

PAMA-NYUNGAN: THE TIP OF THE LEXICAL ICEBERG

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This contribution arose out of the wish to demonstrate, if possible, that ultimately the roster of Proto-Pama-Nyungan and sub-PPN reconstructions will run to a four-digit figure. This estimate is arrived at in the following way.

We choose to reconstruct just those forms whose initial consonant was *p, followed by the low vowel *a. Thus the following pages contain 170 putative cognate sets with original initial *pa. Suppose now, for a moment, that only 50% of these are ultimately deemed plausible by a consensus of comparativists. Suppose further, however, that the surviving 85 sets represent only one-half of the actual roster of viable sub-PPN reconstructions in *pa- which a large, well-coordinated team of adequately funded comparativists could ultimately assemble, utilising state-of-the-art computer technology.

It is reasonably clear that PPN starred forms in *pa- will account for approximately one-fourteenth of a full-blown roster of PPN reconstructions. It follows from the above, therefore, that $ca. \frac{170}{1} \times \frac{50}{100} \times \frac{100}{50} \times \frac{14}{1} = 2,380$ viable PPN and sub-PPN cognate sets would ultimately emerge. This figure would put Pama-Nyungan on an entirely comparable footing to families such as Austronesian, Indo-European and Algonkian with respect to the breadth and depth of coverage of the ancestral lexicon.

Proto-languages drawn on in the assembling of the 170 putative cognate sets in *pa- which are presented below are Proto-Pamic, Proto-Ngayarda, Proto-Kanyara, Proto-Mantharda and Proto-Northern New South Wales, as well as Capell's (1956) Common Australian and Dixon's (1980) Proto-Australian. Languages drawn on are Nyangumarta, Warlpiri, Pintupi, Gawurna, Pankarla, Nyungar (Inland), Wadjuk, Ngarluma, Yindjibarndi, Bayungu, Gupapuyngu, Ritharngu, Lardil, Kala Lagaw Ya, Umpila, Wik Mungkan, Guugu Yimidhirr, Yidiny, Dyirbal, Wargamay, Gidabal, Waalubal, Gumbaynggir, 'Gippsland', Madimadi, Djadjala, Diyari, Wembawemba, Bāgandji and Ngiyambaa. This particular sequencing is intended to reflect our notions concerning relative genetic distances. Thus Warlpiri is listed immediately after Nyangumarta because Kenneth Hale and the writer see these two languages as belonging to a northern tier of Desert Nyungic as opposed to a southern tier comprising Pintupi and its immediate congeners. Similarly, Bayungu is listed next to Gupapuyngu (and Ritharngu) to reflect our long-held belief that the Kanyara and Yuulngic languages are especially close genetically, though remote from each other in geographical space.

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In the case of very closely related communalects such as Pintupi and Yurlbaridja in the Western Desert, the former is normally drawn on for comparison simply because of its larger database. Yurlbaridja forms are given only when they shed further useful light. Pintupi is thus to be seen as a 'witness' language. Likewise, Gidabal stands as witness language for the putative Bandjalangic Group of Pama-Nyungan, so that Bandjalang and Waalubal forms are cited only when they shed light not provided by Gidabal.

P1 PPN *pa₁ Deic that; that way, thither.

Perh ult rel to *pa₂.

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in GAW PA *he, she, it; him ...* (ABS form of 3SG pronoun); KLY PA *prefix indicating motion away or outward from speaker* (< 'thither'; cf PIN *ma*, below).

2. Suffixed forms:

(a) *pa+lu *that+ERG* in NYA, PIN *pa.la that (mid-distant)*, NYA *pa.li+ny that one; he, she, it* (cf *pula+ny they DU*, NYA S *kuja.rra+ny both* (< *kuuja+rra *two*)), NYA S *pa.la.ma* (ERG form: *pa.la.ma+lu that (close)*); WRN *pa.la.warni.ny that (near); he, she, it*; PIN *pa.lu.nya ~ pi.lu.nya that ... previously mentioned or understood*; OOL *pa.lu.ru he, she* (*pa.lu+mpa his, her*); GAW, PNK PA+DLO *he, she, it* (in ACTIVE, i.e. ERG form), GAW PA+DLAI+TYA (appar *pa+tla+ja*) *to him, for him*; NYU *pa.l he, she, it; that (mid-distant) person/thing*, *pa.l+ap ~ po.la+p they*, *pa.l.aj look out! beware!*; WJK BAL *he, she, it*, BAL+GUN *they*, BAL+GU+P *them*, BE.LLI.BE.LLI *on this side or that side*; VAS BA.LL+AL *he himself, she herself*; PNG *pa.lu (> NMA, GRY *pa.lu that (mid-distant); he, she* (NOM form); NMA *pa.lu+la on him*, *pa.lu+kutha they DU (mid-distant)*; BAY *pa.la he, she*; GUP *ba.la movement away from speaker* (cf PIN *ma*, KLY PA, *ba.la.nya like this*; RIT *ba.la, ngum.ba.la that way* and possibly *baa.la.y' away, gone away*; possibly LRD *ba.lu.mben western, of the west* (< 'that way?') and KLY BAL *across* (< 'thither?'); PP *pa.lu *this way, hither* (with sem shift to the ANT of *thither*) (> UMP *pa+lu*, WMK, NGT *pa.l*, BAK *pa.le*); DYI *pa.la there (visible)* noun marker: *pa.la+n ~ pa+n* (ERG form: *pa+ngku+n*) *Noun Class II marker*, *pa.la+m ~ pa+m* (ERG: *pa+ngku+m*) *Noun Class III marker*, *pa.la ~ pa* (ERG: *pa+ngku*) *Noun Class IV marker*, *pa.l+u* (occas *pa.la+rru*) *to there (towards a place)* – the longer form implying an 'indefiniteness of locational specification' (Dixon 1972:255; for DYI *pa.l+i*, see below under *pa.la+rri); DIY *pa+da there*.

(b) *pa+nya *that+ACC* in PIN *pa.nya(.pa) same ...*, *pa.ny.p.a wangka+Y+ say that which has been said*; PNK PA.NNA (appar *pa.nha*), MRN *pa.nha.rtu*, BAN *pa.nha he, she, it*; NAN *a.nha that one (far); he*; YGN *pa.nya*, YGS *pi.nya that; he, she, it*; BAY *pa.nha(.mpa.ya) he, that ANAPHORIC* (Austin, p.c.); KAI *a.nh that*; LRD /*ba.nya.n dangka/ ba.nya.n+da stranger* (< 'outsider' < 'person (/dangka/) from away over yonder' – cf the semantics of PNK PADITYI(DLI), NYA *wala.nyu* and WLB *wala.ya*).

(c) *pa.la+rri *that+LOC+ALLAT, thither*, in NYA *pa.la+rri thither*, but with ALLAT force lost in NYA W *pa.la.rri+ngi in that place (near)*; DYI *pa.la+rri to there (in an indefinite direction)*, *pa.l+i to there (in a specific direction)* – identified in Dixon 1972:254-255 as a reduced form of *pa.la+rri*.

(d) *pa+rnu *that+OBL* (certain case-forms only) in GAW PA+RNU ~ PA+RNU+KO *of him*; PNK PA+RNÜ+NTYU+RU *his*, PA+RNÜ+NTYU+DNI *of, from him*, PA+RNÜ+NTYU+DNI+NGE *with him*; PNG *pa+rnu+ *that+OBL* (> NMA, GRY pa+rnu+mpa+ngu *that ACC (mid-distant)*; *him, her*, NMA pa+rnu+mpa+ngu+tharntu *his, her*; for the etymology of +tharntu, see *jArntu).

(e) *pa+rni *that+ELAT, thence*, in GAW PA+RNI *here, hither*, PNK PA+RDNI *hither, this way*. The occurrence of reflexes of the +*rni alternant of ELAT is extremely restricted in these two languages and in Ngayarda languages and NYA. Note, e.g., YIN warta.nta+rni *from the north* (wartat *north*) vs. ngurra+ngka+ngu *camp+LOC+ELAT from the camp* where +ngu is the productive alternant of ELAT. In NYA W, +rni marks ELAT only in the two forms kaka+rni *from the east* (kaka.rra *east*) and ku+rni *from the south* (/kurila/ kurili *south*). Even then, ku+rni alternates, apparently stylistically, with kurila+ngu.

(f) Further suffixed forms in DYI pa+yi *Noun Class I marker*; GAW PAI+NTYA (appar pa+nyja) *this here, that one, there, here* (the core meaning appears to be *there*, to judge from Teichelmann and Schürmann's sentence example (1840:35) – cf GAW YAI+NTYA, below; PNK sentence-final PA.RÁ, glossed *he, she, it* in Schürmann 1844:53, but *him* in the sentence cited; PNK PA.THA(R) *there*, PA.THA+RU *thither*, PA.THI.TYE *that*. The form PA.DI.TYI(.DLI) *strange, unknown* apparently also belongs etymologically within this assemblage – witness LRD banyanda and NYA W wala.nyu, which see *infra*. The development whereby 'that' > 'strange' reflects the pan-human tendency to take a rather parochial view of the world; cf PIE *eghs *out* > Latin ex+ter+ *outward*, extrāneus *foreign, strange* and Old French estrange, Modern English strange, as well as PIE *d^hwer+ *door* > Latin for.ās *out of doors, abroad* > Late Latin forān+ > OFR forein > NE foreign. Note that PNK PATHITYE and PADITYI, above, may well represent Schürmann's valiant attempts to transcribe one and the same form – probably /pathiji/.

3. Nasal-grade forms in PIN ma *pre-verb DIRECTION indicator: away from speaker* (cf KLY PA, above); DYI M +mi *PERFECTIVE REL CL marker* (with unexplained vowel change, but paralleling that in DYI +pi, a reflex of *pa₄).

4. Suffixed nasal-grade forms:

(a) In GID ma.yu (form is *pa+lu) *there near, general area, not in sight of speaker, in context of present time*, and doublet ma.laa *that way (near, general direction)/ma.yaa that (previously near, known or presumed moved since last seen by speaker)*; WAA ma.yu *that (intermediate in distance, invisible, not formerly present)*, ma.la *that (intermediate in distance, visible, non-human)*, ma.yaa *that (distant, invisible, not formerly present)*; DJA doublet ma.luk *there – out of sight, a long way off* with epenthetic k (as also in URA, e.g. in mayik < *mayi *vegetable food*, reported in Hale 1976a) ma.yuk *over there – a long way off*; WEM ma.yo *over there, that one, very far away*, ma.la *that one over there, that one quite a long way off, in space or in time* (occurring as ma.lu in one song), ma.la+nga *there, a long way away*.

(b) In WEM ma.nya (for *pa+nya) *that, that one, that one some distance away and out of sight*.

(c) In WEM ma.rr.ka *that other one, some distance away* (Hercus 1969:59), and cited on p. 253 of her work as marrku *that (other) one; Demonstrative pronoun of distance (rare)*.

5. Suffixed IS-grade ERG form *wa+lu in NYA W wa.la.nyu *stranger; foreign* (cf LRD banyanda, PNK PADITYI(DLI), above); WLB wa.la.ya *sea* (< 'that (water) yonder'); YIN wa.la *that near; he, she, it*; GUP wa.la.la *they PL*.
6. Probable early ID-grade by-form *ya, evolving semantically into a PROXIMAL deictic, in GAW IA (appar ya) *this*; YDN yu+ T *INVISIBLE*, C *yonder VISIBLE* is possibly an outgrowth of *ya showing symbolic vowel change. It appears more plausible, however, to count it as a direct or indirect (borrowed) reflex of a further ancestral deictic, *nyu, posited by Dixon (1980:358ff). This may well have entered YDN as a loan from one of the members of the north-east Queensland *Sprachbund* in which pronominals, at least, have been affected by the development *ny- > y, as in *nyun+tu *you SG+ERG* > GYA yun.tu *you SG* and *nyurra *you PL* > GYA yurra (other reflexes of *nyu include NYA nyu.ngu *this* and PP *nyu.lu (OBL: *nyu+nga+), WRG nyu.nga, WAA nyu.la 3 *SG* as well as WEM nyu.la *this one now*).
7. Suffixed ID-grade by-forms:
 - (a) *ya+lu *this+ERG* in WLB ya.lu.mpu *that near; there (near you)*, ya.li *that removed* (with obscurely altered vocalism), ya.la.rni *that removed (indefinite or invisible location)*; PIN ya.la+ngaa.ja *this close object previously mentioned*, ya.la+pa.la.ja *that mid-distant object previously mentioned*, ya.la+nyarra.ja *that distant object previously mentioned*; NYU a.li(.wa) *look out!, look there (distant)!*; WJK A.LLI(JA) *it; that is it*; BAY yu+lu, THR yu+du *this+ERG*, and BAY yi.la *that*; DYI ya.la *here (visible) noun marker*, reduced to ya+ in such forms as ya+ngku+n, the ERG/INSTR form of the Noun Class II marker in this paradigm; DYI D Guwal/M Dyalnguy ya.la+ma+L, M Guwal/D Dyalnguy ya.la+pa+L (transitive adverbial) *to do like this*; NGI ya.laa *thus*.
 - (b) *ya+nya (> *yi+nya *this+ACC* in WLB antonymous form yi.nya *that beyond*; GAW I.NNA+KO (appar i.nha+ku) of this; BAY, THR yi.nha *this*; KLY I.NA i.na *this, here – of female and large things* (cf I.NU i.nu *this, here – of male and small things*, conceivably with symbolically differing vocalism); WMK i.n *this*.
 - (c) *ya+rnu *this+OBL* in BAY, THR yu+rnu with this function and referent (see also above at *pa+rnu).
 - (d) *ya+ngku/*ya+ku, with old ERG variant (or semantically contentless suffix?), in WLB ya.ngka *the, that evocative – i.e., the one you know about*; PIN ya.ka *over there, straight ahead*; RIT ya.ku *this* (cf yi.ki *that (immediate)*); YDN C yi.ngku *here*.
 - (e) *ya+ngu *this+POSS* in YDN C yi.ngu *this*; WEM yi.nga *this way*.
 - (f) *ya.nyju, conceivably *this nearby*, in GAW YA+INTYA (appar ya+nyja) *here* (Teichelmann and Schürmann 1840:35). The spelling with <Y> leads one to interpret the authors' IA *this*, above, as ya rather than, say, *iya; YIN yi.nyja.a *alike ('close in appearance')* and possibly the first element in the name Yindji.barndi; THL yi.nhtha.nyi *close*; UMP yi.nyju *near*, with cliticised by-form +inyju; YDN yi+nyju *this (human, OBL)*; DYI yi.nyja *not yet (although expected)*, a sense which is widely expressed in Australian creoles as *close up* or *very near*.
 - (g) *ya+ja *this+PERT*, i.e. *of/from this (place, time)*, hence *the here and now, actual, true, proper*, in NYA yija S *certainly, truly*, W *true, indeed, real, actual* and cliticised NYA W /#yija/ +yiji ~ +iji *truly, very*; WLB yija.rdu *true*; GAW YAITYA (appar yaja) *proper; own; native*;

fresh; NMA yija.la *now, today*, yija+ngu *new.*; BGU yanja(n) *really, indeed*. See also at *+paju.

8. Cliticised form in NYA #pa₁ *REL CLAUSE* marker, parallel etymologically to English *that* as in *I saw the dog that bit you*; NGI +pa *SUBORDINATION* marker (cf NE *that* in *I said that it would bite you*).
9. Cliticised IS-grade form in NGI +wa *further* (< '*that way*'), forming a doublet with +pa, above; DIY +wa *distant* (cf DIY +ya₁, below).
10. Cliticised ID-grade form in DIY +ya₁ *NEAR*, forming a doublet with +wa, above. Note also *pa₄ > DIY ya *and* and *pa₆ > DIY +ya₂ *DUBIT*.

P2 PPN *pa₂ Interj *away! let's be off!*

Perh ult rel to *pa₁.

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in NYA W pa! *let's make a start! let's go!*; KLY PA! *go away! be off!*; possibly symbolically altered variant in GUM puu! *go on!* (Eades 1979:349).
2. Suffixed forms in PNK PA.RU.PÀ *very well, do so*; YIN pa.rra₂, pa.rra.yi *go on!, go do it!* (Wordick 1982).
3. Nasal-grade form in GUP ma'! *get on with it!*; YIM ma! *now! good! ready! let's go!*
4. Suffixed nasal-grade form in DIY ma.yi! *well then! all right!* See also *pa₅.

P3 PPN *pa₃ Interj *Exclamation of surprise.*

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in NYA S pa! *oops! sorry! apology!*; PNK PÀ, PÀ *hush, hst!*
2. Suffixed forms in GAW PA.IA *interj. expressive of wonder or astonishment*; GUM paa.li₁ *exclamation of surprise ...* (see GUM paa.li₂ at *pa₆; WEM pa.rra.y! *well! exclamation of pleasure and surprise; exclamation calling for attention.*
3. Suffixed nasal-grade form in DYI ma.li! *exclamation of joy when food or drink is coming.*
4. IS- and ID-grade forms in GID wa! ~ a! *exclamation of mild surprise, Oh!*; GUM wo'! ~ 'o'! *Well!, all right! – expresses surprise, or willingness to perform some order* (Smythe 1948:62); NGI IS-grade form waa! *expression of dismay* and cliticised by-form +waa *EXCLAMATIVE marker.*
5. Suffixed ID-grade form in PIN ya.la! *expression of surprise or agreement.*

P4 PPN *pa₄ Part *and*

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in GRJ, WIR, MDI, DJA, WEM, ARW *pa and*; conceivably KLY BA *INCOMPLETE ACTION*. Beyond Pama-Nyungan looms a *pa* connective in Mawng, which is used specifically in the conjoining of clauses (Capell and Hinch 1970:91); it appears to be one of the rare putatively cognate elements shared by Mawng with PMN languages.
2. Suffixed forms in THR *pa.rru and*; GUP doublet *bi.li₁ and, because ...* (see GUP *bi.li₂ at *pa₆*) and *bu.lu more, again, then*; RIT *bu.lu again, but*; LRD *ba.na and; also, as well, in addition, too; including*; WMK *pu.th and*; and GUM BA.IA *until, in order that* (Latin *ut*).
3. Nasal-grade form in a handful of ARW fixed locutions, e.g. *tharra+ma+tharra two+AND+two, four*.
4. Suffixed nasal-grade form in WLB *ma.nu and, (inclusive) or*; PIT *ma.thu too*; YIN *mu.ntu, NGI mi.ntii and*.
5. Suffixed IS-grade form in WJK *WE.R and; also*.
6. ID-grade forms in DIY *ya and* (with which cf. DIY *+ya₁ near < *pa₁* and *+ya₂ DUBIT < *pa₆*); possibly KLY A *a and* (the latter then forming a doublet with KLY BA, above). It is also possible that the source of these two forms is a **ka* particle – itself perhaps ultimately related to **pa₄*; alternatively, KLY A *a* could have its origin in a Papuan language such as Miriam, Bugi or Kiwai, in each of which a particle A *and* is attested (Ray 1907b).
7. Cliticised form in NYA *#pa₂ and*; YDN *+pa one of a group of people – [+human] noun coordinator, apparently forming a doublet with YDN +pi another*; DYI *+pi too* (likewise with unexplained vowel change, but see DYI M *+mi at *pa₁*); BNJ *+pa increased length of action* (cf. the use of NE *and* in *he ran and ran*).
8. Suffixed cliticised form in GID *+pa.n also*.
9. Fossilised cliticised form in a number of secondary pronominal formations (but see also at **pa₅*):
 - (a) In **ngali+pa*, originally *we DU INCL+and*, i.e. *we PL INCL*, appearing in this sense in WLB *ngali.pa* (which is in turn cliticised in the object-dative counterpart *+ngal+pa*) and in KLY *NGAL.PA ngal.pa*, as well as in nasal-grade form in RIT *ngali.ma and*, probably, GUP *ngali.mu.rru (< *ngali.ma.rru)*. It is possible that in the case of KLY, for example, independent and parallel developments are involved. In any event, it is evident that reflexes of **ngali+pa* have superseded PPN **nganyju we PL INCL* during the evolution of these languages, since the latter is represented in a wide scatter of PMN tongues – witness NYA */nganyjurra/ nganyjuru* and NGL *nganyjarra* in the west, and YDN *nganyji* in the east (NGT *ngantha.na* answers to *we PL EXCL*). Note, further, our proposal (O'Grady 1981a and *infra*) that **ngali* is *itself* the product of cliticisation: at the very dawn of Pama-Nyungan history, conceivably 3,500-4,000 years ago, a combination of the extremely archaic Australian first person singular base **nga(y)* and a pronoun-conjoining particle **li* came to be the preferred way of expressing *we two*. The compound **nga+li I+and (thou)* later came to be reanalysed as a unitary morpheme. The erstwhile independent existence of **li* is still attested in Mawng.
 - (b) In quite modern times, an entirely comparable process has operated in YDN, but involving the second person SG pronoun **nyun.tu* – which itself contains a long-since fossilised ERG

case suffix allomorph **+tu*: *nyun.tuu+pa* is now the normal second person non-singular pronoun in this language, replacing a reflex of earlier **nyurra* (Dixon 1977:176-177).

(c) In early KLY there existed alongside **nga.li.pa* (> modern *nga.l.pa*) a first person PL EXCL form **nga.li.pa+ju*, with exclusivising suffix **+ju* (cf YUL *+ju*, WRN *+ja* and THR *+yi*, which function in this role). Subsequently, **nga.li.pa+ju* evolved through several stages into NGA.L.BA.I *nga.l.ba.y*. Semantically, meanwhile, speakers adapted this form to the sense *we DUAL EXCL*. And correspondingly, **nga.li* evolved into NGOI ngoey *we PL EXCL*. That KLY ngoey is indeed the reflex of **nga.li* is seen in its OBL form *ngoel+ma* (< **nga.li+ma+*), in which **l* was protected from palatalisation. Semantically, these developments brought about a need for a new first person DU INCL form. In the modern language, this is embodied in the pronoun NGABA *ngaba*, whose history apparently involved the following developments:

- (i) A further PPN first person PL pronoun, **ngana*, came to be marked for emphasis in north-eastern Australia (along with several other pronouns) with a reflex of **pa₅* (q.v.), so that the form **ngana+pa* resulted.
- (ii) In Pamic, or possibly in a common ancestor of Pamic and KLY, **ngana.pa* evolved through a **ngan.pa* stage to **ngam.pa*, which stands as Hale's reconstruction (1976c:57) of one of the two alternants of the PP first person PL INCL pronoun.
- (iii) Either directly, or through borrowing, this later became subject to the voicing rule of KLY which affected stops following nasals (**ngam.pa* > **ngam.ba*), as well as to the subsequent nasal-deleting rule (**ngam.ba* > *nga.ba*). Semantically, *nga.ba* was reanalysed as a first person DU INCL pronoun. The phonological development is matched in PPN **mungka anthill* > KLY MUGU /mugu/ muugu (in which **m* inhibited the breaking of **u*), and in PPN **kumpu seat, buttocks* > KLY KOB /koewbu/ koewbu *tail* (borrowed by Miriam as KEUP).
- (iv) A comparable example of pronominal semantic interchange in a PMN language is evident in Yuulngu, where GUP, RIT *ngarra I* has clearly usurped the role played earlier by *ngayi he, she* (< PPN **ngayu* < PA **ngay I*, the latter cited in Dixon 1980:339ff). YUU *ngarra* is the result of reanalysis, through paradigm pressure from other first person forms, of **nyarrang*, a deictic with reflexes including NYA, PIN *nyarra that (distant)* and GUM *yarrang there (not very far), that, the* (Smythe 1948:145), *there, that* (Eades 1979:354).

P5 PPN **pa₅* Part EMPHASIS/INTENSITY marker

See also **+paju*.

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in YIM *pa₁ ...EMPH particle* (see YIM *pa₂* at **pa₆*).
2. Cliticised form in PNK *+PA very*; YIN *+pa EMPH clitic ...* (Wordick 1982); BNJ *+pa(a) ~ +mpa EMPH particle* and possibly GID *+pee MILD INTENSIFIER; very, only*; BNJ *+pe INTENSIVE particle*, apparently forming a doublet with the foregoing (but see also at **+paju*); GUM *+pu STRENGTHENING particle* (Smythe 1948, Eades 1979); BGU *+pu EMPH suffix*; NGI *+paa ASSERTION marker* (but note also NGI *+para CATEGORIAL ASSERTION marker*).

3. Suffixed cliticised forms in WJK +BA.K *indeed, very*; DYI +pa.n *EMPH marker*.
4. Suffixed nasal-grade cliticised form in DIY +ma.yi *EMPH suffix*. This is possibly a by-form of DIY ma.yi (see *pa₂). The correct etymological assignment of the latter should perhaps rather be as a reflex of *pa₅ also.
5. Suffixed IS-grade cliticised form in GID +waa.rr *but* and BNJ +wa.rr *EMPH particle* (but see at *ka for a possible alternative etymology).
6. As one of the true 'Devonian rocks' of Australian comparative linguistics, *pa₅ also had a PMN (and, in fact, pre-PMN) history as an element which was cliticised on to the extremely archaic Australian pronoun *nga(y) I. Thirty years ago Capell detected the presence of ngapi and ngapa first person singular forms in the extreme north and extreme south of Australia; note, for example, MAW nga.pi I (Capell and Hinch 1970), BAA ngapa I (Hercus 1982) and YAR nga.pi I (*S function*) (Dixon 1980:366, citing McDonald 1977). A clue to the history of these forms in MAW is afforded by an emphasising particle, apa, which also appears in this language in a cliticised variant, +pa, as in nuyi+pa *you SG+EMPH, you!*. It appears that cognates of PPN *pa₄ and of PPN *pa₅ have survived into modern MAW with their separate identities intact.
7. The element *pa₅ also occurs as a fossilised extension of the monosyllabic consonant-final S-function PPN pronoun *nyun *you SG* in NGL nyin.pa and DYI G ngin.pa (the corresponding A-function forms in these languages are: NGL nyin.ta, DYI G ngin.ta. A comparable extension to the S-function first person SG pronoun gives DYI G ngay.pa, while in NGL we have ngaya in this function. That the pressure in PMN towards the rightward extension of pronominals via a reflex of *pa₅ has continued into modern times is dramatically highlighted in URA, for which Hale (1976a:45-46) reports the *optional* use of +ba on all vowel-final nominative pronouns, as in ay.u(.ba) I and an.tu(.ba) *you SG* (the latter from old PPN ERG form *nyun+tu, with a replacing *u by analogy to *ngayu, *ngali, etc.).
8. In NYA, *pa₅ is attested in a phonologised role, whereby an epenthetic /pa/ syllable has the effect of obviating non-permitted clusters such as *nrn, *nl, etc. Compare, e.g., NYA W /kampa+rna+n+rna+ngu#ra/ *cook+PAST+2 SG+REFL+OBL+PURP, you SG cooked it for yourself*, realised on the surface as kambarnanbarnanga, with /kampa+rna#pula+rna+ngu#ra/ *they DU cooked it for themselves*, pronounced as kambarnabulurnunga (Hoard and O'Grady 1976). In languages such as NYA and YUL, words can end with a closed syllable, as in YUL miparr *face* (of which the dative case-form is miparr+ku). In PIN, YGS and YGN, such forms are terminated in the ABSOLUTE with the syllable pa, as PIN miparr+pa *face* (DAT as in YUL, above).

Dixon (1980:209-210), citing Hale, points out that in WLB erasure of the morpheme boundary preceding epenthetic pa has taken place, so that the forms in this language corresponding to the above are miparr.pa and miparr.pa+ku. Phonologised reflexes of *pa₅ also appear in the ABS form of underlyingly consonant-final nominals in THR – as ma following nasals and as pa elsewhere: thadany+ma *tongue (ABS)* (with *l > d, as detailed in Austin 1981b) and warany+ma *vegetable food (ABS)* (PPN *maara), but pawurr+pa *cicatrices (ABS)* (PPN *pawu+L). For further detail, see Klokeid (1969).

In GAW and PNK, no reflex of *pa₅ appears to have survived. In these two languages, a constraint whereby every word must end with a vowel has been satisfied by the use of totally

different strategies: in GAW, the addition of a has resulted in the development *jarlany *tongue* > TADLANY.A (appar thatlany.a), while in PNK fronting, apocope and IS have produced the reflex YARLI yarli.

In NGI, a +pa+L syllable appears in all the stems of transitivised Y-conjugation verbs, as in yunga+Y+pa+L *to cry at* (< PPN *runga+Y *to cry, howl*). Donaldson (1980:163) raises the question as to whether this pa is epenthetically derived. In the interpretation followed herein, it is taken to be a cognate, e.g., of BAN +pi+, as in paka+pi+L+ Vtr *to break*, derived from intransitive paka+Y+. NGI +pa+ in yunga+Y+pa+L is thus to be equated, historically at least, to the +pa+L which constitutes the derivational suffix treated by Donaldson in detail (e.g., on pp. 65, 80 and 163) and to her DELOCUTIVE +pa+Y (pp. 238, 242). All of these NGI elements thus reflect *+pa+, q.v.

P6 PPN *pa₆ Part INTERROGATIVE/DUBITATIVE marker

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in NYU pa *perhaps; it might be* (occurs finally in equational clauses); YIM pa₂ INTERROGATIVE... particle (see YIM pa₁ at *pa₅); possibly MDB pa in nya...pa CONDITIONAL (Capell 1956).
2. Suffixed form in PMR *pa.ra *perhaps* (> NYA W, L pa₃ in the fixed locution yija#pa 'indeed+PERHAPS', used in expressions of hoping (Fr Kevin McKelson, p.c.) (for NYA yi.ja, see at *pa₁); GRJ pa.ra *perhaps*. This element forms a doublet with GRJ pa.ri INTERROGATIVE particle; maybe (with which cf NAN a.ri INTERR particle); GUP bi.li₂ ..INTERR word (see bi.li₁ at *pa₄; RIT baa.ri ~ ba.ri Part maybe; GUM paa.li₂ exclamation of ... query (see GUM paa.li₁ at *pa₃).
3. Suffixed nasal-grade form in WLB ma.yi SELF INTERR, I wonder (Hale 1974:16).
4. Suffixed IS-grade form in GUM wa.la *perhaps, maybe* (Smythe 1948, Eades 1979).
5. Cliticised form in GID +pa clitic marking polite request; please (only with IMPERATIVE verb forms; < 'perhaps you would (be good enough to) do such-and-such?'); PIT +pa INTERR clitic (Dixon 1972:18, citing Roth 1897:28).
6. Cliticised nasal-grade form in MDB +ma (Capell 1956), DYI +ma INTERR marker (Dixon 1972: Dixon notes also (1977:382) that YDN lacks a cognate of DYI +ma); ARW +ma INTERR clitic (Dixon 1972:18, citing Strehlow 1944:19).
7. Cliticised prenasal-grade form in PTJ +mpa INTERR clitic (Dixon 1972:18, reporting Trudinger 1943:222).
8. Cliticised ID-grade form in DIY +ya₂ DUBIT (cf the descent of *pa₁ in this language as +ya₁ near and of *pa₄ as ya and).

P7 PPN/Tangkic *pa+ Vintr to speak, utter

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in GID pa+ *to say, utter*.

2. Nasal-grade form in WLM ma+L+ *to speak* (Hudson 1978).
3. Possible archaic IS-grade interjective counterpart in NYA W wa'! *say it!, speak!*
4. Grammaticalised element (DELOCUTIVE suffix) *+pa+ in LRD ngari.be *to hiccup* and a handful of other fossilised forms; likewise rarely in UMP .pa+TH+, as in pulku.pa+TH+ VINTR *to boil* (< pre-UMP *pulpul+pa+TH+ 'to make bubbling noises', with subsequent dissimilation of the second *p to k – cf NYA W pulpul *boiling, frothing – as of ocean surge against rocks*). Note also UMP tungku.pa+TH+ VINTR *to beat – of the heart*, a prenasal-grade form of pre-UMP *tuku+pa+TH+ 'to go pitter-patter', whose cognates include GUP duk.tuk.thu+N *to palpitate* and PIN tuku.rl+pa *sound of an emu honking* alongside the PIN extended metathesised form kurtu.rtu *heart*.

DYI +(m)pa+Y, as in jikirr.mpa+Y *to make the jikirr-jikirr noise* (jikirr.jikirr *call of the Willie wagtail*); GID by-form pa+L, pa+Y (see above), as in jalkay pa+L *noise of tree limbs creaking* (jalkay *rhythmic sound*) and kurrkurr pa+Y *stamping or bumping noise*; WAA +pa, as in wuuny+pa *to whistle* (wuuny *whistling*); and NGI +pa+Y, as in yama+pa+Y Vtr *to express doubt (to someone)* (yama *DUBIT, yes or no* – Donaldson 1980:241-242).

5. Nasal-grade DELOCUTIVE suffix *+ma+ (cf WLM ma+L, above) in NYA W ...+karra+ma+R+ *to make the sound ...* as in rarr+karra+ma+R+ *to roar – of surf* (rarr *roaring sound*, +karra *ADVERBIAL*), ngangkirri+kirri+mi+R+ *to snort* and miyu+kurru+mu+R+ *to make the miyu sound of cats, to miaow*; WLB +ma+N+, as in nguurr+ma+N+ *to gulp, breathe heavily* (nguurr.pa *larynx, throat*); PIN +ma+N+, as in kinykiny+ma+N+ *to make the noise of numerous voices ...* and yurru.ly+ma+N+ *to make the sound of a snake rustling in the grass ...* (rurru.ly+pa ~ yurru.ly+pa *sound of ... rustling ...*).

P8 PPN *+pa Allomorph of LOC case suffix following [+lab] segments

Lgs: 30.

1. Basic form in YDN, DYI, GUM +pa *LOC case marker following m*; WAA +pa *LOC case marker (with inanimate nouns and names of smaller animals and birds ending in m or w – see Crowley 1978:65)*. Inflected noun example: *pujam+pa *son/child+LOC* > YDN nasal-grade form mujaam+pa *mother+LOC* (with semantic change to RECIP kin term) and likewise nasal-grade pre-Bandjalangic *mujum+pa *son+LOC*. Crowley's description indicates that the reflex of this inflected form is proscribed in modern WAA because mujum *son* is [+anim]; but note, e.g., WAA jiyaw+pa *eye+LOC* (the ancestral initial consonant of *pujam is reconstructed as *p because of GUM and NYA evidence from opposite shores of the continent – witness GUM BO:DJU.NA *child, baby* (Smythe 1948:138) and NYA pujamu S *son of female Ego, W son, daughter*. Of the languages examined, only YDN shows the *mother* referent for this etymon, so that semantic change is here attributed to this language (for additional detail, see elsewhere at *pujam and *kaaja). Note further that in NYA and, in fact, in PMR and PNY, the form *pujam+pa *son+LOC* must have been long since superseded through reanalysis: the ABS form *pujam would have been extended to pujamu as the western constraint against the occurrence of final peripheral nasals became established (cf NE *ram* > NYA yuramu, *lamp* > lampu); and the LOC case form was recreated via a reflex of ancestral *+ng.ka: *pujamu+ng.ka (Dixon 1980, citing Hale) > NYA /pujamu+ng.a/ pujamungu.

2. Possible fossilised survival of PPN allomorphy in a *western* PMN language in *ngakam+pa *dog+LOC* > NYA ngakum.pa *ignorant* (< 'as a dog', 'in a dog (-like state)' – e.g. with regard to incest taboos); cf UMP ngakamu *dingo*, GID ngakam *dog* (WAA *tame dog*). The Bandjalangic dialects appear to be sufficiently remote from UMP – both genetically and in geographical distance – to allow one a reasonable degree of confidence in positing *dog* as the ancestral referent of PPN *ngakam. NYA ngawu S *deaf, mad ...*, W *unaware, heedless, mad* suggests the presence of a doublet in this language; note, further, GUP wawu *unaware, off guard, ignorant* (with assimilation of *ng to w).

P9 PPN *+apa+ ~ *+pa+ Verb-deriving nominal suffix

Prob early truncation of *wapa+Y, q.v.

Lgs: 30.

1. Formative in rather early PMN verb *jarnta+pa+ *to jump (around)* (< 'to go "full knee"'), whose reflexes include KGS TANDA.BA+N *to spring; to jump* and YDN tanta.pa+N *to dance around, feeling lively and pugnacious*. This interpretation is supported by NYA mirti N *running* vs NYA /murti.nga/ murti.ngi *knee* and UMP pungku.kuntha *fleet of foot* vs pungku *knee* (< PP *pungku). Rigsby (p.c.) points out, moreover, that in Cape York Creole *go full rib* is *to gallop*.
2. Further reflexes in the rather productive NYA verb-deriving suffix +pi+L+, as in muwarr+pi+L+ *to speak* (muwarr N *language, word*); note that at least some instances of NYA +pi+L+, however, probably have their origin in the conjugational reanalysis of PA *pu+M *to hit* (Capell 1956, Dixon 1980). (Rarely) in PIN, e.g. in kiti.ny.pi+L+ *to poke someone with finger in order to gain [his, her] attention* (< PPN *kiiti *tickling*); cf PIN kiti.kiti+L+, UMP tiiti.nga+L+ *to tickle*; (productively) in the GAW CAUSATIVE suffix +APPE+, as in WORN+APPE+ (appar warni+yapi+) *to make fall, throw down* (GAW WORNE+ *to fall, be born* < PPN *pa.rna+); likewise productively in NYU +api.ny INCHOATIVE, *becoming*, as in pujurr+api.ny *to turn to dust* (pujurr *ground*) and in WJK +AB(BI.N) *to be, become*, as in DJUL+AP *to become bad* (DJUL *bad*); in NAN +pa+, as in innga+pa+ *to die* (innga *dead*), kulyu.ra+pa+ Vtr *to wet* (kulyu.ra *wet* < *kalyu *water*); in the BAN TRANSITIVISING suffix +pi+L+, as in paka+pi+L+ Vtr *to break* (cf paka+Y+ Vintr *to break*); (rarely) in YUU, as in GUP, RIT gurru.pa+n *to give*.

(Rarely) in LRD, as in kurra.be(e) ~ kurre.be *to be silent, quiet*, conceivably related to PPN *kUrRa *bad, NEGATIVE*; see also P7, another possible cognate of LRD .be; (rarely) in KLY, e.g. in MAGU.BI *to increase* (possibly related via antonymic referent change to MAGI moegi *small*); DUDU.PI *to be drowned* and PATA.PI *to finish*; in just four YDN verbs (Dixon 1977:208), including wunga.pa+N *to look for [meat], hunt* and tanta.pa+N, cited above; in DYI +pi+L, which forms intransitive verbal stems, e.g. pulka.n+pi+L *to become big* (< PPN *purlka *big, important*); in BNJ +pa a) *to make, cause*, as in waju+pa *to make (someone) speak* and b) *to go*, as in yang+ku+pa *here+ALLAT+go, to come*; in GUM muukum+pa *to make ... blunt* (Eades 1979:353), DJARA.BI:+ *to crawl, creep, stalk* (Smythe 1948:139); (rarely) in WEM, as in perroe.pa *to climb (trees)*, jilerr.pa *to pinch (someone)*; and in NGI +pa+L, which forms transitive verbs, e.g. yunga+y+pa+L *to cry at ...* (cf yunga+Y Vintr *to cry* < PPN *runga+Y *to cry, howl*); note the closing remarks under *pa₅.

P10 PPN *paja N pus, boil; rotten

Prob forms early doublet with *kaja₂, q.v.

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in YIM patha *rotten* and possibly also in KLY BADA *sore, ulcer baadha a sore* (but see also at *panyja₁).
2. Reduplicated form in GUP batj.patj *sickness*.
3. Suffixed forms in WJK doublet BADJANG *matter from a boil or sore ...*, BIDJA.K *stinking; offensive*; MDI puthu.ni *matter – from a wound; a boil*; WEM puju.n *matter from a wound or boil, 'sleep' from the eyes*.

P11 PPN *paja+₁ Vtr cut

Prob ult rel to *paki+L.

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in WLB paji+L+ *cut, tear; break (a horse)*; KLY PATAI patha+n *cut, cut off, chop (wood)*; BNJ paj+e *cut, strike* (for BNJ paji.l+e *rain*, see at P20).
2. Possible ID-grade form in PIN yiji.pu+NG+ *torture ...*.

P12 PPN *paja+₂ Vtr bite, sting; ache, pain

(Dixon 1980:403-408).

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in NYA paji+R+, WLM paja+RR+, PIN paja+L+, PNK PAIA+, YIN paa+L+, PP *paja+ (> UMP, BAK patha+L+, WMK path+, YY pay), YDN paja+L *bite*; GAW PAIA+ *bite, chew; understand*; RIT batha+₂ *sting*; DYI paja+L *bite, chew*.
2. Suffixed form *paja+rr *bite+AGT* in PIN paja.rr.pu+ng+ *knock out a tooth ...* ('hit a biter'); GID payaa.rr, WAA payaa.rr.payaa.rr *centipede*; BNJ payaa.rr *brown snake* (< 'one that bites'). GUP baya.rra.k *non-stinging bee*; WEM pathang *large black ant*.
3. Nasal-grade form in DIY matha+ *bite*.
4. Possible taboo-deformed variant in GUP ratha+n *bite*.

P13 PPN *pAja+ Vtr leave, reject; throw (away)

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in GAW BATTE+ *throw*; YDN paja+R Vtr *leave*. Semantically, compare NYA yaka+R+ ... +a *leave*, YGS yaka+ *throw* (< PNY *yaka+).
2. Suffixed forms in BAY paya.tha+L+ *throw* and patha.rr.kuji *right hand* (< 'throwing (hand)'); RIT baya.k.dhi+ *reject*, bay'.yu+n *leave*.

P14 PPN *paaja₁ N growl, roar – as of surf; dangerous, disliked or 'cheeky' entity

See *paaja₁, below.

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in GAW PAITYA (appar paja) *vermin, reptile, monster, any dangerous or disliked animal*; PNK PAITYA *angry, hostile, quarrel, fight*; YIN paya (i) *fight (Aboriginal English), war*; (ii) (a) *viciousness*, (ii) (b) *fierce, savage, vicious*; (iii) (a) *anger, rage*, (iii) (b) *angry, wild*; (iv) (a) *force*, (iv) (b) *forceful, bossy* (Wordick 1982:335); KLY PAZA *flat fish with poisonous stings* (not documented in MIR).
2. PNY derived form *paja+purtu *angry, aggressive*, in GAW PAIT.PURTU *irritable, quarrelsome*; YIN paya.wurtu *fierce, angry or bossy type* and paya.wurtu paru *buck spinifex* (< 'injurious, spiky'); BAY paja.purtu *aggressive, 'cheeky'*.
3. Further suffixed forms in NYA W paja.rtu *surf, breakers*, BNJ paaja.p *roar of the sea*; NYA W payi.rti *horn – as of sheep or cattle*; PNK PAITYARTA *noxious, dangerous, venomous*, PAITYA.NDO *fierce, strong, able*; NYU paja.rr *fight, a fight*; BAY patha.rri+Y+ *scold, chastise; to fight* and paja.ku.rri+Y+ *get angry, wild*.

P15 PPN *paaja₂ time, morning, tomorrow

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in WJK BATA sun's rays; UMP denominative paaja+ *to dawn, break – of day*, and possibly WMK path.ath+, JKY wayi+ Vtr *to light, ignite (a fire)*; BAA paaja+ *shine, with a white sheen* (Hercus 1982:276). GYA paya *fire* and MNN paya.pu+ Vintr *burn – of fire* may not stem from English fire, but could rather be continuations of *paaja₂.
2. Suffixed forms in WJI patha.l+pa *morning, tomorrow* and KLY BATA.INGA batha.y.nga *tomorrow*.

P16 PPN *paaja₁ Vtr scold, berate

See *paaja₁, above.

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in PIN payi+L+ *scold*; PNK PATTA+ *scold, abuse, accuse*; conceivably GUP bāya.rra *pay, pay back, take vengeance* and KLY poey.bi *call out, shout, bark, miaow*; PP *paaji+ *shout* (> WMK pej+, BAK paji+, YIM paathi+L₃); possibly DYI pata.y pirra+ *answer, retort* (pirra+ *throw*).

P17 PPN *paaja+₂ Vtr taste, perceive

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in WLB paja+L+ *taste it*; PNG *paja+L+ (> NUW paja+, MRD paya+ *drink*; NMA, GRY paja+ *eat*; BAY paja+L+ *eat, drink, suck*; PP *paaja+ (> WMK paath+ *taste*; BAK pathe+ *drink*; YIM paata+L *taste, sample, try, ask*; probably PNK PATTI+ *be silent, wait, consider* (< 'savour the situation', 'play it by ear').
2. Suffixed form in MDI patha.y.ma *feel, touch*; WEM pathe.ma *try, or taste, food*.
3. ID-grade form in PIN yaji+L+ *taste; test, try, copy*.
4. Member of cpd in NYA W milya.paji+R+ ... +a *rub one's nose* (< 'perceive that one's nose (milya, nasal-grade form of *puulyal) is itchy').

P18 PPN *paaja+₃ Vtri sing

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in MRN patha+, WMK path+, BAK aji+, YIM paathi+L₂, JKY paji+ and DYI, WRG paya+L *sing*; PNG *patha+RR *blow – of wind* (> YIN payha+RR+).

P19 PPN *pajing N lower arm, hand-held implement

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in NYA W paji *split stick – as used in making fire*; PNG *paji (> NYL, BAN paji *lower arm*), YIN payi *radius (bone), (loosely) forearm* (Wordick 1982); DJA pajing, WEM pathing *knee*. Note also GUP bätju *digging stick*, BAA patha+ma+ *to dig out*.
2. PDN derived form *paji+pu+NG+ *make fire by friction*, in NYA paji+pi+L+ W *make fire, using fire saw with split stick, S spinning or rubbing action when making fire in traditional manner*; PIN paji.pu+NG+ *ignite fire by rubbing spearthrower on another piece of wood*.
3. Suffixed forms in GUP batji.kali *pannikin*; YIM pathi.pay ~ pathi.pi *bone*; MDI pathi.ki *tomahawk*, DJA paji.k *stone tomahawk*.
4. Suffixed nasal-grade forms in NYA W panyi(.marra) *wrist, forearm*, S panyi.marra *arm*.

P20 PPN *paju N water, rain; cold, cool

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in WJK BADTO (appar pathu) *water*.
2. Suffixed forms in NYA W paja.l.pi *spring, spring water*, paja.wa.karti *cloud and/or rain from south in summer* (for #karti *side*, see at *rika); PNK PAI ALLA (sic: appar paya.la) *cold*; YIN payhu.rru and possibly KLY PAD.BUL *flood*; UMP paya.mu *rainbow*; possibly YDN paja.kal *king tide*; BNJ paji.l+e *to rain*; WEM patha.k *hailstone*.

P21 PPN *pAju N bird sp.

Lgs: 30.

1. Suffixed form in NYA S paji.wirri.wirri *swiftlet* – sp *Apodidae*; PIN paju.pirri *bat type*; YDN paji.n sutton [sic] *bird*, DYI paji.n.ji.la D (palan) *satin [sic] bird*; MDI patha.ngal, DJA paji.ngal *pelican*.

P22 PPN *paaju Adj sad, tearful; sympathetic

Prob ult rel to *paarri+ cry, q.v.

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in NYA paju S *sorrowful, apologetic*, W *sorrowful for the dead, or for person departing on journey*.
2. Suffixed form in PIN paju.ri ... *sympathetic ... joins sides with another in a fight*; GAW PADYO.TTI *blind; a blind person* (< 'one who evokes sympathy').
3. Verbal derivative in PP *paaji+ cry (Rigsby 1976:72), in YIM paathi+L *cry, wail*, THY dhi+ cry. Prob further reflex in YDN pati+N *cry, sob*.

P23 PPN *pAju+ V

(Conceivably a verb having to do with physical separation.)

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in DYI paji+Y Vintr *fall (off, down)* (cf DYI paji.ka+Y Vintr *duck away*).
2. Reduplicated form in PNK BATHU.BATHU+ *shake out, empty a bag*.

P24 PPN *paaju+ Vintr Act turn, Pot emerge, be born

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in GAW BATTE+ *throw*; NMA patha+RR, BAY patha+L+ *hit with missile, shoot*; YIN payha+RR+ *throw at; spin; drill with firestick* (sic) (for the semantics, cf *ruwa+Y); KLY asi+n *become* (cf PIE *wert+ *turn* > German werd+en); YDN payi+L *emerge*; DYI payi+L Vtr *turn round, stir, wring*; BNJ BAJ+A (appar pay+a) *arise, get up, appear, wake up, come into view*.
2. Suffixed form in RIT biyi.rr'yu+N *twist*.
3. IS-grade form in UMP waaji+ *turn, be born*.

P25 PPN *+paju Suff very, really, truly

(See at *pa₁.)

Lgs: 30.

1. Basic form in ADN +waja, PNK PA, BAY, THL +paju *very, really*; UMP +uthu *very*.
2. Extended form in YIM +puthu.n *very, real*; DYI +paju.n *really, very*.
3. Conceivably cognate stem in GUP batha.la *huge, massive, very big*.

P26 PPN *paka₁ N tail, lower part

See at *paka.rr.

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in PNK BAKKA *stunted, dwarf ... tree*; GUP bäka (with unclearly motivated long V₁) *tail, lower leg, handle*; RIT baaka *lower leg, esp. the shin bone*; KAT paka *knee*.
2. Reduplicated form in GUM paka.paka *knee*.
3. Suffixed form in KLY PAKA.l *a tail, streamer? Tail of a mask*; GID paka.wang *cuckoo-shrike ... ('longtail')*. WAA paka.wang *leatherhead*.

P27 PPN *paka₂ N frost

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form (sic) in GAW BAKKADLA *hoar frost; ... salt*; PNK BAKKALLA *hoar frost*; WAA pakay *ice, frost, snow*; GUM kakaa *frost*.

P28 PPN *pakarr N down, below

Prob ult rel to *paka₁ via the sense of 'at the tail'.

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in RIT baagay *south* (with unexplained long V₁); PP *pakay *down, below* (> UMP pakay, LIN kar – Hale 1976b:25); GID pakarr *far side*, WAA pakarr *over there, distant*.
2. Possibly suffixed form in PNK BAKKU.LLU *onward, along*.
3. Suffixed IS-grade form in TRK waka.rarra *up*.

P29 PPN *paka+L Vtr to spear

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in WLB paka+L+ a. *strike – with stick, hand or other instrument; chop*; b. *bump – as with body or car*; GAW BAKKA+ *dig out roots*; NYU paki.ny *poke, touch*; WJK BAKKA+N

*bite, to ache, to pain; KLY PAGA.l₁ ... pierce, sting, prick ... (paga+n spear, stab); YIM paka+L dig, dig up, sting, stab, poke, peck, jab; GID puka+ poke, pierce, write, with unexplained u for *a. For further reflexes, see Merlan (1979).*

2. Suffixed forms in GUP *bäka.la harpoon* and *baka.rra.ma wooden spear; RIT baka.' spear with two hooked wooden prongs.*
3. IS-grade form in PIN, YUL *waka+L+ to spear*
4. Suffixed IS-grade form in NYA W *waka.l.ma+R+ touch a sore spot.*

P30 PPN *pAka+ Vintr (be) broken, smashed, cracked open

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in PNG **paka+Y+ break, come apart (> BAN paka+Y+, YIN paa+Y+); GID paaka+ smash, crack; BNJ paak+a Vtr break; WAA paka.numa knock over.*
2. Suffixed forms in GUP *bak.thu+N break, get hurt; RIT bak.u+N break off, become broken off; YIM paka.l crack, opening (in tree or window); GID pakaa.n crack, narrow slit or gap.*

P31 PPN *paki+L Vtr to cut

See also P11. Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in GAW *BAKKE+ to cut.*
2. IS-grade form in YIM *waki+L to cut.*

P32 PPN/Tangkic *pAki Adj all, everything; totally

Lgs: 32.

1. Root form in LRD *paki everyone, everything.*
2. Suffixed forms in JKY *paki(rr) other (Hale, p.c.); YDN paki.l another; DIY paka.rna Adj also, same, too.*
3. Suffixed IS-grade forms in NYA W *waka.rt altogether, totally, entirely, waki.ji.kirri all, everyone; GUP waki.n.ngu illegitimate, belonging to no-one, uninhabited place, with antonymic semantic change. (For the connection between all and other, see, e.g., *parntung).*

P33 PPN *paku₁ Adj tired, weak; tiringly far

Perh ult rel to *paku₄.

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in PIN doublet *paku tired, pregnant woman* and *paki long way.*
2. Suffixed forms in RIT *baka.ra tortoise ('slowpoke');* GUM *PAKUU.RREI+ lie down, sleep (tiredness POTENTIALLY leads to sleep).*

3. Suffixed prenasal-grade form in PNK PANGKU.RRU *weak, sick* (cf PPN *puka₁ *rotten* > WIR *pungka.la* ~ *pungka.rra*).
4. Suffixed IS-grade forms in NYA *waka.la* *tired* (< pre-NYA *waku.la) and GUP *waga.batj* *very long way away*.

P34 PDN *paku₂ N 'hide' made, e.g., in spinifex

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in NYA W *paku* *'hide' made in spinifex – e.g. by wallabies*.
2. Suffixed form in WLB *paku.ru* *bandicoot sp.* (< "builder of a 'hide'"?).

P35 PPN *paku₃ N vine sp.

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in GUP *baku* *lawyer vine, armlets made from vine*; GID *paki sp. vine*; BNJ *paki bush, scrub, jungle*; NGI *paka* *wild banana vine* (Donaldson 1980:71).
2. Suffixed forms conceivably in NYA W *paki.ri* *flowers of 'nalgoo' plant*; NMA *paku.rta*, YIN *pau.rta* *needlewood* (Wordick 1982); YDN *paki.rram* *tea-tree sp*; DJA *paku.rt* *wild currant, Astroloma sp*; WEM *pako.pany* *milk thistle* (loan from Yotayota).
3. Suffixed IS-grade form in GID *waku.y* *vine (generic)*, forming a doublet with GID *paki*, above.

P36 PEPN *paku₄ Part almost, nearly

Lgs: 30.

1. Suffixed forms in UMP *aku.yu.m*, BNJ *paki.n.ji*, WAA *paki.ny(.ja)* *almost, nearly*; possibly also in GUM *paku.rriny* *final ... initiation ceremony ...* (< 'almost (fully initiated)'?).

Alternatively, GID *takal* *almost*, UMP *aku.yu.m* and NYA W *katu.ngurru* *almost* could conceivably form a cognate set reflecting ancestral PPN *taku. The NYA form would then have undergone metathesis along with a handful of other *tVkv(...) forms (note also, e.g., English *tickle* vs. German *kitzeln*). Evidence is needed from UMP's sister Pamic languages.

P37 PPN *paakul N dry outer bark or husk

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in GAW *BAKKA* *dry bark; husk or peel ...*; GUP *bäkul* *stingray* (for the semantics, cf NYA W *karnu* *skin, spotted stingray*); GID *pakul* *bark of tree*; BNJ *pakul* *bark, canoe, boat*; WAA *pakul* *bark, canoe*; GUM *paakul* *bark, canoe made from bark*; DIY *paka* *outer shell, husk* (Austin, p.c.).
2. Reduplicated form in WLB *paka.paka* *dry and flaking – as of skin, foot*.

3. Suffixed forms in WLB paka.rli *paperbark*; PIN paka.rr.ji *dry hard earth*; PNK BAKKA.RRA *lump, clod*.

P38 PPN *paku N dots; spotted

Lgs: 10.

1. Suffixed form in GAW BAKKU.RTA *dots on the chest and back*.
2. Partially reduplicated suffixed IS-grade form in PNK WAKA.ITYA.KAI.TYA (*appar waka.ja.ka.ja*) *spotted, striped*.
3. Reduplicated suffixed prenasal-grade form in JKY pangka.ny.pangka.ny *spotted*.

P39 PNY Y *paku.paku N bellbird

Lgs: 30.

1. Basic form in WLB, BAY paku.paku, ADN vaku-vaku, PNK BAKKU.BAKKU, WJK BOKA.N.BOKA.N *bellbird*; GUP бага.pаgа *пied heron*. For the WJK vocalism, see P140, P97.

pakurri *where*. MRN element of unknown etymology, possibly substratal. Lgs: 30.

P40 PPN *pala₁ N helper, companion

Lgs: 30.

1. Reduplicated form in GID pala.palee *helpful person*.
2. Infix/suffixed form in GUP bal.p.a.ra *helper*; RIT bal.p.a.ra *companion, mate*, bal.p.a.ra'+yu+N *accompany*.

P41 PPN *pala₂ Part perhaps

Lgs: 30.

1. Suffixed forms in NYA S pala.pali *probably, maybe* (cf NYA ngurni.pali *perhaps, I don't know*; GUP bala.ngu *might, could, should?*).
2. IS-grade form in GUM wala *perhaps, maybe*.

P42 PPN *pala N flying phalanger?

See P44. Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in GYA pala *flying phalanger, sugar squirrel*.
2. Suffixed forms in WJK BALLA.WARA, WJK N BALLA.GAR, KGS BALLA.RD *small squirrel-like opossum*; GUM PALLA.WIR *flying fox*.

P43 PNY *pala+₁ Vintr pull (face), grimace

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in PNK PALLA+ *pull, draw, let loose, start*.
2. Reduplicated form in PNK PALLA.PALLA+ *jerk one's tongue, express surprise*.
3. Suffixed form in NYA W pala.la.karri+Y+ *convulse the face with fear*.

P44 PPN *pala+₂ Vintr rise, climb

See P42. Lgs: 30.

1. Suffixed forms in PNK PALLA.KARRI+ *rise, get up, hasten*; KGS BALINGUR *climb*; KLY PAL.GI+ *fly, jump* pala.gi+n *to fly*; BNJ pala.kay+a *dodge, avoid*; DJA pala.k *small bird, 'lark...'*.
2. Possibly suffixed ID-grade form in UMP aal.ma+ *grow, mature*.
3. Reduplicated suffixed form in WEM pala.m.pala.m *white butterfly*.

PPN *pa.la+rri. See at *pa₁.

P45 PPN *pali+ Vtr tread on, kick; weigh heavily on

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in PIN pali+L+ *tire, press, flatten – as object because of its weight ..., make (person) feel exhausted – of a lump in the groin*; KLY pala+n *kick* (Bani and Bani); YIM brother-in-law lg form pali+L *walk, go; to paddle – in canoe, boat; wade about*.
2. Suffixed form in GUP bala.nha+N *tread on*.

P46 PPN *pali/u N mirage, haze; darkish

Lgs: 30.

1. Suffixed forms in PNK PALU.WORRA *light clouds in a hot day, haze*; YIN pali.n *mirage, pali.irri blue-tongue lizard*, in which Wordick (1982:330) glosses pali+ as *dark-coloured*; YIM pala.wungkal *cyclone*.

P47 PPN *palja N side, flank; branch

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in GAW PALT₁ (= palthi?), PALT₁.WALT₁ and PNK PALLI *flank, groin*; KLY PASI *side; wall of house* (not documented in MIR), pasi+n *lie on one's side*. UMP palnta *arm, branch of tree* is conceivably a blend of reflexes of PP *pinta *arm, shoulder* and PPN *palja.

2. Suffixed forms in NYA W paLja.rra.nguny (sic) *left hand (esp with respect to throwing boomerang)*; WJK BALLA.RO.K *cognomen of one of the great families ...*; RIT baltha.rr *leg, branch ('side')*; KLY pasi.ya *beside, next to*; GID pata.rr *front side*.
3. Suffixed/prefixed form in, e.g., WLB Ja+palja.rr *male subsection name*, Na+palja.rr *female subsection name* (for a discussion of the diffusion of such forms, see McConvell 1985).

For the diachronic semantics of *palja, cf P77.

P48 PNY Y *palju N (going) by foot, on foot

Prob ult rel to *parlku.

Lgs: 30.

1. Suffixed forms in PIN palju.l+pa *on foot*; GUP baldhu.rr' *mark made on ground and stamped with footprint as a sign to people following*, baldhu.rr'+yu+N *kick, mark out, borrow*. NYA S palju.rn.pa+R+ *sit up* is conceivably a further reflex.

P49 PEPN *palka+ Vtr hit with long, rigid implement

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in DYI palka+L *hit with long, rigid implement, held in hand; kill*.
2. Suffixed form in MDI palka.tha *hit, wound*.
3. Prenasal-grade form in YDN palngka+R *hit with stick*.

P50 PPN *pAlmpu N sealed, closed

Perh ult rel to *pApu egg.

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in WLB, PIN pampa *blind*; PNK BAMBA(.LLA) *without*; WJK doublet member BAMBI *bat* (< 'blind creature'); YDN pampi+L *to cover*, palmpi.ny *grasshopper* (< 'covered with exoskeleton').
2. Suffixed forms in NYA, NMA pampu.ru *blind in both eyes*; PK *pampu.ra *blind* (> BAY pampu.ra, BRD papu.ra (Austin 1981:322)); WLB parlpu.ru *well – of sore, no longer an open wound* (< 'closed up'); PIN palpu.ru *shut, covered ... wound which is completely healed*; NYU pampu.l *old man, elder, leader* (< 'blind person?'); WJK BAMBA.LA *film or cataract formed over the eye*, BABI.L.GUN *bat sp.*; possibly KGS BAPPI.GAR *mend, stop up*; YIN pampa+ngarri+Y+ *to sleep* (pampa *sleep* + ngarri+Y+ *to lie, be*); GUP, RIT bamba.y *blind*.

P51 PEPN *palngka N stick

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in YDN palngka+R *hit with a stick*.

2. Cpd form in GID pangka.pikirr '*paddymelon tree*', from which throwing sticks were made (i.e., POTENTIAL throwing stick).
3. Possibly also cognate, but with obscurely differing consonantism, is GRJ paka *stick*.

P52 PEPN *palngku Adj multihued

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in DYI pangka+L *paint with finger, write*.
2. Suffixed form in YIM palngku.ka *small fish sp ('manua fish' – pretty colours)*.
3. Reduplicated suffixed form in GID pangki.rr pangkii.rr *mixed colours, variegated*.

P53 PDN *palpi+ Vtr scold, rebuke

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in NYA S palpi+R+ *rebuke, tell off*.
2. Suffixed ID-grade form in PIN yaripi.rrri ... *person broadcasting a grievance ...*

P54 PNY *palu Part unaware, accidentally

Perh ult rel to *palu+.

Lgs: 30.

1. Suffixed form in NYA W pala.l(pala.l) *unaware, inattentive, misunderstanding, not noticing*, NYA S pala.l.pala.l *no notice, still asleep*; WJK BALLU.K *accidentally, unintentionally*.

PPN *pa+lu. See at *pa₁.

P55 PPN *palu+ Vintr die, be extinguished

Lgs: 33.

1. Root form in WLB pali+Y+ *die; go out – of fire*; GAW PADLO+ *die; desire, wish, long ...*; PNK PADLU+ *die, be extinguished*; ARW ilu+ *die*.
2. Suffixed forms in WLB palu+pu+NG+ *extinguish it – light, fire, kill it*; PIN parli.l+pa *tiredness of spirit ...*, parli.ju+N+ *close one's eyes, intending to sleep*; GAW PADLO.APPE+ *kill*, PADLO.NI.NTYE.RLA *strongly desiring; longing* (cf NE *I'm dying to go!*); WJK BALLA.JA+N ... *assault; attack; slay*; BAY palu.rrri+Y+ *go out – of fire*; GUP balu.ka *robber* (< 'killer'); conceivably UMP payi.na+ *die away – of wind* (cf NYA W rawi.n *calm (windless)* < *rawa); GID palaa.ny *corpse*, palu.kaa.n *one kind of male spirit-being, handsome*, palu.pa+ *make low, extinguish – fire or lamp*; WAA palaa.n.ka *die*; GUM palu.ngking *thirsty* (cf the semantics of PIN yilu+Y+, below).

3. Nasal-grade form in UMP maati+ *to vomit*.
4. IS-grade form in GUM waalii+ *die*.
5. Compound IS-grade form in JKY wali.yinka *die*.
6. ID-grade form in PIN yilu+Y+ *die ... , thirst for water* (Arandic loan?).
7. Reduplicated suffixed ID-grade form in PIN yilu.ru.yilu.ru *one who pines ... for home or country*.

P56 PPN *palya₁ N fat, grease

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in WLB palya *wax – from spinifex; native adze*; PIN palya *good ... pleasing, palya+L+ make, construct, repair, make good, heal*; GUP boy *yellow, FATTY part of crab* (emph mine – O'G). For the phonology of the GUP form, cf GUP djoy' (< *jalya), moy' (< *malya) and ngoy (< *ngaalya); UMP paja *grass*, YDN paja *grassy plain*, in which grass is apparently considered as POTENTIALLY fat (game); PIT palyi *N fat*.
2. Suffixed forms in NYA paja.rli *W fat, dripping, S fat, grease* (with dissimilation from *palya.rli); WRN palya.rrī *fat, grease*; GAW PAIT.PURLA (appar paj.purla) *grease, fat, oil* (with which cf MDI paypu.lu *fat, kidney fat*); WJK BAL-YA.TA *firm, fixed, firmly united – of man and wife, embedded ...* (for the semantics, cf PIN palya+L+, above); PNG *palha.ma+L+ *rub it, paint* ('make him/it good') (> BAN palha.ma+L+, YIN patha.ma+L+); PNG *palha.rra *green* (cf *grass* in UMP, YDN above) (> NMA doublet palha.rra *green, blue, palya.rra budgerigar* ('green-plumaged bird'), with which cf YIN patha.rra *budgie*); conceivably RIT +baya.ngu, as in gupu.lu+baya.ngu *fat, thick*, in which gupu.lu is *body*.
3. Reduplicated suffixed form in WLB palya.n.ji.palya.n.ji *covered with a sticky substance*.

P57 PNY *palya₂ Adj empty, void

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in PNG *palya *bony, skinny* (> NMA palya, YIN paja – Wordick 1982:335).
2. Suffixed forms in WJK BYL-YU.R (appar palyu.rr) *hungry, empty*; RIT bay.ngu *nothing*.

P58 PNY *palya₃ N shrub sp

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in GAW PALYA *shrub resembling myrtle; small hook made of [same]... .*
2. Suffixed form in YIN paji.la *turkey-fruit, banana caper, caper bush* (Wordick 1982:335).
3. Infix form in PNK PAIL.B.A (appar paly.p.a) *bush, shrub*.
4. Suffixed/infix forms in PIN paly.k.a.ny+pa *tree sp, sandals made from its bark*; PNK PAL.K.A.RA *sp eucalyptus, blue gum*.

P59 PDN *palya.palya N cool breeze

Lgs: 30.

1. Basic form in PNK PALYA(PALYA) *cool breeze, evening breeze*.
2. Nasal-grade form in NYA W malyi.malyi *strong cool wind blowing from area of rain*.
3. Suffixed root form in PNK PALYAMBA *weak*. Bearing in mind the diachronic semantics of PPN *yamu (O'Grady 1981b), PNK PALYO *slowly, gently* appears as a further plausible cognate.

P60 PNY *palyja

Possibly an adjective having to do with being numb from cold.

Lgs: 30.

1. Suffixed forms in PIN palyja.l+pa *numb from cold*; GUP baltja.m'.thu+N *make fire* (< 'seek warmth of fire?').

P61 PDN *palykl+ V crack, break

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in PIN palypi+L+ (with lag assim) *break legs [or] arm joints ... of a 'roo before cooking*; PNK PALKI+ *crackle – as fire*.
2. Suffixed form in PNK PALKI.RRI+ *crack, break, become loose*.
3. Metathesized form in NYA W pilyka *a crack, split*.

P62 PNY *palyu+ V intr fall, go down

Lgs: 30.

1. Suffixed forms in WLB palya.rr.(w)anti+Y+ *fall and shatter – as lump of earth*; PIN palyu.ti+Y+ *to fall*; possibly BAY palya.ngka+Y+ *creep up*.
2. Suffixed/infix forms in NYA W paly.p.u.rr.paly.p.u.rr+jarri+Y+ *become deflated, go down – of tyre*, paly.p.a.rr.paly.p.a.rr (sic) *an inaccurate throw – as of boomerang*.

PP *pama₁ N *person, aborigine*. See at *mapang.

P63 PPN *pama₂ N delicacy

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in WLB pama *delicacy*.
2. Suffixed form in GUP bama.ra.ng *fruit sp.*

3. IS-grade form in PIN wama *delicacy*; KLY WAM *honey-comb*; WMK wom *beeswax*.
4. Suffixed IS-grade form in NYA W wamu.lu *native tomato*; WJK WAUMI.L-YA.R (appar wami.lya.rr ... *Manna. A white, sweetish substance*

P64 PPN *paama N stone, hill, cliff

Lgs: 30.

1. Suffixed forms based on PDN *pama.rr, in NYA W pama.rr *humpy*; WLB pama.rr.pa *stone, hill, mountain* (for the semantics, see *kanya and *karnku; a stony outcrop or overhang is a POTENTIAL shelter).
2. Suffixed IS-grade form in BNJ waama.ny *cliff*.

P65 PPN *paama+ Vtr take out

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in NYA W pama+R+ *eviscerate, gut*.
2. Infixated ID-grade form in UMP aampi+ *take out – as from oven*.

P66 PPN *pAma+ Vtr to spear, dig

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in GAW PAMMA+₁ *to spear, pierce*; KLY pama+n *dig a hole* (Bani and Bani 1975).

P67 PPN *pamay N plain, flat country

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in GID, WAA pamay *plain, flat*.
2. IS-grade form in GAW WOMMA (appar wama) *plain*.

P68 PEPN *paampa+ Vintr be frightened

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in MDI, DJA, WEM pampa *be frightened* and, possibly, in WNG paampa+ *jump about* (Sutton 1978:242).
2. Suffixed form in YDN pampa.ra+N *be frightened*.
3. Reduplicated suffixed form conceivably in GNL bamba.rk.pamba.rk *cockroach* (< 'scuttles off in alarm if disturbed?').
4. IS-grade form in GUM waampi *afraid, surprised, amazed*.

P69 PPN *paampi/a N stingray

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in *-a in WJK BAMBA *stingray-fish ...*; KLY BABA *long feathers of a bird's wing and tail* (not as yet documented in MIR); YIM paampa *fish-tail*.
2. Root form in *-i in WJK BAMBI *small sort of flounder fish* (forming a doublet with BAMBA, above); GUP bāmbi *stingray*.

P70 PPN *pampu+L Vtr touch, test; ask

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in YUL pampu+L+ *touch*; PIN pampu+L+ *touch; feel a patient – of doctor*; GAW PAMMA+₂ *touch, border upon*; YIN pampaa+ *test, try*; UMP pampa+L+ *ask*. For the semantics, cf NE *he's a soft touch*.
2. Suffixed form in KUN ampa.yi+ *ask about, enquire*. cf GYA papa.ji *ask*.

P71 PPN *pampum N bruise

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in WAA pampam *swelling* (cf GID pam pam *bruise, swelling*).
2. Suffixed form in DYI pampu.n Adj *quite fat ...* ('swollen'); KLY doublet PAPA.LI V (not in MIR), mabu+ *bruise*.
3. Reduplicated suffixed form in PNK BAMMA.LLA.MMA.LLI+ *break out; form eruptions on the skin* (with unclearly motivated loss of *-p-).
4. Suffixed IS-grade form in PIN wampu.ri *bruise under the skin*.

P72 PPN *pana N water, rain

Lgs: 32.

1. Root form in YDN pana *fresh water, drinkable liquid*; DYI DM pana (palan) *fresh water*; 'Yiilima' BANNA *water* (Curt 1887:589).
2. Suffixed forms in WRN pana.ya, WLB pani.ya (Rex Granites, p.c.) *eye ...* (< 'moist') – cf NYA pani *eye ...*; YAU pana.y *lagoon*.
3. IS-grade form in NYA wana *quenched – after drinking* ('watered').
4. Suffixed IS-grade form in NYA W wana.yirti (sic), S warna.yiti (sic) *water*.

P73 PPN *paana+ Vintr come, arrive

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in GAW PADNE+ *go, walk, travel*; PNK PADNA+ *go, be*; GID paana+ ... *arrive*.
2. Suffixed form in THL pana.karri+Y+ *to come – of rain*.
3. IS-grade form in RIT waani+ *go, come*.

P74 PPN *pAnga N stone, rock

Lgs: 30.

1. Suffixed forms in GUP banga.m *rock*; KLY PANGAD *stony* (no matching form attested in MIR).

P75 PPN *pAngal N transformation, (ex)change

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in WJK BANG-AL₂ *retaliation; exchange of one thing for another*; conceivably KLY BANGAL N *another day, Adv in future* (not in MIR); DJA pangal, WEM pangoel *doctor, clever man* ('one who transforms').
2. Suffixed forms in NYA W panga.ra *shedding of skin, transformation*, NYA pangal.ka+NG+ Vintr *change in shape, be transformed*; PIN pangka.rla.ngu (with unclearly motivated -k-) *local spirits which inhabit waterholes... ('transformed beings')*; PNK PANGA.RRI+ *be ripe, ripen*; conceivably WIR pangu.nu *younger sibling ('to be exchanged in marriage')* and BAY POENGA.BULA *frog sp ('changeling')*.
3. Nasal-grade form conceivably in UMP malngal *shadow ('spirit')*. This may be a blend of reflexes of *pAngal and an Austronesian loan *malu *shade, shadow* (O'Grady and Tryon, above).

P76 PPN *pangka N skin

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in PIN pangki ... *animal skin, bark*, denominal pangki+L+ *to peel – of bark of trees*; conceivably GUP bänggu *boiled bark* (with unaccountable vocalism, however).
2. Suffixed forms in MRN pingki.rli *skin*; PP *pangka.rr *skin, muscle* (> THY ngge.rr *flesh, muscle*, YIM pangka.rr *flesh, meat* (Rigsby 1976:73)). UMP awa.y *skin* meets the criteria for cognation except for having unexpected w for *ngk; note also MUL pangka.rr *skin*. YIM, YDN pangka.mu *potato* is apparently derived semantically from the fact that the tuber of this plant has a conspicuous outer covering.

P77 PPN *paangkam N rib, side; half, part

See at P47.

Lgs: 32.

1. Root form in NYA pangka W *half of carcass which has been cut lengthwise, S section, part*; WJK BANG-GA *part of, half ...*; DIY pangki *side, pangki.thirri ribs, rib bone*; ARB, WGK pangki *rib*. KLY BAG(A) *lower jaw, cheek* baaga *jaw* appears at first blush both phonologically and semantically as a further plausible reflex (cf PPN *mungka *anthill* > KLY /mugu/ muugu, and bear in mind the bipartite arrangement of upper and lower jaw). In fact, however, KLY baaga is most plausibly to be assigned as a Papuan loan – witness MIR BAG *cheek* and MWT BAGO *chin*, and note, e.g., NE jaw, NF joue – or NE chin, Latin gena.
2. Suffixed forms in NYA W pangka+pi+L+ *cut carcass down lengthwise*; possibly NYA S pangka.yala *hip* and PIN panga.rra ... *piece split off a long thin object; e.g., a spear* (with unexpected loss of *k); GAW PANGKA.RRA *district or tract of country belonging to an individual, which he inherits from his father*; NMA pangka.rl.pi+L+ Vtr *to split*; PK *pangku.rru *rib* (> BAY, THL pangku.rru), cited in Austin (1981:322); GUP banga.rdi, RIT bangi.rdi *name of a subsection* (with which compare the semantics of *palja; see *pangka, however, for an alternate possibility); conceivably GUP bang.dhu+N *sit or lie with legs apart*; Hale (1976b:26) reconstructs PP *paangka.l *shoulder* (note the metonymic relationship with *rib*) (> URA agha.w, MPA angka.l and possibly YIM pangka+L (with *aa > a?) *puff the chest, lift shoulders in pride*); WRG pangka.l *upper arm, shoulder*; possibly BNJ pangkim *temple, cheek* ('side of face').
3. Suffixed IS-grade form in JKY wangki.rr *rib*.
4. Suffixed ID-grade forms conceivably in PIN yangka.rl+pa *buttock area; meat cut*, yangki.rr+pa ... *broken piece of container ...*, yangki.rra.rl+pa *group of persons [as] ... part of a larger group*, and possibly in PIN yangku.ru *ear* ('side appendage?').

P78 PPN *paangka.rr N lizard sp

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in WJK North BANG-A.R *very large sp lizard ...* (borrowed by western AE as bungarra); PP *paangka.rr(a) *blue-tongue lizard* (> UMP aangka.y, UMB aangka.rra, LML ka.rr, YY pa'a.rr, KBR poengké.rr (Alpher 1976b:92).
2. Suffixed form conceivably in THL pingku.lu *blue-tongue lizard*.
3. Suffixed IS-grade form in NYA, NMA wangka.rli *racehorse goanna*.

P79 PNY Y *pangku₁ N hollow and circular, wheel-shaped

Lgs: 30.

1. Suffixed forms in NYA pangku.rl S *hollow tree or log, W hollow in a tree, any such hollow*; PIN pangku.yi *head pad used by women for carrying heavy containers on the head, pangu+L+ carry objects on one's head*; GUP banggi.na *foot, footprint, wheel* (with which compare YIN

pangku.na *large wheel-shaped ceremonial headdress*); possibly RIT *bangba.rla.ng* (rarely *bangga.rla.ng*) *brain* (named after the hollow, round skull?).

P80 PPN *pangku₂ N wallaby sp

Lgs: 34.

1. Suffixed forms in NYA W *pangka.rru wallaby sp*; WJK BANG-GA.P *the Walloby ...* (sic); PP *pangku.l *walloby* (> WMK *pangk*, MUM *pangku*, MPA *ngku.l*, LIN *ngko.y*;) conceivably KLY *PAGA.D orange, brown* and *PAGA.RA sponge* (both < 'colour of wallaby?') – cf MIR *sab sponge*.

P81 PPN *pangu+ Vtr dig, scratch; spear

Lgs: 32.

1. Root form in WLB *pangi+L+ dig it – ground; scratch deeply*; possibly PNK *PANI+* (in error for *pangi+?*) *dig, burrow, bury*; PP *panga+ *dig* (> URA *anga+ ~ ange+*); GID *panga+ kick, tread upon; arrive at*; BNJ *panga+ a tread, tread on, trample, pang+il+e dance, stamp, kick, pang+e go, go away, tread*; MDI *panga+tha scratch – to relieve itch; dig ground very lightly, scrape soil*.
2. Suffixed form in WLB deverbal *pangu+rnu wooden scoop used in digging out a soak*.
3. Infix variant *pang.k.u+ in WAA *pang.k.a kick, stamp on*; WEM *pang.k.a dig* (see the YDN and DYI reflexes below).
4. Suffixed/infix forms in YDN *pang.k.u.r multi-prong fish spear*; DYI *pang.k.a.y (palan) spear*.
5. IS-grade form in NYA S *wangu+R+ hit, spank with the hand*, W *wangu+R+...+a hit, smack – as a wayward child*.
6. Suffixed IS-grade forms in UMP *wangii.ji scorpion*, WMK *waanga.n stingray with long tail* (< 'that which pierces, spears').

P82 PNY Y *panja₁ N rib, side

Perh ult rel to *paangkam.

Lgs: 33.

1. Root form in WLB *panja rib; side of wooden implement*; GAW *PANTYI side, PANTYA+ lie upon the side*; WIR *panyji rib*; PNG *pantha (> NMA, YIN *pantha creek bank* (< 'side'), NGL *pantha sandhill*, BLG *pantha red sandhill*); possibly YIN *kanji edge, border, drop-off*; (bound form) *nose, kanyja+ edge* (Wordick 1982; for the k-, see NMA *kanyja.kurla. ngarri+Y+*, below); GUP *bindha ribs* (with i perh influenced by *binydji.tj*, below).
2. Suffixed forms in NMA *kanyja.kurla. ngarri+Y+ lie on one's side* (with anticip assim of p to k); GUP, RIT *binydji.tj thin, fleshless* ('ribs showing').

P83 PPN *panja₂ N winged insect

Lgs: 32.

1. Root form in BNJ paany *march fly*.
2. Suffixed forms in WLB panji.rti *flying ant sp.*; GID panyja.laam *winged insect (generic)*; BNJ panji.lam *butterfly, moth, cockroach*; WAA panyja.laam *butterfly*.

P84 PPN *pankl.ny N grass sp (used for shelter, bedding)

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in WLB panji *bed*; GID panki.ny *grass shelter*.
2. Suffixed forms in GUP binygu.rr *grass*, RIT binygu.rr *chenopod (plant)*, *Tecticornia australasica*.
3. Suffixed IS-grade form in WAA wanyji.ku.rr, BNJ wanyi.ku.rr *blanket*.
4. Suffixed ID-grade form possibly in PIN yanyja.ny.pu+NG+ *make a bundle for carrying* (<'swag, bedroll?').

P85 PPN *+pany possible suff with LOC reference

Lgs: 30.

1. Basic form in NYA W .piny, in warta.rr.piny *flying fox* (cf NYA W warta.ji *dingo*, GUP wartu *dog* <PNYY *wartu *dog*); YDN +pany *in juxtaposition*; GID +piny in parraa.y+piny *tree-top* (parra.y *end, top of tree; not much, not very*).

P86 PPN *panya N, Vtr glowing, shining, glistening

Lgs: 34.

1. Root form in WJK BAN-YA *sweat, perspiration; to sweat, perspire* ('glisten').
2. Suffixed forms in YUL, WRN panya.l *moon*; PIN pinyi.ri (<*panya.ri by anticip assim) *fire at the red coal stage; hot coals ...*; GAW PANYI.WORTA *daybreak; morning* (WORTA ...*which is behind*); PNK PANYA.L.TI+ *be thirsty* (semantically, cf PPN *nyaru); BAN panha+L+ *shine – of the moon*; GUM panyaa.r *cicatrices ...* (<'shiny scar tissue'); conceivably DJA pani.p *bunyip ...*, the <NY> in the English form pointing to ancestral PPN *ny.

PPN *pa.nya. See at *pa₁.

P87 PPN *panyi+ Vtr – verb of impact

Lgs: 32.

1. Root form in YIN panyi+ *take a step, step on*; WRY panyi+ *step on, kick*; DYI panyi+L Vtr *to split (rotten log ...)*.
2. Reduplicated form in DIY panyi.panyi+ *to trot*.

P88 PPN *panyja₁ N root with pejorative reference

Lgs: 31.

1. Root form in NYA panyju S *hate, dislike, W averse to, not fond of* (with unexpected u); PIN panyja *rubbish, fatless meat, ... unwanted, panyja+L+ make bad, spoil*; KLY BADA *sore, ulcer baadha a sore*; DIY pantha+ *be odorous, smell*; possibly UMP panyja+Y+ *go bush*.
2. Suffixed forms in NYA S panyja.rr *jealous*, NYA W panyju.rta *tiny plant sp, poisonous for sheep*; KLY BODA.l *left, boedha.y geth left hand* (< 'bad/weak hand' – geth hand < *kaju).
PPN stem *panyja.rra, in YIN pantha.rra *jealous* and YDN panja.rrA *madness in head*.
3. Suffixed ID-grade form in PIN yanyja.rl.ka.ja *child ... of an unlawful union ...*.

P89 PEPN *panyja₂ Adj small

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in YIM pantha (archaic) *short* (possible cognates also in PIN and KLY).
2. Suffixed form in MDI panthi.ngi *little, soft of voice; little (canoe), i.e. a small flat dish*.

P90 PDN *panyja₃ N bitter in taste

Lgs: 31.

1. Root form in NYA W panyja *chewing tobacco ready for use*; PNK PANTA *brackish, salt, bitter*, as in PANTA KAUIO (appar pantha kawu) *fermented liquor ...* (in which KAUIO reflects PPN *kaping water).
2. Suffixed form in PNK PANTA+PANTA+RRI+ *be thirsty*.
3. Suffixed ID-grade form in PIN yanyja.rl.ka *tea*.

P91 PPN *panyja₄ N deep, covered

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in GID panyja+ *to cover, WAA panyja cover, block up*.
2. Suffixed forms in GUP bänhdha.rra *deep sea* (with unexpected ä for *a); YIM patha.l *deep (water, hole)* and YDN paja.ka.l *king tide* (with unexplained loss of *ny).

P92 PEPN *panyja₅ N lower leg

Lgs: 35.

1. Root form in YDN panja+R, DYI panja+L *follow* (< 'to leg it'); DIY doublet panyja *knee* (cf WEM pathi *knee*, and see WJK BONNI.T), and panyji+ *happen, become*.
2. Suffixed forms in JKY panyja.rr+i *follow* (Hale, p.c.); WAA panyja.rr *lower leg*; GIP panje.wan *boots*; WEM panjoe.wang *shoes* (loan); ARB panyja.arti *knee* (Hercus, p.c.).

P93 PPN *panyji+₁ Vintr wait, be patient

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in YIM panyjii+ ... *wait for, care for*.
2. Suffixed forms in WJK BANJAR *patient* and possibly DYI D panju.l *always*.
3. Denasal-grade form in PNK PATTi+ *be silent, wait, consider*.

P94 PPN *panyji+₂ Vintr burn

Lgs: 32.

1. Root form in PP *panyji+₂ *be burning, cooking* (> MUM panyji+, URA wanthi+, WMK penyj+, THY ndhi+).
2. Suffixed form in YIM panyji.l *dry* ('burnt, seared').
3. Nasal-grade form in NYA minyji+R+ *to light (a fire)*.

P95 PPN *panyji.l N woman, female

Lgs: 33.

1. Basic form in YGS, YGN nyanyji.l+pa, BAY nyanyji.l, JKY panyji.l *woman, female*; YIN pinhthi *HZ, woman's BW; woman's FZD, woman's MBD*. PIN nyanyji *eyelashes and eyebrow* is conceivably a further reflex.
2. IS-grade form in WMK wanyj *woman*.

P96 PEPN *panyjim N native cat

Lgs: 31.

1. Root form in GID, WAA panyjim *native cat*.
2. Suffixed forms in YIM panyjii.la *boar pig*; possibly GIP pinju.lang *tiger cat ... domestic cat* (with problematic vocalism) and DJA, WEM panji.l *Murray cod* (in which further semantic study is called for).

P97 PPN *panyju N tree sp

Lgs: 31.

1. Suffixed forms in MNN panyju.rn *tree*; YIM C panyjii.r *hard (to touch), strong, solid* (for the semantics, cf PPN *mankarr). Note also WJK BINDA *sp Dryandra tree*, and see P39 and P140.

P98 PPN *panyka+ Vintr creep up on, stalk

Lgs: 31.

1. Root form in PIN panyka+L+ *creep stealthily in an upright position*; GID panykaa+ *to stalk*; BNJ panykaa.l+e Vintr *stalk, crawl (man)*.

P99 PDN *panypura+Y+ Vtr ignore, belittle

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in NYA W panypi+Y+ *take no notice of, not believe*, S panypa+Y+ *ignore* (with *r-deletion); PIN panypura+Y+ *belittle ...*.
2. Compound form in PIN pany.pu+NG+ *refuse another's offer* (with root reanalysed as containing +pu+NG+ < PA *pu+M *hit*).

P100 PPN *panyu Adj fat, good to the tastePerh ult rel to *palya₁, q.v.

Lgs: 33.

1. Root form in THL panyu *good*; GYA panyu *posterior ...* (< 'fatty'); conceivably PIN panya *confident after being afraid ...* (< 'OK?').
2. Suffixed form in GID panya.rr.kan N *fat*, Adj *fat*, as metaphor *good-natured*.
3. Nasal-grade forms in YIN manyu *asking, begging; something good to eat ...*; DIY manyu *good*.

P101 PPN *papa₁ Quant everywhere, everyone

Lgs: 32.

1. Suffixed forms in PIN papu.rr.munu *very many, exceedingly great number ...*; GUP baba.la.mirri *all, every, any, everywhere ...*; KLY BABAB *completed, entirely, everywhere*; (not attested in MIR); GUM papa.taka *in line, in a row*.
2. Suffixed nasal-grade form in BNJ, WAA mapee.rr *many, all*.
3. Suffixed ID-grade forms in PIN yapu.warra, WIR yapa.rtu *all*.

P102 PPN *papa₂ Adj deaf, heedless

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in WJK BABBA Adj *weak; languid; wanting strength ...*; BAY paapa (O'G) paapaa (Aus) *deaf, drunk* (with expressive lengthening); YDN papa *deaf, half-witted*.
2. Suffixed forms in NYA W papa.rl.karri+Y+ *lose one's way, be lost*; BAY paapa+rri+Y+ *forget*; GUP baba.la ~ bawa.la *wrong, by accident, unintentional, mistakenly*, baba.'.yu+N *miss, make a mistake, behave in a stupid manner, stray from the path*.

P103 PPN *papang N young one, baby, pup

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in NYA W papa *baby*; PIN papa *dog*; GAW PAPPA *youth who has undergone ... circumcision*; PNK PAPPA(LYA) *young one, pup, whelp*; WAA papang *light in weight*.
2. Suffixed forms in GAW PAUA.NE *name of the ninth child*; possibly PNK PAPPA.RN.KO, WJK BABBI.NG (Lyons), BABBI.N (Moore) *friend*; NAN apa.rla *baby* (which, however, could instead be linked etymologically to BAY, THL kapa.rla *dog!*); BAY papi.nyu *baby*, papi.murtu *puppy* (see *purtu₁); YIM papa.rr *little baby; child (affectionate term)*; DJA pupu.k, WEM pope.ny *baby* (with symbolically altered vocalism); possibly PIN papa.n.ji *marsupial mouse type*.

The etymological value of this root is lessened because of its child language associations. For an instance of comparable semantic evolution, however, see *kurta.

3. Suffixed ID-grade form in PIN yapa.rra.ny.ji *child, children*.

P104 PDN *paparr N hurry, haste

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in NYA W paparr *hurry, haste*.
2. Compound prenasal-grade form in PIN pamparr.ngara+Y+ *to be hurrying ... preparing to go on a journey*.

P105 PPN/Tangkic *papi N father's mother

Lgs: 32.

1. Root form in LRD /papi/ pape, DYI papi(nyja) (payi/palan) *father's mother*; PP *papi (> UMP pa'i FM, URA api, LIN pi+ MF).
2. Suffixed form in UMP pa'i+ju *sister's son's son*.

P106 PNY Y *pApi N reptile sp (< 'slougher of skin'?)

See P107-108.

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in NYA W papi *goanna sp*, 'bungarra'; GUP, RIT bäpi *snake*, GUP bäpi+djäri *rainbow* (djäri *coloured light, rainbow*, cf NYA W jari+Y+ *to flow*).
2. Suffixed forms in NYA S papa.ra *python*; PIN papa.ngangga.rr+pa, NYU pip.tul *gecko*; NYU papi.ly, WJK BABI.L.GUN *bat*.
3. Suffixed prenasal-grade form in NYA W pampi.rta ~ pampi.rti *gecko*, S pampi.rta *small lizard*.

P107 PPN *paapl+₁ Vintr shed the skin – as a reptile

See P106, 108.

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in GAW BABA+ *dry a skin by stretching it on the ground*; UMP aapa+ Vintr *peel off, shed (skin)*; DYI papi+L *slice, peel*.
2. Suffixed forms in NYA S papa.ly.pi+L+ *cut open*; possibly GAW PAPAL.TO *stump of tree*; GUP bäpa.ng *sp. oak, side scales of turtle, plank* (< 'split off'); KLY ABI.TIDI *wither* ('flake off'); conceivably UMP pa'a.mu *two* (< 'split in twain'? But cf WJK WARH-RANG, *infra*); YIM papaa.l *buttock* (< 'cloven'); possibly YIM papa.tha *tree sp. – bloodwood*.

P108 PPN *paapl+₂ Vintr ignite, burn

See P106-107, to which P108 is conceivably related as the POTENTIAL counterpart of ACTUAL blistering/shedding of the skin – as when a sleeping person rolls too close to a fire. PPN *paapi+₂ is possibly also ultimately related to *paawu+L, q.v.

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in WLB papi+Y+ *catch on fire, ignite*; possibly UMP paa'i+TH+ *to stand*; GIP pap *light, flame* (Hercus 1969:381); NAR papa *fire*.
2. Suffixed forms in NYA W pipi.j.kirri *lightning*; WJK BABU.MBE.REE (Lyons), BABBA.NG.WIN (Moore) *lightning* (unless, since lightning is POTENTIALLY rain, these forms are properly to be assigned as reflexes of *pAypa, q.v.); BNJ papu.lu.ng *smoking pipe, tobacco pipe*.
3. Prenasal-grade form in KAT pampa+ ... *light a fire*
4. Suffixed prenasal-grade form in WEM pampa.nti.la *shine in many colours*.

P109 PDN *papirr N hand

Perh originally < 'standing out', 'extending', and thus a derivative of P108, with agent marker *+rr.

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in GRJ papirr *hand*.

2. Nasal-grade form in WRN mapirr(+pa) *hand*.

P110 PPN *pApu N egg

Perh ult rel to *pAlmpu.

Lgs: 32.

1. Root form in ARB papu *egg*.
2. Suffixed forms in PNK PAPPULLU *reins, kidneys* ('egg-shaped', cf *muka); GUP baw.yu+N *burst, hatch*, RIT baw.u+ ~ baw'.wu+ VINTR (*flower*) *to blossom, bloom; burst*.
3. Nasal-grade form in GUP mapu, RIT mapu' *egg*.
4. Prenasal-grade form in GUP bambu.ru.ng.bu.ru.ng *brain*; DYI pampu, KAB BAM *egg*.

P111 PPN *paapu N father

Lgs: 34.

1. Root form in PNK PAPPI, BAY papu, GUP, RIT bäpa, GUM paapa *father*; KLY BABA! *father!*; PP *paapa (> UMP, KNJ paapa), MDI papi, DJA, WEM pap *mother* (Alpher, p.c.); WMK paap *breast*.
2. Suffixed forms in GRJ, MNN papa.rla, GRD papa.rtu, WLB papa.rdi *elder brother* (cf the semantics of *maamang); PNK PAPPI.RA.NYE, BAY papu.yarra *father and son*.

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papula *one who teases*. PIN element of unknown etymology, possibly substratal).

P112 PNY Y *para₁ N scar, scarred; skin of lighter colour – as from a burn

Prob ult rel to P113.

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in WLB para *subincision*, YIN para *subincised (penis)* (both borrowed); NYA W para *subincision*.
2. Suffixed forms in WJK BARH-RAN (appar paran) *a scar; any mark of a wound*; PNK PARTALYE *scar*, WLB parta.ri *blonde – of hair* (both with unexplained rt).
3. Reduplicated suffixed form in GUP bara.rr.bara.rr+mirri *skin light colour after having been burnt*.

P113 PPN *para₂ N rays of light, dawn

See P112.

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in GAW denominal PARRA+ *kindle, light; chew; marry*.
2. Suffixed forms in WLB para.rr *rainbow*; VAS BARRA.B *sky*; GUP bara.wun *rays of sunlight before sun rises*; RIT bar.u+N *to be(come) white or bright*, bari.k ~ bari.tj *white, bright, light-coloured; grey (hair)*.
3. Compound form in GID parra+ngayil *light orange colour (ngayil clay)*.

P114 PPN *para₃ N top part, summit, end, extension

Lgs: 31.

1. Root form in GAW PARRA *branch of a tree*; PNK PARRA *fork of a tree*; KLY poera *foreskin*; possibly YIM paari *chin* (< 'extension of face?').
2. Reduplicated form possibly in LRD /bara.bara/ *bara.bar shade house; nest upon which deceased is placed (facing east)*.
3. Suffixed forms in NYA pari.rr *hand, paw* (< 'extension of arm'); GUP bara.la *sandbank* ('part (of seabed) which extends upwards'); PP *para.n *head* (> LIN ara.n, UMP pa'a.n); GID parra.y *end, top of tree*.

P115 PPN *parla₁ N shin; 'all shins', i.e., thin

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in PNK PARDLA *anle* (sic); YIM pala *skinny, poorly*; YDN pala *shin*; WAA pala *underneath, below*.
2. Suffixed reduplicated form in WLB pala.pala.jarri+Y+ *become tired – esp of body part*.
3. Reduplicated suffixed forms in GUP barla.rr.k.parla.rr.k *long, tall – of person, fish; great – of hunger* (old lg) and barla.mbi.rr.pi.rr.yu+N *sit cross-legged*.

P116 PPN *parla₂ Adj blunt, dull

Lgs: 32.

1. Root form in WRY parla *blunt, dull – of blade or point*; UMP pali *sharp* (with antonymic semantic change).
2. Suffixed form in YIM pali.n.ka *porcupine*.
3. Infix form *parl.p.a. in NMA purl.p.u. *blunt, dull* and YIN put.p.u. *axe blade ...* (referred in Wordick 1982:344 to BAN pul.p.u.rr); WMK pepa.n *sharp* (< pre-WMK *pal.p.a.n).

P117 PPN *parla₃ mud

For the semantics, cf P124.

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in NYA S *parla mud containing tin*; YIN *parla hard dry mud*; PNK denominal PADLA+ *wash*; BAA *parla mud, wet clay*.
2. Infixated denominal in YIM pal.k.a+L *make; wash*.
3. Nasal-grade form in NYA W *marla anthill*.

P118 PNY Y *parla₄ N secret

Lgs: 31.

1. Suffixed forms in WJK BALLAR *secretly*, BALLAR+JA+ *secrete, hide* (JA+ *put* < PPN *ngiirra+); RIT barl'.yu+N *hide, go into hiding*.

P119 PPN *paarla N woman, wife

Lgs: 32.

1. Root form in DIY *parla sexual arousal* (Austin, p.c.).
2. Suffixed forms in PNK PALLARA *woman*, PALLARRI ...*Pleiades*; GUP bärta.tha *stick used for wife beating*; GUM PAALIEI+ *marry*.

P120 PNY Y *parla+ Vtr ask for

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in BAY pala+Y+ *ask for*.
2. Suffixed forms in PNK PALLANNI+ *produce, pronounce, name*; GUP barl'.yu+N *beg, cadge*.

P121 PPN *pArla+₁ Vtr leave, let be

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in WJK BAL *leave it; let it alone ...*; GUP bay' Interj with gana+N *leave*; JKY paraa+ *leave, let be* (Hale, p.c.).
2. Suffixed forms in YUL *parla.ny not wishing for, averse to* (as in *parla.ny+pa+rna+ra I don't want it*; BAY *parla.karri+L+ Vtr leave, abandon* (vs. antonymous *parla.tharri+Y+ want, desire*); GUP bäy.pi'.yu+N *be left behind, stay behind*; RIT bay'.yu+N *leave (behind or aside), abandon*.

P122 PPN *pArla+₂ Vintr open, let loose

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in YUL *paarla+L+ open one's eyes*; PNK PALLA+ *pull, draw, let loose, start*; KLY PALA.I *open, as in shape of V, without complete separation; split, divide*; YDN pala+N *open out, become wide*.

2. Suffixed forms in GRD *kuru parla.rri+Y+ open one's eyes* (*kuru eye* < PPN **kurun*); PIN *parl.ya+N+ open one's eyes after sleep*.

P123 PPN/Tangkic *parlang *Loc behind, at the rear of*

Lgs: 32.

1. Root form in UMP *paala behind, later*; GID *paling young*, WAA *paling young man*.
2. Suffixed forms in MNN *parla.rr back, spine*; GRY *pala.lyi formerly* and YIN *pala.mu ~ pata.mu long ago, ... a while back; previously, formerly; already, yet* (< PNG **pala*); GUM BALA.MI *slow; soft (in speech)*; possibly RIT *bala.nu forever, for good*.
3. Nasal-grade forms in WRN *marla younger sibling* ('one born "behind", i.e. more recently'); PIN *marla behind, at the rear of*.
4. Suffixed nasal-grade forms in YUL *marla.ju*, PIN *marla.ny+pa younger sibling*; PIN *marla.ku+rri+Y+ return, turn back*.
5. Cliticised IS-grade form in LRD *+wala first, just*.
6. Suffixed IS-grade forms in NYA W *warla.ngka.rr Loc in front*; LRD *wala.ji before*; GUM WALA.GIR *afterwards*, WALA.NGGA *behind, after, lastly, later*.

P124 PDN *parlju *N soakage*

For the semantics, cf P117.

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in WLB *parlju mud, rainsoaked ground*, *parlji+L+ wash it*; PIN *parlju soakage water obtained by digging*, and denominal doublet *parlji+L+ wash (clothes or some object)*, *parlju+L+ dig for ground soakage water*. Note: borrowing is a possibility.

P125 PNY *parlku₁ *N foot, track*

Prob ult rel to P48.

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in WJK BALGA+NG *to track; pursue on a track*; BAY PALGU *toe* (Davidson), *parlku foot, track* (O'Grady), *ankle* (Austin).
2. Suffixed form in PIN *palka.rra path of kangaroos and euros*.

P126 PPN *parlku₂ *N wide clear space, plain*

Lgs: 30.

1. Suffixed forms in PNY **parlka.rra plain* (> NYA *parlka.rra W treeless plain; dry claypan S flat ground*; NMA *parlka.rra plain*, YIN *parka.rra grassy plain; valley*; BAY *parlka.rra*

plain, level country, palka.rra (sic) bald, palka.rra+ra plains kangaroo); NYA W parlka.n clear place – e.g., clearing for camp; rift in clouds; baldness; DYI palku.n Adj naked, out of cover; GUM BALGAA.R wide, broad, spread out.

P127 PPN *parlpa N Possible root, woomera

Lgs: 30.

1. Suffixed form conceivably in YIM papaa.r *hoe, spade; woomera* (with haplology due to the addition of .r?).
2. Suffixed IS-grade form in NYA warlpa.rra *woomera*.

P128 PPN/Tangkic *paarl(.pang) N flat, smooth

(cf *miil(.pa).

Lgs: 34.

1. Root form in NYA W parl, LRD /paal(.k)/ paal, GID, WAA pal.pang *flat*; PIN pali+L+2 ... *flatten* ...; NAR (ungga) BARL.BA, GAW PAR.PA, RMK ('Mt. Remarkable') BERT.PA (appar part.pa) *skin* (< 'smooth'); PNK PALLA *level, fertile*; YIN par.paa+ *massage* (< 'apply flat of hand to'); UMP pata *flat, level; death adder*.
2. Suffixed reduplicated form in GUP barl'.parl.yu+N *pound (cycad) ... ('flatten')*.
3. Suffixed forms in NYA W parl#karti *palm of hand* (#karti *side; ALLATIVE* < PPN *rika); paL.pa.rra *wide*; PNK PAL.PA.NDA *plain, even, smooth*; possibly DIY parla.ra *open country, outside*.
4. Reduplicated suffixed form in YIM pal.aa.y.pal.aa.y *flat, flattened*.

P129 PPN *parlpa ~ *parltu N slapping noise

Prob rel to *paarl(.pang) via 'clap palms together'.

Lgs: 30.

1. PNY root alternant *parlpa in PNG *parlpa *slapping or thumping noise* (> NMA parlpa, YIN parpa+); NYA W reduplicated new-formation parl+pa.rl *clapping of hands; noise of large drops of rain on iron roof*.
2. PPN root alternant *parltu in PNK PALTU *sound, noise*; GAW PALTA+ *to knock ...*; PNK PALTA+ *to knock, thrust, beget*.
3. Suffixed forms in PIN purltu.ly+pa *thud* ..., purltu.rr.wangka+Y+ *to thud* (with V₁ as u conceivably through sound symbolism).
4. Suffixed prenasal-grade form in UMP palnta.l tha'i+L+ *clap the hands* (tha'i+L+ *hit*).

P130 PPN *paarpa+ V to roll, turn, revolve

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in DYI palpa+L Vtr, WRG paarpa to roll.
2. ID-grade form in PNK YALBA+ v.a. to roll.
3. Suffixed form *parlpa+rr sky (< 'that which turns, revolves', with PPN *+rr AGENT marker), in NYA parlpa.rr, PNG *parlpa.rr (> NMA parlpa.rr, YIN parpa.rr), BNJ palwa.rr sky.

P131 PNY *parltu+ Vtr to stretch, straighten

Lgs: 31.

1. Suffixed form in NMA parlpi.ra+ Vtr straighten (with lag assimilation).
2. Suffixed reduplicated form in GAW PALTA.PALTA.RE+ to stretch one's self, PALTA.PALTA.RITTI stretching.
3. PDN IS-grade form *wartu+ in NYA W wartu+R+, WLB wardi+L+, PIN wartu+L+ Vtr stretch, straighten.
4. Suffixed IS-grade forms in NYA W wartu+R+...+rni.nyi, YUL wartu+L+...+nyi.nta Vrefl stretch one's limbs – as upon awakening.
5. Suffixed ID-grade form in PNK YARTA.RRI+ stretch one's limbs.

P132 PPN *parlu N river; (stony) bank of river

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in NYU pirl gully, creek; WJK BILO stream, river; PNG *parlu (> NMA parlu cliff, YIN parlu riverbank, MRD, NUW parla stone; WRY parlu stone.
2. Suffixed forms in NYA W paLu.pu.ja+R+ to cave in – as sand into a well, paLu.pu.ja+R+...+rni.nyi Vrefl to break – of a wave; GUP barla.ngaw'.yu+N smother, overwhelm, cover, surround; YIM palu.y (little known form) stone piece used for grinding ...; GID palu.n river, creek, WAA palu.n river, Milky Way; MDI palu.rru white crane, egret (< 'river (dweller)'). Note also GID paluum shallow – of water.

P133 PPN *pArlu₁ Adj winding, zigzag, snaky

Perh rel to P132.

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in YIN parli bend, bent.
2. Reduplicated form *pArlu.pArlu in PNG *parli.parli (> BAN parli.n.parli.n+pa winding, zigzag, YIN parli.warli crooked, snaky); GUP bärl.barl.yu+N be bent over; KLY BAL.BAL crooked, bent, bal.bal winding (caveat: MIR BARBAR crooked, semicircular).

3. Suffixed forms in GUP *barl.ga.p.thu+N be bent over, crouch*; YDN *palu.r curved woomera*.

P134 PPN *pArlu₂ Adj full, sated

Perh rel to P132.

Lgs: 31.

1. Root form in NYA *pirlu S fat, plump, W guts, viscera*; YIN *parla very; [e.g., hit] hard; loud* (< 'fully'); possibly MDI, DJA, WEM *pili (GIP pule.n.je.ti) stomach*.
2. Suffixed forms in NYA *W pirlu+rr inside part – e.g., doughy interior of loaf of bread*; PIN *parlu.jarra pregnant ...*; BAY, WRY *parlu.ra sated, full*; BAY *parlu.ra+rri+Y+ get drowned, parlu.nyu stomach*.
3. Infixes forms in WLB, PIN *parl.j.a sated, satisfied, full*; PIN *parl.j.a+L+ feed (another)*; JKY *pal.k.u.r sated, filled with food*.
4. Infixes nasal-grade form in NYA *W marl.k.a sated, full*.
5. Cliticised form in YIN *+parlu very*.

P135 PPN *pArlu₃ N louse

Lgs: 31.

1. Suffixed forms in NYA *parlu.l W louse, S head louse*; GYA *pala.rr human body flea (louse?)*.

P136 PPN *pArnka₁ N honey

Lgs: 31.

1. Root form in JKY *panka honey drippings*.
2. Suffixed form in RIT *barnggi.tj honey bee (Trigona sp)*. PIN *parnka.ra+N+ ... prepare food ...* may be a further reflex.

P137 PPN *pArnka₂ Adj big

Lgs: 31.

1. Root form in BAY *parnka big*.
2. Suffixed form in JKY *pangka.l big* (loan from northern source? cf *rnk in PPN *marnku, reflected in BAY, etc *marnku.rr three, UMP mangku four*).

P138 PDN *parngV N narcotic sp

Lgs: 31.

1. Suffixed form in NYA W panngu.rra *toadstool sp.* With this form compare, for its phonology at least, YIN panngu (respect lg counterpart of munti *really, truly*); and for its semantics, cf GUM paaka.ram *mushroom*.
2. Suffixed IS-grade form in PIN warnnga.rti ~ warrnga.rti *sp chewing tobacco plant – grows in hill country*.

P139 PNY Y *parnta N stone

Lgs: 34.

1. Root form in GAW PARNDA *limestone; lime*; WIR parnta, GLB (Galbu) barnda (Capell, p.c.) *stone*.
2. Suffixed form in MRN purnta.ngu *stone* (cf *maamang *father* > MRN muma.rlu).
3. Nasal-grade form in YIN marnta, DIY marda *stone*.

P140 PPN *parntl+ Vtr smell, sniff

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in NYA W parnti+R+, PIN, BAY parnti+L+ Vtr *smell, sniff*; PIN deverbal parnti *a smell*; NYA W, WLB parnti+Y+ Vtr *to smell, give off an odour*; WJK BINDA.NG *to smell* (see P39, P97); GID panti+ *to sniff*, WAA panti *to smell*.
2. Suffixed forms in NYA W parnti+ly N *lizard sp, ca 8 cm – gives off strong odour*; WLB parnti+nya+NG+ *to smell, perceive odour*.

P141 PPN *parntung Quant all

Lgs: 32. See O'Grady (1990).

P142 PPN *parrany N pain

Lgs: 30.

1. Reduplicated form in NYA parra.parra W *pain, S ache*.
2. Suffixed form in GID parraany *pain, soreness*, WAA parraany *painful, stinging*; conceivably also GUP barra.ri+rri [*be*] *frightened*.

P143 PPN *parri+ V look for, seek; find

(related as POTENTIAL and ACTUAL)

Lgs: 31.

1. Root form in PIN parri+L+ *search, seek*.
2. IS-grade form in GAW WARRE+ *look for; seek*.
3. Palatal-grade form in NYW (Nyawaygi) paji+L+ *find* (cf , e.g., PPN *karra+ *tie* > PP *kaja+).

Further cognation with PP *paarri+/*paaji+ *cry* is conceivable.

P144 PPN *+parri Suff PROPRIETIVE, having

Prob ult derived from a nominal, *parrung, q.v.

Lgs: 31.

1. Basic form in NYU pati *no*, WJK +BART(U), KGS +PORT *NEGATIVE*; YGS, YGN, GRJ +parri, BGU +parri ~ +payi, GUM +karri *PROPR* (for NGI examples parallel to the presumed labial-to-velar shift in GUM, see Donaldson (1980:18, 30)); BAN, BLG +pati *PRIVATIVE*, lacking (with antonymous referent switch, as also in PPN *+kurlu *PRIV* > WLB +kurlu *PROPR*).
2. Augmented (suffixed) forms in YIN +parri.marta ~ +warri.marta and BAY, THL +pirri.tha *PRIV*.
3. Nasal-grade form in GUP, RIT +mirri *PROPR*.

P145 PPN *parrja+ Vtr look at, watch

Lgs: 31.

1. Root form in NYA W parrja+R+ *look at, look after, mind*; BNJ parrji.l+e *look on at, watch (as spectator)*.

P146 PPN *parrka₁ N thin, light in weight

Lgs: 32.

1. Root form in NYA parrka W *leaf, foliage; tea, S leaf*; PIN, WIR parrka *leaf*; PNG *parrka (> NMA, NYL parrka, KUR parra *leaf*, YIN parra *ingestible leaf* ...).
2. Suffixed forms in NYA W parrka.lyi *bush sp (used medicinally)*, S Parrka.lyi.nya *Whim Creek* (called Parrka.pi.nya in NMA); MRN haplogised form parra.l.ka *light in weight*; WJK BARGA.R *light; thin; as a covering* (sic); BAY parrka.ra *shoulder blade*; PNG *parrka.ra *point of shoulder* (> NMA parrka.ra, YIN parra.a); GUP barrwa.rn *skin, bark, pound note*, barrk.parrk.punu+(ma) *unfold, open out, spread out*; possibly RIT barrtja.ra.y (with *k > tj?) *paperbark tree sp.*; GID treblett parrkaa.n *thin, underweight* (metaph *mean, hardhearted*),

parrkee.n *lung*, parrka.n *boomerang* (< 'lightweight (artifact)'); WAA parrka.n *returning boomerang*; conceivably also GID barrku.l *bark* and DIY parrki.lya (sic) *parakeelia plant type* ... (Austin, p.c.).

For the connection between *leaf* and *lungs*, cf BAN walha.rn *leaf*, NMA walha.rn *lungs*, KUR watha.rn *leaf, lungs* (< PNG *walha.rn < PNY *walya *leaf*).

The semantic association between *boomerang* and *light (weight), ethereal* is amply attested elsewhere in the Pama-Nyungan speech-area: PPN *wanga.l *light in weight* > NYA wanga.l *wind, air* (cf NYA W wanga.rn *light, flimsy* and wanga.wanga *lungs*), but LRD /wanga.l.k/ wanga.l, YDN, etc wanga.l *boomerang*. Note further that the name of the Wangaaybuwan/Wongaibon people of New South Wales (Donaldson 1980:1) contains a further relevant element – wangaa.y, the referent range of which would have originally included '*light*' (*manner of phonating*) as well as *light (weight)*. As a negative particle, NGI wangaa.y arose as the end result in this line of development due to the common eastern Pama-Nyungan practice of naming languages after a word for *no*.

Further corroboration comes from a PPN root *pura *hot dry wind*, whose referents include NYA W pura.ngu *hot south-east wind*, WLM, etc pura.ngu *sun*, YDN pura.pura *dusty place* (< 'windy (and dry)') and, crucially, KAB BURAN *wind* and BORA.N *boomerang*. These two KAB forms were, in fact, probably homophonous – Mathew (in Curr 1887:III:158, 197) would have reacted to them in terms of the English speaker's intuitions concerning contrasts among non-low back vowels.

P147 PPN *parrka₂ N *hot*

Lgs: 32.

1. Root form in NYA parrpa W *hot, humid, S warm*; NYA W parrpa+R+ Vtr *to heat*; GUP barrpa' *putrid, rotten*, RIT barrpa *rotten, stale (esp of meat)* ('affected adversely by hot, humid weather').
2. Suffixed forms in NYA parrpa+karra *hot*; WRN parrpa+karrri+Y+ *be hot*; WMK karrka.n *hot*.
3. Prenasal-grade form in YDN payngka *hot stone used in cooking*.

P148 PPN *pArrngka N *praise; permissiveness*

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in YDN parrngka+N *to praise*.
2. Suffixed forms in WLB pangka.la *permissive; let ...; it doesn't matter that ...*; conceivably GUP barrngi.rl *feet turned out when walking (correct way for men)* ('praiseworthy mode of walking?').

P149 PDN *parrparr N *bodily alarm response*

Lgs: 10.

1. Suffixed forms in NYA W parrparr.kurta+R+ *jump with fright, leap away in alarm – as from snake*; PIN parrparr.ma+N+ *to tremble*.

P150 PNY *parru N *flower*

Lgs: 10.

1. Suffixed form *parru.mpa in GAW PURRU.MBA *flower; blossom*; BAY parru.mpa *wattle*.
2. Reduplicated suffixed form conceivably in WLB purru.lyu.rru.lyu *new green leaves on tree; new shoots of plant*.

P151 PPN/Tangkic *parrung N *person (of), inhabitant, denizen*

See also at P144.

Lgs: 33.

1. Root form in WRN parra *I* ('person speaking'; cf MRD kartu *you SG* < *kartu *man*, and YY (p)am orto *you SG*, involving a reflex of PP *pama < PPN *mapang); PNK PARRA *thing, something* ('person's (possession)'); YIN parri *zombie (animate dead body), devil; Lucifer*; KLY PARU *forehead, face; front* /paru/ paaru *face* ('person'); UMP parra *person of European descent* (diffused item?); DYI parri (pala) *stone tomahawk*; GID parrung *killing boomerang* (cf NYA S, WRN parra.lyi); WEM parra *red kangaroo* ('personal (totem)'); GIP ppra (sic) *man, person*.
2. Reduplicated form in NYA W parru.parru *net*.
3. Suffixed forms in NYA S, WRN parra.lyi *boomerang*; WRN pronominals (cf parra, above) parra+ngku *you SG* ('your person', with +ng.ku < PPN *nyun+ku *your*), parra+kujarra *we two*, parra+ngku+kujarra *you two*, etc; WLB parra.ja *coolamon, winnowing dish*; PIN parri.nya *that one previously referred to* ('that person'); NYU para.nga *one's totem* (*rr > r); YIN parri+mirnti *sea serpent*; PKA *parra.rta *humpy* (> BAY, THL parra.rta, BRD parra.rda); BAY PARU.WA *hearth* (Davidson); GUP barra.m.barra *cloth, clothes*; LRD /barra.m.barra/ barra.m.barr *hairstring* ... (the identical shapes of the GUP and LRD forms point to possible diffusion across the Gulf of Carpentaria); LRD /barr/ in /barr duwu/ barra.rdu *buttocks*, in which /barr/ provides [+human] specification (/duwu/ duwa otherwise has the referent *butt – as of spear*); UMP parru.tha *gun*; WEM parroe.mp(+uk) (*his*) *ancestor, ancestral being, totem* (cf NYU para.nga, above).
4. Cliticised forms in YDN +parra *something or someone pertaining to or belonging to ---*; DYI +parra *a person or animal who is concerned with --- ...*. See also *+parri.

The semantic associations implied in the above are borne out in the descent of several different roots:

- a) PPN *mapang *old man, doctor*, whose reflexes include NYA pama.rr *humpy* (and WLM pama.rr *stone*, from '(rock) shelter', PP *pama *person* and GID mapaang *old man*).
- b) PNY *karnku, descending in WIR karnku *wurley*, PNK KARNKO *hut, house*, and NYA IS-grade form warnku *stone*.
- c) PPN *kAnyā (original referent unclear) > PNK KANYA, NUG katnya, ADN atnya *stone*; GAW KANYA.PPA *small var rock-crystal*; PIN kanya.rla, WLB kanya.rla ~ kanya.la *hills kangaroo, euro* (< 'dweller in stony country' – cf NYA W warnku.karri.ngu *red kangaroo* with warnku, above); BAY, THL kanya.ra *person, man* (< 'of the humpy'); GUP ganyu *star* ('camp of sky-dwellers'); KAT kanya *camp* (whence Australian English *gunyah*); and IOR GONYI *hut*.
- d) PPN *payung *shelter, protection*. See P170.
- e) PPN *ngarrka > WLB ngarrka *man – fully initiated man*; YUL, PIN, WIR ngarrka *chest*; NMA ngarrka *face*; NGARKA.T – name of former people of Lameroo area in South Australia.
- f) As synchronic evidence, note PIN martu *initiated man* vs martu.purra *one's own personal property ...*. (These forms appear to be alterations of a root *kartu *man* which developed k-/m- symbolism; cf NYA W kurlu.rr ~ murlu.rr *testicles*, from PPN *karlu.)

P152 PPN *parti N semen, i.e. POTENTIAL child; ACTUAL child

Lgs: 11.

1. Root form in NYA W parti *semen*; GAW BARTI, PARTI *witchetty grub* (containing semen in one Dyirbal traditional tale – Dixon, p.c.); BAA parti *egg ... of bird or insect ... , testicle*.
2. Suffixed form in NYA W parta.ny *child*.

Substantiation of these semantic associations stems from the following:

- a) PPN *jarlpa, reflected in PIN jarlpa.rr+pa *young one ...*, UMP thal'a.l *semen*, MKU thalpa *copulate*.
- b) PNY *jiji, descending in YUL, PIN jiji *child*, WJK DJIDJI *semen*.
- c) Yuulngu JUDU yothu *semen* is 'what children are called' (Berndt and Berndt 1964:121).

P153 PNY *patl Adj blunt

Lgs: 10.

1. Root form in WLB pati *hard ground; blunt spear*; PIN pati *blunt – of spears and other instruments; closed – of young dog's eyes*.
2. Suffixed form in WJK BATTI.RI *rough; hard; like an unprepared kangaroo skin*.

Further cognation with GUP bäti *short two-edged knife* and/or barti *barbed spear* is conceivable.

P154 PPN *pawu₁ N spine, ridge

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in YDN pawuu *backbone*.
2. Suffixed form conceivably in GID, WAA pawu.rr *head*.
3. Suffixed nasal-grade form in NYA W mawu.lu *long, low hill or rise*.

P155 PNY *pawu₂ Interj hey!

cf *payi₃.

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in PNK PAU *call, hallo, cooee*; YIN pau *hey!*

P156 PPN *paawu N fur, feathers, feathered

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in WLB pawu *fur – of animal*.
2. Suffixed forms in NYA W pawu.l.ka *little or lesser egret*; NMA payu.la.rrri, YIN pau.la.rrri *night heron*; BAY pawu.ka *grebe* (Austin); possibly UMP aawu.ku *cinnamon quail-thrush*.
3. Suffixed nasal-grade forms in WLB mawu.lya.rrri *woman's necklace or pubic tassel*; PIN mawu.lya.rrri *hair, neck ornament ...; small dress ... from cat or fox hair*.

P157 PPN *paawu+L Vtr cook, roast

Lgs: 31.

1. Root form in PIN pawu+L+ ~ paa+L+ *cook ... raking coals over the animal*; GAW BAUO+ *put wood to the fire, or to trim it ...*; KLY BAU ~ BAWA *stones on which the cooking shell is supported* (not attested in MIR); YIM paawa+L *to light, burn, cook, roast*; DJA pawa *to cook*; WEM pawa *to cook in ashes*. Note also GUM paakii+ *to cook*, DJA pake.n *cooked* and WEM paka *he cooks*, with unexpected k for *w.
2. Suffixed forms in PNK BAU-U.RRU *pot; kettle; any large sized vessel* ('container for cooking/boiling in'); possibly GUP bäwa.ŋ *vegetable food, potatoes* (< 'cooked?').
3. ID-grade form in NYA yawu W *hot sand – as used in cooking*, S *hot sand, hot ashes*.

P158 PEPN *pawV N wallaby

Lgs: 31.

1. Root form in GIP paui *common wallaby*.
2. Suffixed form in YIM pawu.rr *rock wallaby*.

P159 PEPN *paya N swamp, swamp growth

Lgs: 30.

1. Suffixed forms in WAA *paya.ka.n bulrushes*; WEM *paya.l swamp*.

P160 PNY *payi₁ N wind, air; light in weight

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in WLB *payi wind, air in motion*; NYU *pay buttocks*, WJK BYI *posteriors* (< 'where wind is released'). Also conceivably cognate is KLY BAI *bay grass* (< 'waving in the wind'? But cf MUR(alag) BARI *grass*, which points to a *pari prototype).
2. Suffixed forms in PIN *payi.rr.pu+NG+ winnow*; WJK BYA.NG.BANG (*appar payangpang*) *light; not heavy* (for the semantics, cf *wanga.l); YIN *pau.ny wind grass*; possibly BAY *paya.tha+L+ throw* (relating semantically via 'winnow?') and GUP *baya.paya rope attached to sail to manipulate*.

P161 PPN *payi₂ Quant none

Cf *paayji+*.

Lgs: 30.

1. Suffixed forms in PIN *pawu.ly+pa dim-eyed person* (with dissim due to ly?); PIN *paa.nga ... blind*; GUP *bäy.ŋu none, no ... negative*; UMP *payi.na+ die away – of wind; be calm – of water* (for the semantics, cf NYA W *rawi.n calm, windless* < *rawa). Note also YIM *patha+L be finished*.
2. Reduplicated suffixed form in NYA W *paya.rr.paya.rr shortsighted*.

P162 PPN *payi₃ Interj hey!

Cf **pawu₂*.

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in NYA *payi! hey!* (Wordick 1982).
2. IS-grade form in UMP *way! interj to attract attention from afar*.

P163 PNY *payi₄ Interr Part

Lgs: 31.

1. Root form in RIT *bay' Interrogative particle*, and possibly also in WLB *payi+L+ ask* and PIN *payi+L+ scold* (but see **payi+*, below).
2. IS-grade form in NYA W *wayi Interr Particle*.

P164 PPN *payi+ V look for, seek

Lgs: 32.

1. Root form in GAW PAIE+ ~ PAIE+RE+ *seek, look for, examine, be thinking*; GUM BAIJI:+ payii+ *to seek*.
2. Suffixed forms in BAY paya.nti+Y+ *look for*; RIT baya.w'.wu+N *collect (objects)*.

P165 PPN *payjl N lower arm; extension of lower arm – e.g., dilly bag

Lgs: 32.

1. Root form in NYA W paji *split stick – as used in making fire* (cf NYA W mara *fire saw* < *marang *hand*); PNG *paji (> NYL, BAN paji *lower arm*, YIN payi *specifically the radius (bone), but loosely the forearm* (Wordick 1982:336); lower arm); GUP bathi *basket, bag, box, dilly bag*; YIM payji *large dilly bag*; YDN paji *canoe* (< 'container').
2. Suffixed forms in NYA W paji#mili *fire saw* (#mili GENITIVE < *mila *hip*); GUP batji.ka.li *pannikin*; RIT bithi.'.yu+N *to carry – in dillybag hung around shoulder*; YIM pathi.pay ~ pathi.pi *bone*; MDI pathi.ki *tomahawk*; DJA paji.k *stone tomahawk*.
3. Nasal-grade form in NYA W panyi(.marra) *wrist, forearm*.
4. Suffixed nasal-grade form in YIM panyii.n *kind of dilly bag*.

P166 PPN *paayji+ Vintr miss out, be without it

Perh ult re. to *payi₂.

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in GUP bäythi+rri *miss out on something*; UMP paaji+TH+ *miss out, not get it, be without*.

P167 PEPN *paayju N motion downhill

Lgs: 31.

1. Suffixed form in DYI Dyalnguy payju.pil *Vintr motion downhill*.
2. Nasal-grade form in UMP maaya *steep ascent*.

P168 PPN *pAyka+ Vintr arise, arrive; grow taller

Lgs: 30.

1. Root form in YUL, PIN paka+L+ *arise, arrive*; MDI payka+ *get up, rise ...*; DJA payka+ *fly, rise up in flight*; WEM payka+ *get up, rise in flight, fly*.
2. Suffixed form in NYA S paka.rli.karra N *young male red kangaroo just beginning to colour on arms and legs ('growing up')*.

3. Suffixed ID-grade form in PIN *yaka.rl+pa immature young emu*.

P169 PPN *pAypa N water

Lgs: 31.

1. Root form in NYU (Moorá) *papa water* (loan from northern source?); PNG **papa water* (> NMA *papa*, YIN *pawa*); YDN *paypa spring (of water)*. But note PPN **ngApu*.
2. Suffixed forms in WLB *pawa.ni flood* (with unexpected *w* for **-p-*); WJK BABBA.LYA *puudenta puellulae*; YIN *pawa+j.pirti watery, juicy* (*j* < **ly* – cf PIN *yapa.ly.pu+NG+*, below).
3. Suffixed IS-grade forms in GUP *wapa.ŋgi mud*, *wapu.rnu water rat*.
4. Suffixed ID-grade forms in PIN *yapa.ly.pu+NG+ plaster mud on the body to keep cool*; WMK *apa.lech clean water*.

P170 PPN *payung N shelter, protection

Probable early Austronesian loan (O'Grady and Tryon, above).

Lgs: 34.

1. Root form in BAY BAIA *deep wooden baby tray* (Davidson); DYI *paya (pala) belongings, things*; GID *payuung sling for carrying child*.
2. Suffixed forms in BAY Payu.ŋgu *Bayungu (language or people)* (< 'housed, sheltered'); YIM *paya.n house, shelter, humpy*; YDN (Dyalnguy) *paya.pay person*; DYI (Dyalnguy) *paya.pay man*; GID *paya.wa+ rock back and forth*; MDI denominal *paya.ngka.tha look after, take care of*.
3. Suffixed/infixed form in GID *pay.k.a.l man ...*, WAA *pay.k.a.l (Aboriginal) man*.
4. Nasal-grade forms in NYU *may(a) house, hut, camp, shelter*; WJK MY-A *a house; the bark of the tea-tree ...* (widely diffused to the north, as in NYA *maya house, building*; cf also Australian English *mia-mia*); conceivably also YIN *mayu quiet, calm, peaceful, tame* and BAY *mayu(.ngu) baby, small child* ('protected').
5. Suffixed nasal-grade form in YGN *maya.ji man*.
6. Metathesised nasal-grade form in WLB *yama shade, ... shady place*.
7. Suffixed metathesised nasal-grade form in WJI *yama.ji person ...* (for the semantics, cf **kAnya* and **mapang*. Note also Spanish *pueblo* in its sense of *dwelling, village*, from Latin *pōpulus people*).

TEST