

# **Pronominal systems in Menya, with a preliminary look at related languages**

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**Abstract:** This paper will present the form and uses of the various pronominal features of the Menya language of Papua New Guinea. Three types of free pronouns are available in Menya, varying in the degree of refinement of identification and of morphological complexity. There are also pronominal affixes and clitics, which will be included in this presentation. The final section of the paper will present comparable data from some of the other Angan languages, with some initial observations about the light they shed on Menya and Proto-Angan.

**Key words:** Menya, pronominal, affix, clitic, Angan

## **Introduction**

This paper will present the form and uses of the various pronominal features of the Menya<sup>1</sup> language of Papua New Guinea. Three types of free pronouns are available in Menya, varying in the degree of refinement of identification and of morphological complexity. There are also pronominal affixes and clitics, which will be included in this presentation. The final section of the paper will present comparable data from some of the other Angan languages, with some initial observations about the light they shed on Menya and Proto-Angan.

### **1. Personal pronouns**

By far the simplest pronouns in terms of both morphological complexity and refinement of identification are the personal pronouns, which are presented in Table 1. In this set of pronouns, Menya distinguishes singular (one referent only), dual (two referents only), and plural (more than two referents) and the three universal persons (speaker, addressee and other). These three persons and three numbers are distinguished throughout the personal reference systems of Menya though, as is the case here with second and third dual, there is usually some degree of conflation of categories. There is no gender differentiation in these pronouns and no inclusive/exclusive distinction for the first person, non-singular forms. The

third person forms are rarely used, relative to the demonstrative pronouns introduced below, to the extent that they are not even mentioned in Jordan’s 1963 manuscript. The third dual form *qe*, which is identical to and probably an extended use of the second dual, has never been observed in the unmarked form but is used in the emphatic pronoun forms given in Table 2.

**Table 1. Personal pronouns**

|               | singular   | dual        | plural    |
|---------------|------------|-------------|-----------|
| <b>first</b>  | <i>nyi</i> | <i>ye</i>   | <i>ne</i> |
| <b>second</b> | <i>si</i>  | <i>qe</i>   | <i>he</i> |
| <b>third</b>  | <i>ki</i>  | <i>(qe)</i> | <i>qu</i> |

These forms are unmarked for case and are used to encode the core arguments in the clause. In (1)<sup>2</sup>, the subjects of the clauses use one of these forms and have been highlighted. In (2), it is the object that is represented as a pronoun. Note that in each of these instances virtually the same information is also provided via the verbal affixes, which are underscored.

- 1) **Qu** *yatŋqä* *e* *äneyqanguwäŋga*, **ne** *yeeqä* *itan*  
*qu* *yatŋqä* *e* *ä-na-i-i-q-aŋg-uwä=ŋga* *ne* *yeeqä* *i-ät-an*  
 3P question thus ASS-1P-do-BEN-PFV-DR-23P/DSO=TIME 1P greet do-SR-1P/CSR

*kimaŋi* *ti* *qe* *ätukuqe*.  
*kimaŋi* *ti* *qe* *ä-w-t-k-qäqu=i*  
 respond thus CERT ASS-3-say-PA/PFV-1P/DSO=IND

‘When they asked this, we greeted them and responded like this.’

- 2) “**Nyi** *äm**b**äsikquwi**qä**.”  
*nyi* *ä-n-päk-ik-q-uwä=i=qä*  
 1S ASS-1S-hit-cook-PR/PFV-23P/DSO=IND=QT  
 ‘“You killed and cooked me (a mythical snake).”’*

In (3), both the subject and the secondary object are free pronoun forms, the primary object being indicated by the first person singular prefix on the verb. This is an instance of beneficiary promotion, whereby the verb is affixed with the beneficiary morpheme, *-i*, and the affectee prefix agrees with the beneficiary instead of agreeing with the addressee. The addressee is still a core argument, encoded by the unmarked form of the pronoun.

- 3) *Ki si kukɲuä änjikqe.*  
*ki si kukɲuä ä-n-t-i-k-qäqä=i*  
 3S 2S talk ASS-1S-say-BEN-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 ‘He spoke to you on my behalf.’

For non-core arguments, one or more case marking clitic is attached to the forms given in Table 1. Table 2 provides the various genitive forms of the personal pronouns. Based on observed usage and native speaker evaluation, there is no discernable difference between the forms with =*qä* and those with =*yaqä* but the former are far more frequent, especially in the non-first persons.

**Table 2. Personal pronouns – genitive & emphatic forms**

|                                  | first<br>sing.                | second<br>sing.              | third<br>sing.   | first<br>dual                   | second<br>or third<br>dual      | first<br>plural                 | second<br>plural                                  | third<br>plural                 |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|
| <b>basic</b>                     | <i>nyi</i>                    | <i>si</i>                    | <i>ki</i>  | <i>ye</i>                       | <i>qe</i>                       | <i>ne</i>                       | <i>he</i>   | <i>qu</i>                       |
| <b>genitive</b><br>= <i>qä</i>   | <i>ɲqä</i><br><i>n=qä</i>     | <i>tqä</i><br><i>t=qä</i>    | <i>kiqä</i><br><i>ki=qä</i>                                    | <i>yeqä</i><br><i>ye=qä</i>     | <i>qeqä</i><br><i>qe=qä</i>     | <i>neqä</i><br><i>ne=qä</i>     | <i>hiqä</i><br><i>he=qä</i>                       | <i>quwqä</i><br><i>qu=qä</i>    |
| <b>genitive</b><br>= <i>yaqä</i> | <i>nyaqä</i><br><i>n=yaqä</i> | <i>saqä</i><br><i>t=yaqä</i> | <i>keyaqä</i><br><i>(kiyaqä<sup>3</sup>)</i><br><i>ki=yaqä</i> | <i>yeyaqä</i><br><i>ye=yaqä</i> | <i>qeyaqä</i><br><i>qe=yaqä</i> | <i>neyaqä</i><br><i>ne=yaqä</i> | <i>heyaqä</i><br><i>~hiyaqä</i><br><i>he=yaqä</i> | <i>quyaqä</i><br><i>qu=yaqä</i> |
| <b>emphatic</b><br>= <i>uä</i>   | <i>näüä</i><br><i>n=uä</i>    | <i>täüä</i><br><i>t=uä</i>   | <i>kiüä</i><br><i>ki=uä</i>                                    | <i>yäüä</i><br><i>ye=uä</i>     | <i>qeüä</i><br><i>qe=uä</i>     | <i>näüä</i><br><i>ne=uä</i>     | <i>hiüä</i><br><i>he=uä</i>                       | <i>quwä</i><br><i>qu=uä</i>     |

These genitive pronouns can function as either the pre-head possessor within an NP (4) or stand alone as an NP in their own right (5). The forms in the last row, labelled emphatic<sup>4</sup>, do not occur in isolation but follow the =*qä* genitive forms to provide an emphatic, often contrastive, focus on the referent (6). Based on the evidence presented here, it is quite likely that at least the first and second singular basic forms derive from the root consonant (*n-* and *t-* respectively) followed by a marker *-i* which triggers palatalization, yielding the forms shown in the table. Irregular morphophonemic processes are in evidence in some of the other forms also.

- 4) ...*neqä aɲämqä*                      *qaɲä qe äwäkuqe.*  
*ne=qä aɲä=m=ɲqä*                      *qaɲä qe ä-wä-k-qäqu=i*  
 1P=POSS house=unseen=GOAL walk CERT ASS-go.down-PA/PFV-1P/DSO=IND  
 ‘...we walked down to our far away home(s).’

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5) *Aḡä nāḡi, nyaqe.*  
*aḡä n=ḡi n=yaqä=i*  
 house level=LOC 1S=POSS=IND  
 ‘The house over there is mine.’

6) *Iḡgaḡi, wäuḡi Dewiti iqu kiqä kiui ikqe.*  
*i=ḡga=ḡi wäuḡä=i Dewiti i=qu ki=qä ki=uä=i i-k-qäqä=i*  
 that=TIME=GVN work=DEF David that=M 3S=POSS 3S=POSS=DEF do-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
  
*Nyi ḡqä kiui ikqe.*  
*nyi n=qä ki=uä=i i-k-qäqä=i*  
 1S 1S=POSS 3S=POSS=DEF do-PA/PFV-1S/DSO=IND  
 ‘At that time, David did his own work. I did my own.’

Both components of the emphatic pronoun generally agree in person and number with the referent, as is expected. The second instance in (6) is, therefore, unusual and the expected *ḡqä nāui* would be acceptable in that context.

**2. Demonstrative pronouns**

As was mentioned above, for reference to a ‘third person’ as opposed to one of the speech act participants, the personal pronouns given above are rarely used. Instead, pronominal forms based on the demonstrative roots are used. These roots are displayed in Table 3, where the asterisk<sup>5</sup> indicates that the root is a bound form and, therefore, cannot stand alone.

**Table 3. Demonstrative roots**

|                | near      | far        | indefinite | exactive   |
|----------------|-----------|------------|------------|------------|
| <b>neutral</b> | <i>tä</i> | <i>i</i>   | <i>*hn</i> | <i>*qä</i> |
| <b>level</b>   |           | <i>*n</i>  |            |            |
| <b>above</b>   |           | <i>*yä</i> |            |            |
| <b>below</b>   |           | <i>*m</i>  |            |            |

The near and far neutral roots have very general meanings, roughly equivalent to ‘this’ and ‘that’ in English, as in (7) and (8).

- 7) “*Tä kiqä kănaipeyqä.*”  
*tä ki=qä k-na=i=pa=i=qä*  
 this 3S=POSS 3-mother=DEF=HON=IND=QT  
 ‘“This is his mother.”’
- 8) *I qäpu hetanğa...*  
*i qäpu h-e-ät-anğ=ŋga*  
 that CMPL NEU-be-IPFV-DR=TIME  
 ‘That being completed, ...’

The overall structure of the demonstrative pronouns is given in the following formula.  
 dem. pronoun → dem. root (gender(person/number)) (object case(oblique case))

The double parentheses indicate that a person/number clitic can not occur without a gender clitic, and that oblique case clitics (such as the possessive) can not occur without the object clitic.

When referring to people, the demonstrative roots normally bear enclitics that, in addition to the three-way number distinction, indicate a four-way gender/class distinction – masculine/neutral, feminine, honourific and diminutive. Appendix 1 displays the resultant forms for all the roots. Table 4 provides the forms that are based on the most frequent of the roots, *i* ‘that’, which is also the most neutral semantically. In terms of deictic reference, this root indicates only that the referent is not near the speaker; it may be within the text (endophoric use) or within the speech act environment (exophoric use). The morphemic analysis of the gender and number categories is given in the label rows.

**Table 4. Demonstrative personal pronouns based on neutral *i* ‘that’; unmarked for case.**

|                     | masculine<br>=qu                 | feminine<br>=i                              | honourific<br>=pa              | diminutive<br>=pu ~ =su          |
|---------------------|----------------------------------|---|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <b>singular</b>     | <i>iqu</i><br><i>i=qu</i>        | <i>ii</i><br><i>i=i</i>                     | <i>ipa</i><br><i>i=pa</i>      | <i>ipu</i><br><i>i=pu</i>        |
| <b>dual</b><br>=aqu | <i>iquaqu</i><br><i>i=qu=aqu</i> | <i>iiuaqu<sup>δ</sup></i><br><i>i=i=aqu</i> | <i>ipequ</i><br><i>i=pa=qu</i> | <i>isuaqu</i><br><i>i=su=aqu</i> |
| <b>plural</b><br>=a | <i>iqua</i><br><i>i=qu=a</i>     | <i>iiua</i><br><i>i=i=a</i>                 | <i>ipe</i><br><i>i=pa=a</i>    | <i>isua</i><br><i>i=su=a</i>     |

The masculine forms are used when all the referents are male (9) or when gender is deemed unimportant. The feminine forms are used when any of the referents are female

and gender is deemed important (10). The honourific forms are used primarily to refer to older people (especially women, as in (11)), and the diminutive to children and unimportant items, but only when the speaker chooses to be specific. Effectively, the masculine is the ‘unmarked’ form and can be used for any referent when the speaker chooses not to specify gender.

- 9) *Iqu suwi qäpu enäqe,...*  
*i=qu suwä=i qäpu e-n-äqä=i*  
 that=M shoe=DEF CMPL be/put-DETR-3S/DSR=DEF  
 ‘He finished putting his shoes on ...’
- 10) *...iuaqu buayä hikä ikikiyi.*  
*i=i=aqu buayä hikä ik-k-iyä=i*  
 that=F=DL sweet.potato stone cook-PA/PFV-23D/DSO=IND  
 ‘...they (two women) cooked the sweet potato in a ground-oven.’
- 11) *Ipa äkunmäkätä qe ätuquque, “...”*  
*i=pa ä-kunmäk-ät-ä qe ä-w-t-q-qäqä=i*  
 that=HON ASS-turn-SR-3S/SRC CESS ASS-w-say-PFV-3S/DSOC=IND  
 ‘She (an older woman) turned (the talk) and told him “...”’

Whereas the personal pronouns given in Table 1 are used for both subject and object arguments, the forms of the demonstrative pronouns given in Table 4 are unmarked for case and primarily used for subject NPs. For use as object NPs, especially when the referent is human and potentially confusable with the subject or actor, a clitic is added which varies according to number: generally =*e* ‘SG’, =*i* ‘DL’ and =*u* ‘PL’, as in (12).

- 12) *Suqä aañä yänänäqñqä tiñä iquau äuyätänqe.*  
*suqä aañä yänänäqñqä ti=ñi i=qu=a=u ä-w-i-ätq-än-qäqä=i*  
 custom truly strong thus=GVN that=M=PL=OJ ASS-3-do-PRGV-IPFV-1S/DSO=IND  
 ‘I give them the strongest instructions in this way.’

These object forms are used as the base for the genitive forms (13) and for other oblique cases. Table 5 gives the object and genitive equivalents of the masculine forms from Table 4. It will be noted that there are again two genitive suffixes but that the second is =*uä* rather than =*yaqä*. The differences between the two genitive suffixes are not clearly delineated but there are contexts where one is preferred. For example, when the head noun is *kukñuä* ‘talk’, the =*uä* form is preferred, as in (14). The emphatic pronoun is again

formed by the juxtaposition of two forms, the first being the =*qä* genitive and the second being the emphatic form of the personal pronoun, *kiuä* etc, as in (15).

**Table 5. Object and genitive forms of neutral masculine demonstrative pronouns**

|                                | singular                                      | dual                                       | plural                               |
|--------------------------------|---|--|--------------------------------------|
| <b>object</b><br>=V            | <i>ique</i><br><i>i=qu=e</i>                  | <i>iquaqui</i><br><i>i=qu=aqu=i</i>        | <i>iquau</i><br><i>i=qu=a=u</i>      |
| <b>genitive</b><br>= <i>qä</i> | <i>iqueqä</i><br><i>i=qu=e=qä</i>             | <i>iquaquiyaqä</i><br><i>i=qu=aqu=i=qä</i> | <i>iquauqä</i><br><i>i=qu=a=u=qä</i> |
| <b>genitive</b><br>= <i>ä</i>  | <i>iqueuä</i> <sup>7</sup><br><i>i=qu=e=ä</i> | <i>iquaquiüä</i><br><i>i=qu=aqu=i=ä</i>    | <i>iquauä</i><br><i>i=qu=a=u=ä</i>   |

- 13) ...*iqua* ***iquauqä***                      *ymeqä* *du*                      *motuqapnuwänqä*.  
*i=qu=a* *i=qu=a=u=qä*                      *ymeqä* *n=du*                      *w-mätuqä*<sup>8</sup>-*p-ni-uwä=ηqä*  
that=M=PL that=M=PL=OJ=POSS child level=LOC 3-show-23P/IRR-FUT-23P/DSO=GOAL  
‘... they will teach their (own) children.’
- 14) *Si* ***iqueuä***                      *kukηuä* *duηi*,                      *qänaknä* *itn*,...  
*si* *i=qu=e=uä*                      *kukηuä* *n=tu=ηi*                      *qänaki=nä* *i-ät-n*  
2S that=M=OJ=POSS talk level=LOC=GVN follow=FCS do-SR-2S/CSR  
‘You are to follow in his instructions and...’
- 15) ***Iqueqä***                      ***kiuä***                      *hiηuä* *änqänänηqerηqä*  
*i=qu=e=qä*                      *ki=uä*                      *hiηuä* *ä-n-q-n-än-qäqä=i=ηqä*  
that=M=OJ=POSS 3=POSS eye ASS-1S-act-DETR-IPFV-3S/DSOC=DEF=GOAL  
*tätηqe*.  
*t-ät=ηqä=i*  
say-3S/IRR=GOAL=IND  
‘He needs to say that he himself saw me.’

The demonstrative personal pronouns shown thus far are those based on the most neutral demonstrative root *i* ‘that’. This set of demonstrative pronouns is by far the most frequent but, nevertheless, only one of eleven sets, all of which can potentially occur in all the forms that have been introduced. Table 6 provides the masculine singular form of each of the demonstrative pronoun sets. The nominative form for all number/gender combinations is given in Appendix 1. Nine of them are deictically based, indicating degrees of distance and/or elevation relative to the speaker.<sup>9</sup> The additional two are the indefinite and the ‘exactive’, which indicates roughly ‘the very one(s)’. It should be noted that the

root *i* ‘that’ neutralizes both the degrees of removal (mid and far) from the speaker and the elevation distinctions, and that there are two forms having the ‘mid, below’ meaning. Note also that the masculine clitic for the ‘far’ roots is =*ɲu* rather than =*qu*; this pattern extends also to the dual and plural forms yielding, for instance, *yäɲuaqu* ‘the two way up there’ and *mäɲua* ‘those way down there’.

**Table 6. Masculine singular demonstrative pronouns.**

|                | near   | mid  | far   | indefinite                                    | exactive   |
|----------------|--|--|---|---|--|
| <b>neutral</b> | <i>tuqu</i><br><i>tä=qu</i><br><b>this one</b> | <i>iqu</i><br><i>i=qu</i><br><b>that one</b>                               |   | <i>ɲɲqu</i><br><i>ɲn=qu</i><br><b>someone</b> | <i>qäqu</i><br><i>qä=qu</i><br><b>the very one</b> |
| <b>level</b>   |  | <i>nequ</i><br><i>n=e=qu</i><br><b>the one there</b>                       | <i>näɲu</i><br><i>n=ɲu</i><br><b>the one way over there</b> |   |  |
| <b>above</b>   |  | <i>yequ</i><br><i>y=e=qu</i><br><b>the one up there</b>                    | <i>yäɲu</i><br><i>yä=ɲu</i><br><b>the one way up there</b>  |   |  |
| <b>below</b>   |  | <i>mequ ~ biqu</i><br><i>m=e=qu ~ m=ti=qu</i><br><b>the one down there</b> | <i>mäɲu</i><br><i>m=ɲu</i><br><b>the one way down there</b> |   |  |

The seven sets that specify elevation are only used exophorically, with spatial reference as in (16).

16) *Yäɲu täqisanji.*

*yä=ɲu tä=qi=ta=ɲji*

up=M this=LOC=ORIG=IND

‘The fellow up there is from here.’

The four neutral forms on the other hand are frequently (exclusively for the indefinite and exactive forms) used with textual (anaphoric or cataphoric) reference or with what has elsewhere<sup>10</sup> been called psychological reference. As is the case in many languages, the near demonstrative forms are often used cataphorically, pointing forward in the text to a referent that is about to be identified. In Menya, they are also used as interrogative pronouns when a human referent is expected as in (17).



- 17) *Mbqe, si tuque äwikhäwä?*  
*mbqä=i si tä=qu=e ä-w-i-k-ḥä=wä*  
 money=DEF 2S this=M=OJASS-3-do-PA/PFV-2S/DSO=INFOQ  
 ‘To whom did you give the money?’

All of the demonstrative pronominal forms that have been presented to this point have third person referents and are functioning as free-standing pronouns. They can also occur as post-head specifiers in the noun phrase<sup>11</sup> and, especially in that context but also occasionally when used as pronouns, the referent can be one of the speech act participants. The formula given above for the demonstrative pronoun included an optional person/number clitic. The examples to this point have all had third person referents and the clitics =*aqu* and =*a* could more fully be glossed as ‘=3DL’ and ‘=3PL’ rather than as simply ‘=DL’ and ‘=PL’. Table 7 shows the masculine and feminine form for all persons, based on the neutral demonstrative root, *i* ‘that’, with the personalizing clitic highlighted in the morphemic analysis. The third person forms are, of course, those introduced earlier in Table 4. The first person clitics are recognizable as the personal pronouns from Table 1 but the second person forms are unique.

**Table 7. Masculine and feminine neutral demonstratives – subject form.**

|                      | m/sing                          | m/dual                             | m/plural                           | f/sing.                      | f/dual                            | f/plural                          |
|----------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <b>first person</b>  | <i>iqun(ä)</i><br><i>i=qu=n</i> | <i>iquye</i><br><i>i=qu=ye</i>     | <i>iqune</i><br><i>i=qu=ne</i>     | <i>iinyä</i><br><i>i=i=n</i> | <i>iiüäye</i><br><i>i=i=äye</i>   | <i>iine</i><br><i>i=i=ne</i>      |
| <b>second person</b> | <i>iquki</i><br><i>i=qu=ki</i>  | <i>iquangu</i><br><i>i=qu=angu</i> | <i>iquen(yä)</i><br><i>i=qu=en</i> | <i>iiki</i><br><i>i=i=ki</i> | <i>iiuangu</i><br><i>i=i=angu</i> | <i>iiuen(yä)</i><br><i>i=i=en</i> |
| <b>third person</b>  | <i>iqu</i><br><i>i=qu</i>       | <i>iquaqu</i><br><i>i=qu=aqu</i>   | <i>iqua</i><br><i>i=qu=a</i>       | <i>ii</i><br><i>i=i</i>      | <i>iiuaqu</i><br><i>i=i=aqu</i>   | <i>iiua</i><br><i>i=i=a</i>       |

In (18), the speaker wishes to refer to any one of the addressees and so uses the second singular form of the indefinite demonstrative; the regular second singular or plural pronoun from Table 1 would refer to one specific member of the audience or all of the audience collectively, rather than the generic ‘any one of you’ desired here. Examples (19)<sup>12</sup> and (20) provide further instances of using the first and second person clitics, but on demonstratives used as specifiers rather than as pronouns.

- 18) *Hḥquki quwä ämatqe...*  
*hn=qu=ki quwä ä-ma-t-qä=i*  
 INDEF=M=2S steal ASS-get-2S/IRR-GEN=DEF  
 ‘Should one of you steal something...?’

- 19) *Nyi täŋgaŋi Matiu iquki kukŋuä hui yatŋä*  
*nyi tä=ŋga=ŋi Matiu i=qu=k=i kukŋuä hn=i yatŋä*  
 1S this=TIME=GVN Matthew that=M=2S=OJ talk INDEF=F ask

*kimqe.*

*k-i-m=ŋqä=i*

2S-do-1S/IRR=GOAL=IND

‘I’m now going to ask you Matthew something.’

- 20) *Ne ämaqä qokä iqune yiämisaŋä huiyinä qe äŋguque.*  
*ne ämaqä qokä i=qu=ne yiämisaŋä huiyi=nä qe ä-n-k-qäqu=i*  
 1P person man that=M=1P food other=FCS CERT ASS-eat-PA/PFV-1P/DSO=IND

‘Then we men ate some other food.’

### 3. Dyadic kin pronouns

In addition to personal pronouns, and demonstrative pronouns, the Menya speakers also have available an extensive set of pronouns that refer to two or more people who are in a specific, kin-based relationship. Most of these, and certainly the most-frequently used of them, are those referring to members of the same nuclear family, though there are also pronouns for other kin combinations involving the parents of the mother and father (i.e. grandparents & in-laws). The kin relationships encoded by these dyadic pronouns closely reflect which people a Menya person interacts with most. In addition to one’s immediate, nuclear family, it is grandparents who are most likely to share one’s home as an elderly widow(er). The inclusion of in-laws is not exceptional either since, especially for a Menya man, his relationship with his wife’s family can be closer than that with his own brother. Uxorilocality, living on the wife’s family’s property rather than husband’s family’s, is quite common, leading to much interaction between the man and his parents-in-law and brothers-in-law.

The dyadic pronouns consist of the appropriate 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> personal pronoun root or a demonstrative root (for 3<sup>rd</sup> person), a dyad clitic<sup>13</sup> specifying the relationship, and a person-number clitic. As with the other pronouns, their role in the clause is indicated by one or more additional role clitics. By comparison with the structure of demonstrative pronouns, therefore, the dyad clitics are substitutes for, or an extension of, the gender system. This analysis is in accord with Lloyd’s analysis of the Baruya dyad terms (Lloyd 1989:24). The forms of the morphemes are given in Table 8; the nominative forms for each dyadic relationship are given in Appendix 2. The personal clitics are clearly related to

those introduced in Table 7, with the plural forms retaining the masculine clitic =*qu* in all instances. Needless to say, the pronominal root and the personal clitic need to agree in both person and number.

**Table 8. Dyadic pronoun template.**

| Pronominal root |                        | Dyadic clitic |             |                        | Personal clitic |                        |
|-----------------|------------------------|---------------|-------------|------------------------|-----------------|------------------------|
|                 |                        | Form          | Definition  | Sample relationship    |                 |                        |
| <i>yä</i>       | 1 <sup>st</sup> dual   | = <i>mät</i>  | 1 gen; -f   | father-son             | = <i>qiye</i>   | 1 <sup>st</sup> dual   |
| <i>nä</i>       | 1 <sup>st</sup> plural | = <i>mb</i>   | 1 gen; +f   | parent-child           | = <i>qune</i>   | 1 <sup>st</sup> plural |
| <i>qe</i>       | 2 <sup>nd</sup> dual   | = <i>ngui</i> | =; //; -f   | brothers               | = <i>ngi</i>    | 2 <sup>nd</sup> dual   |
| <i>e</i>        | 2 <sup>nd</sup> plural | = <i>nesu</i> | =; //; f    | sisters                | = <i>quen</i>   | 2 <sup>nd</sup> plural |
| <i>i</i>        | 3 <sup>rd</sup>        | = <i>qut</i>  | =; X; m+f   | brother-sister         | = <i>aqi</i>    | 3 <sup>rd</sup> dual   |
|                 |                        | = <i>wät</i>  | 2 gen; -f   | grandfather-grandson   | = <i>qua</i>    | 3 <sup>rd</sup> plural |
|                 |                        | = <i>t</i>    | 2 gen; +f   | grandparent-grandchild |                 |                        |
|                 |                        | = <i>nais</i> | 1 gen; law  | man-wife's parent      |                 |                        |
|                 |                        | = <i>mbät</i> | =; law      | man-wife's brother     |                 |                        |
|                 |                        | = <i>uy</i>   | =; m+f; law | man-wife               |                 |                        |

Key:

|       |                                |     |  |
|-------|--------------------------------|-----|--|
| =     | ‘same generation’              | law | ‘marital rather than blood relationship’ |
| 1 gen | ‘1 generation apart’           | +f  | ‘at least one female included’           |
| 2 gen | ‘2 generations apart’          | -f  | ‘males only included’                    |
| //    | ‘siblings or parallel cousins’ | f   | ‘females only included’                  |
| X     | ‘cross-cousins’                | m+f | ‘male and female included’               |

As stated above, there is not a kin pronoun for every combination of kin and they do not vary according to the deictic referent – that is, ‘I and my son’ is the same as ‘I and my father’ for a male speaker since both denote the father-son relationship. The gender-neutral parent/child and grandparent/grandchild forms are only used when at least one female is included. Thus, the form in (21) can not refer to a father and his sons but could refer to a mother and her daughters or any parent-child group with both genders included.

- 21) “*Himbuquen mayqä ipunuwiqä.*”  
*hi=mb=qu=en ma-y-qä i-p-n-uwä=i=qä*  
 2P-parent.child=M=2P NEG-go.up-DVZR do-23P/IRR-FUT-23P/DSO=IND=QT  
 ‘“You and your family will not go up.”’

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- 22) “*Qe nyaqä buayä hiki hiñuä qunyyäñqä binyqä!*”  
*qe n=yaqä buayä hikä=i hiñuä w-q-n-iny=ñqä p-iny=qä*  
 2D 1S=POSS food stone=DEF eye 3-act-DETR-23D/IRR=GOAL come-23D/IRR=QT  
 ‘“You two come to see my ground oven!”’

The use of these pronouns is not obligatory. For example, the referent of *qe* ‘you two’ in (22) is a man and his father-in-law so the more specific *qenaisangi* would have been equally acceptable. Rather, they are available to use when the speaker wishes to draw attention to or ‘profile’ the relationship between the referents.

- 23) *Qembangqä qeuä yaqä qeyqanğani...*  
*qe-mb=angi=qä qe=uä yaqä qe-i-q-anğ=ñga=ñi*  
 2D-parent/child=2D=POSS 2D=POSS sick 2D-do-PFV-DR=TIME=GVN  
 ‘Only you two (mother & daughter), when you are sick, ...’

The question has been raised as to whether these forms are correctly analysed as dyadic pronouns, rather than as dyadic nouns. The primary evidences for their status as pronouns is 1) the fact that the roots used are the same as those used in other pronouns, and 2) their structure is parallel to the demonstrative pronouns. Additional evidence is their potential to be used in the emphatic pronoun construction which has already been described and illustrated for the personal and demonstrative pronouns. In (23), the speaker is denying having made a statement that applied to the husband/father of the mother and daughter he is addressing – his statement only referred to the two of them when they were sick.

- 24a) \**Añi, apiqueqä kiüä ämätkqe.*  
*añä=i ap=i-qu=e=qä ki=uä ä-mät-k-qäqä=i*  
 house=DEF 1<sup>st</sup>’s.father=DEF=M=OJ=POSS 3S=POSS ASS-build-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND
- b) *Añi, apiqu kiqä kiüä ämätkqe.*  
*añä=i ap=i-qu ki=qä ki=uä ä-mät-k-qäqä=i*  
 house=DEF 1<sup>st</sup>’s.father=DEF=M 3S=POSS 3S=POSS ASS-build-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 ‘That house, my father himself built.’

By contrast, not even kin nouns can participate in this construction. Attempts to elicit such phrases, as in (24a) are corrected to (24b) in which the emphatic pronoun phrase is given in apposition to the kin noun.

### 3.1 Comparison with dyad forms elsewhere

Evans (2003a, b, & 2005) has reported the results of his survey of dyad forms in other languages, and their likely diachronic sources. A few comments are in order here, relating Menya to the patterns recorded elsewhere. The heaviest concentration of dyad forms is in the languages of Australia and the Western Pacific with scattered instances elsewhere.

In most instances, the dyad morphemes are either extended uses of, or derivatives of, another category of information affixed to a kin term to form a noun or a verb. There are rare instances of a ‘dedicated affix’ deriving dyad forms from kin terms but dedicated roots, that define the relationship rather than affixing to a kin term, are restricted to PNG in the data Evans has seen. Most of the Menya dyad clitics are dedicated forms (albeit clitics rather than roots in the current analysis) but some are clearly related to kin noun roots, as displayed in Table 9.

**Table 9. Dyad clitics and cognate kin noun roots**

| Dyad clitic                          | Kin noun root                        |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| = <i>ŋgui</i><br>brothers            | <i>ŋgua</i><br>younger brother       |
| = <i>wät</i><br>grandfather-grandson | <i>aw</i><br>grandfather or grandson |
| = <i>mbät</i><br>man-wife’s brother  | <i>mbe</i><br>man’s brother-in-law   |

In Menya, the grandfather-grandson and man’s wife’s brother relationships are both symmetrical – the same kin term is used by either side of the dyad to address the other. The brothers relationship, however, is asymmetrical given that there are distinct terms for older and younger brother. The correlation between the dyad clitic and the kin noun root for younger brother is unusual in that the norm for the formation of dyad terms with asymmetric relationships is for the senior kin term to be used.

Evans also reports that, contrary to the universal norm for dual forms to be marked relative to plural forms, dyad morphemes frequently exhibit the reverse. If both plural and dual forms exist, the plural form is usually rarer and often morphologically derived from the dual. In Menya, there is no such preference for the dual over the plural. The only possible evidence for a priority of dual dyads over plural dyads is the observation that the plural forms use the masculine gender clitic =*qu* in all forms and use the pronominal roots for the first person forms whereas the non-first, dual forms are distinct from the pronominal roots and do not retain the =*qu*. The first dual dyad form is not clearly either. It could be argued

that the dual forms were original or developed earlier, and the plural forms developed later to complete the pattern.

In the process of compiling pronominal data from other Angan languages, note was also taken of data relating to dyad terms. Evans (2005) has already referenced Baruya, Kapau and Menya as exhibiting them. This is also true of Angave (Speece ms. 139) but not of Tainae or Akoye. In each language that has these forms, the structure is similar but the number of dyads for which there are terms varies considerably. Lloyd (1989:24) reports Baruya, the northwesternmost of the Angan languages, as having 22 dyadic clitics covering almost all kin relationships, and illustrates them occurring on nominal roots as well as pronominal and demonstratives. As illustrated above, Menya has ten distinct clitics referring to the dyad relationships that are most commonly found within the residential unit of nuclear family plus elderly parents. Kapau (Oates & Oates 1968:166-169) has nine terms covering almost the same relationships as Menya. Speece (ms. p139) describes Angave as having only three terms and they are more broadly defined: males of mixed generation, females of mixed generation, and children<sup>14</sup>. It is probably not coincidental that Angave is between Baruya, which has the most dyad terms, and Tainae and Akoye, which have lost this feature completely. Yagwoia is between Baruya and Angave and I do not have data for it, but Yagwoia's closest 'relatives' are Kapau and Menya so it quite likely has a moderate number of dyad terms also. Personal communication with Aindei Wainzo, a native speaker of Angaatihia which is the least related member of the family and spoken in the northeast of Anga territory, indicates that it is more like Angave, having fewer but more broadly defined terms.

#### **4. Pronominal affixes**

The focus of this paper thus far has been the presentation of pronominals as free form NPs within the clause or phrase. As has already been noted, there are pronominal prefixes and suffixes on the Menya verb that agree in person and number with some of the core arguments. In this section of the paper, these and other pronominal affixes will be presented and briefly compared.

##### **4.1 Actor suffixes**

The verb suffix agrees in person and number with the ACTOR, defined as 'the entity performing the predicated event/situation', which in most clauses is also the SUBJECT and the CLAUSE TOPIC. There are five distinct sets of actor person/number suffixes, each being portmanteau with additional semantic and/or pragmatic information<sup>15</sup>. The proposed

underlying forms are presented in Table 10. The irrealis set in particular exhibits several variations according to various paradigms. There are some obvious form correlations, especially between the irrealis and SR sets, but not enough to merge any of them in a practical way. It should also be obvious that there is no correlation between these actor suffix sets and the pronominal roots presented above.

**Table 10. Actor person/number suffix sets**

| Set label            | 1 <sup>st</sup> sing | 2 <sup>nd</sup> sing | 3 <sup>rd</sup> sing | 1 <sup>st</sup> dual | 2/3 dual | 1 <sup>st</sup> plural | 2/3 plural |
|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------|------------------------|------------|
| <b>Associative</b>   | -ä                   | -n                   | -i                   | -ue                  | -iny     | -u                     | -ä         |
| <b>Dissociative</b>  | -qäqä                | -ŋä                  | -qäqä                | -ueä                 | -iyä     | -qäqu                  | -uwä       |
| <b>Irrealis</b>      | -m                   | -t                   | -ä(t)                | -e                   | -i(ny)   | -a(tu) ~ -an           | -p         |
| <b>SR dependent</b>  | -mä                  | -ŋä                  | -äqä                 | -ayä                 | -iyä     | -anä ~ -aqä            | -piyä      |
| <b>SR coordinate</b> | -m                   | -n                   | -ä                   | -a                   | -(i)ny   | -an                    | -pu        |

#### 4.2 Affectee prefixes

The verb prefix references the person and number of the AFFECTEE, which is defined as ‘an entity, other than the actor, that is affected by the predication.’ This entity is normally human and, in most clauses, is also the primary object. The forms are given in Table 11 and Appendix 3 provides a sample of verbs showing the variations in form according to the initial sound of the following root. It will be noted that there is no number differentiation for the third person. For many verb roots there is no third person prefix or it is a zero allomorph. Apart from the second singular and the third person, these morphemes are clearly related to the pronominal morphemes that occur in the free pronouns. It should also be noted that the second/dual prefix *qe-* consistently triggers palatalisation of a following *t* to *s*, whereas the second/plural *e-* never does. This would suggest that the vowels of the two prefixes are underlyingly different. The free pronoun forms provided for Menya by Lloyd (probably from Jordan who worked among the Menya between 1954 and 1964) confirm this for an earlier stage of Menya. He provides *qäi* for ‘you two’ and *he* for ‘you plural’.

**Table 11. Verb prefixes indicating affectee**

|               | singular      | dual       | plural     |
|---------------|---------------|------------|------------|
| <b>first</b>  | <i>n-</i>     | <i>ya-</i> | <i>na-</i> |
| <b>second</b> | <i>k-</i>     | <i>qe-</i> | <i>e-</i>  |
| <b>third</b>  | <i>w- ~ ø</i> |            |            |





- 29) Experiencer of desire  
*Si buayäŋqä äkĩŋgi?*  
*si buayä=ŋqä ä-k-i-n-q-i*  
 2S food=GOAL ASS-2S-do-DETR-PFV-3S/ASO  
 ‘Do you want (some) food?’
- 30) Recipient  
*Iqu qawä hŋquaqu qe äyätapqə.*  
*i=qu qawä hn=qu=aqu qe ä-ya-tap-k-qäqä=i*  
 that=M taro INDEF=M=DL CERT ASS-1D-give-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 ‘He gave the two of us two taros.’
- 31) Beneficiary  
*Nami kŋuä hui qe äyatuikqäqə.*  
*Nami kŋuä hn=i qe ä-ya-tu-i-k-qäqä=i*  
 Naomi sugar INDEF=F CERT ASS-1D-harvest-BEN-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 ‘Naomi harvested some sugarcane for the two of us.’
- 32) Possessive source  
*Iqu ŋqä mbqä äŋmakqäqə.*  
*i=qu n=qä mbqä ä-n-ma-k-qäqä=i*  
 that=M 1S=POSS money ASS-1S-get-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 ‘He took my money.’

### 4.3 Kin nouns

The other word class that exhibits a person/number affix is that of kin nouns, which is the only class of obligatorily possessed nouns in Menya. The roots for most kin terms are bound forms requiring a prefix agreeing in person (and number to a limited degree) with the person(s) to whom the referent is related (loosely speaking, the ‘possessor’). In most occurrences, the kin root also bears one or more of the clitics specifying the person, number and gender of the referent. These kin nouns constitute a closed class; a partial paradigm for each member is given in Appendix 4. The analysis of kin nouns is complicated by a high degree of suppletion and/or allomorphic variation. For most of the kin terms, the root indicating a first-person possessor is at least partially different from that for a second or third person possessor and there is therefore no need for a prefix to indicate first person. For example, the root for ‘my/our father’ is *ap-* but, for other persons, it is *-n-* with a

prefix identifying the possessor. The prefix for the first person is, therefore, quite rare. Additionally, some roots consistently use singular prefixes regardless of the number of the ‘possessor’; other roots reference number for second person possessors only. Table 12 and Table 13 show the possessor prefixes and the third-person enclitics respectively; their relatedness to the personal pronouns (Table 1) and the demonstrative gender/number clitics (Table 4) is transparent. The parentheses in Table 12 reflect the limited usage of those prefixes, whereas those in Table 13 indicate variation in the form of the enclitics.

**Table 12. Person-number prefixes for kin nouns**

|                      | singular | dual  | plural |
|----------------------|----------|-------|--------|
| <b>my/our</b>        | (n-)     |       |        |
| <b>your</b>          | t-       | (qe-) | (hi-)  |
| <b>her/his/their</b> | k- ~ ka- |       |        |

**Table 13. Kin term gender/number enclitics for 3<sup>rd</sup> person referents**

|               | singular | plural                   |
|---------------|----------|--------------------------|
| <b>male</b>   | =(i)qu   | =(iqu)kua ~ =äka ~ =uŋua |
| <b>female</b> | =i(pa)   | =(ip)aqä ~ =iya          |

The variations in the form of the person-number clitics, for both male and female relatives, show little<sup>18</sup> readily-discernable pattern in their distribution. Much of the specific information about the form of kin nouns will, therefore, need to be given in the lexicon. Table 14 displays the forms of the root *ap-* ~ *-n-* ‘father’ where the referent is a third person. Table 15 displays those for *yämaq* ‘female cross cousin’.

**Table 14. Third person referent forms of *ap-* ~ *-n-* ‘father’**

|                              | my/our   | your (sing)  | your (dual)  | your (plural)   | her/his/their                                       |
|------------------------------|--|--|--|---|---|
| <b>singular<br/>“father”</b> | <i>apiqu</i><br><i>ap=i=qu</i><br>‘my/our father’        | <i>tniqu</i><br><i>t-n=i=qu</i><br>‘your father’   | <i>qeniqu</i><br><i>qe-n=i=qu</i><br>‘you2’s father’   | <i>hiniqu</i><br><i>hi-n=i=qu</i><br>‘y’all’s father’   | <i>kaniqu</i><br><i>ka-n=i=qu</i><br>‘3’s father’   |
| <b>plural<br/>“fathers”</b>  | <i>ap(iq)ukua</i><br><i>ap=u=kua</i><br>‘my/our fathers’ | <i>tnuŋua</i><br><i>t-n=ŋu=a</i><br>‘your fathers’ | <i>qenuŋua</i><br><i>qe-n=ŋu=a</i><br>‘you2’s fathers’ | <i>hinuŋua</i><br><i>hi-n=ŋu=a</i><br>‘y’all’s fathers’ | <i>kanuŋua</i><br><i>ka-n=ŋu=a</i><br>‘3’s fathers’ |

**Table 15. Third person referent forms for *yämaq* 'female cross cousin'**

|                             | my/our                                 | your (sing)                           | your (dual)                              | your (plural)                            | her/his/their                            |
|-----------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|--|--|--|
| <b>singular</b><br>"cousin" | <i>nyämaq</i><br><i>n-yämaq=i</i>      | <i>sämaq</i><br><i>t-yämaq=i</i>      | <i>qeyämaq</i><br><i>qe-yämaq=i</i>      | <i>hiyämaq</i><br><i>hi-yämaq=i</i>      | <i>käyämaq</i><br><i>kä-yämaq=i</i>      |
| <b>plural</b><br>"cousins"  | <i>nyämaqiya</i><br><i>n-yämaq=iya</i> | <i>sämaqiya</i><br><i>t-yämaq=iya</i> | <i>qeyämaqiya</i><br><i>qe-yämaq=iya</i> | <i>hiyämaqiya</i><br><i>hi-yämaq=iya</i> | <i>käyämaqiya</i><br><i>kä-yämaq=iya</i> |

Where the referent is other than third person, the same clitics given in Table 7 are added, as in (33).

- 33) *Nyi hiqä hiniqun nyuänjiquñji.*  
*nyi hi=qä hi-n=i=qu=n nyuänjä=i=qu=n=ji*  
 1S 2P=POSS 2P-father=DEF=M=1S head=DEF=M=1S=IND  
 'I your father am the head (of you).'

Where the referent is indefinite, as in (34), the indefinite demonstrative root bears the gender and number enclitics.

- 34) *Dqä apä hñqu huäqi äpäkongqe.*  
*n=qä ap hn=qu huäqi ä-päkon-q-qäqä=i*  
 1S=POSS 1<sup>st</sup>s.father INDEF=M yesterday ASS-die-PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'One of my fathers died yesterday.'

### 5. Developing the bigger picture

This final section will be the first steps towards postulating an underlying or original set of pronouns for Menya and the Angan family of which it is a part. Lloyd 1973 presented the first and, to date, most significant gathering of data on the Angan language family. What is presented here is an update of only one aspect of the range of data he presented. At the time of Lloyd's study, documented research beyond initial survey-type gathering of data had been conducted in only four or five of the twelve Angan languages. Since then, SIL members have done extensive work in four more of the languages and this new data will be incorporated into this compilation.

The primary focus here will be on the forms used in the free pronouns and those other parts of the grammar where clearly related forms are used. Table 16 presents a compilation of such forms for Menya that have already been presented in this paper. Subsequent tables will present comparable data from other Angan languages. I have adjusted the orthography of the other languages to more closely match that of Menya, not with the intent that the

Menya orthography is more accurate or more efficient, but merely to enable a better comparison. Most, if not all, of the languages have equivalents of the Menya gender-differentiated demonstrative pronouns but the presentation of Free form and Possessive data is limited to the non-demonstrative forms. The patterns of usage for these two variations may vary from language to language.

**Table 16. Menya pronominal forms**

|                                       | 1 <sup>st</sup><br>sing   | 1 <sup>st</sup><br>dual        | 1 <sup>st</sup><br>plural     | 2 <sup>nd</sup><br>sing | 2 <sup>nd</sup><br>dual       | 2 <sup>nd</sup><br>plural    | 3 <sup>rd</sup><br>sing | 3 <sup>rd</sup><br>dual | 3 <sup>rd</sup><br>plural |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| <b>Free forms</b>                     | <i>nyi</i>                | <i>ye</i>                      | <i>ne</i>                     | <i>si</i>               | <i>qe</i>                     | <i>he</i>                    | <i>ki</i>               | <i>(qe)</i>             | <i>qu</i>                 |
| <b>Possessive roots</b>               | <i>n</i>                  | <i>ye ~ yä</i>                 | <i>ne ~ nä</i>                | <i>t</i>                | <i>qe</i>                     | <i>hi ~ he</i>               | <i>ki ~ ke</i>          | <i>qe</i>               | <i>quw</i>                |
| <b>Affectee prefix</b>                | <i>n-</i><br><i>m ~ ŋ</i> | <i>ya-</i><br><i>~ yä ~ ye</i> | <i>na-</i><br><i>~nä ~ ne</i> | <i>k-</i>               | <i>qe-</i><br><i>(+palsn)</i> | <i>e-</i><br><i>(-palsn)</i> | <i>(w- ~ u) ~ ø</i>     |                         |                           |
| <b>Kin noun prefix</b>                | <i>(n-)</i>               |                                |                               | <i>t-</i>               | <i>(qe-)</i>                  | <i>(hi-)</i>                 | <i>kä-</i>              |                         |                           |
| <b>Kin pronoun root</b>               | --                        | <i>yä ~ ye</i>                 | <i>nä ~ ne</i>                | --                      | <i>qe</i>                     | <i>hi</i>                    | --                      | <i>i</i>                | <i>i</i>                  |
| <b>Person clitics on NPs</b>          | <i>=n</i>                 | <i>=(ä)ye</i>                  | <i>=ne</i>                    | <i>=ki</i>              | <i>=aŋgu</i>                  | <i>=en</i>                   | <i>ø</i>                | <i>=aqu</i>             | <i>=a</i>                 |
| <b>Person clitics on kin pronouns</b> |                           | <i>=qiye</i>                   | <i>=qune</i>                  |                         | <i>=aŋgi</i>                  | <i>=quen</i>                 |                         | <i>=aqi</i>             | <i>=qua</i>               |
| <b>Base form</b>                      | <i>n</i>                  | <i>ya (~ ye)</i>               | <i>na(~ne)</i>                | <i>t</i>                | <i>qe</i>                     | <i>hi ~ (h)e</i>             | <i>kV</i>               |                         | <i>qu</i>                 |
| <b>alternate</b>                      |                           |                                |                               | <i>k</i>                | <i>aŋgV</i>                   | <i>en</i>                    | <i>w</i>                |                         |                           |

The Base form line in the above chart is an initial proposal for the base forms of the pronouns underlying this set, based on language internal evidence. The parenthesized forms are variants of the base form whereas the alternate line presents distinct morphemes that are used in some contexts. The suggestion was made after Table 2 that at least the first and second singular pronouns are bimorphemic with an *=i* being added to the base form. The proposal given here extends this bimorphemic structure to all the free forms, though there is no evidence for it in the third plural. There is evidence elsewhere in the language for a sequence of *ä=i* yielding *=e* and for *a-V* yielding *e*.

In the realm of general observations, it is perhaps significant that those contexts where the second singular form is *k* are places where the third singular is not *k*. The non-first clitics are all seemingly from a different source, except the second singular, so perhaps the correspondence between *=ki* and the verb prefix *k-* is accidental.

In the following tables presenting data from some of the other Angan languages, I have added my first impression of base forms and alternates. I have not yet, at this stage, checked with the original authors to see if they attempted any such generalisation.

There are extensive similarities both in terms of the patterns displayed and of the

actual morphemes themselves. The singular-dual-plural number and first-second-third person contrasts are maintained throughout the language systems with the following exceptions. The verb affixes for object/affectee consistently fail to differentiate number for third person or do not mark third person at all. The kin pronouns do not differentiate number of first or third person possessors, and not always for second person, except that Angave does differentiate for first person and Tainae does differentiate third person. Akoye does not have a dual form except in the personal clitics. Tainae does have a distinct dual for first person but not for second and third, except in the personal clitics.

Table 17. Kapau/Hamde<sup>19</sup> pronominal forms

|                     | 1 <sup>st</sup><br>sing. | 1 <sup>st</sup><br>dual      | 1 <sup>st</sup><br>plural | 2 <sup>nd</sup><br>sing. | 2 <sup>nd</sup><br>dual    | 2 <sup>nd</sup><br>plural | 3 <sup>rd</sup><br>sing. | 3 <sup>rd</sup><br>dual | 3 <sup>rd</sup><br>plural |
|---------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| Free forms          | <i>ni</i>                | <i>yai</i>                   | <i>näi</i>                | <i>nti</i>               | <i>qi</i>                  | <i>häi</i>                | <i>qäi</i>               | <i>qi</i>               | <i>qui</i>                |
| Possessives         | <i>ηqä</i>               | <i>ye'a</i>                  | <i>näi'yä</i>             | <i>ntä</i>               | <i>qi'yä</i>               | <i>häi'yä</i>             | <i>qäi'yä</i>            | <i>qi'yä</i>            | <i>qu'yä</i>              |
| Object px           | <i>n- ~ η-</i>           | <i>ea- ~ e...a</i>           | <i>na-</i>                | <i>qa- ~ a-</i>          | <i>qa'- ~ qa-<br/>~ a-</i> | <i>he-</i>                | <i>u- ~ w-</i>           |                         |                           |
| Kin noun px         | <i>n-</i>                |                              |                           | <i>t- ~ ti-</i>          | <i>q-</i>                  | <i>he-</i>                | <i>qä-</i>               |                         |                           |
| Kin pronoun root    |                          | <i>yai- ~<br/>y(e)- ~yä-</i> | <i>näi- ~n-</i>           |                          | <i>qi- ~ qe-<br/>~q-</i>   | <i>häi- ~ h-</i>          |                          | <i>ä- ~ Ø</i>           | <i>ä- ~ Ø</i>             |
| Person clitics masc | <i>=on</i>               | <i>=qoi</i>                  | <i>=onäi</i>              | <i>=oi</i>               | <i>=qoaηui</i>             | <i>=ohen</i>              | <i>=o<br/>~ =qo</i>      | <i>=qoa'u</i>           | <i>=o'a<br/>~ =o'a</i>    |
| Person clitics fem  | <i>=n</i>                | <i>=sai</i>                  | <i>=iyonäi</i>            | <i>=i</i>                | <i>=saηui</i>              | <i>=iyohen</i>            | <i>=i</i>                | <i>=sa'u</i>            | <i>=i'yoa</i>             |
| Base form           | <i>n</i>                 | <i>(y)e</i>                  | <i>nä</i>                 | <i>(n)t</i>              | <i>qV</i>                  | <i>hV</i>                 | <i>qä</i>                |                         |                           |
| Alternate           |                          | <i>ai</i>                    |                           | <i>(q)a<br/>i</i>        | <i>aηui</i>                | <i>hen</i>                | <i>w</i>                 |                         |                           |

Table 18. Baruya<sup>20</sup> pronominal forms.

|                    | 1 <sup>st</sup><br>sing. | 1 <sup>st</sup><br>dual      | 1 <sup>st</sup><br>plural | 2 <sup>nd</sup><br>sing. | 2 <sup>nd</sup><br>dual    | 2 <sup>nd</sup><br>plural | 3 <sup>rd</sup><br>sing. | 3 <sup>rd</sup><br>dual | 3 <sup>rd</sup><br>plural |
|--------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| Free forms         | <i>nimi</i>              | <i>narimi</i>                | <i>nemi</i>               | <i>ηgimi</i>             | <i>kirimī</i>              | <i>särimī</i>             | <i>ηgämi</i>             | <i>(kirimī)</i>         | <i>kumi</i>               |
| Possessives        | <i>nimire</i>            | <i>narimire</i>              | <i>nemire</i>             | <i>ηgimire</i>           | <i>kirimire</i>            | <i>särimire</i>           | <i>ηgämirē</i>           | <i>(kirimire)</i>       | <i>kumire</i>             |
| Object px          | <i>n- ~ η-</i>           | <i>ea- ~ e...a</i>           | <i>na-</i>                | <i>ga- ~ a-</i>          | <i>ga'- ~ ga-<br/>~ a-</i> | <i>he-</i>                | <i>u- ~ w-</i>           |                         |                           |
| Kin noun px        | <i>n-</i>                |                              |                           | <i>t- ~ ti-</i>          | <i>g-</i>                  | <i>he-</i>                | <i>gä-</i>               |                         |                           |
| Kin pron. root     |                          | <i>yai- ~<br/>y(e)- ~yä-</i> | <i>näi- ~n-</i>           |                          | <i>gi- ~ ge-<br/>~g-</i>   | <i>häi- ~ h-</i>          |                          | <i>ä- ~ Ø</i>           | <i>ä- ~ Ø</i>             |
| Person clitics m   | <i>=i=nyī</i>            | <i>=i=nai</i>                | <i>=i=nä</i>              | <i>=i=ηgī</i>            | <i>=rai=gi</i>             | <i>=rav=igi</i>           | <i>=i</i>                | <i>=rai</i>             | <i>=ra</i>                |
| Person clitics fem | <i>=nyī</i>              | <i>=nai</i>                  | <i>=nä</i>                | <i>=ηgī</i>              | <i>=wai=gi</i>             | <i>=η=igi</i>             | <i>='</i>                | <i>=wai</i>             | <i>Ø</i>                  |
| Base form          | <i>n</i>                 | <i>na(rī)</i>                | <i>nV</i>                 | <i>ηgī</i>               | <i>Ki(rī)</i>              | <i>säri</i>               | <i>(η)gä</i>             |                         | <i>ku</i>                 |
| Alternate          |                          | <i>(y)ea</i>                 |                           | <i>t</i>                 |                            | <i>hV</i>                 | <i>w</i>                 |                         |                           |

Table 19. Angave<sup>21</sup> pronominal forms

|                       | 1 <sup>st</sup><br>sing. | 1 <sup>st</sup><br>dual | 1 <sup>st</sup><br>plural | 2 <sup>nd</sup><br>sing. | 2 <sup>nd</sup><br>dual | 2 <sup>nd</sup><br>plural | 3 <sup>rd</sup><br>sing. | 3 <sup>rd</sup><br>dual | 3 <sup>rd</sup><br>plural |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| Free forms            | <i>niä</i>               | <i>ye</i>               | <i>ne</i>                 | <i>jä</i>                | <i>ai</i>               | <i>se</i>                 | <i>qe</i>                | <i>wi</i>               | <i>wi</i>                 |
| Possessives           | <i>näjä ~<br/>gä</i>     | <i>yegä</i>             | <i>negä</i>               | <i>däqä</i>              | <i>egä</i>              | <i>segä</i>               | <i>qegä</i>              | <i>egä</i>              | <i>wigä</i>               |
| Object px             | <i>nä-</i>               | <i>yea-</i>             | <i>nea-</i>               | <i>rä-</i>               | <i>sea-</i>             | <i>ea-</i>                | <i>u-</i>                |                         |                           |
| Kin noun px           | <i>n-</i>                | <i>(yea-)</i>           | <i>(nea-)</i>             | <i>r- ~ s-</i>           | <i>(sea-)</i>           | <i>(ea-)</i>              | <i>q-</i>                |                         |                           |
| Kin pron.<br>root     |                          | <i>y-</i>               | <i>ne-</i>                |                          | ∅                       | <i>(se-)</i>              |                          | ∅                       |                           |
| Person clitics<br>m   | <i>=onä</i>              | <i>=owawi</i>           | <i>=one</i>               | <i>=oqä</i>              | <i>=owagwi</i>          | <i>=oyäne</i>             | <i>=o</i>                | <i>=owau</i>            | <i>=owa</i>               |
| Person clitics<br>fem | <i>=inä</i>              | <i>=ipawi</i>           | <i>=iwane</i>             | <i>=iqä</i>              | <i>=ipagwi</i>          | <i>=iwayäne</i>           | <i>=i</i>                | <i>=ipau</i>            | <i>=iwa</i>               |
| Base form             | <i>nä</i>                | <i>ye</i>               | <i>ne</i>                 | <i>T</i>                 |                         | <i>(s)e</i>               | <i>q(e)</i>              |                         |                           |
| Alternate             |                          | <i>wi</i>               |                           | <i>qä</i>                | <i>agwi</i>             | <i>äne</i>                |                          | <i>au</i>               | <i>a</i>                  |

Table 20. Tainae<sup>22</sup> (Ivori) pronominal forms

|                        | 1 <sup>st</sup><br>sing. | 1 <sup>st</sup><br>dual | 1 <sup>st</sup><br>plural | 2 <sup>nd</sup><br>sing.          | 2 <sup>nd</sup><br>dual | 2 <sup>nd</sup><br>plural | 3 <sup>rd</sup><br>sing. | 3 <sup>rd</sup><br>dual | 3 <sup>rd</sup><br>plural |
|------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| Free forms             | <i>nī</i>                | <i>yäi</i>              | <i>näi</i>                | <i>ntī</i>                        |                         | <i>häi</i>                | <i>ki</i>                | <i>wi</i>               |                           |
| Possessives            | <i>nīnkī</i>             | <i>yäinkī</i>           | <i>näinkī</i>             | <i>ntīkī</i>                      |                         | <i>häinkī</i>             | <i>kīnkī</i>             | <i>wīnkī</i>            |                           |
| Object sx              | <i>-nī</i>               | <i>-yäe</i>             | <i>-näe</i>               | <i>-sī</i>                        |                         | <i>-häe</i>               | <i>(-ptī ~ -e)</i>       |                         |                           |
| Object px              | <i>n-</i>                | <i>yä-</i>              | <i>nä-</i>                | <i>tī-</i>                        |                         | <i>hä-</i>                | <i>m-</i>                |                         |                           |
| Object infix           | <i>-nī-<br/>~ -nī</i>    | <i>-yä-</i>             | <i>-nä-</i>               | <i>-tī-<br/>~ -tī- ~<br/>-sī-</i> |                         | <i>-hä-</i>               | ∅<br>~ -wī-              |                         |                           |
| Kin noun px            |                          |                         |                           | <i>tī- ~ s-</i>                   |                         | <i>hä- ~ hī-</i>          | <i>kī- ~ kā-</i>         | <i>(wā- ~ wī-)</i>      |                           |
| Person clitics<br>masc | <i>to</i>                | <i>to=yäi</i>           | <i>to=näi</i>             | <i>o=kī</i>                       | <i>o=yankwi</i>         | <i>äiwäi</i>              | <i>o</i>                 | <i>o=yä</i>             | <i>äi=wä</i>              |
| Person clitics<br>fem  | <i>te</i>                | <i>tepi=yäi</i>         | <i>te=näi</i>             | <i>epä=kī</i>                     | <i>epī=yānkwi</i>       | <i>äyāi</i>               | <i>epī</i>               | <i>ep=yä</i>            | <i>äi=vä</i>              |
| Base form              | <i>n(i)</i>              | <i>yä</i>               | <i>nä</i>                 | <i>(n)tī</i>                      |                         | <i>hä</i>                 | <i>kV</i>                |                         |                           |
| Alternate              |                          |                         |                           | <i>kī</i>                         | <i>yankwi</i>           |                           |                          | <i>(bilabial)</i>       |                           |

Table 21. Akoye<sup>23</sup> (Lohiki) pronominal forms

|                      | 1 <sup>st</sup><br>sing. | 1 <sup>st</sup><br>dual | 1 <sup>st</sup><br>plural | 2 <sup>nd</sup><br>sing. | 2 <sup>nd</sup><br>dual | 2 <sup>nd</sup><br>plural | 3 <sup>rd</sup><br>sing. | 3 <sup>rd</sup><br>dual | 3 <sup>rd</sup><br>plural |
|----------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| Free forms           | <i>nnä</i>               |                         | <i>nai</i>                | <i>ntä</i>               |                         | <i>äi</i>                 | <i>käi</i>               |                         | <i>wäi</i>                |
| Possessives          | <i>näkä</i>              |                         | <i>nankä</i>              | <i>ntäkä</i>             |                         | <i>änk</i>                | <i>känkä</i>             |                         | <i>wänkä</i>              |
| Object px            | <i>n-</i>                |                         | <i>na-</i>                | <i>t-</i>                |                         | <i>ä-</i>                 | <i>Ø ~ wi-</i>           |                         |                           |
| Recipient sx         | <i>-ni ~<br/>-ny</i>     |                         | <i>-nai</i>               | <i>-ti ~ -s</i>          |                         | <i>-äi</i>                | <i>-wi ~ -wy</i>         |                         |                           |
| Kin noun px          | <i>(n-)</i>              |                         |                           | <i>t(ä)- ~ s-</i>        |                         |                           | <i>k-</i>                |                         |                           |
| Personal clitics m   | <i>=o=n</i>              | <i>=o=yai</i>           | <i>=o=nai</i>             | <i>=o=kä</i>             | <i>=o=ya=kä</i>         | <i>=äwä=i</i>             | <i>=o</i>                | <i>=o=ya</i>            | <i>=äwä</i>               |
| Personal clitics fem | <i>=e=n</i>              | <i>=epä=yai</i>         | <i>=äfä=nai</i>           | <i>=epä=kä</i>           | <i>=epä=ya=kä</i>       | <i>=äfä -i</i>            | <i>=epä</i>              | <i>=epä=ya</i>          | <i>=äfä</i>               |
| Personal clitics mix |                          |                         | <i>=e=nai</i>             |                          |                         |                           | <i>=e</i>                |                         |                           |
| Base form            | <i>n</i>                 | <i>yai</i>              | <i>nai</i>                | <i>(n)t</i>              |                         | <i>ä(i)</i>               | <i>k</i>                 |                         |                           |
| Alternate            |                          |                         |                           | <i>kä</i>                | <i>ya=kä</i>            |                           | <i>wi</i>                |                         |                           |

Looking finally at the similarities of morphemes, all six languages presented exhibit the forms *\*n*, *\*yV*, and *\*nV* as the first person singular, dual and plural forms respectively. The only notable exception is Baruya which exhibits this form only as the object prefix and the kin pronoun root; elsewhere it modifies the first plural *nV* by adding the morpheme ‘dual?’. Baruya uses this same morpheme in the other dual forms of the free and possessive pronouns, *rī*, though not consistently to modify the plural form; it also appears to be present in the second person plural. For the second person singular, *\*(n)t* is the primary form for most languages but *\*kV* is present to a lesser degree, at least as the person enclitic. Again Baruya is somewhat aberrant in that its prime form is *ng*, with *t* exhibited only as the kin noun prefix. For second person dual, ‘velar/uvular stop + front vowel’ is common to three of the four languages that have this category. For second person plural, *\*sV* or *\*hV* appears to be the common source. For third person, there is considerably more variation both within each language and between them. For the singular, ‘velar/uvular stop + vowel’ is common to all, at least in the free and possessive forms. For the verbal object prefix, *\*w* is clearly the source.

Comparing the above with the reconstruction of Proto Trans New Guinea pronouns and associated morphemes proposed by Ross (2005:29), we see distinct similarity in the first person singular and plural morphemes (*\*na* and *\*n[V]*, respectively), some degree of overlap (especially Baruya) with the second singular *\*ngga*. The Baruya possibly ‘dual’ suffix *-rī* is also clearly cognate with the proposed dual suffix *\*-li*. This data appears to confirm the placement of the Angan family within the revised Trans New Guinea family, with Baruya showing a noticeably stronger relationship.





Appendix 2. Dyadic pronouns – nominative case.

| dyadic clitic | relationship definition | yä... =qi =ye<br>we two... | nä... =qu =ne<br>they two... | qe... =ang<br>you two... | hi... =qu =en<br>you all... | i... =aqi<br>they two... | i... =qu =a<br>they all... | sample relationship    |
|---------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| =mät          | 1 gen; -f               | yämätqiye                  | nämätqune                    | qemätangi                | himätquen                   | imätqi                   | imätqua                    | father-son             |
| =mb           | 1 gen; +f               | yämbqiye                   | nämbqune                     | qembangi                 | himbquen                    | imbaqi                   | imbqua                     | parent-child           |
| =ngui         | =; //; -f               | yänguiqiye                 | nänguiqune                   | qenguiangi               | hinguiquen                  | ingueqi                  | inguiqua                   | brothers               |
| =nesu         | =; //; f                | yänesuäqiye                | nänesuäqune                  | qenäsuaangi              | hinäsüäquen                 | inäsuaqi                 | inäsüäqua                  | sisters                |
| =qut          | =; X; m+f               | yäqutqiye                  | näqutqune                    | qequtangi                | hiqutquen                   | iqutaqi                  | iqutqua                    | brother-sister         |
| =wät          | 2 gen; -f               | yäwätqiye                  | näwätqune                    | qewätangi                | hiwätquen                   | iwätqi                   | iwätqua                    | grandfather-grandson   |
| =t            | 2 gen; +f               | yätqiye                    | netqune                      | qetangi                  | hitquen                     | itaqi                    | itqua                      | grandparent-grandchild |
| =nais         | 1 gen; law              | yänaisqiye                 | nenaisqune                   | qenaisangi               | hinaisquen                  | inaisaqi                 | inaisqua                   | man-wife's parent      |
| =mbät         | =; law                  | yämbätqiye                 | nämbätqune                   | qembätangi               | himbätquen                  | imbätqi                  | imbätqua                   | man-wife's brother     |
| =uy*          | =; +f; law              | yeyeye                     | neqyene                      | qeyangui                 | hiqyeyen                    | iyaqu                    | iqyaya                     | man-wife               |

\* The clitic for the man/wife dyad is somewhat irregular in that it appears to merge with the number and person clitics, rather precede them.

## Appendix 3. Affectee prefix on various verb roots - present perfective, 3 sing actor forms

| verb gloss | verb root      | 1sg               | 1dl                | 1pl                | 2sg               | 2dl               | 2pl              | 3                | translation               |
|------------|----------------|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| tell       | <i>t</i>       | <i>ätädq</i>      | <i>äyatqi</i>      | <i>änatqi</i>      | <i>äktqi</i>      | <i>ägäsqi</i>     | <i>etqi</i>      | <i>ätqi</i>      | he just told ___          |
| hit        | <i>päk</i>     | <i>ämbäsqi</i>    | <i>äyapäsqi</i>    | <i>änapäsqi</i>    | <i>äkpäsqi</i>    | <i>ägepäsqi</i>   | <i>epäsqi</i>    | <i>äpäsqi</i>    | he just hit ___           |
| rain on    | <i>q</i>       | <i>ägqiyqi</i>    | <i>äyagiyqi</i>    | <i>änagiyqi</i>    | <i>äkqiyqi</i>    | <i>ägagiyqi</i>   | <i>eqiyqi</i>    | <i>ävqiyqi</i>   | it just rained on ___     |
| leave      | <i>quat</i>    | <i>ägquatqi</i>   | <i>äyäquatqi</i>   | <i>änäquatqi</i>   | <i>äkquatqi</i>   | <i>ägäquatqi</i>  | <i>equatqi</i>   | <i>ävquatqi</i>  | he just left ___          |
| come to    | <i>ima</i>     | <i>ävimeqi</i>    | <i>äyemeqi</i>     | <i>änemeqi</i>     | <i>äkimeqi</i>    | <i>ägemeqi</i>    | <i>emeqi</i>     | <i>ävimeqi</i>   | he just came to ___       |
| pour on    | <i>iquat</i>   | <i>äviquatqi</i>  | <i>äyequatqi</i>   | <i>änequatqi</i>   | <i>äkiquatqi</i>  | <i>ägäquatqi</i>  | <i>equatqi</i>   | <i>äviquatqi</i> | he just poured ... on ___ |
| show/teach | <i>mä_tqua</i> | <i>ämändqueqi</i> | <i>ämävätqueqi</i> | <i>ämänätqueqi</i> | <i>ämäktqueqi</i> | <i>ämägäqueqi</i> | <i>ämätqueqi</i> | <i>ämötqueqi</i> | he just showed ___        |

## Appendix 4. Kinship nouns

(Note: except for the 'addressee' forms, these are all 3rd person referents)

|  | address<br>...-e             | 1's singular<br>(n)...- <i>{iqu}</i> | 1's pl<br>(n) <i>i</i> - <i>{uka}</i> | 2S's sg<br><i>t</i> -...- <i>{iqu}</i> | 2S's pl<br><i>t</i> -...- <i>{uka}</i> |
|--|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|--|
| meaning with 'father'                                  | father                       | my/our father                        | my fathers                            | your father                            | your fathers                           |
| father (& his brother)<br><i>ap-</i> ~ <i>-n-</i>      | <i>ape</i>                   | <i>apiqu</i>                         | <i>apikukua</i><br><i>apukua</i>      | <i>tniqu</i>                           | <i>tnuṅua</i>                          |
| grandfather/son; female's<br>father-in-law <i>-aw-</i> | <i>awe</i>                   | <i>awiqu</i>                         | <i>awikukua</i><br><i>awāka</i>       | <i>tawiqu</i>                          | <i>tawāka</i>                          |
| grandmother/daughter<br><i>at-</i> ~ <i>-a-</i>        | <i>ate</i>                   | <i>asipa</i>                         | <i>asipaqä</i><br><i>atāqä</i>        | <i>tai</i>                             | <i>taqä</i>                            |
| mother (& her sister)<br><i>-na-</i>                   | <i>nae-naye</i>              | <i>nipa</i>                          | <i>nipaqä</i>                         | <i>tnai</i>                            | <i>tnaqä</i>                           |
| uncle (maternal)<br><i>-am-</i>                        | <i>ame</i>                   | <i>amiqu</i>                         | <i>amikukua</i>                       | <i>tamiqu</i>                          | <i>tamikukua</i>                       |
| uncle (father's sister's<br>husband) <i>guoyanyi</i>   |                              | <i>guoyanyi</i>                      |                                       | <i>tunguoyanyi</i>                     |  |
| aunt (father's sister)<br><i>-awi-</i> ~ <i>-i-</i>    | <i>auye</i>                  | <i>awipa</i>                         | <i>awipaqä</i>                        | <i>sei</i>                             | <i>sāwaqä</i>                          |
| older brother<br><i>tat-/-te-</i>                      | <i>tasipa</i><br><i>tate</i> | <i>tasipequ</i>                      | <i>tatāqa</i>                         | <i>tātequ</i>                          | <i>tātaqä</i>                          |
| younger brother<br><i>-ṅgua-</i>                       | <i>guae</i>                  | <i>guequ</i>                         | <i>guāka</i>                          | <i>tuṅguequ</i>                        | <i>tuṅguāka</i>                        |
| cousin (male, cross)<br><i>-tāṅgua-</i>                | <i>nāṅguae</i>               | <i>nāṅguequ</i>                      | <i>nāṅguka</i>                        | <i>tāṅguequ</i>                        | <i>tāṅguka</i>                         |
| older sister<br><i>-nan-</i>                           | <i>nane</i>                  | <i>nanyipa</i>                       | <i>nanyipaqä</i>                      | <i>tnanyi</i>                          | <i>tnanyqä</i>                         |
| younger sister<br><i>-nap-</i>                         | <i>nasue</i>                 | <i>napi</i>                          | <i>napāqa</i>                         | <i>tnapi</i>                           | <i>tnapāqa</i>                         |
| cousin (female, cross)<br><i>-yāmaq</i>                | <i>nyāmaqiye</i>             | <i>nyāmaqi</i>                       | <i>nyāmaqiya</i>                      | <i>sāmaqi</i>                          | <i>sāmaqiya</i>                        |
| father/son-in-law<br><i>-ne-</i>                       | <i>neme</i><br><i>nequ</i>   | <i>nequ</i>                          | <i>neṅua</i>                          | <i>tnequ</i>                           | <i>tneṅua</i>                          |
| mans' brother-in-law<br><i>-be-</i>                    | <i>bee</i>                   | <i>bequ</i>                          | <i>bāka</i>                           | <i>tāmbequ</i>                         | <i>tāmbāka</i>                         |
| sister-in-law<br><i>-sauq-</i>                         | <i>nyauqiye</i>              | <i>nyauqi</i>                        | <i>nyauqiya</i>                       | <i>sauqi</i>                           | <i>sauqiya</i>                         |
| female's brother-in-law<br><i>-sauq-</i>               |                              | <i>nyauqu</i>                        |                                       |  |  |
| female's brother or male<br>cousin <i>-siq-</i>        |                              | <i>nyiqu</i>                         | <i>nyiquka</i>                        | <i>siqu</i>                            | <i>siquka</i>                          |
| male's sister or female<br>cousin <i>-siq-</i>         |                              | <i>nyiqi</i>                         | <i>nyiqiya</i>                        | <i>siqi</i>                            | <i>siqiya</i>                          |
| all one's generation<br><i>-siq-</i>                   |                              | <i>nyiqä</i>                         |                                       | <i>siqä</i>                            |  |

## Appendix 4. Kin nouns (continued)

|   | 2D's sing<br><i>qe-...-{iqu}</i> | 2D's plural<br><i>qe-...-{uka}</i> | 2P's sing<br><i>he-...-{iqu}</i> | 2P's pl<br><i>he-...{uka}</i> | 3's sing<br><i>k-...-{iqu}</i> | 3's plural<br><i>k-...-{uka}</i> |
|---|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| sample meaning:                                     | your father                      | your fathers                       | your father                      | your fathers                  | her/his/their father           | her/his/their fathers            |
| father (& his brother) <i>ap-/-n-</i>               | <i>qeniqu</i>                    | <i>qenuḡua</i>                     | <i>hiniqu</i>                    | <i>hunuḡua</i>                | <i>kaniqu</i>                  | <i>kanuḡua</i>                   |
| grandfather/son; female's father-in-law <i>-aw-</i> |                                  |                                    |                                  |                               | <i>kawiqu</i>                  | <i>kawiqukua</i>                 |
| granddaughter /mother <i>at- ~ a-</i>               |                                  |                                    |                                  |                               | <i>kai</i>                     | <i>kaqä</i>                      |
| mother (& her sister) <i>-na-</i>                   | <i>qenai</i>                     | <i>qenaqä</i>                      | <i>hinai</i>                     | <i>hinaqä</i>                 | <i>känai</i>                   | <i>känaqä</i>                    |
| uncle (maternal) <i>-am-</i>                        |                                  |                                    |                                  |                               | <i>kamiqu</i>                  | <i>kamiqukua</i>                 |
| uncle (father's sister's husband) <i>guoyanyi</i>   |                                  |                                    |                                  |                               | <i>kiḡguoyanyi</i>             |                                  |
| aunt (father's sister) <i>awi-/-i-</i>              |                                  |                                    |                                  |                               | <i>kii</i>                     | <i>kiwaqä</i>                    |
| older brother <i>tat-/-te-</i>                      | <i>qetequ</i>                    | <i>qetaqä</i>                      | <i>hitequ</i>                    | <i>hitaqä</i>                 | <i>kätequ</i>                  | <i>kätaqä</i>                    |
| younger brother <i>-ḡgua-</i>                       | <i>qenḡuequ</i>                  | <i>qenḡuäka</i>                    | <i>hinḡuequ</i>                  | <i>hinḡuäka</i>               | <i>känḡuequ</i>                | <i>känḡuäka</i>                  |
| cousin (male, cross) <i>-täḡgua-</i>                |                                  |                                    |                                  |                               | <i>kätänḡuequ</i>              | <i>kätänḡuka</i>                 |
| older sister <i>-nan-</i>                           | <i>qenanyi</i>                   | <i>qenanyäqä</i>                   | <i>hinanyi</i>                   | <i>hinanyäqä</i>              | <i>känanyi</i>                 | <i>känanyäqä</i>                 |
| younger sister <i>-nap-</i>                         | <i>qenapi</i>                    | <i>qenapäqa</i>                    | <i>hinapi</i>                    | <i>hinapäqa</i>               | <i>känapi</i>                  | <i>känapäqa</i>                  |
| cousin (female, cross) <i>-yämaq-</i>               | <i>qeyämaqi</i>                  | <i>qeyämaqiya</i>                  | <i>hiyämaqi</i>                  | <i>hiyämaqiya</i>             | <i>käyämaqi</i>                | <i>käyämaqiya</i>                |
| father/son-in-law <i>-ne-</i>                       | <i>qenequ</i>                    | <i>qeneḡua</i>                     | <i>hinequ</i>                    | <i>hineḡua</i>                | <i>känequ</i>                  | <i>käneḡua</i>                   |
| mans' brother-in-law <i>-be-</i>                    | <i>qembequ</i>                   | <i>qembäka</i>                     | <i>himbequ</i>                   | <i>himbäka</i>                | <i>kambequ</i>                 | <i>kambäka</i>                   |
| sister-in-law <i>-sauq-</i>                         | <i>qesauiqi</i>                  | <i>qesauqiya</i>                   | <i>hisauqi</i>                   | <i>hisauqiya</i>              | <i>kasauqi</i>                 | <i>kasauqiya</i>                 |
| female's brother-in-law <i>-sauq-</i>               |                                  |                                    |                                  |                               |                                |                                  |
| female's brother or male cousin <i>-siq-</i>        | <i>Qesiqu</i>                    | <i>qesiquka</i>                    | <i>hisiqu</i>                    | <i>hisiquka</i>               | <i>kasiqu</i>                  | <i>kasiquka</i>                  |
| male's sister or fem. cousin <i>-siq-</i>           | <i>Qesiqi</i>                    | <i>qesiqiya</i>                    | <i>hisiqi</i>                    | <i>hisiqiya</i>               | <i>kasiqi</i>                  | <i>kasiqiya</i>                  |
| all one's generation <i>-siq-</i>                   | <i>Qesiqä</i>                    |                                    | <i>hisiqä</i>                    |                               | <i>kasiqä</i>                  |                                  |

## Notes

1. Menya is spoken by approximately 20,000 people living in the Menyama District of Morobe Province, plus upwards of 5,000 people scattered elsewhere in the country. The data presented here has been gathered over a period of 31 years under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Special acknowledgment is due to Patiqu Lot and John Manggo who have taught me most of what I know of Menya. The analysis and responsibility for any inaccuracies is my own.  
The orthography used for Menya consonants is as follows. Voiceless stops: *p, t* (dental), *k, q*; prenasalised stops: *(m)b, (n)d, (ŋ)j, (ɣ)g, ɣq*; nasals: *m, n, ny, ŋ*; affricate/fricative: *s, h*; semi-vowels *w, y*. The vowels are: *i, u, e, o, a, ä* (mid central).
2. The abbreviations used in this and subsequent examples are: ASO - associative; ASS - assertive; BEN - benefactive; CAUS - causative; CERT - certainty of assertion; CMPL - complete; COM - common gender; CSR - coordinate same-referent; CTF - contrary-to-fact condition; DL - dual\*; DEF - definite; DETR - detransitivizer; DIM - diminutive; DR - different-referent; DSO - dissociative; DSR - dependent same-referent; DUBIT - dubitative mood; DUR - durative; DVZR - deverbalizer; F - feminine; FCS - focus; FUT - future; GEN - generic; GVN - given; HON - honorific; IND - indicative mood; INDEF - indefinite; INFOQ - WH-question mood; IPFV - imperfective; IRR - irrealis; LOC - locative; M - masculine; MANR - manner; MOD - modifier; NEG - negative; NEU - neutral; O - object; OJ - object (in morph gloss); ORIG - origin of motion; PA - past; PFV - perfective; PL - plural\*; POLQ - polar question mood; POSS - possessive; PRGV - progressive; QT - quote mark; RPA - remote past; S - subject\*; SG - singular\*; SIM - simultaneous; SEM - semelfactive; SER - serializer; sp - species; SR - same-referent; SRC - source; V - verb; 1 - first person; 2 - second person; 23 - second or third person; 3 - third person; & - and;
3. Some younger speakers are regularizing to this but more mature speakers do not like it.
4. The suffix =*uä* will be shown below to be a possessive clitic in its own right.
5. This usage is borrowed from the SIL-produced *LinguaLinks Dictionary* tool and is an extension of the normal use of the asterisk to indicate ungrammaticality. The use of such roots without affixes is ungrammatical.
6. The intervocalic ‘*u*’ is epenthetic, and not present in all ideolects.
7. As in footnote 6, the ‘*u*’ is epenthetic and not present in all ideolects.
8. This is one of a set of verb roots that begin with the recurring partial, *mü-*, before the affectee prefix, as discussed in Whitehead 2004:101.
9. The mid-distance elevational roots are derived from the elevational roots presented in **Table 3**. See Whitehead 2004:52 for further evidence of these forms, including the source of the *-ti* in

the second ‘mid-below’ form.

10. See, for example, Farr & Whitehead 1982.

11. In Whitehead 2004:47, I described the structure of the Menya NP as:

NP →(possessor) (head) (qualifier) (quantifier) (determiner) (personal clitics) (role clitics)

Given that no element of the NP is obligatorily present, it could be argued that instances of the demonstratives standing alone are not pronominal but elipsis of all but the determiner and the clitics. (The writer of at least one of the Angan language grammars referred to in the bibliography, has followed this analysis.) This is no doubt technically correct, as illustrated by the fact that a head noun, a qualifier and a quantifier can also be all that is left in the NP to bear the clitics. Even a deverbalized clause can have the clitics attached to the verbal head.

12. The demonstrative pronoun attached to a proper name here should not be confused with a vocative which would not have the demonstrative or the personal suffix.

13. In Whitehead 2004, these morphemes are analysed as kin pronoun roots yielding a stem consisting of two roots.

14. This third one may not be a dyadic term at all, given that the same morpheme is given on Speece page 140 as the gender clitic for plurality of children, used in the construction of the emphatic pronoun. The morpheme is *(ä)pi* which is cognate with the Menya diminutive gender clitic used frequently of children.

15. To explain the scope of meaning of the additional information and the rationale for the labels is beyond the scope of this paper. Suffice to say that the associative and dissociative sets contrast a higher and lower degree of relevance that exists between a final clause and the speech act situation, or between a Different Referent medial clause and the clause to which it is adjoined. The irrealis set indicates, for both final and medial clauses, a lack of certainty about the factuality of the proposition. The Same Referent coordinate and dependent sets contrast the status of the marked clause/proposition, relative to its matrix clause. See Whitehead 2004 for further details.

16. Most significantly the benefactive suffix *-i* and the causative suffix *-te*. Whitehead 2004:95-99.

17. The *n -> ny* is a regular palatalization process before *i* but a few verbs also allow *n -> nj*.

18. The *pa* is undoubtedly the honourific gender clitic and is used, not unexpectedly, for the first person forms of ‘grandmother’, ‘mother’, and ‘older sister’. Somewhat unexpectedly, it is also present in the first-person singular form of ‘older brother’.

19. Hamde, previously known as Kapau, is the easternmost and the largest language in the family spreading from just south of Bulolo to northeast of Kerema. The data is from Oates & Oates 1968 and Lloyd 1973. The apostrophe is a glottal stop.

20. Baruya is spoken in the southeast corner of the Eastern Highlands Province, to the west of the Kratke Range. The data is from Lloyd 1989. The forms presented here are Lloyd's 'short forms'. The *i* is a high central vowel and ' is a glottal stop.
21. Angave is spoken in the Gulf Province at the point where it borders both Morobe and Eastern Highlands. The data are from Speece (undated manuscript).
22. Tainae, formerly known as Ivori, is spoken south of Angave. The data are from Carlson 1991. Object affixes on the verb vary according to verb class as to whether they are prefixes, infixes or suffixes. The morpheme breaks shown in the personal clitics are mine, not Carlson's.
23. Akoye (formerly Lohiki) is the southwesternmost Angan language, in the mountains northwest of Kerema. The data are from Whitney 1992.

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Angan language family (adapted from Lloyd 1973)