

# The Kewa Language Revisited

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Abstract: My main work on the dialects of Kewa (Franklin 1968) outlined certain phonological, grammatical and cultural features that provided data to portray three main dialects (EK, WK and SK) and two subdialects (NW and SE). In this article I provide additional materials on the dialect and subdialect areas, as well as an assortment of grammatical, cultural and historical information. I also summarize the literacy and translation work that has been done on Kewa.

## 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

The Kewa language is well studied, from both a linguistic (Rule 1977, SK; Franklin 1971, WK; Franklin and Franklin (assisted by Kirapeasi) 1978, WK; and Yaraepa 1992, 1993, 2001, 2004, EK) and cultural point of view (LeRoy 1985a, 1985b, WK; Josephides 1985, EK and SK; MacDonald 1991, SK; Jebens 2005, WK).<sup>2</sup> What I add here are some details on the phonology and tone, kinship, counting, and affinities with linguistic and cultural neighbors. In this study I also bring to conclusion some additional features on the Kewa language and culture that I have noted for some time.<sup>3</sup>

## 2. Phonology

Table 1: Kewa Phonemic Consonants<sup>4</sup>

	labial	coronal	palatal	velar
voiceless oral stops		t [dental]	tʰ [fronted] (WK)	
voiced prenasalized stops	b [ʱb]	d [ʳd] [retroflexed]		ᵑg (SK, NW) g [backed] (WK)
fricatives	p [pʰ] [ʰ/β]	s [s/z] [š/ž]		k [kx] [x~ɣ]
nasals	m	n	ɲ [fronted]	
sonorants	w	l [l] [retroflexed] r [r~r̥] [retroflexed] [d] [flapped]	y [fronted]	

Prenasalized stops occur at labial, alveolar and velar points of articulation, except in WK where the velar stop is not prenasalized but is backed instead. Fricatives are voiceless and occur at labial, alveolar and velar points of articulation. Voiced allophones occur fluctuating with voiceless allophones, especially in fast speech. Labial and velar fricatives occur as affricates

<sup>1</sup>For a map of the Southern Highlands Province and Kewa area, see:  
[http://www.sil.org/pacific/png/show\\_maps.asp?map=SHP](http://www.sil.org/pacific/png/show_maps.asp?map=SHP).

<sup>2</sup>For a full list of our publications on Kewa see:  
[http://www.sil.org/pacific/png/show\\_author.asp?pubs=biblio&auth=2577](http://www.sil.org/pacific/png/show_author.asp?pubs=biblio&auth=2577). There are, of course, many additional publications on Kewa culture by the authors I have listed.

<sup>3</sup>My wife, Joice, and I began studying Kewa in 1958, first in the East dialect (5 years in the village of Muli), then in the West dialect (7 years in the village of Usa and visits to the WK area regularly up until 1990). We were last in the village of Usa for a WK New Testament revision dedication in July 2004 and in EK a year later for a similar purpose. I continue to correspond with some Kewa speakers.

<sup>4</sup>See Franklin and Franklin (1962a:30) and Franklin (1968:12) for a complete phonological statement.

utterance-initially. The alveolar grooved fricative is alveopalatal before high vowels and fronted (dental) elsewhere. Palatal consonants are articulated with the tongue tip approaching the interdental position but the primary stricture is tongue mid-palatal position. Two flaps occur at the alveolar position and both are retroflexed initially before front and central vowels. A flapped [d] occurs between high front vowels or between a high front and low open central vowel.

Table 2: Kewa Phonemic Vowels

	front	central	back
high	i [i]~[ɪ]		u
mid		ə	o
low	e [e]~[ɛ]	a	

Tone. Tone is phonemic in all dialects but is unwritten in the practical orthography—except in contrastive pairs that prove difficult to otherwise interpret in reading, such as *áá* ‘man’, *àà* ‘feet’ (WK); *pú* ‘liver’, *pù* ‘urine’; *nè-mè<sup>5</sup>* ‘1SG.A’, *nè-mè* ‘2SG.A’. Ross (2010) reanalyzed EK tone and distinguished between word tone and utterance tone, i.e. tone that carries across morpheme boundaries. His definition of a phonological word is “a simple or compound lexical word plus any enclitics” (Ross 2010:295). He also distinguishes between tone melody (on phonological words) and tone proper (on syllables) and finds, as we did, two phonemic tones, High and Low.<sup>6</sup>

Joice Franklin was responsible for the analysis of EK tone and I have benefitted from her research in my treatment of WK tone. Her analysis of EK was begun in 1961 at a linguistics workshop at Ukarumpa under the supervision of Professor Kenneth L. Pike. She looked for stable frames to test the tones and their perturbation effects and her charts and notes eventually totaled over 300 pages, with data on both EK and WK. Some of the EK results were published by her in 1965 and in WK by me in 1971.

Length. The vowels of monosyllabic words are always phonetically long: /sa/ [sə:] ‘put it’, /saa/ [sa:] ‘we two’; /e/ [e:] ‘old garden’; /i/ [i:] ‘feces’; /o/ [o:] ‘scabs’; /u/ [u:] ‘sleep’. The benefactive form /-a/ lengthens the final vowel of a verb stem except for verbs that are inherently benefactive in meaning and therefore already end in a long vowel, e.g. *rumaa* ‘to portion out’, but compare *ruma* ‘to climb up’. If the actor is climbing up a tree on behalf of someone else the verb would become *rumaa* + person-tense suffix.

Nasalization. Nasalization of vowels occurs predominantly in SK and in the SE and occasionally in areas close to the SK borders as well (Franklin 1975c). It is written with a hook

<sup>5</sup>Kewa free pronouns are in cross-reference to verb suffixes, so 1SG.A and 2SG.A have different suffixes. However, in a number of verbal paradigms these two verb forms can only be differentiated by tone.

<sup>6</sup>Ross (2010:296) contrasts [ipú] and [ipu] for 3SG and 3DL respectively, claiming that the first syllable of the former begins at a mid-level and rises to an H, but the first syllable of the latter does not rise. Kewa speakers commonly refer to 3DL as *ipu laapo* ‘3SG two’ and this would not be necessary if the two were tonally distinct. However, Rule (1977:19 for SK) lists *ipu* for 3SG and *nipu* for 3DL, so there may be some justification historically for differentiating the two forms. Ross also distinguishes (by tone) the difference between ‘yesterday’ and ‘previously/before’. We did not note such a distinction, nor does Yaraepa in the texts of his dissertation (Yaraepa 2004:288-345).

below the vowel. Some SK examples are: *nɔŋgo* ‘girl’; *pu* ‘liver’; *yɔ* ‘leaf’; *ny* ‘net bag’; *wili* ‘nose’; *noqe* ‘arm bone’; *pitya* ‘root’; and *sqyale* ‘wild pig’. Border area nasalization may be due to women from SK marrying into EK or WK clans.

The low central vowel /a/ has special significance. In addition to contrasting with the mid central vowel /ə/, it occurs when consonants and old endings are lost in pre-Kewa: \**kake* ‘leg’ > *ake* (areas of SK) > *àà* (WK); *kale* (EK); *ale* (some areas of EK) > *aane* (WK). It also is associated with the benefactive<sup>7</sup>: *ruma-wa* ‘I climbed up’, compared to *ruma-a-ru* ‘I climbed up (for someone)’; *ada-lua* ‘I will see it’ vs. *ada-a-lua* ‘I will see it (for someone)’.

### 3. Grammar<sup>8</sup>

In this section I outline and contrast some of the prominent and distinguishing features between dialects.<sup>9</sup> I also provide data and comment on some preliminary evidence of inclusive and exclusive contrastive forms in medial verbs. Note that the Kewa words are written in the standard orthography.

Pronouns. Singular, dual and plural forms in the dialects are as follows: *ni* ‘1SG’; *ne* ‘2SG’; *nipu* (EK and SK)/*ipu* (WK) ‘3SG’ and ‘3DL’; *saa* ‘1DL’; *nipi/ipi* ‘2DL’; *niaa/nya* ‘1PL’; *nimi/imi* ‘2PL’; *nimu/imu* ‘3PL’. The short forms occur primarily in EK, but also in a few areas of SK. When the agent suffix *-me~mi* occurs the 1SG and 2SG are differentiated by tone: *né-me* ‘1SG-A’ but *ne-me* ‘2SG-A’. In some areas of the NW and adjacent to the Mendi language, ‘3SG’ and ‘3DL’ are distinguished by tonal contrasts.

Inclusive and exclusive. There may be some evidence of inclusive and exclusive in some verb forms, e.g.: *ba* ‘let’s go’ (DL.EXCL); *bana* ‘let’s go (DL.INCL)”; *balepa* ‘let’s all go’ (PL.EXCL) *baina/banya* ‘let’s all go’ (PL.INCL).

Verb classes. There are five verb classes in all dialects, four of which have active verb stems and one class that is stative or inherently benefactive. The verb classes are determined by the canonical shape of the V stem: Class I: *Va* (*ada* ‘to see’); Class II: *Vla* (*pola* ‘to crack’); Class III: *Vtya/Vra*; (*patya* ‘to sleep’, *pira* ‘to sit down’); Class IV: unique members (*pu* ‘to go’, *mea* ‘take/bring’); Class V: *Vaa* (*rumaa* ‘to distribute’). Vowel harmony is also important in sets of suffixes in the dialects.<sup>10</sup> Table 3 outlines the basic suffixes for the active stems in EK and WK. SK has nasalization in a number of the forms, which otherwise parallel EK.

<sup>7</sup>It seems to be derived from Proto-Engan \*-ak (on Enga, see Hintze 1962:35).

<sup>8</sup>The remainder of the paper uses the practical orthography, so /ə/ is written as *a* and /a/ as *aa*; prenasalized stops are written as *b* and *d*; palatals are written as *ty* and *ny*; high tone is written with an acute accent over the vowel; low tone is unwritten.

<sup>9</sup>On EK verb morphology see Franklin (1964, 1965a, and 1967a); for WK see Franklin (1971, 1981, 1983, and 2010).

<sup>10</sup>For verb paradigms see especially Franklin (1964 and 1971).

Table 3: Active Verb Class Suffixes

	PRS-EK	WK	PST-EK	WK	NPST-EK	WK	FUT-EK	WK	PRF-EK	WK
1SG	-lo	-lo	-wa	-wa	-ka -luka	-su	-lua -toa -tua	-lua -toa	-e -le -li	-i~-e -tu~-to
2SG	-le	-e	-e	-e	-si -lisi	-si	-li -te -ti	-li -te	-ea -lea -lia	-i~-e -ti~-te
3SG	-la -ta -tya		-a	-a	-sa	-sa	-lia -tea -tia	-lia -tea -tia	-lia -tea	-ia~-ea -ta
1DL 2,3DL	-lepa -tapa -tya -lepe -tame tyame	-lepa -tepa	-pa  -pe	-pa  -pe	-sipa -lisipa  -sipi -lisipi	-sipa  -sipi	-lipa -tepa -tipa -lipi -tepe -tipi	-lipa -tipa -lipi -tipi	-elepa -lepa -lipa -elepe -lepe -lipi	-ipa~-epa -tipa~-tepa  -ima~-ema -tipi~-tepe -ipi~-epe
1PL 2,3PL	-lema -tama -tyama -leme -tame -tyame	-lema -tama  -leme -tame	-ma  -me		-sima -lisima  -simi -lisimi	-sima  -simi	-lima -tama -tima -limi -teme -timi	-lima -tima -limi -timi	-elema -lema -lima -eleme -leme -limi	-tima~-tema

The Same Subject (SS) markers for coordinate clauses are: *-mea* (parts of WK), *-ma* (EK and SK), *-a* (elsewhere in WK). Some EK examples:

- (1) *ada* ‘to see’ > *ado-ma*, e.g., *ne-me ado-ma pira-wa* ‘I saw it and sat down’.  
*la* ‘to talk’ > *lo-ma*, e.g., *ne-me lo-ma pira-wa* ‘I talked and sat down’.  
*mobe* ‘to gather’ > *mobe-ma*, e.g., *ne-me mobe-ma pira-wa* ‘I gathered it and sat down’.  
*abula* ‘to compensate’ > *ambulo-ma pira-wa* ‘I compensated and sat down’.  
*yupia* ‘pour into container’ > *yupi-ma*  
*tya* ‘to hit’ > *lu-ma*  
*waisa*<sup>11</sup> ‘to look for’ > *waisu-ma*  
*sa* ‘to put’ > *su-ma*  
*gi* ‘to give’ > *gu-ma*

<sup>11</sup>Elsewhere we have written *waisa* as *wasa* because /s/ is phonetically palatalized and the vowel preceding it is glided.

Some WK<sup>12</sup> examples:

- (2) *ada* > *ado-a*; e.g., *ne-me ado-a pira-wa* ‘I saw it and sat down’.  
*la* > *lo-a*, e.g., *ne-me lo-a pira-wa* ‘I talked and sat down’.  
*abula* > *abulo-a pira-wa* ‘I compensated and sat down’.  
*sa* > *su-a*  
*gi* > *gi-a*

Medial forms. Table 4 outlines the medial forms (also called ‘switch referent’ or ‘different subject’) for WK and gives any dialect variations in parentheses. The DS forms are: *-no* ‘1SG’ in all dialects, with *-nu* in the NW; *-nya* ‘2SG’ in EK and SK, but *-na* in most of WK; *-na* for ‘3SG’<sup>13</sup>, DL and PL in all dialects; *-pono* ‘1DL’ in EK and SK, but *-pona* in WK; *-lipinya* ‘2DL’ in EK and SK, but *-lipina* in WK; *-mono* ‘1PL’ in EK and SK, but *-mana* in WK; *-liminya* ‘2PL’ in EK and SK, but *-limina* in WK.

Table 4: Switch Referent Suffixes

	singular	dual	plural
1 <sup>st</sup> person	<i>-no</i> (in all dialects) <i>-nu</i> (NW)	<i>-pona</i> (WK) <i>-pono</i> (EK, SK)	<i>-mona</i> (WK) <i>-mono</i> (EK, SK)
2 <sup>nd</sup> person	<i>-aina</i> <i>-nya</i> (EK, SK)	<i>-(li)pina</i> (WK) <i>-lipinya</i> (EK, SK)	<i>-(li)mina</i> (WK) <i>-liminya</i> (EK, SK)
3 <sup>rd</sup> person	<i>V-na</i>	<i>V-na</i>	<i>V-na</i>

Tenses. There are five tenses in each dialect<sup>14</sup>: present (PRS), simple past (PST), narrative or far past (NPST), future (FUT), and perfect (PRF). EK and SK forms are similar, although the vowels of some verb forms are nasalized in SK; WK endings are the most different. Here are some examples:

- (3) *Na-lo*. ‘I am eating.’ eat-1SG.PRS (all dialects)  
*Na-le*. ‘You are eating.’ eat-2SG.PR (EK and SK)  
*Na-e*. ‘You are eating.’ eat-2SG.PR (WK)  
*Nɔ-la*. ‘He is eating.’ eat-1SG.PR (SK)  
*Ni-sua*. ‘I ate sometime ago.’ eat-1SG.RPST (SK)  
*Nu-ka*. ‘I ate sometime ago.’ eat-1SG.RPST (EK)  
*Ni-su*. ‘I ate sometime ago.’ eat-1SG.RPST (WK)  
*Ne-le*. ‘I have eaten.’ eat-1SG.PRF (EK, SK)  
*Ne-e*. ‘I have eaten.’ eat-1SG.PRF (WK)  
*Na-a-ru*. ‘I ate on someone’s behalf sometime ago.’ eat-BEN-1SG.PST (WK)  
*Na-a-ripu*. ‘I ate on someone’s behalf sometime ago.’ eat-BEN-1SG.PST (EK and SK)

<sup>12</sup>Some areas of WK (especially in the Wabi area and south) use *-mea* for the SS marker, as occurs in SK.

<sup>13</sup>Other vowel changes occur, e.g. *pu* ‘to go’ > *pe-na*; *mea* ‘to take/bring’ > *mi-na*; *sa* ‘to put’ > *wi-na* or *i-na* (WK).

<sup>14</sup>Except perhaps in the SE where I have recorded only a regular past (i.e., no remote past).

*Na-a-ria*. ‘He ate on someone’s behalf sometime ago.’ eat-BEN-3SG.PST (WK)  
*Na-a-ripa*. ‘He ate on someone’s behalf sometime ago.’ eat-BEN-3SG.PST (EK and SK)  
*Mea-li*. ‘You will bring it.’ bring-2SG.FUT (WK and EK)  
*Mij*. ‘You will bring it.’ bring-2SG.FUT (SK)  
*Mi-su*. ‘I brought it some time ago.’ bring-1SG.NPST (WK)  
*Mu-ka*. ‘I brought it some time ago.’ bring-1SG.NPST (EK)  
*Mj-sua*. ‘I brought it some time ago.’ bring-1SG.NPST (SK)

- (4) *madia-la*. ‘He is carrying it.’ carry-3SG.PRS (WK)  
*ma-tya*. ‘He is carrying it.’ carry-3SG.PRS (EK)  
*maj-ta*. ‘He is carrying it.’ carry-3SG.PRS (SK)  
*madi-tu*. ‘I have carried it.’ carry-1SG.PRF (WK)  
*madia-ya*. ‘He is carrying it.’ carry-3SG.PRS (SK)  
*madia-a-yo*. ‘I have carried it on someone’s behalf.’ carry-BEN-1SG.PRF (WK)  
*matya-a-yo*. ‘I have carried it on someone’s behalf.’ carry-BEN-1SG.PRF (EK)  
*majta-wa-yo*. ‘I have carried it on someone’s behalf.’ carry-BEN-1SG.PRF (SK).

‘To be’ forms of the verbs. Nouns can be classified according to their normal (unmarked) position by using the 3SG.PF form of the verbs *pira* ‘to sit,’ *aa* ‘to stand,’ and *sa* ‘to place’ become (in the 2SG.PF) *pia*, *aaya*, and *wia* (EK and SK)/*ia* (WK). Additional positional verbs such as *madia* ‘to hang’ (WK) and *patya* ‘to sleep’ (EK) also occur.<sup>15</sup> For example, nuts, fruit, seeds, flowers ‘hang’ *ela* (EK and SK); *eta* (WK). The common ‘posture’ verbs that occur in the 3SG are:

- (5) *pira* ‘sit’ > *pia*  
*na* ‘eat’ > *nea*  
*sa* ‘put’ > *ia* (WK) > *wia* (EK, SK)  
*pa* ‘make’ (WK), > *pea* (EK, SK)  
*la* ‘say’ > *ta* (WK, EK some areas) > *lea* (SK, EK some areas)  
*ya* ‘affirm’ > *ya* (all dialects)  
*ra* ‘emit’ > *rea*  
*ta* ‘hit’ (WK) > *lia* (SK) > *tya* (EK)  
*mea* ‘take’ > *ma* (some WK and SK areas)  
*patya* ‘sleep/lie prone’ (EK) > *palia* (SK) > *pata* (WK)  
*aya* ‘rest/be stationary’

The position of a person changes the ‘to be’ form of the verb:

- (6) *Aa pia* (WK) ‘The man is sitting.’ *ali pia* (EK, SK)  
*Aa ia* (WK) ‘The man has it.’ *ali wia* (EK, SK)  
*Aa aaya* (WK) ‘The man is standing.’ *ali aeya* (EK, SK)

In the use of *aa* ‘to stand’ the verb is stative; in other instances the action is in some sense progressive.

<sup>15</sup>Lang studied the nouns and classificatory verbs in Enga. Her dissertation was published in 1975.

Reason and result. The reason for an action is marked with /-ga/ in WK and /-le/ in EK and SK; the result of an action /-pulu/ ‘because’ is the same in all dialects, as is /-da/ ‘OBJ CMP’, which is associated with some fact related to an action. Examples are:

- (7) *Repena na-ia-da asa pu-la pu-lu.*  
 wood NEG-be-OBJ.CMPL hunt go-PUR go-1SG.PRS  
 ‘I am going to look for the wood that is lacking.’  
*Repena na-ia-pulu asa pu-la pu-lu.*  
 wood NEG-be-CAUS hunt go-PUR go-1SG.PRS  
 ‘Because there is no wood, I am going to look for some.’  
*Repena na-ia-ga (-le in EK, SK) asa pu-la pu-lu*  
 (wood NEG-be-REA hunt go-PUR go-1SG.PRS  
 ‘Since there is no wood, I am going to look for some.’

Note the following in answering the question: *Akea pua lopa-e* (why go.and fall.2SG.PST) ‘Why did you fall down?’; the answer has to be associated with /-da/ and not /-pulu/ or /-ga/.  
*Repena uni ma-ka-ta-ba-da lopa-wa* (wood bone CAUS-give.3-PUR-INCOM-OBJ.CMPL fall.1SG.PST) ‘It was the stick that made me fall down.’ Not ‘It was the reason for the stick....’ or ‘It was the purpose of the stick....’ There are occasions when either /-da/ or /-ga/ can be used:  
*Nare-me rada pia-da ne-me rea-me oma-lo* (sun-A pain be.3SG-OBJ.COMPL 1SG 1SG-A hunger-INS die-1SG.PRS) ‘It is due to pain from the sun that I am hungry.’ If /-ga/ were used, the translation would be ‘The reason for my pain is from the sun and I am (therefore) hungry’. Sometimes /-ga/ is best translated as ‘since’: *Ni pu-lu-ga ne ada pira-pe* (1SG go-1SG.PRS-REA you house stay-SG.IMP= ‘Since I’m going, you stay home.’

Question forms. The form *ya* requests an answer if it is used in a sentence as an information interrogative (i.e., with appropriate intonation), e.g:

- (8) *Go ada-re api-na ya?*  
 that house-TOP who-POS Q  
 ‘Whose house is that?’

It also occurs as a “to be” form in a sentence without an interrogative intonation:

- (9) *Ni ya-de.*  
 1SG be-AFRM  
 ‘It is I.’

On the other hand, the interrogative marker *pe* (*pae* in WK) does not require that the person addressed have an answer:

- (10) *Nipu-na pae?*  
 3SG-POS Q  
 ‘Could it be his?’

Evidentials. The two common evidentials are /-na/ ‘deduced and /-ya/ ‘reported’:<sup>16</sup>

- (11) *Pu-a-na*  
 go-3SG.PST-DED  
 ‘He went.’ (we see his footprints)  
*Pu-a-ya*  
 go-3SG.PST-REP  
 ‘He went.’ (someone reported this)

Both forms are also used for reported speech:

- (12) *Yandawae su-para ipi-sa-na*  
 Yandawae place-at come-3SG.RPST-REP  
 ‘Someone said that Yandawae came.’  
*Yandawae su-para ipi-sa-ya*  
 Yandawae place-at come-3SG.RPST-AFRM  
 ‘Yandawae came (affirmed, not reported).’

Rule (1977:80), in his study of Foe, Huli and Pole (SK), describes six aspects in Foe that may be considered evidentials: 1) participatory or factual; 2) seen or visual; 3) unseen or perceived; 4) deduced; 5) visible evidence; and 6) previous evidence. I think this influenced his describing four evidential aspects for Pole (SK): visible evidence *-na*; previous evidence *-yo*; attention drawing *-da*; and referential *-de*. Yaraepa, on the other hand, says there are “at least six evidential types” in East Kewa: seen (*-ha*), witnessed (*-de*), material evidence (*-na*), recall (*-ra*), reported (*-ya*), and assumed (*-da*) (1993:106). However, I generally consider *-da* to refer to a complement or object marker and *-de* as an affirmation marker when they occur with verbs (they occur with other word classes as well). I analyze *-ra* as an emphatic marker and the form *-ha* may refer to verbs that end in *-aa*, as there is no /h/ phoneme in Kewa.

Possessive as reflexive. In K the possessive suffix *-na* also serves to mark the reflexive, as in:

- (13) *Ona nipu-na ta-a.*  
 woman 3SG-RFX hit-3SG.PST  
 ‘The woman hit herself.’  
*Ona oya nipu-na kaba-a-lia.*  
 woman something 3SG-RFX buy-BEN-3SG.FUT  
 The woman will buy something for herself.’

Note that the woman is not marked as Agent in either sentence because the action is not performed on another Object, but on herself.

Proverbs. Proverbs are substantives (nouns and adjectives) that combine with a limited and special number of verbs to form more complex forms:

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<sup>16</sup>This seems clearly related to the ‘to be’ form that *ya* often indicates.

- (14) *epe* ‘good’ + *ta say*.3SG.PRS  
 ‘It is good.’ (WK)  
*epe* + *l-ea say*.3SG.PRF  
 ‘It is good.’ (SK, EK)  
*rere* ‘sore’ + *p-ia sit*.3SG.PRF  
 ‘It is a sore.’  
*aima* ‘pus’ + *ra-a emit*.3SG.PST  
 ‘It has drained.’  
*kitu* ‘itch’ + *p-ea make*.3SG.PRF  
 ‘It itches.’

Note: *rea* ‘hunger’ + *pia* means ‘someone is hungry’, but *rea* + *pea* means that ‘hunger overwhelms (someone)’.

#### 4. The lexicon<sup>17</sup>

In my dialect study (Franklin 1968), I compared 1,588 words between EK and SK, 1,598 between EK and WK and 1,475 between WK and SK. The results are given in Table 5:

Table 5: Dialect Relationships (based on the full list)

EK – SK	EK – WK	WK – SK <sup>18</sup>	
20%	25%	20%	different forms
46%	29%	19%	forms the same
34%	51%	56%	sound correspondences

Typically East. The longer forms are typically found in EK, but often in SK as well: *ali* ‘man’ (EK and SK); *áá* (WK); *lidi* ‘louse/ancestral story’ (EK), *iti* (WK). The alveopalatal stop /tʲ-/ occurs initially only in EK. Generally it becomes /t-/ elsewhere and medially /-tʲ-/ becomes /-nd-/ although in SE I have recorded it as /-nt-/ as well; note that *matya* ‘to carry in a bag’ (EK); becomes *mata* (SK); or *mandia* (WK).

The following list of words in EK are either different from the other dialects or have regular sound changes:

<sup>17</sup>In addition to our published dictionary (Franklin and Franklin, assisted by Kirapeasi 1978), there are two on-line Kewa dictionaries: <http://www.sil.org/pacific/png/abstract.asp?id=48463> and <http://www.sil.org/pacific/png/abstract.asp?id=51965>.

<sup>18</sup>Rule (1977:27) found Pole (SK) and Foe had 7.4% of a several hundred word list related; Huli and Pole 27.5% and Foe and Huli 4.8%.

Table 6: Words Unique in EK<sup>19</sup>

<i>aali</i> ‘husband’	<i>alebo</i> ‘afternoon’	<i>aleya</i> ‘what is it?’
<i>ali</i> ‘man’	<i>atoraa</i> ‘armpit’	<i>bureka</i> ‘tomorrow’
<i>egali</i> <sup>20</sup> ‘one’	<i>eda</i> ‘food’	<i>karaa</i> ‘kunai’
<i>keke</i> ‘tongue’	<i>kida~kisa</i> ‘to cook’ (one EK area)	<i>ki-tya</i> ‘he is cooking it’
<i>kuli</i> ‘bone’	<i>lega</i> ‘coals of fire’	<i>lema</i> ‘lice’
<i>lidi</i> ‘flea/ancestral story’	<i>lodo</i> ‘smoke’	<i>lu-ka</i> ‘I hit it’ (RPST)
<i>lu-ka</i> ‘I talked’ (RPST)	<i>makua</i> ‘to understand’	<i>malia</i> ‘rain shield’
<i>mbali</i> ‘sibling of opposite sex’	<i>olemole</i> ‘things’	<i>pape</i> ‘fence’
<i>pu-ka</i> ‘I went’ (RPST) <sup>21</sup>	<i>ralia</i> ‘drum’	<i>rekere</i> ‘pearl shell’
<i>supi</i> ‘saliva’	<i>wali</i> ‘sugar cane’	<i>wara</i> ‘palm of hand’
<i>wena</i> ‘fish’	<i>were</i> ‘wife’	<i>werepe</i> ‘later’
<i>winya/wena</i> (southern EK) ‘woman’ <sup>22</sup>	<i>yari</i> ‘cassowary’	<i>yasa</i> ‘singsing’
<i>yogale</i> ‘skin’		

<sup>19</sup>The words are alphabetized according to their Kewa forms.

<sup>20</sup>The little finger commences the body tally system; hence it is the word for ‘one’ in that system. There are many variants, e.g: *egata*, *eganya*, *engata*, *engali*, and *kekali*.

<sup>21</sup>The northern area of EK uses *pa-kua* for ‘I went’ (remote past).

<sup>22</sup>Except for the Kagua area where *ena* is used.

Typically West. Three sounds that are often lost in WK are initially /k-/, /w-/, and initially or final /li- ~ le-/ (or /-li ~ -le/).

Table 7: Words Found Mainly in WK

<i>áá</i> ‘man’	<i>aana</i> ‘stone’	<i>aane</i> ‘ear’
<i>aani</i> ‘husband’	<i>aebo</i> ‘afternoon’	<i>aiya</i> ‘what is it?’
<i>ira</i> ‘to cook’	<i>akua</i> ‘moon’/‘grandfather’	<i>amaa</i> ‘outside’
<i>arotaa</i> ‘armpit’	<i>egaita</i> ‘one’ (body tally system)	<i>ekeraa</i> ‘tomorrow’
<i>ema/ima</i> ‘louse’	<i>ena</i> ‘fish’	<i>eta</i> ‘food’
<i>etaa</i> ‘bow and arrow’	<i>ete</i> ‘flea/ancestral story’	<i>igira</i> ‘to sneeze’
<i>ini</i> ‘eye’	<i>ini kadu</i> <sup>23</sup> ‘nose’	<i>ira-la</i> ‘he is cooking it’
<i>irikai</i> <sup>24</sup> ‘dog’	<i>kepo</i> ‘fence’	<i>lai</i> ‘drum’
<i>maita</i> ‘singsing’	<i>mbani</i> ‘sibling of opposite sex’	<i>miru</i> ‘smoke’
<i>nimina</i> ‘to understand’	<i>ona</i> ‘woman’	<i>ope</i> ‘rope’
<i>ore</i> ‘wife’	<i>orope</i> ‘later’	<i>oyaeyae</i> ‘things’
<i>padane</i> ‘one’	<i>pi-su</i> ‘I went’ (RPST)	<i>pore</i> <sup>25</sup> ‘mountain’
<i>raa</i> ‘bush’	<i>sapi</i> ‘sweet potato’	<i>su</i> ‘I talked’ (RPST)
<i>supi</i> ‘saliva’	<i>ti-su</i> ‘I hit it’ (RPST)	<i>ura</i> ‘grass skirt’
<i>waa</i> ‘sugar cane’	<i>yaa-maita</i> ‘cassowary’	<i>yaapara</i> ‘rain shield’
<i>yaapi/kupa</i> ‘blood’		

<sup>23</sup>The word for ‘nose’ has several taboo forms because it is the same word as for the snout of a pig, from which blood was drained onto sacred stones during certain ceremonies: *peau* (EK); *suba* (SKI); *ini kadu* (preferred)/*ini kara* (WK); *inyi kadu* (SK), *ini rikai* and *pea* (some areas of WK), *inyi ro* (Puti area of WK); *wini kadu* (some areas of SK); *węłę* and *wiłi* (SK and SE).

<sup>24</sup>The word for a hunting dog seems to have been a taboo form: *pudiala*, *ponape*, *riale*, and *usapu* (all occur in some areas of WK); *usapu* also in the NW; *iya* in an isolated area of WK; however, *yana* seems to be the proto-form because it is found in all areas.

<sup>25</sup>Additional words for mountain: *kari/rumu* (EK), *kana* (SK), *rata* (SK), *rudu* (WK), *kuku* (SK) and *aari* (WK, SK).

Typically South. The prenasalized velar stop and nasalized vowels are diagnostic features (although the prenasalized velar also occurs in the NW nearer to Mendi).

Table 8: Some SK Words

<i>(k)apaa /yɔ-para</i> ‘bush’	<i>q̄q̄/q̄qli</i> ‘husband’	<i>q̄q̄ne</i> ‘ear’
<i>aatorq̄</i> ‘armpit’	<i>ai</i> ‘banana’	<i>ala</i> ‘give 3person’
<i>alepo</i> ‘afternoon’	<i>adapele</i> ‘what time?’	<i>anga/q̄ga</i> ‘mouth’
<i>ange/q̄nge</i> ‘leg’	<i>anyi</i> ‘sibling of opposite sex’	<i>asua</i> ‘grandfather’
<i>basua</i> ‘Ragiana bird of paradise’	<i>ɛɛ</i> ‘garden’	<i>enḡqli</i> ‘little finger’
<i>eno</i> ‘forehead’	<i>kaleke</i> ‘sister-in-law’	<i>kaluaka</i> ‘hat’
<i>kapaa</i> ‘forest’	<i>kasua</i> ‘grandfather’	<i>k̄qu/k̄q̄q̄/k̄ugu</i> ‘back’
<i>keraa</i> ‘leaf’	<i>k̄j</i> ‘hand’	<i>kili</i> ‘seeds/fruit’
<i>koq̄ɛ</i> ‘bad’	<i>k̄ɔ̄ngo ele</i> ‘things’	<i>lenga</i> ‘coals of fire’
<i>lia</i> ‘to hit’	<i>li-sua</i> ‘I hit it’ (RPST)	<i>li-sua</i> ‘I talked’ (RPST)
<i>malu</i> ‘death adder’ <sup>26</sup>	<i>nali</i> ‘star’	<i>n̄ɔ̄ngo</i> ‘girl’
<i>oraa</i> ‘palm of hand’	<i>palia</i> ‘to sleep’	<i>p̄ɔ̄nga</i> ‘to hear’
<i>panga</i> ‘to understand’	<i>pela</i> ‘take off clothes’	<i>pi-sua</i> ‘I went’ (RPST)
<i>poka</i> ‘rat’	<i>raguna</i> ‘hat’	<i>rena</i> ‘woman’
<i>repali</i> ‘fish’	<i>r̄ɔ̄ngaa</i> ‘to bind’	<i>ruli</i> ‘tomorrow’
<i>r̄ȳna</i> ‘middle’	<i>s̄ȳ</i> ‘five’	<i>suba</i> ‘moon’
<i>suba</i> ‘tongue’ (some areas)	<i>tamena</i> (from Hiri Motu) ‘salt’	<i>t̄ɔ̄nga-para</i> ‘in the ashes’
<i>t̄ɔ̄q̄</i> ‘I will talk’	<i>uba</i> ‘star’	<i>usane</i> ‘drum’
<i>w̄ɛ</i> ‘blood’	<i>we</i> ‘forehead’ (some areas)	<i>wena</i> ‘woman’
<i>w̄ili/ili</i> ‘nose’	<i>yangi</i> ‘sword grass’	<i>yapea</i> ‘to count’
<i>yara</i> ‘sorrow’	<i>yasa</i> ‘singsing’	<i>yoga</i> ‘pull out of ground’
<i>ȳɔ̄ngele/ȳongane</i> ‘skin’		

<sup>26</sup>Romo-malu means ‘sorcery’ or ‘poison’ in WK and EK.

Table 9: Words Occurring Mainly in NW

<i>aareto</i> ‘armpit’	<i>abona</i> ‘afternoon’	<i>adea</i> ‘to understand’
<i>bara</i> ‘bird of paradise’	<i>bete</i> ‘frog’ (some areas)	<i>emaku</i> ‘pearl shell’
<i>edaa</i> ‘bow and arrow’	<i>engaina</i> ‘one’	<i>epele</i> ‘banana’
<i>erete</i> ‘flea’	<i>isu</i> ‘I talked’ (RPST)	<i>kapaa</i> ‘bush’
<i>kapada</i> ‘men’s house’	<i>kupaa</i> <sup>27</sup> ‘stone’	<i>bero</i> ‘yam’
<i>mesa</i> ‘back’	<i>naa</i> ‘food’	<i>nemake</i> ‘saliva’
<i>onasa</i> ‘rat’ <sup>28</sup>	<i>orepe</i> ‘later’	<i>palu</i> ‘door’
<i>baasa/kupa</i> ‘blood’	<i>padi pa</i> ‘to miss’	<i>pesa</i> ‘shoulder’
<i>polada</i> ‘meeting house’	<i>puda</i> ‘moon’	<i>pudiala</i> ‘dog’
<i>rabota/malasa</i> ‘rain shield’	<i>radeta</i> ‘smoke’	<i>rangi</i> ‘hat’
<i>rena</i> ‘woman’	<i>ri</i> ‘tree’	<i>rita</i> ‘coals of fire’
<i>roa</i> ‘palm of hand’	<i>rolo/yoganye</i> ‘skin’	<i>rumaa</i> ‘to marry’
<i>sa/mota</i> ‘cloud’	<i>tauwa</i> ‘I will talk’	<i>toape</i> ‘calf of leg’
<i>uru</i> ‘grass skirt’	<i>wasupu</i> ‘sun’	<i>yangi</i> ‘sword grass’

<sup>27</sup>Also the word for ‘blood’ in many areas. The blood of pigs was poured over sacred stones in some cult activities.

<sup>28</sup>‘Rat’ is probably a word that has been tabooed in areas, with variants such as: *wasa* (SE and some areas of WK); *pakira* (EK and some areas of WK and SK), *onasa* (mainly NW), *kamanaka* (some areas of WK and Emia Falls), *sauwaa* (isolated areas of WK), *poka* (isolate areas of WK), *bisini* (SE and isolated areas of WK), and *makiri* (isolated areas of northern EK).

Table 10: Words Occurring Mainly in SE

<i>qq</i> ‘husband’	<i>aleralere</i> ‘things’	<i>anya</i> ‘sibling of opposite sex’
<i>gae pamenane</i> ‘afternoon’	<i>kaleke</i> ‘sister-in-law’	<i>kaluaka</i> (literally head-bark) ‘hat’
<i>kawai</i> ‘axe’	<i>keqnko</i> ‘frog’	<i>kekela</i> ‘sand’
<i>keraa-para</i> ‘bush’	<i>kida</i> ‘he is cooking it’	<i>kjgali</i> ‘little finger’
<i>kubu</i> ‘star’	<i>li/lqj</i> ‘to hit’	<i>maj</i> ‘grandfather’
<i>manya</i> ‘father’	<i>makiri</i> ‘rat’	<i>mea</i> ‘to marry’
<i>pinta/pi</i> ‘tree root’	<i>puda</i> ‘tongue’	<i>rango-para</i> ‘in the ashes’
<i>rj/sirali/wisane</i> ‘drum’	<i>ria</i> ‘tree’	<i>sepi</i> ‘sweet potato’
<i>suq</i> ‘shadow’	<i>tapate</i> ‘men’s house’	<i>tia/ria</i> ‘sweet potato’
<i>tupi</i> ‘saliva’	<i>una/pamo</i> ‘woman’	<i>wai/yana</i> ‘dog’
<i>węle</i> ‘nose’	<i>wini</i> ‘bone’	

Table 11: Words Occurring in the Emia Falls area

<i>amale</i> ‘mother’	<i>kamaa</i> ‘to marry’	<i>kibita</i> ‘pearl shell’
<i>kone wia</i> ‘to understand’	<i>mapu</i> ‘neck’ <sup>29</sup>	<i>naisapu</i> ‘grass skirt’
<i>newa</i> ‘cloud’	<i>paroparo</i> ‘rope’	<i>ponape</i> ‘dog’ (and eastward)
<i>robo</i> ‘shadow’	<i>rope</i> ‘saliva’	<i>tarane</i> ‘outside’ (all in the SW corner of WK <sup>30</sup> )
<i>tauwa</i> ‘I will talk’	<i>upipi</i> ‘stone’	<i>waiya pita</i> ‘to be sorry’
<i>yaki</i> ‘yam’	<i>yapu</i> ‘girl’	

<sup>29</sup>This may be *ma-pu*, where the suffix indicates an ordinal number in the body tally number system as one points to the ‘neck’ (usually the ‘eighteenth’ position enumerated).

<sup>30</sup>This is the Imani area near the Emia Falls of the Erave River. I have considered specifying it as a sub-dialect area as well.

Table 12: Words Occurring in the Kware R. area (transitional between EK and SK)

<i>aapira</i> ‘what time?’	<i>aleda~oleapole~olele</i> ‘things’	<i>ere</i> ‘wife’
<i>erepe</i> ‘later’	<i>inya</i> ‘woman’	<i>measi</i> ‘one’
<i>palia</i> ‘to sleep’	<i>repali/wena</i> ‘a fish’	<i>uli</i> ‘bone’
<i>yapipu</i> ‘tomorrow’		

Table 13: Words Occurring in Scattered Areas of WK or SK

<i>aadina</i> ‘what time?’ (literally ‘what count?’)	<i>aitaa</i> ‘father’	<i>anye</i> ‘ear’
<i>asua</i> ‘grandfather’	<i>asuba</i> ‘head’	<i>atada</i> ‘men’s house’ (Ankura R. area of WK)
<i>baasa</i> ‘blood’	<i>eke</i> ‘tongue’	<i>kate</i> ‘Z-in-law’ <sup>31</sup>
<i>kuba kedo</i> ‘star’	<i>maria</i> ‘back’	<i>pagu</i> ‘sun’
<i>para</i> ‘palm of hand’	<i>pere-para</i> ‘in the ashes’	<i>ragunaba</i> ‘hat’
<i>ri</i> ‘drum’ (Sugu R. area of WK and SK)	<i>rikeraa</i> ‘middle’	<i>rote</i> ‘sand’
<i>rudu</i> ‘mountain’	<i>salupa</i> ‘sweet potato’	<i>sekere</i> ‘pearl shell’
<i>sua</i> ‘I talked’ (RPST)	<i>tupale</i> ‘singsing’	<i>wapa-pu</i> ‘five’
<i>we</i> ‘forehead’ (middle SK only)		

## 5. Cultural notes

Trade and Borrowing. The introduction and trade for the pearl shell came from two directions, as evident from the words *sekere*<sup>32</sup>, along the Kikori R. and to the northeastern direction, and (*m*)*umaku*, from the areas to the north of Mendi and Ialibu. There has been a long history of trade with the Kutubu area to the southwest. Cognates between the Foi (Williams 1940-41) and Kewa are listed in Franklin (2001). Additional trade items were tigasoo tree oil, salt

<sup>31</sup>Additional words for Z-in-law are *ate* (some areas of S,SW), *pamenda* and *yake* (both in areas of WK).

<sup>32</sup>The word *sekere* is found in Fasu and there is evidence it came into the SHP via the Kikori River. Williams (1940-41:16) claimed that it was a Fasu word because on the Mubi R. it was called *magami* ‘thing’ in Foi. This direction also seems clear from May and Loeweke (1981:344) where the word recorded for pearlshell is *sekéte*. Note that the Grassland word Williams recorded for pearlshell was *momag* and this is cognate with the Kyaka word *mamaku*, suggesting a north, northeast to south trade route into the Foi area.

(called *tamena* from Hiri Motu in SK, but *kusa* in WK and SK), steel axes, cassowaries, and plumes, especially from parrots, cockatoos and bird-of-paradise.

Secret Languages and Cults. Best known is the “pandanus language” (Franklin 1972b, Franklin and Stefaniw 1992), but argots and cults commonly used particular lexicons and forms (see Franklin 1975a; Franklin and Franklin (assisted by Kirapeasi) 1978: 256-257). Kewa speakers are particularly adept in their use of metaphors, idioms and coded language (Franklin 1970; 2003b).

Marriage. Marriage is exogamous to the clan, but clans do subdivide over a period of time so it seems certain that distant relatives may marry (Franklin and Franklin (assisted by Kirapeasi) 1978:386-389 for WK and Franklin 1965b for EK).

Pig Kills. For a detailed description of a SK pig kill see LeRoy (1979a,b). A large pig kill took place in Usa in late 1968 (we were not present at the time). Associated with pig kills are dances (*yasa mata* in WK) and a particular type of guest house. The meeting house (*rakua ada* (WK) or *rasua ada* (SK)) is not present in EK or in the Kuare R. area.

Counting. Kewa speakers traditionally used three systems: a four base system (Franklin and Franklin 1962a), a body tally system (Franklin and Franklin 1962a and Franklin and Franklin (assisted by Kirapeasi) 1978: 397-404), and a system that counts the digits of the two hands and two feet.<sup>33</sup> The SK body tally system is less developed than the other dialects, perhaps indicating fewer large pig kills and dances to keep track of.

Legends. LeRoy (1983, 1985a, 1985b), and MacDonald both collected Kewa legends, the former in the WK and the latter in SK. We also collected and edited some legends in EK and published a booklet of them from WK (Franklin 1972a). Legends are called *lidi* in EK and SK, but *iti* in WK.<sup>34</sup>

Kinship. In technical terms and in all dialects, the system is bifurcate collateral in the first ascending generation and employs Iroquois cousin terms (Franklin 1965b on EK and 1971:380-383 on WK).

Names and Naming. Franklin (1967b) outlines what we knew in EK about the naming system at the time. I did not find the same use of names in WK, and I have outlined our findings in the Kewa dictionary (1978:415-420 and in Franklin 2003a).

Clans and Counter-clans. In Muli (EK) we lived with the Ekerepa clan and in Usa (WK) with the Nemola clan, although other clans and subclans resided in both areas. The word for clan is *ruru* in Kewa and *-repa* is often added to the name of a particular clan. I comment on clan names in Franklin (2003a:258-260).

## 6. Pre-Kewa

Pre-Kewa represents a hypothetical language from which the present dialects were formulated. It becomes then a component of a more distant historical group, that of Proto-Engan. I have reconstructed the phonemes and forms in Table 14.

Phonemes. \*/p, t, k, <sup>m</sup>b, <sup>n</sup>d, <sup>ŋ</sup>g, m, n, l, r (flapped), s, w, y, a, e, i, o, u/; palatalization (the raising of the tongue position accompanying the sounds): \*/p<sup>y</sup>, t<sup>y</sup>, k<sup>y</sup>, s<sup>y</sup>, r<sup>y</sup>, l<sup>y</sup>, ñ/; labialization (the rounding of the lips accompanying the stops): \*/p<sup>w</sup>, k<sup>w</sup>/; tones: \*/H, L/.

<sup>33</sup>Kerr (2010) describes four count systems in Wiru: the base four system; the digits of the hands and feet; the body tally system; and a system of generic or general number terms, such as ‘another’, ‘many’, ‘all’, and ‘very many’.

<sup>34</sup>There are two sound changes involved, a historical change of *nd* > *t* and *li* > *ø*.

Table 14: Some Proposed Reconstructions in Pre-Kewa

* <i>apa</i> ‘father’	* <i>e</i> ‘garden’	* <i>i</i> ‘feces’
* <i>ka</i> ‘odor’	* <i>k<sup>w</sup>are</i> ‘place name’	* <i>k<sup>v</sup>a</i> ‘to sweep’
* <i>lo</i> ‘stomach’	* <i>m<sup>b</sup>i</i> ‘name’	* <i>mo</i> ‘that (unseen)’
* <i>ña</i> ‘we all’	* <i>ndo</i> ‘dust’	* <i>no</i> ‘that (below)’
* <i>ŋgo</i> ‘this’	* <i>o</i> ‘scabs’	* <i>pa</i> ‘just’
* <i>p<sup>w</sup>a</i> ‘to go’	* <i>p<sup>v</sup>a</i> ‘to shoot’	* <i>ro</i> ‘corpse’
* <i>r<sup>v</sup>a</i> ‘to carry’	* <i>so</i> ‘that (above)’	* <i>s<sup>v</sup>a</i> ‘to place’
* <i>ta</i> ‘he said’	* <i>t<sup>v</sup>a</i> ‘to hit’	* <i>u</i> ‘sleep’
* <i>wa</i> ‘exclamation’	* <i>yà</i> ‘bird’	* <i>yá</i> ‘sky’

Tenses: \*-*ø*- ‘PST’; -*l*- ‘PRS’; -*s*- ‘RPST’; -*e*- ‘PRF’; -*li*- ‘FUT’; Benefactive: \*-*ka*- plus a different set of person/number suffixes in the PST and PRF. The BEN PST is: \*-*r*-.

Person/number verb suffixes: \*-*ua* ‘1SG’; \*-*i* ‘2SG’; -*a*- ‘3SG’; \*-*pa* ‘1DI’; \*-*pe* ‘2DI/PL’; \*-*ma* ‘1PL’; \*-*me* ‘2DL/PL’.

Examples:

- (15) \**anda-ø-ua*  
see-PST-1SG  
‘I saw it.’  
\**anda-s-ua*.  
see-PST-1SG  
‘I saw it sometime ago.’  
\**anda-l-ua*  
see-PST-1SG  
‘I see it.’  
\**anda-e-ua*  
see-PST-1SG  
‘I have seen it.’  
\**anda-li-ua*  
see-FUT-1SG  
‘I will see it.’  
\**anda-ka-ua*  
see-RPST-1SG  
‘I saw it sometime ago.’  
\**anda-a-ripu*  
see-BEN-PST.1SG  
‘I saw it on behalf of someone else.’

7. Proto Engan (PE) and beyond<sup>35</sup>

I first suggested and described some PE forms and reconstructions in Franklin 1975b.<sup>36</sup> The hypothetical parent language represents present day (K)ewa, (M)endi,<sup>37</sup> (H)uli (Tari area), (S)au (Samberigi), (E)nga (dialects, including Kyaka), (L)embena (sometimes called Pinai), (I)pili, and (B)isorio.<sup>38</sup>

S and B are the two most distant (from the homeland, which is presumed to be in the E area) languages, S far to the south in the Gulf Province and B far to the north in the East Sepik Province. Although Wiru bears some similarities to the Engan family—to K and H in particular—I have not included it in the family.

Notes on PE:<sup>39</sup>

- *\*sy* split into *\*s* and *\*y*: *so* ‘up there’ (K), *yo* ‘up there’ (M).
- *\*ngV* is a complex form, and can be found in both verbs and nouns in present day E; it diverged into *\*-ni ~ -ne*, for example in H and Wiru, and to *-ko* in I; in S the retained endings are mainly *-ke ~ -ki*; there is some evidence that *-le* is a reflex of the proto form in some areas of K, e.g. *ama-le* ‘mother’ and *yoga-le* ‘skin’.
- Vowels are devoiced in some dialect areas of E and this has led to a loss of final vowels in many words in M—the only Engan language with closed syllables.
- S retains *\*-ke*, as in *ni-ki* ‘I’, *ne-ke* ‘you’, *yonkele-ke* ‘skin’, *epe-ke* ‘good’, *le-ke* ‘eye’, *bi-ki* ‘name’, *ki-ki* ‘hand’, *au-ke* ‘feet’, *kana-ke* ‘stone’, and *home-ke* ‘one’; other retained endings are found in *ro-ko* ‘four’ and *yu-nki* ‘five’.

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<sup>35</sup>For the relationships that Voorhoeve and I proposed with Kewa outside of the Engan family, see our article in Franklin (ed. 1973:149-186). For some proposed Proto-Engan reconstructions, see Franklin (1975b, 1994 and 1997).

<sup>36</sup>From examining the Enga dictionary of Lang (1973, 1975) I have identified 343 potential cognates with Kewa.

<sup>37</sup>There are a number of Mendi dialects; see Rule (1965) and Tipton (1979, 1982).

<sup>38</sup>Patrick Edmiston of SIL also identified Nete, located along the northern slopes of the Central Range, at the headwaters of the Karawari and Korosameri Rivers in the East Sepik Province (Edmiston, 1986, unpublished).

<sup>39</sup>For comments on Proto-Engan deictics, see Franklin (1994); on pronouns see Franklin (1997); on Mendi vowels, Franklin (1974).

Table 15: Some Correspondences Between Engan Languages and Kewa  
(M = Mendi; B = Bisorio; S = Sau; L = Lembena):

M l: K l	<i>belli</i> ‘brother’: <i>bali</i> (EK)	<i>yollo</i> ‘pull’: <i>yola</i>	<i>wall</i> ‘again’: <i>wala</i>
M l: K r	<i>mar</i> ‘four’: <i>mala</i>		
M -ø: K -V	<i>ek</i> ‘moon’: <i>eke</i>	<i>and</i> ‘house’: <i>ada</i>	
M y: K s	<i>yu</i> ‘thumb’: <i>su</i>		
M ø-: K k-	<i>omo</i> ‘die’: <i>koma</i>		
B y: K s	<i>yo</i> ‘thumb’: <i>su</i>	<i>yu</i> ‘ground’: <i>su</i>	
B h: K k	<i>hana</i> ‘stone’: <i>kana</i>	<i>hali</i> ‘ear’: <i>kale</i> (EK)	<i>habulu</i> ‘lips’: <i>kabulu</i> (EK)
B s: K r	<i>sepo</i> ‘three’: <i>repo</i>	<i>seya</i> ‘fire’: <i>ria</i> (NW)	
S -ki/-ke: K -ø	<i>bi-ki</i> ‘name’: <i>bi</i>	<i>ki-ki</i> ‘hands’: <i>ki</i>	<i>epe-ke</i> ‘good’: <i>epe</i>
S h: K k	<i>homo</i> ‘to die’: <i>kom</i>	<i>honkopu</i> ‘difficult’: <i>kekapu</i>	<i>hone</i> ‘thoughts’: <i>kone</i>
S l: K r/t	<i>lupa</i> ‘manner’: <i>rupa</i>	<i>lanka</i> ‘ashes’: <i>taga</i>	<i>lo-ke</i> ‘body: to ‘body’/ <i>ro</i> ‘corpse’
L nd: K ny	<i>winda</i> ‘woman’: <i>winya</i> (EK)		
L: ø-: K k-	<i>apa</i> ‘in this manner’: <i>kupa</i>	<i>oli-ge</i> ‘bone’: <i>kuli</i> (EK)	<i>kai</i> ‘who?’: <i>ai</i>

Kewa, Fasu and Foi. In Franklin (2001) I determined that Foi and Fasu were independent members of a larger grouping. Ross (2005:22) labels this larger group the Kutubuan stock, with Fasu called the West Kutubu family, and Foi [Foi] called the East Kutubu family. A few cognates may indicate some borrowing into Kewa from Foi, based on the trade from tigasa tree oil from that region, e.g:

- (16) Foi: *kunagubu* ‘pubic apron’; Kewa: *onaapu* (Pre-Kewa \**konapu*)  
 Foi: *kakho/ka’o* ‘bark belt’; Kewa: *aako* (\**kako*)  
 Foi: *kimisi* ‘journey’; Kewa: *kimisu*  
 Foi: *kosaka* ‘bark-cloth’; Kewa: *aaka* (\**kaka*)

For additional cognates see Franklin (2001) and Rule (1977).

## 8. Literacy, writing, and media

With language assistants we prepared basic reading materials in EK during our first term living with the Kewa people. We also prepared a primer and a riddle book in that dialect. In the WK, we prepared primers and workbooks, several culture books for easy reading, a social studies book, and some Scripture-related books. For several years we and our helpers produced a “newsletter” that was distributed in the area and used in local community schools.

We held trial literacy classes for adults in the village of Muli (EK) from 1960-63 where, initially, there were no literates. In Usa (WK), we held classes throughout 1969-72, resulting in a number of adult literates in three villages. We also conducted fluency classes for some 30 semi-literates and a pre-school class for about 10 children entering school.

In Usa, Joice trained a literacy instructor, Yapua Kirapeasi, who also authored or co-authored several books. We instituted a system of coaching in evening classes where more fluent readers helped less skilled readers. About 50 adults attended these informal classes. Today, the older men in Usa and a few nearby villages who were members of past literacy classes can read Kewa with varying levels of fluency. All the village pastors, evangelists and catechists can read Tok Pisin and Kewa, again with varying degrees of fluency. There is a lack of older female readers because in the early days of literacy work, the leaders would not allow females to attend classes. The Catholic church has had a small ladies literacy class at their Karia station in Kagua in the EK.

During several trips to the area in 1989-90, we spent time visiting villages to encourage reading, including distribution of available books. In 1989, a literacy team expressed interest in doing Kewa literacy and Scripture promotion work. However, this did not work out and so far there has been no vernacular literacy efforts by SIL or other missions in the WK area.

The ECP in SK (Pole) have had an ongoing literacy program led by pastors or others in most villages where ECP churches are located. Pre-schools were planned and for many years literacy has been taught in the upper grades of the Erave Community School. Materials include a set of six primers, an easy reader, a hymn book, Scripture books and two Bible Society New Readers books.

We worked closely with the local people to develop on-going relationships and community involvement. We did not introduce any appropriate technology projects because the government has been active in the area with a variety of projects through the years. There are, however, many literates in the entire Kewa area due to the school leavers who have returned to their villages. These literates vary in fluency and need help in motivation to read Kewa. Reading clubs would provide the support they need. Reintroduction of a newspaper would be another valuable tool in literacy promotion throughout the area. We estimate (2002) that 25% percent or more of the young people and young married men are literate in varying degrees. The Kewa materials would be suitable for primary schools with little revision.

In late 2010, a Bible recording agency, Faith Comes by Hearing, recorded the entire EK NT with the aim of distributing it in electronic form. However, the whole exercise had serious problems from the start because the church responsible for the recording (and the distribution of the EKNT) demanded excess payment for the recording sessions, as well as any distribution. Because of this, the EKNT lay dormant for a number of years.

## 9. Translation and churches

The WK translation of the New Testament was completed in 1972 and published and distributed in 1973. Over 1500 copies were published and it was out of print for some years. A revision was completed and dedicated in July 2004. Later an adaptation from WK to EK was completed and dedicated in 2005. The process is described in Franklin (2010).

In most Evangelical Lutheran Churches, the Sunday services are held in the Kewa language except for the reading of the scripture texts. These are read in Tok Pisin and then translated, often phrase by phrase, into WK. One reason the Kewa Scriptures are not used by pastors and evangelists is because their reading fluency is poor and they are embarrassed to read aloud haltingly. During four visits to the WK area in 1989-90, we attended various church services and encouraged the use of Kewa Scriptures while trying to enthuse pastors, evangelists and church leaders. The WK Old Testament translation project has proceeded well, mainly due to the encouragement and example of Lay-pastor Wopa Eka from Usa.

Scripture use by other churches in the WK area: the Catholic church uses Kewa Scriptures in all of their churches; the Bible Missionary Church (BMC) uses only Tok Pisin; and the Nazarene church has Kewa New Testaments available in services for use by any Kewa literates.

Mr. Norm Mundhenk of the Bible Society, Mt. Hagen, had expressed an interest in supervising the revision and the Old Testament translation, but he left PNG in the late 1990s. There are plans by Wopa Eka and others to translate and promote Kewa Scripture, but there is no one to supervise a literacy program, so it is unclear how translation efforts will be implemented. Wopa talked directly to SIL in September 2002 about the literacy need.

Fr. Don Debes of the Catholic church in Kagua (EK) once supervised six men to translate the New Testament in two sub-dialects of the EK, using Tok Pisin as a source text and referring to the WK translation at times when certain meanings were unclear. The Catholics have used EK Scriptures in their services, but the BMC stated that their church does not need the Kewa translation as they are content to use Tok Pisin and English.

In May 1989, a joint meeting between the EK Catholic translators (six men), eight Lutheran pastors and leaders and one Bible church member, met at Wabi station to discuss key terms applicable to the WK New Testament revision. In 2002 we again carefully examined the key terms during the WK NT revision and made appropriate changes.

There were too many vocabulary differences and too few fluent readers for the WK New Testament to be used in churches in the NW dialect, though literacy and promotion could overcome this difficulty. In the South dialect, the Catholics used Tok Pisin translated into Kewa, although they now use the Pole NT.

According to figures we received in 1990, the Evangelical Church of Papua had 32 churches in SK (Pole). We do not have current figures on the number of churches in South Kewa. The Pole New Testament was completed in 1988 and it was published in the mid-90s.

We believe that the ECP still sponsors a small Bible School for students from three languages (SK, Samberigi and Polopa) at Erave. In 1990, forty-six students were enrolled in the Theological Education by Extension (TEE) program sponsored by CLTC and SK was used in this program. The ECP women's program involved mostly pastors' wives and SK was used in this program, including Scripture reading and memorization.

At present, many pastors and evangelists do not want to put the time and effort into learning to read Kewa well. They are content to use the easier, tedious method of translating Tok

Pisin Scriptures into Kewa, often phrase by phrase, with the resulting lack of comprehension. One reason is lack of reading fluency. Another is the prestige of Tok Pisin. Another more fundamental reason may be that Scriptures speak for themselves and the pastor or evangelist would have little to add which would make him feel redundant.

As mentioned, the revision of the WK New Testament was completed between 2002 and 2004, including three trips to PNG (five months each time in 2002 and 2003 and three months in 2004). Typesetting was completed in 2003 and the revised NT was dedicated in August 2004 in the village of Usa. In 2003 an adaptation of the EK NT (using the computer program Adapt It—see Franklin 2011) was begun and completed 13 months later. It was dedicated in July of 2005 at Kagua.

Two separate BELT (Bible Education and Literacy Training) courses were held by YWAM (Youth With a Mission) in Usa, in 2004 and 2005, each lasting five weeks. A third was cancelled.

Kewa Churches. The Capuchin Order of the Catholic church was established in Ialibu (EK) in 1955 and from there priests patrolled the EK area, establishing churches in many villages including Muli where we first lived. The Order began in Kagua and surrounding areas in 1957 and by 2002 they had established 17 churches in the WK area with a catechist at each. Their largest station was at Sumi (in July 2002 it was burned down in post-election fighting but is now being rebuilt) where two Sisters did pastoral and medical itinerant work along with national novitiates.

The Lutheran mission (now Evangelical Lutheran Church, ELC) began work in Wabi (WK) in April 1958, shortly after the Kagua government station was opened in 1957. Merrill and Katie Clark established the Wabi station and a school and in December 1959, Norman and Bernice Imbrock replaced the Clarks and were the resident missionaries until 1981. They further developed the school and village churches, as well as cattle and agricultural projects on the station. Kurt and Anne Riecke began work in Wabi in November 1985 and left to teach at Ogelbeng Seminary in 1989. In 1990 there were five pastors and 51 Lutheran churches in the West Kewa area, but there are reportedly many more now.

Also in the WK area in 1990 there were two Nazarene churches at Usa and Sumi, administered from Kudjip, WHP; eight Bible Missionary Churches (BMC), administered from Kuare-Lombo, SHP; one United Church without a pastor and administered from Mendi; one Assembly of God church, administered from Mt. Hagen; and a Seventh Day Adventist church established in early 1989. During the early 1980s, the Christian Union Mission had a station on the eastside of the Erave River, east and southeast of Poroma. Their only access to the area was via a flying fox (a small type of cable car with the cable fixed at both ends and which ran through pulleys) across the Erave River. The United and Catholic (Capuchin) churches have a number of churches in the Northwest dialect area, administered from Mendi.

In EK, the Catholic, ELC and BMC have churches throughout the area. The Catholic and ELC are supervised through their stations in Ialibu and Wabi. The BMC is supervised from its station at Kuare-Lombo east of Kagua. The Evangelical Wesleyan Mission has one station at Katiloma and has churches south to the Erave area. The Assembly of God has at least one church at Kagua with a national pastor. The Gospel Tidings church has a main church in Ialibu and there may be other village churches as well. The Catholic and ELC at Pangia supervise a few churches in the Kewa area nearest the station.

From Wabi (WK), the ELC supervises over 30 churches in the East Kewa area with four pastors; each pastor is responsible for evangelists assigned to the churches.

The Catholics (Capuchins) and Wesleyans also have churches in the SK. Both the Catholics and Wesleyans focus on evangelism, church planting and pastoral care.

A more recent report (July 2005) from a mission worker in EK with the Bible Missionary Church states that they have an airstrip on the Kware side of the valley. Other missions in the area are Baptist (with churches at Limbo and Porolo), PNG Bible Church, Catholic, CLC and Lutheran. There is a school (grades 1-8) and a health center at Waluanda, in the BMC area. At Marali village near Kagua there is an AOG church. In July of 2005, I met Wayne Fair, who with his wife was running the Missionary Guest House in Mt. Hagen. He has been working with the EK since 1994, but far to the east near the Wiru border. He is independent but explained to me the doctrinal differences between the EMC and the Missionary Bible Church, both of whom also have contact with the Kewas.

#### 10. Final comments

There is a great deal of work that we wish we would have done among the Kewa, particularly in literacy and encouraging Scripture use. We collected songs (for an EK sampling, see Franklin 1970), both traditional and more contemporary—the latter primarily church choruses that the people had composed, but these have never been published. From time to time I work on revising the dictionary but there is still much to be done there as well. We do not feel that tone has been satisfactorily analyzed and a pedagogical grammar would be of much more use to the people than the technical one I did on WK for my dissertation (Franklin 1969) or the thesis (on EK) I did for my MA (Franklin 1965a). We have materials on “Learning East Kewa” but have not published them.

Despite our shortcomings, it is our hope and prayer that what we have done will be of value to the Kewa people. We can never thank them enough for their hospitality and help during the years we lived among them.

#### Abbreviations

1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
A	Agent
AFRM	Affirmed
BEN	Benefactive
CAUS	Cause
CMPL	Complement
DED	Deduced
DL	Dual
EK	East Kewa
EXCL	Exclusive
FUT	Future
IMP	Imperative
INCL	Inclusive
INCOM	Incomplete
INS	Instrument
NEG	Negative

NPST	Narrative Past
NW	Northwest
OBJ	Object
PERF	Perfect
PL	Plural
POS	Possessive
PRF	Perfect
PRS	Present
PST	Past
PUP	Purpose
Q	Question
REA	Reason
RFX	Reflexive
RPST	Remote Past
SE	Southeast
SG	Singular
SK	South Kewa
SR/DS	Switch Referent/Different Subject
SS	Same Subject
TOP	Topic
WK	West Kewa

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