds of monosyllabic verbs are in conjunction with their role as neutral or correlated verbs.

Monosyllabic neutral verbs in Lihir have word-internal e, i, o, u, but correlated verbs have a, i, o, u. This again relates to the fact that nouns with final vowels mostly prefer a in the absolute form which becomes c in the correlated form. Compare Mota in §98.

If the word-internal vowel is e, it remains e in extended form:

\[ \text{zer} \rightarrow \text{zerie} \]

E becomes a:

\[ \text{tel} \rightarrow \text{talie}; \text{zek} \rightarrow \text{zakie}; \text{kes} \rightarrow \text{kasie} \]

E, which derived from ia, becomes ia:

\[ \text{ger} \rightarrow \text{gianrie}; \text{zeh} \rightarrow \text{zianie} \]

E, which derived from i, becomes i:

\[ \text{weh} \rightarrow \text{winie} \]

E, after w, becomes u if e replaces u:

\[ \text{wet} \rightarrow \text{utie}, \text{derived from Pala hut} \]

These vowel changes only apply for the suffixation of object pronouns of the third-person singular; all other persons are distinguished by e: ze \( \text{yo} \) `said to me', ze \( \text{wa} \) `said to you [sg]', ze \( \text{die} \) `said to them'

Monosyllabic verb forms with word-final e also change e to a:

\[ \text{te} \rightarrow \text{taye}; \text{ke} \rightarrow \text{kaye}; \text{se} \rightarrow \text{saye} \]

In third-person singular too:

\[ \text{te yo}, \text{te wa}, \text{taye}, \text{te giet}^{34} \]

If e is generated from i, it becomes i in extended form:

\[ \text{re} \ 'to flow', \text{risie} \ 'to effuse / to pour out' \]

If the word-internal sound is i, it is mostly preserved. It can become î if the root word has an alternative with word-internal u:

\[ \text{pit} \rightarrow \text{pito}; \text{putio} \rightarrow \text{pïtio} \]

If word-initial w occurs, wi then either becomes u, or i is preserved:

\[ \text{wit} \rightarrow \text{utie}; \text{wir} \rightarrow \text{wirsie} \]

---

34. Text annotation: “‘Tell me’, etc.”
If the word-internal sound is \( o \), it remains unchanged, except for those cases in which \( w \) is inserted as vowel separator:

\[
dos \rightarrow dosie; \; do \rightarrow doye; \; bo \rightarrow bawo; \; lo \rightarrow lawe; \; so \rightarrow sawo
\]

The word \( pom \) has the variants \( pomie \) and \( pamuo \).

If the word-internal sound is \( u \), it mostly remains unchanged and is only sometimes arbitrarily replaced by \( i \) or \( ï \):

\[
tun \rightarrow tunio \rightarrow tinio \rightarrow tínio
\]

Here, the influence of the \( u \) and \( i \) variation of the same basic form becomes evident

If the word-internal sound is \( io \), it either persists or is arbitrarily replaced by \( ïo \), \( u o \), or \( u \):

\[
sionaye \rightarrow sïonaye \rightarrow suonaye \rightarrow sunaye; \; zionie \rightarrow zunenie
\]

§121. Regarding §118(c):

Disyllabic words that suffix the object pronoun of the third-person singular and, at the same time, do not elide the vowel of the last syllable, act as follows:

(a) The vowel of the first syllable remains unchanged.

(b) If the vowel of the second syllable is \( a \), \( i \), \( o \), \( u \), it remains unchanged:

\[
zapan \rightarrow zapanie; \; uson \rightarrow usonie; \; piris \rightarrow pirisi; \; katum \rightarrow katumie
\]

The verb \( kemil \) ‘to follow’ becomes \( kemulien \). This is the case because it is nominally constructed and therefore follows the rules of sound changes for nouns

(c) If the second vowel is an unprotected \( e \), it remains unchanged, unless the fricative \( y \) is inserted as a vowel separator, which then acts as a consonantal closure:

\[
tese \rightarrow tesenie; \; lere \rightarrow lerenie; \; pile \rightarrow pilaye
\]

(d) If \( e \), as vowel of the second syllable, is immediately followed by a consonant, it becomes \( a \):

\[
kitsen \rightarrow kitsanie; \; kalet \rightarrow kalatie; \; tateh \rightarrow tatahe
\]

This rule only applies for third-person singular, for all other persons \( e \) remains.
(e) These rules even persist if the causative prefix a (ha) is prefixed to verbs:

kalet → akalatie; lere → alerenie

The same rules apply for doubling:

zaket → azakatie → zakazakatie, zekz yø

§122. Regarding §118(d):

Monosyllabic verbs that have become disyllabic by agglutination with an auxiliary word act as follows:

(a) If the auxiliary word is suffixed unaltered, the compound acts like two adjunctive independent verbs, whereupon the second verb, the suffix, contains the object ending. Since nearly all of these auxiliary verbs have unprotected final vowels, e persists in extended form:

res → resne → resnenie; mas → masle → maslenie; zik → zikte → ziktenie

(b) Many verbs that consist of an auxiliary verb, form neutral verbs that have to have a word-final consonant, according to §98. When generating these neutral compound verbs, word-internal vowels experience alteration:

if the vowel of the root word is o, it mostly splits into a + u, rarely into u + e, or a + o. The first vowel relates to the first syllable, the second vowel to the second syllable of the newly formed neutral verb:

kor 'to be sharp / to be pointed' → kor-zie 'to sharpen something' → karuts 'sharpened / pointed' (neutral form)
pol 'to be burst' → pol-mie 'to burst into pieces' (correlated form) → palum 'burst into pieces' (absolute form)
kor 'scratched / scraped' → kor-zie, karuz 'to scratch off / to scrape off'
zop → zopkie → zupek
kor → karoh
wol → wol-tie → luat
onj → ontie → ugu

u splits into u + u:

kum → kumzie → kumbuz; zum → zumkie → zumuk

i splits into i + i:

gir → girtie → girit; bin → bindie → binit; piel → pilkie → pilik

e splits into a + i:

yem → yemsie → kamis; ten → tensie → tanis; ben → bandi → banit
a becomes \( a + u, a + o, a + e, u + o \), which means \( a \) almost entirely persists in the first syllable as it is not a primary vowel and did not derive from a compound word, but is related to \( e, o, u \):

- \( lal \rightarrow lamie \rightarrow lalum \)
- \( war \rightarrow wartie \rightarrow urot \)
- \( par \rightarrow parsenie \rightarrow pares \)

\( ia \) becomes \( a + e \):

- \( riam \rightarrow riamtie \rightarrow rambet \)
- \( giaŋ \rightarrow giaŋrie \rightarrow gaŋer \)

\( riam \) does not occur in Lihir, but in Pala ramin

§123. Regarding §118(e):

Verbal root words with word-internal double vowels and word-final consonants act as follows:

(a) If an auxiliary word is suffixed to the root word, the double vowel remains, compare §122:

- \( tiat \rightarrow tiaktie \)
- \( zien \rightarrow zienenie \)
- \( buak \rightarrow buaklenie \)

If a second vowel is \( e \), it changes to \( a \):

- \( piel \rightarrow pialkie, \ e \) persists

(b) If the object ending is \( ie, aye \) is suffixed to the root word, the double vowel remains, \( e \) changes to \( a \), \( e \) remains unchanged:

- \( rues \rightarrow ruasie \)
- \( tian \rightarrow tianie \)
- \( tien \rightarrow tienie \)
- \( buot \rightarrow buotaye \)
- \( kigt \rightarrow kitianie \)
- \( sugr \rightarrow suarie \)

(c) If a double vowel was generated by insertion only, and not by metathesis, the inserted vowel can sometimes elide:

- \( buotaye \rightarrow botaye \)
- \( bierie \rightarrow birie \rightarrow birenie \)
- \( zien \rightarrow zienenie \)
- \( gien \rightarrow ginenie \)

(d) If a double vowel was generated by metathesis in order to form absolute verbs, according to §98, it derives in correlated form from the sounds of the root word:

- \( miat \rightarrow mate \)
- \( pual \rightarrow palo \)
- \( giar \rightarrow gare \)
- \( kiah \rightarrow kise \)
- \( biah \rightarrow bise \)
- \( piek \rightarrow piko \)
- \( siap \rightarrow sape \)
- \( puaz \rightarrow pazo \)
- \( sian \rightarrow sino \rightarrow sunio \)

The actual cause of these sound changes has not yet been identified.

§124. Regarding §118(f):

Neutral verbs with word-final vowels contain the vowel of the root word when suffixing the object pronoun:

- \( to \rightarrow torie \)
- \( le \rightarrow lenie \)
- \( ge \rightarrow genie \)
- \( te \rightarrow tenie \)
O becomes a before w:

lo \rightarrow \text{l}awo

§125. Regarding §118(g):

(a) Nouns that suffix the pronoun in order to express ownership have in first-person singular oŋ, eŋ, iŋ, or uŋ as final syllable. This final syllable changes vowel in third-person singular, oŋ becomes an or en, eŋ becomes ian, iŋ becomes ien, uŋ becomes uon, ion after a also won:

\begin{align*}
\text{maton} & \rightarrow \text{matan; kaken} \rightarrow \text{kakian; kasiŋ} \rightarrow \text{kasien; nuzuŋ} \rightarrow \text{nuzuon, nuziŋ; laun} & \rightarrow \text{lawon}
\end{align*}

This rule only applies as long as the word stands by itself or is combined with a subsequent noun through the article:

a \text{kakian, a kakian} a \text{ziktun}

(b) If the suffixed noun without article is combined with a subsequent noun, an changes to en or on, uon to un, ion to un, ian to en, ien to en or in:

\begin{align*}
a \text{maten anio} & \rightarrow a \text{matan a anio} \\
a \text{kaken pol} & \rightarrow a \text{kakian a pol} \\
a \text{kon bual} & \rightarrow a \text{kan a bual} \\
a \text{len am} & \rightarrow a \text{lien a am} \\
a \text{kulin on} & \rightarrow a \text{kulien a on} \\
a \text{nuzun tapeka} & \rightarrow a \text{nuzuon a tapeka} \\
a \text{nandon ye} & \rightarrow a \text{nandan a ye}
\end{align*}

The difference of both forms may be found in the fact that a matan a anio contains the possessive pronoun, but a maten anio only the genitive particles. Compare §190.

(c) Nouns that form the genitive by subsequent won, wo, wan abide by the aforementioned rule too:

a \text{kil wan a pot} ‘the keel of the boat’ \rightarrow a \text{kil wen pot}

The word wan is, as it seems, regarded as an independent noun:

a \text{karat wan a toye} ‘the celebration of the big man’ \rightarrow a \text{karat wen toye}

Derived from that, the following forms exist:

\begin{align*}
a \text{karatuan, a karatuon, a kartuan, a kartuon, a kartan, a karton, a kartun}
\end{align*}
§126. Regarding §118(h):
(a) If two nouns are immediately combined, no sound changes occur:

\[ ul-zik = ulzik \]

(b) If two nouns are immediately combined, of which the first can have the possessive suffix \(-an\) in third-person singular, the ending \(an\) then changes to \(e\):

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{pak ‘leaf’} \rightarrow \text{pakan ‘his leaf’} \rightarrow \text{a pake lolo ‘bush leaf’} \\
\text{liem ‘hand’} \rightarrow \text{liman ‘his hand’} \rightarrow \text{a lime Ratoh}
\end{array}
\]

In addition, compare the languages of Mota and Maewo (Codrington 1885:261, 409). Yet not all nouns can form this immediate conjunction.

(c) For other noun conjunctions, compare §125.

§127. Regarding §118(i):
Neutral nouns that turn into correlated nouns act as follows:

(a) Individual nouns elide the vowel of the second syllable:

\[
\begin{array}{l}
a \text{imalat} \rightarrow a \text{imaltan}, a \text{karat} \rightarrow a \text{kartan}, a \text{isalat} \rightarrow a \text{isaltan} \\
The \text{final syllable contains word-final vowel} a + \text{possessive marker} n
\end{array}
\]

(b) Monosyllabic root words split the vowel \(o\) into \(a + u\):

\[
\begin{array}{l}
gol \rightarrow galun, gom \rightarrow gamun, yok \rightarrow yakuon
\end{array}
\]

\(A\) becomes \(a + io\):

\[
\begin{array}{l}
dat \rightarrow dation \\
The \text{same partition occurs one time with} \(o\): \\
mol \rightarrow a \text{imalion}
\end{array}
\]

\(E\) becomes \(a + ie\):

\[
\begin{array}{l}
mez \rightarrow mazien, ulen \rightarrow ulanin, ben \rightarrow banin, bel \rightarrow abalien
\end{array}
\]

Compare the languages of the Banks Islands and New Hebrides in which changes of the root vowel are frequent as soon as a suffix is attached.

§128. Some more sound changes

The suffix pronoun of third-person singular has regularly elided the word-final vowel in Lihir:

\[
gu \text{ in first person has become} \ \eta
\]
second-person singular has elided the word-final consonant repeatedly: 
limo

singular verbs insert y or w before the object pronoun of third-person singular if a vowel precedes, y is also inserted after consonants:

buot → buotaye

alternatively, a mediating vowel occurs between consonant and ye:
war → wareye
sueye becomes sueaye, since sue is the stem

“Fr. Neuhaus with some of his little sheep on a ride through the jungle” (Neuhaus 1934b:267).
Stress, §§129–37

§129. Lihir does not have a homogenous stress rule, yet some generalisations can be made. 35

(a) Shift of stress is sometimes caused by differences in meaning:
   mázak ‘a tree with resin’, mazàk ‘to adhere / to glue’

(b) Long syllables are always stressed:
   tāta, mēlam

(c) Unprotected vowels in the last syllable are never stressed, except for the subsequent status particle te or the final consonant being elided:
   mikino, lére, gāre, lie, pālo, tūnuo

(d) The status particle te draws stress to the preceding vowel:
   gare → garé te, pānut → panō te, pālo → palō te, mikino → mikinō te

If this status particle is placed before the root word in loanwords of other dialects, it attracts stress:
   palànje → tāpalaŋ, inan → tinan ‘mother’

(e) The second noun usually has the main stress in compound nouns without a copula:
   ul-zik, tum-tōh, pake-lōlo, kake-pōl

The first disyllabic word of the compound retains its original stress, yet it is mostly very weak.

(f) When doubling, the primarily stressed syllable retains the accent almost entirely:
   marēt → maremarēt

35. All accents in the original German document were added by hand, but it is not clear whether Neuhaus or someone else did this (see Burgmann 1954:1090). Furthermore, it is not quite clear how the acute and grave accents are used. It is likely that the acute accent indicates primary stress and the grave accent marks secondary stress, but this assumption is not confirmed by all examples.
With the complete repetition of a monosyllabic word, the stress remains on first syllable:

\[
\text{nuz} \to \text{nùznuz}, \text{kol} \to \text{kòlkol}
\]

With the repetition of disyllabic and polysyllabic root words, the stress remains on the original syllable:

\[
\text{marèt} \to \text{marètmarèt}, \text{kiåh} \to \text{kiåhkiåh}
\]

§130. Extended root words with more than one syllable preceding the stressed syllable usually have a pre-accent on the first syllable: \(\text{war} \to \text{ini-wàr}, \text{sambùr} \to \text{èrsambùr}\)

(a) The suffixed object pronoun of third-person singular is never stressed:

\[
\text{punèm} \to \text{punámie}, \text{zer} \to \text{zèrie}
\]

Disyllabic verbs with stress on the first syllable, to which the object pronoun of third-person singular is suffixed, adjust the stress to the second syllable:

\[
\text{sàŋgo} \to \text{sangłe}, \text{sàmber} \to \text{sambàrie}, \text{tìnen} \to \text{tinànie}
\]

All other object pronouns that are placed after the verb do not change stress:

\[
\text{tìnen yo, sàŋgo giåt}
\]

(b) Verbs with a suffixed auxiliary word that has a word-final vowel retain the stress on the original syllable, according to §129:

\[
\text{zer} \to \text{zèrke}, \text{zik} \to \text{zikte}, \text{mas} \to \text{màsle}
\]

If the auxiliary word is extended by the object pronoun of the third-person singular, the accent is placed immediately before the pronoun. This means that the suffixed auxiliary verb is treated like an independent verb:

\[
\text{maslènie, ziktènie}
\]

All other object pronouns that are placed after the verb have unchanged stress:

\[
\text{zikte yo, zikte dio, zèrke go}
\]

The auxiliary word \(\text{lie}\), which in this form already contains the object ending, shifts the stress to the preceding vowel, according to (a):

\[
\text{pike} \to \text{pikèleie}
\]
If the auxiliary word is fused with the root word in order to form neutral verbs, the last syllable of the word is stressed:

ben → bèntie → banît, kum → kùmzie → kumbùz

If these verbs become correlated again and thereby elide the last vowel, the accent moves back to the first syllable:

banît → bèntie

However, if the second vowel is preserved, it retains the stress too:

gurèm → guràmie

§131. Monosyllabic neutral verbs with word-internal double vowels, which have been generated by metathesis, have the stress on the vowel that in correlated form becomes the vowel of the first syllable:

giàr → gàre, puàl → pàlo, miàt → màte, pùok → pùko, liem → lima, kiàk → kàke

If these verbs have the stress on the first vowel, and the object pronoun ie is suffixed, stress is then on the second vowel:

bìer → bièrie

If these verbs have a subsequent auxiliary word, they act according to §130:

bier, bier-rènie = bierènie

§132. Prefixes a-, er- (ha-, her-), ma-, ta-, ba- influence stress insofar as they cause a certain gliding of the tone so that the intensity of stress seems to be evenly distributed on both syllables:

èrzèp, èrpurèk, tàmbòh, màmbàn, àtalànie

The same can be said of the nominal prefixes ni-, i-, ya-:

war → niwàr, nàse → ininànse, sem → yàsem

Prefix la attracts stress, regarding temporal adverbs:

ipèl ‘now’, lâpel ‘today’, lâwa, lólies, lâulies, lâmel

§133. Infix -in- does not influence stress in relation to verbal nouns:

nun → ninùn, mèlam → minélam, ka → kina, according to §129

Infix -un- attracts the stress if the last syllable contains a double vowel:

guès → gùnues → gunès, puàt → pùnuat
Yet the last syllable retains secondary stress. In this case, the infix \textit{-in-}
brings about a gliding of the tone only:
\[ \text{miàt} \rightarrow \text{miniàt} \]

Infix \textit{-ien-}, however, always attracts stress, namely on the first vowel:
\[ \text{pom} \rightarrow \text{pinòm} \rightarrow \text{pienpom} \]

\section{§134.} The suffix \textit{-ian, -an} that is attached to some verbs, attracts stress:
\[ \text{pàrke} \rightarrow \text{parkián} \]

I cannot tell whether the word \textit{an} ‘always, continuous’, which is placed after many verbs to indicate duration, can be put on a level with the aforementioned suffix. However, it attracts word or sentence stress too:
\[ \text{kaka an} = \text{kakán} \]
\[ \text{pìtepíte án}; \text{here, an (han) has the primary stress of all five syllables.} \]

The suffixes \textit{-ien, -uan, -wan} that are attached to nominalised adjectives mostly do not change the original accent:
\[ \text{tambòh} \rightarrow \text{tambòwan}, \text{kàpiz} \rightarrow \text{kàpizwan}, \text{zakèt} \rightarrow \text{zakàtien} \]

Nouns with suffixed possessive pronouns have stress on the syllable that precedes the pronoun: in first- and third-person singular this is on the last syllable, but in second-person singular on the second last syllable:
\[ \text{limòn, limo, limàn, limàndie, limàme, etc.} \]

\section{§135.} Vocative case and demonstrative pronouns stress the second last syllable:
\[ \text{màma, tàta, pùpu, néne, rère, kàre} \]

\section{§136.} Polysyllabic words with short vowels only and word-final consonants attract stress almost entirely on the last syllable:
\[ \text{marèt, zakèt, pikòk, ziktùn} \text{ (see Brandstetter 1911:$§78; 1915:$§61;1906:307)} \]

\section{§137.} Sentence stress:

The people of Lihir very often emphasise one constituent of a sentence by peculiar stress:

\footnote{36. Text annotation: “Locative prefix \textit{i, ti} does not change the stress pattern: \textit{Tipél, ipél.”}
(a) By placing the stressed word at the beginning of a sentence:

a ye imon da tala ‘that tree over there one chop down’

(b) By repetition:

wa, wa ziktun ilon ‘you, you man there’

(c) By employing the neutral and the correlated noun:

a kiap a kápen tákop ‘a piece / a part, a piece of the canoe / a part of the canoe’

(d) By increasing the volume:

yó pe ‘I yet’ = ‘it is me’, yo is spoken with increased volume

a sawà, ‘the what’ = ‘leave [sg] me alone’

a sá kah?, ‘the what for?’ = ‘what do you [sg] want?’ (see Brandstetter 1915:§327, §333)\textsuperscript{37}

\textsuperscript{37}. Text annotation: “Primary stress in a sentence rests on nouns and verbs. Verbal particles and object pronouns are insignificant in this regard.”
The noun, §§138–69

§138. Nouns are classified into persons and objects by a particular article. Persons and personalised things have the articles le, la, whereas things have a, ma, and na. This difference derived from an older culture.

A, ma, na are now employed for persons too. However, le is not employed to denote things.

§139. There are basic nouns and compound nouns:

\[ \text{win} \text{ ‘banana', } \text{ul-zik} \text{ ‘boy'} \]

Natural and generated nouns:

\[ a \text{ ye the tree', } a \text{ sue-yo-ber ‘the dusk’ = ‘to throw - spear - unnoticed’} \]

Collective nouns:

\[ \text{makil ‘the people', } \text{wainio ‘fruit tree', } \text{maret ‘thing / person'} \]

§140. Male and female genders are indicated by particular epithets or by proper names:

\[ \text{tomat ‘man, male', } \text{wayen ‘woman, female'} \]
\[ \text{sesse ‘boar', } \text{tayal ‘sow’} \]

Species have proper names, and types / varieties are determined by epithets.

The natives have particular points of view regarding the allocation of types / varieties:

\[ \text{bual ‘pig', } \text{bual laka, a iaka ‘wild pig', } \text{bual tanio ‘domestic pig'} \]
\[ \text{kua ‘grasshopper', } \text{kua kut ‘stick insect / ghost insect', } \text{kut ‘to appal, abominable', kua-zil ‘grasshopper species’} \]
\[ \text{ze ‘snake', } \text{ze kalal ‘worm’ (kalal ‘thin, long’)} \]
\[ \text{kua toltol ‘leaf insect / walking leaf’} \]
\[ \text{kua belbel ‘spider’} \]
\[ \text{kua talltal ‘praying mantis’ (talltal ‘to look around in all directions’, alternative: toltol to express the difference, and at the same time, the similarity between kua toltol and kua talltal)} \]
\[ \text{kua metmet ‘black stinking cockroach’} \]
§141. Root words that denote an attribute, a condition, etc., can be used unchanged as nouns by putting the article first:

\[
\begin{align*}
pol & 'to burst', a \ pol 'the burst object / what has burst' \\
pet & 'good', a \ pet 'the good [neut]' \\
\end{align*}
\]

Compare this to the generation of nouns with word-initial vowels in Bantu languages. Some more things in this chapter will be indicative of the Banu languages. The generation of nouns, without altering the root word, occurs in other Melanesian languages as well (Codrington 1885:524, 541).

Basic parts of a sentence are nominalised in this way too:

\[
\begin{align*}
a \ nase \ zaket & 'the bad thinking' \\
a \ melam \ hos & 'the eternal sleeper' \\
a \ sas \ mazien & 'the catching of fish' \\
a \ zak \ karat & 'to announce the celebration' \\
a \ lo \ iteno \ a \ buam & 'both of your ears that are shut'
\end{align*}
\]

§142. The absolute noun

There is an absolute form for nouns that suffix the possessive pronoun as well as for nouns that do not. This absolute form is employed if a direct relation to other things shall not be expressed or has become apparent from context:

\[
\begin{align*}
a \ i-\text{kiak} & 'the leg' (i \ is \ individuative) \\
a \ ziktun \ e \ tal \ kiptie \ a \ kakian, e \ tal \ kiptie \ a \ ikiak \ ar & 'the man knocked off his leg, he knocked off one leg still' (that is, his second leg)
\end{align*}
\]

§143. For generation of the absolute noun, compare §98.

In Lihir absolute nouns mostly have word-final consonants, yet correlated nouns have word-final vowels. It is the other way round for some nouns only, compare §98. The generation of the absolute noun often involves an abbreviation of the word. Some have two forms, an abbreviated form and a normal one:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kiak} & 'leg', \ kake-\eta \ 'my \ leg', \ kake \ n \ pol \ 'leg \ of \ the \ dog'; n \ is \ genitive \ marker, \ and \\
& \text{is} \ not \ the \ final \ consonantal \ sound \ of \ kake. \ I \ usually \ suffix \ it \ to \ the \ noun \\
kator, \ kat 'egg', \ kator-n \ te 'egg \ of \ a \ chicken' \\
\text{kiap} & 'piece', \ kape-n \ takop \ 'piece \ of \ the \ canoe / part \ of \ the \ canoe' \\
pak & 'leaf', \ pake \ lolo 'bush \ leaf' \\
nit & 'cub', \ niti-n \ bual 'piglet' \\
puniot & 'rubbish / waste'
\end{align*}
\]
Forms that do not coincide with the above mentioned:

- **a ko** ‘an individual’
- **a kokon an a tumbawin** ‘a member of the clan’
- **ko** = absolute form, **kokon** = correlated form, **an** = possessive suffix ‘his’
- **lolo** ‘leaf’
- **lalaw**, **a lalawon a mazien** ‘a small parcel of fish’ (wrapped in leaves)

Compare §98, also compare Leon (Codrington 1885:338).

Absolute nouns have corresponding forms with verbs. Compare §98.

When emphasising, Lihir combines the absolute with the correlated form:

- **a kat a katro-n te**, **a kator a katro-n te** ‘the hen’s egg’
- **a it a iti-n buot** ‘the beating of the drum’
- **a pikok pikaku-ŋ suak** ‘a piece of bamboo’
- **a ko kokon an a tum a tumbawin** ‘a member of the clan’

§144. The absolute forms of those nouns that are able to immediately suffix the possessive pronoun can as well generate the genitive indirectly or form other compounds:

- **a kake-ŋ** ‘my leg’, or: **a i-kiak i ne yo** ‘the leg it of me’
- **a ikiak ki ne wue** ‘the leg of the kangaroo’, or: **a kake n wue**, or: **a kakian a wue**
- **a kiak mum** ‘stump of a leg’

Pronouns can also be suffixed to absolute nouns:

- **a kiakido** ‘her leg’

This indicates that in Lihir the influence of another language that did not make use of immediate suffixation can additionally be felt.

§145. Correlated nouns

The distinguishing mark of the correlated form is the word-final vowel, and not the immediate attachment of the possessive pronoun or the genitive marker.

Compare §98:

- **liem, lim e**

38. Text annotation: “His member of the clan.”
Word-final vowels are distinct, this means the correlated form is not bound to a certain vowel. It assimilates in some cases with the first vowel:

\[ a \text{n} \text{it} \rightarrow a \text{n} \text{i} \text{t} \text{i} \text{n} \text{al}, a \text{n} \text{uz} \rightarrow a \text{n} \text{uzu} \text{n} \text{tapek}a, k \text{ak} \rightarrow k \text{ake} \text{n} \text{pol} \]

An affinity between \( i \) and \( e \) can be seen here.

§146. Some traces indicate that a language was involved with the development of Lihir that belonged to a group of languages that had an absolutive case and an ergative case, instead of a subject case and an object case.

§147. Nouns with immediately suffixed possessive pronouns

Like most Melanesian languages, Lihir suffixes pronouns to nouns that denote the human body or parts of it, or objects that are closely related to the human being, like kinship names, etc.:

- a limo-\( \eta \) ‘my hand’
- a yase-\( \eta \) ‘my name’
- a tio-\( \eta \) ‘my wound’
- a kasi-\( \eta \) ‘my sister’

Exceptions of this rule are:

- a beak ‘vagina’
- a puas ‘sister-in-law’, a puas ine yo ‘my sister-in-law’

Compound nouns, of which both are able to suffix the pronoun, suffix it to the latter only:

- a piki bio\( \eta \) ‘my armpit’
- a tue tina\( \eta \) ‘the back of his mother’

Suffixation can occur with absolute or correlated nouns.\(^{39}\)

- a limdie = a limadie = a liem i die
- a limagiet = a liem ine giet

A huge number of nouns, except for the aforementioned, exercise immediate suffixation in third-person singular and in all persons of dual, trial, quadral, and plural, but not in first- and second-person singular:

- naz ‘plug / cork’, nazian ‘his plug’, nazgiet, nazdie, nazdul, etc.

If one of these nouns stands by itself, outside of the sentence compound, it has either absolute form or, if a relation to something else shall be

\(^{39}\) Text annotation: “However, mostly with correlated nouns.”
expressed, it has a pronoun of the corresponding person and number suffixed to it.40

  a ikiak ‘the leg’, a kiakduə ‘the legs of the two’

§148. Nouns with indirectly suffixed pronouns

Nearly all nouns that do not immediately suffix employ indirect suffixation of the possessive marker:

  pinau ‘to reciprocate / to repay’, a pinawo-ŋ ‘my reciprocation / my repayment’
  a ipizwo-ŋ ‘my purchasing price’, a ipizwo ‘your purchasing price’, a ipizwan ‘his purchasing price’ (that is, the price given in exchange for a woman, the purchase price of a woman)

Other nouns which otherwise immediately suffix can employ this particle too:

  kalinj ‘my shoulder’ = kaelwony
  limonj ‘my hand’ = liem wonj

Compare §191.

§149. Conjunction of several nouns

Two correlated nouns are combined by:

(a) Immediate juxtaposition:

  ul-zik ‘age-child’, zik-wayen ‘child-wife’ = girl
  gal-lames ‘stack of coconuts’
  pake-lolo ‘leaf’

The northern dialect makes use of immediate juxtaposition more frequently than the southern dialect. The northern dialect quite often omits genitive particles, whereas the southern dialect necessarily employs them:

  southern dialect a bon-ye ‘root of the tree’; northern dialect a bo-ye
  southern dialect kape-n poz ‘piece of taro’; northern dialect kape poz
  southern dialect ko- n kanut ‘skull’; northern dialect ko kanut
  southern dialect ga-n wayen ‘his wife’; northern dialect ga wayen

40. Text annotation: “Usually, but not always.”
(b) Suffixed pronoun + article:

- *a kakian a ziktun* ‘the foot of the human being’
- *a lielien a am* ‘the inside of the cave’

Here, the article cannot be omitted for the following reason: the first noun consists of the correlated form + the possessive pronoun *an*. Since it often stands by itself in this form and has therefore adopted the features of an absolute noun, there has to be a subsequent vowel in order to indicate the relation. Maybe another reason for this can be found as well, but for the time being I would not know of one.

(c) Genitive particle *n*:

- *a kaka-n pol* ‘the leg of the dog’ (see Brandstetter 1933:§102)

This conjunction can randomly alter with the one mentioned in (b). The article regularly elides. This conjunction cannot be employed for nouns that function as adverbs of place. One only says: *I dadan a nes* ‘in the middle of the path’

(d) Suffixed auxiliary word *wan*:

- *a ipizwan a wayen* ‘the purchase price of the woman’; or: *a ipizwe n wayen*
- or without genitive marker: *a karat we tinandul* ‘a feast for the mother’

Since *wa* combines with the possessive pronoun, it can be interpreted as a noun that is used as a preposition.

(e) For other auxiliary words that denote ownership, purpose, and cause, compare §191. The noun that qualifies another is placed subsequently:

- *pake lolo* ‘bush leaf’; *pake brus* ‘tobacco leaf’

§150. The difference between the noun conjunction of the northern dialect and southern dialect can be found in the entire Melanesian language family. The languages of the Banks Islands conjunct immediately, they change the word-final vowel of the first word into *e*.

The conjunction of the New Hebrides languages spoken on Espiritu Santo, Ambrym, and Sesake is indicated by the possessive pronoun. Arag, Santa Cruz, and Nifilole employ immediate juxtaposition. In the Solomon Islands, the languages of the Florida Islands and Fagani employ indirect conjunction (Codrington 1885:143).
In the Sulka language, the determining noun is placed after the definite noun, however, if a genitive relation is expressed, it is placed before the definite noun. The speakers of Sulka use root words unchanged as nouns, only with prefixed articles (Müller 1915–16:75–97, 523–52).

§151. Composed nouns

(a) Root words that denote an attribute, a condition / status, or an action that is determined by another word, can be employed unaltered as nouns by putting the article a first. Among them are many words in passive voice:

- *pol* 'burst [pp]; a *pol* 'what has burst / to burst / the act of bursting'
- *a sas mazien* 'the catching of fish'
- *a nase zaket* 'the bad thinking'

(b) Generation of nouns by doubling:

- *kiz* 'to sit' → *a kizkiz* 'seating board in a canoe'
- *mato* 'to be ashamed' → *a matomato* 'to blush'
- *kuih* 'to blow' → *a kuihkuih* 'the act of blowing'
- *tek* 'to clear' → *a tektek* 'what has been cleared'

§152. Generation of nouns with prefixes

Root words with preceding verbal prefixes *a* (*ha*), *er* (*her*) can, without further changes, be used as nouns by putting the article first:

- *a ersiel* 'the act of playing'
- *a apare* 'the punishment'

Yet these forms can be furthermore identified as verbal nouns by inserting the infix *-in-*:

- *a inersiel* 'the act of playing'
- *a inapare* 'the punishment'

§153. The individuative prefix *i-*

The particle *i* as a generator of nouns can be found in other Melanesian languages too, like Mota and Fijian. It occurs in Indonesia as well, yet it is absent in Polynesia (Codrington 1885:262; see also Kern 1886:54).

It appears to be a noun-generating particle in Lihir too:

- *wous* 'to rain' → *a iwuos* 'the rain'; *a wuos* 'the rain' is also common
In Lihir this prefix mainly denotes an individual and as secondary meaning an exceptional individual. Thus iwuos can signify ‘a heavy rain’.

The particle i can also denote ‘person’ as a secondary meaning:

- a miniat ‘the illness’ → a iminiat ‘the sick person’
- a minelam ‘the act of sleeping’ → a iminelam ‘the sleeper [masc]’
- pazpaz ‘to be jealous’ → a ipazpaz ‘the jealous one [masc]’
- punuat ‘the donation’ → a ipunuat ‘the generous one [masc]’

It can also indicate a particular or an individual thing:

- a kiamkiam ‘star, the star’ → a ikiamkiam ‘a star’
- a liem ‘the hand’ → a iliem ‘the single hand’

Additionally, it can be placed in front of the noun-generating prefix ni-:

- niwar ‘the act of bursting’ → a iniwar ‘what has burst’

This particle also occurs as e, ya, ye. It is arbitrary whether they are used or i:

- a ya-lik ‘a little someone, a little something’
- aŋeŋet ‘to provoke’ → a ye aŋeŋet ‘the grumbler’
- a yatep ‘a big basket’
- a win ‘the banana plant’ → a iwin ‘a single banana’, a laktol a iwin ‘three single bananas’, e win ‘the bananas’

Sometimes one comes across the doubling i-ya:

- ya-ki-an ‘his possession’ = a iyakian

The particles i, ya, ye are not independent, they can only go along with other words, in the same way as the articles a, o, i.

However, they become independent by being nominalised through a consonant. Some languages prefix the consonant; Lihir suffixes it and generates the noun in ‘individual’ from i. Bugotu generates ni ‘the thing’.

Suffixation takes place according to the rule for neutral nouns. As a correlated noun, it becomes ine, or it has to have subsequent article as in Pala a in na lamas ‘a coconut palm’

§154. This individuative equates exactly with the remarks Dr. A. Drexel (1917–18:89–133) made with regard to Bantu articles. The Lihir i unites ‘emphasis through individuation’. Moreover, Lihir uses the extension of the particle to ya and the individuation by doubling, as occurs in Bantu languages:
In order to explain the generation of articles in Austronesian languages, the act of nominalisation by combining vowel with consonant is of importance. Root words are nominalised and individualised by word-initial vowels, the individuative,\textsuperscript{41} however, by a consonant. The numerous forms of articles with word-initial or word-final consonants can so be explained. Compare the individualisation of nouns by prefixed consonants in Bantu languages. There are other occurrences to be found in Lihir and other Melanesian languages that indicate that those African and Melanesian nations were once jointly connected. In the instance that this had not happened in the original homeland, then those nations, from which the Bantu later emerged, must have been muddled up by a batch of other nations and became separated in two groups, one flooded into Africa, the other eastwards.

\section*{§155.} The perception of the individual is much emphasised in Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian languages. The word in question is prefixed or suffixed:

- Chinese \textit{i-ko-yen} ‘an individual / person’
- Minkia \textit{nyi-ko-nye} ‘person / an individual’

The words for ‘one, someone, individual’ and the article are exchanged very often in Austronesian languages:

- Santali \textit{mit} ‘one’ = article (Schmidt 1906:110)
- Tabar \textit{mi} = numeral and ‘anybody’, Lihir \textit{min}
- Lihir \textit{i}, Pala \textit{inj} ‘who, someone’ (Brandstetter 1933:§98)

In Melanesian languages individuative \textit{i} is not everywhere as distinct as it is in Lihir. Yet it can be found everywhere with the secondary meaning ‘person’:

- Mota \textit{i + e}, personal articles for men and women: \textit{gene} ‘thing’, \textit{o gene} ‘the object’, \textit{i gene} ‘the person’ (see also word-initial vowel \textit{o} in Bantu languages),\textit{sawa} ‘what’, \textit{i sawa} ‘who’ (Codrington 1885:258)
- Motlav \textit{meren} ‘someone’, \textit{i hav} ‘who?’ (Codrington 1885:3, 312)
- Florida Islands \textit{kara} ‘to make’, \textit{i-kara} ‘the Creator’ (Codrington 1885:524)
- Gog and Sa’a \textit{i} can be joined with personal pronouns, depending on whether the person shall be emphasised or not
- in Leon and Sasar the particles are missing
- Fijian \textit{i-koya} ‘he’

\textsuperscript{41}. Text annotation: “And article.”
It will not be difficult to identify more compounds in Melanesian languages in which the primary meaning of the vowel is the same as in Lihir:

Norbarbar *wen er ya* 'go [sg] to the person'\(^{42}\) (Codrington 1885:398)

Lihir, by the way, nominalised the Bantu word-final vowel *o* too. See also §209. It nominalised the word-initial vowel *e* in the plural and thus changed it to *en, el*. See also §161.

§156. The prefix *ni-, nu-*

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{pizoz} 'to paint' \(\rightarrow\) \textit{a nipizoz} 'the act of painting, the figure'  
\item \textit{il} 'to braid' \(\rightarrow\) \textit{nil} 'the act of braiding, what has been braided'  
\item \textit{luek} 'to vomit' \(\rightarrow\) \textit{a nilwek} 'the vomit'  
\item \textit{lal} 'to shine' \(\rightarrow\) \textit{a nilal} 'the shining, the glow'  
\item \textit{weh} 'to cook' \(\rightarrow\) \textit{a nuweh, a niweh} 'the act of cooking, what has been cooked'  
\item \textit{nun} 'to beg' \(\rightarrow\) \textit{a ninun, a nunun} 'the act of begging / the act of asking'
\end{itemize}

An apparent prefix is \textit{in-}:

\begin{itemize}
\item in the southern dialect \textit{inapare}, \textit{inarsiel} are generated by the elision of word-initial \textit{h}
\end{itemize}

However, it is an infix and in the northern dialect results in \textit{hinapare}, \textit{hinersiel}.

§157. The prefix \textit{nien-}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{nien-ro} 'to induce someone with gifts not to do something / to bribe', \textit{a niro, a nienro, a ninro} 'the act of bribing'  
\item \textit{lato} 'to reheat something' \(\rightarrow\) \textit{a nilat, a nienlat}  
\item \textit{lake} 'to stride / to overstep' \(\rightarrow\) \textit{a nilake, a nienlake} 'the act of striding'
\end{itemize}

For the time being, I define it as a compound of the prefix \textit{in-} and the infix \textit{-an-}. Compare Brandstetter (1911:§165).

Infix \textit{-an-} cannot stand by itself in Lihir, but it can in Indonesian.

§158. The prefix \textit{ra}.\(^ {43}\)

It has, as far as I know, the attributes of a class prefix. It is prefixed to verbs which denote 'to open, to begin':

---

\(^{42}\) It is not clear what is meant by the underlining here, although it may be used to focus attention on what is being talked about.

\(^{43}\) Section 158 is crossed out by hand in the original manuscript. A text annotation there refers to §242.
The noun, §§138–69

§159. Generation of nouns by dead prefixes

ta-: tawil ‘Triton’s trumpet, a species of sea snail’, wil ‘coiled up’
ya-: yawil ‘the fishing rod’, wil ‘bent’
sa-: a isalat ‘the space between’, lat ‘broken’ (Codrington 1885:362)
ma-: a imalat ‘the air space, the sky’, lat ‘big / high / large / tall’ (Pala)
ba-: a bakual ‘white rooster’, kual ‘white’
ŋ-: ŋetŋet ‘the sandfly’, ata ‘to sting’ (Brandstetter 1934:§30)
a-: aowa = owa ‘dawn’, alan = lan ‘the night’, lauw = ilawon ‘husband, wife’,
atua = tua ‘gent / lord / master / mister’

One says: si na owa, si na aowa, si na nowa ‘in the early morning’. The word oua is both, Austro-Asiatic and Bantu, and in Bantu it denotes ‘moon’.
‘To walk in the early morning’ = ‘to walk in the moonlight’
Also compare Fijian and Polynesian lewa, alewa ‘the woman’ (Kern 1886:199)

Minkia language mo, amo ‘mother’, a-di ‘father’, a-ne ‘grandmother’
ka-: a kambuten ‘the dirt’, hiet ‘to be dirty’; a ka-piz ‘the white [neut]’; bizie

wa-: wayen = yen ‘woman’; a wasus ‘a lactating woman’, sus ‘to lactate’

u-: uyen = wayen

§160. Generation of nouns by infixes -in-, -ien-, -ina-, -iena-, -un-, -en-

kitip ‘to separate / to break up’ → a kintip, a kientip ‘the separation, what has been separated’
teh ‘to entwine’ → a tinteh, a tienteh ‘the act of entwining’
genzan ‘to reimburse’ → a gienzan, a ginzan ‘the reimbursement, what has been reimbursed, the fault / guilt / liability’
gues ‘to dance’ → a gunes, a gunues ‘the act of dancing, the dance’
kue ‘to weed’ → a kunue ‘the act of weeding, the pulled out weed’
puok ‘to fall’ → a punuok, puniok ‘the act of falling, what falls’
kuin ‘to crack / to crash’ → a kunin, a kumun ‘the act of cracking’
tambae ‘to box the ears’ → a tinba, a tienba ‘the slap in the face’
pangel ‘to stumble’ → a pingel ‘the stumble’ → a i-pingel ‘the one who stumbles’
sayer ‘to tread firmly’ → a siyer, a sienger ‘the act of treading’
sangoye ‘to make’ → a siengo, a sing ‘the making / the doing, the preparing’
susus ‘to bathe’ → a sunsul, a siensul, a sinsul ‘the act of bathing’
to ‘to land’ → a tino ‘the landing’
ulie ‘to daub’ → a winil ‘the coating, the act of rubbing in’
palazie ‘to open’ → pinalaz, a pienlaz, a pienalaz ‘the act of opening, the gap’

The infix -in- coalesces in the same way with the infix -an- as the prefix ni-. The meaning does not seem to have change by doing so. It is remarkable that the infix -un- does not coalesce in this way; it then always changes to -ien-. The establishment of a rule about when to use infix -in- and prefix ni- has not yet been possible.

It seems that mainly monosyllabic words with word-initial dentals l, r, n and sometimes t, as well as words with word-initial vowels and semivowels employ the prefix:

lat → nilat, nun → ninun, ro → niro, to → nito ‘the life’, but: to → tino ‘the landing’, weh → niweh, but: ulie → winil, osare → niosre

Sometimes the generation of verbal nouns by the infix -in- causes an analogous formation in words that are already nouns:

tingagen ‘his fin’ → a tiengan, a tiengan (Pala gagen ‘aspect / page’)

Infexion sometimes only occurs for the doubled basic forms of the verb:

sa ‘to batter / to beat’ → a sinsa, a siensa
pom ‘to suffocate’ → a pinom, but only: a pienpom

§161. Generation of nouns by suffixation

(a) By word-final consonant:

Dependent particles are nominalised by attaching a consonant. In this way, they obtain the character of absolute nouns. If they are to become correlated nouns, a vowel has to be attached, according to §98.

the individuative i:

a in, a ina, a ine ‘the individual, the particular [neut]’:
a ina lames ‘the individual coconut palm’
a ina polpol ‘a singular house without gable wall’
a ina kuol ‘cudgel shaft’

It is significant that this noun also denotes the actual bearing of an object, like ‘the shaft of the cudgel, the stem of the coconut palm, the handle of the axe’, which implies the essence, the body, the bearing

the plural marker e:

a en, a el ‘a few / some’
a en a makil ‘some people’
a el ar ‘some more / a few more’
the prefix pu-:

- a puk 'a piece'
- a pu minos 'a piece of yam'
- a min a puk 'a piece'

the article mi:

- a min 'any, anybody, one'
  in Tabar mi is article as well as in Pala

the article no:

- a noŋ 'anybody, any'

the article ni:

- a nin 'this one / that [masc]'

The articles ni, no, le, ke seem to have been formed in a language family that nominalised by prefixing the consonant. In other languages ni, no, ke can stand by themselves as demonstrative pronouns. They contain word-initial vowels of nouns, which, to give an example, represent the individuative in the Bantu languages.

Pala ni 'this one / that [masc]', no 'that one there [masc]'  
Pala even prefixes individuative ya to these forms:  
yake, yano, yani 'this one / that [masc]'

(b) Contrary to the aforementioned method, Lihir nominalises in some cases by word-final vowels, either by suffixing a vowel or by altering the word-final vowel. Thus they obtain the character of an absolute noun. They become correlated nouns by the final consonant or by altering the vowel. The neutral word-final vowel is o:

- e wa-inie 'it yields fruits' → a wa-ini-o 'the fruit tree / the edible fruit'
- e nem kanan a niyen 'he tastes the food' → a nem kano 'the act of tasting food'
- e pizlie a minos 'he pits the field crops, he breaks off the seeds' → a pizlie-o 'the act of pitting'

Verbs can be generated in that way too:

- giet pizlio 'we pit', neutral verb

Yet beside this form, there is giet pisil with word-final consonant. There is a parallel to this in Pala:

- i hirnan pane i 'he was beaten to death', therefore: a hiruan pano 'the cause of death'

Also compare Pala:

- marso 'to pity someone', a harmarsai 'the pity'
§162. Generation of nouns from compound verbs by metathesis in order
to gain a consonantal final sound

This form virtually belongs to §161. It has its parallel with verbs. The
forms for neutral noun and neutral verb are the same:

\begin{align*}
&\text{karom} 'to stripe' \rightarrow \text{karom-zie} 'to strip off' ('zie = sie = se ie 'away it / off it'), \\
&a \text{karomiz} \rightarrow a \text{karombiz} \rightarrow a \text{kinarom} 'the act of striping off', giet \text{karomiz} \\
&'we strip off' \\
&piz 'to break' \rightarrow \text{piz-rie} 'to break off, to pit' ('piz = pit 'to break')
\end{align*}

The variation of consonants, due to the shift in meaning of ‘to break off
seeds’, happened on purpose (lie ‘away it / off it’), a pizil ‘the act of pitting’
(besides pizlio), giet pizil ‘we pit’

\begin{align*}
&a \text{piar} 'the dirt} \rightarrow \text{piar-zie} 'to clean, to peel' ('zie = 'away it / off it') \rightarrow a \text{i-piriez} \\
&'the oddments', giet \text{piriez} 'we clean'
\end{align*}

§163. The bound morphemes mentioned in §161, §162 are the actual
noun generators with regard to suffixes. All other suffixed forms only
serve the purpose of transforming the neutral noun into a correlated
noun:

\begin{align*}
&\text{katop} 'to have a feast to honour the dead' \rightarrow a \text{katakotap}, a \text{katopwan} 'a fu-

&\text{nal feast for him}' \\
&\text{karombiz} \rightarrow a \text{karomzi n lames} 'the coconut fibre’ \\
&\text{karat} 'to have a feast', a \text{karat} 'the feast', a \text{karatwan a toye} 'the feast of the big

&\text{man}', a \text{karat n toye}, a \text{karito n toye}, a \text{karitu toye}, a \text{karatuan} 'his feast' (= \\
&\text{noun + possessive pronoun na, an) }
\end{align*}

The inversion of the possessive pronoun na to an is a result of the ten-
dency of Lihir to let nouns that stand by themselves have final conso-
nants.

Nouns with suffixed possessive pronouns of the third-person singular
often stand by themselves without further qualification.

§164. Generation of nouns by a dead suffix can be observed in some
words:

\begin{align*}
\text{suffix -an, it is better known in Indonesia:} \\
&\text{compare a-bar} 'to barricade / to block / to lock up', \text{baran} 'the back-
gen,ard', \text{wa 'to yield fruit} \rightarrow \text{wawan a bale}, a \text{iwen bale} 'the fruit of the breadfruit tree'}
\end{align*}
§165. The infix -in- coincides often with the Indonesian passive morpheme in:

- \(ka\) ‘to go / to walk’ \(→\) a \(kina\) ‘the act of going, what has been walked, the pace’
- \(zor\) ‘to measure’ \(→\) a \(zinorin\) le ‘the measured shell money / the counted shell money, a thread of shell money’

Active and passive meaning can possibly be detected for most verbal nouns. For instance:

- \(weh\) ‘to cook’ \(→\) niweh ‘the act of cooking, what has been cooked’

It may be in the spirit of the language that neutral nouns have passive meaning too. Many monosyllabic root words have passive meaning without extension or indication of passive by any morpheme:

- \(pol\) ‘burst / broken’
- \(war\) ‘broken, to break, e war ‘it breaks, it has been broken, ni war ‘it will break’

The bound morphemes of verbal nouns therefore generate active or passive nouns (see Brandstetter 1912:§64, §135).

§166. Sometimes verbal nouns are used again as verbs:

- \(pinau\) ‘to reciprocate / to repay’ \(→\) a \(pinawon\) ‘the reciprocation / the repayment’ \(→\) wa na \(pinawon\) si die ‘pay [sg] it back to them’
- \(zer\) ‘to know’ \(→\) a \(ziner\) ‘the knowledge’ \(→\) a min se \(ziner\) te ‘one knows it’
- \(sio\) ‘to smell’ \(→\) a \(sinio\) ‘the act of smelling’
- \(sinio\) ‘to kiss’ \(→\) a \(sinion\) ‘the kiss’
- \(ten\) ‘to cry’ \(→\) a \(tinen\) ‘the act of crying’ \(→\) wa \(tinen\) os ‘you [sg] are always crying’
- \(ban\) ‘to crack / to crash’ \(→\) a \(binan\) \(→\) e \(binan\) kolie ‘it (the tree) cracks everywhere’
- \(zeh\) ‘to attack’ \(→\) a \(zineh\) \(→\) zineye a \(bual\) ‘to attack the pig’

Other nouns, too, function as verbs:

- \(buil\) ‘lip’ \(→\) e \(bulien\) ‘he lip his’ = he pouts as a sign of rejection
- \(liem\) ‘hand’ \(→\) e \(lumaye\) ‘he scrunches it in the hand’ = e \(lum\) parun \(tan\)

Some verbs with two forms generate the verbal noun from one single form only:

- \(pittio\) ‘to break / to burst’ = \(putio\) \(→\) a \(pinit\) ‘the act of breaking’, but not: \(p\)\(nut\), which has a different meaning and derives from another root
§167. Some nouns form compounds with prepositions, which at first glance could be taken as a part of the root word:

- *a taraŋ*tan a ye* ‘fork-branch’ (of a tree), *taraŋ*-tan → *a taraŋ*-way a ipizika-kian ‘the space between the toes’ = fork-branch
- *a kaz*-lan a ye* ‘branch of the tree’ → *a i kaz*-wan a tameh ‘almond grape’
- *a maz* ‘branch, offshoot, junction’ → *a i maz*-gan a yo ‘branch of the tree’, *a i maz* si na ye ‘a branch from the tree’
- *a don*-min (Potpot), *a don*-men ‘the tear’, *a don*-men tinen ‘the water from crying’
- *mot*-ken bat ‘shreds of clouds, shredded clouds, wispy clouds’

§168. Compound sentence as nouns

- *a i*-solen a lien ‘the one who fast speaks the words’ = ‘the stammerer’
- *a i*-kambiz mat ‘someone who daubs the eye, this kind of paint’
- *a sue*-yo-ber ‘the throwing (of) spears unnoticed’ = ‘the dusk’

§169. Also compare prefix *ne*, infix *-in* of Ambonese and other Indonesian languages (Stresemann 1927:153).

For the generation of nouns by attaching a word-final consonant, see Stresemann (1927:153).

The Sulka language, too, generates nouns by suffixing the consonant *n* to the root word, which mostly denotes a status (Müller 1915–16:546).

Melanesian languages that generate verbal nouns by the prefix *ni* - or infix *-in* - and that have not yet been mentioned, are Siar, Sursurunga, Butam, Komalu, Fisoa (New Ireland), and Tanga.

---

44. Denotes three to five galip nuts (*Canarium indicum*) clinging to one branch of a bunch of such nuts, in the same way as grapes cling together (Luke Kabariu, pers. comm., 11 August 2012). Note that ‘almond grape’ is a literal translation of the original German *Mandeltraube*.

45. That is, tears from the eyes (Luke Kabariu, pers. comm., 11 August 2012).
The article, §§170–77

§170. Lihir belongs to that group of Austronesian languages which places the article before the noun.

§171. A definite article that is employed to denote persons and personified beings is le:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{le tumgiet e sango giet} & \text{‘our forefather created us’} \\
\text{le wue e kirmie le pol} & \text{‘the kangaroo told the dog a lie’} \\
\text{imaten kandiek e ko kala e ulen} & \text{‘the sun went to the moon’} \\
\text{tamagiet le wa} & \text{‘our father you’} = \text{‘you are our father’}
\end{align*}
\]

This article is used for singular and plural:

\[
\begin{align*}
giet le makil & \text{‘we human beings’} \\
gi zik le ge lam lam & \text{‘your children (are) we all’}
\end{align*}
\]

§172. The article for objects and persons is a, within a sentence it is ma, after a preposition it is mostly na, in the northern dialect often ha:

\[
\begin{align*}
a \text{ poz, ha poz} & \text{‘the taro’} \\
\text{yo gare ma wayen} & \text{‘I see the woman’} \\
\text{ki se ma anio inen} & \text{‘whose is this village?’} \\
\text{dul i purek si na kandul anio} & \text{‘they came to the homestead that belonged to both of them’} \\
\text{i ka ma na lo} & \text{‘he went with a slingshot’} \\
\text{a liom ki na toye} & \text{‘the house of the big man’}
\end{align*}
\]

Ma and na are not new articles. Ma is composed of the auxiliary verb me ‘to be’ + article a:

\[
\text{yo gare ma wayen} \text{‘I see she (gar-e) is a woman’}
\]

One can say instead:

\[
\text{yo gare a wayen} \text{‘I see her a woman’}
\]

Na consists of genitive marker n + article a.

The prepositions si, ki, ma are nominal forms, compare §191.

§173. The article is also used to indicate the numeral ‘one’:

\[
a \text{ sade} \text{‘one week’}
\]
If the singular is to be stressed, the specific numeral is employed additionally:

\[ a \text{ min } a \text{ sade} \text{ 'one week', } a \text{ ko } min \text{ a } sade \text{ 'only one week'} \]

The article \(a\) and its derivations \(ma, na\) are the same in nominative and accusative, and in singular and plural:

\[ a \text{ tomat } \text{ 'the man', } a \text{ bor tomat } \text{ 'the men'} \]

If a word with word-final vowel precedes the article, the vowel is elided:

\[ k' \text{ a tomat } \text{ 'and the man'} \]
\[ e \text{ k' a } iot \text{ 'he took a stone'} \]

If word-initial \(a\) follows the article, both \(a\) are contracted:

\[ a \text{ anio } = a \text{ anio} \]

§174. The article is employed in the majority of cases, yet it is elided according to rules and arbitrarily too:

\[ le \text{ wue e kirmie le pol; or: wue e kirmie le pol} \]

If the transitive marker \(n\) is attached to a neutral verb with word-final vowel, the article is regularly elided.

If the object pronoun is suffixed, the article is regularly placed:

\[ sas \text{ mazien } \text{ 'to catch fish'} \]
\[ kes \text{ poz } \text{ 'to get taro'} \]
\[ kes \text{ giam } \text{ 'to gather shells'} \]
\[ saye \text{ ma } bual \text{ 'to kill the pig'} \]

If the possessive pronoun is suffixed to the noun, the article is regularly placed.

If not, the article recurrently elides in case another noun follows:

\[ a \text{ liman } a \text{ ziktun } \text{ 'the hand of the human being', } a \text{ lime } n \text{ ziktun} \]

The article often elides randomly before kinship names:

\[ kasin \text{ imon } \text{ 'my brother (is) the / this'} \]
\[ tumgiet \text{ 'our forefather'} \]
\[ natunj \text{ 'my child'} \]

When addressing someone and with exclamations, the article most often elides:

\[ Bor \text{ tomat } \text{ 'You people'} \]
\[ Ulzik \text{ 'Boys'} \]
§175. *A, e, i, o, le* are placed before proper names, depending on the meaning of the name. If the root word of the proper name is a noun, the article *a, le* is used. If it is a verb or basic sentence, the personal pronoun *i, e*, the article *a*, or the individual particle *i* are employed:

- *a kuroh* ‘the kuroh fish’
- *i le-dal* ‘the red shell money’
- *i to* ‘he lands’
- *e Sola* ‘he Sola’, that is, ‘his name is Sola / it is Sola’

These particles are frequently omitted. One says *Kuroh, ledal, Sola*. There is no bound morpheme to distinguish the gender of proper nouns.

§176. In Lihir the difference between definite and indefinite article is not very distinct:

- *k-a ye* ‘get [sg] a piece of wood’ and ‘the piece of wood’

The native will highlight a precisely defined object or person by adding a demonstrative pronoun:

- *k-a ye rere* ‘get [sg] the piece of wood’

*Sa* ‘anything, something’ is employed as indefinite article:

- *wan kata sa ba* ‘spear [sg] a bait fish’
- *sa min kiah* ‘another [neut]’
- *kapiae sa min* ‘not one’
- *sa el* ‘a couple / a few / several’

In Indonesian languages *sa* is also the numeral ‘one’.

*Na* is also employed as an indefinite article and is often placed with *sa*:

- *e tel na ziktun* ‘he became a human being / he became man’
- *wan kata na sa ba* ‘spear [sg] a bait fish’

In these cases, *na* can be explained as being composed of demonstrative pronoun *n* + article. That demonstrates that the root *a*, within the article *na*, always has the same meaning ‘any / one / someone’ and that the prefix *n*- can be interpreted as a genitive marker and as a demonstrative.

---

46. That is, the coral rockcod, trout cod, or estuary cod.
pronoun. Combined articles are hardly found in Lihir, but are frequent in Pala. In Lihir, only the conjunction *na sa* is common.

§177. In Lihir the article displays close affinity with word-initial vowels of the Bantu languages. The article *a, na* can also be found in many other Melanesian languages (Codrington 1885:107; see also Brandstetter 1933:$§84$).

The article *a* (individuative?) can be placed before proper names and personal pronouns, like in Pala, Samoan, and Maori. Melanesian languages can be classified into languages that hardly use articles and languages that predominantly use them. Arag and Ambrym do not have definite articles. Leon, Sasar, and Lakon do not place the definite article before nouns with suffixed possessive pronouns. Espiritu Santo and Tanga elide it if the noun is subject. Sesake, Ulawa, Sa’a, and Lihir sometimes do not use it.

The Lihir language employs it for nouns with suffixed possessive pronouns.47

Furthermore, Melanesian languages can be classified into those with a particular plural form48 and those that use the same article for all grammatical numbers. Lihir belongs to the latter. Some languages are characterised by placing the article *na* in certain cases only before nouns with suffixed possessive pronoun or after prepositions (Codrington 1885:107; see also Brandstetter 1933:$§87$).

---

47. Text annotation: “Not often.” Accommodating this addition, the sentence would then read: “The Lihir language does not often employ it for nouns with suffixed possessive pronouns.”

48. Text annotation: “Of the article.”
Singular and plural, §§178–87

§178. Singular and plural are indicated by particular words that are placed before the noun. A certain number of things are denoted by numerals. Dual, trial, and quadral occur with pronouns only.

§179. Singular is expressed by article + noun:

\[
\begin{align*}
a & \text{ bual} \ 'a pig' \\
a & \text{ sade} \ 'a week'
\end{align*}
\]

The numeral \text{min} or \text{ko min} ‘one’, \text{wuo} or \text{ko wuo} ‘only one’, or the individual particle \text{i} are also placed before the noun in order to emphasise singular.

The numeral with preceding article can be placed after the noun too:

\[
\begin{align*}
a & \text{ min a liom, a i-liom} \\
a & \text{ ko min a liom, a ko wuo a liom, a liom a ko wuo, a liom a ko min} \ 'one' \\
& \ 'house, only one house' \\
a & \text{ lo i win} \ 'two single bananas'
\end{align*}
\]

§180. A small group of people is summoned by saying:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{lo tomat} \ 'two men', \ or \ \text{bor tomat} \ 'two men' & ^{49} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Both terms are also an indication of surprise, like the German Menschenskind! The native also requests some few things with the word \text{lo} ‘two’:

\[
\begin{align*}
a & \text{ lo yawil} \ 'give [sg] me a few fishing rods!' \\
\end{align*}
\]

An equivalent term is \text{bu-el} ‘you few’:

\[
\begin{align*}
buel zik \ 'boys'
\end{align*}
\]

A small, manageable number of people is denoted by the corresponding numeral to which the pronoun in dual, trial, or quadral can correlate but does not necessarily have to.\(^{50}\)

A kinship group or family is denoted by particle \text{ber}, \text{buet}:

\[
\begin{align*}
a & \text{ ber taman} \ 'parents and children, the family'
\end{align*}
\]

\hspace{1cm}

\(^{49}\) Text annotation: “= three, four, five, six men.”

\(^{50}\) Text annotation: “Bu = plural marker in Tabar.”
Grammar of the Lihir Language

*a ber kes* ‘the brothers’, *dul berkes* ‘the two are brothers’
*a ber tie* ‘a pod of whales’

*Lo* is used for objects, *bo, ber* for persons only. The phrase *ber tie* possibly stems from the notion that a group of whales is thought of as a family.

§181. The root *ba* is of Austro-Asiatic origin:

- Khmer, Santali *bir, bar*
- Mon *ba* ‘two’

*Ba-r* is a possible conjunction of *ba + ro, lo* ‘two’.

Qunan Tuna has *u-mana* ‘a few’, which is also derived from *ba*.

Pala uses the derivation *bir* which refers to the copulating of dogs and to a less decent expression for persons copulating.

Associated with this is Lihir *bier* ‘numerous’ and *bierenie* ‘to reproduce’.

Compare Wagner’s article “Gemeinschaftliches Sprachgut in Sumer und Ntu” (1928) in *Festschrift P. W. Schmidt*. The same derivations occur here.

Pala *bar* ‘a few’, plural for persons and objects. Pala employs the root *man* as a suffix: *ta-man* ‘the homestead / house many’.

Compare the Bantu root *da* ‘house’ in combination with the rectangular gable roof hut, the characteristic of “Melanesian bow culture”\(^{51}\) in Africa and Melanesia and the completely rectangular house of the Pala, and there can be no doubt about this association anymore. Moreover, the Pala language exhibits the second Bantu root for house, *ko*, in the meaning ‘inside’\(^{52}\) The original sense becomes evident insofar as the word coalesces with *man* as well: *na ra ko-man* ‘inside the house’; the primary meaning, however, is ‘house many’ = ‘homestead’, exactly as in *taman*.

---

51. Literal translation of the German *Bogenkultur*, a term coined by German ethnologist Fritz Graebner (1877–1934). Graebner was one of the founders of the *Kulturkreislehre*, an early twentieth-century school of anthropology, which sought to explain the geographical diffusion of a cultural complex—a cluster of cultural traits—from one centre or a few centres of origin. He assumed that the history of any culture could be reconstructed by analysing the cultural elements of that culture and tracing those elements back to one or more *Kulturkreise*. “Melanesian bow culture” is one such cluster of cultural traits, comprising for instance, the use of the bow and arrow, betel nut, tobacco, and farming, as found in New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, and New Ireland (Graebner 1909:726–80).

52. Text annotation: “The house.”
Therefore, the Bantu word *dako* is composed of two roots: *da* + *ko* (see also Planert 1928:118).

Compare Nauruan *bara*.

§182. The actual plural particle for persons and objects is *e*:

- *e ziktun* ‘the people’
- *e ye* ‘the trees’

The article can be added as well:

- *a e ziktun*

The Lihir plural complies with the word-initial vowel of the Bantu languages:

- *a wayen* ‘the woman’
- *e wayen* ‘the women’

The plural particles *e*, *ber*, *bor*, *buet* cannot stand by themselves; they stand with the noun. For the nominalisation of the plural particle *e*, compare §161.

The plural particle *e* can elide with collective terms:

- *a minos* ‘the field crops’

With a *plurale tantum*:

- *a makil* ‘the people’

Before nouns with suffixed plural possessive pronoun:

- *a kiakdie* ‘their feet’

When addressing someone:

- *Ulzik* ‘Boys’

With compound words:

- *kes giam* ‘to collect shells’
- *giam* can be singular and plural

Here, Lihir acts like Naasioi, a Papuan language (see Rausch 1912:115).

§183. The plural is generated by gemination in many cases:

- *a iot (eot)* ‘a stone’ → *a otot, a eotot* ‘stones’
- *a ibet* ‘the wart’ → *a betbet* ‘the warts’
Or by the prefix *er*, denoting mutual relation:

\[ a\ er\text{-}purek \text{ ‘the arriving en masse / the arriving of several’} \]

§184. Root words that indicate a majority or a crowd occur in large numbers. They are used nominally, adjectively, verbally, and adverbially:

\[ ki\text{-}dul \text{ ‘all / entire / total’, compare vuras dol \text{ ‘all / entire / total’}, a\ vono\ dol \text{ ‘the entire land’} (Codrington 1885:346) } \]

\[ ge\ kidul \text{ ‘we are all there, a makil kidul \text{ ‘all people’} } \]

\[ lamlam \text{ ‘all, many’, die purek lamlam \text{ ‘they all have arrived}, a\ lamlam\ die\ purek \text{ ‘all have arrived’} } \]

\[ pake, pakepake \text{ ‘all, many’ } \]

\[ ure, ureure \text{ ‘all, many’ } \]

\[ torme \text{ ‘together’ } \]

\[ a\ do \text{ ‘many, a crowd’} \]

§185. There are a number of expressions for a collective majority:

\[ na: a\ na\ kokol \text{ ‘a school of kokol fish, a i-na kokol \text{ ‘one school of kokol fish’} } \]

\[ no: a\ no\ bal\ na\ takop \text{ ‘a fleet of four or five canoes’, compare Florida Islands na\ gobi \text{ ‘ten canoes’, na\ kua \text{ ‘ten eggs’} } \]

\[ a\ wuom, a\ un, a\ um \text{ ‘a school’ (of fish) \rightarrow a wuom kokol, a\ un kokol, a\ um \text{ ‘a school of kokol fish’} } \]

\[ a\ sio \text{ ‘a line / a row / a number’ (a liana) \rightarrow a\ sio\ takop \text{ ‘a number of canoes, a sio\ umbian \text{ ‘a number of nets’} } \]

\[ a\ puak \text{ ‘a bunch’ \rightarrow a\ puak\ le \text{ ‘a bunch of grass’} } \]

\[ a\ bun \rightarrow a\ bun\ buo \text{ ‘a bunch of betel nuts’ } \]

\[ a\ tum \text{ ‘a bunch’ \rightarrow a\ tum\ toh \text{ ‘a bunch of sugar cane’} } \]

\[ a\ ye \text{ ‘a tree’ \rightarrow a\ ye\ mon \text{ ‘a tree (of) birds’ (that is, the birds which nest in the tree) } \]

\[ a\ roŋ \text{ ‘a bouquet’ \rightarrow a\ roŋ\ nial \text{ ‘a bouquet of fragrant herbs’} } \]

All of these terms are joined with the determining noun without article since they are considered standardised terms. The term *a tumgiet* is employed to denote an extraordinary amount or magnitude. *A tum* also means ‘forefather’, *tum-giet* ‘our forefather’. I have not found out yet whether the natives relate the word *tumgiet* in any way to the highest being. *A tumgiet* means ‘a massive tree, a big stone, a large number of things, etc.’ The basic word *tum* denotes ‘bush, group, clan’, without connotation of the extraordinary. It is never used in this form for ‘forefather’, one always says *tumgiet*. It seems therefore very likely that there is a link between the extraordinary and the highest being.
§186. A part of the whole is indicated by the word *pu, puk* ‘piece’, as well as a part of a generality, an individual from many, a section of an area, etc.

- *a pu ye* ‘a piece of wood, a tree’
- *a pu sele* ‘a knife’
- *a pu tes* ‘a bit of salt water’, *a pu anio* ‘a parcel of land’
- *a pu pet* ‘something good’

*Pu* always stands with the noun in question; it cannot stand by itself. It becomes independent by suffixing the consonant (article?) *k*:

- *a puk* ‘a piece’ $\rightarrow$ *a puk a pu ye* ‘a piece of wood’

*Puk* is the absolute form and depends on the subsequent article in order to become a correlated noun.

*Pu* also replaces the individual particle *i*. Wherever *pu* is used, the particle *i* is usually elided:

- *a i maret* $\rightarrow$ *a pu maret*

The neutral noun *puk*, however, is also placed with the individual particle:

- *a i puk* ‘a piece’

An ending of something, a small piece is indicated by *a nuz = n + uz* ‘cusp / head, tail / end’, the correlated form is *zuzu*: *a puzun wam* ‘a piece of cloth’.

The term for ‘species / variety / kind’ is *mat*.

- *a i mat kiah* ‘another species / variety / kind’

It is formed in the same way as *puk*. It cannot suffix the possessive pronoun. It is the neutral noun form of the dependant prefix *ma-*.\(^53\)

A confining particle is *ko* ‘only’:

- *ko min, ko wuo, ko wo* ‘only one’

*Ko* also stands with the noun or numeral only. It becomes independent when doubling:

- *kokonan*, ‘a single member, a fruit, a descendant, a sprout, an individual’
- *a kokonan a tumbawin* ‘a sprout, a member of a clan’

---

\(^{53}\) Text annotation: “Compare *ma-kiat* ‘black’, *Pala kat* ‘dark’, primary meaning of *ma*: ‘to be’.”
As well as the neutral verb *akok* ‘one time / once’, neutralised by suffixed consonant. The particle will consist of *k* + individuative *o*. Compare *o, ko* when used as articles.

Although the root words mentioned here partly share a similarity with class prefixes (and I do believe that they are linked in some way, which may be revealed in the future), there is still the big difference that they (root words) do not constitute classes, but can be employed to denote all objects. However, since they specify one aspect of objects only, a moment of restriction emerges which could cause the generation of classes. The close relation to the noun, and yet again a certain independence, make them appear more suitable for generating classes.

§187. There are big differences in Melanesian languages in relation to application and denotation of the plural. One group employs plural suffixes, like some Papuan languages and Ambonese. A second group uses prefixes or particles that precede the noun. A third group does not have plural particles at all, but uses nouns that denote a plurality. A fourth group mainly makes use of doubling, like Leon, Sasar, and Nakanai. Some languages prefix plural particles to persons only. The Lihir, Florida Islands, and Nakanai languages do not use plural markers before nouns with suffixed possessive pronouns in plural.

Komat missionary station. To the right, Fr. Neuhaus’s residence; to the left, the bush church (Neuhaus 1934b:270).

Londolovit townsite, 2009. (photo: David Haigh)
SIL Bible translators, Minha and Shinhee Park, at the vernacular training programme with Lihir elementary-school teachers at Londolovit village, 2008. (photo: David Haigh)
Ailaya rock and mine site, looking south from Kapit, 2010.  
(photo: David Haigh)

Bishop Ambrose Kiapseni of the Catholic Diocese of Kavieng with students after the confirmation-day event at Sekunkun, 30 August 2009.  
(photo: Luke Kabariu)
Bible procession led by the Malie group at the ordination service for Fr. Walter Pilai, Palie Catholic Church, 2009. (photo: David Haigh)

Palie Catholic Church, 2014. (photo: David Haigh)
Lamatlik clan members performing on top of the balo men’s house during the tuntunkanut feast on Masahet, led by Luke Kabariu, 2011.
(photo: Nicholas Bainton)

Kabelbel outrigger canoe, Masahet Island, 2011. (photo: David Haigh)
Lihirian shell money known as *mis*, at Pangoh Lukara, 17 June 2010.
(photo: David Haigh)

(photo: David Haigh)

Peter Toelikanut, Thomas Kut, and Kirsty Gillespie at Motsunbal hamlet, Mahur Island, during music recording in 2008. (photo: David Haigh)
Case, §§188–94

§188. According to the idiosyncrasy of Melanesian languages, Lihir has no particular ways of distinguishing cases. Nominative and accusative arise from the word order within a sentence. Apart from that, prepositions are used.

§189. Dative is identified by the preposition *si* before pronouns and by *si na, si ne* before nouns:

- *anie si na toye* ‘give [sg] it to the big man’
- *anie si yo* ‘give [sg] it to me’; *si* is a nominal preposition

Yet Lihir prefers the following forms:

- *anie a toye isien* ‘present [sg] the big man with it’, or in an easier way: *anie a toye*
- *i saye a tioŋ* ‘he beat my back’, instead of ‘he fully beat my back’
- *en yo* ‘make [sg] me a present’, instead of ‘give it to me’

A verbal preposition is used in the following and similar expressions:

- *pite anie* ‘talk [sg] to him’
- *puat en yo* ‘present [sg] me’
- *e zumer en yo* ‘he is angry with me’; *e zumer anie* ‘he is angry with him’
- *en, anie* ‘to give’

The pronominal object always follows the verb before nominal prepositions:

- *anie isien*¹⁴

With verbal prepositions, the preposition itself suffixes the pronoun. In both cases the alleged dative basically is an accusative. *Si* means ‘individual’ as well as ‘content / substance, being / entity / essence’. However, the nominal meaning has faded in Lihir. Otherwise, it would have to be *anie a isien*.

§190. The genitive can be expressed in different ways:

(a) By immediate juxtaposition:

---

¹⁴ Text annotation: “‘Give [sg] it to him!’; *anie* = object.”
a pake lolo ‘a part of the plant’ = ‘leaf’ (compare Pala a pakana niya ‘a part of the speech’ = ‘word’)
a mat kanut ‘the cave of the spirits’

(b) By suffixation of the pronoun to the first noun and placing the article before the second noun:

a matan a kandiek ‘the face of the sun’
a lielien ma am ‘the inside of the cave’

(c) By genitive marker n and elision of the article before the second noun:

a mate n kandiek ‘the face of the sun’; a le n am ‘the inside of the cave’

(d) By word-final vowel e, that is by altering the absolute to a correlated noun:

a pak → a pake lolo ‘the leaf’
a yas → a yase De ‘the name of God’
a mat → a mate purion ‘his anus’
a dal → a dale kisilik ‘the blood of your brother’
a nuz → a nuzu Kuroh ‘the mouth of Kuroh’
a tian → a iteno Kuroh ‘the ear of Kuroh’

(e) By genitive marker en:

It is used when instead of the correlated noun, as mentioned above, the absolute noun generates the genitive since the correlated noun with word-final consonant does not form the genitive:

al en bual ‘the ham of the pig’
a las en lamas ‘the shell of the coconut’
a liom en lotu ‘the house of worship’
a zik en wuot ‘a child of the bush, a child of the mountains’

In this way, a kind of preposition evolved. Instead of en, one also says in. Generation of the genitive by the word-final vowel e occurs with those nouns that have the pronominal ending an in the third-person singular. Elsewhere it occurs with proper nouns only—an indication that this word-final vowel is related to the individuative i, which is placed before the noun.

§191. Generation of the genitive with the help of nominal prepositions

(a) The nominal preposition si is placed between the two nouns whose genitive relation is to be expressed and is combined with the second noun by the possessive pronoun of third-person singular:
a gom si na anio ‘a piece / a parcel of the land’

a yas si na ziktun ‘the name of the person’

The possessive pronoun elides when placed before a pronoun:

- a gom si yo ‘a piece of me’, a gom isien ‘a piece of him, a piece for me, a piece for him’

For the basic meaning of the word, compare §189. The preposition si is particularly employed when not immediate ownership, but only the belonging to something, like water in a mug, not the property, but only the usage of it is indicated:

- a pul si wa ‘your oar’ = ‘the oar that you have in your hand’
- a takop si giet ‘our canoe’ = ‘the canoe in which we canoe’

A better way of expressing ownership is to use ki.

(b) The nominal preposition wo, wa, we:

It can suffix the pronoun and thus becomes woy, wo, wan, wangiet. It coalesces with the possessive pronoun na and with the genitive marker n:

- a liem woy ‘the hand ownership my’ = ‘my hand’
- a towan a lames ‘the water of the coconut’, a to-we n lames ‘the water of the coconut’

Furthermore, it denotes the cause of something:

- a kenken-wan a ye ‘the pain from carrying trees’

It denotes designation:

- a liom we n lotu ‘a house for worship’
- a karat we tinan ‘a celebration for the mother’

It denotes origin:

- a zik wa yen ‘a child from here’

It is found as an independent noun in different Melanesian languages:

Nengone we-ne, ba-ne ‘cause, occasion’
Lihir wo ‘one, someone’
Sawo va ‘thing’
Gog wo (before personal names), wa ‘the thing’
Sesake demonstrative pronoun wo se, wo i ‘this / that’

in Ambonese languages like Kisar, wo is prefixed to numerals and nouns:

---

55. Text annotation: “As well as ‘something’, nun wo ‘my something.’”
wo-kelu, wo-rowo, wo-iro, wo-ner
wa-lara ‘the sail’ (Stresemann 1927:220)

In Lihir it is placed after the noun; in other languages it is placed before the noun.

Also compare Nauruan wa-na ‘his’.

The primary meaning of the word is individuative. The vowels denoting individuative are nominalised by prefixing $w$ or $h$. Lihir also uses ho instead of wo.

(c) The nominal preposition $i$, $ya$ is brought into play in order to determine food, the affiliation of body parts or relatives. It is suffixed the possessive pronoun and can have subsequent genitive markers $n$ or $ne$; the first is placed with nouns, the latter with pronouns:

- $a$ $ya$ $o$ ‘our food’
- $a$ $ku$ $li$ $ya$ $o$ $y$ $e$ $m$ ‘I eat the leftovers of the bowls’
- $a$ $pu$ $-bual$ $i$ $yo$, $i$ $n$ $e$ $yo$ ‘a piece of pork for me’ = ‘my piece of pork’
- $a$ $pu$ $-bual$ $i$ $Kuroh$, $i$ $n$ $e$ $Kuroh$ ‘a piece of pork for Kuroh’
- $a$ $pu$ $-bual$ $i$ $na$ $z$ $ik$ ‘a piece of pork for the child’
- $a$ $pu$ $as$ $i$ $n$ $e$ $yo$ ‘my sister-in-law’
- $a$ $koazil$ $i$ $lim$ $o$ $y$ ‘my fingernail’ = ‘the nail of my hand’

$Ne$ can also stand by itself before pronouns in the aforementioned examples:

- $a$ $pu$ $-bual$ $n$ $e$ $yo$, $a$ $pu$ $as$ $n$ $e$ $yo$
- $a$ $kan$ $u$ $t$ $n$ $e$ $got$ ‘the dead of you [pl]’ (that is, the dead that are related to you)

(d) The nominal preposition $ki$

$Ki$ expresses the actual ownership. It can suffix the possessive pronoun. Furthermore, it can be combined with the subsequent noun or pronoun through the possessive pronoun $na$, $ne$.56 The individual particles, too, can be placed before it.

- $a$ $li$ $om$ $k$ $i$ $n$ $a$ $toy$ $e$ ‘the house of the big man’
- $a$ $li$ $om$ $k$ $i$ $y$ $o$, $k$ $i$ $n$ $e$ $yo$ ‘my house’
- $a$ $y$ $a$-ki$-a$ ‘his possession / his estate’
- Pala $a$ $ki$ $ne$ $wa$ ‘possession / ownership’ (lit., possession of somebody)

---

56. Text annotation: “Na, ne can also be the genitive marker.”
(e) The nominal preposition *nan* can replace *i* in the cases that were mentioned in (c). *Nan* consists of *na* = possessive particle + *n* = possessive pronoun of third-person singular. In this case, the genitive can be placed before the noun in question:

*a zik nan pu-bual* ‘the piece of pork of the boy’, or *nan pu-bual ma zik* ‘his piece of pork the boy’

For other possessive pronouns and particles, compare §§217ff.

(f) Regarding nominal prepositions *ke*, *me*, *ge*, *te*, *le*, compare §167. The forms mentioned there are collocations of the noun and the suffixed possessive pronoun:

*a don me tinen* ‘the water from crying’ becomes *don ma-na tinen* or *don man a tinen*, or with the genitive marker *n*: *a don-me n tinen*

One also says:

*a tarante n ye, a kazle n ye, a imazge n ye, a kazwe n tameh*

Further examples are:

*a idede kana win, a idede kan a win, a idede ke n win* ‘banana bark’
*a kul, a kulmana win, a kulman a win, a kulme n win* ‘the youngest banana leaf’

The agglutination of the preposition with the root word *kul* generates a new neutral noun, *a kuliom*, which has the same meaning. This is an informative example for the creation of new polysyllabic nouns by agglutination of the root word with suffixes or adjunctive words. For the relation of these nominal prepositions to possessive pronouns, compare §219.

Instead of *men*, one says *min*\(^{57}\) in Potpot.

§192. The generation of the genitive by means of word-final vowels can be compared with singular genitive particles *u*, *o*, *a*, *e*, *le* in Bantu languages (Nekes 1911:558). At its heart, the genitive is generated in the following ways:

(a) Immediate juxtaposition

(b) Word-final vowel

(c) Genitive marker *n*

\(^{57}\) Text annotation: “(Lihir)”
Nominal prepositions (d) can be attributed to (b) and (c) since they either have subsequent article or subsequent genitive markers, and the noun and the following nominal preposition can be interpreted as a compound noun. A *liom ki na toye* ‘house possession of the big man’ (*kin a or ki na*?). The diversity of the various nominal prepositions may be substantiated in the speculation that originally the significance of individuals might have been defined more closely. Thus Mota employs *no* for things that are acquired from outside, *mo* for things from one’s own work, *ga* for food, *ma* for drinking (see Codrington 1885:270).

One could compare them with verbal auxiliary words that confer a certain connotation to the verb too.

It is also worthwhile mentioning that the Bantu prefix *li-* occurs as an independent word in Lihir, meaning ‘inner / interior, ditch / trench, voice’, and as a nominal prefix denoting ‘passion’:

- *a li-niyen* ‘the devourer [masc]’
- *a li-erzumer* ‘the angry one [masc]’

The Pala word *en* ‘fish’ is also possibly related with the Bantu prefix *en-, in-*, which is placed before root words that denote fish.

In Lihir it is suffixed: *mazi-en* ‘fish’.

*Maz, mez* is an independent root word for ‘fish’ too:

- *a meznen* ‘meat dish’ = fish or meat as supplementary food

The root *maz* is analogous to the Bantu word *mazi* ‘water’, which in Lihir is *mazmaz* ‘rivulet, afflux’.

§193. Vocative has no particular bound morphemes.

When mourning, a long *e* is suffixed to the name in question or after a vowel, *ye*:

- *Døn-e* ‘Mother’
- *Tataye* ‘Father’
- *Pupu* ‘Grandfather / Grandmother’
- *Bor tomat* ‘You people’
- *Ulzik* ‘Boys’

58. Text annotation: “(e) Suffixed possessive pronouns.”
§194. The following has to be mentioned regarding the syntax of the various cases: the subject stands before, the object after the verb, and the genitive before or after the noun that it determines. Lihir favours emphasising important elements within a sentence through prefixation. Therefore, the verb is sometimes placed before the subject, the object at the beginning of the sentence, and the genitive before the noun that it determines. The altering of the common word order has an idealistic cause. To what extent other languages have influence on the matter, cannot be clearly stated.

*e senseŋ an ma tomat* 'he always went the man'
*e go ka ma ziktun imen* 'he has gone away that man'
*a tuatuan die se talie ilielien a pake zile* 'his (mortal) remains they laid in leaves'
*a wayen taman ka tinan die se ka ma e minos* 'of the woman her father and mother they took the field crops' (it is the marriage of the woman which is given special emphasis)

Yet this emphasising construction is only made possible because the native enunciates anew the subject relation through the preceding pronoun *e, er*, the genitive relation through the suffixed pronoun *taman* ‘father her’, and the object relation through the suffixed object pronoun *tal-ie* ‘to lay it’. This exceptional word order is always a consequence of an alternate in the right place. It follows the same pattern as for Bantu languages (see Struck 1911:969).

A phrase like *a tomat liom* ‘a man house’, meaning ‘the house of the man’ is not possible in Lihir. It has to be *a tomat a liom ki ye*. The phrase *a tomat gi-an a liom* ‘a man his the house’ is only possible by the nominal denotation of *gi-an*. The expression *a ziktun ipel ne je ma kanut* must not be translated as ‘the man who of him the corpse’, but as ‘the man this of him the corpse’. *Ipel* is a demonstrative pronoun, not a reflexive pronoun, therefore ‘the dead person of the man’. The native likes to use a cumulative genitive in order to point something out:

*ge la zik en matan a imat kiah a i-maten anio* ‘we the people of a parcel of another parcel of parcel of land’ = ‘we people from another country’
*a i-ginamiam a i-bie wen bual* ‘the supplementary food for the vegetables that are eaten together with the pig’ = ‘supplementary food for a dish consisting of vegetable leaves and pig blood’
The adjective, §§195–205

§195. Root words that are used as adjectives, attributive or predicative, do not undergo any alteration:

\[ a \text{ liom pet} \quad \text{‘the house good’}, \quad a \text{ liom a pet} \quad \text{‘the house the good’}, \quad a \text{ liom e pet} \quad \text{‘the house is good’} \]

In Lihir there are no suffixes that could alter the root word to an adjective. Compare that to Mota (Codrington 1885:273; see also Brandstetter 1911:§185).

Adjectives are usually placed after the noun to which they refer:

\[ a \text{ nes ros} \quad \text{‘the road / alley / path, straight / even’} \]

If the adjective precedes the noun, it is nominalised by the pronominal ending \[ ien, \text{ wan, wen, uon, ion:} \]

\[ a \text{ petien a liom} \quad \text{‘the goodness of the house, the good house’} \]
\[ a \text{ rosuan a nes} \quad \text{‘the straightness of the road, the straight road’} \]

If the adjective follows the noun, the noun is determined by the adjective and vice versa. It highlights the attribute in question, so that there is actually no exception from the adjective following the noun.

One never says \[ a \text{ tamboh ye} \quad \text{‘the tall tree’}, \] but \[ a \text{ ye tamboh} \] or \[ a \text{ tambohwan a ye} \quad \text{‘the tall tree’ or ‘the tallness of the tree’}. \]

§196. Of these nominalised adjectives, the abbreviated form with the genitive particle \[ n \] is employed too:

\[ a \text{ zakatien a ziktun, a zakati n ziktun} \quad \text{‘his badness the person’ = ‘the bad person’} \]
\[ a \text{ mindien a zik} \quad \text{‘his littleness the child, the little child’, a mindi n zik} \quad \text{‘the little child’} \]

instead of \[ \text{mindien}, \] one can say \[ a \text{ mandion a zik} \quad \text{‘a littleness the child’, a zik manion} \quad \text{‘the little child’} \]

The root word here is \[ nde \quad \text{‘little / small’}. \text{ Manion} \text{ is only used for babies and not for ripe fruits. Minde is employed for all kinds of things.} \]

Do class prefixes become noticeable in the prefixes \[ ma- \] and \[ mi-? \]
Notice that Swahili language *mtoto* ‘child’ becomes *mudode* ‘child’ in the Gogo language (Struck 1911:992).

Also compare the Khmer language *den* ‘dwarf’, Santali language *hudin* ‘small, young’ (Schmidt 1906:104).

This abbreviated form of adjectives abides by the rule that neutral root words with word-final consonants attach a vowel to become correlated, and neutral root words with word-final vowels attach a consonant for the same purpose (or to put it differently: nominalised adjectives generate a genitive relation by a vowel or a consonant. (??)\(^{59}\))

§197. Root words that act as adjectives can stand by themselves as nouns with the article put first:

\[
\text{a pet} \text{ ‘the good [masc sg]’}
\]

One could conclude that a strongly nominal meaning is still inherent in the article, to translate it as ‘the good, somebody good’.

The nominalised adjective with a suffixed pronoun can stand by itself too:

\[
\text{a petien} \text{ ‘the good [masc sg, fem sg, neut sg], a good [neut]’}
\]

The people of Lihir often use this nominal construction for basic sentences, for example ‘it is good’ (Brandstetter 1933:185).

§198. If the adjective is used as a verb, it is bound to the noun by the corresponding personal pronoun:

\[
\text{go a makil pet} \text{ ‘you good people’, or: go a makil go pet ‘you people you good’}
\]

The adjectival root word by itself can be used verbally, and if so, absorbs all bound morphemes of verbal forms:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mas} & \text{ ‘dry’, } e \text{ mas} \text{ ‘it is dry’, } e \text{ mas te} \text{ ‘it is dry’, } maslenie \text{ ‘dry to make it’} \\
\text{e ga pet} & \text{ ‘he was good’} \\
\text{e sango azaket a maret} & \text{ ‘he made the thing badly’} \\
\text{die erpet} & \text{ ‘they are good to each other’}
\end{align*}
\]

Combined with the causative particle *a (ha)*, it is found either in pure adjectival or in nominalised form. If there is no subsequent object pronoun, the nominalised form always prevails:

\(^{59}\) These question marks appear in the original manuscript. Perhaps Neuhaus meant the last sentence as an assumption that has not yet been confirmed.
"e sango azaket a maret 'he made the thing badly'; e sango azakatien 'he made it badly'; e azakatien 'he spoils it / he ruins it'"

The adjectival root word can be used as an adverb in unaltered or in nominalised form. As such, it follows the verb:

*e pite pet 'he speaks well'; e pite petien*60

An adjectival root word, used as a verb, and a second adjectival root word, used as an adverb, can be employed for that. Or an adjectival root word stands as noun, a second as adjective:

*e tamboh zaket 'he highly powerful'; a tamboh zaket 'a tall powerful'*

With all these examples it becomes evident that almost every word seeks to preserve its independence since the native also interprets characteristic traits of objects as something independent so that they can be transferred from one object to another.

§199. Not even in the plural do adjectives experience alteration:

*a e lien pet, a e lien a e pet, a e petien e lien 'the good words'*

§200. Comparisons are expressed by periphrasis:

*e tamboh isien 'he is tall over / above him'*
*a zip lik isien 'a child younger than him'*
e lo zepie 'he passes him by'

Doublings are also employed to indicate a sense of enhanced characteristic traits:

*a tes 'the sea'; a testes 'the undulated / stormy sea'*
*minde 'little', mindeminde 'quite little'*

The word zik 'little, child' has its own form of diminutive:

*a zikiu 'quite little', intensified: a zikiu lik*61

Characteristics of large dimension are stated by corresponding words:

*zep, zaket, tiek 'very, mighty / powerful / potent'*
tuntun ok 'absolutely / really / truly'
*a tamboh zep 'very big / very large'; a tamboh zaket, a tamboh tiek, a tiken tamboh, a taken tamboh 'abundantly big / large'; a tamboh tuntun ok 'a truly big one / a truly large one [masc]'*

---

*60. ‘He thanked him’ (Luke Kabariu, pers. comm., 11 August 2012).*

*61. Text annotation: “And high stress on ‘iu.”*
Diminutives are denoted by the particles lik ‘little, few’:

- *a pu-lik* ‘a little bit’
- *a pu-nuz lik* ‘a small piece / a little piece’
- *get lik* ‘we few only’

§201. Several adjectives are expressed by periphrasis:

- *kapaie ililen* ‘nothing in it’ = ‘empty’
- *kapaie elakan* ‘nothing on it’ = ‘fruitless, infertile tree’ (see Struck 1911:971)

§202. Some adjectives have prefixes that cannot rate as living bound morphemes:

- *ta-*: this prefix can indicate the passive voice of a verbally perceived root word:
  - *boh* ‘big / high / large / tall’, *tamboh* ‘big / large’ = ‘to have become big / large’; *ziki boh* ‘a tall person’
  - *tanomnom* ‘to have become soft, to have become overripe’

It is also placed with nouns and verbs, yet not always with the same meaning.

- *ma-*: has partly the same passive meaning as *ta-*:
  - *malan* ‘ripe, dry’, derived from *lan* ‘to shine on’ (?)
  - *makazkaz* ‘cuspid / pointed / sharp, sharpened’, derived from the root *koz, kaz* ‘cuspid / pointed / sharp’

Ma has further connotations:

- *makiat* ‘black’, derived from root word *kat* ‘dark’ (Pala)
- *mapul* ‘smelly’, derived from *pul, pur* ‘anus’

- *ba-*: has the same meaning as *ma-*.. The nasal replaces the plosives, as so often in Lihir:
  - *bakazkaz* ‘cuspid / pointed / sharp’
  - *balelel* ‘thin, flabby’

- *ka-*:
  - *kambot* ‘all / complete / entire / whole, unabbreviated’, derived from the root *bot, bambot* ‘closed / complete / locked / shut / completed / locked / terminated’
  - *kados* ‘good, direct / even / straight’, derived from the root *dosie* ‘to even it / to flatten it’
  - *kapiz* ‘white’, derived from the root *pit*
§203. These bound morphemes are not numerous in Lihir. The closest to being a living, bound morpheme is *ma*. Most root words appear in the same passive and neutral meaning but without these prefixes. Since the same prefixes occur with nouns and with adjectives, they show an affinity with Bantu prefixes, of which the adjectival prefix coincides with the nominal prefix. Whether that indicates a semantic affinity will have to remain open (Struck 1911:970).

§204. The difference of languages with prefix-rich and prefix-poor adjectives occurs in many Melanesian languages. Likewise, there are languages that generate adjectives through suffixes and those that do not (Codrington 1885:165).

In the Banks Islands there are some unchanged adjectival root words in almost every language. Most of them are used verbally too. Almost all regional dialects have suffixes with which adjectives are generated. Sporadically, adjectives are generated by the prefixes *ma-*, *ta-*. In the New Hebrides nearly all regional dialects have basic adjectives. There are several languages without adjectival prefixes or suffixes. In contrast, on Ambrym, Santa Cruz, Nifilole, and Obá, the prefix *ma-* is found very often.

In the Solomon Islands there are basic adjectives which are also used as verbs in several languages.

§205. Lihir has no adjectives to denote the fabric of something, but it has adjectives to name colours:

- *kapiz* ‘white’
- *makiat* ‘black’
- *makda* ‘green’
- *gangane* ‘yellow’
Some colours are derived from different objects:

*dul* ‘red’ = ‘blood’, *sul* ‘red’ = ‘flambeau / torch’, *bilabila* ‘red’ = ‘lightning’

View of Komat missionary station at the foot of Mount Kamendar. In the foreground, people are clearing the bush (Neuhaus 1934b:268). Mount Kamendar is the highest mountain above Palie Catholic mission. The name derives from *kam* ‘running water’ and *dar* ‘traditional palm-leaf scoop used to bail out water from canoes’. Perhaps this means that water runs out of the mountain and collects at the top, where it is shaped like a *dar* (Luke Kabariu, pers. comm., 16 April 2014).
Number, §§206–10

§206. Lihir follows the quinary-vigesimal numeral system.

The cardinal numbers are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>number</th>
<th>Lihir</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a ko-min, a min, a wuo, a ko-wuo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>a liak-lio, a lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>a laktol, a buet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>a burut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>a liem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>a liem k’a min, a tanges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>a liem ka liaklio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>a liem k’a laktol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>a liem k’a burut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>a lo liem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>a lo liem ka min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>a laktol liem, a lo liem k’a liem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>a laktol liem k’a min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>a lo liem ka lo kiak, a ziktun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>a lo liem ka lo kiak k’a min, a ziktun k’a min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>a lo ziktun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>a limen ziktun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§207. The forms for ‘one’ are used arbitrarily.

A liaklio is employed nominally, standing by itself, or it is joined with the subsequent noun immediately or by an article. Liakluo, liaklio are also common.

One counts with the hand, starting by bending the thumb, followed by the index finger, etc. Liak means ‘to break’, the generation of liaklio, etc., may be linked to liak. The word lo never occurs by itself:

\[
\text{a lo min, a lo wo (wuo) ‘two ones’}
\]

When emphasising, liaklio comes first, followed by lo:

\[
\text{a liaklio a lo ziktun ‘two people’}
\]

Buet consists of bu + heti ‘three’.62

---

62. Text annotation: “Or bu + eti, bu +heti ‘three’.”
Tanges ‘six’ originally means ‘to jump over’. When counting, one jumps over to the other hand and starts a new sequence of five.

A lo liem represents the fingers of both hands.

A lo liem ka lo kiak ‘the total number of fingers and toes’ = a ziktun ‘the whole human being’.

The northern dialect employs ho instead of wo (wuo).

§208. Ordinal numbers are formed by the word tiam preceding the cardinal numbers:

\[ a \ tiam \ komin \ ‘\text{the first [masc]}’; \ a \ tiam \ liaklio \ etc. \]

The first is also referred to as kinemuo, the verbal noun of kemuo ‘to antedate’. A kinedot ‘the medial / the middle [masc]’ is derived from kedot, whereas a kinemil ‘the last [masc]’ is derived from kemil.

Cardinal numbers precede the noun, ordinal numbers follow the noun:

\[ a \ komin \ a \ ben \ ‘\text{one day}’ \]
\[ a \ ben \ a \ tiam \ komin \ ‘\text{the first day}’ \]

Cardinal numbers are immediately joined with the subsequent noun or via the article. A min ‘one’ mostly has a subsequent article, while liaklio, laktol, burut mostly do not have subsequent articles. Liem too prefers a lime n ben to a liem a ben.

This indicates that for the people of Lihir the significance of the individual adheres to the article a.

The distributive case is equal to the cardinal numbers. The latter are repeated a few times:

\[ a \ min-\text{a} \ min-\text{a} \ min \ ‘\text{one of each}’ \]

Proportional numbers are paraphrased:

\[ a \ burut \ imon \ k’ \ a \ burut \ imon \ ‘\text{here are four and there are four}’ \]
\[ e \ ertawet \ ma \ na \ laktol \ ‘\text{it is equal to three}’ \]

Adverbial numerals respond to the question alakies? ‘how often?’:

\[ akok \ ‘\text{once}’ \]
\[ a \ liaklio \ akok \ ‘\text{two once}’ = ‘\text{twice}’ \]
\[ na \ burut \ akok \ ‘\text{do [sg] it four times, ‘you shall four times}’ = wan a burut \]
\[ sangoye \]
\[ arkies?, \ alakies? \ ‘\text{how many}’ \]
For indefinite numerals, compare §§184ff.

§209. For the word *ko*, compare §186. Besides the confining meaning, *ko* implies ‘one’ as well, in the same way as *akok* generates ‘once’. *Ko*, like *lo*, always stands with another word:

\[a \text{ ko-min}\]

It becomes independent with word-final consonants only:

\[akok\]

In Fijian it is joined with the pronoun:

\[uko-ya ‘he’\]

In Lihir:

\[ko \text{ ye ‘only he’}\]

In Samoa:

\[ko-rua ‘two’\]

Related to the latter is Gela:

\[ke-\text{ha ‘one’}\]

In Rotuman it is a kind of article (Codrington 1885:403; see also Kern 1886:29).

The primary meaning of *ko* is the same as of the individuative *i, e*.

The Sulka language employs *kor*, *kor lo tige ‘once two one’ = ‘three’, kor lolo ‘once two + two’ = ‘four’\(^\text{63}\)

Wo, *ho* is related to Gela *ke-ha*\(^\text{64}\) ‘one’.

Nengone *ha sa ‘each individual / every single one’.

In Japanese the article *wo, wa* is placed subsequently.

There can be little doubt that the words *i, ya, wo, wa, ko, ke, ho, ha, hu, a, e, o* are in very close relationship to each other. They occur as articles, numerals, pronouns, individuative and coincide in their primary meaning ‘person, object, individual’. They appear as enclitic and as independent forms. In some languages they can be omitted if the individual is not overly emphasised.

\(^{63}\) Text annotation: “Compare Bantu *oko* (Trombetti 1928:134–35).”

\(^{64}\) Text annotation: “Ke-wo.”
§210. Lihir agrees with several languages of the New Hebrides insofar as there is no proper name for ‘ten’, and with the Loyalty Islands it agrees insofar as there is no proper name for ‘twenty’. Lihir conforms to the Sulka language regarding the numeral system, but also regarding the numeral lo, lomin ‘two’, the adverbial numeral kor ‘once’, and probably tian ‘one’ = Lihir tiam, the prefix of ordinal numbers. It is also remarkable that lo, in the Sulka language, is used adjectivally, and lor nominally, meaning word-final vowels in correlated words and word-final consonants in neutral words (see Müller 1915–16:82).

The pronoun, §§211–31

§211. The personal pronoun

The southern dialect has no regular quadral, while the northern dialect has one.

Southern dialect:

- singular:
  - yo ‘I, me’
  - wa, o ‘you’
  - ye, e, i ‘he, she, it, him, her’
- plural:
  - giet, da ‘we [incl], us [incl]’
  - ge ‘we [excl], us [excl]’
  - go ‘you’
  - die ‘they, them’
- dual:
  - gito, do ‘we [incl], us [incl]’
  - gel ‘we [excl], us [excl]’
  - gol ‘you’
  - dul ‘they, the two of them’
- trial:
  - gitel, dat ‘we [incl], us [incl]’
  - get ‘we [excl], us [excl]’
  - got ‘you’
  - diet ‘they, the three of them’

Northern dialect:

- singular and plural as above
- dual:
  - kito, do ‘we [incl], us [incl]’
  - gel ‘we [excl], us [excl]’
  - gol, gal ‘you’
  - dul ‘they, the two of them’
- trial:
  - kitel ‘we [incl], us [incl]’
  - getol ‘we [excl], us [excl]’
  - gotol ‘you’
  - dietol ‘they, the three of them’
quadral:

kitahet ‘we [incl], us [incl]’
gehet ‘we [excl], us [excl]’
gohet ‘you’
diehet ‘they, the four of them’

All of these pronouns indicate persons and objects as well as masculine, feminine, and neuter gender.

§212. Some remarks relating to individual forms:

yo is constricted from yau
wa coincides with the Nauruan wa (Micronesia)
giet is a reordering of kita. The root words here are gi + ta. Gi often occurs
in the languages of the New Hebrides, the Banks Islands, Indonesia, and
Polynesia. Ta, nda, da is found in Micronesian (Nauruan), Melanesian,
and Indonesian languages (Kern 1886:20; see also Codrington 1885:11)
ge ‘we [excl]’ becomes ge, ga, ka in the languages of the New Hebrides; ga,
ka, ke in the Banks Islands; ge, ga in the Solomon Islands; and ke in Fiji
go ‘you [pl]’ becomes ka in the Banks Islands and go, ga in the Solomon
Islands
die ‘they’ becomes dia in Malay language; re, ri in Micronesia; nde in Men-
gen; and ra in other Melanesian languages

dual, trial, and quadral are composed of the plural marker and a numeral:

gito: gi + to = do = dua = rua = ro = lo

gel, gol: ge, go + lo

dul: doubling of dua + lo (?), compare Merlav durua
gitet: gi + tel, stands with the Micronesian form tilu ‘three’, compare tel
‘three’ in Volow and Motlav languages in the Banks Islands
gitet: gi + tet ‘four’, coincides with the Micronesian teij ‘four’

§213. Lihir only has a few short pronouns:

o ‘you [sg]’
i, e ‘he’
dehet ‘the four of them’
dat ‘the three of us’
do ‘the two of us’
da ‘we [incl]’

Short pronouns only occur as subjects, not as objects. Full pronouns,
however, can be either subject or object. They do not experience any al-
teration, except for ye that becomes ie after consonants: kirim, kirmie,
tala, talaye. Compare Brandstetter (1934:$118).
Emphatic collocation: Lihir loves to emphasise, pronouns in particular, by repetition. The full form is placed before the short form, if existent:

- yo, yo no ka 'I will go'
- ye i ka 'he goes'
- wa o ka 'you [sg] go'
- giet da ka 'we go'
- gito do
- kitel datol
- kitahet dehet
- go, go
- gege
- kitahet dehen de ka

*Dehen* is derived from *dahet*. *A* becomes *e* under the influence of the preceding and succeeding *e*, and *t* becomes *n* under the influence of subsequent *d*.

Sometimes we find the full form with stressed noun and the short form follows with the verb:

- *Wa pol o yanie a sa*? 'You dog you eat what?' (see Brandstetter 1934:§121, §122)

§214. In Lihir personal pronouns are in loose relation to the verb, either as subject or as object. They are not always placed directly before or after the verb:

- *i bun ka* 'he went immediately'
- *yo manj purek* 'I have just now arrived, I arrive now'
- *e gare te yo* 'he has seen me, he sees me'

Personal pronouns can stand by themselves without any further modification:

- *Se e gare? Yo*. 'Who saw it? I'
- *Se ni ka? Gito*. 'Who will go? The two of us'.

They also appear with demonstrative pronouns:

- *wa ilon* 'you [sg] there', in these cases only do full pronouns occur

The subject pronoun is often joined with the subsequent verb by the particle *i* which, however, can be omitted as well:

- *yo i zakie* 'I say it'
I think it is related to individuative $i$. It cannot be distinguished from the short form of the pronoun in third-person singular:

$ye\ i\ zakie$ ‘he says it’ (see Brandstetter 1934:§127, §129)

The close relation of the pronoun to the verb is found elsewhere in Melanesia as well.

§215. The subject pronoun is placed before the verb, the object pronoun follows it. The subject noun is joined with the verb by the personal pronoun. Yet if the verb denotes a status, the subject pronoun can be omitted:

- $a\ ye\ e\ puok$ ‘the tree it falls’
- $a\ ye\ e\ war$ ‘the tree is broken’
- $a\ ye\ war$ ‘the tree broken’
- $a\ e\ koko\ soko\ purek$ ‘the thorny yams have arrived’
- $a\ e\ koko\ die\ soko\ purek$ ‘the thorny yams they have arrived’

The pronoun conforms usually, but not necessarily, to the subject noun in relation to number:

- $a\ e\ koko\ lamlam\ die\ purek = a\ e\ koko\ lamlam\ e\ purek$ ($die$ = third-person plural, $e$ = third-person singular) ‘all thorny yams have arrived’
- $a\ e\ makil\ die\ zakie = a\ e\ makil\ e\ zakie$ ‘the people say’

The subject pronoun can be elided before the verbal particle $sa, soko$:

- $e\ sa\ ka$ ‘he goes’, $sa\ ka$ ‘he has gone’

The object pronoun too does not have to conform to the number of the subsequent object noun:

- $e\ kirim\ die\ a\ e\ makil, e\ kirmie\ a\ e\ makil$ ‘he lied to the people’

It is elided with certain verbs in which it already seems to be incorporated. Yet it can be placed as well:

- $giar$ ‘to see’, $e\ gare$ ‘he sees it’, $e\ gare\ ye$

It is not placed before an object noun to which the article precedes either. That does not apply for other verbs:

- $e\ tala\ a\ ye$ ‘he fells a tree’, compare §98

Those verbs that absorb the object pronoun $ie$ in third-person singular always place it, except for some terms in which the object noun with the prefixed article follows:

- $e\ surunie\ a\ yeh$ ‘he lit it, the fire’
With these verbs, the object pronoun can be elided in some expressions in which the object noun immediately follows the verb without article:

- sas mazien 'to catch fish'
- kes giam 'to collect shells'

§216. Nominative and accusative coincide. In contrast to other Melanesian languages, Lihir employs the full form of pronouns si wa, me wa, etc., in the dative and genitive, with reference to prepositions. The way the pronoun combines with the preposition of the third-person singular as a personal pronoun or a possessive pronoun depends on the kind of preposition, verbal or nominal:

- isien 'to him, from him / of him'
- menie 'with him'

For all other persons, there is no difference:

- me giet, si giet
- e pik isien, e pik inio = 'he resists him, he does not want it'

Doubling of pronouns is rather seldom since it is difficult to associate a new meaning, unless it relates to emphasis. Most frequent are gitgito, getget and gotgot. For future or intended events as well as imperative, the subject pronouns are:

- no 'I will'
- wan = wan a 'you [sg] will'
- na, ni 'he will'

With the emphatic repetition of the pronoun, the first pronoun occurs in simple present:

- yo no ka 'I, I will go'
- wa, wan ka 'you, you [sg] will go'
- yo ni ka 'he, he will go'

The southern dialect prefers ni, the northern dialect na, yet there is no strict separation. The remaining pronouns suffix the future particle na in the above-mentioned tenses. In the northern dialect it also occurs as a gol na ka, gol a ka.

§217. The possessive pronoun

Personal pronouns are used to indicate possessive pronouns. However, there are some forms of personal pronouns in Lihir that are only used as
possessive pronouns. The ownership structure is expressed by personal pronouns with preceding particles. These particles are nominal prepositions:

- \(ki\) for persons and objects
- \(i\) for meals and drinks, relatives and parts of the body

The extended forms \(ki\ ne, ki\ na, i\ ne, i\ na,\) or \(ne\) by itself, can replace \(ki\) or \(i\). The possessive pronouns that are generated by these prepositions can be placed either before or after the noun that they determine:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a liom ki yo} &= \text{ki yo ma liom ‘my house’} \\
\text{a poz i ne yo} &= \text{i ne yo ma poz ‘my taro’}
\end{align*}
\]

Since \(ki\) and \(i\) are nouns per se (compare §191), the position of the pronoun virtually does not change: it always follows the noun \(ki\). The noun is emphatically placed first: the possessive structure remains noun + personal pronoun. Compare Sa‘a which immediately places the personal pronoun after the noun:

\[
nima inau ‘my house’
\]

Therefore, Lihir \(ki\ yo\) ‘ownership my’ is not an unusual term.

Compare Fijian \(ke, ne\) (Kern 1886; see also Codrington 1885:130).

§218. The immediate conjunction of personal pronoun and noun is common with objects that are closely associated with the personality of an individual, such as parts of the body, relatives, demeanour, proper names, etc. This approach is rooted in the notion that ownership and belongings are different to those things innate to the nature of man, that relatives are his ‘kinsmen’ and not his possessions. The difference between indirect and immediate conjunction of possessive pronouns is determined by this fine and logical distinction. The forms of personal pronouns that are required for immediate suffixation are different for some persons and numbers:

Singular:

- \(ŋ\) ‘my’ \(\rightarrow\) \(limŋ\) ‘my hand’
- (null morpheme) ‘your’ \(\rightarrow\) \(limo\) ‘your hand’
- \(n\) ‘his’ \(\rightarrow\) \(liman\) ‘his hand’

65. Text annotation: “\(Ne\) before pronouns, \(na\) before nouns.”
Plural:

- *giet* [incl] ‘our’ → *limagiet* ‘our hand’
- *me* [excl] ‘our’ → *limame* ‘our hand’
- *mu* ‘your’ → *limamu* ‘your hand’
- *die* ‘their’ → *limadie* ‘their hand’

Dual:

- *gito* [incl] → *limagito* (northern dialect -*kito* [incl])
- *mel* [excl] → *limamel*
- *mul* → *limamul*
- *dul* → *limadul*

Trial, southern dialect:

- *dat* [incl] → *limadat*
- *met* [excl] → *limamet*
- *got* → *limagot*
- *diet* → *limadiet*

Trial, northern dialect:

- *datol* [incl] → *limadatol*
- *kitel* [incl]
- *metol* [excl] → *limametol*
- *mutol* [excl] → *limamutol*
- *ditol* → *limaditol*

Quadral, northern dialect:

- *kitahet* [incl] → *limakitahet*
- *mehet* [excl] → *limamehet*
- *muhet* → *limamuhet*
- *diehet* → *limadiehet*

The nouns representing father, mother, and ancestor have the vocative for the first-person singular:

- *tata* ‘my father’, *tamo* ‘your father, taman’ ‘his father’
- *doy* ‘my mother’, *tino* ‘your mother’, *tinan* ‘his mother’
- *pupu* ‘my ancestor’, *tumbu* ‘your ancestor’, *tumbuon* ‘his ancestor’

For the sound change of nouns with the suffixation of these pronouns, see §125. Like Lihir, Motlav, Volow, and Lo do not suffix the pronoun of the second-person singular. In fact there is no pronoun in first- and third-person singular in the Lihir language either; *ŋ* is a reflexive marker.
Compare Pala nin ‘this one / that one’, ninj ‘the one who’, limonj ‘hand (with reference to myself)’, limo ‘your hand’. In the third person the demonstrative particle that refers to another person is placed without the pronoun too. Here, the possessive pronoun is proof of the unique meaning of word-final consonants. Lihir, like other Austronesian languages, loses the word-final vowel of third-person singular, which is the virtual pronoun, and only keeps the demonstrative consonant n. (O of second-person singular limo cannot be considered to be a possessive pronoun since kakeŋ has kake and nuzuŋ has nuzu.)

Me, mu exist independently in Gelik (Patpatar) dialect of Pala:

\[mem ‘we [excl]’, mu ‘you [pl]’, also compare lo, mem ‘we [excl]’\]

In Lihir mo, mu and their related forms cannot be independent.

§219. In Lihir a possession can further be expressed by attaching the personal pronouns, which serve the immediate suffixation, to a nominal preposition. Personal pronouns and nominal prepositions are placed after the noun:

\[wo-nj, wo, wa-n\]

kael-wo-nj ‘my shoulder’, kael-wo ‘your shoulder’, kael-wa-nj ‘his shoulder’

compare §191

Excluded from this is the nominal preposition ki because it only denotes material possession. Wo, in its primary meaning mainly, but not exclusively, refers to persons. Lihir suffixes this possessive morpheme only, as does Pohnpeian whose morphemes wai, wom, we, wen are related to it.

Ambonese and Nauruan, however, prefix it to the noun:

Ambonese uan-dal-lo ‘his face’ (Stresemann 1927:31)
Nauruan wana ‘his [poss sg]’

§220. Furthermore, Lihir puts the possessive marker first:

immediate without particle
via particles: the peculiarity here is that pronouns and particles are employed again to some extent that are not used when they are placed after the noun. Yet the northern dialect is less exclusive in this regard
§221. The pronouns that are put first are:

Southern dialect:

**singular:**
- *gu* ‘my’ → *gu pu-bual* ‘my piece of pork’
- *o* ‘your’ → *o pu-bual* ‘your piece of pork’
- *nan* ‘his’ → *nan pu-bual* ‘his piece of pork’

An exception is the third-person singular: it is placed with the particle *na* (or: *na* ‘his’ + demonstrative pronoun *n*)

**plural:**
- *da* [incl] → *da pu-bual*
- *be* [excl] → *be pu-bual*
- *bu* → *bu pu-bual*
- *die* → *di pu-bual*

**dual:**
- *do* [incl] → *do pu-bual*
- *bel* [excl] → *bel pu-bual*
- *bul* → *bul pu-bual*
- *dul* → *dul pu-bual*

**trial:**
- *dat* [incl] → *dat pu-bual*
- *bet* [excl] → *bet pu-bual*
- *bot* → *bot pu-bual*
- *diet* → *diet pu-bual*

The northern dialect forms the singular in the same way as the southern dialect. The remaining forms are no different from those mentioned in §218 for the northern dialect, except for:

**dual:** first person *do* [incl]
**trial:** first person *datol* [incl]
**quadral:** first person *gehet* [incl]
**plural:** first person *da* [incl]

The forms *be, bu* are probably identical to *me, mu*. The plosives replaced the nasals. See also Lihir *buet, buel* ‘a few / several / some’, Merlav *bul-tol.*

Placing the pronouns first is employed for food and relatives in random alternation with the already mentioned forms.

§222. For all other things that do not denote food or relatives, the possessive pronoun is put first and requires fixation to a particle.

---

There is also a difference here between the southern dialect and the northern dialect:

Southern dialect:

**singular:**

- *nu*-ŋ 'my' → *nuŋ* *bual* 'my pig' (not pork)
- *gi*, *ge* 'your' → *gi* *bual* 'your pig'
- *gian*, *gen*, *gan* 'his' → *gian* *bual* 'his pig'

**plural:**

- *kanda* [incl]
- *ka-mbe* [excl]
- *ka-mbu*
- *ka-ndie*

**dual:**

- *ka-ndo* [incl]
- *ka-mbel* [excl]
- *ka-mbul*
- *ka-ndul*

**trial:**

- *ka-ndat* [incl]
- *ka-mbet* [excl]
- *ka-mbot*
- *ka-ndiet*

The form *geŋ* for first-person singular is unknown in Lihir.

Compare Pak *ge*-k, *ge*-m.

In Lihir the nominal preposition *ka* is put first only when combined with pronouns. In conjunction with nouns, however, it can be placed after the noun. Compare §167.

This is also found in other Melanesian languages in conjunction with pronouns. Compare Qunan Tuna. Since *ka* does not have the immediate suffixation *kaŋ*, the particles could be interpreted as a representation of names for objects and the conjunction with pronouns as immediate juxtaposition: *ka nda*, not *kanda*

Northern dialect:

**singular:**

- *nuŋ* 'my'
- *gi*, *ge* 'your'
- *ga* 'his'

*Ga* has elided *n*. Is it perceived as a genitive marker?
ga wayen ‘his wife’, instead of gan wayen
ko bual, instead of kon bual ‘head of the pig’

plural:
  ki-nda ‘our [incl]’
  ge ‘our[excl]’
  gu
die
dual:
  ki-ndo [incl]
  gemel [excl]
gumul
  kidul
trial:
  ki-ndatol [incl]
  gemetol [excl]
gumutol
  ki-dietol
quadral:
  ki-gehet [incl]
  ge-mehet [excl]
  gu-muhet
  ki-ndiehet

The following forms occur additionally:

  ki-ne-gu ‘my’
  ki-ne-wa ‘your’
  ki-ne-ye ‘his’
  ki-ne-me ‘our [excl]’

With reference to gumul and gumutol, ge has probably become gu under the influence of the subsequent u. The difference between emphatic pre-fixation and the one mentioned here is that the first always has a following article whilst the latter does not:

  ki yo ma liom ‘my house’, but nuŋ liom ‘my house’
  ine yo ma pu-bual ‘my piece of pork’, but gu pu-bual ‘my piece of pork’

§223. Placing the genitive marker before and after the noun is found to the same extent, although the two manners of application are due to diverse influences. The possessive pronouns do not have articles placed before them, with the exception of nuŋ ‘my’. Anuŋ, however, does not always make use of it. Anuŋ most likely follows the Indonesian anu, compare Brandstetter (1933:§24). Kanda liom ‘our house’.
When placing the possessive case first, plural particles, individual particles, and numerals are put directly before the noun:

- *kanda e liom* ‘our houses’
- *nuŋ i-wuos* ‘my rain’
- *kanda laktol bual* ‘my three pigs’

§224. There are several combinations for possessive pronouns. If a possessive pronoun that denotes food, etc., encounters another possessive pronoun, one that denotes common nouns, the following structure is used:

- *a pož in a nuŋ bual* ‘a taro for my pig’

Emphatic conjunctions are:

- *i ne yo gu puas* ‘of me my relative [fem]’, ‘my relative’

Likewise:

- *gu puas i ne yo, yo gu min gu puas, i ne yo gu min gu puas*
  - *a liom ki giet* ‘our house’

Likewise:

- *ki giet a liom, ki giet ka nda liom, ka nda liom ki giet, giet ka nda liom ki giet*
  - *a liom si na nuŋ bual* ‘a house for my pig’

Likewise:

- *nuŋ bual a liom isien, ye nuŋ bual a liom isien*

§225. Lihir conforms to Pohnpeian in the way it treats the possessive pronouns. The inseparable (essential) togetherness is indicated by immediate suffixation; the separable togetherness, like food, by the preceding personal pronoun; the separable possession by the indirect preceding personal pronoun. The existing differences emerge from the previous sections.

See also Pohnpeian *aneki* ‘to possess’, as well as the emphatic prefixation of *e-men* ‘a living being’ (Lihir *a min* ‘someone / somebody / anyone / anybody’).

I do believe, contrary to Dr. Girschner, that an indirect suffixation in the suffix *wai-, wom-, we-* is a possibility, as Lihir and Nauruan demonstrate (Girschner and Schmidt 1910:560).

Since emphatic suffixation differs from the other by placing the article before the noun at all times, both cannot be equated. The latter can possibly be ascribed to Papuan influences.
§226. Demonstrative pronouns

The following pronouns all denote ‘this, that [masc, fem, neut]’, with no remarkable semantic differences:

ne, nene
re, re
kere, kare
me, men, imen
ye, yen, iyen
le, len, ilen
mel, imel
ipel
ti, ti-pel

The following pronouns all denote ‘yonder / that [masc, fem, neut]’:

mon, imon
man
lon, ilon
yon, yan, iyan
yel, iyel

The aforementioned demonstrative pronouns can be singular or plural, subject or object. They are placed immediately after the noun or before it, joined by the article:

a wayen nene ‘the woman there / over there’, likewise: nene a wayen
ipel ma puor ‘this place’
a min imen a ziktun ‘one (of) this human beings’

Demonstrative pronouns can stand by themselves as exclamations:

Yel! ‘There!’
Mel! ‘This one [masc nom]!’
Man! ‘Yonder [masc acc]!’

They serve as adverbs of place and as temporal adverbs too. Lihir pronouns are very similar to the pronouns nene, kere of Gog and eni, keri, yani of Gela (Codrington 1885:105).

§227. Relative pronouns are unknown in Lihir. Demonstrative pronouns are used as such to emphatically indicate what has been said. Pala has a particular marker for reflexive pronouns, which in Lihir is used only as the possessive case of first-person singular:

Pala ni, nin ‘this one [masc nom]’
ninj ‘the (one) who [masc nom]’
i ‘that (there) [neut]’
inya ‘the … which [neut]’

The sentence *Deo a toye pet ipel e sango giet* is wrongly translated to the people of Lihir as, ‘God is a good lord who created us’. It has to be, ‘God a good lord is this, he created us’.

§228. Personal pronouns in conjunction with the word *ole* are employed as reflexive pronouns:

*e kumul ole ye* ‘he killed himself’
*a wayen ole ki yo* ‘my own wife’, compare the Indonesian word *ole* which expresses the meaning of this sentence67

§229. Interrogative pronouns are those that are commonly found in Melanesia:

*si*, *se* for persons
*sa* for objects

Both forms are used unaltered for subject and object:

Se wa? ‘Who are you [sg]?’
*O gare se?* ‘Whom do you [sg] see?’
*Sa imen?* ‘What is that?’
*O pol sa?* ‘What do you [sg] buy?’

After verbs with attached object pronouns, the article is placed before the interrogative pronoun:

*O zakie a sa?* ‘You [sg] say what?’
*O zakie le se?* ‘You [sg] say who?’

Elsewhere the article is placed arbitrarily:

*Ne se imen?* ‘Who is this?’, likewise: *Le se imen?*
*A sa imon?* ‘What is this?’
*O hen yo na sa?* ‘You [sg] present me with what?’

The interrogative pronouns *se*, *sa*, when placed after the noun, also refer to the the nature of persons and objects:

*A ziktun se imon?* or: *A zikzun sa imon?* ‘What kind of person is this?’
*A liom sa imon?* ‘What kind of house is this?’

---

67. Text annotation: “Bug ole (Brandstetter 1912:§156).”
The natives often associate with this question a deviation, or contemptuousness at the same time:

- *A talan sa imon?* ‘What kind of behaviour is this?’
- *A ziktun sa imen* ‘What a terrible person’

*A sawa?* ‘What is the point of that?’, ‘How can one!’ is employed if one is not of the same opinion as another person:

- *A sawa?* ‘What is that supposed to mean?’

Compare Mota *sawa*.

In other Melanesian languages *se, sa* are also used as indefinite pronouns. In Lihir, only *sa* is used as such, either for persons or objects.

Compare Mota.

§230. Indefinite pronouns:

- *sa* ‘anyone / anybody / someone / somebody, anything / something, few / several’
- *a min* ‘any / one, anyone / anybody / somebody/someone’
- *el, en* ‘few / several / any’
- *sa pu-tapeka* ‘some tobacco’
- *sa ziktun* ‘any person’
- *a min e zakie* ‘someone has said it’
- *sa tamboh* ‘something big’
- *yo ka el* ‘I have taken a few’
- *a en e minos* ‘a few field crops’
- *kapae na el puk* ‘not any few pieces’ = ‘nothing’
- *sa el* ‘few’
- *sa min* ‘any / one, sa en’

Pronominalia:

- *asukain, asukai, asukain* are used to ask for name and kinship.
- *masa* asks for the kind of activity.
  - *O masa?* ‘What are you [sg] doing?’, ‘How are you [sg]?’

§231. Compared to other Melanesian languages, Lihir presents the following idiosyncrasies with regard to pronouns:

(a) Lihir belongs to that group of languages in which the subject pronoun and object pronoun are identical. Only third-person singular has, in conjunction with a pronoun, another form.
(b) It follows those languages that choose the full form for object pronouns (Brandstetter 1934:§119).

(c) Lihir, contrary to other languages, has no particular forms that are combined with verbs or prepositions.

(d) Lihir contents itself with one possessive particle for eating, drinking, and kinship, like the languages of the Solomon Islands.

(e) Lihir, with few other Melanesian languages, places the genitive marker first.

(f) Lihir, together with few Melanesian languages, forms a group that has no specific possessive marker for second-person singular.

(g) It elides, like some other languages, the morpheme $a$ in third-person singular of the suffixed pronoun:

\[ \text{liman instead of limana} \]

(h) The northern dialect follows those languages with comprehensive quadral.

---

A picturesque view of the mountains in the centre of the island (Neuhaus 1932:337).
The verb, §§232–73

§232. In Lihir the most diverse root words—those that indicate a status, an activity, a suffering, a characteristic trait or event—can be used as verbs without being marked by a particular bound morpheme. To become a verb, it is sufficient to place the personal pronoun before the root word.

\[
\begin{align*}
e \text{pol} & \quad \text{‘it hops / it jumps / it leaps’} \\
e \text{war} & \quad \text{‘it breaks / it bursts’} \\
e \text{kar} & \quad \text{‘he goes’} \\
e \text{pet} & \quad \text{‘he is good’} \\
e \text{pan} & \quad \text{‘he awakes / he wakes up’}
\end{align*}
\]

§233. There are root and generated verbs. Generated verbs can have most diverse root words—such as nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and compound words—as a starting point.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{apetien} & \quad \text{‘to make well’}, \text{pet} \quad \text{‘good’} \\
\text{lumaye} & \quad \text{‘to press with the hand’}, \text{liem} \quad \text{‘hand’} \\
\text{asolenie} & \quad \text{‘to do something quickly’}, \text{sosole} \quad \text{‘fast / quick’} \\
\text{tata-utien} & \quad \text{‘to speak in allegories’}, \text{tata} \quad \text{‘to speak’}, \text{utien} \quad \text{‘as / how / like’} \\
e \text{surekekekdon} & \quad \text{‘to spread the arms like a dragonfly spreads its wings’ (see also Brandstetter 1934:§21)}
\end{align*}
\]

§234. Neutral and correlated verbs

Verbs of one group have word-final consonants; they become correlated verbs by word-final vowel:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{piat} : & \quad \text{‘to chaffer’}, \text{pite} \quad \text{‘to say’} \\
\text{giar} : & \quad \text{‘see’}, \text{gare} \quad \text{‘to see it’}
\end{align*}
\]

Another group of neutral verbs has final vowels, and the verbs become correlated by attaching a consonant:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{le} & \quad \text{‘to happen’}, \text{len-ie ‘to make’} \\
\text{te} & \quad \text{‘to pull / to stretch / to tow’}, \text{ten-ie ‘to pull it etc.’}
\end{align*}
\]

A third group of neutral verbs has final vowels, and they become correlated verbs by altering the word-final vowel:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{te} & \quad \text{‘to say’}, \text{taye ‘to say it’}
\end{align*}
\]
However, this differentiation only occurs with nouns and the pronouns of the third-person singular and plural, thus with objects that are referred to first, before something is revealed about them. Such indications are not required for first- and second-person singular pronouns. Only verbs of the second and third group do not alter the vowel when referring to the pronoun of the third-person plural:

\[ \text{te, taye, te die} \]
\[ \text{azerke, azer-ken-ie, azerke die} \]

For the second group one could assume that the nasal of the pronoun agglutinates with the demonstrative pronoun:

\[ \text{oazerken die} \]

§235. Personal and impersonal verbs

\[ \text{yo yen ‘I eat’, da yen ‘one eat’, e wuos ‘it rains’} \]

Impersonal verbs are frequently replaced by a nominal structure:

\[ \text{a i-wuos ‘the rain, it rains’} \]
\[ \text{a niyen ‘food, one eat’} \]

§236. Reflexive verbs:

Lihir employs reflexive verbs to some extent, in cases that are related to our perception and partly in cases that deviate from it:

\[ \text{a e mon lamlam e tonnie ‘all the birds are gathering’} \]
\[ \text{a puwam e lutennie ‘the laplap flutters’} \]
\[ \text{a i-mol e ku riorionie ‘the wind roars’ (literal translation: the wind roars itself)} \]
\[ \text{a anio e uitie ‘the village has emptied’} \]
\[ \text{a e ziktun die se wit die ‘the people have run away’ = ‘the people have left the village’ (literal translation: the people have run away themselves)} \]
\[ \text{a rotrot e rotie ‘the thunder thunders’} \]
\[ \text{mon pikzenie ‘to lie on one’s side, to turn / to rotate / to swivel’} \]

68. Text annotation: “The elision of the demonstrative particle of third-person plural may stem from the assumption that the plural pronouns were identical to the singular pronouns.”

69. To indicate these deviations, a second literal translation is provided to reveal which verbs are, according to the examples, reflexive verbs in Lihir.

70. Lit., ‘the laplap flutters itself’.

71. Lit., ‘the thunder thunders itself’.
The auxiliary word *ole* is employed too:

*e kumul ole yo* ‘he kills himself’ (Brandstetter 1934:§157)

Medial verbs are:

- *matomato* ‘to be ashamed’
- *gasgas* ‘to rejoice’
- *gunguer* ‘to wash one's hands’
- *susul* ‘to bathe’
- *tun* ‘to bend down’
- *tan* ‘to raise upright / to straighten’
- *kukuet* ‘to hang oneself’
- *kukuos* ‘to paint’
- *tiro* ‘to be reflected’

Doubling in a medial sense is almost entirely employed for some of these verbs, for instance *kukuet*. Yet it does not apply to all verbs.

§237. Reciprocal verbs are generated by prefixing the particles *er-, her-:

- *dul ersas* ‘to fight with each other’
- *ersiel* ‘to play together’
- *errapot* ‘to embrace one another’

Causative verbs contain the prefix *a- (ha-)*, or they combine with the suffixed auxiliary word *le, ke* ‘to make’ or with the prefixed auxiliary word *sango* ‘to make’:

- *amonie* ‘to make something lie, to put down’
- *maslenie* ‘to dry it’
- *zerkenie* ‘to let know, to reveal / to confess / to announce’
- *sango pararenie* ‘to make it pure’

In the northern dialect, *le* is also prefixed:

*le ziale* ‘make [sg] it come out’

Sometimes verbs have a causative meaning without any particular morpheme:

*monie* ‘to to lay down’ = *amonie* (see Brandstetter 1934:§45); see also §239, §246

---

Verbs indicating direction are combined with directional or demonstrative auxiliary verbs:

\[ \text{kuih ‘to blow’, kuihlone ‘blow [sg] in the direction’} \]
\[ \text{pizir ‘to write’, pizirlenie ‘write it [sg] like that’} \]

Dative verbs occur with a preposition only, accusative verbs without:

\[ \text{e alan si yo ‘he listens to me’} \]
\[ \text{e lalum yo ‘he hears me’} \]

§238. Verbal prefixes

Verbal prefixes are partly in actual use, while others are agglutinated with the word. For the time being, it cannot always be determined whether a particle is a bound morpheme or an auxiliary word:

\[ \text{Er- (her-), doubled: erer, herher} \]

This denotes a joint action, a relation between several persons, a plural, and a crowd / quantity that is linked to each other. An intensification of the term goes along with it sometimes, for instance more people work harder and faster. It generates intransitive verbs, as shown in the aforementioned, as well as verbal nouns:

\[ \text{orsas ‘to fight with each other’, a ersas ‘the act of fighting’} \]
\[ \text{ersuru ‘to be full’ = ‘a house full of people’} \]
\[ \text{erpezpez ‘to work together, to work with several people, to work fast’} \]
\[ \text{erpurek ‘to arrive together, to arrive one after the other’} \]
\[ \text{ermaten ‘to love each other’} \]
\[ \text{ermel ‘to live together’} \]
\[ \text{ertuaye ‘to stand together against someone’} \]

Compare \text{har, var, vei} in other Melanesian languages (Codrington 1885:183; see also Kern 1886:51).

§239. The prefix \text{a- (ha-)} is not doubled. It starts with basic forms that denote a characteristic trait or a status. Furthermore, it indicates that someone is prompted to do something, that he is shown how something is done, that something shall happen to someone, that he is instructed to do something, that he is forced to do something, that he is educated, etc.

\[ \text{pet ‘good’ → apetien ‘to do something well’} \]
\[ \text{zer ‘to know’ → azerie ‘to let know, to announce, to teach’} \]
\[ \text{pez ‘to touch’ → apazie ‘to put someone something in his hand, to show how he has to grab it’} \]
\[ \text{mon ‘to lie, amonie ‘to lie down’} \]
This prefix reoccurs in many Melanesian languages: _wa-, pa-, fa-, ha-, a_- (Codrington 1885:183; see also Kern 1886:57).

It persists as an independent root word or as part of it in several Melanesian languages:

- East Ambae language _vei, vai_ ‘to make’
- Santa Cruz _va_ ‘to work’
- Duke of York _papam_ ‘to work’
- Lihir _pez, pazie_ ‘to work’
- Pala _papa-lim_ ‘to work’ (see Stresemann 1927:159)

In Lihir it has predominantly the same function as the suffix _le, ke_ and is used with it on the same root word:

- _mas-lenie_ ‘to make dry’, likewise _amaslenie_
- _zerkenie_ ‘to let know, to reveal / to confess, to announce’, likewise _azerkenie_

Sometimes it can also be used randomly:

- _monie, amonie_ ‘to lay down’

§240. The verbal prefix _ga-, ge-_.

This is prefixed to verbs denoting an opening, a hollowing out:

- _rir_ ‘to drill’, _ga-rir_ ‘to drill a hole / to drill out’
- _ge-lilie_ ‘to widen by drilling or by pushing’
- _liot, ga-liot_ ‘to make a hole’, both words have passive meaning too: ‘hollowed’
- _roh, ga-roh_ ‘to be hollow’

In Pala many conjunctions with this prefix exist. It also occurs as an independent root word _ŋaŋa_ ‘to be open, to be hollow’.

For the conversion of _ŋ_ into _g_, compare:

- Pala _ŋatŋat_ ‘mosquito’
- Lihir _ŋetŋet, getget_ ‘sand fly’

Lihir employs _panaŋ_ ‘to make the mouth open’; in Pala _panaŋa_ (_pa_ = causative _a, ha_ in Lihir).

Furthermore in Pala:

- _ret_ ‘to scratch’, _ga-ret_ ‘to scratch a wound’
- _ga-sor_ ‘to push through the internodes of bamboo’
- _garoh_ ‘to abrade’
- _gaso_ ‘to make incisions’
gato ‘to cut in / to engrave / to incise’
gahir ‘to hit softly, to brush against slightly’
ŋaŋah ‘to become deeper’

Compare Khmer ŋap ‘to burst / to explode’ (Schmidt 1906:12).

Compare Mota sal ‘to cut’, ga-sal ‘knife’. Ga is used to denote the maker of the tool in this context (Codrington 1885:262). Does it have the connotation ‘to incise’ as well?

§241. The verbal prefix i-.

This is prefixed to some verbs without significantly altering the meaning. It may be related to lie, ilie.
norie, isirie ‘to beat’

It is often used to denote imperative:

wan isirie ‘beat him [sg]’
wani lie ‘throw it away [sg]’

The bound morpheme a refers to an emphasised demand:

lo ‘to run’, alo ‘run [sg]’
kiz ‘to sit’, akiz ‘sit down [sg]’
sosol ‘fast / quick’, asosol ‘quickly, quickly’
lan ‘to hear’, alan ‘to obey’, wan alan ‘do obey [sg]’, e kasi alan ‘he really does not want to obey’ (subjective persistence is expressed here) (see also Brandstetter 1934:§78; 1933:§159)

§242. The verbal prefix ra-.

This prefix is related to er, her. It states a mutual relationship and generates intransitive verbs and verbal nouns:

rapitep ‘to lie on top of each other’
ralil ‘to be delayed by something, to hesitate’
a i-re-tinen ‘the whiner, someone who easily cries’
ka rapuat ‘to part / to disperse / to diverge / to separate’
a i-ra-tiniat ‘the spendthrift [fem]’
rapaper ‘to lie on top of each other’
ranas ‘to give order to someone’, derived from naso (Kern 1886:163; Brandstetter 1933:§91)

§243. The bound morpheme ta as dead prefix with some words:

raprap ‘to break apart, broken apart’, taraprap ‘broken apart’
In Lihir the word *raprap* has a passive meaning as well, without the morpheme *ta*:

- *riaŋ, tarianj* ‘to rustle / to clang’
- *rake, tarakake* ‘to spread the legs’

The bound morpheme *ka* is a dead prefix with some words too:

- *bambot, kambot* ‘closed’
  regarding *kalet* ‘to bite’, *ka* is an independent root *kal* ‘to bite’ + *let* ‘to bite’
  regarding *ka-do* ‘to be undercooked’, *ka* is a negation particle denoting ‘not cooked’

The bound morpheme *ma* occurs mostly in the prefixes mentioned in this section:

- *koz, makazkaz* ‘cuspid / pointed / sharp’
- *lah, lalah, malaklah* ‘to float, light’
- *laklak, malaklak* ‘light, brittle’

The bound morpheme *mo*:

- *kuriz, mokuriz* ‘dried up’

*Mo* is probably generated by assimilation from *ma* to *u*, as in *kuriz* since I do not know of any other examples. *Mo-kakoz* ‘to stretch’ = *mon kakzio*

The bound morpheme *la*:

- *la-lupez* ‘to take down’ is an independent root word:
  - *lal* ‘to get something down, to take away’ + *lupez* ‘to take down, to take something off’

The prefixes *ta-, ka-, ma-* that were mentioned in this section coincide in the meaning ‘to be’. They appear as the real auxiliary temporal verb since the root words already have passive meaning or a meaning that refers to the actual status. See Brandstetter (1933:§168; 1934:§46).

§244. Verbal suffixes

With regard to verbs, Lihir makes use of suffixes more often than prefixes. These suffixes still have independent meaning to a certain extent, yet they are partially found in other Melanesian languages as independent root words. A few have conserved their independence and are placed either before or after the verb. One could conclude that their independent

---

73. Text annotation: “Duplication here is generated by doubling the noun *ke* ‘leg,’ *ra + ke*, *ra + keke*.”
meaning and function may have been original, that due to the defined complexity of their meaning they often convened with other verbs in order to qualify them, and that they thereby became bound morphemic auxiliary words, before they finally became prefixes or suffixes.

Prefixes and suffixes have often interlaced and have the same functions. Agglutination of auxiliary words with the verb becomes very obvious in the Lihir language. The meaning of one suffix is not always homogeneous. Some have directional and causative meaning at the same time. Yet with a number of suffixes, the primary meaning is clear-cut. Lihir verbal suffixes show a close affinity to those of Ambonese languages and of Nicobar. A whole chapter concerning the affinity to these languages will follow.

§245. The bound morpheme -le, -lenie, -l.

This morpheme has a causative meaning in the first place. It replaces the prefix a-, ha- or is placed with it:

- mas ‘dry’ → mas-lenie ‘to make dry’, likewise amaslenie
- nak ‘to drown, to suffocate’, naklenie ‘to drown someone’
- got ‘to be restless’ → gotlenie ‘to make restless, to make shy’

It indicates a certain direction:

- kuih ‘to blow’, kuye a tawil ‘to blow the conch shell’ → kuih-lenie ‘to blow in this and that direction’
- lo ‘to run, to drive / to cart’ → a pinas e lo-le tu lel ‘the pinnace went in that direction’
- suel ‘to dig / to burrow / to rut’ → a bual sa suel-le ‘the pig digs here and there and keeps digging’

Furthermore, it denotes how something should be done, by telling or demonstration:

- yes ‘to cut’ → yes-lenie ‘cut [sg] it like this’
- pual ‘to paint (the face/body)’ → pualenie = pual-lenie ‘to show someone how to paint (the face/body)’

Le, per se, persists in the following denotations:

- e le solo yel ‘it happened in such a way’

74. There is no §245 in the original manuscript.
wan lenie 'do [sg] it'
wan le ziale 'make [sg] it come out'
le 'there/over there'
le-l 'there'
le-n 'here'
e pite, e ko le 'he said, he…'

The northern dialect also places le before the verb:
wan le zirie 'split [sg] it'
wan le ziale a i-kalame 'stick out [sg] your tongue'
wan le inie, wan zirzirie an 'engage [sg] in it, split it'

Sometimes it has the prefix a-:
alenie a mazien 'to chase fish in a certain direction'

Compare Stresemann (1927:157):
sakay 'to ascent / to augment / to climb / to increase'
(p)a sakay sa, a sakay, e sakay lo-le 'to elevate / to increase / to enhance'

Here it is also combined with causative pa. Compare Schmidt (1906:57).

Le with final vowels refers to the neutral form, len to the correlated form.

§247. The morpheme -se, -senie, -s, -seye, -sie, -zie.

(a) It initially indicates ‘away, by, from, of, off’:
yar ‘to kick’ → yarsenie ‘to kick away’
re ‘to flow’ → risenie ‘to effuse / to pour out’
kiakaksenie ‘to drag away’
bam ‘side’ → bam-senie ‘to put aside’
guar ‘to crumble’ → guar-senie ‘to scatter / to disperse’

Regarding the examples above, it is an independent auxiliary word: se is neutral and senie is the correlated form. For other conjunctions, it agglu-

75. Yarsenie is used to describe a child crying to its father or mother for food, fruits, fish, or whatever the child sees other children eating or in possession of. The child continuously cries, rolls on the sand, kicking its legs, and begs the others to get it what the child wants. There term is also used for pigs who follow their owner, crying and running after him when they are hungry. We say, e bol di sa yaryarsenie or the pigs are crying and running after him when they are hungry for food (Luke Kabariu, pers. comm., 18 February 2014).

76. For example, to hold a child by the hand (in order to teach him or her to walk), to escort an old man to his house, to walk behind a pig (in order to guide it to the pig fence) (Luke Kabariu, pers. comm., 11 August 2012).
minated with the root word, under the influence of those languages that demand word-final consonants for the neutral root words.\textsuperscript{77}

\textit{wir} ‘to rotate / to spin / to turn, \textit{wiris} ‘to switch off / to turn off’

In correlated form, it becomes \textit{wir-sie}, and not \textit{wir-senie} because final vowels are compulsory for the correlated form (the word-final vowel \textit{i} can either be the article of the correlated form or the individuative \textit{i}; the word-final consonant \textit{n} is a demonstrative marker).

\textit{tartar win} ‘to break off bananas’, likewise \textit{taros win, tarsie a win}

(b) It has the directional meaning ‘upwards / up / upward / upstairs’:

\textit{pel} ‘to look’, \textit{pel se} ‘to look up’, as such it is the independent verb ‘to climb’

(c) \textit{Si} as a preposition, denoting ‘above / over / about / with / in’:

\textit{gan} ‘to be glad / to rejoice’ → \textit{gan-senie} ‘to enjoy something / to rejoice in something’\textsuperscript{78}

(d) It has causative meaning:

\textit{on} ‘full’ → \textit{onsie} ‘to fill’

\textit{bi} ‘blind’ → \textit{bizie} ‘to blind / to dazzle’ → \textit{bizlen a matan} ‘to dazzle the eyes so’

(that is, to blind in a particular way, for instance by covering the face with the hand)

Se persists as an independent verb in Pala; it denotes ‘to throw away, away’:

\textit{nu se} \textit{i} ‘throw [sg] it away’

\textit{kap se} ‘take [sg] it away’

Compare:

Florida Islands \textit{sani} ‘away / off / from / of’, used verbally (Codrington 1885:536)

Wango \textit{bar-as} ‘to dispel’

Lihir \textit{bar} ‘to barricade / to block / to lock up’

Pala \textit{bat se} ‘to dispel’

Gog language \textit{magao} ‘pain’, \textit{magaosi} ‘to cause pain’

Nicobarese \textit{ac, se} ‘westward, down / low, away / off’

\textit{Ac, se} are related to \textit{wiris, wirse, baras, bat se} (Schmidt 1906:55).

\textsuperscript{77} Text annotation: “\textit{Senie} still shows the independent nature of the verb \textit{se}, whilst \textit{sie} demonstrates the agglutination with the root word.”

\textsuperscript{78} Text annotation: “Or directional, in relation to something.”
§248. The bound morpheme -me, -menie, -m, -mie:

(a) Indicates ‘together / altogether / combined, to accrue / to accumulate / to amass’:

\[tor\ 'crowd / lot / magnitude' \rightarrow tor-menie 'to band together / to get together / to join, to lump together / to combine'
\]
\[kalal 'to rotate / to turn / to spin' \rightarrow kalalmenie a wal 'to twist a string from several strands'
\]
\[ton 'crowd / lot / magnitude' \rightarrow tandum, tonmie 'to pile up / to amass'
\]

What was mentioned in relation to se in §247 applies to the forms me, menie, tandum, tonmie.

(b) Refers to the idea of an aid, denoting ‘with’:

\[zor 'claw' \rightarrow zormie, zarum 'to grab with the claws, to grab with the fingers'
\]

Here, the previous idea can be applied as well, since claws and fingers constitute a plurality:

\[zal 'alone / by oneself' \rightarrow e mel zalmie 'he is alone / he is by himself'
\]

(c) Has causative meaning:

\[pot 'to fall out / to be cancelled / to fail' \rightarrow potmie, patum 'to break out / to escape'
\]
\[pol 'to break / to burst' \rightarrow polmie, palum 'to break'
\]

Here, the plurality also becomes evident: potmie is used when referring to betel nuts and coconuts that are picked in clusters. Separating them will give you more pieces.

Me can also be found as an independent auxiliary word in the phrase:

\[a ye i me zirian 'the tree it at once discards all leaves,' \]
\[here me is placed before the verb (see Schmidt 1906:55)
\]

Me can be used as a preposition,\(^{80}\) denoting ‘at / by / during / in / near / next to / on / with, altogether, in company’:

\[me si yo 'with me / at my place'
\]
\[i kiz menie 'he sits with him'
\]

---

79. It is not clear what is meant by the underlining here, although it may be used to focus attention on what is being talked about.

80. Text annotation: “As a verbal preposition.”
Menie is the correlated form of me. The difference between neutral and correlated forms can be found in all languages. Compare Duke of York koro, korge, korori ‘to consort with someone’.

§249. The bound morpheme -ge, -genie denotes a motion towards something and motion in general:

- *pan* ‘awake’ → *pangenie* ‘to shake someone in order to wake him up / to awaken’
- *tan* ‘to lift the head’ → *tangenie* ‘to bend the head backward’
- *zazgenie* ‘to let something jolt’
- *sangenie* ‘to stick into something’
- *zamgenie* ‘to free something by shaking or moving, to shake out the beard’ → *zamgenie a puwam* ‘to shake out the laplap’
- *titgenie* ‘to jog / to jolt / to strike against’

The only word that does not fit into this framework is *tatgenie* ‘to tell tales’. *Genie* still has an independent meaning in Lihir language, denoting ‘to put from one place to another’. *Gien* ‘to move [refl]’ and *aginenie* ‘to move something’ are related to *genie*.

§250. The morpheme -ke, -kenie, -kie:

(a) Signifies something that is affixed or that adheres to something:

- *zer* ‘to know’ → *zerke* ‘to know for sure’
- *pare* ‘to know’ → *parke* ‘to know for sure’
- *pezkenie* ‘to fasten something on’
- *siskenie* ‘to carve the skin so that a permanent scar is left’
- *pizozkie* ‘to paint’

(b) Signifies something detached:

- *zum* ‘piece’ → *zumuk, zumkie* ‘to break off, to cut into pieces / to dismember / to fragment’
- *zep* ‘to tear off / to snap’ → *zapkie, zapik* ‘to tear off / to snap’
- *tiat* ‘to dig out’ → *tiatkie* ‘to dig out’
- *dupkie* ‘to exhaust / to suck out’
- *puazkie* ‘to pull out, to weed’
- *puatkie* ‘to give away to’
- *pialkie* ‘to take away, to steal’

(c) Has causative meaning:

- *bel* ‘to float’ → *belkenie* ‘to swing away, to let flutter’
The independent root word *ke* has two corresponding terms in Lihir:

*ke* ‘to accept / to take’
*ke, kenie* ‘to lay aside, to lay down’

The first, however, has a vowel shift instead of a final consonant in correlated form: *ke, kaye* (see Stresemann 1927:155).

§251. The bound morpheme *-re, -renie, -rie* denotes ‘pulling, pulling away, lifting’:

- *pot* ‘loose, to be loose, to fall out’ → *potrie* ‘to extract’
- *kukrenie* ‘to hang something up’
- *kiak* ‘to affix a rope to something’ → *kiakrenie* ‘to drag something away’
- *zek* ‘to drag / to pull / to stretch’ → *zekrenie* ‘to hang up / to pull up’
- *le* ‘to make’ → *lerenie* ‘to move from one place to another’
- *guarenie* ‘to drag apart / to tear apart’

The word *zekrenie* ‘to hang up / to pull up’ could also indicate a directional motion. In Lihir the word *re* becomes independent in the meaning ‘to drag / to pull / to stretch’:

*wan re lie* ‘you [sg], pull it away’

It also has the correlated form *ra'e*, in Pala *rahi*.

In Rotuman *re* signifies ‘to make’, in Lihir it has the additional demonstrative meaning ‘that [masc], here, there’.

See also Kern (1886:76):

- *dja* ‘bad’, *dja-ri* ‘to do badly’

§252. The morpheme *-te, -tenie, -tie, -t, -ts*:

(a) Denotes ‘to place an obstacle’:

- *bar* ‘barricaded / blocked / locked up’ → *bartenie* ‘to close / to lock up / to shut off’
- *ben* ‘to close (down)’ → *bentie, banit* ‘to close / to lock up / to shut off’, Pala *bat*

(b) Denotes ‘to pull to oneself’:

- *pok, poktie* ‘to pull out’
- *ro* ‘to enter’ → *rotie* ‘to enter / to pull up’

81. To pick one fruit at a time from a bunch, mostly in reference to betel nuts and bananas (Luke Kabariu, pers. comm., 11 August 2012).
(c) Denotes ‘to be close together’, maybe also in the sense of ‘to affix’:

\[ \text{pap} \] ‘to adhere / to glue’ \( \rightarrow \) \[ \text{paptenie} \] ‘to stick / to paste’
\[ \text{zak} \] ‘to abut’ \( \rightarrow \) \[ \text{zaktie} \] ‘to join it, to let two things abut’
\[ \text{bintie} \] ‘to nip / to pinch’
\[ \text{kie} \] ‘pliers’ \( \rightarrow \) \[ \text{kiez} \] ‘attached / firm’

(d) Indicates direction:

\[ \text{ziktenie} \] ‘to demonstrate with words or gestures’

\[ \text{Te} \] occurs as independent word in Lihir as:

verb denoting ‘to pull to oneself, to say’
status particle. As such it is often closely attached to the root word too:
\[ \text{yoyo} \] ‘to wrap’, \[ \text{die sa yoyo t’ an} \] ‘they are just wrapping / they are wrapping in this moment’ (see Schmidt 1906:55)

This suffix is the most difficult to fully grasp.

\$253.\ The bound morpheme -zo, -zenie, -zie, -z:

Since \( z \) replaces \( t \) and \( s \) at times, \( ze \) has the same function as \( te \) and \( se \):

\[ \text{puak-zenie} \] ‘to tie together to a bundle’
\[ \text{luk-zie, lukuz} \] ‘to coil up’
\[ \text{bizie} \] ‘to plant closely together’
\[ \text{kuir, kuirzie} \] ‘to twist (together), to wring out’
\[ \text{karomzie} \] ‘to peel off / to pull off / to strip off’
\[ \text{korzie} \] ‘to scratch off’

\$254.\ The morpheme -ne, -nenie, -nie:

(a) It establishes a connection with a distant object and has demonstrative meaning:

\[ \text{kaka} \] ‘to go’, \[ \text{kaknenie} \] ‘to fetch’
\[ \text{kop} \] ‘to call’, \[ \text{kopnenie} \] ‘to call someone, to summon someone’
\[ \text{tangonenie} \] ‘to arrive at someone’s place’

(b) \( N \) replaces \( m \):

\[ \text{giam-nie} \] ‘to eat one kind of food with something else’

(c) Has the meaning ‘away / off’:

\[ \text{tata} \] ‘to speak’ \( \rightarrow \) \[ \text{tatnenie} \] ‘to deny / to refuse’
\[ \text{potnie} \] ‘to break out / to escape’ (see Stresemann 1927:158)
In Lihir it is independent when used as the demonstrative pronoun *ne* 'this, here'. Furthermore, it is a demonstrative particle for nouns that suffix the pronoun:

*liman* 'hand of the other'

§255. The bound morpheme *-en, -an, -enie, -anie*:

It forms active verbs, partly with causative meaning. The generation of this form shall be demonstrated with an example:

- *kiez* 'attached / firm' is the neutral form with final consonant,  
- *pez kiez* 'hold [sg] tightly' = neutral form  
- *yo pez kizen* 'I hold it tightly' = correlated form with final vowel + demonstrative pronoun marker *n*  
With suffixed object pronoun: *pez kizanie* 'hold [sg] it tightly', correlated form through vowel shift

Two ways of generating neutral and correlated forms are agglutinated here.  
Usually the status particle is combined with these forms:  
- *sa kiez te* 'it is firm', neutral form  
- *yo pez kizen dan* 'I hold it tightly'

Here, the status particle has absorbed the correlated form: *te* → *tan*. The way it (the correlated form) is generated follows the way mentioned above.  
Regular: *te* → *terie, te* → *taye*, but *te* → *tanis* = vowel shift + final consonant for the correlated form. When suffixing the object pronoun, it absorbs the nominal form:  
- *yo pez kizen talien*  
- *zap* 'open' → *zapen, zapanie* 'to open'  
- *kiet* 'to pry / to spy' → *kiten, kitanie* 'to inspect something'  
- *lamlam* 'big / high / large / tall' → *lamlamenie* 'to make big'  
- *las* 'to go in / to go inside / to go into' → *lasenie* 'to bring in / to lead in / to usher'  
- *alal* 'to fast' → *alalenie* 'to fast because of something'

*En, anie* 'to give' is an independent verb that is used as a preposition or auxiliary verb:

- *to en yo* 'he calls me', *e to anie* 'he calls for him'

*En* is related to the transitive suffix *-i, -e* of Austronesian languages and of Kurku. It consists of the neutral form *i, e + n*, which makes *e* correlated (Schmidt 1906:48).
§256. The preposition inie is related to the aforementioned. It consists of word stem\textsuperscript{82} \textit{i} + relative marker \textit{n} + object pronoun \textit{ie}. Neutral verbs that do not make use of the correlated form always employ this preposition.

\textit{kiz ‘to sit’} \rightarrow \textit{kiz inie ‘to sit on it’} = \textit{kizenie}
\textit{te ‘to pull’} \rightarrow \textit{te inie ‘to pull it’} = \textit{tenie}
\textit{zerke ‘to know’} \rightarrow \textit{zerke inie ‘to reveal, to announce’} = \textit{zerkenie}

\textit{Inie} is not a suffix per se, yet it is always placed after the verb (see also Schmidt 1906:48).

§257. The bound morpheme \textit{-ner, -ŋarie} is related to the root word \textit{ninir ‘to be fixed / to stand firm, to freeze’}.

\textit{tiŋ-ner ‘to plant firmly’}
\textit{zakner ‘to skewer something firmly’}
\textit{piz ‘to spring’} \rightarrow \textit{pizner ‘to rebound’ (because it is held at one end)}
\textit{titner ‘to leave one taro in the plantation, to miss one taro in the plantation’}  
\hspace{1cm} (so that it keeps standing for months)

§258. The bound morpheme \textit{e} indicates an unhurried demand:

\textit{kize ‘just sit down [sg]’}
\textit{ol, ole ‘slowly, slowly’, sosole ‘a little fast’}

The opposite of this is the prefix \textit{a-}, which implies encouragement:

\textit{akiz ‘sit down [sg]’}
\textit{alo ‘run [sg]’, asolao ‘quickly, quickly’}

§259. The morpheme \textit{lie} is an auxiliary verb, denoting ‘away / off, gone’. The root word is \textit{le}.

\textit{ko lie ‘take [sg] it away’}
\textit{lie ‘throw [sg] it away’}
\textit{pike lie ‘to free / to loosen’}
\textit{le, lae ‘to go there’, root word \textit{la ‘to go}’}
\textit{e ka le yo ‘he goes to me’}
\textit{e ka lae ‘he goes to him’}

§260. A specific primary meaning of these suffixes cannot be denied. Their relationship with independent root words occurs as well. The relationship between the manner of agglutination with the root word and the meaning of the defining role of the final sound becomes clear. Con-

\textsuperscript{82} Text annotation: “Verbal word stem.”
formities with verbal suffixes of other Melanesian languages have already emerged.

Furthermore, it shall be examined to what extent the suffixes -re, -me, -te, -ri, -i, -hi, -si coincide with Lihir suffixes.

Fijian *taxa, saka*, etc., seems to be a conjunction of the original suffixes -re, -te, -se with the Indonesian suffixes -aka, -ak, -ag, -aŋ, and -ake. Sawo placed *aka* as a preposition before the verb, thus it becomes evident that in Melanesian languages this group of affixes experienced prefixation and suffixation (Codrington 1885:564).

Fijian *ronotaka* and *va-ron* ‘to make public / to manifest’ (Kern 1886).

The Papuan languages of Bougainville suffix the causative auxiliary verb too: *anta-ansi* = Lihir *lenie, iramo* ‘I am angry’, *ira-anta-ansi* ‘I have enraged him’ (see Rausch 1912:598).

The Sulka language partly generates causative verbs by suffixes:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kuk} \ 'warming' & \rightarrow \text{kuker} \ 'to warm' \\
\text{hok} \ 'long' & \rightarrow \text{hoger} \ 'to make long / to elongate'
\end{align*}
\] (Müller 1915–16:543)

§261. Agglutination of verbal suffixes with the root word:

In many cases the people of Lihir employ the verbal root word with or without a suffix:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ben} \ 'closed / locked / shut' & \rightarrow \text{benie, bentie} \ 'to close it / to lock it / to shut it' \\
\text{bin} \ 'to pinch' & \rightarrow \text{binie} \ 'to pinch it' \rightarrow \text{bintie} \ 'to pinch it off' \\
\text{zer} \ 'to know' & \rightarrow \text{zerie} \ 'to know it' \rightarrow \text{zerkenie} \ 'to announce it' \\
\text{piel} \ 'clandestine / secret' & \rightarrow \text{pialaye} \ 'to keep something secret' \rightarrow \text{pialkie} \ 'to steal' \\
\text{bar} \ 'barricaded / blocked / locked' & \rightarrow \text{bare} \ 'to bar it / to barricade it / to lock it' \rightarrow \text{bartie} \ 'to shut it / to lock it up, to confine / to imprison' \\
\text{pok} \ 'to bundle' & \rightarrow \text{pokie} \ 'to bundle it' \rightarrow \text{poktie} \ 'to bind it together'
\end{align*}
\] There are a huge number of these verbs.

§262. Under the influence of that language group that requires a final consonant for the immediate juxtaposition of the verb and object, suffixed verbs partly represent a new verbal form with a word-final consonant. The form *bintie* requires a subsequent article:

\[
\text{i bintie a kulin} \ 'he pinched my body'
\]
Therefore, Lihir generates *binit* in order to be able to say:

- *a binit kulien* ‘the act of pinching the body’, *e binit yo* ‘he pinches me’
- *poktie a le* ‘to bundle grass’ → *pakut le*
- *bentie a liom* ‘to close the house’ → *e banit liom*

Basic root words are used to indicate neutral form:

- *sa ben te* ‘it is closed’
- *jo zer te* ‘I know, I am informed’

The suffixed forms always have a subsequent correlated form of the status particle:

- *yo pakut tan* ‘I have bundled, I have tied up’

This can be explained by the fact that the suffixes already provide an allusion to something. Although the neutral auxiliary word *le* also occurs as an independent word denoting ‘to have happened’, the Lihir people would never say *sa masle te* ‘it has been made dry’, but instead *sa mas te* ‘it is dry’. Yet they say *yo masle tan* ‘I have dried it’—an indication that by simply attaching the neutral suffix, a relationship has already been established.

However, Lihir does not always agglutinate the suffix with the root word in order to generate a new form:

- *zer* ‘to know’ occurs otherwise only as *zerke, parke*, and *pakte*

The reason for this might be that the forms that one would expect to be generated—like *zarik, parik, parak*, and *pakat*—already existent, yet with a different meaning. With agglutination of the suffix with the root word, the vowel of the second syllable conforms to that of the root word:

- *but, butul, piel, pilik*. Compare §122

Lihir has not conserved the basic form of all verbs with agglutinated suffixes, yet it can be found in the adjoining regional dialects of Pala, Tabar, and Tanga.

Contrary to that, other regional dialects have lost the basic form and only use the extended form to which the object pronoun is suffixed unaltered.

- Pala only has *warat, warat ie* ‘to break / to burst’
- *Lihir war, wartie*
- *Tabar ta* ‘to cry’
- *Lihir ten, tanis, tensie*
In Lihir some suffixed verbs do not elide word-final vowels when attaching object endings either:

- \textit{kalet, kalat\textit{i}e} ‘to bite’, the word consists of two roots: \textit{kal} ‘to bite’ + \textit{let} ‘to bite’
- \textit{kilen, kilam\textit{i}e} ‘to realise / to recognise / to identify / to perceive’, root word \textit{kil} ‘to peek / to spy’, derived from that is:
  - \textit{yo kilen dan} ‘I have realised it’

Some forms of polysyllabic verbs were generated by metathesis and therefore have similarity with suffixed verbs:

- \textit{kiah} ‘alone / by oneself’, \textit{kisen\textit{i}e}
- \textit{biah} ‘causeless / for no reason’, \textit{bisen\textit{i}e}

Pala hardly ever makes use of suffixed auxiliary words. Suffixes are already insolvably agglutinated with the root word. A word frequently employed is \textit{se} ‘away, off’:

- \textit{kut-se i} ‘cut [sg] away it’, \textit{kutus} ‘to cut through’

Pala and Sulka have one suffix in common. Sulka employs the auxiliary verb \textit{ŋam} ‘to throw down, to throw away’, which in some cases can denote ‘to make’ as well. Likewise, Pala has \textit{ŋan} in both meanings: \textit{kata} ‘to spear’, \textit{kata-ŋane} ‘to throw the spear’.

In Pala \textit{ŋan} is an independent word, denoting ‘to happen’, \textit{ŋane} ‘to make’:

- \textit{i ŋan huo} ‘it happened so / it happened like that’
- \textit{ŋano hatalamine} ‘make [sg] it well’

The latter word also shows the suffix -\textit{ne}. \textit{Tahut} means ‘good’. One says \textit{hatahut ie} and \textit{hatahutne ie} ‘to do something well’.

\textsection{263.} It was mentioned above that the word \textit{ten} ‘to cry’, \textit{ten-sie} ‘to cry over / to mourn’ (compare preposition \textit{si} ‘over / above’) generates \textit{tanis}. The word \textit{tanis}, \textit{tan\textit{i}s}, \textit{tan\textit{i}i} exists independently in other languages.\footnote{83. Text annotation: “Austronesian languages.”} There are only two root words or root words \textit{ta} = \textit{ten} ‘to cry’ + \textit{ŋis} ‘to cry’

Is \textit{tan\textit{i}s} then a conjuction of the two roots \textit{ta} + \textit{ŋis}, and \textit{tens\textit{ie}} a derivation from \textit{tan\textit{i}s}, or is it the other way round and \textit{tanis} is a derivation of \textit{tens\textit{ie}}, that is, root + suffix? And furthermore, are \textit{ta} + \textit{ŋis} fragments of \textit{tan\textit{i}s}?

To me, the latter seems to be true. A further example may make this assumption more probable:
The Phillipine languages employ *tanom, tanim, tanum* for ‘to plant’. There are two Melanesian root words: *tane* ‘to plant’ and *um* ‘to plant’; *uma* denotes ‘the bowery / the plantation / the planting’. *Tanum* therefore could remain unchanged, composed of *tane* + *um*. Lihir knows of *taniom* ‘the bowery / the plantation / the planting’, but it also describes the primary meaning of the word *ton* ‘the amount / the crowd / the lot / the magnitude’, *ton-mie* ‘to increase’, which generates *tandum, tanum* (the nasal often attracts the plosives in Lihir).

In Phillipine languages, the word *tanom* is therefore a conjunction of *ton* + suffix *-me*, which in Austro-Asiatic languages and in Lihir denotes a plurality. See also §248.

*Tanum* ‘to plant’ has the primary meaning ‘to increase’. The root *um* ‘to plant’ is a fragmentation, possibly influenced by monosyllabic languages, which can be strongly felt in the Lihir language too. One could conclude from the preceding example that agglutination of suffixes with the root word occurs due to the influence of Indonesian languages or languages that were prone to polysyllabism. One would have to consult dictionaries dealing with the languages of the Bismarck Archipelago for root words with polysyllabic formation, as well as dictionaries of those Austro-Asiatic languages that are mainly monosyllabic. It also appears that the class-like denotation of word-final consonants is associated with suffixes.

§264. Some more analogies relating to the above-mentioned examples:

Lihir *pir-sie, piris* ‘to jibe someone / to ridicule someone’

Pala has two root words: *pir* ‘to deliver a denunciation / to deliver an admonishing speech’ + *ris* ‘to flout’

*bir-sie* consists of *pir* + preposition *si* ‘above / over’

Sasar *par-se* ‘to flout’

Mota *peres-ang* ‘to gibe / to ridicule’

Here, the agglutination of one suffix group *-me, -se*, etc., with the other *-aka, -ag, -ang* becomes evident:

Pala *-ris* then is a fragment of *piris, pirsie*

Pala *kutus* ‘to break through, to cut through’, *kut se* ‘to cut off’

Lihir *dus* ‘to break off’

*kut se* becomes *kutus*, and *kutus* becomes *dus* by fragmentation
However, it cannot be ruled out that disyllabic root words, influenced by suffix languages, are generated like suffixed words.\textsuperscript{84} Only an accurate comparison could illuminate this matter.

\section*{§265. Suffixation of object pronoun.}

For a group of verbs, the vowels \textit{a}, \textit{e}, \textit{i}, \textit{o}, \textit{u}, \textit{uo} and \textit{io} are bound morphemes of correlated forms.

Neutral forms have word-final consonants:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{giar} ‘to see’ $\rightarrow$ \textit{gare} ‘to see it’
  \item \textit{tal} ‘to cut off’ $\rightarrow$ \textit{tala} ‘to cut it off’
  \item \textit{lit} ‘to be desirous / to be avid’ $\rightarrow$ \textit{liti} ‘to crave it / to desire it’
  \item \textit{sul} ‘to bathe’ $\rightarrow$ \textit{sulu} ‘to bathe it’
  \item \textit{tiel} ‘to trace’ $\rightarrow$ \textit{tilo} ‘to trace someone’
  \item \textit{zom} ‘to put in one’s mouth’ $\rightarrow$ \textit{zamuo} ‘to put it in one’s mouth’
  \item \textit{ro} ‘to get out’ $\rightarrow$ \textit{rawo} ‘to get it out’
  \item \textit{ki} ‘to collect wood’ $\rightarrow$ \textit{kiande} ‘to collect it’
  \item \textit{raŋ} $\rightarrow$ \textit{raŋgo} (\textit{n} suffixes $d$, $ŋ$ suffixes $g$)
\end{itemize}

\section*{§266. This group of verbs further acts as follows:}

(a) They can stand by themselves in neutral or correlated form:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{yo taltal} ‘I cut off / I clear’ $\rightarrow$ \textit{yo talatala} ‘I cut it off’
\end{itemize}

(b) The neutral form is placed in immediate conjunction with an object noun:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{yo tala a ye}
\end{itemize}

(c) The neutral form of the status particle \textit{te} coincides with the neutral form of the verb:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{e zaz te} ‘it is dry’
\end{itemize}

The correlated form of the status particle \textit{tan} coincides with the correlated form of the verb:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{yo azazo tan} ‘I have dried it’
\end{itemize}

(d) The correlated form does not require a further subsequent object pronoun, but it can be used:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{yo solu} ‘I have bathed it, I have bathed her’, \textit{yo sulu ye} ‘I have bathed it’
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{84}. Text annotation: “That means to elide the word-final vowel in the third-person singular of the correlated form.”
Word-final vowels can elide with some verbs and be replaced by object pronoun **ie**:  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yo sulie} & \quad \text{‘I bathe it’} \\
\text{pamuo, pomie} & \quad \text{‘to asphyxiate it / to choke it’}
\end{align*}
\]

Yet that hardly ever occurs; in most cases **ye** is suffixed to the word-final vowel:  

\[
\begin{align*}
suluye, talaye
\end{align*}
\]

**Ye** mostly elides when placed before an object noun:  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yo sulu a zip} & \quad \text{‘I bathe the child’}
\end{align*}
\]

The object pronoun **ie, ye** is later added to the verbs.

(e) The final vowel of the correlated form is influenced by the preceding vowel:  

\[
\begin{align*}
tala, sulu, liti, liele
\end{align*}
\]

Yet **o** can be placed after **a, i and u**:  

\[
\begin{align*}
zamo, tiro, kemuo
\end{align*}
\]

§267. A second group of verbs has word-final consonants in neutral form and the pronoun ending **ie** in correlated forms:  

\[
\begin{align*}
pol & \quad \text{‘to buy’} \rightarrow \text{polie} \quad \text{‘to buy it’} \\
zep & \quad \text{‘to pass by’} \rightarrow \text{zepie} \quad \text{‘to pass by something’}
\end{align*}
\]

Furthermore, this group behaves like the first group under the circumstances mentioned in §266(a) and (b):  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yo zep} & \quad \text{‘I pass by’} \rightarrow \text{yo zepie} \\
\text{yo pol maret} & \quad \text{‘I buy goods’} \rightarrow \text{yo polie a maret}
\end{align*}
\]

Yet the neutral form is placed with the correlated status particle **tan**:  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yo pol tan}
\end{align*}
\]

With the neutral status particle, the neutral form is used:  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yo zep te} & \quad \text{‘I am past’}
\end{align*}
\]

§268. This group of verbs sometimes changes the pronoun ending **ie** in **aye, eye**, whereupon **a and e** have a prepositional character:  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{buot} & \quad \text{‘to sing’} \rightarrow \text{buotaye} \quad \text{‘to sing about something, to sing because of something’}
\end{align*}
\]
panpan ‘to guard’ → panpaye ‘to guard with someone, to guard someone / to watch over someone’

pitio a pake lolo ‘to bend leaves to form a parcel’ → pitaye a mazien ‘to arrange leaves on top of a fish, to wrap the fish’

With other verbs, the prepositional meaning is not apparent:

war → wareye ‘to break something’
tator → tatoraye ‘to scoop it’
bialy → bialaye ‘to lose it’

§269. A third group of verbs has word-final vowels in the neutral form and adds the demonstrative marker n to the relative form:

le, len, len-ie ‘to make’
muni, muninie ‘to conceal / to hide’
nene, nenenie ‘to wait’
suru, surunie ‘to push’
kute, kutenie ‘to attach / to add’
tule, tulenie ‘to send / to forward’

This group always has ie as an object pronoun of the third-person singular. These verbs are hardly used when standing by themselves in neutral form.

One says almost entirely yo nenienie ‘I expect him’.

In neutral form they are placed with the correlated form of the status particle:

yo nene tan, yo muni tan, yo kute tan

They do not stand immediately with the object noun. They always have following articles. However, the object pronoun can be elided, and the demonstrative marker then stands by itself:

yo nenenie a ziktun → yo nen en a ziktun ‘I expect a person’

Compare Sulka: all verbs that have final vowels have a suffixed m or n as an object pronoun of the third-person singular (Müller 1915–16:525).

§270. A fourth group of verbs has final consonants or vowels in neutral form and generates the correlated form by changing the last vowel:

85. Tator means ‘to collect water in a container’ (from a dripping-water source, like tank water or rain); tatoraye means ‘to fill up a water bottle or container with water from another container’ (Luke Kabariu, pers. comm., 11 August 2012).
This vowel shift is almost entirely subject to verbs with an e-sound in the last syllable. Those verbs with an e-sound do not fall in this category. They combine with the demonstrative marker n. Compare §120.86

The verbs kilem, gurem again show an affinity with the Sulka language. Their actual neutral forms are kiel ‘to peek / to spy’, and guor ‘to wash one’s hands’. In the Sulka language, many verbs with word-final consonants have the suffixed morphemes am, em, im, or um as object pronouns of the third-person singular.

One says gurem liem ‘to wash the hands’, kilem yo ‘to recognise me’. These correlated Papuan forms then suffix the object pronoun ie: guramie, kilamie.

This verb group combines the neutral form of the verb with the correlated form of the status particle tan:

yo pez tan ‘I have touched it, I grab it’, likewise e kes tan, e ugut tan

They can immediately combine the neutral form with a subsequent object noun:

pez liom ‘to make a house’
kes giam ‘to collect shells’

The correlated form always combines with the object noun through the article:

pazie a liom

86. This last three sentences in this paragraph are confusing. In the original manuscript, another sentence follows the one beginning “This vowel shift ....” Neuhaus, however, crossed it out, so that it is now impossible to read. Additionally, there is no hint of verbs with an e-sound in the last syllable that combine with the demonstrative marker n in §120. While the translation reflects what is presently found in the manuscript, Neuhaus may have additionally intended to delete the last three sentences (starting with “Those verbs ...” and ending with “Compare §120”).
The object pronoun of remaining persons and numbers always combines with the neutral form:  
\[ \text{pez die 'grab [sg] them'} \]
This rule also applies to the second and third group for the remaining persons and numbers:  
\[ \text{gare wa 'to see you [sg]'} \]
\[ \text{gare die 'to see them', likewise giar} \]

§271. A fifth group would then consist of those verbs that are without suffixes in neutral form, or that agglutinate the suffix with the root word. However, these verbs attach the suffix consonant and the object ending \( ie \) to the root word in correlated form:  
\[ \text{pol 'to burst / to break, burst / broken' → palum 'burst / broken' → polmie 'to break it / to burst it'} \]
This group combines the neutral status particle \( te \) with the neutral, basic verb form:  
\[ e \text{ pol de → yo palum dan → yo polmie} \]
With reference to the agglutinated form, an immediate conjunction with the object noun can occur as well:  
\[ \text{banit liom 'to close the house'} \]
The correlated form always requires the article placed before the noun:  
\[ \text{bentio a liom 'to close the house'} \]
The basic form has almost entirely passive or medial meaning. Therefore, it does not immediately combine with the object noun.

§272. Compound verbs.
\[ \text{kal-muo 'to dig out the first field crops', kal 'to dig', muo 'first / at first / first of all'} \]
\[ \text{ke-mulien 'to follow', ka 'to go', mulien 'his back'} \]
\[ \text{le mulien 'to like', le 'to want', mulien 'your back'} \]

87. Text annotation: “The object pronoun of remaining persons, of first- and second-person singular and first-, second-, and third-person plural, etc.”
88. Text annotation: “This rule also applies to the second and third group of pronouns for the remaining persons and numbers.”
89. Text annotation: “The correlated form acts like the second group of verbs, as mentioned in §267.”
Compound verbs are used in the accusative or dative, depending on the class of the final word:

*kalmuosin a taniom* ‘to dig out fruits in the plantation’
*kemulien a rot* ‘to follow the path / alley / road’

§273. Remains of infixes in verbal and nominal forms?

*zamer lie* ‘to shake off’ = *zamnar lie*
Lihir *pap*, Pala *pa-te-p* ‘to glue / to adhere’
Lihir *pet*, Pala *pa-ti-t* ‘narrow / tight’
Pala *tus*, *tu-lu-s* ‘to show / to reveal / to indicate’
Lihir *len*, Ambonese *le-ve-n* ‘cavern / pit’
Lihir *lon*, Ambonese *lo-ho-n* ‘night’
Lihir *wis*, *wi-li* ‘to roll / to wrap’
Lihir *sor*, Pala *so-ŋo-re* ‘to lift skywards / to raise into the air’
Lihir *lan*, *lon*, Pala *la-ho-n*, *lo-ho-n* ‘night’
*giap*, Pala *gi-r-ap* ‘to scratch / to abrade’

Komat, as seen from Mount Kamendar, with a view of the sea that separates the Lihir Islands from New Ireland (Neuhaus 1934b:269).
§274. The people from Lihir distinguish between an emphasised act of the past, an act that he is or was aware of, an act of which he is solely interested in what is actually happening, an act which is or was intentional, or which shall happen in the future.

He further expresses a continuing action, a repeated action, an action that definitely occurs or definitely does not occur. He employs particles for all of these cases. The verb itself remains unchanged.

§275. An act of the past that is emphasised is articulated by the particle ga, go. It is placed before the verb. It can be detached from the verb through another particle or a numeral:

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{go ka } '\text{he went}' \\
& \text{e go laktol saye } '\text{he punched her three times}' \\
& \text{e go kasi pite } '\text{he said nothing}'
\end{align*}
\]

To express a far distant past, a pu tiek ’long ago / a long time ago’ is added.

Near past can be indicated by using the present tense:

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{e ka } '\text{he went}'
\end{align*}
\]

Present tense is determined by the basic verb without the use of particles:

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{yo ka } '\text{I go}' \\
& \text{yo melan } '\text{I sleep}'
\end{align*}
\]

Future or intended acts are marked by the particles na, a, de. In first- and third-person singular, the particle alters the vowel and assimilates to the preceding pronoun. Therefore, the particle can be placed without a subject pronoun:

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{yo na ka } = \text{ no ka } '\text{I want to go, I will go}' \\
& \text{ye ni ka } = \text{ ni ka } '\text{he will go}'
\end{align*}
\]

All remaining persons are indicated by na:

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{wa na ka } '\text{you [sg] will go}', \text{ etc.} \\
& \text{dul i ko le dul a melan } '\text{the two wanted to sleep, the two will sleep}' \\
& \text{ni a gare } '\text{I want to see it}'
\end{align*}
\]
The pronouns wa, go, ge, die also combine with the basic future marker n:

\[
\text{wan, gon, gen, dien; wan ka = wa na ka}
\]

Na can arbitrarily be replaced by do. This particle also assimilates the vowel, yet not necessarily so:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yo do ka = yo de ka} \\
\text{wan de ka, ni de ka, da da ka, da do ka, da de ka}
\end{align*}
\]

Na and de can also be placed together:

\[
\text{no do ka, no de ka, wan de ka, ni de ka}
\]

Future tense particles are also immediately placed before the verb or are separated by particles, numerals, etc.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{no kasi ka ‘I will not go’} \\
\text{nu buŋ miel ‘I will return in a moment’}
\end{align*}
\]

Future tense is also used without particles if it has been indicated elsewhere:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ka imil si na ben e nasenie ‘and after this, one day he thinks’} \\
\text{aries i purek ‘when does he come?’}
\end{align*}
\]

§276. Particles that qualify the action of different tenses even more precisely.

Sa, se:

This particle can be used to indicate a past act, a present act, or a future act, and it can denote the imperative. It implies that an act has definitely occurred, is going to occur, shall occur, or definitely does not occur. It can stand by itself to express the past tense or future tense. It is placed after the pronoun and before the temporal particle. If the latter is enclitically joined with the pronoun, sa is placed after the temporal particle. In third-person singular, the particle is also placed without pronoun:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yo sa ka ‘I am already about to go’} \\
\text{sa ka ‘he already left’} \\
\text{ni sa purek ‘he will definitely come, let him have arrived first’} \\
\text{sa pet ‘it is good’} \\
\text{e sa ga ka ‘he is definitely away’} \\
\text{wan sa ka ‘do go [sg]’ (see also Brandstetter 1934:108, 133)}
\end{align*}
\]
Ko:

Has the same meaning as sa. It is used to indicate the past, future and imperative. It stresses the realness of the act, and it contains a reinforcing order in regards to future acts. The particle is placed after the subject pronoun, after the temporal particle, but before the verb. In future tense, the particle de is usually placed before it:

- *no do ko miel* ‘I will definitely return / I do want to return’
- *wan do ko miel* ‘do [sg] return’

Sako, soko:

Since sa and ko have similar meanings, they are frequently combined. The vowel a is mostly assimilated by the following o. The conjunction retains the meaning of its components:

- *wan soko sangoye* ‘do make it [sg] indeed’
- *yo soko susul* ‘I bathe, I have become wet indeed’
- *wan soko susul* ‘do go [sg] have a bath’
- *e soko miat* ‘he is dead indeed’
- *e go soko miel* ‘he has already returned’

Soko, ko, like sa, stand by themselves for acts referring to the past:

- *e ko le* ‘he really said it’
- *e sa wet, e ke wet, e soko wet* ‘it is ready’

Compare Florida Islands sako ‘ready’. This connotation roughly coincides with the Lihir word.

§277. The particle ro.

This indicates a repetition or the reversion of an act. Ro is placed before the subject pronoun, after the temporal particle, and before the verb:

- *no ro ka* ‘I want to leave’ (after having arrived)
- *ne re tel mule* ‘I want to lay it down’ (after having taken it)
- *e go ro ka* ‘he left, e ko ra’ ‘he leaves again’, *wan ro ka* ‘leave [sg]’

As these examples demonstrate, this particle is used for all tenses.

The particle te:

It denotes the duration and the status of something. It is used for all tenses and is placed after the verb:

- *e si te* ‘he dives, he has submerged, he is diving’
- *e mel te* ‘he is at home, he stayed at home’
sa pe te ‘it is good’
ni to te sam ‘let [pl] him be healthy first’
e go zaket te ‘he was bad’

T, after n, l, m, becomes d: mel de, pan de, compare §80.

This particle is also used for nominal constructions:

a ziesie te ‘the plantation has been harvested’

Te is a neutral form and is never used with transitive verbs. However, like all neutral forms, it can be placed with a prepositional construction:

yo pi’ te si na tiom ‘I am weeding in the plantation’

This particle coincides with ta, te, ti of other Melanesian languages. Melanesian languages either put the article before the verb or place it after the verb. The first group comprises Pala, Qunan Tuna, and Fijian. The latter refers to Lihir, Lakon, Norbarbar, Lo-Toga, Maewo, Volow, Pak, Oba, the East Ambae language, and Espiritu Santo.

The particle tan:

This is the correlated form of the preceding particle. It is placed after the verb and is used in all tenses. It never has the preceding object pronouns ie and te. The object is included in the ending t-an, but for some groups of verbs, it is placed with the correlated form of the verb. Compare §266.

yo zamrie = yo zaro tan = yo zamre tan
yo sa laso tan = yo sa lore tan = yo liti tan = yo parke tan

The particle talien:

Complies with tan concerning meaning and use:

yo ti tan = yo ti talien ‘I have lifted it’
e paper talia ‘I have snuggled it’

In Pala tar:

iau kap tar ie ‘I have taken it’

Is talien a nominal construction?

With regard to this particle, a separation of the Melanesian languages also occurs, yet it does not fully coincide with the separation that is caused by te. Qunan Tuna and Malay place it before the verb; Pala, Lihir, East Ambae, Maewo, and Espiritu Santo place tar, talien, tau after the verb.
§278. Some temporal adverbs that determine the tenses of the verb in a particular way.

Be:

yo no be miat ‘when I will die one day’
be in Oba ‘thereafter / afterwards’

Biri:

i biri manomanos an ‘she was resting for a little while / she was just resting /
she was resting for some time’
ni biri pet te ‘a little while still and it will be good / before long’

Man:

no man ka ‘I just want to go / I want to go now’ (see also Wulff 1910:227)

Sam ‘(at) first, still’:

yo no ka sam a isele ‘first I want to get another knife, sam is placed after the verb

Bus ‘immediately / right away / at once / in a moment’:

yo no bus gare ‘I want to inspect immediately’

Compare:

Pala bise ‘to hurry’
Indonesian busbus ‘to hurry’ (Wulff 1910:227)

Kam = sam ‘still’:

kam a isele ‘at first he was still looking for the knife, kam is placed after the verb

Banj = manj ‘now / at the moment / at present / right now’:

yo no banj ka wa pupu e banj ilon ‘that are you now, grandmother’ (it was someone else previously)

Buŋ ‘soon’:

yo no buŋ ka ‘I will soon go / I will soon leave’
ni kasi buŋ pinawon ‘he will not reimburse it any time soon’

Muij = buŋ

90. It is not clear what is meant by the underlining here and in the following example under man, although it may be used to focus attention on what is being talked about.
An, han ‘continuous, enduring’:

- e kak’ an ‘he walked continuously / he walked for a long time’
- die ersiel an ‘they are always playing’

An, han is placed after the verb and attracts stress.

§279. Some particles that particularly emphasise the verb:

Ga, ge, go ‘certain, certainly / definite, definitely / indeed / sure, surely / still / but / though / nevertheless’ (used in a reinforcing sense):

- yo no ga gare ‘but I want to see it / I do want to see it’
- ge ga sa ga le ‘we, however, said’
- ka, da ga zol ‘go [sg], we do want to go outside’
- no go tiye ‘I will pick it up / I will pick it up nevertheless’
- gon go ka tu lel ‘do go [pl] there / go there nevertheless’
- am ge zap ‘cave, do open up’
- wan ga to knar yen i puor ‘you [sg] will definitely live for a long time on earth’
- ni gi talie ‘I do want to lay it down; the vowel a adapts to the vowel of the preceding subject pronoun

Compare Mota ge ‘to happen, to make’.

Tar ‘really / truly’:

- a liom e kasi tar pet ‘the house really is not good’

Lih ‘absolutely / by all means / thoroughly, complete / completed / finished’:

- e tupek lih tan ‘he has forbidden it by all means’

Lih is employed with other parts of speech as well:

- urelih ‘everywhere and always’ (meaning ‘good’)

Lih is suffixed to the verb.

Pe ‘but / still / however / yet’:

- yo kiz pe ‘but I do sit’

Pe is placed after the verb.

§280. Grammatical mood and voice.

Lihir does not use any modifications of verbs to express the various grammatical moods. Instead, it makes use of periphrasis.
Active voice:

yo se die ‘I punch them’

The interrogative form does not deviate from this. It can only be differentiated by a different stress pattern.

Passive voice:

Lihir has no actual bound morpheme that indicates passive voice. Passive voice is generated:

using active construction:

die se yo ‘they punch me / I am getting punched’

or it is generated nominally:

a ikenkenwan a ye ‘the pain caused by the tree’

or with the causative:

a ye e akenken yo ‘the tree causes me pain’ (see Brandstetter 1934:§138)

Many basic forms have a passive connotation. If a verb has an active meaning only, it is replaced by a verb with a passive connotation:

die girit a bual ‘they cut open the pig / they slice the pig’

sa pal de ‘it has been cut open / it has been sliced, it is open’

wasmie ‘to adorn someone / to robe someone’

e uso de na o le ‘she is decorated / adorned with shell money’

In Lihir the neutral form with the status particle te is used.

Indonesian bound morphemes are found as well: ta, ma, in.

makozkoz ‘cuspid / pointed / sharpened’ = bakazkaz

tamboh ‘big / large, to have become big’

a kina ‘what has been paced, the pace / the step / the stride, the paced out lot’ (see Brandstetter 1934:§74)91

In Lihir the auxiliary verb tel ‘to become, to lay / to place / to put’ is also employed:

e tel makiat ‘it becomes black / it has become black’ (see Brandstetter 1933:§152, §153)

Subjunctive mood:

Subjunctive mood has no particular form in many cases:

91. Text annotation: “Ma, ba, ta can also be perceived as auxiliary verb ‘to be’.”
yo laka kada tomat ‘I thought the man whom we both’ = ‘I thought (that) it be the man whom we both’

na:

yo sangoye a sinam ki yo soloyel, na e koko lamlam ni purek ‘I have made my plantation in such a way that many thorny yams emerge’
gane: ‘that not’

yo sangoye soloyel ni gane zaket na ‘I have made it in such a way that it become not bad’

Gane is also split in ga-ne. In this case ga is placed before the verb and ne after it:

ni ga kiz ne iyen ‘that he do not sit here’

verbs of wishing and affection are combined with the auxiliary word le + future or future only:

yo le no ka ‘I want to go, I would like to go’

no ka ‘I want to go’

yo le ni kaknenie a wayen ‘I want that he marry’

die sa awet imon, die le da de parkian le makil le mil ‘they waved there, they wanted the people over there to know it’

Potential mood:

na:

ni zaket na ‘he could become bad’

the auxiliary word bar ‘maybe / perhaps’ is employed as well:

bar na ni purek ‘maybe that he will come / he may come’

bor na e zer te ‘maybe that he knows / he may know’

Conditional mood:

bale:

bale wa na ka wan a gare ‘if you [sg] go, you will see it’

In many cases, conditional mood is paraphrased by using the future tense or present tense:

a nizon e pot, ge se kilem dan ‘if my tooth falls out, we will know that …’

wa na pet, yo no en wa ‘if you [sg] will be good, I will give you a present’

da se gare a min a ziktun a masagiet, giet se pez kata tu matan kad e anio ‘if we see a person who is our relative, we bring him safely to our homestead’

si na tum-wera a ziktun ni sa le ni makuez, ni se kaknenie a yen Tinentalgo ‘Of the Tumwera clan a man he will want (that) he get married, he will take home a wife of the Tinentalgo clan’
Imperative mood:

The command is expressed by the basic root word:

\[ \text{ka} \text{ 'go [sg]'} \]

alternatively, future tense can be used: \( \text{wan ka, wan a ka} \) ‘you are to go / you shall go’

The particles \( \text{ko, pe, ole} \) reinforce the request:

\( \text{wan ko ke tan pe ma pubual ole ine wa} \) ‘just do take [sg] the piece of pork that belongs to you’
\( \text{tu ok} \) ‘just surrender [sg] / do surrender’

For the bound imperative morphemes \( a-, e- \), compare §241, §258.

Lihir employs \( \text{bili, balan} \) to indicate prohibitive mood:

\( \text{balan} \) stands by itself and denotes ‘let [sg] it be / don’t do it’
\( \text{bili wan a piel} \) ‘do not [sg] steal’

The participle:

A German participle is rendered by the juxtaposition of two verbs:

\( \text{e purek tenten} \) ‘he came crying’, or: \( \text{e tenten purek} \) ‘he cried arrived’
\( \text{e mon, e melam} \) ‘he lay, he slept’ = ‘he lay sleeping’
\( \text{e ka, e yam} \) ‘he walked he ate’ = ‘he ate walking’

The perfect passive participle is usually contained in the root word:

\( \text{e sa war} \) ‘it has been broken’ = \( \text{e war} \)
\( \text{e poh} \) ‘it has been burst’ = \( \text{sa pol} \)

There are a number of general verbs that indicate the perfect passive:

\( \text{sa pulak} \) ‘he fared badly / he had a bad time’
\( \text{Sa pulak} \) is used to express any kind of suffering by which someone is disadvantaged
\( \text{sanyosangor} \), best translated as ‘he was exhausted’ as well as the opposite ‘he was treated greatly’, compare §19

The supine and gerundive are paraphrased in the following way:

\( \text{yo ka wa na susul} \) ‘I go to bathe’
\( \text{e tutu wen in} \) ‘he is standing in order to run away’
\( \text{da mat} \) ‘we die’ = ‘it must have died’
\( \text{e ertawet da ka} \) ‘it is good manners, that one go’
\( \text{e pet da ka} \) ‘it is good that one go’
The infinitive construction is common in the above-mentioned form:

- *e purek tenten* ‘he came cried’
- *ge le ka* ‘we want to go’

All of these forms, however, have nothing in common with the supine or gerundive because these word forms are unknown in the Lihir language.

§281. Some more syntactic rules:

The personal pronoun of third-person singular is placed before verbs with an indefinite subject:

- *e wuos* ‘it rains’
- *e pet* ‘it is good’

Alternatively, a nominal construction is used:

- *a wuos*
- *a pet*

Or *di, da* ‘one / you’ is placed before the verb:

- *di ka* ‘one goes’; likewise *da ka*

The nominal construction is also used more frequently, in place of the verbal construction:

- *tomat imen a zumervan* ‘the man here an angry one’ = ‘the man is angry’
- *a ziktun a yasian Malom* ‘the man his name Malom’ = ‘his name is Malom’

The noun is almost entirely placed in short expressions:

- *a ersas* ‘they fight’
- *a erzumer* ‘they argue’

*Die masa? A erkondel* ‘What are they doing? They bicker’

However, a verbal construction is not impossible:

- *die erzumer, die ersas, die erkondel* (see Brandstetter 1934:§137)

Verbs can replace other word forms as well:

- replacing prepositions:
  - *e pite anie* ‘he talks to him, giving him’
- replacing adverbs:
  - *tel zieŋe* ‘lay [sg] it on top’, *ziene* ‘to go up / to walk up’
  - *tel ziale* ‘put [sg] it outside’, *ziale* ‘to go outside / to exit’
- replacing affirmative particles:
  - *yo manat* ‘I agree’
Sangoye? Yo sangoye ‘Have you done it? I have done it’ (see also Brandstetter 1934:§137)

While some languages elide the verb under certain circumstances, Lihir uses it:

Qunan Tuna:
- *U ava?* ‘You [sg] what?’ = ‘What are you doing?’
- *U mamave?* ‘You [sg] where?’

Lihir:
- *O ma sa?* ‘You [sg] are what?’
- *O her iye?* ‘Where are you [sg] from?’

Verbs that indicate ‘going in / inside, going out / exiting, and going up’ are either used transitively or with prepositions:

- *e laso a liom* ‘he goes into the house’ = *e las si na liom*
- *e zieŋe a ipotpot* ‘he goes up the mountain’ = *e zieŋ si na ipotpot*

The direct object is placed with or without an article after the verb. If it is placed without an article, the verb too lacks the object pronoun:

- *se bual* ‘to kill pigs’

If it is used with the article, the object pronoun is used too:

- *saye a bual*

The indirect object is never used immediately after the direct object. It is joined with it through the article or a pronoun or a preposition:

- *wan hen yo sa puk* ‘you [sg], give me a piece’ = *wan hen yo na sa puk* = *wan hanie sa puk si yo* = *wan hen yo ma na puk*

Usually the object is placed after the verb, but it can be placed before it for emphasis. The object then is repeated via a pronoun, which does not necessarily have to coincide with the number of the object noun:

- *a mazien die go saye* ‘fish they caught him’ (= them)

The fact that the pronoun of the third-person singular can be used to indicate the plural may date from previous times where there was no distinct plural of personal pronouns. This becomes even more evident since the correlated form of verbs with the attached demonstrative marker *n* only occurs in the third-person singular, not in the plural (see Schmidt 1906:49).
The subject precedes the verb. The subject pronoun can be joined to the verb via the particle i:

\[\text{yo i sesen} \text{ ‘I walk around’}\]

The predicative is attached to the verb immediately or via article:

\[e \text{ tel ziktun ‘he became man’} = e \text{ tel a ziktun} = e \text{ tel na ziktun} \text{ (see Brandstetter 1934:§140)}\]

The verb and infinitive are either juxtaposed immediately, or the subject pronoun is repeated:

\[e \text{ purek tenten ‘he comes to cry’} = e \text{ purek e tenten}\]

§282. Auxiliary verbs

*Tel* ‘to become, to put’:

\[e \text{ tel na ziktun ‘he became man’} \]
\[nit \text{ el pet ‘it will become good’} \]
\[sa \text{ min a puk ar, ni tel a burut ‘another piece so that it becomes four’} \]

The corresponding form of in the Sulka and Mengen languages is *tail*.

*Sango* ‘to make’:

with causative verbs:

\[\text{wan sango petien ‘make [sg] it well’}\]

Compare Pala *ŋan*, Sulka *ŋam*, Volow *ag*, Merlav *da*, Mota *ge*

*En*, *anie* ‘to give’:

it is used as a preposition:

\[\text{pite en yo ‘talk [sg] to me, pite anie ‘talk to him’ (see also Schmidt 1906:48)}\]

*Lie* ‘to discard / to throw away’:

it is used with prepositional meaning ‘away / off’:

\[\text{ke-lie ‘to take away, to take something off’}\]
\[\text{yo ke li te ‘I have taken it away’}\]

*Me* ‘to be’:

It has the character of the auxiliary word ‘to be’ as well as prepositional meaning ‘at / by / on / during / in / near / next to / with’:

\[\text{pupu me bel ‘grandmother has disappeared’}\]
\[\text{a lus me si yo ‘the strength is with me’ = ‘I have strength’}\]
\[\text{e kiz me sien ‘he sits with him’ = ‘he sits his with him’ = e kiz menie}\]
Me is related to the prefix ma- with regard to nouns and adjectives.

Compare:

Motlav mi (Codrington 1885:319)
Gaua mī
tagalog māi ‘to have, to be’ (Kern 1886:27)
Thai mī ‘to have, to be’
Ponapean mē (Girschner and Schmidt 1910:563)

Ka ‘to be, to become’:

nuŋ tomat ka me tes ‘my husband is by the sea’
a ziktun ni gane ka zaket isien ‘that the man not become bad therefrom’

Ka has demonstrative character as well:

gian bual e oh ka tu mu ‘his pig it big became towards the sky / upwards’

The actual preposition denoting ‘towards’ is tu.

Furthermore, ka can be related to the prefix ka- for nouns and adjectives:

ka-piz ‘to be white, white’

§283. Due to verbal forms, Lihir can be grouped with other Melanesian and Austronesian languages as follows:

(a) Lihir, together with several other Austronesian languages, makes lively use of verbal suffixes.

(b) Lihir, like some other languages, can replace the causative prefix with a suffix, or use both together.

(c) It prefixes, like some other Melanesian languages, the demonstrative marker n to the object pronoun of third-person singular.92

(d) It places the status particle after the verb.

(e) It elides the last vowel as soon as the object ending of some verbs is attached.

———

92. Text annotation: “In certain cases, compare §269.”
The adverb, §§284–87

§284. Root words that are used adverbially do not undergo any alteration. A verb can be adverbially determined by another verb, by an adjective, noun, or proper adverb. The adverb is usually placed after the verb that it modifies.

The words sosole ‘fast / quickly’, ole ‘slow’ can be placed before or after the verb:

\[ e \text{ pol } \text{sosole}, e \text{ sosole } \text{pol} \text{ ‘it breaks quickly, it has broken quickly’ } \]

Nouns are joined with the verb through the particles en ‘as’, solo, utien ‘as / how / like’:

\[ e \text{ kiz en toye yen Egypto } \text{‘he sits as lord in Egypt’} \]
\[ e \text{ mon utien a pol } \text{‘he lies (there) like a dog’} \]

Other word classes are placed immediately after the verb:

\[ e \text{ pite pet } \text{‘he speaks well’} \]
\[ e \text{ kiz kiez } \text{‘he sits quietly / silently’} \]
\[ e \text{ mon mario } \text{‘he sleeps in the dark’} \]

Some adjectives and verbs are used adverbially, but in a nominal form:

\[ e \text{ pite petien } \text{‘he thanked him’} \]
\[ e \text{ tule kontion a umbian } \text{‘he sends his witchcraft to the net’} = e \text{ tule konutun} \]
\[ yo \text{ ma na umbian } \text{‘he sends me the witchcraft with the net, kanut, kontie} \]
\[ \text{‘to curse’} \]

Some verbs are used adverbially in a special sense only:

\[ mok \text{ ‘to preserve / to save / to set aside / to store’} \]
\[ e \text{ mel mok } \text{‘he always stays at home’} \]
\[ kata \text{ ‘to crave / to desire’} \]
\[ pez \text{ kata } \text{‘touch [sg] it well / take hold of it well, pez kate tan} \]

If the verb that is determined adverbially is used transitively, the adverb takes a transitive ending, and the verb is in neutral form:

\[ pez \text{ kizanie } \text{‘hold [sg] it tight’} \]
\[ pez \text{ bisenie } \text{‘to hold it without any reason’} \]
For some adverbs, bound adverbial morphemes are required:

for adverbs of place *ke, kaken*:
- *kemu‘o* ‘ahead / front / in front / in advance’
- *kemil* ‘back / behind / rear’
- *kendot* ‘in the middle / mid / central’
- *kakenmua* ‘above / overhead / top / at the top / upstairs / up’
- *kakenpek* ‘below / bottom / at the bottom / down / downstairs’

for temporal adverbs *la, lo, ar*:
- *la-wa* ‘tomorrow’
- *la-ulies* ‘the day after tomorrow’
- *lo-lies* ‘the day before yesterday’
- *aries* ‘when’

Compare Leon *lo*

for numeral adverbs *ar, al*:
- *lakies* ‘how often’
- *arkies* ‘how often’
- *armin*

§285. Adverbs of place

In a question:

*me?, le?, ye?* ‘where?’

Combined with locative marker *i*:

*iye?, ime?, ile?*

Both forms are used arbitrarily.

Demonstrative:

*en, le* ‘away / gone / off’

*el, on, pel, ti* ‘here, there, thereabouts’

The demonstrative adverbs of place are in part extensions of interrogative adverbs. The suffix -n refers to closer locations, suffix -l to more distant places:

*men, mon, man, yen, yon, yan* ‘here’

*len, lon, lan* ‘here’

*mel, lel, yel* ‘there / thereabouts’

The variation of vowels is used for the purpose of contrast:

*men* ‘here’, *man* ‘there’

*yen* ‘there’, *yon* ‘there / over there’
These adverbs can be combined with the locative markers *i, ti, me*:

*ipel, tipel, mepel, tiel, imen, imon*

The preposition *tu* is placed before the adverb to indicate a motion toward something:

*tu lel* ‘there / thither’
*tu he* ‘where?’
*tu len, tu on = ton, tu yel, etc.*

The preposition *wa, bit* ‘from here’:

*wa yen, bit iyen* ‘from here’

The question ‘from where?’ is always combined with the verb *her* ‘to come’:

*wa her iye?* ‘where do you [sg] come from?’

*her = ker:*

*ker iye?* ‘where do you [sg] come from?’

Prepositions indicating origin, generation, birth:

*wa, bit, i, en:*

*a lion wa yon* ‘a language from here’
*yo wa yo* ‘I am from here’
*yo bit i Lihir* ‘I am from Lihir’
*yo a zik en Sale* ‘I am a child from Sale’

General adverbs of place:

*i-mua* ‘above / overhead / top / at the top / up / upstairs’
*i-pek* ‘below / bottom / down / downstairs / at the bottom, outside / outdoors / out there’
*i-liom* ‘in the house / at home’
*i-tes* ‘at sea’
*i-muo* ‘front / in front’
*i-dot* ‘in the middle / mid / central’
*i-mil* ‘back / behind / rear’
*i-buar* ‘in the plain / in the lowlands’
*i-roro,* ‘above / overhead / top / at the top / up / upstairs’

*me lak* ‘above / overhead / top / at the top / up / upstairs, in the centre of the island’

A number of adverbs of place derived from names for parts of the body and are therefore constructed nominally:
i-la-kan ‘over / above’ (head)
i-dadan ‘centre / middle, in the middle’ (torso)
i-mulien imil ‘back / behind / rear’ (back / spine)
i-matan ‘in front of’ (face)
i-li lien, ilen ‘inside / indoors / interior’
i-kuil ‘at / by / near’ (body)
i-purion ‘at the bottom / below / under’ (anus)

All of these adverbial expressions are employed with suffixed pronouns:

i-kulin ‘with me’ etc.
i-pakian ‘at the foot’
i-dotien ‘in the middle’
i-tambek ‘close / close-by / near’
i-paŋ ‘distant / far / far away’
lamlam, ureure ‘everywhere’

These general adverbs of place also combine with directional particles le, la:

le mua ‘up there’
le mil ‘back there’
la bat ‘up there in heaven’

La ‘in, into’ is often placed where being enclosed is stressed:

i la liom ‘in the house’
i la pu-lolo ‘in the bush’

Le, la combine with the locative i as well as with preposition tu ‘after / past’:

i la bat ‘in heaven’
tu la bat ‘to heaven / to the sky’

Le, la also combine with me ‘to be’:

me la liom ‘to be in the house / to be inside the house’

Compare:

Arag locative la
Nengone locative i
Banks Islands locative la
Leper’s Island an
Lihir an-lakan ‘up / on / onto, above / over’
§286. Temporal adverbs

They respond to the question *aries? ‘when?’*

The same demonstrative pronouns that are employed as adverbs of place also serve to some extent as temporal adverbs:

- *i-men* ‘now’
- *i-mil* ‘after / after that / afterwards / later / later on / subsequently’
- *i-muo* ‘earlier / previously / prior / antecedent / in former times’
- *i-pel* ‘now’
- *la-pel* ‘today’
- *me tambek* ‘recently / lately’
- *me panj, ipanj* ‘a long time until’

Temporal adverbs have the same prepositions as adverbs of place:

- *me muo* ‘earlier / previously / prior / antecedent / in former times’
- *ge la makil le mil* ‘we, the descendents’
- *i na owa* ‘in the morning’
- *si na leleh* ‘in the evening’
- *a kinemuo* ‘the first-born’, *a kinedot* ‘the second-born’, *a kinemil* ‘the youngest-born’
- *bit i mio* ‘from earlier / from former times’
- *a makil en muo, a makil wen muo* ‘the people from former times’
- *os, hos* ‘always’
- *an, han* ‘always, consistently / constantly / continuously, lastingly / permanently’
- *zep* ‘forever / for a long time / in a long time / a long time’
- *a pu tiek* ‘very old’
- *yel ok* ‘a long time ago’
- *e purek er* ‘he came earlier than another (person)’ = *e purek arien* ‘he came earlier than him’
- *a lan* ‘the night’ = ‘it is night’
- *a owa* ‘early in the morning’
- *siat* ‘day’
- *kandiek* ‘sun, bright’, *a kandiek* is also used to indicate a clear night without rain
- *a leleh* ‘evening’
- *a lan puat* ‘midnight’
- *a ulen* ‘a month’
- *a ul pinez* ‘a work schedule / a working time, a year’
- *a ben, a baniu* ‘a day, a time of’
- *a eben, si na ben* ‘on a day, one day’
- *a banin a Kristmas* ‘Christmas time’
kapaye na sa ben ‘not one day, never’
a lawir ‘the northwest time’
a tunumat ‘the southeast time’
solsel ‘fast / quickly’
ol, ole ‘slowly’
bur, bus ‘immediately / instantly / at once’
lapel, lamel ‘today’
lawa, wa ‘tomorrow’
laleh ‘yesterday’
lolies ‘the day before yesterday’
laulies ‘the day after tomorrow’ (compare Codrington 1885:342; see also Brandstetter 1933:§172)

Temporal adverbs are usually placed after the verb, yet they can be placed at the beginning of a sentence as well:

\[ e \text{ go ka imil ‘he went later’} = \text{imil e go ka} \]

§287. Adverbs of manner

Interrogative adverbs:

saloyo?, soloye?, sol he?, salohe?, soloiye? ‘how?’
\[ e \text{ pite solohe? ‘how do you [sg] say?’} \]
le sa?, le masa?, a sa? ‘what?’
\[ e \text{ pite le sa? ‘what does he say? / how does he say?’} \]
da zel le sa? ‘how do we get out?’
giet zip le masa iyen? ‘how have we humans come here?’
\[ e \text{ ka le sa? ‘just how are you [sg] walking?’} \]
si-na-sa? ‘for which reason? / why?’
a sawa? ‘what are you [sg] saying?’
armin? ‘which one?’

The demonstrative pronouns are combined with the following comparative words:

solo, salo, utien ‘as / how / like’:
\[ solo yel, solo imen, utien imon ‘like this / as this’ \]
tata utien ‘to speak in parables’
bar, bara, bor ‘similar / akin / alike / like / likewise’
\[ e \text{ bara a kon kikar ‘he is like a parrot’s head’} \]
ertawet ‘to equal / to be equal’
\[ e \text{ ertawet ma na ulzik ‘he is equal to a boy / he is like a boy’} \]
e kiz en toye yel Egypto ‘he sits as lord in Egypt’
Compare:

Dayak bare ‘similar / akin / alike / like / likewise’
Javanese pada, mada
Pala mala, mal ‘similar to’ (Kern 1886:62)

These adverbs can be placed before or after the verb; in most cases they are suffixed:

e zakie soloyel ‘he said so’ = soloyel e zakie

The conjunctions with bara and utien are mostly suffixed.

Adverbs denoting distinction, accentuation, and enhancement:

zep, zaket ‘very / much / a lot’
a toye zep ‘a very tall / big man, a big man forever’
tiek, tiken ‘mightily / potently / powerfully’
tamboh ‘big / largely’
a toye tamboh ‘a big master’ = a toye tamboh zaket = atoye tiek = atoye tamboh tiek = a tiken tamboh

tumgiet93 ‘mightily / potently / powerfully, very much’
ok ‘really / absolutely’
tuntun ‘truly / truthfully’
pe ‘who else but, yet / however’
go, ga ‘certainly / surely / for sure’
et t’ok ‘yet / however’
mara ‘big / high / large / tall / great’
a wuon ‘the beginning / the start, the creator / the initiator, a real one / a true one’

Silabe mara wu on a kuk ‘Silabe is truly a great cook’
yo ok, yo pe ‘but it’s me’

sa ga pet ‘it is really good’
gon sa ga yanie ‘so do eat [pl]’
bili wa te ‘not you [sg]’
wa tu tok ‘so do [sg] get up’
yel de wan de saye ‘go [sg] ahead, strike him dead’

Restrictive adverbs:

ko ‘only / just / mere / but’:
ko yo ‘just me’
ko ge lik ‘only us few / only the few of us’
kiah, kise ‘alone / by oneself / exclusively / lonely’
ye kiah ‘he alone’ = ko ye kiah

e pez kisenie ‘he caught him by himself’
lik ‘few / little, lowly / marginally’

93. Text annotation: “A tumgiet.”
Adverbs of certainty:

- you ‘yes’
- tuntun ‘really / absolutely / actually / truly’
- tuntun ok ‘certainly true / assuredly / certainly / definitely / surely’
- toro, kah ‘assuredly / certainly / indeed’

Adverbs of uncertainty:

- bara, bar, bor ‘perhaps / maybe / possibly’
- nao? ‘so?’ = a doubtful question

Approval or denial, when expressed in doubtful manner, indicate uncertainty.94

Adverbs of negation:

- eh ‘no’
- kapaie, kape, kupue ‘no’
- ka ‘not’

In southern dialect in conjunctions:

- ka-do ‘not cooked / undercooked’
- kasi ‘not’

Kasi is used in sentences, kapaie stands by itself:

- e kasi ka ‘he did not go’

Kasi is immediately placed before the verb:

- kapaie ok ‘in no way / never / not ever / by no means’
- kapaie tuntun ok ‘in no case / certainly not’
- wa na ka? Eh, kapaie ‘will you [sg] go? Ahhhh, no’
- aeee (with heightened tone on e) ‘this is not true!’; as an exclamation

Compare Ambonese ka ‘not’

Dehortative ne, na, gane, ga…ne:

- no ne zaket na ‘that I not become unhappy’
- wa na gane zaket na ‘that you [sg] not become unhappy’
- ni zaket na ‘he could become unhappy’
- ni sa kasi miel ital ‘that he not return hungrily’
- wan ga kasi ne parkian ma tonore ki yo ‘that you [sg] not become acquainted with my tonore95 secrets’

---

94. Text annotation: “Regarding nao, a is low tone, o is high tone.”
95. Tonore is a secret men’s society where men spend a month preparing nets and lines to catch fish. What is done in the tonore, the preparation of their nets, the method of catching fish, and the bait used are all kept secret. Most of their fishing is done in the evening, so that no one sees them (Luke Kabariu, pers. comm., 13 January 2014).
Compare Leon, Arag which also separate particles (Codrington 1885:437).

Prohibitive adverbs *bale*, *bili*, *bali*, *balan*:

- *bili wana kirim* ‘you [sg] shall not lie / you are not to lie’
- *balan* ‘don’t do [sg] it’
- *balan na sa min ni kasi menel* ‘not one (person) is to stay at home’

*Bili* is used in sentences only. These particles are always placed with imperative marker *na*.

Northern dialect *bale*.

Komat: Angler on a high bamboo construction (Neuhaus 1934b:272).
The preposition, §§288–94

§288. Some prepositions are of nominal, others are of verbal character. Nominal prepositions in correlated forms attract suffixed pronouns; verbal prepositions attract object pronouns. If the prepositions of a verbal character are in neutral form and refer to nouns, they have the following prepositional article *na* most of the time, yet not if they are prefixed to a pronoun.

*Me, ma* ‘with, at / by / near / on / next to, together with / jointly with, in / into / on / at, from / of / off’.96

- *e go saye ma na kuol* ‘he beat him with the cudgel’
- *e ka ma na karaurau* ‘he left with the coop / fish basket’
- *dul i ro ka ma na lo* ‘they left again with the slingshot’
- *die se sarie a e masan a wayen ma na e minos* ‘they helped out the woman’s relatives with field crops’
- *dul e mel de me tumbuon ilielien a am* ‘he lived with his grandmother in a cave’
- *yo se si me wa* ‘I have submerged with you [sg]’
- *a wuon a anio me si na anio ki go* ‘the beginning of the world is in your land’ (that is, the land of the white people)
- *e ka me tes* ‘he came from the sea’
- *a wayen me si yo* ‘the woman his with me’ = ‘my wife’
- *nuj tomat man me si na sas mazien* ‘my husband is fishing now’
- *tumgiet me wuon a anio* ‘our forefather from the beginning of the world’
- *me yo* ‘with me’
- *me wa* ‘with you [sg]’
- *menie* ‘with him’
- *me si yo* ‘my [poss sg]’
- *me si wa* ‘your [poss sg]’
- *me isien, mesien* ‘his [poss sg]’ = ‘with me, with you, with him’

*Me, menie* has verbal character. It is placed immediately before the verb to which it refers in neutral form:

- *me tumbuon* ‘with grandmother / at grandmother’s place’
- *me si yo* ‘with me / at my place’

---

96. Text annotation: “Me lielien ‘inside.”
It changes vowel in the correlated form or it adds the demonstrative marker:

*ma na, menie*

Compare:

Leper’s Island *men hano* ‘with what / with something’
Gog *ame-k, ame-m, ame-na* ‘with me’ etc.
Here, *me* has a nominal character. This can be explained from the fact that
the preposition emerged from the basic meaning ‘to be’, which on the one
hand retained the verbal meaning and on the other hand absorbed the
nominal meaning ‘being / existence, the being with, the being with others,
the presence’.

§289. The prepositional article *na* ‘with / at’ can be placed either inde-
dependently or in conjunction with *ma*:

*e iso na puyes* ‘he cut him with the knife’ = *ma na puyes*
*e kata die na e yo* ‘he threw spears at them’ = *ma na e yo*
*na owa* ‘in the morning’
*die se nasenie na lildie* ‘they thought in their inside’ = *i lildie*

*Ne* ‘from / of, for’, genitive preposition:

*a puas ne yo* ‘a relative of mine’
*a pumbual ne yo* ‘a piece of pork for me, my piece’

Compare:

*Pala nagu, nam, nan* ‘my [poss sg], your [poss sg], his [poss sg]’
*Lihir* *nan pubual* ‘his piece’

*Na, ne* has nominal character. Compare Mota *nia*, nominal preposition.

*Ka* ‘with’:

*e erkata ka na yo* ‘he speared with the spear’

Compare:

*Qunan Tuna kauqu, ka-um, ka-ha* ‘my [poss sg], your [poss sg], his [poss
sg]’

It has the same meaning as *ma*, but it evolved nominally from ‘his’ to
‘something, individual’. See also §222.
§290. Genitive marker *i* ‘at / in / on / onto / to / into / in the / for / from / of / away / off / after / past / towards / allotted to’:

- *a tumbawin i ne ye* ‘the clan of him’
- *i tes* ‘at sea’
- *i lie lien* ‘inside’
- *i yo* ‘for me’
- *e to i na bual* ‘he called for the pig’
- *dul memel i Sale* ‘they stayed in Sale’
- *giet laka a wayen biah ka die zek tan i na tomat* ‘we thought that she was an unmarried woman, but they had designated her for a man’
- *dul i lo mon i na niyen* ‘they shot birds for the meal’
- *i talie i la takop* ‘he laid it down into the canoe’
- *die na purek ka wa na to te yo i die* ‘when they come, call me to join them’

Compare §191.

*Ta* ‘belonging to, from / of’:

- *a bual t’ anio* ‘a pig from the village, a tame pig’
- *a pu-niyen t’ anio* ‘cultivated plants’

Compare:

- Pala *ta-gu*, *tam*, *tana* ‘my [poss sg], your [poss sg], his [poss sg]’
- Ambonese *tauna* ‘his content’

*La, le* ‘at / by / during / in / near / next to / on / with, to / towards’

- *e ka le yo* ‘he came to me’
- *e ka-lae* ‘he goes to him’
- *le mua* ‘above / at the top (of) / up / upstairs’
- *i la taniem* ‘in the bowery / in the plantation’
- compare §285 *la yeh* ‘in the fire’
- *dul ersabur la Lakakot* ‘they met each other in the bay of Lakakot’
- *e le ni ture die la karaurau* ‘he wanted to put them in a bag’

*Le* conforms to directional *le*, compare §246. *La* conforms correspondingly to the noun *le, li* ‘inner’.

Compare:

- Leon, Sasar *le* ‘in / inside, on / onto / at’, *le on* ‘on the sand’ (Codrington 1885:342)

*Si* ‘for, because of / due to, in / inside, on / onto, at / to / towards, from / of, with, after / past’:

- *a wayen si Adam* ‘a wife for Adam’
- *si yo, si wa, isien* ‘my [poss sg], your [poss sg], his [poss sg]’, compare §191
ne se wa si na bual ki yo ‘I will strike you [sg] dead because of my pig’
si na kadul anio ‘to their homestead’
i ko yati si na liman ‘he asked at / by his hand’ (oracle)
ge se kakne tan a en a wayen si die ‘we came for and married some women of them’
a tandal ni sane pikzie a takop si giet ‘the spirit, that he not overturn the canoe with us’
e sa lak te me si na kuihkuih ki ne Ratoh ‘he had gone into the forbidden homestead of Ratoh’ = ‘he was inside’

Compare:

Nengone me, si
Lifu si, se:
   se go ‘with me’

Melanesian languages either primarily use the preposition ta or preposition si:

   Pala, Vaturana, Qunan Tuna ta
   Lihir, Nengone, Lifu si
   in Ambonese languages isina, tauna ‘his content

si, ta also denotes ‘person’, article

§291. Tu ‘to / towards’:

   tu len ‘here / hither’
   tu mua ‘upward / upstairs / up’
   tu la kazap ‘out to the high sea’
   tu Hieben ‘to New Ireland’

Wa, we, wan, wen ‘for, allotted to / intended for, from / of, belonging, from cause of’ (compare §191):

   gon lulie sa si o wen tandal, no poal inie ‘go get [pl] lianas against the tadar,\textsuperscript{97}
   I want to rub them in’
   a min a anio ki na e makil wen muo ‘a homestead of the people from former times’
   a e pinari wen ber puas ‘a feast for the relatives’
   a pulien wa na laye ‘speeches that arouse anger’
   a wayen die potmie a imbuo wan ‘the women broke betel nuts for him’

\textsuperscript{97}. Tadar are spirits that live in stones, trees, creeks, etc. On Lihir they are usually called tandal (Luke Kabariu, pers. comm., 11 August 2012).
**En** ‘for, from /of, at / by / during / in / near / next to / on / with, about / above / over’:

\[ a \ \textit{bual en die ma makil} \ \textit{a pig for the people}\]
\[ g\text{o}n \ \textit{de polie en yo} \ \textit{you [pl] have to buy them from me}\]
\[ e \ \textit{gal an en dul} \ \textit{it was getting dark for the two}\]
\[ e \ \textit{ga to en taman} \ \textit{he called for his father}\]
\[ \text{wan de \textit{pezpez en ge} \ [sg, work for us}\]
\[ \text{wan de \textit{tamboh te en ge} \ [sg] over us}\]
\[ g\text{o}l \ \textit{na se wehweh en ge} \ \textit{cook [pl] for us}\]
\[ \text{i \ \textit{lapel giet keslie a \textit{wayen en i lawon} \ \textit{today we lead the woman to her man}\]
\[ a \ \textit{e ziktun en Jerusalem} \ \textit{the people of Jerusalem}\]
\[ g\text{o}n \ \textit{lie a e zik en die a Israel la idedon} \ \textit{throw [pl] the children of the Israelites in the water}\]
\[ a \ \textit{en bual} \ \textit{shoulder of the pig}\]
\[ p\text{i}t\text{e} \ \textit{en yo} \ \textit{talk [sg] to me}\]
\[ p\text{i}t\text{e} \ \textit{anie} \ \textit{talk [sg] to him}\]
\[ w\text{a} \ \textit{munun en ge} \ \textit{beg [sg] for us}\]
\[ e \ \textit{karenie a anio en giet} \ \textit{he created the earth for us}\]

Compare §191, §255, and Pohnpeian (Girschner and Schmidt 1910:560ff.).

**Ki** ‘from / of, by / through / via, belonging to’, genitive:

\[ e \ \textit{tian ki na tomat} \ \textit{she is pregnant from the man}\]
\[ a \ \textit{liom ki na toye} \ \textit{the house of the big man}\]

Compare §191.

**§292. Bit** ‘from / of’:

\[ b\text{i}t \ \textit{i pan} \ \textit{from far away / from distant}\]
\[ b\text{i}t \ \textit{i muo} \ \textit{from earlier / from former times}\]

**Ilake** ‘because of / due to’:

\[ i\text{lake} \ \textit{Deo} \ \textit{because of God}\]
\[ i\text{lakon} \ \textit{as for me / for my part}\]
\[ i\text{lako} \ \textit{because of you / on your account}\]
\[ i\text{lakan} \ \textit{because of him / on his account}\]

**Indot** ‘in the middle of / amid / amongst’:

\[ i\text{ndotien} \ \textit{in the middle of her}\]

**Ipek** ‘out / outside / exterior / external / beyond, below / underneath / beneath’:
**Ibamban** ‘lateral of / on the side of / sideways of / sidewise of / alongside / beside / by / next to’:

*ibamban a kokoh* ‘next to the ash’

**Ituan** ‘backward / in reverse / after / behind’:

*itue tinan* ‘behind the mother’

**Iikakian** ‘at the foot’ (of):

*a ikakian a ye* ‘at the foot of the tree’

**Me** ‘from / of’:

*me Komat* ‘from Komat’

**Ana** ‘about / above / at / by / over, because of / due to’:

*a lilin e kenken ana ziktun* ‘my inside is angry at the person’ = *a na = i na*,

see §285

§293. Codrington (1885) classifies Melanesian languages into those that:

(a) Have *ni* as a genitive preposition and those that do not. Lihir has genitive marker *n, i, na*.

(b) Use nouns as prepositions to a larger or smaller extent and those which do not. Lihir belongs to the former group.

(c) Use verbs as prepositions and those which do not. Lihir belongs to the former.

(d) One could also say Melanesian languages can be classified by their nominal use of prepositions or their verbal use of prepositions. Belonging to the first are the languages of Nengone and the Loyalty Islands in particular, to the latter Maewo and Oba (Codrington 1885:418, 428–29).

(e) I want to add that some languages mainly use the preposition *si*, while other languages use *ta* as the dative marker. The difference between *isin*, *tauna* ‘content’ already emerges in Ambonese languages (Stresemann 1927:108, 144).

§294. There seems to be a certain correlation between verbal suffixes and prepositions. The prepositions *ke, le, me, ne*, and *ge* in particular occur often as such, but in a verbal construction with attached object pronouns. The meaning of the suffixes that denote ‘to make, to do, to happen, to give direction to, to do with something, to be with something’
comes very close to the meaning of prepositions. In many cases, they coincide (see also Stresemann 1927:155).

Other prepositions with nominal connotation show correlation to the articles *ma, ta, si, ka*. They often have the meaning 'at / by / during / in / near / next to / with / on', or indicate the genitive and originate from the basic meaning of 'to be, person, individual'. Codrington (1885:564) also talks about the similarity of the preposition *fagi* with verbal suffix *-vag*.

Compare Sa’a *lae okie wai* ‘go [sg] for water’ with Lihir *ka-le* ‘to go to’, *kalae* ‘to go to him’ (Codrington 1885:521).

Florida Islands *vani* ‘to / towards’ and Lenaroro *vani, ani* possibly correlate with *hani, hen* ‘to give’, but not with *va* ‘to go’.

Compare Sawo preposition *aka*, with the verbal suffix *aka, taka, saka*, etc.

It would be worthwhile to research the topic of Melanesian prepositions extensively.

Young women from Lihir smoking tobacco in pipes. On their upper bodies they wear *siasi*, breast covers made of grass (Neuhaus 1932:341).
The conjunction, §§295–96

§295. Ka, ma, ne ‘and’:

\[\text{gol ka se? ‘you [sg] and who?’} \]
\[\text{ka zakie ‘and he said’} \]
\[\text{ki gol ne se ma anio imen ‘from you [sg] and whom else the homestead here?’} \]
\[\text{Adam ma Ewa, Adam ka Ewa ‘Adam and Eve’} \]
\[\text{before vowels: } m’o, m’e, g’a, k’o, etc.} \]

Ne can also be a bridging particle between two words:

\[\text{a min sa ne zinemin ‘one is angry’} \]
\[\text{yo kasi ne zakie ikuli ‘I do not tell you [sg]’} \]
\[\text{e ko ne zakie ‘he said it’} \]

I connects the pronoun with the verb and is employed arbitrarily:

\[\text{dul i piek ka dul i yen ‘they opened the stove and ate’} \]
\[\text{dul i lo mon ‘they shoot birds (with the slingshot)’} \]
\[\text{a wayen die i ontio a e zik ‘the women bear children’} \]
\[\text{dihet i ko lalmie ‘they heard it’} \]

Na ‘that’:

\[\text{se kirim yo na ni ut ‘she lied to me (by saying) that she wanted to draw water’} \]

Na possibly coincides with marker na that is attached to words and parts of a sentence.

\[\text{e kirim yo na, ni ut. Deo e memel an na ‘God always remains’} \]
\[\text{a tandal na ni gane pikzie a takop si giet ‘the spirit that he not overturn our canoe’} \]
\[\text{go ga le na ko ki go kiah na puor imon ‘you [pl] want that this land only belong to you’} \]

Ba ‘that’:

\[\text{e pot ba le Farao ni kaknenie sa min a ziktun ‘it is good that Farao get a man’} \]

A, na:

\[\text{dul i ko le dul a melan ‘the two wanted to sleep’} \]
\[\text{dul i ko le dul na melan, future particle?} \]
Le ‘that’ introduces indirect speech:

- *e zakie, e le ‘he said that he’*

Tek ‘after that / afterwards / then’, introduces a new episode, action or event:

- *tek, pelkon, do kulie a kiak ito ‘after that (the dog said) cousin, we want to scrape clean our legs’*
- *tek, dul i ka a lo puye ‘after that they took two pieces of (chopped) wood’*

Ar ‘also / too / as well, still’:

- *yo ar ‘me too’ is always placed after the word that it refers to*

Gue, guet, te-guet ‘but / however / though / yet’:

- *yo gue laka a wayen tuntun ‘I thought, however, that she was a real woman’*
- *bar guet die se tunio sa ye ‘yet maybe they have burnt a tree’*
- *yo guet yo pik ‘I, however, do not want’ = ye guo pik*

The conjunction is always put in the second place of a sentence. *Guet* has a subsequent subject pronoun, or the subject pronoun is subsequently repeated.  

Ma ‘as / how / like’:

- *ma dal ‘like blood’, likewise solo a dal, utien a dal*

Bar, bar na, bor ‘perhaps / maybe / possibly’:

- *bar na imen, bar na imon ‘maybe this, maybe that’*
- *imen - imon? ‘This (or) that?’*

A wuon: ‘the cause / the reason, because’

- *e ka, a wuon die zumarie ‘he went away because they enraged him’*

Yo ‘therefore / hence / thus’:

- *die zumarie, yo e go ka ‘they angered him, therefore he just left’, die zumarie, tek, i go ka.*

Subordinate particles indicating place and time are used with the aforementioned temporal adverbs and adverbs of place:

- *ga osrenie: go ker i ye? ‘they asked him: where are you from?’*
- *i kasi zakie ni miel aries ‘he did not say when he will return’*
- *a pupinez ni wet ni de miel ‘when the work is done, he will come back’*

---

98. Text annotation: “It is the neutral form and can be placed outside of a sentence; *gue* can only be used within a sentence. *Sa guet? ‘But who?’*”
Conjunctions of condition, concession, cause, purpose, and consequence are paraphrased:

\[
\begin{align*}
&ni \ kasi \ le, \ balan \ ‘if \ he \ does \ not \ want, \ (then) \ not’ \\
&wa \ na \ polie \ a \ bual, \ a \ matan \ ni \ tamboh, \ balan \ ‘buy \ [sg] \ a \ pig, \ (if) \ the \ price \ is \ high, \ (then) \ not’ \\
bili \ wan \ a \ anie, \ ni \ tenten, \ maski \ ‘give \ him \ nothing, \ (even \ if) \ he \ cries, \ let \ him \ (cry)’ \\
die \ kalabus, \ die \ pialkie \ a \ pumaret \ ‘they \ are \ in \ jail \ because \ they \ were \ stealing \ / \ literally: \ they \ sit \ in \ jail \ because \ they \ were \ stealing’ \\
yo \ anie, \ yo \ le \ ni \ pet \ en \ yo \ ‘I \ make \ him \ a \ present \ that \ he \ be \ good \ to \ me’ \\
da \ alan \ si \ Deo, \ giet \ na \ ka \ tu \ lakan \ a \ bat \ ‘we \ obey \ God \ so \ that \ we \ go \ to \ heaven,’ \ or: \ ‘if \ we \ obey \ God \ …’ \\
e \ lolo \ tamboh, \ e \ soko \ puok \ na \ ‘he \ ran \ too \ fast \ (so \ that \ then) \ he \ fell’
\end{align*}
\]

The coordinating conjunction \textit{ma} is, outside of Lihir, mainly employed in the Solomon Islands. Lihir often elides conjunctions arbitrarily and prefers immediate juxtaposed sentences to those with particles. This feature can be found in other Melanesian languages as well.

\textbf{§296.\textsuperscript{99}}

\textsuperscript{99} There is no §296 in the original manuscript.
The interjection, §297

§297.

*eweh* denotes ‘amazement / surprise’  
*mimm* (accompanied by moving the head from one side to the other) denotes ‘amazement / surprise / admiration’  
*you* denotes ‘affirmation / approval’  
*eh* denotes ‘disagreement / rejection’  
*ron* is used to attract someone’s attention: ‘look [sg] / you there’  
*eh* denotes to call for someone: ‘hello’  
*aaee* denotes disagreement  
*yel* denotes a request, incitement:  
*yel de ‘ahead’, yel … mel ‘there we have it’  
*ah* greeting, call for someone  
*nao* denotes doubtful approval: ‘is that so?’  
*is* denotes rejection or refusal  
*wih* denotes amazement, fright, or pain  
*wei* denotes calling for someone: ‘hello’  
*kawiz* ‘got you / I tricked you’

Lihir, Komat, 10 January 1935

Fr. Neuhaus
Glossary of Languages, Geographic Names, and Other Terms

Language names below generally follow those found in the latest edition of *Ethnologue* (Lewis, Simons, and Fennig 2013). Other terms mentioned in the text, particularly ones relating to grammar, are also explained here.

**absolutive**—unmarked grammatical case of a core argument of a verb

**accusative**—grammatical case which expresses the object of an action

**alang-alang grass**—species of grass (*Imperata cylindrica*), known in Tok Pisin as *kunai*

**Ambonese**—usually referred to as Ambonese Malay, an Austronesian lingua franca spoken on Ambon Island, Indonesia

**Ambrym**—island in Vanuatu on which are spoken a number of Austronesian languages: North Ambrym, Southeast Ambrym, Daakaka, Lonwolwol, and Port Vato

**Arag**—old name for Pentecost Island in Vanuatu. The language Neuhaus refers to is Hano (aka North Raga), an Austronesian language spoken in the north of Pentecost Island (Alexandre François, pers. comm., 25 June 2012)

**Austro-Asiatic languages**—grouping combining Austronesian and Austro-Asiatic languages, first proposed by Wilhelm Schmidt (1868–1954) in 1906, but not widely accepted today

**Austronesian languages**—language family located primarily in Polynesia, Micronesia, parts of Melanesia, also including certain languages of Timor-Leste and mainland Southeast Asia, most languages of Indonesia and Malaysia, all the languages of the Philippines, the indigenous languages of Taiwan, and Madagascar

**Balinese**—alternate name for Bali, an Austronesian language spoken on the islands of Bali in Indonesia

**Bantu languages**—subgroup of the Niger-Congo languages in Africa

**Bareque**—Austronesian language of central Sulawesi, Indonesia, now called Pamona (René van den Berg, pers. comm., 12 March 2012)

**Bariai**—Austronesian language spoken in West New Britain Province, Papua New Guinea

**Bugotu**—alternate name for Bughotu, an Austronesian language spoken on Santa Isabel and Furona Islands, in the Solomon Islands

**Butam**—extinct dialect of the Papuan language Taulil that is spoken in East New Britain Province, Papua New Guinea
Cam—according to Neuhaus's source (Conant 1912:936), this could refer to either Camonayan, a dialect of Dupaninan Agta, or to Manide (aka Camarines Norte Agta). Both languages are Austronesian and are spoken on Luzon Island in the Philippines

Canarian indicum—nuts known in Tok Pisin as galip

Chinese—generic term for a number of Sino-Tibetan languages spoken in China and elsewhere

correlated—the inflected form of a word; correlated contrasts with neutral

crasis—contraction of two adjacent vowels into one long vowel or diphthong

dative—grammatical case indicating the nouns and pronouns to which something is given

Dayak—term used for the languages of the Dayak people of Borneo Island of Indonesia, Malaysia, and Brunei

dehortative—a grammatical construction that discourages or urges against

Duke of York—alternate name for Ramoaaina, an Austronesian language spoken on the Duke of York Islands between the islands of New Britain and New Ireland, Papua New Guinea

East Ambae—Austronesian language spoken on Ambae Island, Vanuatu

Elide—omit a sound or syllable

ergative—grammatical case of nouns that identifies the doer of an action as the object rather than the subject of a verb

Espiritu Santo—island in Vanuatu where numerous Austronesian languages are spoken; such languages are today referred to as Santo languages

Fagani—Austronesian language spoken on Makira Island in the Solomon Islands

Fijian—Austronesian language spoken in Fiji

Fisoa—village speaking Nalik, an Austronesian language in New Ireland, Papua New Guinea

Florida Islands—alternate name for Gela, an Austronesian language spoken on Gela Island, Florida Islands, and Guadalcanal and Savo Islands in the Solomon Islands

Gaua—alternate name for Nume, an Austronesian language spoken on Gaua Island, Vanuatu (Alexandre François, pers. comm., 25 June 2012)

Gela—Austronesian language spoken on Gela Island, the Florida Islands, and Guadalcanal and Savo Islands in the Solomon Islands

Gelik—dialect of the Austronesian language Patpatar, spoken in central New Ireland, Papua New Guinea

gerundive—a future passive participle functioning as a verbal adjective to express the necessity of performance

Gog—old name for Nume, an Austronesian language spoken on Gaua Island, Vanuatu (Alexandre François, pers. comm., 25 June 2012)

Gogo—language of the Niger-Congo family, spoken in Tanzania

Hamza—sign used in Arabic writing to indicate the glottal stop (IPA ʔ), a consonantal sound produced by obstructing airflow in the vocal cords. The hamza is represented here by a closing single quotation mark (‘)

Hova—main dialect of Malagasy, a cluster of Austronesian languages spoken on the island of Madagascar (René van den Berg, pers. comm.)
individuative—to distinguish from others, to mark a special person or object
Indonesian—Austronesian language spoken widely in Indonesia
Inocarpus—genus of flowering plants
Javanese—Austronesian language primarily spoken on Java Island, Indonesia
Khmer—alternate name for Central Khmer, an Austro-Asiatic language spoken in Cambodia
Komalu—alternate name for Barok, an Austronesian language spoken on New Ireland, Papua New Guinea
Komat—village in which Neuhaus lived
Kurku—alternate name for Korku, an Austro-Asiatic language spoken in India
Lakon—Austronesian language spoken on Gaua Island, Vanuatu
Lenaroro—it is unclear what language Neuhaus is referring to
Leon—extinct communalect of northern Vanua Lava, Vanuatu, whose closest modern language is Lemerig (Alexandre François, pers. comm., 25 June 2012)
Leper’s Island—alternate name for Ambae Island in Vanuatu, where the East Ambae and West Ambae languages are spoken
Lifu—alternate name for Drehu, an Austronesian language spoken on Lifou Island, the largest island of the Loyalty Islands in New Caledonia
Lihir—Austronesian language spoken in the Lihir Islands, New Ireland Province, Papua New Guinea; note that “Lihir” is also used to refer to the group of islands (“Lihir Island” is incorrect) and “Lahirian” is a person from Lihir or the adjective form
Lo—island of the Torres Islands, Vanuatu, where the Austronesian language Lo-Toga is spoken
Maewo—denotes Central Maewo or Marino (aka North Maewo), Austronesian languages spoken on Maewo Island, Vanuatu
Makasar—Austronesian language spoken on Sulawesi Island, Indonesia
Malay—Austronesian language spoken in Malaysia and parts of Sumatra and Kalimantan, Indonesia. Modified to become Standard Malay and Indonesian
Maori—Austronesian language spoken in New Zealand
Masarete—dialect of the Austronesian language Buru, spoken on the island of Buru, Indonesia
medial consonant—voiced, unaspirated stop consonant (e.g., b, d, g)
Mengen—Austronesian language spoken in East New Britain Province, Papua New Guinea
Mentawai—Austronesian language spoken on the west coast of Sumatra and on the Mentawai Islands, Indonesia
Merlav—alternate name for Mwerlap, an Austronesian language spoken on Merelava in the Banks Islands, Vanuatu
metathesis—transposition of sounds in a word
Minkia—alternate name for Central Bai, a Sino-Tibetan language spoken primarily in Yunnan province, China
Mon—Austro-Asiatic language spoken in Burma (Myanmar)
Mota—Austronesian language spoken on Mota Island in the Banks Islands, Vanuatu
**Motlav**—alternate name for Mwotlap, an Austronesian language spoken on the island of Motalava, in the Banks Islands, Vanuatu

**MP**—abbreviation of Malayo-Polynesian, a subgroup of the Austronesian language family. However, this expression is problematic in this grammar, as Neuhaus probably used the term in the same sense as *Uraustronesisch* (indicated as UAN, see §85). This expression derives from the German linguist Otto Dempwolff (1871–1938), who established a theory regarding how many languages that are spoken on the islands of Southeast Asia and the Pacific Ocean can be traced back to one proto-language, based on the phonetic system and lexicon of each language. A literal translation of *Uraustronesisch* would be Proto-Austronesian. However, from today’s perspective, the use of this term is misleading because Dempwolff did not include any Formosan data, and no one at the time had recognised the importance of Formosan languages in the Austronesian subgrouping. Formosan languages are the original languages spoken on Taiwan and are of great significance in historical linguistics as Taiwan is most likely the place of origin of the entire Austronesian language family. A better solution would be to translate both MP and UAN as “Proto Malayo-Polynesian,” thus referring to only the Malayo-Polynesian branch of Austronesian languages (Malcolm Ross, pers. comm., 18 June 2012)

**Naasioi**—Papuan (southern Bougainville) language spoken in the Autonomous Region of Bougainville, Papua New Guinea

**Nakanai**—Austronesian language spoken in West New Britain Province, Papua New Guinea

**Nauruan**—Austronesian language spoken on Nauru Island, an isolated atoll west of Kiribati

**Nengone**—Austronesian language spoken on the Loyalty Islands archipelago, New Caledonia

**neutral**—the natural, uninflected form of a word; such forms are usually those found in dictionaries; neutral contrasts with correlated

**New Hebrides**—former name for Vanuatu

**Nicobarese languages**—isolated group of six closely related Austro-Asiatic languages, spoken by the majority of the inhabitants of the Nicobar Islands of India

**Nifilole**—alternate name for Aiwoo, Austronesian language spoken on the Santa Cruz Islands, Solomon Islands

**Norbarbar**—alternate name for the island of Ureparapara, Vanuatu. Neuhaus, quoting Codrington, most likely refers to an Austronesian language called Lehali (Alexandre François, pers. comm., 15 August 2012). The speakers of Löyöp, the only other language spoken on Ureparapara, only arrived there in the 1950s (François 2012:97)

**Oba**—usually referred to as East Ambae, an Austronesian language spoken on Ambae Island, Vanuatu

**Pak**—possibly refers to Pâk, a variant of Lemrig, an Austronesian language spoken on Vanua Lava, Vanuatu (François 2012:89–90)

**Pala**—dialect of the Austronesian language Patpatar, spoken in central New Ireland, Papua New Guinea
**parataxis**—coordination of successive words or clauses, without expressly showing their syntactic relationship

**pepet**—Indonesian vowel schwa, represented as [ə] in IPA, pronounced like the *a* in *about*

**plosive**—or stop consonant, which produces sound by stopping the airflow using the tongue (*t, d, k, g*), lips (*p, b*), or glottis (*ʔ*). Stops contrast with nasals and with fricatives

**pluralie tantum**—noun that appears only in plural form, without a singular variant for referring to a single object

**Pohnpeian**—Austronesian language spoken on Pohnpei Island in the Caroline Islands, Micronesia

**Ponapean**—alternate name for Pohnpeian, an Austronesian language spoken on Pohnpei Island, Caroline Islands, Micronesia

**Pometia**—genus of trees, probably referring to *Pometia pinnata*, known in Tok Pisin as *ton*

**Potpot**—old name for a village on Aniolam Island, Lihir Islands, now referred to as Putput (Luke Kabariu, pers. comm., 11 August 2012)

**prenasalisation**—addition of a nasal before another sound, especially a stop, which together act as a single consonant (e.g., *mb, nd, ŋg*)

**pronominalia**—pronouns that designate quality or quantity

**quadral**—grammatical category indicating four

**quinary-vigesimal numeral system**—numeral system in which the numbers up to nineteen take the quinary form, hence: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 5+1, 5+2, 5+3, 5+4, 2x5, (2x5)+1, etc. Additionally, a secondary system based on a word for twenty (vigesimal) is used, so that forty is 2x20 and one hundred is 5x20

**Qunan Tuna**—alternate name for Kuanua, an Austronesian language spoken on the Gazelle Peninsula in East New Britain Province, Papua New Guinea

**Rotuman**—Austronesian language spoken in the Rotuma Islands, in the north of Fiji

**Sa’a**—Austronesian language spoken on Three Sisters Island, south Malaita Island, and Ulawa Island in the Solomon Islands

**Samoan**—Austronesian language primarily spoken in Samoa and American Samoa

**Santa Cruz**—the largest island of the Santa Cruz Islands in the Solomon Islands. Neuhaus, quoting Codrington, most likely refers to an Austronesian language now called Natūgu

**Santali**—alternate name for Santhali, an Austro-Asiatic language spoken in Nepal, India, Bangladesh, and Bhutan

**Sasar**—extinct Austronesian communalect of northern Vanua Lava, Vanuatu, whose closest modern language is Lemereig (Alexandre François, pers. comm., 25 June 2012)

**Sawo**—could refer to two languages: (a) Sowa, an Austronesian language spoken on Central Raga Island, Vanuatu; (b) Savosavo, a Papuan (Central Solomons) language of Savo Island in Solomon Islands. Neuhaus (§260) cites Codrington (1885:134), who frequently refers to Savosavo, possibly not realising that it is a Papuan language (Malcolm Ross, pers. comm., 18 June 2012)
Sesake—alternate name for North Efate, an Austronesian language spoken in the north of Efate Island and some adjoining smaller islands, Vanuatu
Siar—alternate name for Siar-Lak, an Austronesian language spoken in southern New Ireland Province, Papua New Guinea
Sulka—language isolate spoken in East New Britain Province, Papua New Guinea
supine—a verbal noun used only in the accusative and ablative cases, especially to denote purpose
Sursurunga—Austronesian language spoken in south central New Ireland, Papua New Guinea
Swahili—Niger-Congo language, spoken primarily in Tanzania, Kenya, Somalia, and Mozambique
synsemantic words—function words that have little lexical meaning or have ambiguous meaning, but express grammatical relationships with other words within a sentence, signalling the structural relationships that words have to one another
Tabar—alternate name for Mandara, an Austronesian language spoken on the Tabar Islands, New Ireland, Papua New Guinea
Tagalog—Austronesian language spoken on the islands of Luzon and Mindora in the Philippines
Tanga—alternate name for Tangga, an Austronesian language spoken on the Tanga Islands and Anir Island in New Ireland Province, Papua New Guinea
tenuis consonant—unvoiced, unaspirated, unpalatalised, and unglottalised stop or affricate consonant (e.g., p, t, k)
Tettum—alternate name for Tetun, an Austronesian language, one of two official languages of Timor-Leste
Thai—Tai-Kadai language spoken in Thailand
trial—grammatical category indicating three
Tridacna—genus of large saltwater clams
Triton—common name for species of large saltwater sea snails of the Charonia genus
UAN—abbreviation of *Uraustronesisch*, best translated as Proto Malayo-Polynesian (see discussion under “MP” above)
Ulawa—dialect of Sa’a, an Austronesian language spoken on Three Sisters Island, south Malaita Island, and Ulawa Island, in the Solomon Islands
Vaturana—an alternate name of Ndi (Vaturanga) dialect of Ghari, an Austronesian language spoken on Guadalcanal Island in the Solomon Islands
Volow—quasi extinct dialect of Mwotlap, an Austronesian language spoken on Mota Lava in the Banks Islands, Vanuatu (Alexandre François, pers. comm., 28 June 2012; see also François 2012)
Wango—dialect of Arosi, an Austronesian language spoken on Makira Island in the Solomon Islands
References


Kern, Hendrik. 1886. *De Fijitaal: Vergeleken met hare verwanten in Indonesië en Polynesië* [The Fijian language: Compared with its relatives in Indonesia and Polynesia]. Amsterdam: Müller.


The Lihir group of islands, located in New Ireland Province of Papua New Guinea, is home to the Lihir language. The main island, Aniolam, has been the site of a major gold-mining operation since 1995. The mine and its attendant economic development have ushered in a period of dramatic social and political change. Lihirians are acutely aware of the changes to their cultural heritage and in particular the need to safeguard the Lihir language.

The main part of this book is the English translation of a linguistic document that comprehensively describes all grammatical aspects of the Lihir language. Written in the early 1930s by the German priest, ethnographer, and linguist Karl Neuhaus (1884–1944), this document depicts the language at that time and combines an analytical description of the language with ethnographic observations about its speakers and comparisons to related languages. Karl Neuhaus spent well over thirty years in New Ireland, which is testament to his thorough understanding of the people and language of the Lihir Islands. As such, this publication is the most important document on the Lihir language to date, through its historical relevance and its potential as a focal point for the future preservation of the language.

The original German text has been translated and edited by Simon Ziegler. This is complemented by introductory articles from Nicholas Bainton, Malcolm Ross, Luke Kabariu, Don Niles, and Simon Ziegler providing additional information on the Lihir language and the publication of this book. Photographs from the 1930s and today supplement the text.

The translation of the German text into English has been supported by the Lihir Cultural Heritage Association. The printing and distribution of the book have been funded by the Lihir Sustainable Development Plan.