The word in Kewa

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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 twenty-five thousand; by 1990 it had increased to 63,633—divided as follows: West Kewa, 28,905 (including 11,071 in the Northwest subdialect); East Kewa, 28,642; and South Kewa, 6,086 (including 651 in the Southwest subdialect). A census taken in 2000 increases the number to 100,000 for the whole language.[1]

East and West Kewa are lexically similar by about 78 percent. East and South Kewa are much closer to each other than either is to West Kewa. Kewa is most closely related to the Mendi (Angal) language.

1. 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, 1975:24–37), which is in the same (Engan) 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.PST
        'The woman gave something to the pig.'

Kewa (like other languages with SOV order) has postpositions, for example the genitive clitic follows the possessed noun head:

(2) a.   go   ona = **na**   mena
          DEM   woman = POSS   pig
          'this woman's pig'

      b.   Áá   maapu = **para**   pu-a.
          man   garden = LOC   go-3SG.PST
          'The man went to the garden.'

Adverbial modifiers of the verb precede it:

(3) a.   **Pawa**   la!
          slow   say.IMP
          'Speak slowly!'

      b.   **Pa**   la-wa-de.
          just   say-1SG.PST-DEF
          'I didn't mean it.'

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

(4) a.   Né = me   ta-wa-de.
          I=AG   hit-1SG.PST-DEF (+ statement intonation)
          'I hit it.'

      b.   Né = me   ta-wa   **ya**?
          I=AG   hit-1SG.PST   affirm (+ Q intonation)
          'Did I hit it?'

Question markers are final, as expected in postpositional languages, as (5) demonstrates.[2]

(5)   Aapi = mi   pa-lia   **pae**?
        who = AG   go-3SG.FUT   Q
        'Who will go?'

Interrogative words, on the other hand, occur first in the sentence, as (5) already shows, but the interrogative proclitic *aa =* occurs with other words as well, as (6) shows.

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2 The AG marker, already exemplified above in (1) and (4a-b), harmonizes with a preceding high vowel high resulting in [= mi], as in (5). Both allomorphs are shown in each of (11a-b) and (60a) below. The same type of harmony applies to / = re/ becoming [= ri] (in all of this clitic's meanings), both allomorphs of which are found, e.g., in (45) below. (See also Burkhardt, this volume, re vowel-height harmony in another language/Eds.)

(6)   Nee   **aa** = para   pu-i?
          you.SG   Q=LOC   go-2SG.PRS (+ Q intonation)
          'Where are you going?'

The nominal object precedes the verb and so do forms subordinate to the main verb:

(7) a.   Né = me   **saapi**   kala-wa.
          I = AG   sweet.potato   give-1SG.PST
          'I gave someone sweet potato.'

    b.   Né = me   saapi   **mea**   kala-wa.
          I = AG   sweet.potato   get   give-1SG.PST
          'I got and gave sweet potato to someone.'

A conditional clause precedes the conclusion:

(8)   Yai   epa-lia = re   naa = pa-lua.
          rain   come-3SG.FUT = CONDITIONAL   NEG = go-1SG.FUT
          'If it rains, I will not go.'

In both volition and purpose the subordinate form precedes the main verb and the object may precede both:

(9)   Ní   oyae   mu-la-lo   pu-lu.
          I   something   getting-PURP-DES   go-1SG.PRS
          'I want to go get something.'

The deictic (or demonstrative) precedes the descriptive adjective or noun, whereas the number follows the noun.[3]

(10)   Go   epe   áá   láápo
          DEM   good   man   two
          'those two good men'

In relative clauses any of (11a–c) is acceptable:

(11)a.   Né = me   áá-nu = mi   ní   raba   mi-simi = daa
          I = AG   man-COLL = AG   me   help   getting-3PL.RPST = OREF

          mena   kala-wa.
          pig   give-1SG.PST
          'I gave the pig to all of the men who helped me sometime ago.'

          S + [S + O + V + IO_{REF}] + O + V

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

    (i)   Kewa: Dem + Adj + N + Num

    (ii)   Enga: N + Adj + Num + Dem

b   Né = me   áá-nu = mi   ní   raba mi-simi = daa   áá
     I = AG   man-COLL = AG   me   help getting-3PL.RPST = OREF   man

     mena   kala-wa.
     pig   give-1SG.PST
     'I gave the pig to all of the men who helped me some time ago.'

$S + [S + O + V + IO_{REF}] + IO + O + V$

c.   Né = me adaalu paake mi   yae   aisa   p-i.
     I = AG   long   steal   getting something look.for sit-1SG.PRF
     '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:

(12)a. Ní ada   pa-lua.
       I   house   go-1SG.FUT
       'I will go home.'

    b. Sáá   ada   pa-lipa.
       we.DU house go-1DU.FUT
       'We two will go home.'

    c. Niaa   ada   pa-lima.
       we.PL house go-1PL.FUT
       'We will all go home.'

Verb morphology is exclusively suffixing, with only negative and causative proclitics:

(13)a. **Naa** = to-a
       NEG = utter-1SG.FUT
       'I will not tell.'

    b. **Maa** = laa-lua
       CAUS = say.BEN-1SG.FUT
       'I will make (somebody) tell.'

Person, number, and tense are generally fused as morphemes:

(14)a. Ekeraa   ada-lua.
       tomorrow   look-1SG.FUT
       'I will look tomorrow.'

    b. Abala   ada-wa.
       yesterday see-1SG.PST
       'I looked yesterday.'

Five tenses are marked in final verbs, with both nonbenefactive and benefactive paradigms.[4]

(15)a. Ní   ada-lo.
         I   look-1SG.PRS
         'I am looking.'

    b.   Ní   adaa-to.
         I   look.BEN-1SG.PRS
         'I am looking (on behalf of someone).'

(16)a. Ní   ada-lua
         I   look-1SG.FUT
         'I will look.'

    b.   Ní   adaa-lua.
         I   look.BEN-1SG.FUT
         'I will look (on behalf of someone).'

(17)a. Ní   ada-wa.
         I   look-1SG.PST
         'I looked.'

    b.   Ní   adaa-ru.
         I   look.BEN-1SG.PST
         'I looked (on behalf of someone).'

(18)a. Ní   ad-e.
         I   look-1SG.PRF
         'I have looked.'

    b.   Ní   adaa-yo.
         I   look.BEN-1SG.PRF
         'I have looked (on behalf of someone).'

(19)a. Ní   adesu.
         ní   ada-su
         I   look-1SG.RPST
         'I looked sometime ago.'

    b.   Ní   adasu.
         ní   adaa-su.
         I   look.BEN-1SG.RPST
         'I looked sometime ago (on behalf of someone else).'

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4   The benefactive marker was historically a suffix, most likely *-ka, so it would be possible to analyze the benefactive morpheme as V-*ÿ*, or V-*ÿ* + suffix. It always blocks morphophonemic changes. (See §2.3 below.) The affixes -*to* in (15b), -*ru* in (17b), and -*yo* in (18b) are the variants (used after a BEN stem) of -*lo*, -*wa*, and -*i*, respectively; see -*to* again in (60b) below. In addition, -*wa* is the SS form used with BEN stems, as in (53b) below, as opposed to SS -*a* elsewhere. Similarly, -*nia* is the 3.DS form used with SIM (and BEN) stems; cf. (20e) with any of (20c-d) or (53b) below.

Medial verbs mark consecutive and simultaneous actions as well as the identity of the actor.[5]

(20)a. Ní reko-a   agaa la-wa.
      I   stand-SS.SEQ   talk   say-1SG.PST
      'I stood up and spoke.'

     b. epo   la-ri   epa-wa.
       whistle   say-SS.SIM   come-1SG.PST
       'I whistled while I came.'

     c. nipu   reke-na   ní pua-wa.
       he   stand-3.DS   I   go-1SG.PST
       'He stood up and I left.'

     d. nipu reke-na-loa   ní pua-wa.
       he   stand-3.DS-SEQ   I   go-1SG.PST
       'After he stood up I left.'

     e. nipu reka-la-nia   ní pua-wa.
       he   stand-SIM-3.DS   I   go-1SG.PST
       'While he was standing I left.'

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

(21)   Áá   adaalu＝mi   epe   ona＝na   mena   ta-a.
        man   long＝AG   good   woman＝POSS   pig   hit-3SG.PST
        'The tall man killed the good woman's pig.'

Both immediate and deferred imperatives occur, exemplified here using the polite/plural pair:

(22)a. Pu-lupa!
      go.now-PL.IMP
      'You all go now!'

     b. Pu-lupa-pe!
       go-PL-later.IMP
       'You all go later!'

2. 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(V). There are six vocalic phonemes: /i, e, u, o/ (rendered in the orthography the same as in IPA) and two central vowels that require further clarification: /ə/ (always short), written as *a*, and /aː/ (always

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[5] Alternatively, the morpheme breaks for the SS sequential morpheme in (20a) could be *rek-oa*. This is because medial nonbenefactive 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*, *-ma* occurs in East Kewa, with *-mea* in certain other areas.

long), written as *aa*.[6] Although every nuclear V carries either a high or low tone, there are perceptual problems because both tones are realized in certain environments as mid. Literate speakers of Kewa generally neither write tone nor consistently represent the central vowels, except in a few minimal pairs, such as *áá* 'man' and *aa* 'leg'.

2.1 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 as follows.

(23) a. /i/   [iː]   'feces'
     b. /e/   [eː]   'old garden'
     c. /u/   [uː]   'sleep'
     d. /o/   [oː]   'scabs'

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:

	a. following *p*		b. following *s*		c. following *n*	
(24)	pi	'I habitually sit'	si	'offspring'	ní	'I'
(25)	pé	'container'	se	'call a pig'	ne	'you.SG'
(26)	pú	'you go'	su	'ground', 'thumb'	nu	'net bag'
(27)	po	'wind'	só	'up there'	no	'down there'
(28)	páá	'light'	sáá	'we.DU'	náa	'mine'
(29)	pa	'only, just'	sa	'put it there'	ná	'eat it'

Because these are monosyllables, all of the examples in (24) through (27) have a lengthened vowel.

There are also tone contours; compare (28b), which has level high pitch, with *sáa* 'slice$_v$', with falling pitch. As already noted, each vowel phoneme can be represented with a diacritic to mark high tone. In the orthography of this paper only the low-central vowel is written as a digraph: *aa*.

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[6] As Franklin & Franklin (1962) have shown elsewhere, all possible combinations of distinct 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 /aː/ is different from that of any other phoneme such that [aː] occurs in initial stressed syllables; slightly lengthened [aˑ], elsewhere. (Namely, stressed; /ə/ fluctuates freely with /aː/ in stressed final syllables and elsewhere.)

2.2 Tonal patterns in words

Stable tonal patterns that are carried on the vowels of Kewa words are exemplified most easily within contrastive syntactic frames.[7] 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 1SG pronoun *ní* and ending with the 1SG.PST *-wa*:

(30) a. ní rúmá-wá   'I climbed up it'

b. ní kála-wa   'I gave it to him'

c. ní rubá-wá   'I threw it out'

d. ní pa-wa   'I made it'

The tone of the 1SG 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*, perturbates according to the final tone of the verb stem. Usually verbal suffixes copy 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 of the stem 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 distinguishes them from suffixes.

Note the contrastive tone patterns in disyllabic or longer nouns as well, where /ní＝na/ '1SG＝POSS' precedes the noun and *láápo* 'two' follows it:

(31) a. ní＝na kópó láápo   'my two bowls'

b. ní＝na áápidi láápo   'my two stone axes'

c. ní＝na aakena láápo   'my two eels'

d. ní＝na aaí 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 §2.4 and §3.1 below.) 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 regard to adjacent tones.

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[7] Tone 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 Donohue (1997) and Cahill (2000). I have not been able to consistently represent tone throughout this paper.

The beginning pitch point of all utterances is most often perceptually mid on the first syllable. This may indicate that the beginning and 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 postsilence. In summary, the identification of phonological words is linked to the perception and distribution of tones within these units and patterns:

(32)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, negated imperative, forewarning, interrogative, or indicative. (The intonation span may also be a simple fade to the lowest pitch at the seam of the clauses, without affecting the complete pitch or perturbation pattern.)

   b. *Rhythmic 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 tense suffixes.

   d. *Morphophonemic patterns:* operating across lexical, rhythmic, or intonational spans.

2.3 Morphophonemics

There are four basic verb classes in Kewa, representing, in three instances, morphophonemic changes in the final stem vowel if 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' and *ta* 'hit'. This also suggests that certain endings may once have been separate words. Table 1 provides examples of phonological processes that occur with such words. Note that in these examples the 1SG.PRS suffix is stable, but the 1SG.FUT is not. It is clear that the isolated forms given in the first column, as well as the inflected forms in the last two columns, are words. However, once isolatable stems are truncated (the last column) the same form (and word) often no longer occurs. For example, [yola] 'pull' is a word but not **yo*; [méá] 'fetch' but not **mu*.[8]

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[8] This 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:

(i) Ada   suba   **mu**   ada   piraa   **mu**   goa   p-eme.
    house   ridge.pole fetch   house   rafters fetch   like.that make-3PL.PRF
    'They kept on getting ridge poles and rafters for the houses.'

Certain lexicalized forms also represent the same historical phenomenon:

(ii) tumaoma
      ta-maa-oma
      hit-CAUS-die
      'kill'

Table 1: Examples of verb-stem changes

Verb	Gloss	Result of adding 1SG.PRS /-lo/	Result of adding 1SG.FUT /-lua/
yólá	pull	yolálo	yotoa
méá	fetch	meálo	múlua
páta	sleep	pátalo	pátua
píra	sit	píralo	pítua
ria	carry	rialo	ritua
adoáá	wait	adoááto	adoáálua

2.4 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 et al. (1974):

(33) a. *Kinds of trees and shrubs:* akena-akena; alubi-alubi; (asa) apola-apola; aroma-aroma (recorded as 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 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:

(34) a. *Particular birds' cries:* 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).

   b. *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 bu-bu (la) 'talk heard in the distance'; kura-kura (agaa) 'questioning talk'; (agaa) mana-mana 'lots of instructions'.

   c. *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'.

   d. *Food cooking or being eaten:* tepo-tepo (ta); tele-tele (ta); tage-tage (ta).

   e. *Reflections and sudden movements:* lepo-lepo (ta) 'reflection'; lewa-lewa (ta) 'weave in and out'; kete-kete (pea), 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:

(35) a.   *Use of the hands:* (ki) para-para 'clap'; (ki) malu-malu 'shake in amazement'.

   b.   *Particular objects*: (o) yae-yae 'things'; mole-mole 'headdress'; make-make 'tattoos'; loke-loke 'joints'; lame-lame, 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'.

   c.   *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'.)

2.5 Semantic pairing

Some words may also be identified in semantic pairs by means of vowel or consonant alternations, as table 2 shows.

3. 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.

3.1 Compounding

Compounding is a lexical process that is similar 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 if the resulting word has consecutive 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.

(36) a.   *Noun + noun:* agi-ada (mother-house) 'birth hut'; adu-ini (breast-eye) 'nipple'; adu-ipaa (breast-liquid) 'milk'; aga-maa (pandanus-neck) 'complete pandanus nut'; aalu-ipa (head-water) 'baptism'; bau-uni (noose.trap-bone) 'young lad'; mena-iri (pig-hair) 'tough grass (variety)'; mena-iti (pig-legend) 'water snake (variety)'; modo-ada (sweet potato-house) 'compost heap'; naare-ini (sun-eye) 'watch, clock'; ini-agaa (eye-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'; remo-na-ini (spirit-POSS-eye) 'firefly'; remo-na-kibita (spirit-POSS-watercress) 'garden weed'; ribu-eta (spirit-food) 'magic spirit mask'; ruma-naaki (tree.variety-boy) 'eagle'; winya-ali (East Kewa), ona-áá (woman-man) 'people'; yada-robo (fight-boundary) 'agreement'; yada-yaari (fight-cassowary, East Kewa) 'compensation'; yagaa-iri (chin-hair) 'whiskers'; yai-ura (rain-grass.skirt) 'mourning skirt';

Table 2: Words with sound alternations related semantically

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

  áá-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. *Noun + kinship noun:* aga-aani (pandanus-husband) 'unproductive pandanus tree'; emabu-aani (type.of.garden-husband) 'weed (probable variety)'; waa-agi (sugar.cane-mother) 'main stalk of cane'; akua-na-ai (moon-POSS-cousin) 'star'; masa-aani (shrub-husband) 'shrub (variety)'.

c. *Noun + verb:* aba-la (before-it.says) 'yesterday'; aba-ne (before-saying) 'day before yesterday'; aba-na (before-EVIDD) 'old'; aba-sade (before-it.said) 'a really long time ago'; ada-mea (house-get) 'make friends'; agaa-ria (mouth-carry) 'lower edge of lip'; aga-mea (pandanus-get) 'landslide, cave-in'; aipa-riti (salt-carrying) 'small edible spider'; etaa-ne (arrows-eating) 'bow and arrows'; riba-reko (night-arising) 'morning time'.

> *d.* *Noun/adjective* + -pu*:* adaa-pu (big-pu) 'many'; aake-pu (question-pu) 'how many?'; aa-pu (foot-pu) 'instep'; aali-pu (cf. husband-pu, East Kewa) 'ceremonial tall red hat' (East Kewa); kana-pu (ditch-pu) 'gorge$_N$'; kuta-pu (enclosure-pu) 'pigpen'; su-pu (thumb-pu) 'five'; oraa-pu (palm-pu) 'six' (and so on for numbers).
>
> *e.* *Noun/adjective* + -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'; ki-na-lu (hand-LOC-lu) 'elbow'.
>
> *f.* *Noun/adjective* + -ala*:* agi-ala (mother-ala) 'mother and children'; ame-ala (brother-ala); 'two brothers or friends'; aki-ala (sister-ala) 'sisters'.
>
> *g.* *Verb* + *verb:* la-kala (say-give) 'tell someone'; la-gi (say-give$_{1/2}$) 'tell me/you'; rubi-ta (leaking-hit.3SG.PRS) 'running over'.
>
> h. *Proper nouns for spirits:* 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) '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 (vocabulary of a secret men's group):* aga-maa (pandanus-neck) 'sugar cane'; áá-yago-pa (man-related-make); 'man, skin, knee, neck, etc.'; áá-uni-aa (man-bone-leg) 'fire'; ini-lobea (eye-opened) 'forked tongs'; inu-makua (feces-understand) 'boy'; ipa-saapu (water-path) 'bridge'.

3.2 Classificatory verbs

Kewa, as in Enga (Lang 1975:41–51; 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 (Franklin 1981). It is the pro-verbs and existential verbs that provide some evidence of 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:

(37)a.   la 'speak, utter, express'
    Kadepi   t-ea.
    red   utter-3SG.PRF
    'I am red.' (as from the sun)

  b.   na 'eat, consume'
    Agaa   ne-a.
    tooth   eat-3SG.PRF
    'I have a toothache.'

  c.   ta 'hit, strike'
    aalu   t-a.
    head   hit-3SG.PRF
    'I have a headache.'

d. sa 'put, place'

   ní   kone   sa-lo.
   I   thought   put-1SG.PRS
   'I am thinking.'

e. pa 'make'.

   true   sweet   make-3SG.PRF
   'It is really sweet.'

f. pira 'sit'

   nipu = na   ki   madaa rere   pia.
   nipu = na   ki   madaa rere   pira-a.
   he = POSS   hand   on   sore   sit-3SG.PRF
   'He has a sore on his hand.'

g. mea 'fetch'

   naa   rumu   me-a.
   my   knees   get-3SG.PRF
   'I have arthritis in my knees.'

h. eta 'bear fruit'

   go   repena ini   waru   et-ea.
   DEM   tree   nuts   really   hang-3SG.PRF
   'That tree has lots of nuts.'

i. páta 'sleep'

   go   áá   ora   puri   páta.
   go   áá   ora   puri   páta-ta.
   DEM   man   true   strong   sleep-3SG.PRS
   'This man is really strong.'

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

There are three main existential verbs in Kewa that are presented in various forms in table 3. Two of these—'put, place' and 'sit'—are already illustrated in (37d, f). Prototypically and metaphorically, *pira* means that something is alive; *aa*, that it is inactive or stationary; and *sa* that it has been placed or belongs to someone.[9]

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[9] Brennen (1977) outlines the metaphorical nature of existential verbs in closely related Enga.

Table 3: The three most common existential verbs

Gloss	IMP.SG	3SG.PRF	1SG.PST	3SG.FUT
sit	pira	pia	pira-wa	pi-tua
stand	aa	aaya	aa-ru	aa-lua
put	sa	ia	sa-wa	sa-lua

3.3 The verb *pa*

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

West Kewa *pa* (*pea* elsewhere) 'do, make' may occur alone or as an adjunct to nouns or adjectives. Alone it is a fully conjugated verb that changes its shape when various tenses or suffixes are added, as in table 4.

Table 4: Examples of *pa* changing shape

West Kewa	East Kewa	Gloss
pa	pea	do something
pe-e	pe-le	I customarily do it.
pi-su	pi-kua	I did it a long time ago.
pa-lua	pu-lua	I will do it.

However, many verbs also end in *pa* or *pea*, demonstrating a shift from having been an adjunct to becoming part of the verb 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 *naa*= occurs as the first morpheme in the construction:

(38)   rage-pa 'split firewood' > naa=ragepa 'don't split the firewood' (cf. *rage naa=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 separate words:

(39)a.   igi-**pa** 'squeeze' : sigi-**pia** (East Kewa)

b.   ru**pa** 'string beads' : ru**pea** (East Kewa)

c.   ri**pia** 'begin' : ri**pila** (South Kewa)

d.   piri**bia** 'break apart' > piri**pia** (East Kewa)

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:

(40)a.   amu-**pa** > kamo-**pea** 'get something ready'

b.   ebe-**pea** > rodo-**pea** 'cut off'

c.   sigi-**pa** > riri-**pia** 'tear loose'

d.   kili-**pia** > lake-**pea** 'tear down'

e.   wamo-**pa** > amege-**pa** 'straighten something up'

3.4 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 the topicalizer =*re* (~ =*ri* after a high vowel). The particles are given in (40) through (44) and the adverbs in (45) through (48):

(40)   ipa 'type, group'

ipa   láápo
types   two
'two of the same type'

(41)   ma (number specifier)

padane   **ma**
one   specific
'just one of them'

(42)   agu 'only, simply'

a.   Nimu=mi   mone   yoto   mea-pe   kone   **agu**   i-mi.
they=AG   money   debt   get-GERUND   think   only   put-3PL.PRF
'They think only about making money.'

b.   Agema=me   nipu=na   ee   **agu**   poa-sa.
agema=me   nipu=na   e   **agu**   poa-sa
Agema=AG   he=POSS   garden   only   plant-3SG.RPST
'Agema just planted his gardens.'

(43)   page 'also, in addition to, and'

       Sitabade **page**   abi   naa = ota-si-de.
       stamp   also   now   NEG = send-2SG.RPST-COMPLETIVE
       'You also did not send any stamps.'

(44)   mada 'enough, sufficient'

       Go   **mada.**
       DEM   enough
       'That is enough.'

(45)   pena 'still, yet'

       Aba   ripia **pena** yaina   ome-simi   rabu = ri   go = re
       before first still   sick   die-3PL.RPST   time = TOP   DEM = TOP

       gupa   pi-simi.
       like.that   do-3PL.RPST
       'Before at first when they were still dying they did things like that.'

(46)   oraa 'really, truly'

   a.   Aboba áá-nu = ri   áá   repo   **oraa**   epe-me.
       Aboba man-COLL = TOP   man three true   come-3PL.PRF
       'Three of the Aboba men come regularly.'

   b.   Marata Kagua   page   **oraa**   lumi-sa-de.
       Marata Kagua   also   true   dry-3SG.RPST-COMPLETIVE
       'The Marata and Kagua [rivers] have dried up.'

(47)   waru 'completely, really' (modifying only verbs)

   a.   Niaa = re   rea-e = me   **waru**   ome-ma.
       we.PL = TOP   hunger-ADJECTIVIZER = INST   really   die-2PL.PRF
       'We are really hungry.'

   b.   Abia = re   ní ora   odo   **waru**   pi-a = ga   né = me
       now = TOP   I   true sorry really sit-3SG.PST = REA   I = AG

       go   lagia-lo = daa.
       DEM   give-1SG.PRS = OREF
       'Since I am really sorry, I am telling you that.'

   c.   Nipu   ada   **waru**   naa = surubi-sa-de.
       he   house   really   NEG = guard-3SG.RPST-DEF
       'He has not really looked after the house well.'

(48)   pa 'just, only' combines with other forms as well to form new words

    a.   Abia = re   22-pela = re   **pa**   pi-a.
        now = TOP   22-PL(Tok Pisin) = TOP   just   sit-3SG.PST
        'There are now twenty-two living.'

    b.   Go   Alkena   su = para   **pa**   piraa-lua.
        DEM   Alkena   place = LOC   just   sit.BEN-1SG.FUT
        'I will just remain at Alkena (waiting for you).'

    c.   **Pa** = re   nimu   buku   oge = si = daa   aba   ademe.
        pa = re   nimu   buku   oge = si = daa   aba   ada-me
        just = TOP   they   book   little = DIM = OREF   before   see-3PL.PRF
        'However, they have only read the books a little.'

    d.   Ep-a   kaba-a   **pa** = re   mone   adaa-pu
        come-SS.SEQ   buy-3SG.PST   just = TOP   money big-COLL

        naa = kala-a.
        NEG = give-3SG.PST
        'He came and bought it but didn't give him a lot of money.'

    e.   Ya-**pa** = re   Pawayamo   áá-nu = ri   oro   ya-lo   epe-me.
        affirm-just = TOP   Pawayamo   man-COLL = TOP   true   affirm-DES   come-3PL.PRF
        'However, the men from Pawayamo come regularly.'

3.5 Clitics and affixes

Taylor notes (1989/2003:207), "It is largely because of their freedom to attach to practically any part of speech that clitics are recognized as a special linguistic unit." He goes on to say that whereas affixes change the semantic context or syntactic function of a word, clitics are more generally associated with text structure and attitude. Taylor (1989/2003:209) tabulates a number of forms and then tests them according to their standing alone, separation by a pause, phonological autonomy, and whether they are subject to movement or deletion.

A number of clitics occur in Kewa, and their mobility is both syntactically and pragmatically conditioned. The most common enclitic is = *re* (~ = *ri* following high vowels), functioning as a pause delimiter, a topicalizer (the particular items or events that the speaker wishes to draw attention to), and a conditional. There is also a word *re* (but without the *ri* allomorph) which means 'reason, purpose for something'. The latter seems to be clearly recognized as a word by Kewa speakers and is always written separately. The enclitic = *re*, on the other hand, may occur with practically any class of words. Notice, for example, its occurrence in the following sentence:

(49)   Go-a   pu-a = **re**   go   kalapara = me = **re**   eta   oyae   luabu
        DEM-SS   make-SS = TOP   DEM   frost = AG = TOP   food   things   all

        ro-a = **re**   repana   egaa   me = **re**   nona   p-ea.
        scorch-SS = TOP   fire   coals   INST = TOP   like   make-3SG.PRF
        'Then that frost scorched all of the food and things, just like by embers from a fire.'

The writing of clitics by Kewa literates has been troublesome. From 1958 to 1972 my wife and I taught many Kewas (from two separate and quite different dialects) to read and write their language. The way that they have done so is instructive in considering the psychological validity and fuzziness of certain words in Kewa.

In order to illustrate clitics, I have examined letters I received from a Kewa man (referred to here as K. M.) over a period of fifteen years. The letters began from his first writing and continued until he was a proficient writer. The corpus examined is a total of 63 letters, consisting of 2,127 clauses, with an average of over 33 clauses per letter.

K. M. began writing in 1968 as a youth of about fifteen. His first letters were from his home village. Later he attended a Lutheran Pidgin Bible school for two years near Mt. Hagen and still later he served as an indentured laborer in Bougainville for two years. Throughout these periods he sent letters to me. Most of his writing problems are related to whether or not to interpret clitics as separate words.

The enclitic that encodes topichood is especially troublesome for literate Kewa speakers, but they also have difficulty in consistently writing other enclitics. Intuitively, the indecision has to do with whether or not the clitic is recognized as a word. There are a number of factors that contribute to recognizing words in Kewa, the first of which is phonological.

There are also two common proclitics in Kewa, the negative *naa=* and the causative *maa=* (but Kewa speakers seldom write the vowel digraph *aa*). The problem of determining if these are separate words or not is consistent throughout the letters of K. M. (and other speakers of Kewa). The examples in (50) through (60) are all from his letters. To indicate when K. M. has written the clitics (or affixes) separately, the particular clitic and equals sign are separated by a space from the host word (or stem). Spelling and—aside from tabulation and addition of hyphens and equals signs—punctuation follow the original.[10]

(50)   naa= NEG (If two forms occur as a verb phrase or if there are serial verbs, the scope of the negative extends over the whole constituent.)

a. Ni Soisi   **na**=   raba mea-wa   =pulu   [...]
    I   Joice   NEG=   help get-1SG.PST   =CAUSC
    'Because I have not helped Joice [...]'

b. Aebo   anda   ep   -e   =pulu   oroyalo   ripu
    afternoon   house   come   -1SG.PRF   =CAUSC   always   grass

    na=t-e.
    NEG=hit-1SG.PRF
    'Because I come in the afternoons to the house, I haven't always cut the grass.'

c. Ni   pipaa   ambi   **na**=   otaa-ru.
    I   paper   now   NEG=   send.BEN-1SG.PST
    'I haven't sent you a letter.'

(51)   maa= CAUS (It indicates a benefactive action.)

a. Ne=me   pipaa   Imbrock   **ma**=   ota-pe.
    you.SG=AG   paper   Imbrock   CAUS=   send-SG.IMM.IMP
    'Have Imbrock send a letter.'

_____

10 Re the etymology of *balus* 'airplane' in (56c), see Lincoln, this volume (Eds.).

b. 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.SG = POSS   work   do-1SG.FUT
   'Karl, after I have finished with school, I will just work for you.'

c. Kalo   ni   mada   mea   **ma** =   epaa-li?
   Karl   I   enough   get   CAUS =   come.BEN-2SG.FUT.Q
   'Karl, will you have him come for me?'

(52)   = para LOC (It specifies a range of locations. It may also serve as a conjunction.)

a. Ne = na   su = **para**   riripu   anda-pe   apo   pa-a-na
   you.SG = POSS   place = LOC   grass   big-DEF   over.there   make-3SG.PST-EVIDD.
   'It is really hot where you are.'

b. Pa = re   go   usa   su   = **para**   yai   ada-pe   epe-a.
   just = TOP   DEM   Usa   place   = LOC   rain   big-DEF   come-3SG.PST
   'However, here in Usa there has been a lot of rain.'

c. Kirukomea   = **para**   Asumayo   lapo = re   nabisi   pi-sipi.
   Kirukomea   = CONJUNCTION   Asumayo   both = TOP   coast   go-2DU.RPST
   'Kirukomea and Asumayo have gone to the coast.'

d. Aa-nu   luabu = me   nili   kabo-la-lo   ni   = **para**   epa   agaa
   man-COLL   all = AG   nails   buy-PURP-DES   I   = LOC   come   talk

   me-me.
   get-3PL.PRF
   'All the men come and want to buy nails and have asked me.'

(53)   = nane DIR (It specifies a range of directions and usually co-occurs with a deictic.)

a. Go   Ropas   = **nane**   otaa-ria   de   page   sapi
   DEM   Ropasi   = DIR   send.BEN-2SG.PST   DEF   also   sweet.potato

   kab-me-na.
   buy-3PL.PRF-EVIDD
   'They [other people] used the money you sent to Ropasi to buy sweet potato.'

b. Mone   so-go   Mendi   = **nane**   otaa-wa = re   so-go
   money   up-DEM   Mendi   = DIR   send.BEN-SS = TOP   up-DEM

   Kagua = para   epena-loa   mi-na   laa-pe.
   Kagua = LOC   send-DS.SEQ   get-3.DS   say-IMP
   'He said that the money he sent to Mendi we should go and get it at Kagua.'

c. Yapi   medaloma   mo   Aisukulu   ada = **nane**   pe-e.
   day   another   there   high.school   house = DIR   do-SG.PRF
   'Other days I work at that high school.'

(54)   =na POSS

    a.   Kenoa =**na**   mena   gawa
        Kenoa =POSS   pig   cow
        'the cows belonging to Kenoa'

    b.   Korigi=**na**   sukulu   ta=para   ni   waru   na=niminaa-to.
        Kirk=POSS   school   say.3SG.PRS=LOC   I   really   NEG=understand.BEN-1SG.ES
        'I really don't understand about Kirk's schooling.'

    c.   Ne=**na**   sukulu   aa-nu   nimu   sukulu akua   padane
        you.SG=POSS   school   man-COLL   they   school moon   one

        =para   na=ipi-simi.
        =LOC   NEG=come-3PL.RPST
        'Your school pupils did not come for a whole month.'

(55)   =pulu CAUSC (It marks the cause of an action or event.)

    a.   Oge=si   =daa   meaa-lua   =**pulu**.
        little=DIM   =OREF   get.BEN-1SG.FUT   =CAUSC
        'Because I'll just get a little bit of it.'

    b.   Nimi   gupa   600 mails   pua-me   **=pulu**   odo   pi-a.
        we.PL   like   600 miles go-3PL.PST =CAUSC sorry sit-3SG.PST
        'I am sorry because you had to go 600 miles [about 960 kilometers/Eds.].'

    c.   Nipu=mi ona   pake   me-a=daa   yola-a-de   =**pulu** nipu
        he=AG   woman   steal get-3SG.PST=OREF pull-3SG.PST-DEF =CAUSC he

        karapu   ada   patade.
        karapu   ada   pata-a-de
        jail   house   sleep-3SG.PST-DEF
        'Because he made off with another woman he was put in jail'

    d.   Nimi   Mey   4   raabu   port Moresby=para epa-limi   =**pulu**
        we.PL   May   4   time   Port Moresby=LOC come-2PL.FUT   =CAUSC

        ni   go   rabu   redi   paa-la   pi-tua.
        I   DEM   time   ready   do.BEN-PURP   sit-1SG.FUT
        'Because you are coming to Port Moresby on 4 May, I will be ready for you then.'

(56)   =ga REA (It marks the reason for some resulting action or event.)

    a.   E=**ga**   ne=me   ni raba mea-ina.
        yes=REA   you.SG=AG   I   help get-2SG.DA
        'OK, then you help me.'

b. Pa＝re   oge   agaa meda   kone   rugulaa-ru-na＝**ga**
   just＝TOP little   talk   another thought   break.BEN-1SG.PST-EVIDD＝REA

   lagia-no.
   tell-1SG.DA
   'But I have another thing that I forgot about so I will tell you it.'

c. Go   Alkena balus   amaa   suruba pira-lua   ＝**ga**   mea
   DEM Alkena airplane   outside   guard sit-1SG.FUT ＝REA   get

   ma＝epo-pe.
   CAUS＝come-IMM.IMP
   'I'll be waiting and watching after things at the Alkena airstrip, so come to get me.'

(57)   ＝daa OREF (Used to call attention to some event or object, it is directly related to the speaker and listener. Often it is the verbal complement that is marked.)

a. Pa＝re   nimu buku oge＝si＝**daa**   aba   ademe.
   just＝TOP they book little＝DIM＝OREF   before see.3PL.PRF
   'But they have only read a little bit.'

b. Abia ni agaa medaloma   ia＝**daa**   apo   lagia-lo＝**daa**.
   now I   talk another   put.3SG.PRF＝OREF that   tell-1SG.PRS＝OREF
   'I have had a little more to say and told you about that.'

c. Ni oroyalo waru   raba-me＝**daa**   ora   raan adaa-pe   pi-a.
   I   always really help-3PL.PST＝OREF true   happy big-DEF   sit-3SG.PST
   'They have always helped me so I am really happy about that.'

d. Abia＝re   ni ora odo   adaa-pe   pe   a＝**daa**   ne＝me
   now＝TOP I   true sorry big-DEF   make 3SG.PRF＝OREF you.SG＝AG

   pipaa otaa-ri   ya-de   apo   abulula-lo＝**daa**.
   paper send.BEN-2SG.PST affirm-DEF over.there return-1SG.PRS＝OREF
   'Now I am really sad about your sending me that letter so I am replying to it.'

e. Ni＝**daa** dia.
   I＝OREF not
   'It is not me [that did it].'

(58)   ＝rupaa MNR (It indicates that something is done in a particular way or manner.)

a. Ni   ada-pe   ＝**rupaa** mare-a.
   I   see-DEF   ＝MNR   NEG.know-3SG.PST
   'I don't know if I can read like that.'

b. Go   Usa-＝para lotu   page gimo-a   ora   wae＝**rupa** pi-ma.
   DEM Usa.＝LOC church also   leave-DS.SEQ   truly bad＝MNR sit-1PL.PRF
   'Here in Usa we have quit church and are behaving badly.'

c. Abi=re   go   usa=para   pora   kogono=re   ora   epe=**rupa**   pe-ma.
    now=TOP   DEM   Usa=LOC   road   work=TOP   true   good=MNR   do-1PL.PRF
    'Now here in Usa we are working well on the roads.'

(59)   =*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
        the original meaning; the others, the clitic diminutive.

a. Abia=re   repo=me   pena **si**   paga   pi-a.
    now=TOP   three=AG   still   child   pregnant   sit-3SG.PST
    'Now three of them still are pregnant.'

b. Go   rabu=ri   Akera=me   ora   ni=na   ame=**si**   ora
    DEM   time=TOP   Akera=AG   true   I=POSS   brother=DIM   true

    na=la-pe   la-a-de.
    NEG=say-IMM.IMP   say-3SG.PST-DEF
    'Then Akera said, "Don't say that to my little brother."'

c. Meda=re   Nemola Rudu   aa=**si**   wapeaa=na   wane
    another=TOP   Nemola Rudu   man=DIM   Wapeaa=POSS   daughter

    nogo   oge=**si**   roga-rimi-ya.
    girl   little=DIM   bind-3PL.PST-EVIDR
    'Another is the little man Rudu of Nemola who has buried the little daughter of Wapeaa.'

(60)   =*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.

a. Nipu=**mi**   ne=**me**   kogono meda   mea   kala-ina-lo   epa-a.
    he=AG   you.SG=AG   work   another get   give-2SG.DA-DES   come-3SG.PST
    'They told him that you would give him some work and he came.'

b. Ne=**me**   Panu=na   etaa   kabaa-to.
    I=AG   Panu=POSS   food   buy.BEN-1SG.PRS
    'I am buying food for Panu.'

c. Ne=**me**=re   go   kogono mada   rana=**me**   om-e   pae?
    you.SG=AG=TOP   DEM   work   about   happy=INST   die-2SG.PRF   Q
    'Are you happy about that work?'

d. Nipu=**mi**   aa=**me**   pora   pamua-a.
    he=AG   leg=INST   road   travel-3SG.PST
    'He came by foot.'

4. 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) proverbs and existential verbs that serve as classificatory frames for many nominals;

7) forms that generally occur in morphological isolation (e.g., particles or adverbs); and

8) clitics, which are often perceived as separate words by native speakers.

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