

The Word in Kewa

Karl J. Franklin

2010

The Word in Kewa¹

Karl J. Franklin
SIL International

1. The Kewa Language and People²

The Kewa people live mainly in the Mendi, Kagua, Ialibu and Pangia Districts of the Southern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea, and speak three main dialects (Franklin 1968). The estimate of Kewa speakers in 1958 (when we first went to the Kewa area) was 25,000, by 1990 it had increased to 63,633, divided as follows: West Kewa, 28,905 including 11,071 in NW sub-dialect; East Kewa, 28,642; South Kewa, 6,086 including 651 in the SW sub-dialect. A census taken in 2000 suggests that the population of Kewa as a whole is now close to 100,000.

East and West Kewa are lexically related by about 78 per cent. East and South Kewa are much closer to each other than either is to West Kewa. Kewa is most closely related to the Mendi language, but it is also related to Sau, and to a lesser degree, to Wiru. All of these languages belong to the West Central Family (along with Enga, Huli, Ipili and Lembena). Imbonggu (north Ialibu) and Fasu (southeast of Lake Kutubu) are only distantly related to Kewa.

The description given in this paper is from the West Kewa dialect, unless otherwise noted.¹

2. Kewa Typological Features

Kewa is a mildly polysynthetic language, with complex morphology confined to the verbs, with person, number and tense commonly fused in the verb morphology. Other word classes display an agglutinative pattern of suffixes and clitics. The general typological characteristics that follow for Kewa (Franklin 1971, 1983) may be compared with those of Enga (Lang 1973: xxi-li and Lang 1975:24-37), which is in the same language family. The more general characteristics of Papuan languages can be found in Foley (1986).

In Kewa the Subject (in Foley's terms, the Actor) normally precedes the Object (in Foley's terms, the Undergoer) or Indirect Object, which in turn precedes the Verb:

- (1) *Ona -me oyae mena kala-a*
woman AG something pig give-3SG.PAST
“The woman gave something to the pig”

Kewa has postpositions, for example the genitive clitic follows the possessed noun head:

- (2) *Go ona -na mena*
this woman-POS pig
“This woman's pig”

Like other languages with SOV order, Postpositions occur:

- (3) *Aa maapu-para pu-a*
man garden-LOC go-3SG.PAST
“The man went to the garden”

Adverbial modifiers of the verb precede it:

- (4) *Pawa la*

slow say.IMP

“Speak slowly”

- (5) **Pa** *la* *-wa-* *-de*
just utter 1SG.PAST DEF
“I didn’t mean it”

Intonational features occur at the end of the Sentence, not the beginning:

- (6) *Ne* *-me* *ta* *-wa* *-de*
I AG hit 1SG.PAST DEF
“I hit it” (+ Statement Intonation)

- (7) *Ne* *-me* *ta* *-wa* *-ya?*
I AG hit 1SG.PAST affirm + Q Intonation
“Did I hit it?”

Question particles or affixes are final, as expected in postpositional languages:

- (8) *Aapi* *-mi* *pa* *-lia* *pae?*
who AG go 3SG.FUT Q
“Who will go?”

Interrogative words, on the other hand, occur first in interrogative sentence (example 8 above), but the interrogative proclitic *aa-* (Q) occurs with other words as well (10):

- (9) *Ne* **aa** *-para* *pu* *-ii?*
you Q LOC go 2SG.PRES (+Q intonation)
“Where are you going?”

- (10) *Ni* *ada* *pu* *-lu*
I house go 1SG.PRES
“I am going to the house.”

The Nominal Object precedes the Verb and so do forms subordinate to the Main Verb:

- (11) *Ne* *-me* **saapi** *kala* *-wa*
I AG O (sweet potato) give -1SG.PAST
“I gave someone sweet potato”

- (12) *Ne* *-me* *saapi* **mea** *kala* *-wa*
I -AG sweet potato **get** give -1SG.PAST
“I got and gave sweet potato to someone”

The conditional clause precedes the conclusion:

- (13) *Yai* *epe* *-lia* *-re* *na-* *pa-lua*
rain come 3SG.FUT COND NEG go 1SG.FUT
“If it rains, I will not go”

In both volition and purpose the subordinate form precedes the MV and the Object may precedes both:

- (14) *Ni* *oyae* *mu* *-la* *-lo* *pu* *-lu*
I something getting PUR DES go 1SG.PRES
“I want to go get something”

The Deictic (or Demonstrative) precedes the descriptive Adjective or N, while the number follows the N:

- (15) *Go* *epe* *áá* *laapo*
DEM good man two
“those two good men”³

Comparisons of superiority are built in several ways:

His largeness makes me small.

He is large but I am small

*he is larger than I am.

In Relative Clauses any of the following are acceptable:

- (16) *Ne -me aa -nu -mi ni raba mi -simi -daa mena*
 I AG man COL AG me help getting 3PL.RPAST OREF pig
kala -wa
 give 1SG.PAST

“I gave the pig to all of the men who helped me sometime ago”

S + [S + O + V + IOref] + O + V

- (17) *Ne -me aa -nu -mi ni raba mi -simi -daa*
 I AG man COL AG me help getting 3PL.RPAST OREF
aa mena kala -wa
 man pig give 1SG.PAST

S + [S + O + V + IOref] + IO + O + V

“I gave the pig to all of the men who helped me some time ago”

- (18) *Ne -me adaalu paake mi yae aisa p -i*
 I AG long steal getting something look.for sit 1SG.PERF

“I am looking for something long that was stolen”

S + [Adj + V] + O + V

There are dual as well as plural pronouns and suffixes that occur in cross-reference:

- (19) *Ni ada pa -lua*
 I house go 1SG.FUT
 “I will go home”

- (20) *Saa ada pa -lipa*
 weDL house go 1DL.FUT
 “We two will go home”

- (21) *Niaa ada pa -lima*
 wePL house go 1PL.FUT
 “We will all go home”

Verb morphology is exclusively suffixing, with only Negative and Causative proclitics:

- (22) **Na-** *to -a*
 NEG utter 1SG.FUT
 “I will not tell”

- (22) **Ma-** *laa -lua*
 CAUS utter.BEN 1SG.FUT
 “I will make (somebody) tell”

Person Number and Tense are generally fused as morphemes:

- (24) *Ekeraa ada -lua*
 tomorrow look 1SG.FUT
 “I will look tomorrow”

- (25) *Abala ada -wa*
 yesterday see 1SG.PAST
 “I looked yesterday”

Five tenses are marked in final verbs, with both Non-Benefactive and Benefactive paradigms:

- (26) *Ni ada -lo*
 I look 1SG.PRES
 “I am looking”

- (26a) *Ni adaa -to⁴*

- I look.BEN 1SG.PRES
 “I am looking (on behalf of someone)”
- (27) *Ni ada -lua*
 I look 1SG.FUT
 “I will look”
- (27a) *Ni adaa -lua*
 I look.BEN 1SG.FUT
 “I will look (on behalf of someone)”
- (28) *Ni ada -wa*
 I look 1sSG.PAST
 “I looked”
- (28a) *Ni adaa -ru*
 I look.BEN 1SG.PAST
 “I looked (on behalf of someone)”
- (29) *Ni ad -e*
 I look 1SG.PERF
 “I have looked”
- (29a) *Ni adaa -yo*
 I look.BEN 1SG.PERF
 “I have looked (on behalf of someone)”
- (30) *Ni ade -su*
 I look 1SG.RPAST
 “I looked sometime ago”
- (30a) *Ni ada su*
 I look.BEN 1SG.RPAST
 “I looked sometime ago (on behalf of someone else)”

Medial verbs mark consecutive and simultaneous actions as well as the identity of the actor:

- (31) *ni reko -a agaa la -wa*
 I stand SS.SEQ talk utter 1SG.PAST
 “I stood up and spoke”
- (32) *epo la -ri epa -wa*
 whistle utter SA.SIM come 1SG.PAST
 “I whistled while I came”
- (33) *nipu reke -na ni pua -wa*
 he stand 3.DS I go 1SG.PAST
 “He stood up and I left”
- (34) *nipu reke -na -loa ni pua -wa*
 he stand 3.DS SEQ I go 1SG.PAST
 “After he stood up I left”
- (35) *nipu reka -la -nia ni pua -wa*
 he stand SIM 3.DS I go 1SG.PAST
 “While he was standing I left”

Noun morphology is in general lacking and relationships are show exclusively by means of phrasal enclitics:

- (36) *Aa adaalu -mi epe ona -na mena ta -a*
 man long AG good womanPOS pig hit 3SG.PAST
 “The tall man killed the good woman’s pig”

Both immediate and deferred imperatives occur, marked for singular and non-singular:

- (37) *Pu*
go.now. IMP
“You go now”
- (38) *Po -pe*
go later.IMP
“You go soon”
- (39) *Pu -lupa*
go.now PL.IMP
“You all go now”
- (40) *Pu -lupa -pe*
go PL later.IMP
“You all go later”

3. Phonological Considerations

The distribution of phonemes is one clue to word structure in Kewa because there are no closed syllables, the primary structure being simply (C)V(VV).⁶ Although every nuclear V carries either a high or low tone, there are perceptual difficulties because both tones are realized in certain environments as mid. Kewa literates do not generally write tone nor consistently represent the central vowels, except for a few minimal pairs, such as /áá/ “man” and /aa/ “leg.”

3.1 Vowel phonemes realized as words

All vowel phonemes, except for the mid-central one /a/, can be realized as words. Perceptually and in actuality, any single vowel syllable is longer when it occurs alone than when it occurs in combination within another syllable. Examples are:

- /ii/ ‘feces’
/ee/ ‘old garden’
/uu/ ‘sleep’
/oo/ ‘scabs’
/áá/ ‘man’ or /aa/ ‘leg’, depending on the tone

Although there are six vowel phonemes, the contrast of the mid-central and low-central is difficult to hear in isolation because, as mentioned, all vowels are perceptually longer in monosyllables. On the other hand, all six vowels occur in combination with consonants:

- | | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|
| /pii/ ‘I habitually sit’ | /sii/ ‘offspring’ | /níí/ ‘I’ |
| /péé/ ‘container’ | /see/ ‘call a pig’ | /nee/ ‘you’ |
| /púú/ ‘you go’ | /suu/ ‘ground’, or ‘thumb’ | /nuu/ ‘net bag’ |
| /poo/ ‘wind’ | /sóó/ ‘up there’ | /noo/ ‘down there’ |
| /páá/ ‘light’ | /sáá/ ‘we two’ | /náa/ ‘mine’ |
| /pa/ ‘only, just’ | /sá/ ‘put it there’ | /ná/ ‘eat it’ |

As already noted, each vowel phoneme can be represented with a diacritic to mark high or low tone. In the orthography of this paper only the low central vowel is written as a digraph (/aa/).

3.2 Tonal patterns in words⁷

Stable tonal patterns that are carried on the vowels of Kewa words are exemplified most easily within contrastive syntactic frames. However, it is not always possible to describe the same word solely on the basis of a tone pattern because of tone perturbation. Note the following four representative verbs

that have contrastive tones on one of two stem syllables, each preceded by the first person singular pronoun (*ni*) and ending with the first person singular past tense suffix (*-wa*):

(41) *ní rúmáwá* “I climbed up it”

(42) *ní kálawa* “I gave it to him”

(43) *ní rubáwá* “I threw it out”

(44) *ní pawa* “I made it”

The tone of the first person singular free pronoun (as well as most other free pronouns) is unstable, but in this frame it is always high tone. The suffix that co-occurs with it (*-wa*) perturbs according to the final tone of the verb stem. Usually verb suffixes follow the tone carried on the final syllable of the stem. There is also a perceptual recognition of a general intonational downdrift in the indicative (unmarked) mood. Generally clitics and suffixes do not carry their own inherent tones, but are stressed and follow the lead of the tone of the last syllable to which they are attached. This does not hold, however, in the case of fused suffixes, which appear to pick up the tone of the lost syllable. The fact that clitics are usually stressed is a phonological feature that further distinguishes them from suffixes.

Note the contrastive tone patterns in two syllable nouns as well, where *ní-na* (I-POS) precedes the noun and *láápo* “two” follows it:

(45) *nína kópó láápo* “My two bowls”

(46) *nína áápidi láápo* “My two stone axes”

(47) *nína aakena láápo* “My two eels”

(48) *nína aái láápo* “My two bananas”

There are also difficulties in tone perception because syllables may be conditioned by stress placement. Normally a primary stress occurs on the first syllable of any noun stem of less than four syllables and on the second syllable of any stem over four, except in cases of reduplication or compounds (see 3.4 and 4.1). Any basic low tone that occurs on such stressed syllables will be heard as mid. In addition, in a given sequence of up to three tones, if the first is high and the third is low, the second will most often actualize as mid. In such cases the tone can be interpreted as high or low only by determining its perturbation effect with adjacent tones.

The beginning pitch point of all utterances is most often perceptually mid on the first syllable. This may indicate that the beginning as well as the end syllables of every utterance have tones which can be interpreted as pitch points in an intonational contour, rather than simply as lexical tones. It follows that the basic tones of any stem can only positively be identified in an environment that is other than pre- or post-silence. In summary, the identification of phonological words is linked to the perception and distribution of tones within these units and patterns:

- a) **Intonation spans**, consisting of, in some cases, the stabilization or neutralization of the tones plus a terminal contrastive pitch that identifies the sentence as imperative, negative imperative, forewarning, interrogative, or indicative. The intonation span may also be a simple fade to the lowest pitch at the seam of the clauses, but have no affect on the complete pitch or perturbation pattern.
- b) **Rhythm units**, consisting of stress placement within the intonation span, such as phrasal stress patterns.
- c) **Lexical tones**, such as those that distinguish minimal pairs or are stable on a few clitics and suffix tense morphemes.
- d) **Morphonemic patterns** that operate across lexical, rhythm, or intonational spans.

3.3 Morphophonemics

There are four basic verb classes in Kewa, representing, in three cases, morphophonemic changes in the final stem vowel when certain suffixes are added. The changes are particularly relevant to verbs ending in /la/, /ta ~ ra/, /ea ~ ia/, but not /aa/. Some of these endings may come from words of the same shape, for example, *la* “speak”, *ta* “hit”, and *aa* “stand.” This also suggests some evidence that certain endings may once have been separate words. Chart 1 provides some examples of phonological processes that occur with such words. Note that, in these examples, the 1SG.PRES suffix is stable, but the 1SG.FUT is not:

Verb Gloss		Tense	Resulting Form
<i>yólá</i>	to pull	-lo (1SG.PRES)	<i>yólá-lo</i> “I am pulling”
<i>yola</i>	to pull	-lua (1SG.FUT)	<i>yo-toa</i> “I will pull”
<i>méá</i>	to fetch	-lo (1SG.PRES)	<i>méá-lo</i> “I am fetching”
<i>méá</i>	to fetch	-lua (1SG.FUT)	<i>mú-lua</i> “I will fetch”
<i>páta</i>	to sleep	-lo (1SG.PRES)	<i>páta-lo</i> “I am sleeping”
<i>pata</i>	to sleep	-lua (1SG.FUT)	<i>pá-tua</i> “I will sleep”
<i>píra</i>	to sit	-lo (1SG.PRES)	<i>píra-lo</i> “I am sitting”
<i>píra</i>	to sit	-lua (1SG.FUT)	<i>pí-tua</i> “I will sit”
<i>ria</i>	to carry	-lo (1SG.PRES)	<i>ria-lo</i> “I am carrying”
<i>ria</i>	to carry	-lua (1SG.FUT)	<i>ri-tua</i> “I will carry”
<i>adoáá</i>	to wait	-lo (1SG.PRES)	<i>adoáá-to</i> “I am waiting”
<i>adoáá</i>	to wait	-lua (1SG.FUT)	<i>adoáá-lua</i> “I will wait”

Chart 1: Examples of Verb Stem Changes

It is clear that the isolated forms given in the first column, as well as the inflected forms in the last column, are words. However, once isolatable stems are truncated (see the last column) the same form (and word) often no longer occurs. For example, *yola* is a word, but not *yo*; *mea* but not *mu*; *pata*, but not *pa*; *ria* but not *ri*, and so on throughout the paradigm.⁸

3.4 Reduplication

The reduplication of words (or stems) resulting in other words is not uncommon in Kewa. In such cases each reduplicated part receives equal stress, but the tone patterns may vary (and are not written in the examples that follow).

Although flora and fauna commonly exhibit such reduplication, it occurs in other semantic categories as well. The examples of flora and fauna that follow are from Kirapeasi and Franklin (1974):

- a) **kinds of trees and shrubs:** *akena-akena*, *alubi-alubi*, (*asa*) *apola-apola*, *aroma-atoma*, (*eke*) *naare-naare*, *galo-galo*, *kabu-kabu*, *kuba-kuba*, *malue-malue*, *me-me*, *onasa-onasa*, *palo-palo*, *pere-pere*, (*ega*) *rapa-rapa*, *rimu-rimu*, (*e*) *robo-robo*, *yalu-yalu*, *yamo-yamo*.
- b) **other types of flora:** *aga-aga*, *rabe-rabe*, *rapa-rapa*, *lakelakeaa*, *loba-loba*, *pedo-pedo*, *etolo-etolo*, *ake-ake*.
- c) **fauna:** *lege-lege*, *eto-eto*, *loke-loke*, *mane-mane*, *alepaa-alepaa*, *aro-aro*, *aroka-aroka*, *bula-bula*, *pina-pina*, *epesa-epesa*, *kisa-kisa*, *nele-nele*, *aga-aga*.

Additional reduplicated forms often imitate sounds and sudden movements:

- d) **particular birds crying:** *bua-bua (ta)*, *geao-geao (ta)*, *koa-koa (ta)*, *seweke-seweke (ta)*, *te-te (ta)*, *wea-wea (ta)*, *yaae-yaae (ta)* *pupu-u-pupu-u (ta)*.
- e) **human speech or sounds:** (*agaa*) *mone-mone* (talking without staying on the subject), (*agaa*) *reke-reke* (talking on and on), (*agaa*) *rudu-rudupu* (talking rapidly), *karome-karome (ta)* or *mu-mu (la)* (whispers), *leru-leru (ta)* (whining), *agaa bubu (la)* (talk heard in the distance), *kura-kura (agaa)* (questioning talk); (*agaa*) *mana-mana* (lots of instructions).
- f) **other sounds:** *tolo-tolo (ta)* (bamboo bursting), *pata-pata* (creeping stealthily), *lau-lau (ta)* (rain on the roof), *kola-kola (ta)* (loose fitting clothes), *bo-bo (la)* (sloshing) *paru-paru (ta)* (bird flying).
- g) **food cooking or being eaten:** *tepo-tepo (ta)*, *tele-tele (ta)*, *tage-tage (ta)*.
- h) **reflections and sudden movements:** *lepo-lepo (ta)* (reflection), *lewa-lewa (ta)* (weave in and out), *kete-kete (pea)* and *eto-eto (pea)* (movement in grass or bush), *podo-podo (ta)* (reflection), *poto-poto (pa)* (shine with mirror), *yaru-yaru (ta)* (blinded), *walu-walu (ta)* (loose tooth), *wage-wage (pa)* (weave about), *sumi-sumi (pa)* (earthquake), *pele-pele (pa)* (turn round and round), (*miru*) *kapu-kapu* (dense smoke) *paki-paki (pu)* (encircle), *lapu-lapu (pu)* (line up).

Other examples of reduplication can be classified as follows:

- i) **use of the hands:** (*ki*) *para-para* (clap), (*ki*) *malu-malu* (shake in amazement).
- j) **particular objects:** (*o*) *yae-yae* (things), *mole-mole* (headdress), *make-make* (tattoos), *loke-loke* (joints), *lame-lame* and *kupi-kupi* (flags), *koro-koro* (shield), *kili-kili* (sand), *galu-galu* (clumps of clay), *gula-gula* (bamboo storage container), *ibu-ibu* (fatty tissue), *koda-koda* (pupa stage), *ale-ale* (type of arm band).
- k) **miscellaneous:** *reke-reke (ae)* (rough feeling object), *ruma-ruma (ne)* (middle of the night), *mamu-mamu (ta)* (puffy) *uba-uba* (said to a young cassowary for it to follow) *ali-ali* (twigs). Some forms are partially reduplicated: *kitu-katu (ta)* (burp or slurp), *ole-mole* (things), *opogo-mopogo* (foot-stomping game).

3.5 Semantic pairing

Some words may also be identified in semantic pairs by means of vowel or consonant alternations:

<i>ali</i>	man	<i>aali</i>	husband
<i>ipa</i>	water	<i>ipaa</i>	sap, milk
<i>ira</i>	to scrape	<i>iraa</i>	to paint
<i>lapo</i>	both	<i>laapo</i>	two
<i>lopa</i>	to fall down	<i>lopaa</i>	to throw
<i>mata</i>	dance	<i>mataa</i>	cassowary
<i>meda</i>	another	<i>medaa</i>	another of same
<i>mudia</i>	to hang up	<i>mudiaa</i>	to spread
<i>paga</i>	to hear	<i>pagaa</i>	to put inside
<i>ragepa</i>	to split firewood	<i>ragopea</i>	to spread open
<i>rata</i>	both	<i>rataa</i>	to follow
<i>rekepa</i>	to split/crack	<i>regepa</i>	to split lengthwise
<i>rerepa</i>	to break into pieces	<i>riripia</i>	to rip into pieces
<i>rodopea</i>	to break off	<i>rodopia</i>	to rejoin
<i>sebea</i>	to open wide	<i>sibia</i>	to strip bark
<i>upa</i>	mushroom var.	<i>upaa</i>	dream
<i>wala</i>	again	<i>walaa</i>	to show

Chart 2: Words with Vowel Alternations Related Semantically

4. Grammatical Considerations

There are a number of grammatical processes that are helpful in defining the word in Kewa. Chief among them are compounding, classificatory verbs, particles, and the role of clitics.

4.1 Compounding

Compounding is a lexical process that is closely related to reduplication. In both cases the result is a newly structured word, but in the case of the compounds there is not necessarily equal stress on each part, particularly in the case of words with adjacent vowels. Compounds are the result of combining at least two word classes, or in some cases, a word class and a suffix. The following examples demonstrate compounds based on noun-noun, noun-kinship term, noun-verb, noun-adjectival, as well as proper nouns, taboo forms, and other instances.

- a) **N + N:** *agi-ada* (mother-house) birth hut; *adu-ini* (breast-eye) nipple; *adu-ipaa* (breast-liquid) milk; *aga-maa* (pandanus-neck) the complete pandanus nut; *aalu-ipa* (head-water) baptism; *bau-uni* (noose trap-bone) a young lad; *mena-iri* (pig-hair) type of tough grass; *mena-iti* (pig-legend) type of water snake; *modo-ada* (sweet potato-house) compost heap; *naare-ini* (sun-eye) watch or clock; *ini-agaa* (eyes-mouth) face; *nogo-naaki* (girl-boy) child; *ona-wasa* (woman-shadow) widow; *pole-yainya* (place name-sick) malaria; *pu-imu* (liver-heart) emotional center; *remo-agaa* (spirit-talk) magic flutes; *remona-ini* (spirit's-eyes) firefly; *remona-kibita* (spirit's-watercress) garden weed; *ribu-eta* (spirit-food) magic spirit mask; *ruma-naaki* (tree type-boy) eagle; *ona-aa* or *winya-ali* (EK) (woman-man) people; *yada-robo* (fight-boundary) an agreement; *yada-yaari* (fight-cassowary) compensation; *yagaa-iri* (chin-hair) whiskers; *yai-ura* (rain-grass skirt) mourning skirt; *aa-ro* (man-bridge) corpse; *egaa-pita* (fern tree-root) comb; *gawa-iri* (cow-hair) inferior variety of sweet potato; *ipa-bia* (water-beer) beer; *kupaa-ada* (blood-house) menstrual hut;
- b) **N + Nkinship term:** *aga-aani* (pandanus-husband) unproductive pandanus tree; *emabu-aani* (garden-husband) probably a variety of weed; *waa-agi* (sugar cane-mother) main stalk of cane; *aki-raara* (sister-nettle) type of edible greens; *akuana-ai* (moon's cousin) star; *masa-aani* (shrub-husband) type of shrub;
- c) **N + V:** *aba-la* (before-it says) yesterday; *aba-ne* (before saying) day before yesterday; *aba-na* (before-deduced evidential) old; *aba-sade* (before-it said) areally long time ago; *ada-mea* (house-get) make friends; *agaa-ria* (mouth-carry) lower edge of lip; *aga-mea* (pandanus-get) landslide or cave-in; *aipa-riti* (salt-carrying) small edible spider; *etaa-ne* (arrows-eating) bow and arrows; *riba-reko* (night-arising) morning time;
- d) **N/Adj + -pu:** *adaa-pu* (big-*pu*) many; *aake-pu* (question-*pu*) how many?; *aa-pu* (foot-*pu*) instep; *aali-pu* (husband(EK)-*pu*) ceremonial tall red hat; *kana-pu* (ditch-*pu*) a gorge; *kuta-pu* (enclosure-*pu*) pig pen; *su-pu* (thumb-*pu*) five; *oraa-pu* (palm-*pu*) six; (etc. for numbers)
- e) **N/Adj + -lu:** *adaa-lu* (big-*lu*) long; *akua-lu* (moon-*lu*) full-moon; *amea-lu* (brother-*lu*) several brothers; *aaraa-lu* (father-*lu*) family; *egaa-lu* (fern tree-*lu*) bamboo needle; *kina-lu* (hand's-*lu*) elbow;
- f) **N/Adj + -ala:** *agi-ala* (mother-*ala*) mother and children; *ame-ala* (brother-*ala*); two brothers or friends; *aki-ala* (sister-*ala*) sisters;
- g) **V + V:** *la-kala* (say-give someone) tell someone; *la-gi* (say-give 1st or 2nd person) tell me or you; *rubi-ta* (leaking-hit.3sgPres) running over;

- h) **Proper Nouns for spirit:** *Adaalu-Ribu* (long-spirit) at one time the main spirit throughout the Kewa area; *Rudu-Remo* (short-spirit) associated with *Adaalu-Ribu*; *Aipa-Remo* (salt-spirit) a taboo name for *Rudu-Remo*; *Tagane-Ribu* (In the ashes-spirit) also an alternate name for *Rudu-Remo*; *Aga-Palaa* (pandanus-branch) spirit used for certain cures.
- i) **Proper Nouns for clans:** *Pale-Ali*; *Kagua-Rakili*; *Rawame-Ali*; *Pudia-Rakili*.
- j) **Taboo words:** *aga-maa* (pandanus neck) sugar cane; *aa-yago-pa* (man-related-make); man, skin, knee, neck, etc.; *aa-uni-aa* (man-bone-leg) fire; *ini-lobea* (eye-opened) forked tongs; *inu-makua* (feces-understand) boy; *ipa-saapu* (water-path) bridge.

4. 2 Classificatory Verbs

Kewa, as in Enga (Lang 1975:41ff and summarized in Foley 1986:90), has two main types of classificatory verbs: existential verbs, and a set of pro-verbs that form a particular type of predication. It is the pro-verbs and existential verbs that provide some evidence and lexicalization and subsequent word formation. In Kewa they may occur singularly, but when used with nouns an unpredictable meaning often results. This suggests that the resulting lexeme is understood or interpreted as one word by the native speaker, even if the noun and verb can be written separately. The most common pro-verbs are as follows:

- (49) *la* “to speak, utter, express”. (The 3SG.PRES form is *ta*; 3SG.PERF is *tea*.)
kadepi te -a
 red utter 3SG.PERF
 “I am red” (as from the sun)
- (50) *na* “to eat, consume” (The 3SG.PERF form is *nea*)
agaa ne -a
 tooth eat 3SG.PERF
 “I have a tooth ache”
- (51) *ta* “to hit, strike” (The 3SG.PERF form is also *ta*)
aalu t -a
 head hit 3SG.PERF
 “I have a head ache”
- (52) *sa* “to put, place” (The 3sgPerf is *ia*)
ni kone sa -lo
 I thought put 1SG.PRES
 “I am thinking”
- (53) *pa* “to make” (The 3sgPerf is *pea*)
ora rede pe -a
 true sweet make 3SG.PERF
 “It is really sweet”
- (54) *pira* “to sit” (The 3sgPerf is *pia*)
nipu -na ki madaa rere pi -a
 he POS hand on sore sit 3SG.PERF
 “He has a sore on his hand”
- (55) *mea* “to fetch” (The 3sgPerf is also *mea*)
naa rumu me -a
 my knees get 3SG.PERF
 “I have arthritis in my knees”
- (56) *eta* “to bear fruit” (The 3sgPerf is *etea*)
go repena ini waru et -ea

- this tree nuts really hang 3SG.PERF
 “That tree has lots of nuts”
 (57) *pata* “to sleep”
go aa ora puri pa -ta
 this man true strong sleep 3SG.PERF
 “This man is really strong”

The N + V can be considered as the semantic representation of a word. My conclusion is that the combination is because: (a) the negative scope applies to the total phrase, not simply the verb; (b) native speakers automatically supply the appropriate classificatory verb; (c) the meaning is derived from the N + V complex.

There are three main existential verbs in Kewa that are presented in various forms in Chart 3. Two of these, “put,” and “sit,” have already been illustrated in examples (52) and (54). Examples of “stand” will be given later.

Gloss sg.	command	3 rd sg. Perfect	1 st sg. Past	3 rd sg. Future
sit	<i>pira</i>	<i>pia</i>	<i>pira-wa</i>	<i>pi-tua</i>
stand	<i>aa</i>	<i>aaya</i>	<i>aa-ru</i>	<i>aa-lua</i>
put	<i>sa</i>	<i>ia</i>	<i>sa-wa</i>	<i>sa-lua</i>

Chart 3: The Three Most Common Existential Verbs

Prototypically and metaphorically, *pira* means that something is “alive,” *aa* that it is “inactive” or “stationary,” and *sa* that it has been “put” or belongs to someone.⁹ Here are a few examples:

4.3 The verb *pa*

There is additional evidence that certain classificatory verbs have been part of a lexicalization process. The verb *pa* is chosen illustrates this, but when *la*, *ria*, *mea*, *ta*, and *aa* occur at the end of words they often demonstrate the same feature.

The verb *pa* (WK) or *pea* (elsewhere), “to do/ to make,” may occur alone or as an adjunct to nouns or adjectives. Alone it is a fully declinable verb that changes its shape when various tenses or suffixes are added, as in Chart 4:

Wkewa Ekew	a	Gloss
<i>pa</i>	<i>pea</i>	“to do something”
<i>pe-e</i>	<i>pe-le</i>	“I customarily do it”
<i>pi-su</i>	<i>pi-kua</i>	“I did it a long time ago”
<i>pa-lua</i>	<i>pu-lua</i>	“I will do it”

Chart 4: Examples of *pa* Changing Shape

However, many verbs also end in *-pa* or *-pea* (but also *-pia* < *pira* “to sit,” the existential V), demonstrating a shift from having been an adjunct to becoming part of the V stem (and therefore more clearly a lexical unit). This structure can be seen in various ways. One test is simply to negate the action, in which case the negative *na-* occurs as the first morpheme in the construction:

(58) *rage-pa* “to split firewood” > *na-ragepa* “don’t split the firewood,” but not **rage na-pa*. A second test is to note if there are corresponding forms in another dialect. Although the following verbs now occur as one word the contrastive dialect differences of the endings *-pa* and *-pea* suggest they were also once historically separate words:

(59) *igi-pa* “to squeeze” > *sigi-pia* (EK)

(60) *rupa* “string beads” > *rupea* (EK)

(61) *ripia* “to begin” > *ripila* (SK)

(62) *piribia* “break apart” > *piripia*

A further indication that *pa* and *pea* are now retained as part of the word is to note the various synonyms for a particular verb. One can then check to see if the same ending or a similar ending occurs with synonyms:

(63) *amu-pa* > *kamo-pea* “to get something ready”

(65) *ebe-pea* > *rodo-pea* “to cut off”

(66) *sigi-pa* > *riri-pia* “to tear loose”

(67) *kili-pia* > *lake-pea* “to tear down”

(68) *wamo-pa* > *amege-pa* “to straighten up something”

4.4 Particles and Adverbs

A small set of particles and adverbs can be classed as words because of their phonological and grammatical independence. However, as in the case of other words in Kewa, they can occur with certain enclitics, such as *-re* ~ *-ri* (Topicalizer). The particles are given in 69-73 and the adverbs in 74-78:

(69) *ipa* (a type or group)

Ipa laapo

types two

“Two of the same type”

(70) *ma* (number specifier)

Padane ma

one specific

“Just one of them”

(71) *agu* (only, simply)

(71a) *Nimi -mi mone yoto mea -pe kone agu i -mi*
 they AG money debt get GER think **only** put 3PL.PERF

“They think only about making money”

(71b) *Agema-me nipu -na ee agu poa -sa*
 Agema AG he POS garden only plant

“Agema just planted his gardens”

(72) *page* (also, in addition to, and)

Sitabade page abi na- ota -si -de
 stamp **also** now NEG send 2SG.RPAST COMP

“You also did not send any stamps”

(73) *mada* (enough, sufficient)

Go mada

that enough

“That is enough”

(74) *pena* (still, yet)

Aba ripia **pena** yaina ome -simi rabu -ri go -re
 Before first still sick die 3PL.RPAST time TOP DEM TOP
 gupa pi -simi
 like that do 3PL.RPAST

“Before at first when they were still dying they did things like that”

(75) **ora** (really, truly) This particle may modify most word classes:

(75a) *Aboba aa -nu -ri aa repo **oraa** epe -me*
 Aboba men COL TOP men three **true** come 3PL.PERF

“Three of the Aboba men come regularly”

(75b) *Marata Kagua page **ora** lumi -sa -de*
 Marata Kagua also **true** dry 3SG.RPAST COMP

“The Marata and Kagua [rivers] have dried up”

(76) **waru** (completely, really) This particle modifies only verbs:

(76a) *Niaa -re rea -e -me **waru** ome -ma*
 we.PL TOP hungry AJZ INS **really** die 2PL.PERF

“We are really hungry”

(76b) *Abia -re ni ora odo **waru** pi -a -ga ne -me*
 now TOP I true sorry **really** sit 3SG.PERF REA I AG

go lagia -lo -da
 this give 1SG.PRES OREF

“Since I am really sorry, I am telling you that”

(76c) *Nipu ada **waru** na- surubi -sa -de*
 he house **really** NEG guard 3SG.RPAST DEF

“He has not really looked after the house well”

(77) **pa** (just, only) combines with other forms as well to form new words, note:

pa-re (*pa* + *re*, just + TOP)

ya-pa-re (*ya* + *pa* + *re*, affirm + just + TOP)

palo (*pa* + *lo*, just + wanting)

(77a) *Abia -re 22 -pela -re **pa** pi -a*
 now TOP twenty-two PL(TP) TOP **just** sit 3SG.PERF

“There are now 22 living”

(77b) *Go Alkena su -para **pa** pira -lua*
 this Alkena place LOC **just** sit.BEN 1SG.FUT

“I will just remain at Alkena (waiting for you)”

(77c) ***Pa** -re nimu buku oge- si -da aba ade -me*
just TOP they book little DIM OREF before see 3PL.PERF

“However, they have only read the books a little”

(77d) *Ep -a kaba -a **pa** -re mone adaa -pu*
 come 3SG.PAST buy 3SG.PAST **just** TOP money big COL

na- kala -a
 NEG give 3SG.PAST

“He came and bought it but didn’t give him a lot of money”

(77e) *Ya -**pa** -re pawayamo aa -nu -ri oro ya*
 affirm **just** TOP Pawayamo man COL TOP true affirm

-lo epe -me
 DES come 3PL.PERF

“However, the men from Pawayamo come regularly”

from his letters. To indicate when KM has written the clitics separately, I have put a + between the particular clitic and the word which is its host.

(79) **na- (negative)** If two forms occur as a VP or if there are serial verbs, the scope of the negative extends over the whole constituent.

(79a) *Ni Soisi na- +raba mea -wa +pulu...*
 I Joice NEG +help get 1SG.PAST +CAUSC
 “Because I have not helped Joice...”

(79b) *Aebo anda ep -e +pulu oroyalo ripu*
 afternoon house come+1SG.PERF CAUSC always grass
na- +t -e
NEG +hit 1SG.PERF
 “Because I come in the afternoons to the house I haven’t always cut the grass”

(79c) *Ni pipaa ambi na- +otaa -ru*
 I paper now NEG +send.Ben 1SG.PAST
 “I haven’t sent you a letter”

(80) **ma- (causative)** The proclitic **ma-** is derivational, indicating that a benefactive action occurs.

(80a) *Ne -me pipaa Imbrock ma- +ota -pe*
 you AG paper Imbrock CAUS +send SG.IMIMP
 “Have Imbrock send a letter”

(80b) *Kalo ni skulu lo ma- dia +ya -lua -re ora*
 Karl I school saying CAUS not affirm 1SG.FUT Top true
ne -na kogono pa -lua
 you POS work do 1SG.FUT
 “Karl, after I have finished with school, I will just work for you”

(80) *Kalo ni mada mea ma- +epaa -li?*
 Karl I enough get CAUS +come.BEN 2sgSG.FUT.Q
 “Karl, will you have him come for me?”

(81) **-para (location)** The enclitic **-para** specifies a range of locations and is commonly written as a separate word. It may also serve as a conjunction between nominals (81c):

(81a) *Ne -na su -para riripu anda -pe apo*
 you POS place LOC grass big DEF over.there
pa -a -na
 make PAST EVD
 “It is really hot where you are” [*su-para*, place-at]

(81b) *Pa -re go usa su +-para yai ada*
 just TOP this Usa place LOC rain big
-pe epe -a
 DEF come 3SG.PERF
 “However, here in Usa there has been a lot of rain”

(81c) *Kirukomea +-para Asumayo lapo -re nabisi pi -sipi*
 Kirukomea CONJ Asumayo both TOP coast go 2DL.RPAST
 “Kirukomea and Asumayo have gone to the coast”

(81d) *Aa -nu luabu -me nili kabo -la -lo*
 men COL all .AG nails buy PUR DES
ni +-para epa agaa me -me
 I +Loc come talk get 3PL.PERF

“All the men come and want to buy nails and have asked me”

(82) **-nane (direction)** This enclitic specifies a range of directions and usually co-occurs with a deictic.

(82a) *Go Ropas +nane otaa -ria de page*
 that Ropasi **DIR** sendBEN 2SG.PAST DEF also
sapi kab -me -na
 sweet.potato buy 3PL.PERF EVD

“What [money] you sent to Ropasi [other people] have used to buy sweet potato”

(82b) *Mone so -go Mendi +nane otaa -wa -re so*
 money up that Mendi **+DIR** send 1SG.PAST Top up
-go Kagua -para epena -loa mi -na laa -pe
 that Kagua LOC send DA.SEQ get 3DA say IMP

“He said that the money he sent to Mendi we should go and get it at Kagua”

(82c) *Yapi medaloma mo Aisukulu ada -nane pe -e*
 day another there High School house **DIR** do 1SG.PERF

“Other days I work at that High School”

(83) **-na (possessive)** The enclitic **-na** (marking the possessive or genitive) is often written separately, but is joined to the possessor word in an NP:

(83a) *Kenoa +na mena gawa...*

Kenoa **+POS** pig cow...

“The cows belonging to Kenoa”

(83b) *Korigi -na sukulu ta para ni waru*
 Kirk **POS** school say.3SG.PRES LOC I really
na- niminaa -to
 NEG understand.BEN 1SG.ES

“I really don’t understand about Kirk,s schooling”

(83c) *Ne -na sukulu aa -nu nimu sukulu akua padane*
 you **POS** school man COL they school moon one
+para na- ipi -simi
 +LOC NEG come 3PLR.PAST

“Your school pupils did not come for a whole month”

(84) **-pulu (causal connector)** The enclitic **-pulu** marks the cause of an action or event. It is often written as a separate word.

(84a) *Oge +-si +-daa meaa -lua +-pulu*
 little +DIM +OREF get.Ben 1SG.FUT +CAUSC
 “Because I’ll just get a little bit of it”

(84b) *Nimi gupa 600 mails pua -me +-pulu*
 you.all like 600 miles go 3PL.PAST +CAUSC
odo pi a
 sorry sit 3SG.PERF

“I am sorry because you had to go 600 miles”

(84c) *Nipu -mi ona pake me -a -da yola*
 h AG woman steal get 3SG.PAST OREF pull
-a -de +pulu nipu karapu ada pat -a -de
 3SG.PAST DEF +CAUSC he jailhouse sleep 3SG.PAST DEF

“Because he made off with another woman he was put in jail”

(84d) *Nimi Mey 4 raabu port Moresby -para epa -limi*

You.all May 4 time Port Moresby LOC come 2PL.FUT
 +*pulu* *ni go rabu redi paa -la pi -tua*
 +CAUSC I that time ready doBEN PUR sit 1SG.FUT
 “Because you are coming to Port Moresby on May 4th, I will be ready for you then”

(85) –*ga* (reason) The enclitic –*ga* marks the reason for some resulting action or event. It may occur with nominals or verbs and is sometimes written as a separate word.

(85a) *E -ga ne -me ni raba mea -ina*
 yes REA you AG I help get 2SG.DA
 “OK, then you help me”

(85b) *Pa -re oge agaa meda kone*
 just TOP little talk another thought
rugulaa -ru -na -ga lagia -no
 break.BEN 1SG.PAST EVID REA tell 1SG.DA
 “But I have another thing that I forgot about so I will tell you it”

(85c) *Go Alkena balus amaa suruba pira -lua*
 this Alkena airplane outside guard sit 1SG.FUT
 –*ga mea ma- epo -pe*
 +REA get CAUS come IMIMP
 “I’ll be waiting and watching after things at the Alkena airstrip, so come to get me”

(86) –*daa* (object referent) The enclitic –*daa* is used to call attention to some event or object is directly related to the speaker and listener. Often it is the verbal complement that is marked.

(86a) *Pa -re nimu buku oge -si -da aba ade -me*
 just TOP they book little DIM OREF before see 3PLPERF
 “But they have only read a little bit”

(86b) *Abia ni agaa medaloma ia -da apo*
 now I talk another put.3SG.PERF Oref that
lagia -lo -da
 tell 1SG.PRES OREF
 “I have had a little more to say and told you about that”

(86c) *Ni oroyalo waru raba -me -da ora*
 I always really help 3PL.PAST –OREF true
raan adaa -pe pi -a
 happy big DEF sit 3SG.PERF
 “They have always helped me so I am really happy about that”

(86d) *Abia -re ni ora odo adaa -pe pe a -da*
 now TOP I true sorry big DEF make 3SG.PERF OREF
ne -me pipaa otaa -ri +ya -de apo
 yo AG paper sendBEN 2SG.PAST affirm DEF over.there
abulula -lo -da
 return 1SG.PRES OREF
 “Now I am really sad about your sending me that letter so I am replying to it”

(86e) *Ni -da dia*
 I OREF not
 “It is not me [that did it]”

(87) –*rupa* (manner) The enclitic –*rupa* indicates that something is done in a particular way or manner. It is most commonly written as a separate word.

- (87a) *Ni ada -pe +-rupaa mare -a*
 I see DEF +MAN don't.knowSG.3PERF
 "I don't know if I can read like that."
- (87b) *Go Usa -para lotu page gimo -a ora*
 this Usa.Loc church also leave.DASeq truly
wae +-rupa pi -ma
 bad +MANsit 1PL.PERF
 "Here in Usa we have quit church and are behaving badly"
- (87c) *Abi -re go usa -para pora kogono -re*
 now TOP this Usa LOC road work -TOP
ora epe +-rupa pe -ma
 true good +MAN do 1PL.PERF
 "Now here in Usa we are working well on the roads"

(88) **–si (diminutive)** The diminutive suffix *–si* is derived from the word *si* "offspring," so it is sometimes written as a free word. The first example illustrates "offspring," the others are the diminutive.

- (88a) *Abia -re repo -me pena si paga pi -a*
 now TOP three AG still **child** pregnant sit 3SG.PERF
 "Now three of them still are pregnant"
- (88c) *Go rabu -ri Akera -me ora ni -na*
 that time TOP Akera AG true I POS
ame -si ora na- la -pe la -a -de
 brother**Dim** true NEG .say IMIMP say 3SG.PAST DEF
 "Then Akera said, 'Don't say that my brother.'"
- (88d) *Meda -re Nemola Rudu aa -si wapeaa -na*
 anotherTOP Nemola Rudu man **DIM** Wapeaa POS
wane nogo oge -si roga -rimi -ya
 daughter girl little **DIM** bind 3PLPAST OEVID
 "Another is the little man Rudu of Nemola who has buried the little daughter of Wapeaa"

(89) **–me (agent and instrument)** The enclitic *–me* signals that the Subject or Actor has some controlling relationship with the Object of the action. The same enclitic marks the instrument. This enclitic is rarely written as a separate word.

- (89a) *Nipu -mi ne -me kogono meda mea*
 he AG you AG work another get
kala -ina -lo epa -a
 give 2SG.DA DES come 3SG.PAST
 "They told him that you would give him some work and he came"
- (89b) *Ne -me Panu -na etaa kabaa -to*
 I AG Panu POS food buy.BEN 1SG.PRES
 "I am buying food for Panu"
- (89c) *Ne -me - re go kogono mada rana -me*
 you AG TOP that work about happy **INST**
om -e pae?
 die 2SG.PERF Question marker)
 "Are you happy about that work?"
- (98d) *Nipu -mi aa -me pora pamua -a*

he AG leg INST road travel 3SG.PAST
“He came by foot”

6. Some Conclusions and Further Considerations

Kewa words are recognized and understood by native speakers on the basis of their cultural matrix, as well as by their phonological and grammatical features. These words most often contrast formally in their phonological shapes, grammatical rules, and cultural usages. But they are also intuitive as Sapir (1921:32), Hockett (1987:3), Wierzbicka (1996:107), and others have noted. Sapir pointed out the justification for the psychological validity of the word because native speakers had no difficulty in bringing the word to consciousness. We also note this ability when Kewa speakers dictate a text in what is primarily a word-by-word format, suggesting an intuitive grasp of the word and what it means.

The Kewa word is also a cognitive unit that occurs in a cultural setting. Speakers and hearers have in mind the images of particular objects and events when they use words. Distortions do occur because of mispronunciations, lexical misuse, misplaced syntax and improper morphology, but some degree of communication is always desired and usually takes place. Of course the more mistakes a speaker makes the more difficult the understanding for the hearer because, as many linguists have noted, any successful communicative speech act is a cooperative one.

In summary, the main features that mark Kewa words are:

1. Phonological properties, including the canonical shape and inherent tones of the forms;
2. Morphophonemic changes, resulting in alternate but regular shapes of the verbs in particular;
3. Historical residues, which help establish the lexicalization process.
4. Compounding and reduplication;
5. Semantic relationships, such that certain forms can be paired on the basis of vowel patterns in particular;
6. Pro-verbs and existential verbs that serve as classificatory frames for many nominals;
7. Forms that generally occur in morphological isolation, e.g., particles and adverbs;
8. Clitics, which are often perceived as separate words by native speakers.

Notes

¹I am delighted to dedicate this contribution to the memory of Father John Verhaar. I worked closely with John when he was the editor of *Language and Linguistics in Melanesian* and then later when I took over the editorship from him (at his invitation). John contributed greatly to the SIL work of linguistics in PNG and later on a broader scale when he was an International Advisor for the *Notes on Linguistics* journal published by SIL International. This paper was first presented at the August, 2000 workshop on the “word,” held at the Research Centre for Linguistic Typology, La Trobe University. I am grateful to Professors R.M.W. Dixon and Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald for their invitation to the workshop and their support while there.

²In this article I use the name Kewa throughout, based on my dialect studies and information published elsewhere (Franklin 1968). However, Yaraepa (1993) uses Kewapi for the East dialect, as does Wurm (1961). For a short summary on Kewa culture see Franklin 1991. For more detailed studies see Josephides (1985), LeRoy (1985) and McDonald (1991). Abbreviations used in this paper are as follows:

1,2,3 = 1 st , 2 nd , or 3 rd person	AG = Agent	BEN = Benefactive
CAUS = Cause	CAUSC = Causal Connector	COL = Collective
COND = Conditional	DEF = Definitive	DEM = Demonstrative/ Deictic
DES = Desiderative	DIM = diminutive	DIR = Direction
DS = different actor or subject	DUR = Durative	EVIDD = Evidence Deduced
EVIDR = Evidence Reported	FUT = Future tense	IM = Immediate
IMP = Imperative	LOC = Location	N = Noun
NEG = negative	O = Object	OREF = Object Referent
PAST = Past tense	PERF = Perfect tense	POS = possessive
PRES = Present tense	PUR = Purpose	Q = Question
REA = Reason	RPAST = Remote Past tense	SEQ = Sequential
SIM = Simultaneous	SS = same actor or subject	TOP = Topic
SG, DL, PL = singular, dual, plural		TP = Tok Pisin

³Note the difference between Kewa and Enga word orders for descriptive phrases:

Enga: N + Adj + Num + Dem

Kewa: Dem + Adj + N + Num

⁴Benefactive was historically a suffix, most likely *ka, so it would be possible to analyze the benefactive morpheme as V-a, or V-a + suffix. It always blocks morphophonemic changes (see section 3.3).

⁵Alternatively, the morpheme breaks for the SS sequential morpheme could be *rek-oa*. This is because medial non-benefactive verbs that have the same subject or actor as the final verb undergo a morphophonemic vowel change on the stem final vowel before the SS suffix is added. Although the form of the suffix given throughout is -a, with -ma occurs in East Kewa and -mea in certain other areas.

⁶As we have shown elsewhere (Franklin and Franklin 1962b), all possible combinations of different as well as identical vowels occur as clusters within the syllable. In examples of clusters other than /aV/ or /Va/, a central vocoid always occurs between the two vowels and is interpreted as transitional. The distribution of allophones of /aa/ is different from that of any other phoneme such that /aa/ occurs in initial stressed syllables; slightly lengthened [aa:] occurs at the nucleus of the syllable (i.e., stressed; /a/ fluctuates freely with /aa/ in stressed final syllables and elsewhere as well.

⁷Tone has been interpreted in a variety of ways in both Papuan and Austronesian languages in PNG. Within the same language family it has been described as pitch, pitch-accent, and contrastive stress. For a summary see Donahue (1997) and Cahill (forthcoming). I have not been able to consistently represent tone throughout this paper.

⁸This is not always the case. In certain sequential actions that are unmarked medially for person, number and tense the actions are part of a larger constituent that has a final verb. Notice the following:

ada suba mu ada pira mu goa peme.

house ridge.pole getting house rafters getting like.that make.we have

“We kept on getting ridge poles and rafters for the houses.”

Certain lexicalized forms represent the same historical phenomena, e.g. *tumaoma* “to kill” consists of *tu* (<*ta*, to hit) + *ma-* (causative) + *oma* (to die).

⁹Brennen (1977) outlines the metaphorical nature of Enga existential verbs.

References

- Brennen, Paul. 1977. *Let sleeping snakes lie: central Enga traditional religious belief and ritual*. Adel: Australian Association for the Study of Religions.
- Cahill, Mike. Tonal diversity in languages of Papua New Guinea. Presented at the Tromsø Tone Symposium, 5-7 June 2000, University of Tromsø.
- Donohue, Mark. 1997. Tone systems in New Guinea. *Linguistic Typology* 1.347-368.
- Foley, William A. 1986. *The Papuan languages of New Guinea*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Franklin, Karl J. 1968. *The dialects of Kewa*. *Pacific Linguistics* B 10.
- Franklin, Karl J. 1971. *A grammar of Kewa, New Guinea*. *Pacific Linguistics* C 16.
- Franklin, Karl J. 1981. Existential and pro-verbs in Kewa. In Karl J. Franklin, (ed.), *Syntax and Semantics in Papua New Guinea Languages*, pp. 151-172. Ukarumpa: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Franklin, Karl J. 1983. Some features of interclausal reference in Kewa. In John Haiman and Pamela Monro, eds. *Switch reference and universal grammar*, pp. 105-28. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Franklin, Karl J. 1991. Kewa. In Terence E. Hays, Volume ed. *Encyclopedia of World Cultures. Volume II: Oceania*. pp. 114-117. Boston: G.K. Hall & Co.
- Franklin, Karl J. and Joice A. Franklin. 1962. Kewa I: phonological asymmetry. *Anthropological Linguistics* 4(7).29-37.
- Franklin, Karl J. and Joice Franklin, assisted by Yapua Kirapeasi 1978. *A Kewa dictionary: with supplementary grammatical and anthropological materials*. *Pacific Linguistics* C 53.
- Hockett, Charles F. 1987. *Refurbishing our foundations*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Josephides, Lisette. 1985. *The production of inequality: Gender and exchange among the Kewa*. London: Tavistock.
- Kirapeasi, Yapua, Karl Franklin, and Joice Franklin. 1974. *Ne nane yae luabu buku*. [Flora and Fauna Book in West Kewa]. Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Lang, Adrienne. 1973. *Enga dictionary, with English index*. Pacific Linguistics C-20.
- Lang, Adrienne, 1975. *The semantics of classificatory verbs in Enga (and other Papua New Guinea languages)*. Pacific Linguistics B-39.
- LeRoy, John. 1985. *Fabricated world: An interpretation of Kewa tales*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- McDonald, Mary N. 1991. *Mararoko: A study in Melanesian religion*. NY: Peter Lang.

Sapir, Edward. 1921. *Language: an introduction to the study of speech*. NY: Harcourt, Brace & World.

Taylor, John R. 1995. *Linguistic categorization: prototypes in linguistic theory*, 2nd edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press

Wierzbicka, Anna. 1996. *Semantics: primes and universals*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wurm, S. A. 1961. The linguistic situation in the Highlands Districts of Papua and New Guinea. *Australian Territories* ½: 14-23.

Yarapea, Apoi. 1993. Kewapi verbal morphology and semantics. *Language and Linguistics in Melanesia* 24:95-110.

¹ On East Kewa, the materials by Apoi Yarapea are the most complete: