

## 2.4.2. COMMENTS ON PROTO-ENGAN

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### 2.4.2.1. INTRODUCTION

Proto-Engan refers to the abstraction of an earlier language, represented today by languages such as Enga, Huli, Ipili, Mendi, Sau, Kewa, and probably Wiru. Except for the latter, each of these languages generally show lexicostatistical interrelationships above 40%. Wiru, which lies to the extreme east of the language family, upon first examination seems to be most closely related to the language to its immediate west - Kewa. However, more detailed analysis of certain aspects of Wiru retentions, in particular fossilised suffixes which appear to have historically marked a form of unalienable possession, indicates that Ipili (lying well to the west in the family) and often Huli also share common features with Wiru. Taken as a whole the Engan family (excluding Wiru) is more closely interrelated than any members of the family is with surrounding languages or groups, although Kewa has been shown to have some relationship to the Kutubuan languages, as well as the Bosavian group (Franklin and Voorhoeve, 1973). The relationship of Wiru is clearly at a more extreme historical horizon than other members of Proto-Engan.

This present article is exploratory in nature: no attempt is made to systematically reconstruct Proto-Engan. Rather we have outlined some cognate sets upon which a reconstruction may legitimately be attempted. A reconstruction of the pronominal forms and some phonemes has been attempted and is included in a separate section of this article.

### 2.4.2.2. COGNATE SETS

In the following representative cognate sets the groupings are on the basis of semantic (lexical) and grammatical criteria. Cognate sub-sets are numbered serially within each major semantic or grammatical list.

For example A.1 is *back*, B.1 is *ancestor*, C.1 is *I*, and so on, where members of each list may be added to at some later date.

Abbreviations, in some cases, also include dialects of the major languages: KW, refers to West Kewa, KE, to East Kewa and KS, to South Kewa. Usually, however, only the following one letter abbreviations are used: K (Kewa), M (Mendi), S (Sau), E (Enga), H (Huli), I (Ipili), W (Wiru), and F (Fasu). Fasu, although not a member of the family, has a somewhat more distant but established genetic relationship (Franklin and Voorhoeve 1973). Words not considered as illustrative cognates are included in square brackets.

Set A illustrates mainly the names of body parts - human or otherwise, but also names for corresponding parts of trees and plants as well.

- A.1 *back*: K masa, M mesa, S [hoki], E máitá, H [erebira], I masia, W [mukiti], F mati
- A.2 *belly*: K robaa, M tomba S [palo], E tóbá, H tombe, I tobene, W tepe
- A.3 *bone*: KE kuli, KW uni, M win, MN kwin, S holiki, E korí, H kuni, I kulini, W [tono], F kiki
- A.4 *breast*: K adu, M ondu, S andu, E ádu, H adu, I adu, W adu, F [hoko]
- A.5 *chin*: K yagaa, M songo, S yankake, E agapú, H yanga, I agapu, W [pakunu], F akae
- A.6 *ear*: KE kale, KW aane, MN kan, MW haɬ, S kerake, E karé, I ale, W [kabidi], F [senaki]
- A.7 *eye*: KE le, KW ini, M in, S leke, E rége, H re, I lene, W lene, F hi
- A.8 *leg, foot*: KE, KW àà, KS ange, M ang, S anke, E kápé, H ge, I kene, W [kawà], F korake
- A.9 *forehead*: K weno, M wono, S wenoko, E [ragárú], H wane kui, I weno(ne), W pono, F wamu
- A.10 *hair*: K iri, M iti, S iti(ki), E ítf, H iri, I iti(ni), W [píne], F iti
- A.11 *hand*: K ki, M ki, S kiki, E kigi, H ki, I kini, W [yono], F [hokono]
- A.12 *knee*: K rumu, M tum, S tumiki, E rúma, H [ge], I [aiki(ni)], W [wadini]
- A.13 *liver*: K pu, M pu, S puki, E pugi, H puní, I [lasiane], W [kolotíni], F [kosoko]
- A.14 *name*: KE ibi, KW bi, M mbi, S biki, E [kége], H mini, I [gene], W ibíni, F [yano]
- A.15 *neck*: K má, M ma, S make, E magé, I mane, W [kabè], F mawi
- A.16 *root*: K pitya, M piṭa, S piki, E pigi, H pini, I pini, W [teke], F pikinu
- A.17 *shoulder*: K pasa, M pesa, S peyoko, E [rake], I payia(ne), W [wagéne], F [kinu]

- A.18 *tongue*: K keke, MW hege, S kekeke, E kekenge, H hege, I eke,  
W keké, F [alu]

Set B lists mainly kinship terms, but also includes generic terms for man, girl, and so on.

- B.1 *boy*: K naaki, M naik, S [weke], E [wané], H [igiri], I [ane],  
W [ali mati]
- B.2 *brother*: K ame, MW hame, S hameme, E [yagóge], H hameme, I amene,  
W wamene
- B.3 *cross-cousin*: KW aai, KE kai, M he, S kə̀, E kaiigí, H hani(ni),  
I aini
- B.4 *father (my)*: K aapa, M ap, E apáné, H aba, I apa
- B.5 *man*: KE ali, KW áá, M ɔ́, S hali, E akári, H agali, I akali, W ali,  
F [aporo]
- B.6 *mother (my)*: K ama, M am, E mamea, H [aya], I ama
- B.7 *mother (his)*: K agi, MW anji, S inkiki, E [edagí], H [dya],  
I agini, W [one kə̀yà], F [ama]
- B.8 *sibling (opp.)*: KE bali, M mboli, S beliki, E [pimarége], H mbalini,  
I [imalini], W [anaí], F [apu]
- B.9 *woman*: KE winya, KW ona, M [ten], E éda, H wali, I wada, W [atòda],  
F hinamo

Set C includes mainly free personal pronouns, demonstratives and interrogatives.

- C.1 *I*: K ni, M ni, S [, E nabá, H [, I ni(ba), W no, F ano/nomo
- C.2 *he*: K (n)ipu, M ipu, S ipiki, E báa, H ibu, I (e)baka, W [onè],  
F ipi/epo
- C.3 *that*: K mo, M mongo, S mo, E dóko, I molo, W [eni], F [ane]
- C.4 *they (pl.)*: K (n)imu, M nim, S iki, E dúpa, H ti, I yakaba, W [kini],  
F [yi/ipu]
- C.5 *they two*: K (n)ipu, M ipi, S ipiliki, E dorápo, H libu, I liyaba,  
W [kità], F tati/tetapo
- C.6 *this*: K go, M ngo, S do, E dáke, H o, I oko(ne), W [ì], F one
- C.7 *thou*: K ne, M nge, S neke, E éba, H [, I (n)iba, W nè, F ne/nomo
- C.8 *we (pl.)*: KE naa, KW niaa/nyaa, M no, S niki, E náima, W [toto],  
F [isina/isu]
- C.9 *we (dl.)*: K saa, M yo, S diki, E naríba, H iya, I nalipa, W [totà],  
F [iti/eto]
- C.10 *what?*: KE ali, KW ake, M aik, S aleke, E áki, H agi, I aki, W edele,  
F [yakapa]
- C.11 *when?*: K a rabo, M a rombu, S [handimæ], E [adokópá], H [angi],  
I [a kidi], W [manipeté], F [masinaka]

- C.12 *who?*: K api, M ap, S epi, E apí, H ai, I api, W [teyó], F epa  
 C.13 *you (pl.)*: K (n)imi, M imi, S iki, E nyakáma, H ti, I yakaba,  
 W [kíwi], F nanima  
 C.14 *you (dl.)*: K (n)ipi, M ipi, S ipiliki, E nyarabo, H libu, I liyaba,  
 W [kità], F titi/teto  
 C.15 *three*: K repo, M tep, S tepo, E téma, H tebira, I tebo, W temboto,  
 F [isia]  
 C.16 *two*: K laapo, M kap, S yapo, E ráma, H [kira], I lapo, W [ta kutà],  
 F teta

Set D consists of the names of objects and items, but excluding flora and fauna.

- D.1 *house*: K ada, M and, S nda, E ádá, H anda, I ada, W [yapù], F ape  
 D.2 *net bag*: K nu, M nu, S nu, E nuú, H nu, I nuu, W [kà], F [aku]  
 D.3 *pig*: K mena, M [mok], MW [jome], S mænæ, E mená, H [nogo], I [yia],  
 W [kaì], F [saro]  
 D.4 *salt*: K aipa, M ap, S epi, E apí, H ibi, I ipi  
 D.5 *ashes*: K taga, M tɔng, S lankæ, E [búsi], H danga, I [pete],  
 W [kùku], F [katema]  
 D.6 *earth*: K su, M su, S yu, E yúu, H [dindi], I yuu, W [itonó],  
 F [hauwaka]  
 D.7 *moon*: KE eke, M ek, S eke, E [kaná], H ege, I [ana], W tokene,  
 F heke  
 D.8 *mountain*: KE kari, MW har, S [pote], E [mádá], H hari, I ati,  
 W [tóno], F uli  
 D.9 *sand*: K ipa mu, M ip mu, S [hou], E ipa [kée], H iba mɔ, I ipa mau,  
 W [kibi], F [tekima]  
 D.10 *stone*: KE kana, MW han, S [topi], E kaná, H [tɔle], I ana, W [kué],  
 F eke  
 D.11 *sun*: K nare, MN nar, S nate, E nitá, H ni, I nai/nate, W [lóú],  
 F [maiya]  
 D.12 *water*: K ipa, M ip, S [ikali], E ípa, H iba, I ipa, W [uè], F [hɛ]  
 D.13 *outside*: K (k)amaa, M homa, S hamæ, E kamáda, I kamaka  
 D.14 *yesterday*: K abala, M ɔmboɫa, S ambaneke, E [kwáka], H abe, W abela,  
 F [lao]

Set E generally contains the names of flora and fauna.

- E.1 *banana*: K (k)ai, MS ai, S dəi, E saé, H hai, I ai, W [kaká],  
 F [kaputa]  
 E.2 *meat*: K midi, M mindi, S [mænæ], E miju, H mbirini, I mijuni,  
 W [melépu], F [maiya]  
 E.3 *pandanus*: K aga, M ank, S ankæ, H anga, I aga

- E.4 *sugarcane*: KE wali, M wɔt, S weli, E [iyáa], H [tu], I [iya],  
W [tai], F [saq]
- E.5 *sweet potato*: K saapi, M sepi, S [tia], E [áina], H [hina], I [aina],  
W [modó], F [supuru]
- E.6 *taro*: K maa, M mɔ, S mæ, E máa, H ma, I anama/ma, W m, F me
- E.7 *tree*: KW [repona], M ti, S ti, E [tá], H ira, I ita, W [yomò], F ira
- E.8 *bird*: K yáá, M sɔ, S [ba], E yáka, H ega, I eka, W [inì], F [mena]
- E.9 *flying fox*: KE kaima, MS keim, S [ætəna], E saima, H gamia, W kaima,  
F kaema
- E.10 *louse*: KE lema, M em, S lamæ, E rema, H emo, I lemo, W nomò,  
F [yapani]

Set F lists those stems which potentially take affixes marking person, number, or tense. In E a special suffix occurs (see A. Lang 1973: xxviii ff.).

- F.1 *to eat*: K na, M ne, S na, E negé, H ná, I naa, W nakò, F anene
- F.2 *to catch; to hold*: K sapira; ripinya, M wapiɔ, S minæ, E minyir,  
H yu bia, I mina, W [motòko], F [maka are]
- F.3 *to come*: K ipu, M epe, S ipu, E epegé, H ibu, I [ɪpu], W [nokò],  
F apere
- F.4 *to die*: KE koma, M ome, S homæ, E kumi, H homa, I oma, W [túko],  
F [akure]
- F.5 *to do*: KW pa, M pi, S pæ, E pigí, H bia
- F.6 *to give (to 1st person)*: K gi, M nge, S kitæ, E maiigi, H ngí,  
I gii, W [meteko], F [akare]
- F.7 *to hear*: K paga, M ponge, S opuæ, E [sirámo], H [hale ha], I [ale a],  
W [yatekò], F [kairaka]
- F.8 *to hit*: KE tya, M le, S litæ, E takígi, H ba, I laa, W [witiko],  
F [alure]
- F.9 *to lie down*: KE patya, M pɔle, S peliæ, E [paregé], H pàlia,  
I pali, W pitíko, F [aware]
- F.10 *to talk*: K la, M te, S alæ, E re, H la, I laa, W [wa oko],  
F [someraka]
- F.11 *to see*: K ada, M ɔnde, S handæ, E kadege, H hàndá, I ada, W eneko,  
F [asere]
- F.12 *to sit*: K pira, M pete, S pilæ, E petegé, H birá, I piti, W [mekó],  
F akaiye
- F.13 *to stand up*: K reka, M tikɔ, S tiæsæ, E kategé, H [heya], I [ata],  
W [kakò], F [ale]
- F.14 *to go*: K pu, M pe, S pu, E paegé, H pú, I puu, W [yakó],  
F [korakare]

Set G generally includes stems which may occur as qualifiers or followed by a limited set of verbs, such as *make*, *say*, and *hit*. The latter are called pro-verbs in A. Lang (1971:81).

- G.1 *bad*: KE kolea, M ko, S hoke, E koó, H ko, I koo, W póko, F [waticisa]
- G.2 *big*: K adaa, M ondo, S [tieke], E adáke, H [timbu(ni)], I ada(ne), W [tubeà], F kara
- G.3 *dark, colored*: KW pobore, M pombete, S [punu pæ], E [pupúti], H [mindi bi], I pobotene, W [lieneá], F [pikirisa]
- G.4 *cough*: KE koro ta, M ot te, S hoto alæ, K kóto re, H ko la, I koto laa, W [totona óko], F [yiyoko ane]
- G.5 *dry*: K kaapu ta, M kapi, S hapu lae, E kéké regé, H [yo bira], I kapu, W [kaù toko], F [parosa]
- G.6 *good*: K epe (ta), M epe, S epeke, E épé, H [bayale], I [wayu], W epe tèko, F [kotesa]
- G.7 *laugh*: K giri ta, M kit te, S ki talæ, E gi irámo, H [oba timbuni ha], I gitu, W [yáu toko], F [takuane]
- G.8 *new*: KE pena, M wene, S panake, E enége, H gahange, I wenene, W péne, F [kawe]
- G.9 *not*: K dia, M ind, S diæ, E daá, I jia, W [mená], F [wai]
- G.10 *heavy*: K kedaa (pea), M kend, S kændæ, E kédá, H gendabi, I keda, W kedá toko, F [umisa]
- G.11 *pain*: K radaa (pia), M tand, S tanda, E tádá, H tandaga, I tandaka
- G.12 *sore*: K rere (pia), M ter, S tete, E téte, H dere, I tete
- G.13 *stink*: K pugu (pia), M punk, S punku mi, E púgú pigí, H ngu ha
- G.14 *white*: K kaake (pia), M aiki pi, S hake pæ, E [ipaf], H pagabua, I ake pene, W áke tanea, F pakaesa
- G.15 *yellow*: K ambu, M omb, S [hami pae], E ábwa, H ambuabi, I abua, W [kakai pagènea], F [kiamesa]
- G.16 *run away*: K alo pu, M atama pepe, S af pulæ, E ára pígi, H [ge raila], I pekala puu, W [teia pea pokò], F [foaka apure]
- G.17 *spit*: KW sope raa, M [nemake], S dopi tæ, E sopo kári, H [hamiaga], I soo laa
- G.18 *vomit*: KW maaku ra, M mak, E myúku talyígi, H magu tagu wia, I miagu tagua

#### 2.4.2.3. PROTO-ENGAN PHONEMES

In this section some proto-phonemes are tentatively suggested on the basis of the most common regular sound correspondences illustrated in the cognate sets above.

\*mb : A.2, A.14, B.8, D.14, G.3, G.15

\*nd : A.4, D.1, E.2, F.11, G.2, G.9, G.10, G.11

\*ng : A.5, A.8, D.5, F.7, G.13

\*k : A.3, A.6, A.11, A.18, B.1, B.3, B.5, D.7, D.13, E.1, E.9, F.4, G.1, G.4

NB: \*k probably had an allophone [\*kx] initially: note A.3, etc. where \*kx > k, h, or  $\emptyset$ . At present \*h is not suggested.

\*p : A.13, A.16, A.17, B.4, C.2, C.12, C.14, C.15, C.16, D.9, F.3, F.7, F.9, F.12, F.14

NB: \*p was probably a fricative and voiced intervocalically.

\*t : A.2, A.10, C.15, D.5, D.8, D.11, E.7, F.12, G.11, G.12

NB: \*t may have been a complex phoneme initially; medially in present day K it is always /r/.

\*m : A.1, A.12, A.15, B.2, B.6, D.9, D.13, E.6, E.9, E.10, F.4

NB: there is some evidence that \*my may have also been a separate phoneme, e.g. G.18. Alternatively many of the phonemes may have added palatalisation as a separate feature.

\*n : A.9, C.1, C.7, D.2, D.10, F.1, G.8

NB: also on many historical suffixes as \*-ne, e.g. A.7.

\*sy : A.1, A.5, A.17, C.9, D.6, E.8

NB: In the following section on pronominal sets additional comments are made. The phonetic characteristics of this proto-phoneme may have been [\*ʒy].

\*ʔ : A.7, A.16, B.5, B.8, C.16, D.14, E.4, E.10, F.8, F.10, G.17

NB: In the following section the proto-phoneme \*ʔv is suggested. The phonetic characteristics may have been [\*ʔ].

\*w(?): A.9, B.9, E.4

NB: In some examples, such as G.8, w- corresponds to p. It may be that a proto-phoneme with phonetic characteristics of [\*pʷ] would care for \*w and \*p. Further evidence of labialisation can be found in sets such as A.3

The proto-vowels are sometimes difficult to identify due to morpho-phonemic vowel harmony. However, by identifying \*-ne and \*-kv as historical suffixes the basic stems can be compared with greater certainty and on this basis the following vowels are posited.

\*i : A.3, A.10, A.11, A.14, A.16, B.5, B.7, B.8, C.1, C.2, C.13, C.14, D.12, E.7, F.3, F.6., etc.

- \*u : A.3, A.4, A.12, A.13, D.2, D.6, D.9, F.1, G.13, G.15, G.18  
 \*e : A.2, A.6, A.7, A.8, A.18, C.7, C.15, D.7, E.10, G.10, G.11  
 \*o : A.9, C.3, C.6, C.15, C.16, F.4, G.1, G.4  
 \*a : A.1, A.4, A.5, A.6, A.8, A.15, B.2, B.4, B.5, B.6, C.8, C.10, etc.  
 \*a<sup>i</sup> : A.1, A.17, B.1, B.3, C.12, D.4, E.1, E.9

NB: In present day languages this often corresponds to /e<sup>i</sup>/ or /ə/.

There has been no discussion in this section of phonemic tone or vowel length. Most often vowel length is the result of a loss of a contiguous consonant or whole syllable. Tone often disambiguates present day minimal pairs which have arisen from diverse proto-forms, e.g. KW áá *man* is from \*akáti, while àà *foot* is from \*ange.

A great deal more work remains before the Proto-Engan sounds can be established with complete certainty. The present work, hopefully, is at least a start in the proper direction.

#### 2.4.2.4. PRONOMINAL SETS

In this section it is shown that two sets of free pronominal forms occurred in Proto-Engan. The pronouns of Wiru do not identify easily with either set, although those of Wiru bear some relationship to one set in Fasu.

Abbreviations which have not been used elsewhere are: P = Pinai (a language located near the Yuap River headwaters, but related to Enga - see Bulmer 1968),<sup>1</sup> EL = Lembena Enga, EM = Lapalama Enga, EG = Gadio Enga, EK = Kyaka Enga, ER = Raeapo Enga.

The first proto-set of pronouns is as follows:

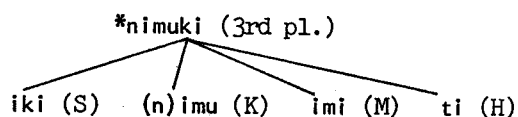
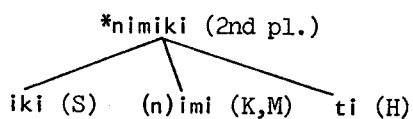
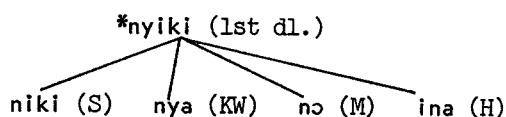
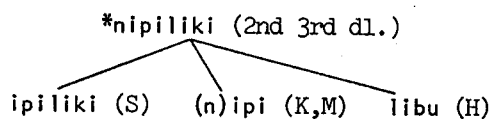
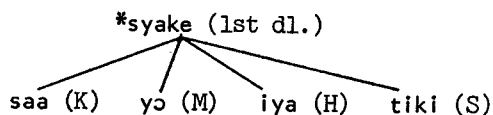
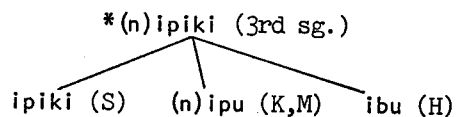
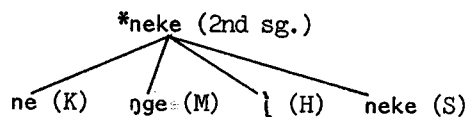
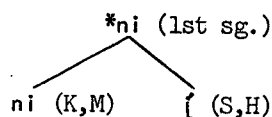
#### SET A

|     | Singular         | Dual      | Plural  |
|-----|------------------|-----------|---------|
| 1st | *ni              | *syake    | *nyiki  |
| 2nd | *neke            | *nipiliki | *nimiki |
| 3rd | *ipiki ~ *nipiki | *nipiliki | *nimuki |

Set A is represented in the present day languages of S, K, M, and H as follows:

<sup>1</sup>Editors' note: D.C. Laycock (see 2.11.3.5.1. in this volume) classifies Pinai as a member of the Sepik-Ramu Phylum and includes it into the Piawi Stock in the Yuat Sub-Phylum in it. Its apparent link with Enga seems to be attributable to extensive loans from Enga, some of which may be quite archaic and therefore of considerable value to comparative work as attempted in this chapter.





Set B is morphologically more complex than Set A and is represented in present day dialects of E, but also in P and I. In this set person was marked as follows:

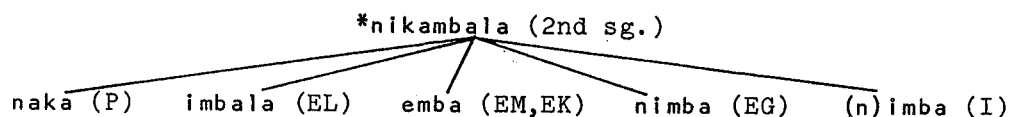
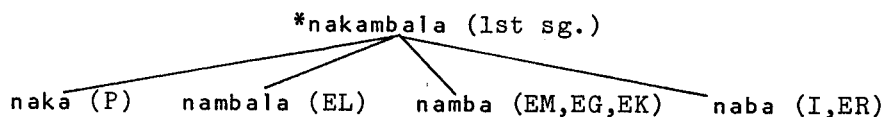
- \*na- 1st person
- \*ni- 2nd person
- \*e- ~ ñe- 3rd person

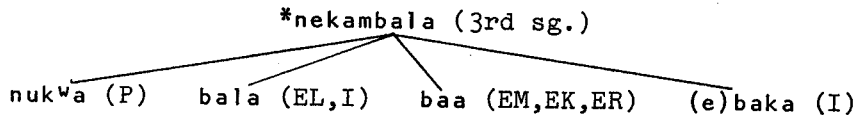
The 1st person forms of P also clearly indicate that it is also possible to consider \*nakya ~ \*naka, \*nikya ~ \*nika, etc. as basic forms.

The form \*-lyi- ~ \*-li- appeared to focus "non-singularity", perhaps in association with \*-kya- ~ \*-ka-.

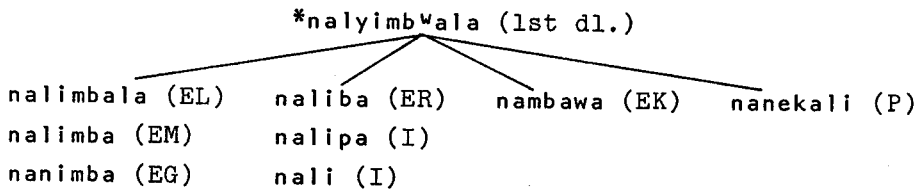
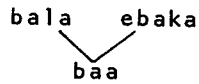
Finally the forms \*-bala ~ \*-mbwala may have marked some syntactic function. On the other hand these may have been derived from some basic set of numerals.

Examples from Set B now follow.

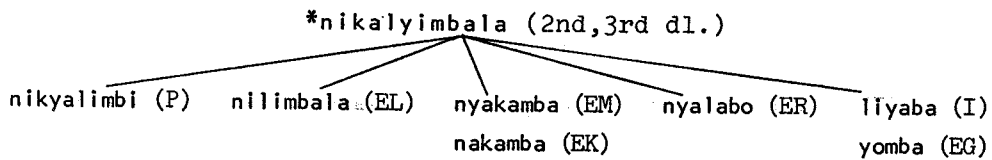




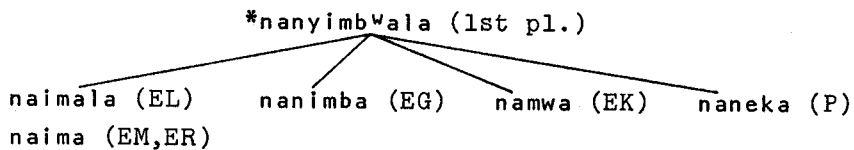
In baa, it is quite probable that an intermediate stage such as the following took place:



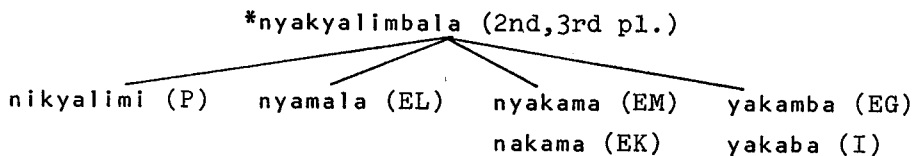
The P forms suggests that a reconstruction of \*nakalyimbwala might be necessary. The 2nd and 3rd dual suggest the same.



The listing of EG below I (above) is meant to suggest that an intermediate stage took place.



The P form is unaccounted for in the reconstruction.



In the above forms it is possible that the 1st dl. and pl. forms were identical in Proto-Engan.

On the basis of the reconstructed pronominal forms, and somewhat tentatively, a series of palatalised phonemes seems evident: /\*ny, \*sy, \*ky, \*ly/, but not \*y. Evidence in the shape of \*mbw may suggest labialised phonemes as well. However, both series may prove to be conditioned by contiguous vowels.

In addition, and on the basis of pronominal forms alone Proto-Engan probably had /\*p, \*k, \*n, \*l, \*m, \*mb, \*i, \*e/ and /\*a/.

The comparison of Wiru with either proto-set is not instructive. However, Wiru and Fasu free pronouns seems to have a closer affinity, as demonstrated in the following table (where the possible Proto-south central forms as suggested by Voorhoeve are also included):

|     | Singular |     |                                | Dual |      | Plural |     |                                |
|-----|----------|-----|--------------------------------|------|------|--------|-----|--------------------------------|
|     | W        | F   | P-SC                           | W    | F    | W      | F   | P-SC                           |
| 1st | no       | ano | nV(p)                          | tota | eto  | toto   | isu | ni(p)                          |
| 2nd | ne       | ne  | <sup>t</sup> <sub>k</sub> V(p) | kita | teto | kiwi   | re  | <sup>t</sup> <sub>k</sub> i(p) |
| 3rd | one      | e   | yV(??)                         | kita | teta | kini   | i   | yi(p?)                         |

Clearly the inclusion of Wiru (or Fasu) in Proto-Engan is tenuous on the basis of the free pronominal forms as reconstructed in this section.

It would not prove surprising if Set B includes numerals such as \*kyambala, \*lyimbala, \*kyalyimbala or simply \*mbala. On the basis of the length of the forms alone this seems quite likely.

Presently the task of suggesting some reconstruction involving Set A and B seems formidable. Probably two proto-sets were present in the parent language; however, some intermediate proto-stage would also be postulated to solve some of the problems - if it is necessary to reconstruct one main set.

#### 2.4.2.5. SOURCES

Acknowledgement is gratefully given to the following for unpublished materials:

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WIRU

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KEWA

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