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## A First Look at Proto-Engan Kinship

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**Abstract:** In this article I reconstruct a number of Proto-Engan kinship system terms, with varying degrees of evidence from several Engan languages. I also provide some correspondences with kin terms from languages that are adjacent to, or near, the Engan family.

**Keywords:** Proto-Engan, kinship (terms), address, reference

### 1. Introduction

The Engan family of languages is one of the largest groups in Papua New Guinea (PNG). Proto-Engan refers to a hypothetical parent language that has descendants in the following modern day languages: Enga (E), Huli (H), Ipili (I), Kyaka (Y), Bisorio (B), Lembena (L), M (Mendi), Kewa (K), Sau (S) and perhaps others as well.<sup>1</sup>

Enga was first reported to have ten dialects (Wurm 1982:125), including Bisorio (also called Iniai) and Kyaka, which I list as separate languages, based on the works of Edmiston (1986) and the Drapers (2001), respectively. Although Wiru (W) bears some similarities to the Engan Family—to K and H in particular—I have not included it in the Family. However, I include it and Mbo-Ung (U) in some of the cognate sets, as well as Didibi (D), Foi (O) and Fasu (F).<sup>2</sup>

We refine Wurn's findings as follows: There are perhaps 14 dialects of **Enga** [enq]<sup>3</sup>, called: Kandepo, Layapo, Tayato, Mae (also called Mai/Wabag), Maramuni, Kaina,

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<sup>1</sup> For example, Wiru (W) seems most closely related to Kewa (K), but has features that are common to Huli (H) and Ipili (I) as well. Fasu (F) has cognates with Engan languages, particularly K. On Wiru and its wider relationships, see Kerr (1975); on Fasu and other languages, see Franklin (2001) and Franklin and Voorhoeve (1973).

<sup>2</sup> On the latter two, see Franklin (2001) for particulars. For interest, for some forms I also include non-cognates from languages outside of the Engan Family, but part of the Trans-New Guinea group (see Pawley 2005 for details). For a fairly definitive list of Engan and adjacent areas language and dialect names, as well as sources, see Franklin 1997:210-213.

<sup>3</sup> The three letter codes in square brackets are from the Ethnologue system; they uniquely identify languages. Note that "prior to the publication of the 15th edition in 2005, the Ethnologue worked in cooperation with the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) to create a new international standard for language codes. This is known as the ISO 639-3 Standard for Language Codes and the current

Kapona, Sau/Wapi, Yadapo, Lapalama 1 and Lapalama 2, Laiagam, and Sari; **Kyaka** [kye], in the Baiyer River area of the Western Highlands, could be considered a dialect as well, although I treat it as a separate language; **Lembena** [Leq] is located in northeastern Enga Province, and spills over into southeastern East Sepik Province. It borders the Yuat River on the northeast and east (Graham and Landweer 1989); **Ipili** (Porgera, Paiela, and Tipinini) [ipi] is in the north central area of the Enga Province; **Huli** [hui] is closely related to Ipili and is in the newly constituted Hela Province; **Mendi** (Angal) [age] has a number of dialects: Angal Enen [aoe], Angal Heneng [akh], Nembi (Magi), Waola/ Wala, Augu, and Nipa; **Kewa** is most closely related to Mendi and has three major dialects: East—also called **Kewapi** [kjs], South—also called Pole [k jy], and West [kew]); **Sau** [ssx], also called Samberigi, is the furthest language to the south and is in the Gulf Province; **Bisorio** [bir]—also called Pikaru, is the furthest language to the north and is in the East Sepik Province; **Nete** [net] (also called Iniai, Malamauda, and Malaumanda) is also in the East Sepik Province. Edmiston (1986) reported a 70% lexical similarity between Nete and Bisorio; **Wiru** [wiu] is spoken in the Ialibu and Pangia sub-districts of the Southern Highlands; **Foi** (or Foe) [foi] and **Fasu** (Námo Mē) [faa] are both spoken in the Southern Highlands Province in the general area of Lake Kutubu; **Mbo-Ung** [mux] is spoken north and west of Ialibu in the Southern Highlands Province, but with dialect areas in the Western Highlands as well. I also include a few forms from **Dadibi** (D) [mps], supplied by George MacDonald. Dadibi belongs to the Teberan family and is east of the Wiru in the Chimbu Province. It was first reported on by MacDonald in 1973.

Kinship terms are, in general, presented from the point of view of Ego, male and female, in this order: (E)nga, K(Y)aka, (L)embena, (B)isorio, (I)pili, (H)uli, (M)endi, (K)ewa, (S)au, (W)iru, Mbo-(U)ng, (F)asu, F(O)i, and (D)adibi.

## 2. Husband and Wife/ Man and Woman

I begin with the terms for husband and wife, which are often the same as, or related to, the terms for man and woman, especially when referred to by their respective spouses. In other words, a woman will refer to her husband as ‘my man’ but someone else will refer to him as ‘her husband’. Both sets of cognates now follow<sup>4</sup>.

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downloadable tables include the language information contained in this standard.” See: <http://www.ethnologue.com/codes/default.asp>.

<sup>4</sup> As indicated, items given in square brackets are for interest only and are not considered cognates. Note that I have not provided a reconstruction of the phonemes of Proto-Engan, although I have suggested some of them earlier (Franklin 1975, 1997). It remains to be seen, for example, how phonetic palatalization, labialization, aspiration, prenasalization, vowel glides and tone are distributed and analyzed in the various Engan languages.

\**were-ŋge* ‘wife’: E *wene-ne* (\*-r- > -n-; -ŋge > -ne); Y *ete-ne/ete-ŋge* (\*w- > ∅-; -n- > -t-); L *wida-ge* (same as for ‘woman’); B *wida* (same as for ‘woman’); I *were-ne/wete-ne* (\*-r- > -t-); H *one* (\*w- > ∅-; e > o/#\_ ; -n- > -t-); M *ore* (\*w- > ∅-; -ŋge > -∅); K *were* (-ŋge > -∅); S *were-ke* (-ŋge > -ke); [W *nato-no*; F *āsea*; D (eno) *we*]

\**akali-ŋgi* ‘husband’: E *akali-ni/akarí-gi* (-\*l- > -r-; \*-ŋgi > -ni/-gi); Y *akali/akali-ŋgi* (also in some dialects *akali-nyi*); L [*aleda-ge*]; B [*hadabe-ge*]; I *akali-ni* (\*-ŋgi > -ni); H *akali-ni* (\*-ŋgi > -ni); M *ɔl/ɔli* (\*ak- > ∅-; #a > ɔ) K *aali* (\*-k- > -∅-); S *hali-ki* (\*#a > ∅-; \*-k- > -h-); W [*ana*]; F [*ápia/apóro*]; O [*ima/kabe*]; D [(eno) *bidi*].

#### Comments:

- Note that the historical and modern day suffixes *-ni/-ne*, or *-ŋge/-ke* occur with various word classes and not simply with kinship terms
- In E /n/ does not seem to be a regular correspondence with /r/ so it is more likely that /-re/ is lost and the /-ne/ retained
- In H the rounding quality of /\*w/ is retained in /o/
- In I *akali* can mean ‘man, husband’ but *akali-ŋgi* means only ‘husband’; This seems to suggest some historical possessive status for *-ŋgi*. A man does not have to belong to anyone, but a husband does
- In S *wanda* is also the form for ‘woman’
- In F the word for woman is also *hinámo*

### 3. Father (address and reference<sup>5</sup>)

There are often two forms for ‘father’ in Engan languages, depending upon whether the person is addressed or referred to.

\**apa-ne* ‘father’ (address/familiar): E *apá-né*; Y (same as reference form); L *tae-ge* (same as reference form); B *sane-ge* (same as reference form); I *apa-ne*; H *aba* (\*-p->-b);

<sup>5</sup> Meggitt (1963-64) gives corresponding address and reference terms for each kinship relationship he lists. All reference forms end with *-ŋge* and a few address forms end with *-ne*, as well as *-ŋgi*.

M *ap* (\*-a-ne > -∅); K *aapa* (\*a- > aa-); S *ape/hape*<sup>6</sup> (h > \*a; \*a-ne > ∅); F *ápa* (\*-ne > ∅); O *aba* (\*-p- > -b-); D *abu* (\*-p- > -b-; \*-a > -u)

\**taka-ŋge* (reference): E *taká-ŋge/asa-ne* (\*-t- > ∅-; \*-k- > -s-; \*-ŋg > -n); Y *raka-ne/raka-ŋge* (\*-t- > r-; \*-ŋge > -ne); L *tae-ge* (\*-k- > ∅; \*-ŋge -ne); B *sane-ge* (\*-t- > s-; \*-k- > -n-; \*-ŋge > -ge); I *arje-ne/ata-ne* (\*-t- > ∅; \*-k- > -t-; \*a-ŋge > -ne); M *ɔrɔ* (\*-t- > ∅; \*-k- > -r-; \*a > ɔ; \*-ŋge > ∅); K *aaraa* (\*-t- > aa; \*-k- > -r-; -ŋge > -∅); S *ate-ke* (\*-t- > ∅; \*-k- > -t-; \*a-ŋge > -ke); W *atai* (\*-t- > ∅; \*-k- > -t-; \*a- > ai; - \*ŋge > ∅); F *atá* (\*-t- > ∅; \*-k- > -t-; \*-ŋge > ∅)

#### Comments:

- In Y *apa* also means ‘nephew, niece, maternal uncle (direct address) with a variant of *apa-ŋge* (Drapers 87); there is no difference in the address and reference forms
- In Y *ara-ŋge* means ‘father’s sister’ or sister’s child’
- Only E and I retain *-ne* and it is optional, suggesting that in I it determines both the address and reference forms
- In I the address form has shifted to the same generation as ego or one generation below ego: MB, ZS, ZD, MS; the first reference form refers to: F, FB, FZH, MZH (male speaking); the second form to BS, BZ, WZ, FZ (female speaking)
- D uses *aya* for both reference and address, but *abu* is more familiar or informal

#### 4. Mother (address and reference)

Some Engan languages use only one word for ‘mother’, to either address or refer to her. In addition, a co-wife may be called by the same term.

\**ama* (address) ‘mother’: E *mamea* \*-a > -ea; Y (uses address form for both); L (uses address form for both); B *ama*; I *ama*; H [aɪya/ ainyia]<sup>7</sup>; M *am* (\*a# > ∅); K *ama*; S *ama*; W *qua* (\*-m- > q); U *ama*; F *amá/huā*; O *huq*; D [ida]

\**aŋgi-ŋgi* (reference) ‘mother’: E [enda-ŋgi/ ende-ŋge]; Y [enda-ŋgi]; L [ede-ge]; B *ane-ge* (\*-ŋgi- > ne; -ŋgi > -ge); I *aŋgi-ni* (\*-ŋgi > -ni); -M *aŋji/ eŋki* (\*-ŋg- > -nj/-ŋk-; -ŋgi > ∅); K *agi* (\*-ŋg- > g; \*-ŋgi > ∅); S *inki-ki* (\*aŋ-g > ink-; -ŋgi > -ki)

<sup>6</sup> This may be evidence that the proto form began with /h/.

<sup>7</sup> This is similar to the form for ‘sister’, which is described later.

Comments:

- The E, Y and L reference forms are from ‘woman’
- In H *ama* refers to MZ; a dialect area in Kewa has *ama-le*;
- In I the reference term extends to MZ, MBW and FBW (female speaking);

## 5. Son and Daughter

Some languages use ‘boy’ or ‘girl’ instead of separate terms for ‘son’ or ‘daughter’.

\**iki-ŋgi* ‘son’: E *inkiní-ŋgi* (\*-k- > -nk-; -ní > -∅); Y *ikinyi-ni/ ikinyi-ŋgi* (-nyi > -∅; \*-ŋgi > -ni); L *nye-ge* (\*iki- > nye-; \*-ŋgi > -ge) B *inasi-gi* (-na- > -∅; \*-ki > si; \*-ŋgi > -gi); H *igi-ni* (\*-k- > -g-; \*-ŋgi > -ni); M *isi* (\*-k- > -s-; \*-ŋgi > -∅) K *si* (\*i- > -∅; \*-k- > -s-; \*-ŋgi > -∅); S *iki-ki* (\*-ŋgi > -ki)

\**wane-ŋge* ‘daughter’: E *wane-gé* (\*-ŋge > -ge in E, Y and L; -ke in S); Y *wane-ge*; L *wane-ge*; I *wana-ne* (\*-ŋge > -ne; \*-e > -a in B and I); B *wana* (\*-ŋge > -∅ in B, H, M, and K); I *wana-ne* (-ŋge > -ne); \*H *wane*; M *wene*; K *wane*; S *wane-ke* (\*-ŋge > -ke)

## 6. Siblings

Siblings in Papuan languages are generally referred to with a set of three forms: 1) male siblings; 2) female siblings; and 3) cross-siblings. Sometimes in Engan the form given for ‘brother of a male’ is the same as ‘namesake’ or ‘age-mate’. There are a number of variations suggested from the data which may well suggest address and reference differences.

\**bali-ni* ‘sibling of opposite sex’ (reference): I *bali-ni*; H *bali-ni*; M *bali-ni*; K *bali* (\*-ni > -∅); S *beli-ki* (\*-a- > -e-)

\**ainya* ‘sibling of opposite sex’ (address): I *aini* (\*-nya > -ni); M *aini* (\*-ny- > -n-); K *ainya*<sup>8</sup>; S *ane* (\*-nya > -ne >); W *anai*; U *anya*; F *ainu*; O *ana*; D [abe]

\**hame-ŋge* ‘brother of male’: B *haba-ge* (\*-m- > -b-; \*-ŋge > -ge); I *amo-ne* (\*h- > ∅; \*-e-ŋge > -o-ne); H *hame-ne* (\*-ŋge > -ne); M *hame* (\*-ŋge > -∅); K *ame* (\*h- > ∅; \*-ŋge

<sup>8</sup> LeRoy (1985:292) notes that *ainya* is the K address form for a male or female speaking to each other.

> - $\emptyset$ ) *S hame-ke* (-\*- $\eta$ ge > -ke); *W wame-ne* (possible cognate); *F hamè* (\*- $\eta$ ge > - $\emptyset$ ); *O wame* (possible cognate); *D ama* (possible cognate)<sup>9</sup>

\**yan-go- $\eta$ ge* ‘brother of male/ male age mate’: *E yan-gó- $\eta$ ge*; *Y yan-go-ne* (\*- $\eta$ ge > ne); *L yago-ge* (\*- $\eta$ g- > g; \*- $\eta$ g > g)

\**haki- $\eta$ gi* ‘sister of female’: *E haki- $\eta$ gi*; *Y kaki- $\eta$ gi* (\*h- > k-); *I aki-ni* (\*h- >  $\emptyset$ -; \*- $\eta$ gi > -ni); *H hagapu-ni* (\*-\*- $\eta$ gi >  $\emptyset$ ); \* *haki - $\eta$ gi* > -ni; *M haki* (\*- $\eta$ gi >  $\emptyset$ ) *K aaki* (\*h >  $\emptyset$ -; \*-a- > -aa-; \*- $\eta$ gi >  $\emptyset$ ) *S asi* (\*h- >  $\emptyset$ -; \*-k- -s-; \*- $\eta$ gi >  $\emptyset$ )

\**pimare- $\eta$ ge* ‘sister of female’: *E pimare- $\eta$ ge*; *Y pimale-nge* (sibling of opposite sex); *B pimale- $\eta$ ge* (\*-r- > l;); *L pimali-ge* (\*-re > -li; \*- $\eta$ ge > -ge ) (sibling of opposite sex)

Comments:

- -*pu* in Engan languages often marks a collection of items or events, so its occurrence in H may be contextual
- Historically, there may have been two forms for ‘opposite sex sibling’: \**aina(-ne)* as a term of address and \**bali-ni* as a term of reference.
- The W form *anai*, U *anya*, F *ainu* and O *ana* ‘sibling of the opposite sex’ are also cognate with *aina* that occurs in some dialect areas of K;
- The L form for ‘sister of female’ is similar to *papa*, which often means Z of M in other Engan languages;
- In F the form *maé* also occurs, but normally corresponds to what is often FB in Engan;
- In D *ama* is used between same sex siblings;

## 7. Cross Cousin

The terms for male ‘parallel cousin’ and ‘brother’ are often the same in Engan and the same holds for female ‘parallel cousin’ and ‘sister’ (see section 5).

\**kai- $\eta$ gi* (cross cousin): *E kii- $\eta$ gi*; (\*-i- > -ii); *Y kai- $\eta$ gi*; *L kai-ge* (\*- $\eta$ gi > -ge); *I ai-ni* (\*k->  $\emptyset$ -; (\*- $\eta$ gi > -ge); *H ha-ni/ hani-ni* (\*k->  $\emptyset$ -; \*- $\eta$ gi > -ni); *M hei* (\*k->  $\emptyset$ -; \*ai > ei; \*- $\eta$ gi > - $\emptyset$ ); *K kai/aai* (\*k->  $\emptyset$ -; \*- $\eta$ gi > - $\emptyset$ ); *S kaḷi* (\*- $\eta$ gi < -qḷi); *D hái* (FZS) (\*k- > h-; \*- $\eta$ gi > - $\emptyset$ )

<sup>9</sup> The forms in W, O, and D seem to be a separate cognate set.

Comments:

- In H *-ni* (not as a suffix) occurs in other instances
- Parallel cousins in D follow normal sibling terminology
- S retains the nasalization feature of the proto-suffix by incorporation into the vowels

### 8. Some of Spouse's in-laws

Many similar forms show up that are terms that affines use to refer to one another. The forms given here are not meant to be exhaustive, nor are the glosses definitive.

*\*pase-ŋge* 'brother-in-law' (of female): B *pase-ŋgi* (*\*-ŋge* > *-ŋgi*); K *pase* (*\*-ŋge* >  $\emptyset$ ); S *base* (*\*p-* > *-b*; *\*-ŋge* >  $\emptyset$ ) F *pasé* (*\*-e* > *é*; *\*-ŋge* >  $\emptyset$ ); O *pasi* (*\*-e* > *-é*; *\*-ŋge* >  $\emptyset$ )

(*\*pali-ŋgi* 'sister-in-law' (of male): E *pili-ŋgi* (*\*-a-* > *-i-*); Y *pali-ŋgi*; L *pali-ge* (*\*-ŋgi* > *-ge*); I *pali-ni* (*-ŋgi* > *-ni*); M *pɔli* (*\*-a-* > *-ɔ-*; *\*-ŋgi* >  $\emptyset$ ); K *pili* (*\*-a-* > *-i-*; *\*-ŋgi* >  $\emptyset$ ); S *pelipi-ki* (*\*-a-* > *-e-*; *\*-ŋgi* > *-ki*)

*\*kate-ŋge* 'spouse-in-law': H *kyane* (*\*k-* > *ky*; *\*-t-* > *-n-*; *\*-ŋge* >  $\emptyset$ ); K *kate* (*\*-ŋge* >  $\emptyset$ ); S *kale-ke* (*\*-t-* > *-l-*; *\*-ŋge* > *-ke*); W *kale* (*\*-t-* > *-l-*; *\*-ŋge* >  $\emptyset$ ); F *kare-ké* (*\*-t-* > *-r-*; *\*-ŋge* > *-ke*); O *kare-gi* (*\*-t-* > *-r-*; *\*-ŋge* > *-gi*)

Comments:

- Relationships vary in languages to include HB, WB, ZH, WZ, BZ
- S adds an extra *-pi* for 'sister-in-law'

### 9. Aunt and Uncle (paternal and maternal)

FZ and MZ are often identical with other consanguine terms and not all of them are included here.

*\*maeya-ŋge* 'father's brother': L *aye-ge* (*\*m-* >  $\emptyset$ ; *\*ae-* > *e*; *\*-ŋge* > *-ge*); I *ayia-ne* (*\*m-* >  $\emptyset$ ; *\*-e-* >  $\emptyset$ ; *\*-a* > *ia*; *\*-ŋge* > *-ne*); H *aya-ne* (*\*m-* >  $\emptyset$ ; *\*ae-* > *e*; *\*-ŋge* > *-ne*); M K S and F *mae* (*\*-ya-* >  $\emptyset$ ; *\*-ŋge* >  $\emptyset$ ); W *maeo* (*\*-ya-* > *o*; *\*-ŋge* >  $\emptyset$ ); O *mai* (*\*-eya* >  $\emptyset$ ; *\*-ŋge* >  $\emptyset$ )



\**auwa-ŋge* ‘mother’s brother’: E *aweá* (\*-uw- > -ea; \*-ŋge > -∅); I *auwa-ne* (\*-ŋge > -ne); H *ayua* \*-uw- > *yu*; \*-ŋge > -∅); K *awa* (-u- > -∅-; \*-ŋge > -∅); S *auwe* (\*-a > -e; \*-ŋge > -∅); F (\*-w- > *u*; *auá* \*-ŋge > -∅); D *awa* (\*-u- > -∅-; \*-ŋge > -∅)

\**papa-ŋge* ‘father’s sister’: K *papa* K, S, W, F and W \*-ŋge > -∅); S *pape* \*-a > ε); W *papa*; F *papa*; O *popa* (\*-a- > -o-)

\**arapu-ŋge* ‘mother’s sister’: H *arapu-ni* \*-ŋge > -ni); K *arobo* \*-apu > -obo); \*-ŋge > -∅); S *asao* (\*-r- > -s-; \*-pu > -o; \*-ŋge > -∅);

Comments:

- In S *bopa* is nephew or niece but *pape* is aunt or MZ;
- The K term refers to FBW, MZ and MBW; in Fasu the form refers to FB and MZ; in Foi the term is FBW and MZH (male speaking and Z if the female is speaking);
- In K *mae* refers to FB and MZH; in Fasu the form refers to FBS, MZS and WZH;
- In O the form refers to FB and MZH (male speaking); in F *auwá* is extended to mean all male descendants;
- In I it extends to include affines on F and M’s generation, but also to grandchildren (female speaking)
- The Fasu term extends to H’s of BD and ZD as well as MSDD; also to WM, WS, WBW, HZH (female speaking)
- F also uses *samā* for FB

## 10. Some Reciprocal Terms

It is common for cross generational terms to be the same, e.g. ‘grandfather’ and ‘grandson’ or ‘grandmother’ and ‘granddaughter’, and each call the other by the same term. The same is true for ‘taboo’ in-law terms, such as between brother and sister-in-law or a man and his mother-in-law (see section 8). A few examples are the following:

\**syumba-ŋgi* ‘grandfather and grandson’: E *yumba-ŋgi* I *yumba-ne* M *sumpa*

\**kagua-ŋgi* ‘grandfather and grandson’: Y *kawua* L *aue-ge* I *awua-ne* H *agua* K *kakua*

\**apuri-ŋgi* ‘grandmother and granddaughter’: E *apuri-ŋgi* L *apue-ge*

\**aiya-ŋge* ‘grandmother and granddaughter’: H *iaya* K *aya* S *aiye* F *aeya* O *aia*

\**ima-ŋge* ‘mother-in-law and son-in-law: I *ima-ne* (also father-in-law and son-in-law) K *ima* S *meye-ke* F *emia*

Comments:

- The lexical forms for ‘moon’ in K dialects may be either (*k*)*akua* (WK) or *suba* (SK, and both without the suffix); the same forms hold true for naming the ridgepole of a house.
- In F the GM term applies to MZ, FBW and FW; in Foe to MM (female speaking) and FM (male speaking)
- The variants *-ŋge* and *-ŋgi* are determined by harmonizing with the final vowel of the stem to which they are attached

### 11. Some Additional Sets

Although I have not supplied details or related the cognate sets that follow, several additional related forms are suggested.

\**tata-ŋke* ‘clan’: E *tátá*; I *tata*; S *tapa-ke*; K *ruru*; D [*hani*]

\**wane-ŋke* ‘boy’<sup>10</sup>: E *wáné*; Y *wane*; L *ome*; B *wabi* (cognate?); I *ane*; S *we-ke/ we-ki*

\**naiki* ‘boy’: H *igiri*; M *naik*; K *naaki*

\**wana-ŋke* ‘girl’: E *wána-ku*; Y *wana-ke*; L *winda-na*; B *wana*; I *wana*; H *wanda-ri*; S *wandi-ki*; W [*akomà*]; M [*nong*]; K [*nogo*]; F [*hinamo sakare*]; O [*ugebi ‘kama*]

\**mupa-ŋke* ‘eldest’: E *mupa*; Y *mwupa*; M *muba*; K *mupaa*; S *mupa-ke*

\**kudupe-ŋke* ‘co-wife’: S *hondupe-ke*; K *undipa*; F [*ápu*]

\**weda akali-ŋgi* ‘person’ (generally woman + man): E *ada kári*; Y *enda akalipi*; I *wada kali*; S *wadae-nomeke*; M *ten-ɔl*; K *ona-aa*; U *embɔma*

\**akali waba-ŋke* ‘old man’: E *kári wabáke*; Y *akali alemo*; L *kali wambake*; I *agaali wahe*; H *alali*; S *koke hali*; M *ɔl ɔŋge*; K *yomakae*; F [*apora sisima*]

<sup>10</sup> The similarity of ‘boy’ and ‘girl’ in Engan led Greenberg (1971:850) to say that “a major point of agreement linking a whole series of groups both in and out of New Guinea is the expression of sex gender”. There is, in fact, no gender marking in Engan languages.

\**wenda waba-ŋke* ‘old woman’: E *edá wabáke*; Y *enda endemo*; L *winda yomole*; I *agini*; S *koki wanda*; M *ten ŋnge*; K *onakae*; F *hinamo sisima*

\**wanaŋke wanenke* ‘child’ (usually girl + boy): E *wáne ŋána*; Y *nyana*; I *adopa(-ne)*; S *weki siki*; M *noŋg naik*; K *nogo naaki*; W *máti*; F *hokosa kiri*; O ‘*ugebi*’; U *bagugl*

## 12. Summary

We have examined and reconstructed 22 main kinship terms, as well as 5 reciprocal ones. We noted separate address and reference forms for many of them, some that have not been suggested previously. As indicated elsewhere (Franklin 1997:208-209) the suffixes \*-*ŋge* and \*-*ne* were found on almost all kinship terms, although a few did not reflect them. I believe that historically the suffix always marked a referential relationship of some kind and would not be used in addressing a relative. Both Mendi and Kewa have, for the most part, lost the suffix, although I have found *-ke* on a few present day forms in Kewa.<sup>11</sup>

In Ego’s generation, Proto Engan employs Iroquois cousin terms, with all cross-cousins called by the same term, but terminologically different from siblings. Parallel cousins are classified with siblings of the same sex. A single reciprocal term is used for siblings of the opposite sex. There are reciprocal intergenerational terms as well, such as between grandfather and grandson.

There are strict cultural prohibitions that exist between some relationships, e.g. son-in-law and mother-in-law or brother-in-law and sister-in-law. Violating such relationships by using inappropriate terms results in penalties imposed upon the speakers.<sup>12</sup>

Although a single term may be theoretically reconstructed, in many languages the referents will vary, sometimes considerably. Note, for example, variations in terms for spouse’s in-laws in section 8.

It is hoped that this study will contribute to an overall description of Proto Engan.

## References

<sup>11</sup> For example, *ame-ke* is an endearment term clan brothers may call each other; *popeke-ke* is what men married to clan sisters call each other; and *a-ge* ‘leg/foot’ in EK and *a-ŋge* in SK, but simply *aa* in WK. Two other possible representatives, but not kinship terms, are *roba-ke* ‘a cult’ and *kabare-ke* ‘pig killer’. Josephides (1985:194) lists a number of kinship terms with *-ra*, but this is simply an emphatic marker. MacDonald (1991:543) gives the form *kale-ke* in SK for a reciprocal term between male and female in-laws.

<sup>12</sup> On a similar note, I have heard men address their fathers with the referential term, which is of course an insult.

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