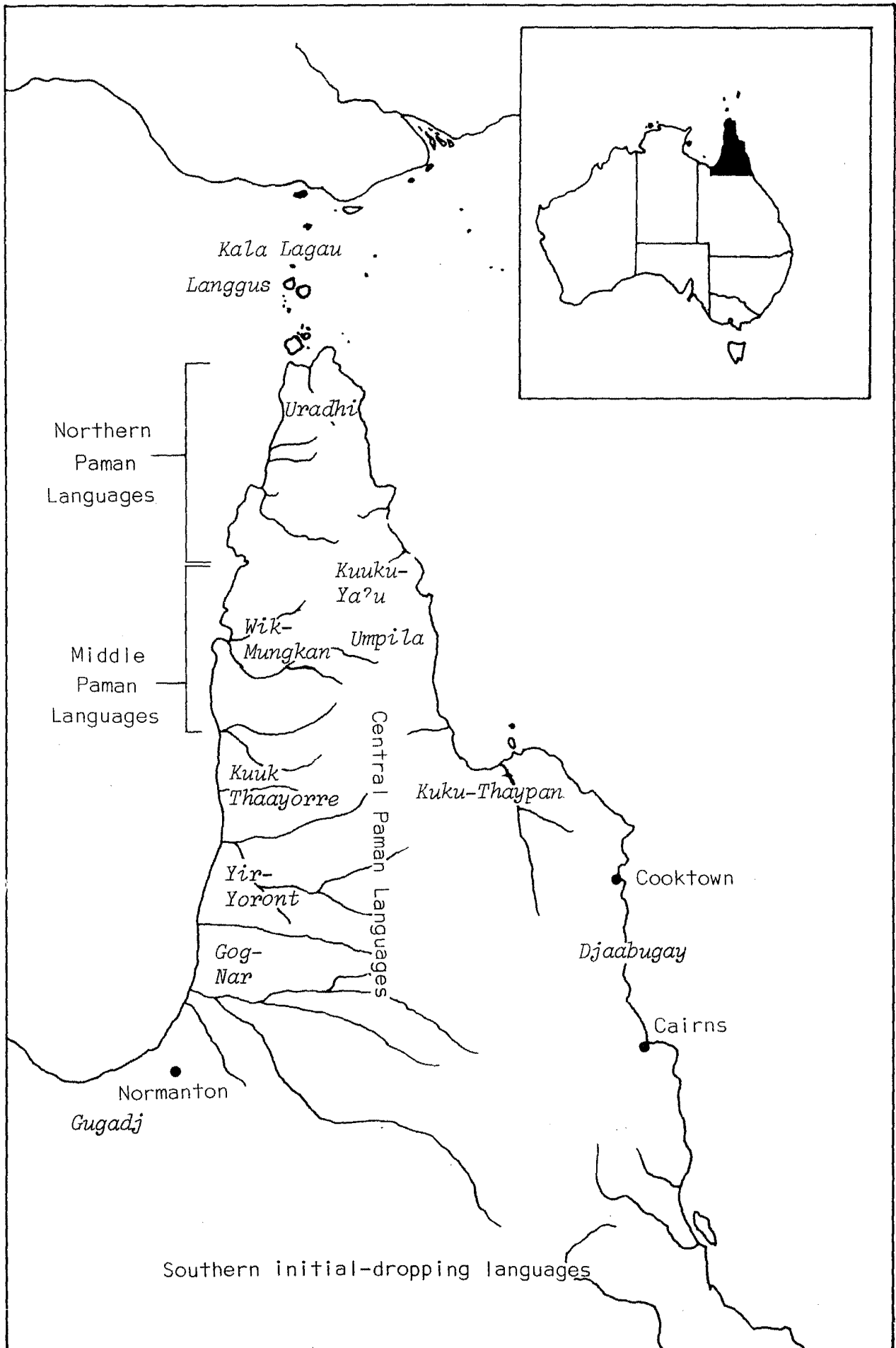


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LANGUAGES OF CAPE YORK

Peter Sutton *Editor*

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PHONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN PARTICULAR NORTHERN PAMAN¹ LANGUAGES

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¹This article is an edited version of the last three sections of a paper entitled 'Northern Paman' (Tucson, Arizona, 1964). The first section of that paper was published (with the addition of an introduction and cognate density matrix) as 'Classification of Northern Paman Languages, Cape York Peninsula, Australia: A Research Report' in *Oceanic Linguistics* 3:2, 1964, pp.248-64. It was re-published (augmented again by the cognate density matrix and also by a grammatical sketch of Linqitⁱy) as 'The Paman Group of the Pama-Nyungan Phylic Family, Appendix to XXIX' in G.N. O'Grady and C.F. and F.M. Voegelin, *Languages of the World: Indo-Pacific Fascicle 6* (= *Anthropological Linguistics* 8:2), 1966, pp.162-97. These two published versions contained only pages 1-9 of the original 'Northern Paman' manuscript, which numbers 72 pages. Pages 11-13 and 57-58 of 'Northern Paman' contain an account of phonological developments in Uradhi. These sections are omitted here as Hale has presented a revised and expanded version of them in his paper on Uradhi in this volume. (Ed.)

3 Attestation in suffixes

(abbreviations)

Luṭiy and MpalitYaṅ	Lu Mpa
Yinwum	Yin
Lingitiy	Lin
Alṅit	Al
Awṅtim	Awṅ
Nt ^r a?ṅit	Ntr
Ngkoṭ	Ngko
Aritingitiy	Ari
Mbiywom	Mbi

1. PHONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS

In this section, Northern Paman languages are treated separately with respect to their reflection of Paman phonology. The languages are ordered from north to south.¹

For each language, the discussion is divided into five sections according to articulatory class of Paman segmental phonemes:

(1) stops, */p t tʸ k/; (2) nasals, */m n nʸ ŋ/; (3) liquids, */l r/; (4) glides, */w R y/; and (5) vowels, */i(·) u(·) a(·)/. At the end of each section, the inventory of consonants and vowels in the modern language is given.

The concern in this section is with phonological developments in stems exclusively. Developments in suffixes are not treated in detail because of the relatively small total of suffixes which can be reconstructed (but see section 3).

Luṭiy and MpalitYaṅ

These two dialects are very similar to one another, especially with respect to their vocabularies. In phonological development from Paman, however, they differ in certain details. In Luṭiy for example, Paman *R and intervocalic *t are reflected by /ʔ/, as they are in Awṅtim and its sister dialects to the west. In MpalitYaṅ, both *R and *t remained apical, as in other inland languages. Also in Luṭiy, final *l > /y/, another development shared by its western neighbours. In MpalitYaṅ final *l remained as /l/, as it did in inland languages generally.

¹Hale places Uradhi, of the eight languages concerned, nearest the tip of Cape York Peninsula. Mbiywom, the last on the list, was spoken just above the Watson River. For details of the pre-contact distribution of these languages, see the publications (1964, 1966) mentioned in footnote 1 page 7. (Ed.)

MpalitYan like its neighbour Yinwum, has a series of prenasalised stops which developed in the reduction of medial *NS after nasal *C₁. This series is absent in Luṭiy where reduction of *NS left no trace of nasalisation.

Major developments in Luṭiy and MpalitYan have been: (1) reduction of medial *NS after nasal *C₁, (2) lenition of intervocalic stops after long *V₁, (3) loss of *C₁, (4) metathesis of short *u from initial syllables, and (5) reduction of long *V₁. Loss of *C₁ was invariable in these dialects as it was in all Northern Paman languages south of Uraḍi. Although medial *S was lenited after *V₁, medial *NS was not; Luṭiy and MpalitYan lenition differs from Uraḍi lenition in this respect only.

In the following paragraphs, reflection of Paman non-initial phonemes is presented.

Stops

Lenited and non-lenited reflexes of intervocalic */p tʸ k/ are as in Uraḍi (see: *yi·par(-), *tʸa·lpa, *tʸipa, *wa·tʸa, *ku·tʸi(-ma), *patʸa-, *ḡatʸi(-), *nʸatʸi-, *pi·ku, *yuku). Intervocalic *t is singly reflected in both dialects – by /t/ in MpalitYan, and by /ʔ/ in Luṭiy (see: *kuta(ka)).

In Luṭiy, medial *NS lost the nasal segment after *CV₁ in which *C₁ was a nasal; that is, in sequences of the type *NV(·)NSV, both nasals were lost in the reduction of the initial syllable. In MpalitYan, both nasals were lost only if *V₁ was short *i or *u – otherwise, the nasalisation itself remained as prenasalisation of *S. Prenasalised stops, /ⁿp/, /ⁿt/, etc. resulting in this manner are in contrast with modern clusters of nasal plus stop reflecting *NS where the preceding *C₁ was non-nasal (for examples of reduced and retained clusters, see: *ḡampu, *kampiṽ, *wantu(-) ~ ḡantu(-), *nʸuntu ~ nʸintu, *pinta, *wanta-, *muṅka-, *nʸaṅka, *ḡuṅku, *nʸu·ṅka-, *pa·ṅkal, *tʸuṅku, *Cu·ṅku(-)).

Nasals

Intervocalic */m nʸ ḡ/ > /m ṅ ḡ/ (see: *pama, *ḡami-, *minʸa, *paṅa-). Intervocalic and final *n > /n/ (see: *nʸi·na-, *ḡa·ni, *kulan, *tʸalan). The reflection of nasals in clusters has been given (see the section 'Stops' above).

Modern /nʸ/ reflecting Paman *nʸ is attested for MpalitYan in the cluster *nʸtʸ only (see: *panʸtʸi-). Otherwise, /nʸ/ in Luṭiy and MpalitYan is confined to stems not appearing outside Northern Paman.

Liquids

Intervocalic *l remained as /l/ in both dialects (see: *ḡali, *pu·la(-), *tʸalan). Final *l > /l/ in MpalitYan and /y/ in Luṭiy (see: *nʸupul ~ nʸipul, *pa·ṅkal). In clusters, *l was lost (see: *kalka, *kalma-, *kalmpaR, *kuḷṅkul ~ kuḷṅkun, *tʸa·lpa).

The rare medial *r is not attested for Luṭiy and MpalitYan. In two putative cognates, final *r > /ɣ/ (see: *ḡa·mur, *Cakur).

Glides

Medial *w and *y remained (see: *ka·way, *mayi, *ŋayu). Final *y was lost but had a fronting influence on a preceding *a (see the section 'Vowels' below, and see also: *kampiy, *pakay).

In Mpalit^Yan, *R was lenited to /r/ after long *V₁ and after *V₂ (see: *wa·Ri, *t^Yan^kaR-, *kalmpaR); after short *V₁, *R > /t/ (phonetically [t̚]) (see: *maRa, *t^YaRu, *waRi-).

In Luṭiy *R > /ʔ/ (see: (maRa, *kalmpaR, *wa·Ri).

Vowels

With loss of initial consonants, short *V₁ was also lost in some cases. The tendency toward loss of this vowel is greater in Luṭiy than in Mpalit^Yan, but in neither case are the conditions for loss or retention of *V₁ fully understood.

However, one regularity with respect to *V₁ emerges clearly — short *u of an initial syllable metathesised with *C₂ if *V₂ was *a. In its new position following *C₂, *u reduced to the corresponding glide /w/ (see: *ŋula, *kulan, *muŋka-, *n^Yukal, *wuna-; see also *kuta(ka) where the expected metathesis occurred in Mpalit^Yan but not in Luṭiy).

In *CV₂, that is, the second syllable of Paman stems, all vowels were retained. The high vowels, *i and *u, are each singly reflected in *CV₂ by /i/ and /u/ respectively (see: *ŋami-, *pipi, *ŋampu, *yuku). The low central vowel, *a, is doubly reflected — *a > /æ/ before final *y, and /a/ elsewhere (see *pakay and *kalka, now minimally distinct in Mpalit^Yan after loss of final *y; see also *ka·way).

Long vowels became short: *i· > /i/, *u· > /u/, *a· > /a/ (see: *n^Yi·na-, *pu·la, *ŋa·ni).

The consonant and vowel inventories of the modern dialects are as follows: /p t̚ t^Y k; β ð γ; m ŋ n n^Y ŋ; l r; w y; i u æ a/, plus /ⁿp ⁿt̚ ⁿt̚ ⁿt^Y ⁿk/ in Mpalit^Yan, and /ʔ/ in Luṭiy. Luṭiy /r/ appears only in stems which are confined to Northern Paman; the same is true of many instances of Mpalit^Yan /r/, although the latter has at least one source in Paman, namely *R.

Yinwum

Major phonological developments in Yinwum have been: (1) prenasalisation of medial stops after nasal *C₁, (2) reduction of medial *NS after nasal *C₁, (3) lenition of *NS after long V₁, (4) vowel umlaut under the influence of laminal *C₁, (5) metathesis of certain short *V₁, (6) loss of *C₁ and certain short *V₁, (7) reduction of long *V₁.

Although Yinwum shows lenition of *NS after long vowels, it does not show lenition of single stops in that environment (compare *Ca·n^Yt^Ya- and *pa·t^Ya-).

Yinwum reflection of Paman phonemes follows:

Stops

Paman stops following long or short $*CV_1$ were prenasalised if $*C_1$ was a nasal — $*p > /^n p/$ (see: $*n^y upul \sim n^y ipul$, $*n^y ipi(-ma)$), $*t^y > /^n t^y /$ (see: $*\eta at^y u-$, $*n^y at^y i-$, $*\eta at^y i$), and $*k > /^n k/$ (see: $*mukuR$). Stops remained as plain after $*CV_1$ where $*C_1$ was non-nasal (see: $*t^y ipa$, $*kuta(ka)$, $*pat^y a-$, $*pakay$).

Clusters of nasal plus stop following nasal $*C_1$ lost the nasal segment itself, but the stop segment remained as prenasalised (see: $*\eta ampul$, $*n^y untu \sim n^y intu$, $*n^y u \cdot \eta ka-$; see also $*n^y unku- \sim n^y inku-$ where $*\eta k$ became lamino-alveolar $/^n t^y /$, presumably under the fronting influence of $*i$ in the preceding syllable).

Prenasalised stops derived in either of the two ways described above contrast with clusters of nasal plus stop which descended as such after short $*CV_1$ where $*C_1$ was non-nasal (see: $*kampiy$, $*kumpu$, $*yinta-$, $*Runka-$, $*pu\eta ku$).

After long $*V^1$, clusters of nasal plus stop were lenited (see: $*Ca \cdot n^y t^y a-$, $*Cu \cdot \eta kan^y V$, $*Cu \cdot \eta ku-$). This development did not occur in at least one stem where $*C_1$ is known to have been a nasal (see: $*n^y u \cdot \eta ka-$).

Independent of these developments are the split of Paman $*t$ and $*t^y$. Paman $*t$ became $/t^r/$ in the cluster $*nt$ if the latter was flanked by $*a$; otherwise, $*t$ remained as $/t/$ (compare $*wanta-$ and $*yinta-$). Paman $*t^y$ became lamino-dental $/t^y n^y t^y /$ if flanked by back vowels (see: $*pat^y a-$, $*\eta at^y u-$); otherwise, $*t^y$ remained lamino-alveolar $/t^y n^y t^y /$ (see: $*ku \cdot t^y i-$, $*n^y at^y i-$). These constitute true phonemic splits. The contrasts t/t^r , $t^y/n^y t^y$, and $n^y t^y/n^y t^y$, although not always attestable in stems reconstructed for Paman generally, are well documented in the Yinwum corpus.

Nasals

Intervocalic $*/m n \eta/ > /m n \eta/$ (see: $*pama$, $*kami$, $*\eta ana$, $*wuna-$, $*n^y unu- \sim n^y inu-$). Final $*n > /n/$ (see: $*t^y alan$). Laminal $*n^y$, like laminal $*t^y$, has both dental and alveolar reflexes: $*n^y > /n^y /$ (see: $wa \cdot n^y a$), $*n^y > /n^y /$ (see: $*min^y a$).

Liquids

Intervocalic and final $*l$ remained as $/l/$ (see: $*\eta ali$, $*n^y ulu \sim n^y ilu$, $*\eta ampul$). In clusters, $*l > /i/$ if followed by a single consonant (see: $*kalma-$, $*kalka$); if followed by $*NS$, $*l$ metathesised with the cluster and reduced to $/w/$ — $*lmp > /mpw/$, $*l\eta k > /\eta kw/$ (see: $*kalmpaR$, $*kul\eta kul \sim kul\eta kun$).

Medial and final $*r$ are each attested by a single example only — medial $*r > /y/$ (see: $*n^y i \cdot ri$), final $*r > /r/$ (see: $*\eta a \cdot mur$).

Glides

Paman $*w$ and $*y$ remained medially (see: $*ka \cdot way$, $*mayi$). Final $*y > /R/$ (see: $*pakay$, $*kampiy$).

Medial *R, like medial stops, was prenasalised after nasal C₁ — *R > /ⁿt^r/ (see: *maRa). Otherwise, medial *R > /t t^r/ (see: *waRi-, *wa·Ri, *t^ya·Ra). Final *R > /t r/ (see: *t^yaŋkaR-, *kaŋpaR, *mukuR).

Vowels

Initial laminal consonants had the effect of fronting central or back vowels which followed in the same stem. After loss of *C₁, this fronting survived in Yinwum. Paman *a in *CV₂ was fronted to /i/ (see: *t^yalan, *yinta-, *t^yampa-, *t^yaŋkaR-, *yana-; see also *t^ya·Ra, in which long *V₁ apparently inhibited this fronting). Paman *u in *CV₂ was fronted to /e/ if *V₁ was also *u (see: *t^yuŋku, *yuku), and *u > /yu/ if *V₁ was *a (see: *t^yaRu, *yapu(-t^yu)). Other patterns of fronting are attested singly only (*u· > /i/ and *a· > /e/ in *n^yu·ŋka-; final *u > /i/ in *n^yuntu ~ *n^yintu). Otherwise, *a and *u remained as such in *CV₂ (see: *pama, *puŋku).

Paman *a(·) in *CV₁ had the effect of lowering *i in *CV₂ to /e/ if the intervening consonant, or cluster, was non-laminal (see: *waRi-, *ŋali, *kampi, *wa·Ri, *kami). Otherwise, *i > /i/ in *CV₂ (see: *mayi, *n^yat^yi-, *n^yipi(-ma)).

Short *u in *CV₁ metathesised with *C₂ (attested only in stems in which *V₂ was *a); (see: *Ruŋka-, *kuta(ka), *kuna, *kuŋkar, *ŋula, *wuna-). Short *i metathesised if *V₂ was *a or *u (see: *t^yipa, *n^yupul ~ n^yipul, *n^yulu ~ n^yilu, *n^yuŋu- ~ n^yiŋu-; see also *min^ya in which metathesis fails to occur). Short *i and *u which did not metathesise were lost (see: *n^yipi(-ma), *puŋku).

Short *a in *CV₁ remained where *C₂ was *y; otherwise it was lost (see: *mayi, *ŋayu, *n^yat^yi-, *pat^ya-).

Paman *a· was shortened to /a/ (see: *wa·t^ya, *wa·n^ya, *ka·way). Paman *i· and *u· also shortened, but a glide /y/ or /w/ sometimes developed after *C₂ which followed them if *V₂ was *a (see: *yi·par, *pu·la; see also *n^yu·ŋka- where the original rounding of *u· survives only in the glide which developed after *C₂).

Yinwum consonants and vowels are: /p t̥ t t^r t^y k; n^p n^{t̥} n^t n^{t^r} n^{t^y} n^k; β ð γ; m n̄ n^y ŋ; l r; w R y; i u e a/. Medial /r/ and /R/ cannot be accounted for in terms of regular development from Paman, since both are confined to Northern Paman stems.

Lingiṭiy¹ and Alŋiṭ

These dialects agree in their reflection of Proto Paman phonology in all respects except one — Alŋiṭ shows metathesis of *V₁ with *C₂, while Lingiṭiy does not. Because Alŋiṭ is so similar to Lingiṭiy, and

¹ See *Anthropological Linguistics* 8:2, pp.176ff for a grammatical sketch of Lingiṭiy. (Ed.)

because the Alqit data are extremely brief, the comments which follow will be restricted to Lingit̄iy. Alqit̄ metathesis, the only development which distinguishes the two dialects, is similar to that occurring in Awq̄im (see below).

Major phonological developments are: (1) reduction of medial *NS after nasal *C₁, (2) lenition of medial *S and *NS after long *V₁, (3) vowel umlaut, (4) loss of *C₁ and *V₁, and (5) reduction of *V₁.

Stops

Lenition of stops and clusters after *V₁ is exactly as in Urađi (for examples of lenited and non-lenited reflexes, see: *yi·par, *Ni·mpi, *nYipi(-ma), *wa·tYa, *Ca·nYtYimV, *patYa-, *nYu·ŋka, *Cu·ŋkanYV, *pakay). Split of *tY after short *V₁ is also as in Urađi (see: *nYatYi-, *ŋatYi).

Clusters of nasal plus stop following short *CV₁ lost the nasal segment if *C₁ was a nasal; otherwise, they remained as clusters (see: *ŋampul, *kampiy, *nYuntu ~ nYintu, *wuntu-, *panYtYi-, *nYaŋka, *ŋuŋku, *puŋku). In the cluster *nt, *t > /tʀ/ (see the stems cited above, and also: *wanta-, *pinta).

Nasals

Intervocalic */m n ŋ/ > /m n ŋ/, and final *n > /n/ (see: *pama, *nYi·na-, *puŋa, *tYalan). Paman *nY > /nY/ after short *i (attested by one example, see: *minYa) and in the cluster *nYtY after short *V₁ (also attested by a single example, see: *panYtYi-); otherwise, where attested, *nY > /ŋ/ (see: *wa·nYa, *pi·nYa, *ŋanYi).

Liquids

Intervocalic *l > /l/, and final *l > /y/ (see: *ka·la, *ŋali, *kali-, *ŋampul, *paŋkul). Paman *l in clusters is attested only twice for Lingit̄iy — *lmp > /mpw/ (see: *kalmpaR), and *lŋk > /ŋk/ (see: *kulŋkul ~ kulŋkun).

Medial *r is attested twice, and final *r three times — medial *r > /R/ (see: *nYura ~ nYira, *nYi·ri); final *r > /ð/ after *i, /y/ after *u (see: *mulir, *ŋa·mur, *Cakur).

Glides

Medial *w and *y remained (see: *ka·way, *mayi, *ŋayu). Final *y > /R/ (see: *pakay, *kampiy).

*R > /ʔ/ (see: *maRa, *wa·Ri, *tYaŋkaR-).

Vowels

In *CV₂, the back vowels, *a and *u, are each doubly reflected. The conditions for dual reflection of *a are statable in terms of the

phonetic nature of *CV₁, while the conditions for split of *u cannot, as yet, be stated at all.

Paman *a was fronted to /æ/ under the influence of short *i in *CV₁ and, in at least one case, under the influence of an initial laminal; otherwise, it remained as /a/ (compare *yinta- with *wanta- and *tYuma with *pama, now minimally distinct; see also *minYa in which final *a remained /a/ and only *nY was especially influenced by short *i).

Paman *u in *CV₂ remained as /u/ in the following Paman stems: *nYuntu ~ nYintu, *nYulu ~ nYilu, *ŋampul, *kumpu. Otherwise where attested in Paman stems, *u > /o/ (compare *nYupul ~ nYipul with *ŋampul, now minimally distinct; see also: *ŋatYu-, *ŋuŋku, *puŋku, *pi·muR).

The high front vowel *i in *CV₂ is singly reflected by /i/ (see: *kali-, *ŋa·ni, *wa·Ri).

In *CV₁, short vowels were retained where *C₂ was a glide or *r (see: *mayi, *ŋayu, *maRa, *nYura ~ nYira). Otherwise, all short *V₁ were lost (see: *minYa, *nYipi(-ma), *yinta-, *puŋa, *mukuR, *tYuŋku, *patYa-, *katYa-, *paŋkul).

Long vowels became short — *i· > /i/, *u· > /o/, *a· > /a/ (see: *nYi·na-, *nYi·ri, *nYu·ŋka-, *pu·la, *wa·tYa, *ka·la).

Lingitiy consonants¹ and vowels are: /p t tʳ k ʔ; β ð γ; m ŋ n nʲ ŋ; l r; w R y; i u æ o a/.

Modern /t/ and /r/ appear only in stems confined to Northern Paman.

Occurrences of modern /nʲ/ are rare in stems attested for Paman — /nʲ/ reflects *nY in *minYa and in *panYtYi-; otherwise *nY became /ŋ/. The total corpus indicates that /nʲ/ is rare generally in Lingitiy and only rarely in contrast with /ŋ/. But compare /ŋa-/ 'to arrive' with /nʲa/ 'animal' (< *minYa), /aŋa/ 'heart' (< *wa·nYa) with /anʲa-/ 'to rub', and /ŋtin/ 'sea' with /nʲtYin/ 'burned, cooked' (< *panYtYi-n).

Voiced fricatives and voiceless stops, where descended from *C₂, are in complementary distribution — the fricatives are preceded by a vowel (shortened from *V₁) and the stops are initial (after loss of short *CV₁). However, fricatives and stops contrast in one modern environment, namely, finally — compare /tʲoy/ 'inserted' with /tʲok/ 'whale', and /lið/ 'tooth' with /lit/ 'will go'. The development of this contrast in final position cannot, as yet, be detailed in terms of regular development from Paman, partly because Paman morphophonemics, probably germane to this problem, are not fully understood, and partly because of the fact that, in most instances, morphemes involved in the contrast are not yet reconstructable for Paman generally.

Awŋtim and Ntʳaŋit

These dialects differ in their reflection of Paman phonology with respect to their treatment of vowels. Awŋtim shows extensive

¹See *Anthropological Linguistics* 8:2, pp.177-78 for discussion of the problematic voiced stops b ɓ d dʳ dʲ g. (Ed.)

metathesis; Nt^raʔŋi_t does not show metathesis but does show vowel umlaut. Both are also closely similar to Linŋi_ti_y and Alŋi_t, but differ from the latter in retaining the nasal segment of medial *NS after all short *CV₁ regardless of the phonetic nature of *C₁; in this, they agree with Uraði.

The major phonological developments shared by Awŋ_tim and Nt^raʔŋi_t are: (1) lenition of medial *S and *NS after long *V₁, (2) loss of *C₁ and certain *V₁, and (3) reduction of *V₁.

Stops

Lenited and non-lenited reflexes of medial, non-apical *S and *NS are precisely as in Uraði (for examples see: *yi·par, *Ni·mpi, *n^yi_{pi}(ma), *kampi_y, *ka·t^ya, Ca·n^yt^yim_v, *n^yat^yi-, *ŋat^yi, *n^yu·ŋka-, *Cu·ŋku(-), *yuku, *puŋku). Intervocalic *t > /ʔ/ (see: *kuta(ka)) and the apical cluster *nt > /nt^r/ (see: *wanta-, *pinta).

Nasals

In Awŋ_tim, medial */m n n^y ŋ/ > /m n ŋ ŋ/ (see: *pama, *t^yuma, *n^yi·na-, *ŋana, *min^ya, *wa·n^ya, *puŋa, *paŋa-). Final *n > /n/ (see: *t^yalan, *kulan). Nt^raʔŋi_t reflection of nasals is the same except that *n^y > /n^y/ as well as /ŋ/ (see: *min^ya).

Liquids

Intervocalic *l > /l/ (see: *ŋali, *t^yalan). Final *l > /y/ after *u (see: *ŋampul); after *a, final *l was lost but fronted *a to /e/ (see: *n^yukal, *Cipal). The clusters *lmp and *lŋk > /mpw/ and /ŋkw/ respectively (see: *kalmpaR, *kulŋkul ~ kulŋkun).

Reflexes of *r are as in Linŋi_ti_y (see above, and see: *n^yura ~ n^yira, *n^yi·ri, *ŋa·mur, *Cakur).

Glides

Medial *y and *w were lost in Awŋ_tim and retained in Nt^raʔŋi_t (see: *ka·way, *ŋayu, *mayi). Final *y > /R/ in both (see: *pakay, *kampi_y). *R > /ʔ/ (see: *maRa, *wa·Ri, *t^yaŋkaR-, *kalmpaR).

Vowels

Nt^raʔŋi_t reflection of Paman vowels is as in Linŋi_ti_y (see above), except that *a > /e/ before final *l (see: *n^yukal, *Cipal).

In Awŋ_tim, short *V₁ metathesised with *C₂ if not homorganic with *V₂ (see: *min^ya, *pinta, *puŋa, *kulan, *t^yuma, *mulir, *kampi_y, *ŋami-, *ŋat^yi, *ŋampu; see also *ŋampul where the expected metathesis does not occur, and see *n^yat^yi-, where metathesis is apparently inhibited by laminal *C₁).

Where short *V₁ and *V₂ were homorganic, *V₁ was lost in Awŋ_tim (see: *n^yi_{pi}(-ma), *pipi, *puŋku, *yuku, *pama, *pat^ya-).

Long $*V_1$, where not homorganic with $*V_2$, have discontinuous reflexes which flank $*C_2$. Thus, $*i \cdot C_2 > /əC_2y/$, $*u \cdot C_2 > /əC_2w/$, $*a \cdot C_2 > /əC_2a/$ (see: $*pi \cdot muR$, $*nYu \cdot ŋka-$, $*ku \cdot tYi(-ma)$, $*ŋa \cdot ni$; see also $*nYi \cdot na-$ and $*yi \cdot par$, where /y/ does not develop after $*C_2$ but $*a$ is fronted to /e/). Long $*V_1 > /ə/$ if homorganic with $*V_2$ (see: $*nYi \cdot ri$, $*Cu \cdot ŋku$, $*ka \cdot tYa$).

In $*CV_2$, $*i$ and $*u$ became Awŋt̥im /y/ and /w/ after /a/ which metathesised from the initial syllable (see: $*kampiY$, $*ŋampu$). Otherwise, they remained as /i/ and /u/ (see: $*nYipi(-ma)$, $*puŋku$). Paman $*a > /e/$ before final $*l$ and after $*i \cdot$ in the initial syllable (see: $*nYukal$, $*Cipal$, $*nYi \cdot na-$); $*a$ also became /e/ unaccountably in $*pula$, $*nYura \sim nYira$. Otherwise, $*a > /a/$ in $*CV_2$ (see: $*tYalan$, $*muŋka-$, $*maRa$).

Awŋt̥im and Nt̥raŋit̥ consonants and vowels are: /p t̥ t̥ t̥r t̥Y k ?; β ð γ; m ŋ n nY ŋ; l r; w R y; i u e a/ plus /ə/ in Awŋt̥im.¹

Awŋt̥im /nY/, if phonemic at all, has not been recorded in stems reconstructed for Paman generally. In both Awŋt̥im and Nt̥raŋit̥, /t/ and /r/ are restricted to Northern Paman stems.

As in Lingit̥iy, so also in Awŋt̥im and Nt̥raŋit̥ voiced fricatives contrast with stops in final position and are in complementary distribution otherwise.

Awŋt̥im /ə/, derived by reduction and neutralisation of long vowels, is in contrast with its absence — compare /əlan/ 'sky' and /lan/ 'tongue' — but not with other vowels. Its assignment to any of the other vowel phonemes, however, would be arbitrary.

Ngkot̥ (/ŋkot̥/)

Unlike languages so far discussed, Ngkot̥ does not show lenition of any $*C_2$ after long $*V_1$ whether single stop or cluster. And unique to Ngkot̥ is reflection by /nY+tY/ of medial $*y$ after nasal $*C_1$.

Major phonological developments in Ngkot̥ are: (1) reduction of $*NS$ after nasal $*C_1$, (2) fronting of central or back $*V_1$ after laminal $*C_1$, (3) metathesis of certain short $*V_1$, (4) loss of $*C_1$ and certain short $*V_1$, and (5) reduction of long vowels.

Stops

Intervocalic $*/p + k/ > /p + k/$ (see: $*nYipi(-ma)$, $*nYupul \sim nYipul$, $*kuta(ka)$, $*pakay$, $*mukuR$). As elsewhere in Northern Paman, $*tY$ is doubly reflected — by /tY/ if $*C_1$ was also laminal (see: $*nYatYi-$), and by /t̥/ otherwise (see: $*ŋatYi-$, $*patYa-$).

¹ /a-y/ = [æ] only where morpheme boundary intervenes between /a/ and /y/ — ŋkwa-y [ŋkwæ] 'will eat', əlwa-y [əlwæ] 'father's father', əla-y [əlæ] 'mother's younger brother'.

Medial *NS after short *CV₁ lost the nasal segment if *C₁ was nasal; otherwise, *NS remained as clusters (see: *ŋampul, *kampiy, *n^yuntu ~ n^yintu, *pinta, *Ca·n^yt^ya-, *pan^yt^yi-, *n^yungku- ~ n^yingku-, *Cu·ŋku, *puŋku).

In the apical cluster *nt, the stop segment is doubly reflected by /t/ and /t^r/ (compare *pinta and *wanta). The stop segment in the velar cluster *ŋk is also doubly reflected, by /t^y/ and by /k/ (compare *n^yungku- ~ n^yingku- and *puŋku).

Nasals

Intervocalic *n^y and *ŋ are each doubly reflected: *n^y > /n^y/ after short *i (see: *min^ya), and /n/ elsewhere (see: *pi·n^ya, *wa·n^ya, *ŋan^yi; *ŋ > /n^y/ and /ŋ/ (compare *n^yuŋu- ~ n^yingū- and *puŋa). The fronting of velar *ŋ and of *k in *ŋk (see above), although not amply documented, is certainly regularly conditioned, since the environments are identical in the two cases; it cannot yet be determined, however, exactly what the conditioning element is, since both laminal consonants and short *i are known to have fronting effects in Northern Paman phonology, and both occur in the stems involved here.

The remaining nasals are singly reflected: *m > /m/ (see: *pama, *kami), and *n > /n/ (see: *kuna, *ŋana, *kulan).

Liquids

Intervocalic and final *l > /l/ (see: *ŋali, *ka·la, *ŋampul, *paŋkul). In clusters, *l was lost (see: *kalma-, *kuŋkul ~ kuŋkun; see also *kalmpaR in which *lmp > /mpw/).

Medial *r is not attested for Ngkoṭ; final *r > /r/ in a single putative cognate (see: *ŋa·mur).

Glides

Medial *y > /n^yt^y/ after *CV₁ in which *C₁ was a nasal (see: *ŋayu, *mayi); otherwise *y > /y/ medially and finally (see: *wi·ya, *pakay). Medial *w > /w/ (see: *ka·way).

*R > /t^r t/ (see: *maRa, *waRi-, *wa·Ri, *pi·muR, *mukuR).

Vowels

Initial *t^y, and presumably other laminals as well, had the effect of fronting central or back vowels which immediately followed. The vowels fronted in this manner subsequently metathesised with *C₂ in the same way that short *i did (see: *t^yalan, *t^yampa-, *t^yuma; see also *t^yaŋkaR-, a counterexample to this).

Short *i and *u metathesised with *C₂ as in Yinwum and Awŋtim (see: *t^yipa, *yinta-, *pinta, *n^yupul ~ n^yipul, *kuta(ka), *kulan, *puŋa; see also *n^yulu ~ n^yilu, *n^yuntu ~ n^yintu, *n^yungku- ~ n^yingku-).

and *n^yuŋu- ~ n^yiŋu- in which final *u is completely replaced by /i/ metathesised from the initial syllable).

Short *a also metathesised, as in Awŋt̄im, but only if *V₂ was *i (see: *ŋat^yi, *ŋali, *papi, *kami, *pan^yt^yi-; see also *n^yat^yi- where the fronting effect of the initial laminal inhibited metathesis, and see *mayi which also fails to show metathesis).

Short *V₁ which did not metathesise was lost (see: *n^yipi(-ma), *puŋku, *pama).

In *CV₂, Paman *u > /u o/. The conditions for this dual reflection are only partially documented — /u/ appears where *V₁ was short *u, and /o/ appears where *V₁ was *a (compare *kuŋkuŋ ~ kuŋkun and *paŋkuŋ, now minimally distinct in Ngkoŋt̄). Modern /u/ also appears where *V₁ was *i· (see: *pi·muŋ), and /o/ appears after *u· (see: *Cu·ŋku).

Paman *i > /y/ after /a/ metathesised from *CV₁ (see: *ŋali); otherwise, *i > /i/ in *CV₂ (see: *n^yipi(-ma), *mini).

Paman *a remained as /a/ in *CV₂ (see: *kuna, *t^yalan).

Long vowels were shortened as follows: *i· > /i/, *u· > /o/, *a· > /a/ (see: *wi·ya, *Cu·ŋku, *wa·n^ya). As in Yinwum (see above), *i· and *u· sometimes have discontinuous reflexes flanking *C₂ — *i·C₂ > /iC₂y/ (see: *pi·pa), and *u·C₂ > /oC₂w/ (see: *pu·la).

Ngkoŋt̄ consonants and vowels are: /p t̄ t^r t^y k ʔ; β ð γ; m ŋ n n^y ŋ; l r; w R y; i u e ö o æ a/.

Glottal stop appears only in borrowings — for example, /ʔalan/ 'fingernail', from Awŋt̄im where the form is analysable as /ʔa/ 'hand' < *maRa plus /lan/ 'tongue, extension' < *t^yalan; compare Ngkoŋt̄ /t^ra/ 'hand' < *maRa in which the expected apical reflex of Paman *R occurs. The voiced fricatives /β ð/ are also restricted to borrowings as are medial occurrences of /γ/. Final /γ/ reflects final *r and also appears in at least one suffix which is not normally borrowed: -γ 'ergative' (Paman *-ŋku), combining with nouns to mark the subject of a transitive verb.

Occurrences of /r/ and /R/ cannot be accounted for in terms of regular development from Paman; similarly, the vowels /ö/ and /æ/ appear only rarely, and not at all in morphemes which can be reconstructed for Paman generally. The mid front vowel /e/ appears as the metathesised reflex of *a in *waRi-; other occurrences of /e/ are in stems confined to Ngkoŋt̄ and, therefore, not reconstructed.

Aritinŋit̄iy

Aritinŋit̄iy agrees with Awŋt̄im in its reflection of clusters of nasal plus stop — these were lenited after long *V₁ but retained as clusters after all short *CV₁. And it agrees with Yinwum and Ngkoŋt̄ in showing non-lenited reflexes of intervocalic stops after long *V₁.

At least one dialect of Aritinŋit̄iy has been strongly influenced by Linŋit̄iy and has borrowed heavily therefrom.

Phonological developments are: (1) lenition of *NS after long *V₁, (2) metathesis of certain *V₁, (3) loss of *C₁ and certain short *V₁, and (4) reduction of long vowels.

Intervocalic */p k/ > /p k/; intervocalic *tʸ > /tʸ/ when adjacent to i(·), and /t/ otherwise (see: *nʸupul ~ nʸipul, *tʸipa, *wi·pa, *ŋatʸi, *patʸa-, *wa·tʸa, *pakay, *yuku). Intervocalic *t is not attested for Aritingitʸi.

Medial *NS were lenited after long *V₁ (see: *Ni·mpi, *Ca·nʸtʸa-, *Cu·ŋku); otherwise, they remained as clusters (see: *kampiy, *ŋampul, *wanta-, *puŋku).

The velar cluster in *nʸuŋku- ~ nʸiŋku- was fronted to lamino-alveolar as in Ngkoŋ (see above).

Nasals

Intervocalic *nʸ > /nʸ/ when adjacent to *i (see: *minʸa, *ŋanʸi); otherwise, *nʸ > /n/ (see: *wa·nʸa). The velar nasal in *nʸuŋu- ~ nʸiŋu- was fronted to lamino-alveolar as in Ngkoŋ (see above); otherwise, where attested, intervocalically *ŋ > /ŋ/ (see: *puŋa).

Intervocalic */m n/ > /m n/ (see: *pama, *pi·muR, *ŋa·ni). Final *n > /n/ (see: *kuman, *tʸalan).

Liquids

Intervocalic and final *l > /l/ (see: *ka·la, *ka·lu, *ŋampul, *paŋkul). The cluster *lp remained (see: *tʸa·lpa); *lmp > /lw/ (see: *kalmpaR), and in the clusters *lk and *lm, *l > /i/ (see: *kalka, *ka·lka-, *kalma-).

Paman *r is not attested in Aritingitʸi. Reflexes of Paman *nʸura ~ nʸira, *ŋa·mur, and *Cakur occur in the vocabulary of at least one idiolect but are recognised as borrowings and are used in competition with native Aritingitʸi forms.

Glides

Paman *w and *y remained as such medially (see: *ka·way, *mayi, *ŋayu), but in at least one exceptional case medial *y > /R/ (see: *wi·ya). Final *y > /R/ (see: *pakay, *kampiy).

*R > /t/ (see: *maRa, *wa·Ri, *waRi-).

Vowels

Short *u in *CV₁ metathesised with *C₂ if *V₂ was *a or *u (see: *puŋa, *ŋula, *kuman, *kulan, *puŋku, *yuku). Metathesis of short *i and *a was also recorded — the former only where *C₂ was *nt, and the latter only where *C₂ was bilabial (see: *nʸuntu ~ nʸintu, *yinta-, *papi, *kami).

Short *a remained in *CV₁ if *CV₂ was *y (see: *mayi, *ŋayu); otherwise, and where not metathesised, *a was lost in *CV₁ (see: *pama,

*pat^Ya-). Short *i and *u were also lost in *CV₁ if not metathesised (see: *mini, *t^Yuli).

In *CV₂, *i > /y/ after /a/ metathesised from *CV₁ (see: *papi); otherwise, *i > /i/ in *CV₂ (see: *ŋali, *ŋat^Yi). Paman *u in *CV₂ remained as /u/ (see: *ŋat^Yu-, *ka·lu). And Paman *a > /æ/ (see: *yi·par) and /a/ (see: *wi·pa). The conditions for this dual reflection of *a are not known; /æ/, as a reflex of *a, is attested only once, though the vowel is frequent in modern Aritingit^{iy} vocabulary.

Long *V₁ became short (see: *n^Yi·na-, *pi·muR, *pu·la, *Cu·ŋku, *wa·nYa, *wa·t^Yu).

Aritingit^{iy} consonants and vowels are: /p t t^r k; β ð γ; m ŋ n n^Y ŋ; l r; w R y; i u u æ a/.

The occurrence of /æ/ in /ipæ-ntuw/ 'south', from *yi·par, is unexpected. The vowel also appears in /iRwæ/ 'you pl.', from *n^Yura ~ n^Yira; this form is recognised as a borrowing and is used in competition with native /pul/ 'you non-sg.' from *n^Yupul ~ n^Yipul.

The vowel /u/ appears in /lu/ 'he', probably a borrowing from Lingit^{iy} /lu/ (phonetically [l^u]). The expected Aritingit^{iy} reflex of the Paman 3rd sg. pronoun *n^Yulu ~ n^Yilu is /lu/ or /lyu/.

The borrowing of pronouns, rare in languages of the world, is well documented in Aritingit^{iy} where borrowed pronouns are often used interchangeably with native ones. Another pronoun introduced through contact with Lingit^{iy} is /lawul/ 'they du.' (compare Lingit^{iy} /lawuy/) used beside native /lwal/. Both /lawul/ and /lwal/ contain Paman *pula, but only /lwal/ shows the expected metathesis of short *u from the initial syllable.

Mbiywom

The treatment of Mbiywom is highly tentative due to the brevity of the data available for it. More often than in the preceding sections, multiple reflection of Paman phonemes is presented with no attempt to state conditions.

Despite limitations in the data, it is possible to show that reflection of Paman phonology is much the same in Mbiywom as in other Northern Paman languages. Major phonological developments are: (1) lenition of *NS after long *V₁, (2) loss of *C₁ and certain *V₁, (3) metathesis of certain short *V₁ from the initial syllable, and (4) reduction of long vowels.

The data indicate that Mbiywom, unlike other Northern Paman languages, has voiced stops in contrast both with voiceless stops and with voiced fricatives. Although the development of this contrast cannot, as yet, be detailed, at least one Paman source of Mbiywom voiced stops has suggested itself, namely, Paman glides – compare /id^Ya-/ 'another', from *wi·ya, and /it^Ya-/ 'to put, apply' from *ŋi·t^Ya-. However, Paman glides also have glide reflexes (see: *mayi, *ŋayu, *ka·way).

Intervocalic */p + k/ remained as /p + k/; *tY > /tY/ when adjacent to (·), and /t/ otherwise (see: *papi, *tYipa, *kuta(ka), *ku·tYi(-ma), *patYi, *ŋi·tYa-, *patYa-, *ŋatYu-, *pakay, *mukuR).

Medial *NS remained as clusters after short *CV₁ (see: *kampiy, *anta-, *kunYtYa-, paŋkul; see also *nYunKu- ~ nYinKu- in which *ŋk was fronted to lamino-alveolar as in Ngkoŋ and Aritingŋiŋ). As usual in Northern Paman, stops following nasals are phonetically voiced. In other Northern Paman languages, these voiced phones are assigned to the same phonemic units as the corresponding voiceless phones, since the two kinds of stops are in complementary distribution. In Mbiywom, however, since voiced and voiceless stops are in contrast initially and intervocalically, the voiced phones appearing after nasals are written as such in the transcription used here. Our transcription, therefore, is influenced by a consideration of phonetic similarity.

After long *V₁, clusters of nasal plus stop were lenited (see: *nYtYa-, *Cu·ŋku, *Cu·ŋkanYV). But mu·nYtYi- > onYdYi-.

Nasals

Intervocalic */m n nY/ > /m n ŋ/ (see: *pama, *nYi·na-, *wa·nYa). Final /n > /n/ (*kulan). Modern /nY/ from Paman *nY is attested only in clusters (see: *panYtYi-, *kunYtYa-), although it is likely that laminal *nY split in the same way that laminal *tY did and that /nY/ reflects intervocalic *nY where the latter was adjacent to *i.

Intervocalic *ŋ is attested only in *nYunKu- ~ nYinKu- where it is fronted to /nY/ as it is also in Ngkoŋ and Aritingŋiŋ.

Liquids

Intervocalic and final *l > /l/ (see: *ŋali, *ka·la, *ŋampul). In the clusters *lk and *lm following short *a, *l > /il/ (see: *kalma-, *kalka); in *lk following long *a, *l > /l/ (see: *ka·lka-). The clusters *lmp and *lŋk > /mpw/ and /ŋkw/ respectively (see: *kalmpaR, *kulŋkul ~ kulŋkun).

Medial *r > /y/ (see: *nYi·ri). Final *r is not attested for Mbiywom.

Glides

Paman *w > /w/ (see: *ka·way). Intervocalic *y > /dY y/ (see: *wi·ya, *mayi, *ŋayu). Final *y was lost (see: *pakay, *kampiy).

Intervocalic *R > /t/ (see: *maRa, *waRi-, *wa·Ri). Final *R > /tR/ (see: *kalmpaR, *pi·muR, *mukuR).

Vowels

In *CV₂, vowels are doubly or even multiply reflected. Paman *i > /i e/ (see: *mayi, *kampiy, *kami; for similar reflection of *i, see Yinwum above). Paman *u > /u o/ (see: *ŋampul, *paŋkul). And Paman *a > /a/ (see: *pama, *ŋana, *n^Yi·na-), /e/ (see: *t^Yipa), /i/ (see: *t^Yalan, and for similar reflection, see Yinwum above), and /o/ (where *V₁ was *u; see: *kulan, *kuman, *wuna-, *kun^Yt^Ya-, *kuta(ka)).

Short *u metathesised with *C₂ if *V₂ was *a or *u (see reconstructions cited immediately above, and *puŋku, *mukuR). In at least one instance, short *i also metathesised (see: *n^Yupul ~ n^Yipul); otherwise, where attested, short *i was lost from *CV₁ (see: *t^Yipa, *mini).

Short *a in *CV₁ remained if *C₂ was *y; otherwise, it was lost (see: *mayi, *pat^Ya-).

Long vowels became short: *i· > /i/ (see: *wi·ya, *pi·muR), *u· > /o/ (see: *pu·la, *Cu·ŋku), and *a· > /a/ (see: *wa·t^Yu, *wa·n^Ya).

Mbiywom consonants and vowels are: /p t̥ t t^Y k; b d̥ d d^Y g; β ð γ; m ŋ n n^Y ŋ; l r; w R y; i ü u e o a/.

Intervocalic /d^Y/ is attested in one Paman stem; the other voiced stops do not occur intervocalically in stems so far reconstructed for Paman, although they do occur in clusters which are reconstructed. Modern /R/ and /ü/ are attested only in morphemes confined to Northern Paman or, more narrowly, to Mbiywom itself.

2. ATTESTATION IN STEMS

In the presentation of Northern Paman cognates, the following abbreviations are used for language names: Ura (Uraḏi), Mpa (Mpalit^Yaŋ), Lu (Luṭiy), Yin (Yinwum), Lin (Linṭiy), Al (Alṭi), Awŋ (Awŋṭim), Ntr (Nt^ra?ŋiṭ), Ngko (Ngkoṭ), Ari (Aritinṭiy), Mbi (Mbiywom).

Stems

Stems which are normally dependent everywhere in Paman, as verbs and oblique forms of pronouns, are reconstructed with a hyphen following them, and their reflexes are likewise written with a hyphen. Stems which are not normally dependent are written without a hyphen. However, many stems, although not dependent outside of Northern Paman, are so in languages within the group. Kinship terms and non-oblique forms of certain pronouns, for example, are often dependent in Northern Paman, and their reflexes in these languages are accordingly written with a hyphen even though no hyphen appears in the reconstruction, since outside of the group, the same stems occur as independent.

Some reconstructions are written with phonemic material in parentheses, for example, *kuta(ka), *muku(R). Where this is done, modern languages differ with respect to the reflection of the enclosed

material — some reflect it positively, while others give no indication of its former presence. This is, then, a shorthand convention for alternation which presumably existed in the parent language; thus, *muku(R) represents *mukuR ~ *muku. This longer convention is also used, but only where the shorter one is inappropriate — for example, *ŋYuntu ~ nYintu.

And in some instances, phonemic material is enclosed in parentheses in a modern reflex but not in the reconstruction. This is done where a modern form contains additive material unique to the particular language and, therefore, not reconstructable — for example, *tYan̄kaR- > Mpa ŋkar(ik)-, Yin ŋkit(aw)-, Ngko ŋkat(aŋ)-.

- *kali- > Lin li-; Al lay-; Ntr li-; Ngko lay- 'to go'
- *kalka > Mpa aka; Yin, Ngko, Ari ika; Mbi ilka 'spear'
- *kalma- > Mpa ma-; Yin ima-; Ngko ma-; Ari ima-; Mbi ilma- 'to arrive'
- *kalmpaR > Mpa mpar; Lu mpa?; Lin, Al, Awŋ, Ntr mpwa?; Ngko mpwat; Ari lwat; Mbi mbwat 'flesh'
- *kampiy > Mpa ampi; Lu mpi; Yin mpeR; Lin mpiR; Al, Awŋ mpayR; Ntr mpiR; Ngko mpay; Ari mpayR ~ mpiR; Mbi mbe 'up'
- *kami > Ura ami; Mpa, Lu mi-; Yin me-; Lin mi-; Al, Awŋ may-; Ntr mi-; Ngko, Ari may-; Mbi me- 'mother's mother'
- **katYa > Ura yāta 'rotten'
- *katYa- > Lin ta- 'to tie'
- *ka·la > Ura ala; Lin, Al ala-; Awŋ əla-; Ntr, Ngko, Ari ala-; Mbi ala 'mother's younger brother'
- *ka·lka- > Ura alya- 'to fall, die'; Yin aki-; Ari ika-; Mbi alka- 'to fall'
- *ka·lu > Ari alu 'ear'
- *ka·tYa > Lin, Al aða ~ aḏo-; Awŋ əða- 'mother'
- *ka·way > Ura away; Mpa, Lu awæ; Yin, Lin, Al, Ntr awaR; Awŋ aR; Ngko away; Ari awa-ntuw; Mbi awa-m 'east'
- *kulan > Ura ulan; Mpa, Lu, Awŋ, Ngko, Ari lwan; Mbi lwon 'possum'
- *kulŋkul ~ kulŋkun > Ura, Mpa, Lu uŋkun; Yin ŋkwun; Lin ŋkon; Al, Awŋ ŋkwun; Ntr ŋkon; Ngko ŋkul; Mbi ngwun 'heavy'
- *kuman > Ari mwan; Mbi mwon (~ mwun?) 'thigh'
- *kumpu > Yin, Lin mpu; Ari mpwu 'urine'
- *kuna > Yin, Ngko nwa 'excrement'
- *kunYtYa- > Mbi nYdYwo- 'to drink'
- *kuŋka(r) > Ura uŋki-ḏu; Mpa ŋkwa-ḏu; Lu ŋkwa-ḏ; Yin ŋkwa-t̄; Al ŋkwa-ḏ; Lin ŋka-ḏ; Awŋ ŋkwa-t̄; Ntr ŋka-t̄; Ngko ŋkwi-t̄u; Ari ŋkwa-ntuw; Mbi ngwi-m 'north'. Also in Lin, ŋkaR-il 'from the north'
- *kupan > Lin pan (normally in compound with /ka/ 'mouth', 'extremity'; thus (/ka-pan/); Al, Ngko pwan 'short'

- *kuta(ka) > Ura utaya; Mpa twa; Lu uʔa; Yin twa; Awŋ ʔwa;
Ntr uʔa; Ngko twa; Mbi two 'dog'
- *kutini > Mpa uʔin 'emu'. Awŋ twin 'emu' is certainly related to this stem but is probably borrowed; the expected reflex of intervocalic *t in Awŋ is /ʔ/)
- *ku·tYi(-ma) > Ura uðy-ama; Mpa, Lu uði-m; Yin utYi-m; Lin oði-ʔiY; Al oði-ʔ; Awŋ əðwi-ʔ; Mbi otYi-m 'two'
- *manu > Ura manu 'throat'
- *maRa > Ura mata; Mpa aʔa; Lu aʔa; Yin nʔa; Lin aʔa; Al, Awŋ ʔa; Ntr aʔa; Ngko tʔa; Ari, Mbi ta 'hand'
- *mayi > Ura mayi; Mpa, Lu, Yin, Lin, Al ayi; Awŋ ay; Ntr ayi; Ngko nYtYi; Ari, Mbi ayi 'vegetable food'
- *mini > Yin ne (the vowel correspondence here is irregular); Ari ni 'good'. This stem also appears in Lin nin-ŋa-; Ngko ni-ŋa-; Mbi ni-koko- 'to fix, make good'
- *minYa > Ura miŋa; Mpa iŋa; Lu ŋa; Yin, Lin, Al nYa; Awŋ ŋya; Ntr, Ngko, Ari nYa 'meat, animal'
- *mulir > Lin lið; Al, Awŋ lwið; Ntr lið 'tooth'
- *muku(R) > Mpa ku-; Yin nkur; Lin, Al ko-; Awŋ ku-; Ntr ko-; Ngko kut (~ kot ?); Ari ku-; Mbi kwur- 'mother's older brother'
- *muŋka- > Mpa, Lu kwa-; Awŋ ŋkwa-; Ntr ŋka- 'to eat, drink'
- *mu·nYtYi- > Mpa uʔi-; Lin oði- (also oðimʔi-); Ngko otay-; Ari uy-; Mbi onYdYi- 'to swim, bathe'
- *nYaŋka > Ura ŋaŋka; Mpa aŋka; Lu aka; Lin, Al ka; Awŋ Ntr ŋka 'mouth'
- *nYatYi- > Ura atYi-; Mpa, Lu tYi-; Yin nʔYi-; Lin, Al, Awŋ, Ntr, Ngko tYi- 'to see'
- *nYipi(-ma) > Ura ŋipi-ma; Mpa ipi-m; Lu pi-m; Yin npi; Lin, Al, Awŋ, Ntr pi-m; Ngko pi-mam 'one'
- *nYi·na- ~ nYina- > Ura, Mpa, Lu, Yin, Lin, Al ina-; Awŋ əne-; Ntr ina-; Ngko nya-; Ari, Mbi ina- 'to sit'
- *nYi·ri > (Yaraikana iri); Yin iyi; Lin, Al iRi; Awŋ əRi; Ntr, Mbi, iRi 'nose'
- *nYukal > Ura ŋukaw; Lu kway; Lin kay; Awŋ kwe; Ntr ke 'foot'
- *nYulu ~ nYilu > Ura ulu(-ba); Mpa ilu ~ lu; Lu lu; Yin lyu; Lin, Al, Awŋ, Ntr lu; Ngko li; Ari lə; Mbi li 'he'
- *nYuntu ~ nYintu > Ura antu(-ba) (initial /a/ is unexpected here; Yaraikana has /untu(-ba)/; Mpa, Lu tu; Yin nti; Lin, Al tʔu; Awŋ, Ntr ntʔu; Ngko ti; Ari ntyu; Mbi ndwi-n 'you sg'
- *nYunġu- ~ nYinġu- > Ura aŋġu (Yaraikana also has /a/ here); Mpa, Lu ku-; Yin nʔYu-; Lin, Al ko-; Awŋ ŋkyu-; Ntr ŋko- (?); Ngko tYi-; Ari nYtYu-; Mbi nYdYu- '2nd sg. oblique'

- *nYungu- ~ nYingu- > Ura ungu-; Mpa igu-; Yin gyu-; Lin ŋo-; Al, Awŋ nyu-; Ntr ŋo-; Ngko nYu- ~ nYi-; Ari, Mbi nYu- '3rd sg. oblique'
- *nYupul ~ nYipul > Ura ipul-a; Mpa ipul; Lu ipuy; Yin ⁿpyul 'you non-sg.'; Lin poy; Al pyuy; Awŋ piy; Ntr poy 'you du.'; Ngko pyul; Ari pul; Mbi pyul 'you non-sg.'
- *nYura ~ nYira > Lin, Al iRæ; Awŋ Rwe-; Ntr oRæ 'you pl.'
- *nYu·ŋka- > Ura uya-; Mpa uⁿka-; Lu uka-; Yin iⁿkwe-; Lin, Al oya- 'to smell'. Ari iwa-, and Mbi inYdYwa- 'to smell' may also be cognate
- *ŋali > Ura ali(-βa); Mpa li-; Yin le-; Lin li-; Al, Awŋ lay-; Ntr li-; Ngko lay-; Ari li-; Mbi le- 'we du. incl.'
- *ŋami- > Ura ami-; Mpa, Lu mi-; Al, Awŋ may-; Ntr mi- 'to hear'
- *ŋampu > Ura ŋampu; Mpa aⁿpu; Lu apu; Awŋ mpaw 'tooth'
- *ŋampul > Ura ampul-a; Lin, Al puy; Awŋ, Ntr mpuy; Ngko pol; Ari mpul; Mbi mbul 'we pl. incl.'
- *ŋana > Ura ana(-βa); Mpa, Lu ŋa-; Yin, Lin, Al na- 'we non-sg. excl.' Awŋ na- 'we pl excl'; Ntr, Ngko, Ari, Mbi na- 'we non-sg excl'
- *ŋantu ~ wantu > Ura antu-; Mpa aⁿtu-; Lu tu-; Lin, Al t^ro-; Awŋ nt^raw-; Ntr nt^ro-; Ngko to-; Ari nto-; Mbi ndo- 'where'
- *ŋatYi > Ura a^ti; Mpa, Lu ti-; Yin ⁿtYi-; Lin ti-; Al, Awŋ tay-; Ntr ti-; Ngko tay-; Ari, Mbi tYi- 'mother's father'
- *ŋatYu- > Ura a^tu-; Mpa, Lu tu-; Yin ⁿtu-; Yin ⁿtu-; Lin, Al to-; Awŋ taw-; Ntr, Ngko to-; Ari tu-; Mbi to- '1st sg. oblique'
- *ŋa·mur > Lu amuy; Lin amoy; Al maw; Awŋ əmaw; Ntr, Ngko amoy 'armpit'
- *ŋanYi > Ura aⁿi(-βa); Mpa, Lu ni-; Yin nYi; Lin ni-; Al, Awŋ nay-; Ntr ni-; Ngko nay-; Ari nYi '1st sg. direct obj.'
- *ŋayu > Ura ayu(-βa); Mpa, Lu, Yin ayu-; Lin, Al ayo-; Awŋ aw-; Ntr ayo-; Ngko nYtYo-; Ari ayu-; Mbi ayo- 'I'
- *ŋa·ni > Ura, Mpa, Lu, Yin, Lin, Al ani; Awŋ ənay; Ntr, Ngko, Ari, Mbi ani 'what'
- *ŋa·tYi- > Ura a^ti- 'to lay an egg, give birth'
- *ŋi·tYa- > Yin iⁿtYa- 'to put on, apply; Mbi itYa- 'to put'
- *ŋula > Mpa, Lu, Yin, Ari Iwa 'bye-and-bye'. Mbi lwinYdY 'bye-and-bye' may also contain *ŋula.
- *ŋuŋku(-na) > Lu ku; Lin, Al ko(-n) 'there, that'
- *pakay > Mpa akæ; Lu kæ; Yin, Lin, Al, Awŋ, Ntr kaR; Ngko kay; Ari kaR, ka-ntuw; Mbi ka 'down'

- *pama > Ura ama; Mpa ama ~ ma; Lu, Yin, Lin, Al, Awŋ, Ntr, Ngko, Ari, Mbi ma 'person'
- *pan^{YtYi}- > Ura wan^ti-; Mpa, Lin n^{YtYi}-; Ngko n^tay- (also reduplicated /n^tayn^t/); Mbi n^{YdYi}(-Ri)- 'to burn, to be burning'
- *paŋa- > Ura aŋa- ~ aŋə-; Lu, Awŋ ŋa-; Ntr aŋa- (?) 'to dig'
- *paŋkul > Mpa ŋkul; Lu ŋkuy; Yin ŋkwul (/w/ is unexpected here); Lin, Al ŋkoy; Awŋ ŋkawy ~ ŋkuy; Ntr ŋkuy; Ngko ŋkol; Ari ŋkul; Mbi ŋgol 'wallaby'
- *papi > Ura api; Mpa, Lu pi-; Yin pe-; Lin pi-; Al, Awŋ pay-; Ntr pi-; Ngko, Ari pay-; Mbi pe- 'mother's father'
- *pat^{Ya}- > Ura wa^ta-; Mpa, Lu, Yin, Lin, Al, Awŋ, Ntr, Ngko, Ari, Mbi ^ta- 'to bite'
- *pa·ŋkal > Ura aŋaw; Mpa aŋkal; Lu aŋkay 'shoulder'
- *pa·t^{Ya}- > Yin a^ta- 'to eat, taste'
- *pinta > Ura winta; Mpa, Lu in^ta Lin, Al nt^ræ; Awŋ nt^rya; Ntr nt^ræ; Ngko n^tya 'arm, upper arm'
- *pipi > Ura, Mpa, Lu ipi; Awŋ pi 'water'
- *pi·ku > Ura wi^yu; Mpa, Lu i^yu 'rib'
- *pi·mu(R) > Ura imur-; Mpa, Lu, Yin imu-; Lin imo-; Al myu-; Awŋ əmyu-; Ntr imo-; Ngko imyut; Ari imu-; Mbi imor- 'father's sister'
- *pi·n^{Ya} > Yin in^{Ya}-; Lin, Ngko iⁿa- 'father's older sibling'
- *pi·pa > iβa-ðə 'father'; Lin iβa-y 'father's younger brother'; Ngko ipya-y 'father'
- *pula > Ura ula(-βa); Mpa, Lu lwa-; Yin lwi- (/i/ is unexpected here); Lin lawuy; Al lwa; Awŋ lwe-; Ntr la-; Ngko, Ari, Mbi lwa- 'they du.'
- *puŋa > Ura wuŋa; Lin ŋa; Al oŋa; Ntr ŋa; Awŋ, Ngko, Ari ŋwa 'sun'
- *puŋku > Ura wuŋku; Mpa uŋku; Lu ŋku; Lin, Al ŋko; Awŋ ŋku; Ntr ŋko; Ngko ŋku; Ari ŋkwu; Mbi ŋgwu 'knee'
- *pu·la > Ura wula; Mpa, Lu ula-; Yin ulwa-; Lin, Al ola-; Awŋ əlwa-; Ntr ola-; Ngko olwa-; Ari ula-; Mbi olwo 'father's father'
- *Ruŋka- > Ura Ruŋka-; Yin ŋkwa-; Ari ŋkwa(la)-; Mbi ŋku(la)- 'to cry'
- *t^Yalan > Ura lalan; Lu alan ~ lan 'tongue'; Yin lin 'mouth'; Lin, Al, Awŋ, Ntr lan 'tongue'; Ngko lyan 'mouth, tongue'; Ari lan 'tongue'; Mbi lin (also /lyin/ ?) 'mouth'
- *t^Yampa- > Yin mpi- 'to give' (also reduplicated, /mpyampi-/ 'to throw'); Ngko mpya-; Ari mpa- 'to give, throw'
- *t^Yana > Ari nya 'they pl.'

- *+YaŋkaR- > Ura aŋkar(i)- 'to laugh'; Mpa ŋkar(ik)-; Lu ŋka?(ik)-; Yin ŋkit(aw)-; Lin, Al, Awŋ ŋka?(ak)-; Ngko ŋkat(aŋ)- 'laughter'
- *+YaRu > Mpa aʃu; Yin tyu; Ngko tʃo; Ari tyu; Mbi twi (?) 'foot'
- *+Ya·Ipa > Ura alβa; Mpa aβa; Ari alpa 'wind'
- *+Ya·Ra > Yin atʃa in the compound /lin-atʃa/ 'tongue' from *+Yalan plus *+Ya·Ra.
- *+Yipa > Ura lipa; Mpa ipa; Yin pya 'liver'; Ngko pya 'stomach'; Ari pa; Mbi pe 'liver'
- *+Yuli > Ari li 'spearthrower'
- *+Yulpi > Uri lutpi 'stomach'
- *+Yuma > Ura uma; Lin, Al mæ; Awŋ mwa; Ngko mya 'fire'. Ntr mwa 'fire' is probably borrowed from Awŋ.
- *+Yuŋku > Mpa uŋku; Lu ŋku; Yin ŋke; Lin ŋko(ðRo) 'black'
- *wanta- > Ura anta- ~ antə-; Mpa, Lu ŋta-; Yin, Lin, Al, Awŋ, Ntr, Ngko ntʃa-; Ari nta-; Mbi nda- 'to put, leave it'
- *waRi > Mpa ʃi- (also reduplicated /aʃiʃi-/); Yin te-; Lin iʃi-; Al ʃay-; Ngko tʃey-; Ari ti- ~ iti-; Mbi ti- 'to dig'
- *wa·n^Ya > Yin, Lin, Al aŋa; Awŋ əŋa; Ntr, Ngko, Ari, Mbi aŋa 'heart'
- *wa·Ri > Ura, Mpa ari-; Lu ʃi-; Yin ate-; Lin aʃi-; Al, Awŋ ʃay-; Ntr aʃi-; Ngko, Ari ati-; Mbi ati 'who'
- *wa·t^Ya > Ura waða; Mpa aða, Yin aʃa; Lin, Al aða; Ngko, Ari aʃa 'crow'
- *wa·t^Yu > (Yaraikana /waðu/); Yin, Ari, Mbi aʃu 'armpit'
- *wi·pa > Ari ipa 'shade'
- *wi·ya > Mpa, Yin, Ngko iya; Ari iRa; Mbi id^Ya ~ id^Yi 'another'
- *wu(-t^Yi, -ma) > Ura u(-ʃi, -ma) 'to give'
- *wuna- > Ura una-; Yin nwa-; Ntr na-; Mbi nwo-, nwon- 'to be lying down'
- *wuntu- > Lin, Ngko ntʃo- 'to seek, look for'. In Lin, this form is normally in the idiom /iŋi ntʃo-/ 'to seek'; /iŋi/ 'place'
- *yana- > Ura ana-; Mpa na (present tense; other tenses are suppletive); Yin ni- (in future and present; other tenses are suppletive) 'to go'
- *yapu-t^Yu > Yin pyu-y ~ pyu-ð 'younger brother'
- *ya·t^Yi- > Awŋ əðay-; Ntr aði- 'to burn'
- *yinta- > Yin nti-; Lin, Al ntʃæ-; Ngko, Ari ntya-; Mpi ndi- 'to spear with a multi-pronged spear'

- *yi·pa(r) > Ura iβi-ðu; Mpa iβa-ðu; Lu iβa-ð; Yin ipya-t̄;
Lin, Al iβa-ð; Awŋ əβe-t̄; Ntr iβa-t̄; Ngko
ipi-t̄u; Ari ipæ-ntuw; Mbi ipi-m 'south'. Also
in Lin, iβaR-il 'from the south'
- *yuku > Ura yuku; Mpa, Lu uku; Yin ke; Awŋ ku; Ntr ko; Ari
kwu 'tree'. Ngko t̄Yu, and Mbi t̄Yü 'tree' may
also be cognate.
- *yuru > Ura yutu 'elbow'
- *NimpuIV > Lu ipul; Awŋ mpyul(-pwa) 'short'
- *Ni·mpi > Mpa iⁿpi; Lin, Al iβi; Awŋ əβi; Ntr, Ari iβi 'ashes'
- *Cakur > Ura akuy; Mpa, Lu akuy; Al koy; Awŋ kawγ; Ntr koy;
Ari kuy 'skin'
- *Ca·n^Yt̄^Ya- > Ura aða- 'to hurt, pain'; Yin aða-; Ngko aṅṅa-;
Ari, Mbi aða- 'to die'
- *Ca·n^Yt̄^YimV > Mpa, Lu aṅṅim; Lin aḍim; Al aḍaym; Awŋ əḍaym(R);
Ntr aḍim 'hungry'
- *Cipal > Mpa ipal; Lu ipay; Yin pyal; Lin, Al pəy-mam; Awŋ
pe; Ntr pe-mam; Ngko pyal; Ari pal-mam; Mbi
pel-mam 'near'
- *Ci·puy > Lin iβoR; Al iβyuR; Awŋ əβyuR; Ntr iβoR 'smoke'
- *Ci·t̄^Yula > Ura iḍula; Mbi it̄^Yol-m 'west'
- *Cut̄^Yuma > Lin t̄om 'dead'
- *Cu·ŋkan^YV > Mpa uŋkaṅ; Lu uŋkaṅ; Yin uyan^Y; Lin, Al oyaṅ;
Awŋ əγwaṅ; Ntr oyaṅ; Ari uwaṅ ~ uyan; Mbi oyaṅ
'mountain'. Ngko oyaṅ 'mountain' is probably
borrowed; the expected Ngko cognate is *oŋkaṅ.
- *Cu·ŋkú > Mpa, Lu uŋku-m 'long', uŋku-n 'far'; Yin uwu-m 'long',
uwu-l 'far'; Lin, Al oyo-m 'long', oyo-l 'far';
Awŋ əγu-ʔuk 'long', əγu-n 'far'; Ntr oyo-ʔok
'long', oyo-n 'far'; Ngko oŋko-m 'long', oŋko-l
'far'; Ari uyu-m 'long'; Mbi oyo-m 'long', oyo-l
'far'

3. ATTESTATION IN SUFFIXES

Morphological information on Northern Paman languages is spotty, since in many cases sentences were elicited only in the course of collecting a test list and more for the purposes of eliciting lexicon than for the purposes of assembling morphological data. However, enough sentences were obtained for all the languages to demonstrate that the grammatical apparatus — with categories marked principally by suffix — is essentially the same throughout Northern Paman.

Reconstructable suffixes — that is, suffixes having cognates outside Northern Paman as well as within the group — are listed below.

reconstructed morphs are simply listed, and each is followed by a gloss and by language-name abbreviations to indicate its distribution in Northern Paman. Second, reconstructions are relisted individually for each language and their modern reflexes are given. Where possible, in the second listing, each suffix is exemplified in combination with a reconstructable stem and, less often, in a short sentence. Where sentences are given, they are presented first in the modern language, in diagonals. Following this, in parentheses, are reconstructions of stems and sequences of stem plus suffix included in each sentence. This is followed by an English translation. Where a morph which cannot be reconstructed for Paman generally appears in a sentence, it is represented in the parenthetical citation by V, if a verb, by N, if a noun, or by -suff, if a suffix. Although this is not an attempt to reconstructing sentences for Paman as a whole, and although no serious attempt is made to do this, the fact that it is possible to cite Northern Paman sentences, albeit banal ones, in which for all of the constituent morphemes are widely shared as cognate with other Paman languages is strong evidence for the rather close relationship between Northern Paman and languages to the south.

Reconstructable suffixes are now listed in three groups: (1) verb suffixes, (2) noun suffixes, and (3) pronoun suffixes. They are glossed according to their supposed meaning in the parent language — in individual modern languages, the meaning may be more restricted or more wide than the gloss. Suffixial morphs which stand in the relationship of alternants to one another are listed together only if they descend together in most of the modern languages — see for example the noun suffix *-lu ~ -ŋku 'ergative'; otherwise, they are listed separately, as in the case of the verb suffixes *-ka, *-l, *-tʲa, etc. 'future tense, imperative'. The relationship of alternation is captured in the second listing, where reconstructed morphs whose reflexes are submembers of a single morpheme in a given modern language are grouped together with an alternation sign (~) separating them.

Verb suffixes

- *-ka *past tense*: Mpa, Lu, Lin, Awŋ
- *-ka *future tense, imperative*: Ari, Mbi.
- *-ku *future tense, imperative*: Ura, Mpa, Lu.
- *-l *future tense, imperative*: universal in Northern Paman.
- *-ma *future tense*: Ura.
- *-n *past tense*: universal in Northern Paman.
- *-nʲ *past tense*: Ura, Mpa, Lu.
- *-nʲu *nominaliser*: probably universal in Northern Paman, although attested only in Lin.
- *-ŋka *present tense*: Ari, Mbi.
- *-tʲa *future tense, imperative*: Lin, Al, Awŋ, Ntr, Ari.
- *-tʲi *future tense, imperative*: Ura, Yin, Al, Ntr, Ari.

Noun suffixes

- *-ku *purposive, indirect object*: universal in Northern Paman.
- *-la *locative*: Mpa.
- *-lu ~ ŋku *ergative* (marking subject or instrument of a transitive verb): *-lu is attested universally in Northern Paman; *-ŋku is probably also universal, but it is not attested in Mpa, Al, Awŋ, Ntr, Mbi.
- *-mu *elative*: Awŋ.
- *-mun *elative*: Ura, Mpa.
- *-muntu *elative*: Yin, Lin, Ntr.
- *-na *locative, allative*: Lu, Lin, Al, Awŋ, Ntr.
- *-namu *possessive*: combines with nouns and with pronouns; it is attested in combination with nouns in Ura, Yin, Lin, Ngko.
- *-ŋku *indirect object*: Lin (also in combination with pronouns).
- *-ŋu *locative, allative*: Ura, Yin, Awŋ, Ntr, Ngko, Ari, Mbi.
- *-ŋuna *locative, allative*: Mpa, Lin, Al, Awŋ.
- *-t^YimV *possessed of, having*: Mpa, Lin, Awŋ, Ntr.
- *-t^Yu *junior kin*: Yin.

Pronoun suffixes

- *-mu ~ -namu *possessive*: *-mu is attested universally in Northern Paman; *-namu (usually in combination with non-singular pronouns) is attested in Yin, Lin, Ntr, Ngko, Ari.
- *-na *indirect object*: universal in Northern Paman.
- *-n^Ya *direct object*: universal in Northern Paman.
- *-ŋku *indirect object*: Yin, Lin.
- *-ŋu *indirect object*: Yin, Ntr, Ngko.

In Northern Paman languages south of Ura, certain pronouns are dependent in that they are always in combination with some suffix — with subject marker, object marker, or possessive marker. Subject markers for the different pronouns are phonetically dissimilar — because of diverse origins — but are, nonetheless, sub-members of a single morpheme, being in complementary distribution in the modern Northern Paman languages, since each is associated with a particular pronoun stem or set of stems and since there is no possibility of contrast among the different morphs. However, each alternant is cognate with a morphemically distinct person marking suffix occurring in other Paman languages where the marking of person by suffixial paradigm is productive in the modern morphology — thus, Mpa -ŋ (in ayu-ŋ 'I') is cognate with Umpila -ŋa '1st sg. subj.'; Mpa -n (in na-n 'we excl.') is cognate with Umpila -na '1st non-sg. excl. subj.'; Mpa -p (in lwa-p 'they') is cognate with Umpila -ʔa '3rd non-sg. subj.' (non-initial *p > /ʔ/ in Umpila); and Yin -l (in le-l 'we du. incl.') is cognate with Umpila -li '1st du. incl. subj.' In Umpila -ŋa, -na,

(with alternant -la-), and -li are in contrast and participate in a productive paradigm, while in Northern Paman, the corresponding morphs are no longer morphemically distinct — they have merged to a single morpheme, marking 'subject'. Morphemic contrast among these suffixes is attributed to the parent language; their reconstructions and modern distributions are listed below.

1st du. incl. subj.: Yin, Ngko, Ari, Mbi.

1st non-sg. excl. subj.: Mpa, Lu, Yin, Lin, Ntr, Ngko, Ari, Mbi.

1st sg. subj.: Mpa, Lu, Yin, Lin, Al, Awŋ, Ntr, Ngko, Ari, Mbi.

-la 3rd du. subj.: *-pa in Mpa, Lu, Awŋ, Ntr, Ngko, Mbi; *-la in Yin, Ari. Both alternants are attested outside Northern Paman, in Umpila, and both are certainly related to *-pula, also attested as a suffix with the same meaning.

Modern reflexes of reconstructed suffixes are now listed separately for each language. The ordering of languages is essentially as in § 1.

Virtually nothing has been said about phonological developments in suffixes, mainly because of the fact that the rather limited number of reconstructed suffixes does not allow for sufficient documentation of recurrent regularities. The principal regularity which does emerge in this regard concerns suffix-final vowels — these were retained in Mpa and Lu but lost, for the most part, elsewhere in Northern Paman (but see the Mpa and Lu reflexes of the verb suffix *-ku).

MpaItYan and Luŋiy

Verb suffixes

-ku > -w ~ -ku *imperative*: *n^yi·na-ku > ina-w 'sit!'; and in Mpani-ku (*V-ku) 'climb!'

-l > Mpa -li ~ -l, Lu -y *future, imperative*: *n^yat^yi-l > Mpa t^yi-li ~ t^yi-l, Lu t^yi-y 'will see, look!'; as in Mpa /ayu-ŋ lwa t^yi-l./ and Lu /ayu-ŋ lwa t^yi-y./ (*ŋayu-ŋa, *ŋula, *n^yat^yi-l) 'I will see [him] bye-and-bye!'; *ŋami-l > Mpa mi-li, Lu mi-y 'will hear, listen!'; as in Mpa /t^u ŋi-ŋ mi-li./ and Lu /t^u ŋi-ŋ mi-y./ (*n^yuntu ~ n^yintu, *ŋan^yi-n^ya, *ŋami-l) 'you listen to me!'; *muŋka-l > Mpa kwa-li 'will eat, eat!'; *wanta-l > Mpa n^ŋa-l, Lu n^ŋa-y 'will put it, leave it; leave it!'

-n ~ -n^y ~ -ka > Mpa -n ~ -ŋ(u) ~ -ŋ; Lu -n ~ -ŋ (possibly also -ŋ) 'past': *wanta-n > n^ŋa-n 'put it, left it', as in Mpa /aⁿt^u-l t^u n^ŋa-n./ and Lu /t^u-n t^u n^ŋa-n./ (*ŋantu-la, -na, *n^yuntu ~ n^yintu, *wanta-n) 'where did you put it, leave it?'; *muŋka-n^y > Mpa kwa-ŋu (and possibly Lu kwa-ŋ) 'ate, drank!'; and in Mpa, Lu aya-y (*V-ka) 'gave'

Noun suffixes

-ku > -w *purposive*: *min^ya-ku > Mpa iŋa-w 'for meat', as in /li-ŋk awæ iŋa-w na./ (*ŋali-suff, *ka·way, *min^ya-ku, *yana-Ø) 'we will go east for meat' *ŋa·ni-ku > ani-w 'what for, why'

*-la > Mpa -l *locative*: * η antu-la > Mpa aⁿtu-l 'where'

*-lu ~ η ku > Mpa (only *-lu is attested) -l; Lu -l ~ - η k *ergative*:
*kuta-lu > Mpa twa-l, Lu u η a-l 'dog erg.', as in Mpa
/twa-l η i- η ta-n./ and Lu /u η a-l η i- η ta-n./ (*kuta-lu,
* η an γ i-n γ a, *pat γ a-n) 'the dog bit me'; *yuku- η ku > Lu
uku- η k 'stick, tree erg.', as in /uku- η k η i- η tæ-n./
(*yuku- η ku, * η an γ i-n γ a, *V-n) 'he struck me with a stick'

*-mun > Mpa -mun *relative*, attested only in η u-mun (*N-mun) 'from there'

*-na > Lu -n *locative*: * η antu-na > Lu η u-n 'where'

*- η una > Mpa - η un *locative*: *wi γ a- η una > Mpa iya- η un 'on another'

*-t γ imV > Mpa - η im 'possessed of, having', as in 'dinghy'- η im 'having a dinghy'

Pronoun suffixes

*-mu > -m *possessive*: * η at γ u-mu > η u-m 'my'

*-na > -n *indirect object*: * η at γ u-na > η u-n 'to me', as in /lu η u-n
aya- γ ./ (*n γ ulu ~ n γ ilu, * η at γ u-na, *V-ka) 'he gave it to
me'. In combination with non-singular pronouns, Mpa has
- η un (from *- η una) *indirect object*, as in * η ana- η una >
 η a- η un 'to us excl.'

*-n γ a > - η *direct object*: * η an γ i-n γ a > η i- η 'me'

*- η a, *-na, *-pa > - η ~ -n ~ -p *subject*: * η ayu- η a > ayu- η 'I'; * η ana-na >
 η a-n 'we excl.'; *pula-pa > lwa-p 'they'. In combination with
Mpa li- 'we du. incl.', the subject marker is - η k; this is
not reconstructable for Paman but is certainly cognate with
Lin - η kay and Aw η , Ntr - η k which function in the same way.

Yinwum

Verb suffixes

*-l > -l *future, imperative*: *wanta-l > nt^ra-l 'will put it, leave it,
leave it!'; yinta-l > nti-l 'will spear, spear it!' as in
/ayu- η n γ a nti-l./ (* η ayu- η a, *min γ a, *yinta-l) 'I will
spear meat (i.e., an animal, fish)', and in /nti n γ a nti-l./
(*n γ untu ~ n γ intu, *min γ a, *yinta-l) 'you spear meat!'

*-n > -n *past*: *wanta-n > nt^ra-n 'put it, left it'; *kalma-n > ima-n
'arrived', as in /na-n mpa- η ima-n./ (* η ana-na, *N- η u,
*kalma-n) 'we arrived at camp'

*-t γ i > -y *future*: *n γ at γ i-t γ i > n^t γ i-y 'will see', as in /ayu- η lwa
n^t γ i-y./ (* η ayu- η a, * η ula, *n γ at γ i-t γ i) 'I will see [him]
bye-and-bye'. Unlike -l, marking both *future* and *imperative*
and combining with a relatively large number of stems, the
suffix -y combines with relatively few stems in modern
Yinwum and is in contrast with a suffix marking *imperative* –
thus, n^t γ i-y 'will see', beside n^t γ i-Ri 'look, see!' The
suffix -Ri *imperative* is not reconstructable for Paman but
is cognate with Ura -ri *imperative* – compare Yin n^t γ i-Ri
with Ura at γ i-ri.

affixes

- w *purposive*: *minYa-ku > nYa-w 'for meat', as in /le-l awaR ni nYa-w./ (*gali-li, *ka-way, *yana-Ø, *minYa-ku) 'we du. incl. will go east for meat'; *ga-ni-ku > ani-w 'what for, why', as in /ani-w ⁿti gkwa-k./ (*ga-ni-ku, *nYuntu ~ nYintu, *Runka-suff) 'why are you crying?'
- ŋku > -l ~ -γ *ergative*: *kuta-lu > twa-l 'dog erg.', as in /twa-l nYi t̪a-n./ (*kuta-lu, *ŋanYi, *patYa-n) 'the dog bit me'; *yuku-ŋku 'stick, tree erg', as in /ke-γ nYi ⁿka./ (*yuku-ŋku, *ŋanYi, *V-Ø) 'he struck me with a stick'
- ntu > -munt *relative*, attested only in yu-munt (*N-muntu) 'from here', and in lyu-munt (*nYulu ~ nYilu-muntu) 'from there, after that'. The more common alternant is -mp, as in mpa-mp (N-mp) 'from camp'
- mu > -nam *possessive*: *pama-namu > ma-nam 'person's, of a person'
- ŋ *locative*, as in mpa-ŋ (*N-ŋu) 'at camp', uyanYa-ŋ 'on the hill', koko-ŋ 'in the water'
- tYu > -γ ~ -ð *junior kin*: *yapu-tYu > pyu-γ ~ pyu-ð 'younger brother'

pronoun suffixes

- mu ~ -namu > -m ~ -nam (-num after /u/) *possessive*: *ŋatYu-mu > ⁿt̪u-m 'my'; *gali-namu > le-nam 'our du. incl.'; *gana-namu > na-nam 'our excl.'; *ŋampul-namu > ⁿpu-num 'our pl. incl.'
- na ~ -ŋu ~ -ŋku > -n ~ -ŋ ~ -ŋk *indirect object*: *ŋatYu-na > ⁿt̪u-n 'to me'; *gana-ŋu > na-ŋ 'to us excl.'; *nYunku- ~ nYinŋku > ⁿt̪Yu-ŋk 'to you sg.'
- nYa > -nY *direct object*: *gana-nYa > na-nY 'us excl.'; *nYunŋu- ~ nYunŋu-nYa > ŋyu-nY 'him', as in /ayu-ŋ ŋyu-nY ⁿkaga-n./ (*ŋayu-ŋa, *nYinŋu-nYa, *V-n) 'I found him, met him'. This suffix combines with non-singular pronouns and with *nYunŋu ~ nYinŋu- 3rd sg. oblique in Yinwum.
- ŋa, *-li, *-na, *-la > -ŋ ~ -l ~ -n ~ -l *subject*: *ŋayu-ŋa > ayu-ŋ 'I'; *gali-li > le-l 'we du. incl.'; *gana-na > na-n 'we excl.'; *pula-la > lwi-l 'they'

lingitiy

Verb suffixes

- *-l ~ -tYa > -γ, -t̪ *future, imperative*: *wanta-l > nt^ra-γ 'will put it, leave it; leave it!', as in /ayo-ŋ mæ-ŋon nt^ra-γ./ (*ŋayu-ŋa, *tYuma-ŋuna, *wanta-l) 'I will put it in the fire', and in /mæ-ŋon nt^ra-γ./ (*tYuma-ŋuna, *wanta-l) 'put it in the fire!'; *kali-tYa > li-t̪ 'will go, go!'
- *-na ~ -ka > -n ~ -γ *past*: *wanta-n > nt^ra-n 'put it, left it', as in /t^ro-n t^ru nt^ra-n./ (*ŋantu-na, *nYuntu ~ nYintu, *wanta-n)

'where did you put it?'; *nYu·ŋka-ka > oya-γ 'smelled it', as in /nYa mpwa? ayo-ŋ oya-γ./ (*minYa, *kalmpaR, *ŋayu-ŋa, *nYu·ŋka-ka) 'I smelled the meat'

*-nYu > -ŋ nominaliser: *nYi·na-nYu > ina-ŋ 'seat, human posterior'. This suffix is common in kinship expressions, for example, mi-nt^r t̄æ-ŋ 'mother's mother's brother's child', literally, 'the one that mother's mother's brother (mi- from *kami, -nt^r ergative) beget (t̄æ- 'to beget')'

Noun suffixes

*-ku > -w ~ -γ purposive: *minYa-ku > nYa-w 'for meat', as in /li-ŋkay awaR li-t̄ nYa-w./ (*ŋali-suff, *ka·way, *kali-t̄Ya, *minYa-ku) 'we du. incl. will go east for meat'; *mayi-ku > ayi-w ~ ayi-γ 'for vegetable food', as in /ayo-ŋ ađim ayi-w./ (*ŋayu-ŋa, *Ca·nY+YimV, *mayi-ku) 'I am hungry for vegetable food'; *ŋa·ni-ku > ani-w 'what for, why' as in /ani-w t̄^ru in̄i nt̄^ro-t̄^y./ (*ŋa·ni-ku, *nYuntu ~ nYintu, *N, *wuntu-suff (in̄i nt̄^ro- 'to seek')) 'what are you looking for?'

*-lu ~ -ŋku > -l ~ -ŋk ergative: *pama-lu > ma-l 'person erg.', as in /ma-l in̄i-ŋ t̄^ryi-n./ (*pama-lu, *ŋanYi-nYa, *nYat̄^ryi-n) 'the person saw me'; *t̄Yuma-ŋku > mæ-ŋk 'fire erg.', as in /mæ-ŋk in̄i-ŋ kayŋa-n./ (*t̄Yuma-ŋku, *ŋanYi-nYa, *V-n) 'the fire burned me'

*-muntu > -mont^r relative: *t̄Yuma-muntu > mæ-mont^r 'from the fire', as in /ayo-ŋ mæ-mont^r Ræ-y./ (*ŋayu-ŋa, *t̄Yuma-muntu, *V-l) 'I will take it from the fire'

*-namu > -nam possessive: *pama-namu > ma-nam 'person's, of a person', as in /omin̄ta-đ ma-namo-đ in̄i-ŋ t̄a-n./ (*N-suff, *pama-namu-suff, *ŋanYi-nYa, *pat̄Ya-n) 'the person's dog bit me. The suffix -đ is a common alternant of ergative in modern Lin. Note that the final vowel in *-namu, lost in absolute final, is positively reflected by /o/ before this suffix.

*-ŋuna ~ -na > -ŋon ~ -n locative: *t̄Yuma-ŋuna > mæ-ŋon 'in the fire'; *ŋuŋku-na > ko-n 'there', as in /t̄^ru ko-n ina-y./ (*nYuntu ~ nYintu, *ŋuŋku-na, *nYi·na-l) 'you sit there'

*-ŋku ~ -ku > -ŋk ~ -w ~ -γ indirect object: *kami-ŋku > mi-ŋk 'to mother's mother', as in /mi-ŋk lu po-γ./ (*kami-ŋku, *nYulu ~ nYilu, *V-ka) 'he gave it to mother's mother'; *pama-ku > ma-w 'to the person'; and in poŋka-γ (*N-ku) 'to the initiate'

*-t̄YimV > -yim ~ -đim possessed of, having: *t̄Yuma-t̄YimV > mæ-yim 'having fire, matches'; and in alimp-đim 'having a spear'

Pronoun suffixes

*-mu ~ -namu > -m ~ -nam possessive: *ŋat̄Yu-mu > t̄o-m 'my'; *nYuŋku-mu > ko-m 'your sg.'; *ŋali-namu > li-nam 'our du. incl.'; *ŋana-namu > na-nam 'our excl.'; *ŋampul-namu > pu-nam 'our pl. inc.'

*-na ~ -ŋku > -n ~ -ŋk indirect object: *ŋat̄Yu-na > t̄o-n 'to me'; *nYuŋku-na > ko-n 'to you sg.'; *ŋali-ŋku > li-ŋk 'to us'

du. incl.'; *ḡana-ḡku > na-ḡk 'to us excl.'; *ḡampul-ḡku > pu-ḡk 'to us pl. incl.'

*-ya > ḡ *direct object*: *ḡanYi-nYa > ḡi-ḡ 'me'; *ḡali-nYa > li-ḡ 'us du. incl.'; *ḡana-nYa > na-ḡ 'us excl.'; *ḡampul-nYa > pu-ḡ 'us pl. incl.'

*-na > -ḡ ~ -n *subject*: *ḡayu-ḡa > ayo-ḡ 'I'; *ḡana-na > na-n 'we excl.'. Lin lawuy 'they' is apparently *pula-pul, although the second constituent is no longer separable in the modern language. The subject marker combining with li- 'we du. incl.' (from *ḡali) is -ḡkay.

mit

Verb suffixes

-t > -y *future*, as in tYa-y (*V-l) 'will hit'

-tYa ~ -tYi > -t ~ -tY *future, imperative*: *nYi·na-tYi > ina-tY 'will sit, sit!', as in /tḡu ko-n ina-tY./ (*nYuntu ~ nYintu, *ḡuḡku-na, *nYi·na-tYi) 'you sit there!'; *kali-tYi > lay-tY 'will go, go!'; and in ḡa-t (V-tYa) 'will arrive'

-ḡ > -n *past*: *wanta-n > ntḡa-n 'put it, left it', as in /tḡo-ḡon tḡu ntḡa-n./ (*ḡantu-ḡuna, *nYuntu ~ nYintu, *wanta-n) 'where did you put it?'

Noun suffixes

-ku > -w *purposive*: *ḡa·ni-ku > ani-w 'what for, why'

-lu > -l *ergative*: *pama-lu > ma-l 'person erg.'

-ḡuna ~ -na > -ḡon ~ -n *locative*: *ḡantu-ḡuna > tḡo-ḡon 'where'; *ḡuḡku-na > ko-n 'there'

Pronoun suffixes

*-mu > -m *possessive*: *ḡatYu-mu > tḡo-m 'my'. The expected additional alternant -nam (*-namu) probably also occurs but is not attested.

-na > -n *indirect object*: *ḡatYu-na > tḡo-n 'to me'

-nYa > -ḡ *direct object*: *ḡanYi-nYa > ḡay-ḡ 'me'

-ḡa, *-pa > -ḡ ~ -w *subject*: *ḡayu-ḡa > ayo-ḡ 'I'; *ḡali-ḡa > lay-ḡ 'we du. incl.'; *ḡana-ḡa > na-ḡ 'we excl.'; *pula-pa > lwa-w 'they du.'

Awŋt̪im

Verb suffixes

- *-l ~ -tʲa > -y ~ t̪ future: *nʲatʲi-l > tʲi-y 'will see'; *kali-tʲa > lay-t̪ 'will go' (rare)
- *-n ~ -ka > -n ~ -γ past: *wanta-n > ntʲa-n 'put it, left it', as in /ntʲaw-ŋ(un) ntʲu ntʲa-n./ (*ŋantu-ŋu(na), *nʲuntu ~ nʲintu, *wanta-n) 'where did you put it?'; and in ya-γ (*V-ka) 'gave', and in t̪aw-γ (*V-ka) 'inserted it, put it in'

Noun suffixes

- *-ku > -w ~ -k purposive: *minʲa-ku > ŋya-w 'for meat'; and in mur̪i-k (*N-ku) 'for fish, meat'
- *-lu > -l ergative: *kuta-lu > ?wa-l 'dog erg.', as in /?wa-l ŋay-ŋ t̪a-n./ (*kuta-lu, *ŋanʲi-nʲa, *patʲa-n) 'the dog bit me'
- *-mu > -m relative, in ntʲwa?a-m (*N-mu) 'from here', and in ŋkaw-m (*N-mu) 'from there, after that'
- *-ŋuna ~ -ŋu ~ -na > -ŋun ~ -ŋ locative, -n allative: *ŋantu-ŋuna ~ -ŋu > ntʲaw-ŋun ~ -ŋ 'where at', *ŋantu-na > ntʲaw-n 'where to'
- *-tʲimV > -t̪im possessed of, as in 'dinghy'-t̪im (or in assimilated pronunciation t̪iŋk-t̪im) 'having a dinghy'. This suffix also appears in the language designation awŋ-t̪im having 'awŋ' for 1st sg. subj.

Pronoun suffixes

- *-mu > -m possessive: *ŋatʲu-mu > t̪aw-m (also t̪aw-mR) 'my'
- *-na > -n indirect object: *ŋatʲu-na > t̪aw-n 'to me'
- *-nʲa > -ŋ direct object: *ŋanʲi-nʲa > ŋay-ŋ 'me'
- *-ŋa, *-pa > -ŋ ~ -p subject: *ŋayu-ŋa > aw-ŋ 'I'; *ŋana-ŋa > na-ŋ 'we pl. excl.'; *pula-pa > lwa-p 'they du.'. Subject markers combining with lay- (*ŋali) and Rwe- (*nʲura) are -ŋk and -γ respectively.

Ntʲa?ŋit̪

Verb suffixes

- *-l ~ -tʲa ~ -tʲi > -y ~ -t̪ ~ -tʲ future, imperative: *ŋami-l > mi-y 'will hear, listen!'; *nʲatʲi-l > tʲi-y 'will see, look!'; *kali-tʲa > li-t̪ 'will go, go!'; *wanta-tʲi > ntʲa-tʲ 'will leave it, leave it!'; *muŋka-tʲi > ŋka-tʲ 'will eat, eat!'

past: *wanta-n > nt^ra-n 'put it, left it', as in /nt^ro-ŋ
nt^ru nt^ra-n./ (*ŋantu-ŋu, *nYuntu ~ nYintu, *wanta-n) 'where
did you put it?'

Prefixes

- > -w *purposive*: *minYa-ku > nYa-w 'for meat', as in /li-ŋk awaR
li-t nYa-w./ (*ŋali-suff, *ka-way, *kali-tYa, *minYa-ku) 'we
du. incl. will go east for meat'; *ŋa-ni-ku > ani-w 'what
for, why'
- > -l *ergative*: *kuta-lu > oʔa-l 'dog erg.', as in /oʔa-l ŋi-ŋ
ʔa-n./ (*kuta-lu, *ŋanYi-nYa, *patYa-n) 'the dog bit me'
- > -mont *relative*, attested in nt^ra?-mont (*N-muntu) 'from here',
and in ŋko-mont (*N-muntu) 'from there'
- na > -ŋ ~ -n *locative*: *ŋantu-ŋu ~ -na > nt^ro-ŋ ~ -n 'where'
- > tim *possessed of, having*, as in 'dinghy'-tim 'having a
dinghy'

Noun suffixes

- mu ~ -namu > -m ~ -nam *possessive*: *ŋatYu-mu > ʔo-m 'my'; *ŋana-namu >
na-nam 'our excl.'
- na ~ -ŋu > -n ~ -ŋ *indirect object*: *ŋatYu-na > ʔo-n 'to me'; *ŋana-ŋu >
na-ŋ 'to us excl.'
- nYa > ŋ *direct object*: *ŋanYi-nYa > ŋi-ŋ 'me'
- na, *-na, *-pa > -ŋ ~ -n ~ -p *subject*: *ŋayu-ŋa > ayo-ŋ 'I'; *ŋana-na >
na-n 'we excl.'; *pula-pa > la-p 'they du.' As in Awŋim,
there are additional alternants, -ŋk and -γ, combining with li-
(*ŋali) and oRæ- (*nYura) respectively.

Ngkot

Verb suffixes

- l > -l (rare) *imperative*: *nYatYi-l > tYi-l 'look!'
- n > -n *past*: *nYatYi-n > tYi-n 'saw', as in /ŋkol li tYin./ (*paŋkul,
*nYulu ~ nYilu, *nYatYi-n) 'he saw a wallaby'

Noun suffixes

- *-ku > -w *purposive*: *ŋa-ni-ku > ani-w 'what for, why'; and in moʔa-w
(*N-ku) 'for meat, fish', as in /lay-l away mpi-y, moʔa-w./
(*ŋali-li, *ka-way, *V-suff, *N-ku) 'let's go east for meat'
- lu ~ -ŋku > -l ~ -γ *ergative*: *kuta-lu ~ -ŋku > twa-l ~ -γ 'dog erg.',
as in /twa-l (or twa-γ) ŋay-ŋ ʔa-n./ (*kuta-lu ~ -ŋku,

* η an^Yi-n^Ya, *pat^Ya-n) 'the dog bit me'; *pama-lu > ma-l
'person erg.', as in /ma-l η ay- η t^Yi-n./ (*pama-lu,
* η an^Yi-n^Ya, *n^Yat^Yi-n) 'the person saw me'

*-namu > -nam *possessive*: *pama-namu > ma-nam 'person's, of a person'

*- η u > - η *indirect object, locative*: *pama- η u > ma- η 'to the person'
*pi[.]pa- η u > ipya- η 'to the father'; *wi[.]ya- η u > iya- η 'on
another'; and in pi- η 'at camp', as in /pi- η na-n ma-n./
(*N- η u, * η ana-na, *kalma-n) 'we excl. arrived at camp'

Pronoun suffixes

*-mu ~ -namu > -m ~ -nam *possessive*: * η at^Yu-mu > t η ay-m (unexpected
vowel correspondence here) 'my'; *n^Yu η u ~ n^Yi η u-mu > n^Yi-m
'his'; * η ana-namu > na-nam 'our excl.'

*-na ~ -mu ~ - η u > -n ~ -m ~ - η *indirect object*: * η at^Yu-na > t η o-n
'to me'; *n^Yu η ku- ~ n^Yi η ku-mu > t^Yi-m 'to you sg.' (also
'your sg. '); * η ana- η u > na- η 'to us excl.'

*-n^Ya > - η *direct object*: * η an^Yi-n^Ya > η ay- η 'me'; *pula-n^Ya >
lwa- η 'them'

*- η a, *-li, *-na, *-pa > - η ~ -l ~ -n ~ -w *subject*: * η ayu- η a >
n^Yt^Yo- η 'I'; * η ali-li > lay-l 'we du. incl.'; * η ana-na >
na-n (also na-m) 'we excl.'; *pula-pa > lwa-w 'they'

Aritingitiy

Verb suffixes

*ka ~ -l ~ -t^Ya ~ t^Yi > -k ~ -l ~ -t ~ -y *future, imperative*:
*t^Yampa-ka > mpa-k 'will give, will throw; give!, throw!';
*yinta-l > ntya-l 'will spear, spear it!'; *n^Yi[.]na-t^Yi >
ina-y 'will sit, sit!'; and in t^Ya-t (*V-t^Ya) 'will speak,
speak!'

*-n > -n *past*: *yinta-n > ntya-n 'speared'; *pat^Ya-n > t η a-n 'bit',
as in /atala-l n^Yi- η t η a-n./ (*N-suff, * η an^Yi-n^Ya, *pat^Ya-n)
'the dog bit me'; *wanta-n > nta-n 'put it, left it', as in
/ntu-t ntyu nta-n./ (* η antu-suff, *n^Yuntu ~ n^Yintu, *wanta-n)
'where did you put it?'

*- η ka > - γ *present*: *Runka(-)- η ka > η kwa(la)- γ 'is crying'

Noun suffixes

*-ku > -w ~ - γ *purposive, allative*: *min^Ya-ku > n^Ya-w 'for meat', as
in /li-l awa-ntuw ari-k, n^Ya-w./ (* η ali-li, *ka[.]way-suff,
*V-ka, *min^Ya-ku) 'we will go east for meat'; * η a[.]ni-ku >
ani- γ 'what for, why', and in uwa η u- γ 'to the hill'

*-lu ~ - η ku > -l ~ - γ *ergative*: *pama-lu > ma-l 'person erg.', and

*mini-ŋku > ni-γ 'good erg.', as in /ma-l ni-γ t̥u-n ayi mpa-n./
(*pama-lu, *mini-ŋku, *ŋatʔu-na, *mayi, *t̥Yampa-n) 'the good
person gave me vegetable food'

ŋ locative: *ŋantu-ŋu > ntu-ŋ 'where' (Ari also has ntu-t with
the same meaning); *yuku-ŋu > kwu-ŋ 'in the fire', as in /ayu-ŋ
kwu-ŋ ika-n./ (*ŋayu-ŋa, *yuku-ŋu, *ka-lka-n) 'I fell in the
fire'

suffixes

-namu > -m ~ -nam possessive: *ŋatʔu-mu > t̥u-m (also t̥u-Rm)
'my'; *ŋali-namu > li-nam 'our du. incl.'; *ŋana-namu >
na-nam 'our excl.'

-n indirect object: *ŋatʔu-na > t̥u-n 'to me'

-ŋ direct object: *ŋanʔi-nʔa > nʔi-ŋ 'me'

-li, *-na, *-la > -ŋ ~ -l ~ -n ~ -l subject: *ŋayu-ŋa >
ayu-ŋ 'I'; *ŋali-li > li-l 'we du. incl.'; *ŋana-na > na-n
'we excl.'; *pula-la > lwa-l 'they du.'

nom

suffixes

> -γ future: *wanta-ka > nda-γ 'will put it, leave it'

> -l imperative: *wanta-l > nda-l 'put it, leave it!'

> -n past: *wanta-n > nda-n 'put it, left it'

ka > -γ present: *panʔtʔi(-)-ŋka > nʔdʔi(Ri)-γ 'is burning'

in suffixes

ku > -w purposive: *ŋa·ni-ku > ani-w 'what for, why', as in /ani-w
ndwi(n) nʔdʔat-aða-γ./ (*ŋa·ni-ku, *nʔuntu ~ nʔintu, *t̥YangkaR-
Ca·nʔtʔa-ŋka) 'why are you laughing' (lit., 'dying with
laughter')?

u > -l ergative: *pama-lu > ma-l 'person erg.', as in /ma-l nʔi-ŋ
ne-γ./ (*pama-lu, *ŋanʔi-nʔa, *V-suff) 'the person struck me'

u > -ŋ locative: *ŋantu-ŋu > ndo-ŋ (also ndo-t, cp. Ari above)
'where', as in /ndo-ŋ ndwi(n) itʔa-γ./ (*ŋantu-ŋu, *nʔuntu ~
nʔintu, *ŋi·tʔa-suff) 'where did you put it?'

Pronoun suffixes

-mu > -m possessive: *ŋatʔu-mu > t̥o-m 'my'

-na > -n indirect object: *ŋatʔu-na > t̥o-n 'to me'

-nʔa > -ŋ direct object: *ŋanʔi-nʔa > nʔi-ŋ ~ ŋi-ŋ 'me'; *nʔuŋu ~
nʔiŋu-nʔa > nʔu-ŋ 'him'

*-ŋa, *-li, *-na, *-pa > -ŋ ~ -l ~ -n ~ -w *subject*: *ŋayu-ŋa > ayo-ŋ
'I'; *ŋali-li > le-l 'we du. incl.'; *ŋana-na > na-n 'we
excl.'; *pula-pa > lwa-w 'they'