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Some Observations on Kyaka-Kewa Cognates¹

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ABSTRACT

In this article I examine over 200 sets of words from two related languages of the Engan Family: Kyaka (abbreviated as Ky) and Kewa (K). I reconstruct a number of Proto-Engan (PE) words, identify some archaic endings, and propose some semantic changes, often from specific meanings to more general meanings, or vice versa. This study is meant to contribute to our knowledge of Proto-Engan by adding additional information on the close relationship of Kyaka and Kewa.²

INTRODUCTION

This article started out as an examination of the Kyaka dictionary to see what potential cognates there were with Kewa. It was immediately apparent that most added little to the proto-phonemes I had postulated earlier (Franklin 1975). However, there were many pairs that, although phonologically similar, showed different (often slightly different) meanings.

Because I have worked on PE at various times, I attempted to note sound correspondences and compare them with what I had noted earlier. In doing so, I found that by comparing the materials from Kyaka with Kewa I could indeed propose some proto-forms for PE. However, this is obviously not meant as an historical comparative account of the two languages. To do so would necessarily involve a closer look at Enga proper and several other Engan languages. Nevertheless, the present article adds to what has been published about PE by suggesting: 1) proto-forms, supplementing the information in Franklin 1975 (“Comments on Proto-Engan”); 2) further examples of what I have called ‘old’ (or relic) endings; 3) adding palatalization, labialization (and perhaps nasalization) to the phonological inventory; 4) how the meaning of cognates has changed between the two languages—although the direction of the change or shift has not been proposed.

According to the *Ethnologue* (nineteenth edition, 2016), Kyaka [kye] is the easternmost dialect of Enga and borders, to the east and south, languages of the Hagen family. The name Kyaka, according to the Drapers (D&D 2002:1) was used by the Melpa-speaking people of the Mt. Hagen area to refer to the Kyaka. The Kewa [kew] language is spoken

¹ I am indebted to Professors Pawley and Suter for numerous suggestions that improved the overall quality of this paper. However, I am sure that errors of my own remain.

² Wurm (1982:127n) says that “Kyaka is on the borderline between being an Enga dialect or a language very closely related to Enga”. Foley (1986:256) sees the genetic relationship between Enga (and hence Kyaka) and Kewa as “readily apparent”. A few of the reconstructions of Trans New Guinea by Pawley (2005:85-88) are reflected in Ky or K: **iti* ‘hair’; **yaka* ‘bird’; **mV* ‘taro’; **la(ng,k)a*, ‘ashes’; **mana* ‘instructions’; and **kenda* ‘heavy’.

well to the south and west of the Kyaka area—although both are languages in the Engan Family.³ The designation *kewa* (or even *hewa*) is a general descriptor throughout the Enga language family area to represent a stranger, foreigner, alien or an introduced item (D&D 2002:171; Franklin and Franklin 1978: 154; Lang 1973:40).⁴

Following some comments on phonology, I contrast lexical items in the two languages, occasionally commenting on sound correspondences, but in particular on semantic changes. Relevant examples are cross-referenced to Franklin (1975), with about one third of those listed in that article reconstructed here.

SOME GENERAL COMMENTS

In my first look at PE (Franklin (1975)) the sets of cognates revealed the following proto phonemes: */*p, t [r], k [kx], mb, nd, ŋg, m, n, s, l, y, w, a, e, i, o, u, ai*/. Based on the evidence in the present article, I suggest the PE phoneme */ /, as well as additional confirmation for palatalization and labialization, two features I had mentioned earlier.

The phonemes given by D&D (pp. 2-3) for Ky are: /*b, d, g, j, k, l, m, n, ŋ, l, r, s, t, w, y*/; those in West Kewa (2011) are : *p, t, k, b, d, g, m, n, s, l, r, y, w, i, e, a, ə, u, o*; for East Kewa add: /*ny, ty*/; for South Kewa add vowel nasalization (Franklin (1975b)).⁵

Note that: 1) although voiced stops are prenasalized, they are not written in the K orthography, although they are in Kyaka (or Enga)⁶; 2) the loss of initial /*k*/ and /*w*/ are frequent in Kewa, as is: 3) the loss of /*l*/, or /*lv*/ in certain environments; and 4) /*aa*/ in Kewa often represents the loss of a consonant (usually /*k*/) in Kyaka or Proto Engan (PE); 5) /*ny*/ occurs in EK and SK, but not in WK; 6) /*ŋg*/ occurs in SK, but not in EK or WK; 7) vowels in SK are nasalized, which represents an areal feature (Franklin (1975b)); 8) tone is phonemic in both languages but not written in this article.

³ A map of the general area can be found at: http://www-01.sil.org/pacific/png/maps/SHP_Enga_small.jpg, a map of the area in D&D (2002:2), and maps of Kewa dialects in Franklin 1968. Notice that Kyaka, a dialect of Enga (Lang 1973), while not on the SIL map, is located directly south of the Lembena language in the Kompian region. Kewa is much further south and in the Ialibu-Kagua-Erave census areas. For a first list of Proto-Engan (PE) cognates, see Franklin (1975). Engan includes not only the Kyaka and Kewa languages, but also other Enga dialects, as well as Lembena, Bisorio, Ipili, Huli, Mendi (dialects), and Sau (Samberigi). At the time of the 1975 publication I did not have information on Bisorio, Nete, or other languages to the north of Enga proper.

⁴ Kyaka words are taken from D&D (2002) and the Kewa words from Franklin and Franklin (1978), as well as our online dictionary at: kewa.webonary.org. On the dialects of Kewa, see Franklin (1968 and 2011). In previous publications I have examined PE deictics (1994); pronouns (1975; 1997); counting (2012), kinship (2013), as well as its relationship to Kutubuan (2001).

⁵ Pawley (2005: 82) charts the following for proto-Trans New Guinea, which includes Engan: /*p, t, s, k, mb, nd, ŋj, ŋg, m, n, ŋ, l, w, y, i, u, e, o, a*/.

⁶ The one exception is /*g*/ in both East and West Kewa (EK and WK), although it appears prenasalized in South Kewa (SK, also called Pole, and described in Rule, 1977).

PRESENTATION

The words are presented according to general grammatical-semantic groups, with (Ky)aka given first, followed by the (K)ewa, often including further designations of West Kewa (WK), East Kewa (EK) or South Kewa (SK).⁷ The proto-forms reconstructed in each section are cross-referenced to cognate sets listed in Franklin (1975).

A. Body Parts

1. Ky *aiyamba* ‘forehead/crown’: K *asuba* is an old name for ‘skull’; the glide /ai-/ precedes /y/ in Ky but becomes /a-/ in K; In Ky *aiyamba kuli* (forehead bone) means ‘skull’ and ‘bone’ in EK is *kuli*; note the meaning of *kuli* changing from the more general Ky ‘skull’ to the more specific EK ‘bone’. Cf. 1975, A3: **kuli-ŋgi*⁸
2. Ky *ala* ‘arm band/leg band’: K *aala* ‘slack in an arm or leg band (or a bark belt, etc.); It can also refer to a space between the teeth; The K /aa-/ suggests the loss of the initial proto consonant /*k/.
3. Ky *amuna* ‘elbow’; K *komaa*; possible cognates but, if so, there is a metathesis of Kya *mu-* and K *-maa*.
4. Ky *andomba* ‘stomach’; K *robaa*; The K form is reduced from Ky *ada* ‘big’ + *romba* ‘stomach’. This represents a semantic enhancement in Ky.
5. Ky *angga-pu* ‘chin/jaw’; K *yaga-pu* ‘jaw’; Cf. 1975, A5: **yaŋka-ŋge*. Note that K *-pu* may be an old suffix meaning something like ‘an extension of’.⁹
6. Ky *angga-si* ‘beard’; K *yaga iri* ‘beard’; *-si* appears to be a cognate of *-(i)ri*; *iri* means ‘hair/feather’ in K’; feather is *ya-ka iti* in Sau Enga (D&D:524).
7. Ky *anju* ‘breast’; K *adu* ‘breast’; Ky *-nj-*: K *-d-*; K /d/ is always prenasalized; Cf. 1975, A4: **andu*. Note Ky *anju iya-ŋge* ‘milk’; K *adu page/adu ipaa* ‘breast milk’.
8. Ky *aro kata* ‘armpit’; K *aarotaa*; also *aareto* and *aatora* in other K areas; possible Ky *aro* K *aaro-* are cognates; *aatora* may represent a metathesis in other K areas.
9. Ky *ii* ‘faeces’; K *i*; note that all monosyllabic vowels are lengthened in K words.
10. Ky *ii re-lyo* ‘defecate’; K *i raa-to* ‘defecate’; Ky *re-*: K *raa* ‘emit’ may be cognates; Ky *-lyo* :K *-to* are 1sg Present suffixes.

⁷ The sets presented here follow the same general ordering as in Franklin (1975). Endings (Franklin 1997) that are identified are hyphenated. I generally include only those words that have features that warrant further comment. There are, however, hundreds of sets of words in Ky and K that show regular one-to-one sound correspondences.

⁸ The forms in my 1975 were not reconstructed; only the proto-phonemes were reconstructed. Here, however I propose reconstructions for many of the words listed.

⁹ There are two additional phonologically similar semantic clitics in K: *-nu* ‘extension of a number of objects’; *-lu* ‘extension of the quality of an object.’

11. Ky *kimbu* ‘leg/foot’; K *kimbu* ‘shin of leg’; note the semantic change from leg to shin of leg; foot is *aa* EK and WK, but *ayge* in SK.
12. Ky *ima-nji* ‘hair/fur/feathers’; K *imaa* ‘tusk’ and *iri* ‘hair/fur/feathers’. Cf. 1975, A10: **iri-ŋgi*.
13. Ky *kale* ‘ear’; EK *kale* ‘ear’; Cf 1975, A6: **kale-ŋke*. Note that Ky *kale poe-ŋge* means ‘impaired hearing’ and EK *kale po-aya* ‘deaf/stopped up’.
14. Ky *kambu* ‘mouth/opening/lip’; EK *kabula* ‘lips’; note semantic change from mouth to lips; *-la* is lost in WK; however, *la* is also the form for ‘speak’ in Ky (D&D: 217) and K.
15. Ky *keke/ke-ŋge* ‘tongue’; WK *eke* ‘tongue’; Cf. 1975, A18: **keke-ŋge*
16. Ky *keke yanyi* ‘mouth ulcers’; EK *keke yanya* (literally, ‘tongue sickness’).
17. Ky *ke-ŋge minju* ‘buttocks’; K *ke* ‘upper thigh’; Ky *minju* is cognate with K *midi*, both meaning ‘meat/flesh’; Cf. 1975, E2: **mindi*.
18. Ky *le-ŋge* ‘eye’; EK *le* ‘eye’; note the Ky ending *-ŋge*. The form in WK is *ini*, where #*i* is lost in Ky and *l* > *-n*- in WK; Ky *-e* > WK *-i*; Cf. 1975, A7: **le-ŋge*.
19. Ky *le-ŋge kambu* ‘face’ (eye-mouth opening); EK *le-agaa* (eye mouth) ‘face’, although *kabulu* means ‘lips’ in K and is cognate with *kambu* in Ky.
20. Ky *le-ŋge kapa* ‘pupil of eye’; EK *le kapa* ‘white of the eye’. Note the slight semantic change from ‘pupil’ to ‘white of’.
21. Ky *pai* ‘thigh’; K *pala* ‘thigh’; note that an *-l-* was probably present in the proto-form.
22. Ky *kupwa-pu* ‘blood’; K *kupaa* ‘blood’; notice Ky labialization. In K adding the clitic *-pu* would indicate the flow of blood (from *pu* ‘to go’).
23. Ky *mana* ‘mind, intelligence; K *mana* ‘instructions’; note the semantic change from ‘mind’ to ‘instructions’.
24. Ky *kyanŋga-li* ‘chest’¹⁰; EK *kaako* ‘chest’; note the palatalization in Ky.
25. Ky *kombyalu* ‘eyebrow’; WK *pobolo ini*¹¹; Ky *k-* : K *p-* are also reflexes in dialects of EK and WK.
26. Ky *ma-ŋge pendo-ko* ‘neck/throat’; WK *maa peto*; EK *pedo* ‘Adam’s apple’; note the Ky old ending, now *-ko*, reflecting V harmony; note also the semantic change from the Ky general area ‘throat’ to the more specific area of the throat in K. Cf. 1975, A15: **ma-ŋke*

¹⁰ There is evidence of *-li* as a K old ending and is represented in other body parts, e.g. EK *pera-li* ‘ribs’; *kona-li* ‘heart’; *kega-li* ‘little finger’; *kola-li* ‘uterus’; and *riki-li* ‘fingers/toes’.

¹¹ Ky *-lu* and K *-luomay* be cognates as well.

27. Ky *ma-pepo/ma-popo* ‘windpipe’; EK *ma popo* ‘neck air’; note the slight change of meaning from Ky ‘windpipe’ to EK ‘neck air’.
28. Ky *mata* ‘back/spine’; K *masa/masaa* ‘back’; note the semantic change where Ky includes ‘spine’; Cf. 1975, A1: **masa*.
29. Ky *kimbu le-ŋge* ‘ankle’; K *kibu* ‘shin’; note semantic change in the body part; alternatively Ky *kimbu* may be cognate with K *kebo* ‘ankle protrusion/joint’.
30. Ky *ki-ŋgi* ‘arm, hand, finger’; K *ki* ‘hand’; note semantic extension in Ky to include fingers; note the ending in Ky. Cf. 1975, A11: **ki-ŋgi*.
31. Ky *ki-ŋgi kape* ‘palm’; EK *ki wara* ‘palm’ WK *ki oraa*; K *kapea* ‘top of a container’ may be semantically related to Ky *kape*.
32. Ky *ki-ŋgi kyai* ‘left hand’; K *koyaa ki*; note palatalization in Ky and V insertion in K; there is also syntactic reversal: Ky; N + Adj : K Adj + N.
33. Ky *ki-ŋgi le-ŋge* ‘wrist’; K *ki loke* ‘wrist’, but K form may also include ‘knuckles’; historically the form may be **lo-ke* in pre-K.
34. Ky *ki-ŋgi ma-ŋge/pambu* ‘thumb’: K *ki su* ‘thumb’; however, *pabu* is important in counting in the body tally system of K¹².
35. Ky *ki-ŋgi yongo-pe* ‘body’; K *to yoga-ne* ‘skin/bark’. Note semantic change in Ky to include the whole body, modified by *ki-ŋgi* (D&D 177); ‘skin/epidermis/bark crust’ in Ky is *yane-ge*
36. Ky *kinjipa* ‘nail of finger or toe’; EK *kidipaa* ‘finger/toe nail’; ky *-nj-*: K *-d-*.
37. Ky *kaoma* ‘corpse’; EK *koma* ‘to die’; note V insertion in Ky (*-a-*) and the categorical change from the state of having dyed to the verb ‘to die’.
38. Ky *minju* ‘meat’; K *midi* ‘meat/muscle’; Ky *-nj* : K *-d-*; Cf. 17.
39. Ky *ne-ŋge* ‘teeth’; K *na* ‘to eat’; note Ky V harmony of *na* > *ne/* ___-*ŋge*; note semantic and categorical change of ‘teeth’ to ‘eat’. The word for ‘mouth’ and ‘teeth’ is the same in WK (*agaa*), although different teeth have different names.
40. Ky *kembo* ‘wig’; ‘female animal’; K *kebo* ‘any swelling/protrusion’; note potential cognate Ky *kembo* with K *kelepo* ‘wig’.
41. Ky *parali* ‘rib’; EK *perali* ‘rib’; note the initial vowel changes.
42. Ky *puu* ‘urine’; K *pu* ‘urine’; also Ky *pu-ŋgi* ‘liver’; K *pu* ‘liver’; Ky *puu* ‘go’; K *pu* ‘go’. Both Ky and K have stem vowel changes in other tenses.
43. Ky *romba* ‘stomach’; K *robaa* ‘stomach’; final /*aa*/ in K may indicate a lost ending. Cf. 1975, A2: **tomba*.
44. Ky *ro-ŋgo* ‘fist’; K *ki do-lo* ‘fist’; *-lo* may be an old ending in K.

¹² See kewa.webonary.org and Franklin 2012.

45. Ky *soka-pe* ‘calf of leg’; K *roaa-pe*; Ky *s-* : K *r-*; /*aa*/ in K represents loss of Ky intervocalic *-k-*, a common occurrence.
46. Ky *yane-ŋge* ‘skin’; WK *yoga-ne*; perhaps a correspondence representing two different endings.
47. Ky *yo-ŋgo* ‘body, flesh & bones’; K *to* ‘body’; note *-ngo* loss in K and the semantic change to be more inclusive (the bones as well) in Ky.
48. Ky *wee* ‘blood’: SK *wee* (nasalized vowels) ‘blood’; no indication of vowel nasalization in Ky but in SK it probably represents the loss of an old ending.
49. Ky *yo-ŋgo kuma-se* ‘corpse’; K *ro* ‘corpse’; *yo-ngo* probably refers to skin; Cf. 47.

There are 11 body part words reconstructed here to correspond with the cognates listed in the Franklin (1975): A1-8, A10, A11, and A15. We have also discovered that the following do not require endings: back, stomach (belly), and breast.

B. Kinship¹³

1. Ky *aeya* ‘M-in-law/D-in-law’; K *aya* ‘HFZ/HMZ¹⁴’; note the semantic change: in Ky the feminine aspect is still in focus, as is the generation, but in K it is the male ego’s lineage that is predominant.
2. Ky *akali* ‘man’; EK *ali*; WK *aa*, from the loss of *ak-* in Ky; the medial loss of *-k-* is common in WK but here the final *-li* is lost as well. Cf. 1975, B5: **akali*.
3. Ky *akali kewa* ‘stranger’: WK *kewaa*; EK *kewali* ‘stranger’; In WK the combination of *kewa* + *aa* occurs to form ‘man’.
4. Ky *akali-ŋgi/akali-nyi* ‘husband’: WK *aani* ‘husband’; EK *aali*; Ky *-ŋgi/-nyi* are endings (*-nyi* is less common dialect form), the EK *ali* ‘man’ v. *aali* ‘husband’; *aali* in EK becomes *aani* in WK, where *-l-*: *-n-* are common correspondences.
5. Ky *anyi* ‘M/stepM/stepCh/MZ/MZC’: EK *anya*; WK *aina* ‘cross-sibling’. Note the change in denoting the kind of cousins. Cf. 1975, B8 for opposite sex sibling.
6. Ky *apa* ‘uncle/nephew/BC’; K *apa* ‘father’ (term of address); note the Ky semantic change from ‘uncle’ or ‘nephew’ to the K term of address for ‘father’. Cf. 1975, B4: **apa-ŋke*.
7. Ky *ara-ŋge* ‘FZ, ZC’: K *aaraa* ‘father’ (term of reference); note semantic change from Ky to a term of reference for ‘father’ in K.

¹³ For a more complete description see Franklin 2013d, A first look at Proto-Engan kinship terms. *Language & Linguistics in Melanesia* 31:12-23.

¹⁴ Abbreviations follow common anthropology kinship designations: (H)usband; (F)ather, (M)other, Z (sister), Ch (child), (C)ousin, GF (grandfather), (G)rand, (D)augther, X (cross).

8. Ky *enda* ‘woman’; EK *winya*; SK *wena*; WK *ona*; Ky *-nd-*: K *-n-*. The word for ‘woman’ has many variants in K dialects. Here the Ky cognate seems to be with EK, where *w-* > \emptyset . Cf. 1975, B9: *wenda.
9. Ky *enda kyaka* ‘woman in prime’; K *ona kaapu* ‘dried (barren) woman’; possible cognates and, if so, a change from a woman in her prime to a woman past her prime. ‘young woman’ in WK is *ona mapua*.
10. Ky *enda waiya* ‘widow’; WK *ona wasa* ‘widow’; the descriptor of ‘woman’ refers to the ‘shadow’ of a woman.
11. Ky *enda wambake* ‘old woman’; WK *onakoe* ‘old woman’; Ky *-ke*: K *-koe* are possible endings and therefore suggest Ky *wamba-ke*, where the ending means ‘old’.
12. Ky *ete-ne/ete-ŋge* ‘wife’; WK *ere*; EK *were* ‘wife’; the cognate of Ky is with EK, where EK *w-* > \emptyset ; note endings *-ne* ~ *-ŋge* in Ky.
13. Ky *iki-ni/iki-nyi/ikini-ŋgi* ‘son’: K *si* ‘son/offspring’; note the three possible endings in Ky and the semantic change from the more general K ‘offspring’ to the specific ‘son’ in Ky.
14. Ky *ima-ge* ‘parent-in-law of male/son-in-law’; K *imaa* ‘M-in-law’; Ky *-ge* is reflected in *-aa/* of K; note K semantic change from the more specific, as well as the gender change.
15. Ky *kai-ŋgi* ‘X-cousin’; EK *kai* ‘X-cousin’; WK *aai*. Note loss of the ending in K. Cf. 1975, B3: **kai-ŋgi*.
16. Ky *kaki-ŋgi/kaki-nyi*¹⁵ ‘Z of female’; K *aki* ‘Z of female’; note the two variant endings in Ky.
17. Ky *kawua* ‘GF/GChild’; K *akua* ‘GF/GSon’; Ky *k-* : K \emptyset - represent possible metathesis of first syllables; note semantic change from the more general in Ky to the more specific in K.
18. Ky *kewa* ‘foreign, alien’; EK *kewa* ‘stranger’; *ewa* in WK; note the more general meaning in Ky.
19. Ky *ki-ŋgi* ‘name’; K *ki gi* ‘shake hands’ (‘give me your hand’); note possible cultural and semantic differences in greeting: ‘tell me your name’ v. ‘shake hands’.
20. Ky *pali* ‘B-in-law of man’; K *bali* ‘X-sibling’; note that the semantic change is broader in K and includes any cross-sibling.
21. Ky *pili* ‘Z-in-law of female’; K *pili* ‘female affine’; note semantic change from a specific relationship in Ky to a more general one in K.
22. Ky *rara* ‘clan group’; K *ruru*; Ky *a:* K *u:* are unusual vowel correspondences.

¹⁵The free pronoun possessive form: Ky; *-nyi* : WK; *-na*; EK: *-nya*.

23. Ky *wana* ‘female’; K *wane* ‘D’; note semantic change from a general term in Ky to a more specific relationship in K.
24. Ky *wana-ke* ‘girl/D’; K *wane* ‘daughter’; note the more general reference in Ky and the more specific relationship in K; the Ky ending is lost in K.
25. Ky *wane-ge* ‘D’; K *wane*; ‘D’; note the loss of the ending in Ky.
26. Ky *wane* ‘boy’; K *naaki*; note semantic change from the previous example where K *wane* is ‘D’.
27. Ky *yango-ne/yango-ŋge* ‘B/same name/age-mates’; K *yago* ‘namesake’, ‘agemate’; note two possible endings in Ky and the more general meaning.
28. Ky; *end-angi* ‘mother’; K *agi* ‘mother’ (address form); note that the Ky form is ‘woman-mother’ and that *enda* means ‘married woman’, resulting in the compound form *enda+angi* is a compound form.; note the specific denotation in K. Cf. 1975, B7: **angi-ŋgi*

In summary, there are only four Proto-Engan kinship terms reconstructed from the cognate sets listed in Franklin 1975: B3, B4, B7 and B9. Two forms (man and woman) do not require endings.

C. Pronouns, Demonstratives, Interrogatives

1. Ky *aki* ‘what’; K *ake* ‘what’; EK *ali*; Cf. 1975, C10: **ale-ŋke*.¹⁶
2. Ky *anja* ‘where’; K *aane*; Ky *-nj-*: K *-n-*.
3. Ky *api* ‘who’; K *aapi* ‘who’; Cf. 1975, C12: **api* / **kapi*.
4. Ky *baa* ‘he’; WK *ipu*; Perhaps **i-mbau*. Cf. 1975, C2; note also C6.
5. Ky *bwua* ‘let us both go’; K *baa*; note labialization of /b-/ in Ky, resulting in /w/ following.
6. Ky *e-mba* ‘you’; K *ne* (*-mba* is probably an old ending; See C4). Cf. 1975, C7: **ŋge-mba*.
7. Ky *nakama* ‘you pl./they’; WK *nimi/nimu*; possibly a combination of **naka* ‘you pl.’ and *-ma* ‘we pl.’. Cf. 1975, C13: **nimi-mba*.
8. Ky *na-mba* ‘I’; K *ni*; possible further evidence of *-mba* as an old ending. Cf. 1975, C1: **nia-mba*.
9. Ky *na-mwua* ‘we’; WK *niaa*; Possibly suggesting PE **nya-mba*. Cf. 1975, C8: **nya-mba*.
10. Ky *-nya* ‘possessive’; EK *-nya*; WK *-na*; Ky *ny*: WK *n*.
11. Ky *do-lapo* ‘both’; K *lapo* ‘both’; Ky *do* is possibly a proto-classifier.

¹⁶ A further possibility is that the PE form was **a-ŋke*.

12. Ky *do-ko* ‘determiner/it/that: K *go* ‘that’ (close at hand/seen); See Franklin 1993 on PE deictics. Cf. 1975, C6: **ŋgo-ŋke*.
13. Ky *do-lo* ‘front of’; K *polo* ‘front of house’; possible cognates, but the K form is more specific than the Ky.
14. Ky *do-no* ‘below speaker’; K *no* ‘down there’; The K form is more general than the Ky; see B12 and Franklin 1993.
15. Ky *du-lu* ‘beyond and above’; K *sogo* ‘above close’ See Franklin 1993; Ky *do* > *du*_-*lu*. The K form is more specific than the Ky.
16. Ky *du-mu* ‘across, same level’; K *mogo* ‘over there’; *mu* and *mo* are probable cognates and the Ky form is more specific than the K.
17. Ky *du-sa* ‘near, nearby’; K *go sa* ‘put it there’; note that in K *sa* is a free form.
18. Ky *rema* ‘three’; K *repo* ‘three’¹⁷; note Ky *-m-*: K *-p-*.

In section C we have postulated 7 reconstructions for cognate sets listed in Franklin (1975): C1, C6-8, C10, C12, C13,. We have not attempted to reconstruct dual forms but the underlying and reoccurring historical part seems to be *-*li-* (based on forms showing -*ri-*, and -*li-*).

D. Objects and Items (excluding Flora and Fauna)

1. Ky *api* ‘salt’; K *aipa* ‘native salt’; note possible metathesis of the Vs /*a/* and /*i/*. Cf. 1975, D4: **aipi*.
2. Ky *kapa* ‘fat/egg’; EK *kapa*; WK *aapa* ‘fat/grease/egg’; note that the K form is more general than the Ky.
3. Ky; *anda* ‘house’; K *anda* ‘house’; Both the Ky and K dictionaries enumerate many different ‘kinds’ of houses. Cf. 1975, D1: **anda*.
4. Ky *akalyanda* ‘men’s house’ (literally *akali* ‘man’ + *anda* ‘house’) Note Ky *i* > *y* when the two words are joined; K *tapanda* (literally *tapa* ‘platform’ + ‘house’).
5. Ky *anda-kare* ‘in the house’; K *ada pare* ‘in the house’.
6. Ky *anda-re* ‘friend/pal’; K *ada-re* ‘village’; note semantic change to a specific person who is entertained in the Ky house.
7. Ky *yaki* ‘sky’; K *yaa* ‘sky’; note perhaps loss of *-ki* in K.
8. Ky *kana* ‘stone/moon’; EK *kana* ‘stone’ or ‘mountain’ (SK only); note semantic change from celestial object in Ky to land object in K. Cf. 1975, D10: **kana*. Also see 1975, D7: **ke-ŋke*.
9. Ky *kenane* ‘chant, song’; K *kunana* ‘courting song/event’; (Tok Pisin *tanim het*); possible cognates.
10. Ky *de-ŋge* ‘wooden handle’; K *de* ‘handle’; note the Ky ending.

¹⁷ For additional information on Proto-Engan numbers see Franklin 2012.

11. Ky *isa-re pee* ‘ashes’; K *pere-re* ‘fireplace’ *isa/ita* are common forms for ‘fire/firewood’ in a number of Engan languages’ Note perhaps metathesis. On ‘ashes’ cf. 1975, D5: **taŋka*.
12. Ky *kamambu* ‘lever’; K *kabu* ‘wedge’. Probably the same meaning.
13. Ky *kambu* ‘door’; K *kabu* ‘wedge’; note semantic change from Ky ‘door’ to K ‘wedge’, perhaps something to hold the door open with. This would refer to a modern type of door on hinges. K traditional ‘doors’ were slabs of wood piled horizontally on top of each other and held in place by dual upright posts.
14. Ky *kame* ‘fence, barrier; WK *kepo* ‘fence’; Perhaps cognates, also K *kama-kua* ‘type of fence’ is also a possible cognate.
15. Ky *kura* ‘traditional skirt’; EK *kura* ‘skirt’; note the more generalized meaning in K.
16. Ky *ipya*, *ipwua* ‘water’; K; *ipa* ‘water’; note both palatalization and labialization in Ky. Cf. 1975, D12: **ipwa*.
17. Ky *isa* ‘bush, shrub, tree, wood’; WK *ira* ‘to cook’; note semantic change from K cooking to Ky fuel for cooking. Cf. 1975, E7: **ira*. Cf. also D7, D14, D15 in this section.
18. Ky *isa lumbi* ‘kindling’; WK *lumbi ira* ‘to cook moss’; dried moss is used as kindling in K; the constituent order is reversed (Ky cooking moss v. K moss for cooking).
19. Ky *isa-re* ‘fire’; EK *kira*, WK *ira* ‘to cook’; note the semantic and category change from Ky ‘fire’ (N) to K ‘to cook’ (V) and that the ‘source’ is *re-ŋge* in Ky and *re* in K.
20. Ky *kata* ‘track, road’; K *kura* ‘to track something’; possibly cognates, although there is a categorical change from a Ky N to a V in K.
21. Ky *kema* ‘knife of bamboo’; K *kane* ‘bamboo knife’; possible cognates.
22. Ky *nyuu* ‘net bag’; K *nu* ‘net bag’; Ky *ny-*: K *n-*; note Ky palatalization. Cf. 1975, D2: **nyu*.
23. Ky *kako* ‘men’s belt’; EK *kako* ‘bark belt’; *aako* in WK, where initial **k* is lost.
24. Ky *lyange* ‘cowrie shell’; K *rage-rogo* ‘long coil of cowries’; note Ky palatalization and the semantic change from a particular shell to a cluster of shells.
25. Ky *mena* ‘pig’; K *mena* ‘pig’; D&D devote several pages of their dictionary to information about pigs (pp. 258-262), which is similar to the K. Cf. 1975, D3: **mena*.
26. Ky *sema-ngo anda* ‘small spirit house’; K *semo-go* ‘sweet potato variety’; possible cognates. *Semango* is the Ky general name for ‘spirit’, which D&D (p. 386) call the ‘death spirit’, or the ‘collective ghosts of the dead’; possible cognate with K *remo* (Ky *sema-ngo*).

27. Ky *malu* ‘grave, tomb, sepulchre’; K *malu* ‘sorcery poison; note semantic change: both are connected with death; but in K it is the substance and in Ky it is the result.
28. Ky *neta* ‘sun’; K *nare* ‘sun’; Cf. 1975, D11: **nare*.
29. Ky *yanda* ‘bow, weapon’; K *yanda* ‘fight’; note semantic change from general meaning in K to the more specific in Ky.
30. Ky *yano* ‘debt, obligation, repayment’; K *yano* ‘debt/credit’; note the dual meanings in K; the term is always reciprocal in meaning.
31. Ky *yanyi* ‘sickness’; EK *yanya* ‘sickness’; note the final vowels.
32. Ky *yuu* ‘ground, earth, place’; K *su* ‘ground/place’; Cf. 1975, D6: **syu*.
33. Ky *ro-ko/to-ko* ‘bridge’; K *ro* ‘bridge/corpse’; note Ky *-ko* with V harmony.
34. Ky *ame-ge* ‘crossbeam/pig fat’; K *amege* ‘to straighten something’; possible cognates; elsewhere K *ami* ‘pig fat’ and Ky *ame-* are clearly related.
35. Ky *luu* ‘sleep’; K *uu* ‘sleep’; note loss of *l-* in Ky.

In this section we have reconstructed 11 Proto-Engan cognates from the cognate sets listed in Franklin (1975): D1-7 and D10-12.

E. Flora and Fauna

1. Ky *aina* ‘sweet potato’; K *aina* ‘old variety of sweet potato’; note semantic change from the Ky generic to K specific. Cf. 1975, E5: **kaina*. This word for ‘garden’ (generic) varies and may also mean ‘garden mound’ or even ‘garden’.
2. Ky *anga* ‘species of pandanus’; K *aga* ‘generic name for pandanus’; note change from K generic to Ky specific. Cf. 1975, E3: **angga*.
3. Ky *kapa* ‘core, seed, nut, egg, kernel’; EK *kapa*; WK *aapa* ‘egg, grease’; note change from Ky general meaning to K more specific;
4. Ky *ydii/di-ngi* ‘fruit, flower’; EK *li*; WK *ini*; note loss of Ky ending.
5. Ky *kau* ‘grubs, lizard, caterpillars, etc.’; K *kau* ‘lizard’. Note semantic change from Ky general to specific in K.
6. Ky *kyaeya* ‘banana’; EK *kaai* ‘banana’; perhaps glides in both cases; note palatalization in Ky. Cf. 1975, E1: **khai*.¹⁸
7. Ky *maa* ‘taro’; K *maa* ‘taro’; note that foodstuffs often, when elicited alone, do not have **-ŋge* (or its allomorphs) in PE. Cf. 1975, E6: **ma*.
8. Ky *kyaeya lara* ‘hand of bananas’; WK *aai kara*; note Ky: l: K: r.
9. Ky *ne-ŋge* ‘food’; K *na* ‘to eat’; note Ky change of category from Ky noun to K verb and loss of ending in Ky.

¹⁸ I have postulated the added feature of aspiration, which may turn out to be unnecessary. However it is reflected by the presence of */h/* in Huli and Sau, as well as some Mendi dialects.

10. Ky *wai* ‘seeds, reproductive material, germs, spark of life’; K *wai* ‘seeds, plantings’; note general Ky change to more specific in K.
11. Ky *wai-ngi* ‘plantings, cuttings’; K *wai* ‘seeds, plantings’; note Ky ending *-ngi* with vowel harmony.
12. Ky *kalyi-pu* ‘peanuts’; K *kali-pu/ kalia-po* ‘peanuts’; the ending in K may come from *poa* ‘to plant’; note palatalization in Ky. (Although peanuts are an introduced foodstuff, the way the words are formed demonstrates palatalization in Ky.)
13. Ky *bala* ‘brown sicklebird’ WK *bara/basa* ‘Raggiana Bird of Paradise’; note semantic change in bird species.
14. Ky *ee* ‘garden’; K *ee* ‘old garden (area)’; note Ky general term and K specific.
15. Ky *ji-ngi* ‘flower, bloom’; EK *li*; WK *ini*; ‘flower/seed/nut’; note the Ky ending *-ngi* (with vowel harmony) and the more general meaning in K.
16. Ky *kamya* ‘kind flying fox’; EK *kaima* ‘flying fox’ (generic); note medial palatalization in Ky. Cf. 1975, E9: **kaimya*.
17. Ky *kene* ‘shoot, growing point, bud’; K *agene/ene* ‘sprout, seedling, protrusion’; note that the K term is more general.
18. Ky *kirali* ‘small branch, limb of tree’; EK *kili-pu* ‘small branches, tree with no leaves’; possible cognates and, if so, *-li* may represent an ending in Ky.
19. Ky *ya-ka* ‘bird, bat’; K *yaa* ‘bird’; note vowel length as a result of former ending in K and Ky vowel harmony of *-ka*. Cf. 1975, E8: **ya-ŋke*.
20. Ky *yari* ‘plume of feathers/bird of paradise carcass’; K *yari* ‘cassowary headdress’; note change from general K to specific part of a bird in Ky.
21. Ky *yangi* ‘long grass (kunai)’; K *yagi* ‘sword grass’; both probably refer to ‘sword grass’.
22. Ky *yo-ko* ‘leaf’; K *yo*; note Ky ending *-ko* with vowel harmony.
23. Ky *kalai* ‘work, toil’; K *kalai* ‘difficult’; note semantic change from Ky general to K specific difficulty of event, namely as ‘work’.

In this section we have reconstructed 6 cognates from those listed in Franklin (1975): E1, E3, E5, E6, E8 and E9.

F. Verb-like

1. Ky *anda pe-lyo*¹⁹ ‘I am growing’; K *adaa pa-lo* ‘I am growing’; note Ky palatalization in 1st Sg Present.

¹⁹ *-lyo* (*~lyu*) is the Ky first person singular present indicative suffix and is generally included with verbs in the dictionary citation forms by D&D. The cognate form in K is *-lo* (*~lu* or *-yo ~-to* ‘1 Sg Present Benefactive’)..

2. Ky *epe-lyo* ‘I come’; K *ipu-lu* ; I am coming’; note V harmony in K; Cf. 1975, F3: **epe-ŋge*.
3. Ky *gae le-to* ‘covet, desire’; K *kaipa pia*; ‘to be pleased with’; note possible cognates.
4. Ky *kisi-lyu* ‘I cook, heat’; EK *to kira* ‘cook’; note vowel harmony of suffix in Ky.
5. Ky *kisi-lyu* ‘I ignite, light, begin’; K *kira* ‘to cook’; note general meaning in K and specific meaning in Ky.
6. Ky *kisi-lyu* ‘I smear, rub’; K *kiraa* ‘to paint/smear’.
7. Ky *kumV* ‘die’; EK *koma* ‘die’; note that the final vowel in Ky is in harmony with the vowel of the suffix. Cf. 1975, F4: perhaps **khoma/ kwoma*.
8. Ky *kunji-lyu* ‘I extinguish’; EK *kundina* ‘extinguish’; Ky *-nj-* : K *-nd-*.
9. Ky *kupi-lyu* ‘I embrace, hug’; EK *kupia-lo* ‘I am hugging’; note Ky palatalization with vowel harmony on the suffix.
10. Ky *kupu-lyu* ‘to cuddle’; EK *kupia* ‘to hug’; note palatalization in Ky verb suffix and V harmony.
11. Ky *laa* ‘speak’; K *la* ‘speak’; note again that all monosyllabic words in K (and probably Enga) have the vowel lengthened. Forms are in the imperative. Cf. 1975, F10: **la-ŋke*. from: Ky *le-ŋge* ‘say’: K; *la* ‘speak’.
12. Ky *le-to*²⁰ ‘I say’; K *laa-to* ‘I am talking (on behalf of someone)’.
13. Ky *ne-lyo* ‘I am eating’; K *na-lo* ‘I am eating’; note Ky palatalization. Cf. 1975, F1: **na-ŋke*.
14. Ky *pe-lyo* ‘I go’; K *pu-lu* ‘I am going’; note that both Ky and K have variable vowels with ‘go’ in contrastive tenses.
15. Ky *peto/ petV* ‘sit’; K *pira* ‘to sit’; Cf. 1975, F12: **piri-ŋgi*. Also note: Ky *pisi* ‘sit’; K *pira* ‘to sit’.
16. Ky *puu re-lyo* ‘I urinate’; K *pu raa-lo* ‘I urinate’; K *raa* ‘to emit’.
17. Ky *pV* ‘go’; K *pu* ‘to go’; note the variable vowel on Ky, which is also the case with K in various tenses. Cf. 1975, F14: **pwu-ŋgi*.
18. Ky *pyaa* ‘strike’; EK *tya* ‘to hit’; Ky *py-* : K *ty-*; note stem initial palatalization in both Ky and K. Cf. 1975, F8: **tyai-ŋke/pyai-ŋke*.
19. Ky *raa* ‘heat, warm, cook’; K *raa* ‘burn/emit’; note the semantic change.
20. Ky *randa-lyo* ‘I hurt’; K *rada-lo* ‘I am hurting’; Ky *-lyo* : K *-lo* ‘1sgPresent’.
21. Ky *jii* ‘give me’; K *gi* ‘give’ (to 1st or 2nd person); Cf. 1975, F6: **ŋge*.
22. Ky *mande-ŋge* ‘birth’; K *madia pia* ‘to be pregnant’; note the K meaning refers to duration of the event, whereas Ky refers to the actual event.

²⁰ Ky *-to* is a special first person singular suffix on verbs that seems to occur with some benefactive action.

23. Ky *mando* ‘carry on head/give birth’; K *madaa* ‘on top of’; note specific location in Ky and general area of location in K; another possible K cognate is *madia* ‘to carry’ (generally in a net bag).
24. Ky *kanda/ kandV* ‘look/ see’; K *ada* ‘to see/look’ Ky is more likely the reflection of the PE form. Cf. 1975, F11: **kanda-ŋke*.
25. Ky *karo* ‘stand’; K *aa* ‘to be stationary’; possible cognates from **ka*.
26. Ky *kara* ‘stay’; K *kalaa* ‘separated off’ (like stagnant water); possible cognates.
27. Ky *piiV* ‘do’; EK *pea*; WK *pa* ‘to make/do something’; Cf. 1975, F5: **pi-ŋgi/ pa-ŋke*.
28. Ky *miku kyasi-lyu* ‘I vomit’; WK *maku rata-lo* ‘I am vomiting’; Cf. 1975, G18: **myiku*.
29. Ky *rombe-lyo* ‘I break it’; K *roba-lo* ‘I am breaking it’; the endings represent the first person singular present tense.
30. Ky *roŋgo pi-lyu* ‘coil something’; K *rogo pa* ‘coiled’; Ky *pi* : WK *pa* ‘to make’; EK *pea*.
31. Ky *roka* ‘cut’; K *ruku-la* ‘cut off/divide’; possible cognates.
32. Ky *kotae palamo* ‘cough’; EK *koro la* ‘to cough’; Cf. 1975, G4: **khorō*
33. Ky *pa-lo* ‘I lie down’; WK *pata-lo* ‘I am lying down’; Cf. 1975, F9: **pali-ŋgi*.
34. Ky *-ka-* ‘on behalf of x for y’; K *-aa-* (probably from **-ka* ‘benefactive’ in PE). Cf. F25.
35. Ky *wepo leŋge* ‘whistle’; EK *wepo la* ‘to whistle’; Ky *le* ‘to say’ : K *la* ‘to say’; note ending in Ky.
36. Ky *daa* ‘no/not’; K *dia* ‘no/not’; perhaps **dya*.
37. Ky *yee le-to* ‘agree’; K *ee la-lo* ‘I am saying yes’; note loss of Ky *y-*.
38. Ky *yuu aŋgi pelyamo* ‘there’s a landslide’; WK *su aga mea* ‘a landslide’.

In section F 15 words were reconstructed from the cognate sets listed in Franklin (1975): F1, F3-6, F8-12 and F14; also G18.

G. Quality-like

1. Ky *akali koo* ‘bad man’: WK *wae aa*; EK *koe ali*; note the constituent order where Ky is N + Aj and K is Aj + N; Cf. G3 in this section and cf. 1975, G1: **kho-ŋke*.
2. Ky *ama* ‘very’; K *ama* ‘someone who is very rich’; note K semantic extension to specific attribute (being very rich).
3. Ky *ama koo* ‘extremely bad’; EK *ora koe* ‘really bad’; Cf. G1.
4. Ky *anda-ke* ‘big’; K *adaa* ‘big’ Note that the ending in Ky is not prenasalized and is lost in K, resulting in the lengthening of the final vowel; Cf. 1975, G2: **anda-ŋke*.

5. Ky *ape yanda* ‘bitter quarrel’; K *ape la* ‘quarrel’; note Ky ‘argue + fight’ : K ‘argue + speak’; note also that the argument appears to be more severe in Ky.
6. Ky *rada-ke kapa* ‘hailstones’; K *radaa-ki apaa*: Ky *-ke* corresponding to K *-ki* is unusual²¹.
7. Ky *elya-pe* ‘good, clean, fine’; K *epe* ‘good’; note K ‘to be good’ is *epe ta*, where *ta* is 3 Sg Present form of *la* ‘to say’.
8. Ky *epe* ‘good, wholesome’; K *epe* ‘good’; note the broader meaning in Ky. Cf. 1975, G6: **epe-ŋge*.
9. Ky *ene* ‘immature’; K *ene* ‘joint on growing things’; note relationship: in Ky something is not mature and in K something growing that is still in progress.
10. Ky *lapo* ‘some, a few’; K *lapo* ‘both’; note change from Ky general to K specific.
11. Ky *ipwua kisa-se* ‘hot (cooked } water’; EK *ipa iri-ni* ‘water that is hot’; Both indicate the state of the water; note labialization in Ky.
12. Ky *ipwua kyaka* ‘cold, fresh water’; K *kaka ipa* ‘cold water’; note constituent order: Ky: N + Aj and K: Aj + N.
13. Ky *kyaka* ‘alive, raw’; K *kagaa* ‘raw/new’; note extended meaning in Ky to include ‘alive’; note Ky palatalization.
14. Ky *kyapu-ŋgi* ‘dried’; EK *kaapu tya* ‘it is dry’; note Ky ending showing vowel harmony with the N stem. Cf. 1975, G5: **kyapu-ŋgi/ khapu-ŋgi*.
15. Ky *mende* ‘indef. art.’; K *meda* ‘another’; note change from K grammatical category to Ky indefinite number.
16. Ky *konda-ŋge* ‘pity, sorrow’; EK *kodo pia* ‘feel pity’; note old ending in Ky; note also Ky *kondo* ‘sorrow’ and EK *kodo*; WK *odo* ‘sorrow’.
17. Ky *koo anda-ke* ‘very bad’; EK *koi adaa-e* ‘something very bad’; WK *wae adaape* ‘really bad’. The endings may be adjectival.
18. Ky *londe* ‘tall’; K *adaa-lu* ‘tall, long’; possible cognates.
19. Ky *yaepa* ‘light, delicate’; K *yapa* ‘lightweight’; note the more specific meaning in Ky.
20. Ky *kenda pi-ŋgi* ‘heavy/weary’; WK *keda pa*; EK *keda pea/pia* ‘heavy’; note ending in Ky and the verbs Ky *pi-*: K *pa* ‘to do’. Cf. 1975, G10: **kenda*.
21. Ky *wamba-ke-tae* ‘old, aged’; SK *aba-la-nai*; K *aba-sade* (*gae* is ‘aged’).
22. Ky *ene-ge* ‘new, novel’; K *penaa* ‘young, new; possible cognates.
Cf. 1975, G8: **pene-ŋge*.
23. Ky *kuki* ‘little, small’; WK *kuki* ‘fibers from bamboo’; note specific meaning in WK.

²¹ Unless *-ki* is a relic suffix in K.

24. Ky *pupuri* ‘dark’; K; *pobore*; *busu pia* ‘dark colored’; possible cognates. Cf. 1975, G3: **pombo-re*.
25. Ky *auu* ‘well’; K *au* ‘body decorations’; possible cognates.
26. Ky *kama* ‘very’; K *kamu* ‘very true’; probably cognates and note the general meaning in Ky and the more specific in K.
27. Ky *kama anda* ‘outside the house’; EK *ada kama* ‘outside of house’; note constituent order reversed between Ky and EK.
28. Ky *alembo* ‘day before yesterday’; K *alembo* ‘afternoon’; note change of specific time referents between Ky and K.
29. Ky *gii* ‘occasion, day, time, season’; K *di* ‘any specified thing/event’; note again that the stops are prenasalized in Ky and K.
30. Ky *epa-kane* ‘four days hence’; K *apo nu-mane* ‘four days ago’; possible cognates; the word for ‘four’ in Ky is *kisima* and in K *ki mala*.
31. Ky *koro* ‘period of time’; EK *koro*, generally ‘a week’; note Ky general and K specific meanings.
32. Ky *koro anda-ke* ‘Sat./Sun.’; EK *adaa koro* ‘Sun./big week’; note also *oke koro* ‘Sat./little week’ and reverse in constituent order: Ky: N + Aj; K: Aj + N.
33. Ky *wamba* ‘before’; K *amba* ‘before’; note loss of *w-* in Ky.
34. Ky *mali kama-pi* ‘singsing ground’; WK *mata aama*; note that in K *mali* ‘year’ refers to specific event at the end of the year and takes place at the singsing ground.

Section G proposes 7 reconstructed PE forms corresponding to the cognate sets listed in Franklin (1975): G1-3, G5, G6, G8, and G10.

SUMMARY

There were 99 cognate sets for Engan languages outlined in Franklin (1975) and, based on evidence found in this article (namely cognate sets for Kyaka and Kewa), we have reconstructed 61 of the 99 cognate sets. We have also noted palatalization and labialization (Appendix A); 2) relic endings (Appendix B); and, finally: 3) a number of proposed semantic changes (Appendix C).²²

²² There are two other regular change features between Ky and K to note: 1) metathesis: see A4, A10, B17, D1, D7 and 2) constituent reordering: see D14, G1, G18, G29, and G34.

APPENDIX A

 Examples of palatalization and labialization:

<i>py:p</i>	D6, H13	<i>py:ty</i>	F18, F22
<i>pw:p</i>	A22, G11, G12	<i>bw:b</i>	C5
<i>ky:k</i>	multiple examples	<i>ly:t</i>	A10
<i>ly:l</i>	multiple examples	<i>ly:r</i>	D20
<i>ny:n</i>	B5, C10,	<i>my:m</i>	E16

APPENDIX B

 Some relic endings in Kyaka and Kewa:²³

<i>-ŋge</i>	∅	multiple examples
<i>-ŋge</i>	<i>-ke</i>	A33
<i>-ŋge</i>	<i>-ne</i>	A46
<i>-ŋgi</i>	∅	multiple examples
<i>-ŋgo</i>	<i>-lo</i>	A44
<i>-ko</i>	∅	C12, B26, D33, E22
<i>-ke</i>	∅	G4, B24
<i>-ke</i>	<i>-koe</i>	B11
<i>-ke</i>	<i>-ki</i>	B4
<i>-ge</i>	∅	G25, B14, G22
<i>-pe</i>	<i>-ne</i>	A35
<i>-ne</i>	∅	B12, B27

APPENDIX C

 Some proposed semantic changes:

Forehead	skull	A1
Armband	slack in	A2
Leg	shin	A11
Hair	tusks	A12
Mouth	lips	A14
Eye pupil	eye white	A20

²³ R. Lang (1970:124) implied that the habitual suffixes *-ŋge* ~ *-ŋgi* were derived from the same proto-form and could be considered a verbal nominalizer. The forms alternate according to the final vowel of the stem to which they are attached and that *-ŋke* is the form following a stem that ends with the vowels /e/ and /a/.

Mind	instructions	A23
Windpipe	Adam's apl	A27
Ankle	shin	A29
Body	skin	A35
Corpse	to die	A37
Teeth	to eat	A39
Fem animal	swelling	A40
Mother	X-sib	B5
Uncle	father	B6
Father	specific F	B7
Woman	barren f.	B9
Son	offspring	B13
Son-law	mother-law	B14
Gchild	Gson	B17
Z-law	fem.affine	B21
Female	daughter	B23
Girl	daughter	B24
Boy	daughter	B26
Mother	specificM	B28
Front	of house	C13
Across	over there	C16
Salt	native salt	D1
Friend	village	D6
Ashes	fireplace	D7
Moon	stone	D8
Song	courting	D9
Handle	wood hndl	D10
Door	wedge	D13
Trad skirt	skirt	D15
Wood	cook with	D17
Fire	cook	D19
Road	to track	D20
Men's belt	bark belt	D22
Cowrie	coil of	D24
Grave	sorcery	D27
Weapon	fight	D29
Bridge	corpse	D33
Grubs	lizard	E5
Food	to eat	E9
Bird spA	bird spB	E13

Garden	old garden	E14
Plumes	bird sp	E20
Ignite	cook	F5
Smear	paint	F6
Cuddle	hug	F10
Cook	burn	F19
Birth	pregnant	F22
Head carry	top of	F23
Stand	stationary	F25
Stay	separate	F26
Very	v. rich	G2
Bad quarrel	quarrel	G5
Immature	plant joint	G9
Few	both	G10
Alive	new	G13
Indef art	another	G15
Little	fibres	G24
Day before	afternoon	G28
Time genrl	week	G31
Moon	mountain	D8
Work	difficult	E23
Sweet potato	garden	Added
Mound	sweet potato	Added
Build house	house	Added
Pandanus species	pandanus	Added

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