

My problems with Gunwinyguan

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A decade ago I began to study Australian comparative linguistics. At that time the reality of the Gunwinyguan family was taken for granted. Therefore I did not anticipate any problems while adding forms from these languages into the Australian etymological database. "Why should it be difficult? I have everything I need: some grammatical descriptions, dictionaries or rather long wordlists, the study of comparative phonology by Mark Harvey (Harvey 2003) supported by the etymological data of Nick Evans (Evans 2003)¹". The etymological analysis of these sources has, however, revealed some problems, which I will discuss below.

Let us first formulate two basic postulates of lexical comparison used in the process of database compilation:

1. If two languages are genetically related they always share morphemes of common origin. These common morphemes always include lexical morphemes, some of which belong to the core lexicon, i. e. have meanings related to the basic, universal notions rather than to a culturally or ecologically loaded notions.

There are no well-attested cases when two related languages lack morphemes of common origin. Situations when related languages do not share basic lexical morphemes are also not known in the language families studied by the strict methods of comparative linguistics.

2. If two related languages A and B form a family, they always have a significant number of lexical morphemes absent in other related languages which do not belong to this family. English and German have a lot of common words of Proto-Germanic origin, but only a limited number of these words is found in the Slavonic or the Indo-Iranian languages.

In order to show that two related languages (A and B) belong to a single group, we need to find language C which is related to A and B but does not belong to the same group. Without C no claim about specific relations of A and B can be justified.

¹ I am grateful to Nick Evans and Mark Harvey who provided me with copies of their very important manuscripts, both published only in 2003.

3. A genetic claim cannot be based on morphological considerations not supported by lexical evidence. No such cases are known in the better studied language families. A well established sequence of historical reconstruction should be always maintained: phonological reconstruction > reconstruction of morphemes > morphological reconstruction.

There are no obvious reasons to reject the comparative method in order to study aboriginal Australian languages. Typical problems mentioned in the literature are of a technical rather than theoretical nature. Among them are:

(I) a striking similarity of phonological systems of various Australian languages. As a result, preliminary phonological reconstructions are often based on trivial phonological correspondences. However, any detailed reconstruction reveals some unpredictable, non-trivial correspondences.

Two alternative explanations of the phonological similarities of the Australian languages may be suggested:

(a) the languages have preserved their original ancient system;
(b) these similarities are a result of a later process of analogical unification. To the best of my knowledge, the second alternative has never been discussed.

(II) An active process of borrowing. As a result, most Australian languages are full of loans, the identification of which became a serious and well-known problem.

Distributions of individual words (lexemes) in the languages of the region are not known yet. In most cases we simply cannot answer such simple questions as "is this word known in Yolngu and Mara languages?" or "can we find it in Dalabon?" This type of information is often crucial in loan identification.

The main distinctive feature in the compilation of a lexical database for the aboriginal Australian languages I am working on is its emphasis on the systematic research of data with the ultimate aim to suggest etymologies to all the lexical morphemes found in the primary sources. Such an approach requires a detailed comparison of each pair of languages involved.

In the case of Gunwinyguan I have studied only five languages: Jawoyn (Merlan MS), Mayali (Evans 2003), Ngandi (Heath 1978), Ngalakan (Merlan 1983) and Rembarrnga (McKay MS). This means that lexicons of each pair of languages have been compared: Jawoyn-Mayali, Jawoyn-Ngalakan, Jawoyn-Ngandi, etc. Primary lexical sources for Warray, Dangbon, Dalabon (Ngalkbun) and some other languages are not available to me, so no systematic search of their etymologies can be undertaken. The

Nunggubuyu language is not included in this study, despite Harvey's suggestion to classify it as a Gunwinyguan language (Harvey 2003).

Any direct comparison of the sources cannot provide us with real cognates. Instead, its outcome is a list of "comparisons" whose formal status is quite different from that of a "cognate set".

A **cognate set** consists of original morphemes from related languages, which may be traced back to the same common proto-form. A **comparison**, on the other hand, consists of morphemes which seem to be genetically similar, however, their similarity might have some other explanation, like borrowing or wrong identification. An upgrade of a comparison to the status of a cognate set is always based on a good knowledge of the historical phonologies of the languages as well as on our ability to eliminate borrowings.

Jawoyn and Mayali

It was not difficult to obtain a list of comparisons between Jawoyn and Mayali, simply because most of them are given in Evans' dictionary of Mayali (Evans 2003). On the whole, my database consists of about three hundred comparisons obtained through a systematic search of the two dictionaries. Most of these comparisons represent simple lexical morphemes.

The number of comparisons is not extremely large, but nevertheless it is possible to establish phonological correspondences and to use them to reconstruct proto-forms.

In both modern languages one can find three types of simple lexical morphemes: monosyllabic, disyllabic and trisyllabic. These types are found in the comparisons and thus they might be reconstructed for the proto languages. Let us, however, examine this issue in more detail.

Monosyllabic morphemes

There are about 150 monosyllabic comparisons in the database with about 65 of them being verbal roots. A noticeable feature of the nominal roots is the near-complete absence of names for flora and fauna. The database has only about twenty of them, mostly reduplications.

A list of monosyllabic comparisons is given below.

- (I)
1. **tooth** **lVt*: Jaw. *let-mo* tooth, hook; May. *jit=me* tooth; MH.
 2. **guts** **ηuk*: Jaw. *ηuk* guts, excrement; May. *ηuk-* (compound n.) guts, shit, *ηu=kkaŋ* (W) navel.
 3. **heart** **tVr*: Jaw. *toŋ* heart; May. *tuŋtu* heart; MH.
 4. **knee** **puN*: Jaw. *puŋ* area behind knee; May. *puŋ* ankle.
 5. **tongue** **cen*: Jaw. *cen* tongue; May. *cen* tongue; EM, MH/377.
 6. **good** **mak*: Jaw. *mak* good; May. *mak* good; EM, MH.
 7. **beard** **wurk*: Jaw. *ca=wurk* whiskers; May. *ca=wurk* whiskers, beard; MH, 370.
 8. **thigh** **tar*: Jaw. *car, cor* leg; May. *tat* leg, thigh, root.
 9. **body** **kuk*: Jaw. *kuk* body, dead body; May. *kuk* body; raw; EM, MH.
 10. **head** **pam*: Jaw. *pam* head; May. *pam=para(?)* head (REST); MH.
 11. **seed, bud** **pa=mo*: Jaw. *pamo* seed; May. *pamo* bud; MH.
 12. **knee** **paŋ*: Jaw. *paŋ* knee; May. *paŋ* knee; EM, MH.
 13. **rock, mountain** **pat*: Jaw. *pat* rock, hill, mountain, money; May. *pat* rock type in rock country; EM, MH.
 14. **white ochre** **pim*: Jaw. *pim* white ochre; May. *pim* painting; MH.
 15. **road** **poŋk*: Jaw. *poŋk(-ŋayu)* tracks; *puŋul* road; May. *pok* print, track (of any sort).
 16. **oven** **poj*: Jaw. *poj* ground oven, pit; *poŋ=wu* to cook, burn; *po=pek=ke* id.; May. *poj* cooking stone, anheap; MH.
 17. **moon** **tiŋ*: Jaw. *tiŋ* moon; May. *tiŋ* moon; MH.
 18. **semen** **tVk*: Jaw. *tok* semen; May. *tuk* semen; MH
 19. **nape of neck** **cuŋ*: Jaw. *cut* nape of neck; May. *cuŋ* nape of neck; *cut* (E); EM, MH.
 20. **river** **po*: Jaw. *poŋa-* compounding form of 'water, liquid'; May. *po-* water (incorpor. noun); *ka=po* creek, river (W, E).
 21. **lower leg** **kal-pam*: Jaw. *kal=wam* large muscle of lower leg; May. *kal=pam* calf, lower leg (W, M); EM.
 22. **nose** **ke*: Jaw. *ke=mo* nose+bone nose; *keŋolk* nose peg; May. *kep* nose; EM.
 23. **cloud** **ηol*: Jaw. *ηol* sky; *pam-ηol* cloud; May. *ηol* cloud (E, M); *ηol=kimuk* big clouds; EM, MH.
 24. **throat** **kVm*: Jaw. *kam* throat, neck; May. *kom* throat, nape; MH.
 25. **camp** **ler*: Jaw. *ler* camp; May. *jet* nest; *ret* camp, home, nest (E); MH.
 26. **spear** **lawk*: Jaw. *lawk* spear; May. *law?* spear; *lawk* (E); MH.

27. **food** *maj(?): Jaw. *maj* vegetable food; May. *maj?* flesh food; *maj?*-*maj?* bird; *me* vegetable food; MH.
28. **leaf** *wor: Jaw. *mała=wor* leaf; May. *mała=wor*; *wor* leaf; MH.
29. **bone, knee** *mo: Jaw. *mo* bone; May. *rak-mo* pelvis, (?) hipbone; *mo=pal?* hip bone; MH.
30. **sore** *mVk: Jaw. *mek* sore, wound; May. *mok* sore; EM, MH.
31. **rotten** *nVt: Jaw. *not-ma-* to go rotten, sour; *nor* stench; May. *nut* stinking, rotten; pus; EM.
32. **saliva** *nun: Jaw. *nun* saliva; May. *nun* saliva; EM, MH.
33. **name** *nej: Jaw. *ni* name; May. *nej* name; EM, MH.
34. **belly** *wurk: Jaw. *la=wurk* belly, stomach; May. *wur=papan* have a sore stomach; *wur=kan* stomach (W).
35. **plains (country)** *polk: Jaw. *polk* camp, country; May. *polk* plains (country).
36. **wing** *wel: Jaw. *wel* wing; May. *wel-* wing; *peł* arm, wing; EM, MH.
37. **fire** *wurk: Jaw. *wurk* fire, firewood; May. *wurk* grass fire, bush fire; *wuł?* id. (E); *wukke* to burn; *wun* to light; MH.
38. **vein** *jil: Jaw. *jil* large muscle on back of upper leg; May. *jil* vein; EM, MH.
39. **vein** *jon: Jaw. *jon* tendon, sinew; May. *jon* back of knee, esp. muscle behind knee (W, M); EM, MH.
40. **white** *tař?: Jaw. *tař?=tař-mi* white; May. *tař?* bark of stringybark or woolybutt tree.
41. **cloud** *kuł: Jaw. *kuł* cloud, rain; *kulu=mara* cloud; May. *kuł* black cloud.
42. **hand** *kun: Jaw. *kun-ner* right hand, *kun-wir=wa* id.; May. *kun* right hand, *ku=kun* right; MH.
43. **night** *nVk: Jaw. *nek* night; May. *nok=ta* grow dark, become night (E, M); MH.
44. **rib** *nVrk: Jaw. *nrk-mo* rib bones; May. *nrk* flank; MH.
45. **club** *palk: Jaw. *pal=mun* < **palk-mun* club; May. *palk* ponding rod.
46. **mud** *mel: Jaw. *mel=we* mud; May. *mel=won* country (RESTR); MH.
47. **chest** *merek: Jaw. *mirk* chest; May. *merek* hollow of chest; *mer?* base of sternum; MH.
48. **wind** *maC: Jaw. *mac* wind; May. *majork* wind; MH.
49. **fire, firewood** *lerŋ: Jaw. *ma=lerŋ-ma=lerŋ* kindling, small branches; cf. *ca=jalŋ* fire; May. *jerŋ* firewood; *rerŋ* (E); *ŋalŋ* fire (RESTR).
50. **backbone, spine** *pur / *por: Jaw. *pur=mula* backbone, spine; May. *pot=me* backbone.

51. **dilly bag** *cer?: Jaw. *cer?* small dilly bag; May. *cer?* small dilly bag; EM.
52. **grass, shoot** *talk: Jaw. *ke=calk* sprout, new growth, shoot; May. *talk* grass.
53. **water** *ηaT: Jaw. *ηaʔ=koleŋ* waterfall; *ηajwok=ηajwok* small spring high up in escarpment; May. *ηat* soak, well.
54. **poison** *ma(r): Jaw. *mar* poison; *mar-wo*, *mal=ji-wo* to poison; *ma=wuja* poison; May. *ma=wor?* plant used as fish poison.
55. **string, rope** *tuŋ: Jaw. *tuŋ* string, rope; May. *tuŋ* cat's cradle game, played with bush sting.
56. **secret**: Jaw. *mol=k* E? stealthily; May. *mo=nic-* stealthily.
57. **dust** *culŋ: Jaw. *ca=culŋ* dust; May. *culŋ* dust; EM, MH.
58. **anus** *tak: Jaw. *tak-ηaju* anus; May. *tak* pelvis; EM.
59. **floodplain** *powk: Jaw. *powk* floodplain; *powok* plains (country); May. *powk* seasonal swamp; EM.
60. **handle** *pen: Jaw. *pen* handle; May. *pen* handle on dillybag; EM.
61. **bone** *caT=mo: Jaw. *cat=mo* upper leg bone; May. *cat=mo* inside (marrow?) of thigh; EM.
62. **cliff, slope** *ηaL-: Jaw. *ηaʔk-ηayu* slope, steep descent.; May. *ηaʔ* cliff; *milʔ=ηaʔk* eyebrow.
63. **not** *miŋ: Jaw. *miŋ* not, without; May. *miŋ* not - declarative negative particle (W); EM.
64. **pouch** *ηeŋŋ: Jaw. *ηeŋŋ* pouch; May. *ηeŋŋ* pouch (W); EM.
65. **happy** *jilk: Jaw. *jilk=mak=ci* feel good; *jilk* guts, spirit; May. *jilk=mak* be happy; EM.
66. **spear, clitoris** *taŋ: Jaw. *taŋ* clitoris; *taŋ=pu* to spear; May. *taŋ* 3-pronged fish spear.
67. **woomera** *cirk: Jaw. *cirk* woomera hook; May. *cirk* disposable spearthrower; EM.
68. **place, country** *let: Jaw. *let* place, country; May. *kunet* < **kun-jet* home, place; *kun-ret* (E); EM.
69. **stomach, guts** *ciŋ: Jaw. *ciŋ* stomach, abdomen; May. *ciŋ* stomach, guts (M); EM, MH.
70. **try, taste** *maŋ: Jaw. *maŋ* try; May. *maŋ* taste, fragrance; EM, MH.
71. **new moon** *lirk: Jaw. *lirk-ciŋi-* to become new month; May. *lirk* new moon.

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72. **sit** *ni-: Jaw. *ni-*, *niŋi-* to sit; May. *ni* to sit, live.

73. **stand** **tj*-: Jaw. *ci=ji* stand; May. *ti* to stand.
74. **see** **na*-: Jaw. *na-* see; May. *na=n* see, look at.
75. **hit, kill** **pu*-: Jaw. *pu-* hit, strike; May. *pu-n* hit, kill.
76. **push** **tur?* / **tur=k*: Jaw. *tur?=ma-* hit, strike; May. *tur=k=me-* snatch, tug, jerk; *tur=k=man* pull; EM.
77. **lightning** **maj?*: Jaw. *majk-ma-*, *maj=maj?-ma-* to flash (lightning); May. *maj?=ke* to flash (lightning); MH.
78. **swallow v.** **wVl=k-*: Jaw. *wolk=ma* to drink; May. *wuk=me* to swallow.
79. **cut, circumcise** **taC-*: Jaw. *taŋ?-ma-* to cut, snip; May. *tac=ke* to cut (E, W); EM.
80. **get, obtain** **ma-*: Jaw. *ma-* get; May. *ma=ŋ* take, get.
81. **sing curse at** **war-*: Jaw. *war-wu* sing curse at; May. *wa=pu=n* to sing up; MH.
82. **be hungry** **mar-*: Jaw. *mari* be hungry; May. *mar=wi* be hungry; EM, MH.
83. **give** **wo*: Jaw. *wo* give; May. *wo=n* give.
84. **smell, itr.** **paŋ*: Jaw. *paŋ-ciji* to smell (good), give off an odour; May. *paŋ* smell (n.); MH.
85. **ear** **pe-*: Jaw. *pe=ŋ-* having to do with hearing; *pe=ŋ-ja-*, *pe=ŋ-ciji* hear; May. *pe=kkan* to hear; *pe=ŋ-* ears, faculty of hearing and intelligence; *peŋ=ŋu=k=me*, *peŋ-tup=p-ra* forget (E); *peŋ=war* crazy, stupid; EM, MH.
86. **kick** **tal?*: Jaw. *tal?=ma* kick, hit; May. *tal?=meŋ*, *talk=meŋ* kick, punch; MH.
87. **go hunting** **caŋ-*: Jaw. *caŋ=ka-* go hunting; May. *caŋ=ka=n* go hunting; EM, MH.
88. **take, carry** **kar*: Jaw. *kor-ka-*, *kar-wu-ka-* take, carry; May. *ka=n* take, carry, lead.
89. **run, flow** **lo-* E?: Jaw. *low-ma-* run, ooze, drip; May. *lop=me* run, flow, blow (wind), run away; EM.
90. **swell up** **lu!*-: Jaw. *lu!-ma-* swell up; May. *lu!=me-* swell up; MH.
91. **open** **mar?*-: Jaw. *mar?-ma-* open; May. *mar?=maŋ* open; EM, MH.
92. **make** **maC-*: Jaw. *mak-wo-* make; May. *maŋ=pu*, *man=pu* make.
93. **smell, tr.** **no*: Jaw. *no-ma* smell something; May. *no=me-* smell, tr. (W, M); EM, MH.
94. **heart, breath** **ŋe?*: Jaw. *ŋe?-ma-* to have a spell, 'breather'; May. *ŋe?* breath, heartbeat; EM
95. **die** **wat-*: Jaw. *wat-ma-* to finish, terminate, end; May. *wat-me* (ceremony) finish up (E).

96. **vomit** **wer?*: Jaw. *wer?* vomit; May. *wer?-me-*, *we?=me* (M, W), *re?=me* vomit; EM, MH.
97. **swim** **war-*: Jaw. *war-ma-* swim; May. *war-me* swim; MH.
98. **hot** **wV-*: Jaw. *wor=wop* hot, warm; May. *wolη=won* to heat; *wu!?=me* give off heat.
99. **swell up** **puC*: Jaw. *pu?=-ma-* swell up; May. *pu!=-u!?=me* swell up; EM, MH.
100. **paint** **til?*: Jaw. *til?-ma-* to paint, write; May. *til?=til?=me* write; *tilk=me* carve (e. g. on message stick); MH.
101. **ashamed** **IV(r)*: Jaw. *lir-ma-* ashamed; May. *je=me* ashamed.
102. **flow** **jow*: Jaw. *jow-ma-* flow, or run (of water); May. *jow=jow=me* to rise (of water) (W, M); MH.
103. **enter** **ηV-*: Jaw. *ηe-me-* enter; May. *ηi=me=n* enter (W, E).
104. **put down** **kur-* / **kot*: Jaw. *kot-ma-* put down; May. *kur=me* put down.
105. **break** **par?* / **pak*: Jaw. *par?* to break, fracture; *park-ci* to disperse, break up and drift away; May. *pak=ke* break; MH.
106. **ask** **ca-*: Jaw. *ca-wa* ask; May. *ca=wa=n* ask; MH, 364.
107. **get up** **tol*: Jaw. *tol?-me* to surface in water; May. *tolk=kan* to get up, stand up.
108. **climb** **waj?*: Jaw. *waj?-me* fly, jump; *wol?-ma* climb up; May. *waj?-me* go up, ascend; *waj?=ke* to lift up; EM.
109. **die** **fo-*: Jaw. *co=ji* to die; May. *to=we=n* to die.
110. **sit down** **koL-*: Jaw. *kol-ma-* to sit down (on), rest (on); May. *kolun* go down, descend.
111. **follow** **ki-*: Jaw. *ki, kejek* road; May. *ki?e* to follow (track).
112. **cook, burn** **pol-*: Jaw. *pol-wu* cook; *poηa-na-* to burn (intr.); May. *po=pekke* to cook, burn (RESTR).
113. **lying, asleep** **ke-*: Jaw. *ke=ka-* sleepy; May. *ke=jo* sleep (?+lie).
114. **whistle** **wiC-*: Jaw. *wi?-ma* to whistle; May. *wic=me* to whistle.
115. **show** **pu=k-*: Jaw. *puk=ca* to show, teach; May. *pukkan* to show; EM.
116. **get used to** **pol=p*: Jaw. *polp=ma* get used to; May. *polp=me* get used to; EM.
117. **clean v.** **pir-*: Jaw. *pir=?=ma* to clean; May. *pir=p=me* to clean; EM.
118. **sticky** **pel-*: Jaw. *pelp=ma* stick together; May. *pel=p=maη* be sticky, stick together; *pel=k=me* stick together; EM.
119. **sneeze** **ηuc*: Jaw. *ηuc-ma-* to snore, blow nose; May. *ηuc-me* to sneeze (M, W).

121. **throw** **ja-*: Jaw. *ja-ma-* to kill, to spear; May. *ja-me* to kill, to spear; EM, MH.

122. **hate** **ɲir?*: Jaw. *ɲir?*=*ma* dislike, be angry; May. *ɲir?*=*miwon* criticize, hate; *ɲir=kke* to make black (E); EM.

123. **molest** **noj?*: Jaw. *noj?*=*ma* molest, humbug, disturb; May. *noj?*=*me* fuck, esp. from behind.

124. **close, block** **pal?*-.: Jaw. *pal?*=*ma* shut up, close; May. *pal?*=*me* close, become closed; EM.

125. **kiss** **puŋ?*: Jaw. *puŋ?*=*ma* kiss; May. *puŋ?*=*maŋ* to kiss; EM.

126. **burst** **tow-*: Jaw. *towk*=*ma* burst; May. *towk*=*me* burst; EM.

127. **drip, drop** **ce(l)*: Jaw. *cep-ma-* to drip, leak; *cel?*=*cel=ma* (NE); May. *cel?*=*me-* to drip; EM.

(III)

128. **crow** **wak=wak*: Jaw. *wak=wak* crow; May. *wak=wak* crow; MH.

129. **ant** **cak*: Jaw. *cak* red ant NE; May. *cak* meat ant; MH.

130. **short-necked turtle** **teɾk*: Jaw. *pam=teɾk* short-necked turtle; May. *pam=teɾk* short-necked turtle; MH.

131. **lorikeet** **tet-*: Jaw. *tet=tet* varied lorikeet; May. *tet=tet* red-collared lorikeet (E); MH.

132. **witchetty grubs** **moɾk*: Jaw. *moɾk* a fly; May. *mok* small fly; *mo!* blow-fly; EM, MH.

133. **tick** **meɾk*: Jaw. *meɾk* tick (RESTR?); May. *meɾk* cattle tick; MH.

134. **short-necked tortoise** **ɲaɬ*: Jaw. *ɲaɬ* short-necked tortoise; May. *ɲaɬ* small short-necked tortoise; EM, MH.

135. **male black wallaroo** **park*: Jaw. *park* male black wallaroo; May. *park* male black wallaroo; MH.

136. **bird sp.** **nin*: Jaw. *nin* finch sp.; May. *nin* grass wren; EM.

137. **tree, sp.** **put*: Jaw. *put=put* *Brachychiton diversifolium* tree; May. *put=put* Kurrajong tree; EM.

138. **vine, sp.** **lek-lek*: Jaw. *lek=lek* *Mackinlaya macrosciadea*; May. *lek=lek* vine sp.; EM.

139. **lizard** **lok=lok*: Jaw. *lok=lok* skink, sp.; May. *lok=lok* skink sp.; EM.

140. **ant** **tel-*: Jaw. *tel=tel* black ant; May. *tel=tel* black ant (E, W); EM.

141. **fly** **mut=muC*: Jaw. *mut=mur* blowfly; May. *mut=mut* horse fly; EM.

151. **owl** **muk=muk*: Jaw. *muk=muk* barking owl; May. *muk=muk* owl sp.; EM.

152. **bird sp.** **ɲak=ɲak*: Jaw. *ɲak=ɲak* grey-crowned babbler; May. *ɲak=ɲak* grey-crowned babbler.
153. **bee** **jalk*: Jaw. *jalk* small garderre sugarcane; May. *jalk, jal?* bee sp.; EM.
154. **mushroom** **tam=tam*: Jaw. *tam=tam* mushroom (any type); May. *tam=tam* mushroom (generic); EM.
155. **louse** **toʔ*: Jaw. *toʔ* louse; May. *toʔ* louse; MH.
- In some cases I cannot reconstruct the original syllabic structure of the comparisons:
156. **new, fresh** **kernɛ / *kern*: Jaw. *kern* new, fresh; May. *kernɛ* new, fresh; EM, MH.
157. **scorpion** **cuwVc*: Jaw. *cowoc* scorpion; May. *coc* scorpion; MH.
158. **dry** **puʔ(a)k*: Jaw. *puʔak* dry; May. *puk* dry (place), passible.
159. **hollow log** **lorok / *lork*: Jaw. *lorok=lorok* hollow log; May. *lorok, rork* hollow log; EM, MH.
160. **hair** **ɲa-*: Jaw. *ɲaʔ* hair; May. *ɲaʔel* hair; *ɲapet* (W), *ɲapek* hair; MH.
161. **heart** **ɲuluk / *ɲolek*: Jaw. *ɲuluk* heart, wind, breath; May. *ɲolek* breath; pulse, heartbeat; cf. *ɲul* heart, solar plexus.
162. **possum** **wiʔik*: Jaw. *wiʔik* possum (general); May. *wuʔik* possum, *wiʔik* possum, 'woman one'; MH.
163. **behind** **jer(e)*: Jaw. *jer* towards; May. *jere* behind; EM.
164. **bandicoot** **jowuk / *jok*: Jaw. *jowuk* bandicoot; May. *jok* northern brown bandicoot; EM, MH.
165. **hand, finger** **per- / *pir*: Jaw. *perak* hand, finger; May. *pit* hand, finger.
166. **float** **taL-*: Jaw. *taʔa-* to float; May. *tal=kan* float level with the surface of water; MH.
167. **skin** **wik / *werk*: Jaw. *wik* skin, bark; May. *werk werk* outer bark (E); MH.
168. **child** **par*: Jaw. *paran* young child-in-arms; May. *par=ken* baby.
169. **thunder** **ɲur-*: Jaw. *ɲur-ma-* to growl; May. *ɲuruʔ=me* to thunder; *ɲuʔul=me* (E), *ɲorou=me* to rumble (thunder).
170. **dreaming (place)** **caʔaŋ*: Jaw. *caʔaŋ* dreaming; May. *caŋ* dreaming (place); EM.
171. **armpit** **waŋ-*: Jaw. *wancal* armpit, underarm; May. *waŋ* armpit, underarm; *wanca=muʔ* armpit hair; EM, MH.
172. **bad** **peʔk / *peʔek*: Jaw. *peʔk* bad, dangerous; May. *peʔek* death adder; *peʔk* (E); MH.

173. **sun** *cVrk: Jaw. *cerk-ciji-* to be high in the sky (of sun or moon); May. *cirkan* sun.

174. **dry** *tal-: Jaw. *talp-ma-* to dry out.; May. *tale?=me* dry, leave to dry.

Disyllabic morphemes

There are about a hundred disyllabic comparisons in the database with about fifty of them being various fauna and flora names (class IV). Among the rest (class V) one can find comparisons obviously related to various cultural ideas and thus easy candidates for borrowing. The list of disyllabic morphemes is given below.

(IV)

1. **female plains kangaroo** *kaŋtal-: Jaw. *kaŋtal=piru* female plains kangaroo; May. *kaŋtal=ppuru* female plains kangaroo; EM.

2. **dove** *kolo=tok: Jaw. *koloto=tok* peaceful dove; May. *kołopok, kołotto=tto* peaceful dove, diamond dove; EM, MH.

3. **blue-tongue lizard** *kuri?: Jaw. *kuri?* blue-tongue lizard; May. *kuri?* blue-tongue lizard; EM, MH.

4. **grasshopper** *jamic: Jaw. *jamic=mi* short-horned grasshopper; May. *jamic* long-horned grasshopper; MH.

5. **goanna** *poŋka: Jaw. *poŋka* stone country goanna; May. *poŋka* spiny tail monitor; EM, MH.

6. **shrub turkey, bustard** *penuk: Jaw. *penuk* shrub turkey, bustard; May. *penuk* shrub turkey, bustard; EM, MH.

7. **hornet** *cVk-paļ: Jaw. *cok=paļ* hornet; May. *cak=paļ* hornet: ant; EM.

8. **centipede** *calar: Jaw. *calar* centipede; May. *calar* centipede; EM, MH.

9. **taipan** *curaŋ: Jaw. *curaŋ* taipan; May. *curaŋ* taipan; MH.

10. **crab** *kampuk: Jaw. *kampuk* crab; May. *kampuk* crab; EM.

11. **spider** *kaŋap: Jaw. *kaŋap* spider; May. *kaŋap* (W, E) spider, spider web; EM.

12. **salt-water crocodile** *kVŋV: Jaw. *keŋe* salt-water crocodile; May. *kiŋa* salt-water crocodile; EM, MH.

13. **butterfly** *meļe=meļe: Jaw. *meļe=meļe* butterfly; May. *meļe=meļe* butterfly; EM, MH.

14. **bat** *waļaŋ: Jaw. *waļaŋ* bent-winged bat; May. *waļaŋ* Dusky horse-show bat; EM, MH.

15. **lorikeet** *weļej(?): Jaw. *weļej* red-collared lorikeet; May. *weļej?* red-winged parrot; MH.

16. **leech** **palac*: Jaw. *palac* leech; May. *palac* leech; EM, MH.
17. **turtle** **puru=ηanti*: Jaw. *puruηanti* long-necked land turtle; May. *puruηanti* stinking turtle; EM, MH.
18. **sand goanna** **talak*: Jaw. *talak* sand-ridge goanna; May. *talak* sand monitor; EM, MH.
19. **grasshopper** **catte-*: Jaw. *cate=te* long-horned grasshopper; May. *cattej?=tej?* grasshopper; MH.
20. **king brown snake** **caḷuη*: Jaw. *caḷuη* king brown snake; May. *caḷuη* king brown snake; EM, MH.
21. **python** **waḷan*: Jaw. *waḷan* carpet snake; May. *waḷan*, *waḷan* rock python.
22. **sugar glider** **lampalk*: Jaw. *lampalk* sugar glider; May. *lampalk* sugar glider; EM, MH.
23. **bandicoot** **kaη=ma*: Jaw. *kaη=ma* big bandicoot; May. *kaη=ma* northern brown bandicoot (big); EM.
24. **curlew** **kulu-*: Jaw. *kulu=wur* curlew; May. *kuru=wiḷuk* curlew.
25. **frog** **ca=tti*: Jaw. *cati* frog (generic); May. *catti* frog (generic) (Kune).
26. **mosquito** **piηtu*: Jaw. *piηtu* March fly; May. *piηtu* mosquito; EM.
27. **tree, sp.** **ḷumuk*: Jaw. *cumuk* canthium attenuatum; May. *tumuk* native cherry; EM.
28. **tree, sp.** **toḷok*: Jaw. *toḷok* tree, sp.; May. *toḷok* Eucalyptus latifolia; EM.
29. **insect** **tini-*: Jaw. *tini=tini* insect which sends down spray of acidic excrement; May. *tini=tini* cicada; *tina=ḷina* (E); EM.
30. **fish** **timiN*: Jaw. *timiη=timiη* water insect; May. *timin=timin* small fish; EM.
31. **wax** **piḷi*: Jaw. *piḷi* beeswax; May. *piḷi* beeswax; EM.
32. **gecko** **peler?*: Jaw. *pelerk* gecko sp.; May. *peler?* gecko; EM.
33. **rat, cat** **pari*: Jaw. *pari* native cat; May. *pari* brush-tailed rabbit rat; EM.
34. **white cockatoo** **ηarac*: Jaw. *ηarac* white cockatoo; May. *ηarac* white cockatoo; EM, MH.
35. **plant sp.** **kalar*: Jaw. *kalar* Eucalyptus bleeseri; May. *kalar* Gum sp.; Eucalyptus bleeseri, (E:JD); Eucalyptus arnhemensi, (E:JD); EM.
36. **shrub sp.** **lere-lere*: Jaw. *lere=lere* bossiaea bosseaoides; May. *lere=lere* Crotalaria crassipes; EM.
37. **orchid** **ηal=kan*: Jaw. *ηalḷkan* ground orchid; May. *ηalḷkan* tree orchid; EM.

38. **tree sp.** **mam=Tak*: Jaw. *mamtak=mořakmo* *Canthium lucidum*; May. *mamtak* *Canthium lucidum*; EM.
39. **gum tree sp.** **mař=pa*: Jaw. *mař=pa* *eucalyptus miniata*; May. *mař=pa* (Dj, E) *Scarlet gum*; EM.
40. **kite** **maram*: Jaw. *maram* *fork-tailed kite*; May. *maram* *whistling kite* (E, W, Dj); EM.
41. **bird sp.** (fly-catcher): Jaw. *řuric* *whistlers, shrike tits*; May. *řuric* *restless*; EM.
42. **tree sp.** **cařuk*: Jaw. *cařuk* *Syzygium suborbiculare*; May. *cařuk* *Red apple tree, Syzygium suborbiculare*; EM.
43. **monitor** **cular*: Jaw. *cular* *lace monitor*; May. *cular* *freckled monitor*; EM.
44. **bird sp.** **cowok*: Jaw. *cowok* *koel*; May. *cowok, cawok* *bird sp.*; EM.
45. **tree sp.** **kař=pař*: Jaw. *kař=pař* *type of palm*; May. *kař=pař* *Carpentaria palm*; EM.
46. **pigeon** **lumpuk*: Jaw. *lumpuk* *large ground pigeon sp.* (RESTR); May. *lumpuk* *black-banded pigeon*; EM.

(V)

47. **brain, head** **kulu*: Jaw. *kulu=řuř* *brain*; *kulu* *compounding element 'head'*; May. *koc=kulu* *brain*; EM.
48. **leaf** **mařa*: Jaw. *mařa=wor* *leaf*; May. *mařa=wor* *leaf*; *mare* (E) *hair*; MH.
49. **blood** **kurac*: Jaw. *kurac* *blood*; May. *kurac* (RESTR) *blood*; MH.
50. **yamstick, boomerang** **pařkV*: Jaw. *pařkan* *boomerang*; May. *pařku, pařk=pu* *yamstick*.
51. **father's mother** **ma=mam(?)*: Jaw. *mamam* *father's mother*; May. *mamam?* *father's mother*; MH.
52. **father** **pa=pa*: Jaw. *papa* *elder sibling*; May. *pappa* *triangular kin term*; *papin* *father's mother and recip.*; MH.
53. **deep** **colok*: Jaw. *kajolok* *steep*; *colompara* *deep, deep place, gully*; May. *colok* *deep, deeply cut*; MH.
54. **bag** **jako*: Jaw. *jako* *kurrajong string bag*; *mi=jowk* *dillybag*; May. *jakko* *string 'honey bag'*; EM.
55. **shoulder blade** **peřV-milk*: Jaw. *peře=melk* *shoulder blade*; May. *peři=mel?* *kangaroo's shoulder blade*; *peřekal?* *sternum*; MH.
56. **vagina** **pařV*: Jaw. *pařa* *vagina*; May. *paře* *vagina*; EM, MH.
57. **ripe, cooked** **colen*: Jaw. *colen* *ripe, cooked*; May. *colen* *ripe, cooked*; MH.

58. **west** **kari*: Jaw. *kari*- west; May. *kari=kat* west; EM, MH.
59. **initiated boy** **kom-tuc*: Jaw. *kom=tuc* young boy; May. *kom=tuc* initiated boy; EM, MH.
60. **egg** **tapu*: Jaw. *koŋ=tapu* crotch; (?) +testicles; May. *tapu* egg; EM.
61. **doctor** **kuŋaŋ*: Jaw. *kuŋaŋ* doctor, curer; May. *kuŋaŋ=ji* clever man; MH.
62. **long, tall** **kujan*: Jaw. *kujan* long, tall; May. *kujen* long, tall; EM, MH.
63. **throat, chin** **ŋaŋak*: Jaw. *ca=ŋaŋak* throat; May. *ca=ŋaŋak* chin; *caŋara* mouth; EM.
64. **taboo, corps** **mVŋte*: Jaw. *moŋte* poison, sorcery object; May. *maŋte* spirit, corpse; MH.
65. **south** **walam*: Jaw. *walam* south; May. *walem* south, west, southwest; EM, MH.
66. **spirit** **waŋal*: Jaw. *waŋal, maŋal* spirit of a dead person; May. *waŋal* spirit, reflection; EM, MH.
67. **smoke** **puc(i)*: Jaw. *puci* smoke; May. *puc=me* to emit smoke.
68. **flat** **pVL*: Jaw. *peŋ=peŋ=mi* smooth and flat stones; *peŋp=peŋp=mi* flat; May. *pala=pala* flat; MH.
69. **mother** **kaŋaC*: Jaw. *kaŋaŋ* mother; May. *kaŋaŋ* mother (voc.); *kaŋaŋ* mother (ref.); MH.
70. **black** **kuŋuk*: Jaw. *kuŋuk=kuŋuk* black; May. *kuŋuk* black; MH.
71. **kin term** **moŋa(?)*: Jaw. *moŋa* father's cross-cousin; May. *moŋa?* mother's older sister; EM, MH.
72. **whirlwind, storm** **cuLum*: Jaw. *ŋal=cuŋum* willy-willy; May. *cuŋum* willy-willy; EM, MH.
73. **chase** **worVm*: Jaw. *worom=po-ka* chase; May. *worum=pokkan* chase, follow around; MH.
74. **leg** **karV*: Jaw. *kara* lower leg; May. *kare* lover leg; MH.
75. **ahead** **juŋkaj*: Jaw. *juŋkaj* ahead, further; May. *juŋki* ahead, earlier; EM, MH.
76. **sweat** **kur-ŋiN*: Jaw. *kur=ŋiŋ* sweat; *ŋen* sweat; May. *kur=ŋiŋ* sweat; MH.
77. **woman** **kaTu*: Jaw. *kaŋu=kaŋu* woman; May. *kaŋu=kaŋu* many women (RESTR); EM.
78. **boss, owner** **welaŋ*: Jaw. *welaŋ* right, appropriate; *kun-welaŋ* guilty one, perpetrator, also murderer; May. *welaŋ* man responsible for killing game.
79. **scabies** **puru*: Jaw. *puru=puru* scabies; May. *puru=ppuru* scabies; EM.

80. **spear** **poko*: Jaw. *poko* bamboo spear; May. *pokko*, *pokko?* type of hooked spear; EM.
81. **song** **lira*: Jaw. *lira* song style; May. *lira* initiation corroboree; EM.
82. **exchange ceremony** **mamurŋ*: Jaw. *mamurŋ* exchange ceremony; May. *mamurŋ* exchange ceremony (M, E); EM.
84. **pubic fringe** **wal=pur*: Jaw. *wal=pur* possum hair cockrag; May. *wal=ppur* pubic fringe; EM.
85. **leaves and branches used ...** **warał*: Jaw. *warał=ała* leaves and branches used to purify body of a dead person; May. *warał=ała* leaves and branches used to purify body of a dead person; EM.
86. **paraŋ*: Jaw. *paraŋ* rocky place which forms a cavity; rockhole; May. *paraŋ* escarpment, ridge at edge of escarpment; EM.
87. **bladder** **ceLaN*: Jaw. *celaŋ* bladder; May. *celan* bladder (M, W); EM.
88. **billy** **mampaṭ*: Jaw. *mampaṭ* billy can; May. *mampaṭ* billy (RESTR).

(VI)

89. **lick** **pelen*: Jaw. *pełak* E? lick lap (as water); May. *pelen=k=me* lick up; EM, MH.
90. **jump** **woro-*: Jaw. *worok-ma-* jump; May. *worowk=worowk=me-* hop, jump; MH.
91. **grow (as child)** **kaŋa-*: Jaw. *kaŋa-ji-* to grow; May. *kaŋe=men* get old.
92. **shoulder** **moŋa*: Jaw. *moŋa-na-* to carry on shoulder; *miŋi* shoulder; May. *moŋe=maŋ* to carry on shoulder (E, W); MH, 572.
93. **lightning** **maTu?*:-: Jaw. *maṭu?-ma-* to flash (of lightning); May. *maṭu?=maṭu=kke* flash, flicker.
94. **kara*: Jaw. *kara-wa* to sing; May. *kare* song, music, corroboree; EM.
95. **dig** **kaŋu*: Jaw. *kaŋu-* to twirl firedrill; May. *kaŋu=ŋ* to dig; EM.
96. **cut, peel** **mVlu*: Jaw. *melu* to cut; May. *milu=ŋ* to peel; EM.

The monosyllabic and disyllabic classes differ significantly in their phonotactics, especially when it comes to vowels and consonantal clusters.

It is not clear what kind of historical explanation one might suggest in order to explain away these semantic and phonological differences. Should we be talking about borrowings?

Ngalakan and Ngandi

A systematic search for comparisons in Ngalakan and Ngandi has resulted in 230 pairs of mono-, bi- and trisyllabic morphemes. Most of

them had already been identified by Mark Harvey. Some of these comparisons are also found in Yolngu and other neighboring languages, but without a systematic analysis of these languages the direction of borrowing is not always clear.

Trisyllabic morphemes are mainly used in faunistic and floristic lexics or are related to various cultural notions which could probably speak in favour of borrowing. Verbs are predominantly monosyllabic, but no other significant restrictions on morphemic structures have been detected. These comparisons and provisional reconstructions are given below.

(I)

1. **spinifex** Ngl. *calŋ* spinifex; Ngn. *calŋ* small type of spinifex; MH.
2. **oven** Ngl. *cet* stone oven, cooking stones; Ngn. *cet* native oven; MH.
3. **language, word** Ngl. *janŋ* language, word; Ngn. *janŋ* speech, words, sound, language.
4. **mother's brother** Ngl. *kaj=kka* mother's brother; Ngn. *kaj=kkaj* mother's brother.
5. **spider** Ngn. *kar?* spider's web; Rem. *kar?-na* web; MH.
6. **kintern** Ngl. *ke* man's child, brother's child (female Ego); Ngn. *kew* son, daughter; Rem. *ke-na* sister's son; *ta=ke* sister's daughter.
7. **river bank** Ngl. *kelk* river bank; Ngn. *kelk* side (of river or road); MH.
8. **new** Ngl. *kol=kkol* new; Ngn. *kol=kkol* new.
9. **night** Ngl. *kuŋ=muk* night; Ngn. *kuŋ=muk* at night, *muk-tu* become night; Rem. *kol=kolk* night.
10. **body** Ngl. *ku?* raw; Rem. *ku?* raw, body; EM, MH.
11. **good** Ngl. *ma(:)?* good; Ngn. *ma:k* good; Rem. *ma?* good (NE); EM, MH.
12. **hand** Ngl. *maŋ=ci* hand; Ngn. *maŋ* hand.
13. **pandanus** Ngn. *moc* nuts of coastal pandanus; Rem. *moc* Pandanus spiralis seeds (tucker).
14. **rainbow** Ngl. *muc* rainbow serpent; Ngn. *muc* rainbow, rainbow serpent; EM, MH.
15. **man, person** Ngl. *pi=kur* man; Rem. *pi* Aboriginal person, man; MH.
16. **sharp point** Ngl. *pi!?* sharp point; Ngn. *pi!?* sharp point.
17. **strong** Ngl. *teŋ?=teŋ* strong; Ngn. *teŋ?=teŋ* strong.
18. **thigh** Ngl. *ŋar=ppic* leg, thigh; Ngn. *ŋar=ppic* thigh; Rem. *tarama-na* leg.

19. **tongue** Ngl. *cel̩* tongue; Ngn. *ʃel̩* tongue; Rem. *tijal̩-na* tongue, language; EM, MH/377.
20. **liver** Ngl. *ciw* liver; Ngn. *ʃiw* liver; MH.
21. **dust** Ngl. *cul* dust; Rem. *tul̩* dust; EM.
22. **armpit** Ngl. *waŋ=kol* armpit; *waŋ=cat* arm; Ngn. *waŋ*, *waŋ=kol* armpit; Rem. *waŋ-na* armpit; EM, MH.
23. **water, rain** Ngl. *weʔ* water, rain; Ngn. *warʔ* to rain; MH.
24. **fire** Ngn. *wurk* small bush fire set by men; Rem. *wurk* fire lit in circle for hunting; MH.
25. **name** Ngl. *nej* name; Ngn. *ɲic-* (in compounds) name; Rem. *ɲe-na* name; EM, MH.
26. **heart, breath** Ngl. *ɲerʔ* heart; to pant; *ɲerʔ=parʔ* be frightened; Ngn. *ɲerʔ* heart; Rem. *ɲerʔ-na* heart; EM.
27. **neck, nape** Ngl. *ɲen* neck, nape; Ngn. *ɲin* nape.
28. **shade, shelter** Ngl. *cun̩* shade, bough shade; Rem. *tun̩* shade.
29. **brain, head** Ngl. *kal=ɲoʔk=ɲoʔk* brains; Ngn. *kol=ɲoʔk=ɲoʔk* brain; EM.

(II)

30. **stand** Ngl. *ca-* to stand, be in place; Ngn. *ca=kka*; *cap-ʃa-* cause to stand.
31. **pass by** Ngl. *col̩k* pass by; Ngn. *col̩k-ʃu-* to go past; MH.
32. **peel** Ngl. *cor-pu-cci* to peel; Rem. *cor=k-na* skinned (tree or animal).
33. **defecate** Ngl. *corʔ-ʃu-* defecate; Ngn. *corʔ-ʃu-* defecate; MH.
34. **send** Ngl. *cujʔ* replace, let go, send; *cu=cujʔ* to push; Ngn. *cujʔ-ʃu-* send; MH.
35. **sleep** Ngl. *jo-* to sleep; Ngn. *ju-* sleep.
36. **take, carry** Ngl. *ka-* take, carry; Ngn. *ka-* carry in hands.
37. **stuck** Ngl. *kaʃ-* become stuck; Ngn. *kaʃ-ʃu* become stuck.
38. **carry** Ngl. *korʔ* to load; Ngn. *korʔ* to put in(side); MH.
39. **sick** Ngl. *korʔ-* sick, ache; Ngn. *korʔ-ʃu-* sick.
40. **light (fire)** Ngl. *lerʔ* light (fire); Rem. *lerʔ* to make fire; MH.
41. **get, obtain** Ngl. *ma-* get, pick up; Ngn. *ma-* get, obtain, pick up.
42. **try, taste** Ngl. *maŋ* (Pref.) taste, test; Ngn. *maŋ* (in comp.) taste; EM, MH.
43. **follow** Ngl. *munku-* follow; Ngn. *munku-ʃu-* follow; EM.
44. **burn, tr.** Ngl. *ne-* burn, cook; Ngn. *na-* burn, cook.
45. **sit** Ngl. *na* sit, live; Ngn. *nu-* to sit.
46. **see** Ngl. *na-* see; Ngn. *na-* see.

47. **speak** Ngl. *ɲaw=k-* to talk, converse; Ngn. *ɲaw=k-ʈu-* speak, talk.
48. **bite** Ngl. *pe-* bite; Ngn. *pa-* bite, sting; MH.
49. **hit** Ngl. *pacci-* infrequent suppletive stem for *bu-ji* 'hit'; Ngn. *pacca-* to hit; MH.
50. **smell (iter.)** Ngl. *pop* give off smell; *pop-ɲa-* smell, tr.; Ngn. *pop-ʈu-* give off smell.
51. **come out** Ngl. *polk-* come out; Ngn. *polk-ʈu-* come out, appear, be born.
52. **hit, kill** Ngl. *pu-* hit, strike, kill; Ngn. *pu-* hit hard, kill.
53. **scorch (animal)** Ngl. *puj=ppuj-ɲe* scorch (animal); *puj-ppu-* rub sweat on; Ngn. *puj=ppuj-ɲa* scorch (animal).
54. **go, walk** Ngl. *rapo* to go, go along; Ngn. *ru=ʈu-* go, walk.
55. **clear v.** Ngl. *ror?* to clean something; Rem. *ror?* to clear; *roropo* cleared area.
56. **taste** Ngl. *ta:-pu-* try, test; Ngn. *ta:-pu-* to taste.
57. **cut, circumcise** Ngl. *tac-* to cut something; Ngn. *tak-ʈu-* to cut, circumcise; EM.
58. **dry** Ngl. *tar?* to dry out; Rem. *tar?* to dry self.
59. **tie up** Ngl. *ter?=pa-ka* to tie something up; Ngn. *terp-ʈu-* to tie up.
60. **tie up** Ngl. *tuk-ca* to tie up something; Ngn. *tuk-ʈu-* be tied up.
61. **catch fire** Ngl. *tul?* come alight; Ngn. *tul?-ʈu-* catch fire.
62. **sit down** Ngl. *tur?-* sit down (event); Ngn. *tur?-ʈu-* sit down (event).
63. **chop down** Ngl. *co* to chop down; Ngn. *ʈo-* to chop down.
64. **arrive** Ngl. *walk-* go in ,enter; Ngn. *walk-ʈu-* arrive.
65. **sing curse at** Ngl. *war-pu-* to practise sorcery on someone, 'sing' someone; Ngn. *war-pu-* sing curse at; MH.
66. **vomit** Ngl. *wer?* vomit; Ngn. *wer?-ʈu-* vomit; EM, MH.
67. **whistle** Ngl. *wir?* to whistle; Ngn. *wir?-ʈu-* to whistle.
68. **belly** Ngl. *wor?* belly; Ngn. *wor?* belly.
69. **give** Ngl. *wu-* give; Ngn. *wo-* give.
70. **go up** Ngl. *ɲal?-* go up, climb; Ngn. *ɲal?-ʈu-* go up; Rem. *ɲal?* climb (tree); HM-636.
71. **stand up, wake up** Ngl. *ɲej?* to stand up (event); *ɲej?-* to cause to stand up, to wake up; Ngn. *ɲej?-ʈu-* to get up, to arise; to leave a camp.
72. **eat** Ngl. *ɲu-* eat; Ngn. *ɲu-* eat.

(III)

73. **fish** Ngl. *ceɲ* fish; Ngn. *ceɲ* fish; EM, MH.

74. **lorikeet** Ngl. *leṭ=leṭ* varied lorikeet; Ngn. *leṭ=leṭ* red-collared lorikeet; MH.

75. **louse** Ngl. *mic* louse; Ngn. *mic* louse; Rem. *mic* flea; EM, MH.

76. **witchetty grubs** Ngl. *moṛk* unidentified grub; Ngn. *moṛk* witchetty grubs; Rem. *moṛ?* fly type; EM, MH.

(IV)

77. **male black wallaroo** Ngn. *park* black wallaroo; Rem. *park* kangaroo, male black rock; MH.

74. **honey** Ngl. *ta=ṭa* wild honey; Rem. *ṭa=ṭa* sugar bag (generic), honey.

75. **crow** Ngn. *wa?=wa* crow; Rem. *wa?=wa?* crow; MH.

76. **white cockatoo** Ngl. *ṇerk* white cockatoo; Ngn. *ṇerk=ṇerk* sulphur-crested cockatoo.

77. **kangaroo** Ngl. *koṇ* kangaroo; Rem. *kuweṇ* kangaroo (generic); EM.

78. **river** Ngl. *po* river; Ngn. *po=ṇoṇṭo* creek; Rem. *puwa-na* river, creek; MH.

79. **camp** Ngl. *rere* camp; Ngn. *rer* camp; MH.

80. **first** Ngl. *ca?* now (Pref); Ngn. *ṭawa?* now; Rem. *ta?* first (Pref); *tawa?* today.

81. **testicles** Ngn. *waṛṇ* testicles; Rem. *waṛa-na* scrotum, testicles.

82. **guts** Ngl. *ṇo?* excrement, intestine; Ngn. *ṇuk* (loan?) guts, bowels, excrement; Rem. *ṇuwa?* guts, intestines, shit.

83. **beard** Ngl. *ca=waṇṭa* whiskers; Ngn. *ṭa=wark* whiskers, beard; Rem. *ta=warak-na* whiskers; MH, 370.

(V)

84. **yamstick** Ngl. *cakka?* yamstick; Ngn. *cakka?* yamstick; Rem. *cakka?* digging stick; MH.

85. **oven** Ngn. *campal* native oven; Rem. *campal* stone oven.

86. **kinterm** Ngn. *capuṛ* wife's mother's brother; Rem. *capuṛ* cousin.

87. **urine** Ngl. *cele* urine; *cele-pu-* urinate; Rem. *cala-na* urine, piss.

88. **beach** Ngl. *keṛpper* beach; Rem. *keṛper-na* bank of river.

89. **stone axe** Ngl. *celer* stone axe, tomahawk; Ngn. *celer* stone axe; MH.

90. **earth, ground** Ngl. *colkko* earth, ground; Ngn. *colkko* ground, dirt; Rem. *colkko* ground, earth; MH.

91. **above** Ngl. *kar=kkara* on top, above; *kar=kku* top, up; *kara* high up; Ngn. *kar=kkala* on top, above.

92. **two** Ngl. *jappan?* two; Ngn. *jappan?* two.

93. **hole** Ngl. *jele* hole; Ngn. *jele* hole, jail.
94. **west** Ngl. *keriŋ* west; Rem. *kariŋ* west; EM, MH.
95. **dry** Ngl. *kappurk* dry; Ngn. *kappurk* dry.
96. **leg** Ngl. *kaŋta* lower leg; Ngn. *kanta* leg; Rem. *kanta-na* lower leg; story, word.
97. **mountain, hill** Ngl. *kala* mountain, high bank; Ngn. *kala* hill.
98. **boomerang** Ngl. *kaŋi=kaŋi?* boomerang; Ngn. *kaŋi=kaŋi?* ordinary boomerang; Rem. *kaŋi=kaŋi?* boomerang.
99. **ear** Ngl. *kanam* ear; Ngn. *kanam* ear; EM.
100. **doctor** Ngl. *kolon* doctor; Ngn. *kolon* doctor; MH.
101. **branch** Ngl. *koŋto* branch; Rem. *koŋto-na* branch (of tree or creek).
102. **mother's mother** Ngl. *kowkko* mother's mother; Ngn. *kokkok* mother's mother.
103. **few, many** Ngl. *kuŋa=kaŋ* big; Ngn. *kuŋ=ppur?* few; MH.
104. **skin** Ngl. *kuŋa?* skin of body; Ngn. *kuŋa?* skin, bark; Rem. *kuŋa?-na* skin, bark; EM, MH.
105. **cloud** Ngl. *kuŋuŋ* cloud; Ngn. *kuŋuŋ* cloud; Rem. *kuŋuŋ-na* cloud.
106. **moon** Ngl. *kurŋa* moon; Ngn. *kurŋa* moon; Rem. *kurŋa* moon.
107. **red ochre** Ngl. *majŋo?* red ochre; Ngn. *mojŋo?* red ochre.
108. **neck** Ngl. *maŋa* neck; Ngn. *maŋa* neck.
109. **shoulder blade** Ngl. *meŋe=ppe?* shoulder blade; Ngn. *meŋeppe?* shoulder blade; *miŋippi?* < Yolngu; Rem. *miŋi-na* shoulder blade.
110. **father's mother** Ngl. *memem* father's mother; Ngn. *memem* father's mother; Rem. *mamam?* father's mother; MH.
111. **blade, sharp point** Ngl. *mere?* sharp point; Ngn. *mere?* blade, sharp point, thorn.
112. **rib** Ngl. *miŋi=miŋi* rib bones; Ngn. *miŋi=miŋi* rib.
113. **night** Ngl. *muŋun* darkness; Ngn. *munun?* dark (at night); EM.
114. **anus** Ngl. *nimi* hind end, anus; Ngn. *nim* anus, buttocks; Rem. *nimiŋuŋu?ŋa* bum, tail part.
115. **grass** Ngl. *nocco* grass (general); Ngn. *noŋto?* grass.
116. **kinterm** Ngl. *palak* MoMoBrCh, MoMoBrSoSoCh; Rem. *palak* cousin masculine; *ta=palak* cousin feminine.
117. **string, rope** Ngl. *palkku* rope, string; Ngn. *palkku*, *ma-* rope, string; Rem. *palkku* rope, string.
118. **father** Ngl. *pappa* hypocoristic for 'father'; Rem. *pappa* father; MH.
119. **chest** Ngl. *pere* brisket, chest; Ngn. *pere* chest.
120. **shoulder blade** Ngl. *peŋe=melk* shoulder blade; Ngn. *peŋe=melk* shoulder blade; Rem. *peŋe?* shoulder; MH.

121. **clapstick, tapstick** Ngl. *piɾ=mir* clapstick; Ngn. *piɻ=mir* tapstick; *piɻʔ=piɻ-ʔu* to sing (with tapstick accompaniment).
122. **nail** Ngl. *piɻiɻ* (finger-, toe-)nail; Ngn. *piɻiɻ* fingernail, toenail; MH.
123. **log, stick** Ngl. *poɻoʔ* hollow log; Rem. *poɻoʔ* tree, stick, wood.
124. **woomera** Ngl. *poɻtok* woomera; Ngn. *poɻtok* flat woomera; Rem. *poɻtok* woomera; EM, MH.
125. **ashes** Ngl. *puɻɻuʔ* ashes; Ngn. *puɻɻuʔ* ashes.
126. **song** Ngn. *puɻkul* song, singing with tapsticks; Rem. *puɻkul* corroboree, song type.
127. **yesterday** Ngl. *ca=capaɻɻʔ* yesterday; Ngn. *ʔa=ʔapaɻɻʔ* yesterday, afternoon; MH.
128. **mouth** Ngl. *cala* mouth; Ngn. *ʔa:* < Yol. mouth; Rem. *tala-na* mouth.
129. **sand** Ngl. *campuɻ* sand; Ngn. *ʔampuɻ* sand; MH.
130. **tree, stick** Ngl. *cantaʔ* stick; Ngn. *ʔantaʔ* tree; MH.
131. **country** Ngn. *ʔawal* country; Rem. *tawal-na* country, place.
132. **meat** Ngl. *caɻku* flesh food; Ngn. *ʔaɻku* meat, flesh; Rem. *taɻku-na* meat, flesh; EM, MH.
133. **sing** Ngl. *culu-wa-* sing; Ngn. *ʔulu* a compounding element referring to corroboree; Rem. *culu-na* words (of song or of language); MH.
134. **waist** Ngl. *cumu* hipbone; Ngn. *ʔumu* waist; Rem. *tumu-na* small of back.
135. **sun, spider** Ngl. *wacci* sun; Ngn. *wacci* spider.
136. **south** Ngl. *walam* south; Ngn. *wali-* E? upriver; Rem. *walam* south; EM, MH.
137. **first, after that** Ngn. *walaɻ=karaʔ* first; Rem. *walaɻ* then, next, after that.
138. **wing, elbow** Ngl. *waɻmor* elbow; Ngn. *waɻmur* feather, wing.
139. **sun** Ngl. *waɻir* hot weather; Ngn. *waɻir* sun; Rem. *waɻir* hot weather time.
140. **track, footprints** Ngn. *waɻta* track, footprints; Rem. *waɻta-na* track, footprints.
141. **spirit** Ngl. *waɻal* shade, spirit; Ngn. *waɻal* spirit, image; EM, MH.
142. **one** Ngl. *waɻkiɻʔ* one, same; Ngn. *waɻkiɻʔ* one.
143. **belly** Ngn. *wuru* abdomen; Rem. *wuru-na* belly, stomach.
144. **spring (water)** Ngl. *ɻaccal* spring (water); Ngn. *ɻaccal* spring (water); EM, MH.

145. **devil** Ngl. *ɲajan* devil, white man; Ngn. *ɲajan* devil, animated corpse; Rem. *ɲajan* devil, dead person.

146. **lying, asleep** Ngl. *ɲere-* sleep (n.); Ngn. *ɲere* sleep (n.), rest.

147. **wind** Ngl. *ɲonto* wind; Ngn. *ɲonto* wind.

148. **flower** Ngl. *ɲoro* flower; Ngn. *ɲoro* flower.

149. **same** Ngl. *ɲuncu* same; Ngn. *ɲuncu* similar, equivalent.

150. **firestick** Ngl. *ɲuɲi?* firestick; Ngn. *ɲuɲi?* firestick; Rem. *ɲuɲə?* tree type used to make firesticks.

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151. **operate firedrill** Ngl. *caɕi-* operate firedrill; Ngn. *caɕa-* operate firedrill; MH.

152. **make** Ngl. *maɲiɲ?* to make something; Ngn. *maɲiɲ?-tu-* to make, make properly.

153. **go across** Ngl. *poɕop-* to cross over; Ngn. *poɕop-tu* go across.

154. **pull** Ngl. *toror?* pull; Ngn. *toror?-tu-* pull.

155. **dry up (water)** Ngl. *toro?*- dry up (water); Ngn. *toro?-tu-* dry up (water).

156. **go down, descend** Ngl. *toɕo?* go down, descend; Ngn. *toɕo?-tu-* go down, descend.

157. **return** Ngl. *wake* return; Ngn. *waki-* return.

158. **cook in ashes** Ngl. *waɕat-pu-* to bank up ashes; Ngn. *waɕat-pu-* cook in ashes.

159. **scratch** Ngl. *wiri?* to remove; Ngn. *wiri?-tu-* dig out of stone oven.

160. **jump** Ngl. *worowk-* jump; Ngn. *worok-tu-* jump; MH.

161. **dig (a hole)** Ngl. *ɲurum?*- dig (a hole); Ngn. *ɲurum?-tu-* dig (a hole); *ɲur?-tu-* < Jolngu (?).

(VII)

162. **grasshopper** Ngl. *cappuɕeɲ=ɕeɲ* grasshopper with long antennae; Ngn. *cappuɕeɲ=ɕeɲ* grasshopper with moderately long horns; Rem. *cap-puɕeɲ=ɕeɲ* grasshopper.

163. **leech** Ngl. *cimi?* leech; Ngn. *cimi?* leech; MH.

164. **lancewood tree** Ngl. *cuɕu?* lancewood tree; Ngn. *cuɕu?* lancewood tree; Rem. *cuɕu?* lancewood tree.

165. **short-necked tortoise** Ngl. *jalpu=jalpu* short-necked tortoise; Ngn. *jalpu=jalpu* short-necked tortoise.

166. **turtle** Ngn. *kajwal* long-necked tortoise; Rem. *kajwal* long-necked tortoise.

167. **plant, sp.** Ngn. *kalar* a chenopod plant; Rem. *kalar* bloodwood, sp.; EM.
168. **jibiru** Ngn. *kanci jibiru*; Rem. *kanci jibiru*.
169. **freshwater crocodile** Ngl. *kojo* freshwater crocodile; Ngn. *kojow* freshwater crocodile.
170. **blue winged kookaburra** Ngl. *korp=korp* kookaburra; Ngn. *korow=korow* blue winged kookaburra; Rem. *korow=korow* blue winged kookaburra.
171. **tawny frogmouth** Ngl. *kipit=kulic* E? tawny frogmouth; Ngn. *kuluj=kkuluj* tawny frogmouth; EM.
172. **centipede, scorpion** Ngl. *mała* centipede; Ngn. *mała* centipede; EM.
173. **native cat** Ngl. *ṇuluk* native cat; Ngn. *ṇuluk* native cat.
174. **female euro** Ngl. *pajir* female euro; Ngn. *pajir* female euro.
175. **tree, sp.** Ngl. *paṇar?* marble tree, *Owenia vernicosa*; Ngn. *paṇar?* marble tree, *Owenia vernicosa*; Rem. *paṇa=paṇa* E? turkey bush; EM.
176. **march fly, mosquito** Ngl. *paṭṭi?* march fly, mosquito; Ngn. *paṭṭi?* march fly; Rem. *paṭṭə* march fly, mosquito; NE.
177. **green plum** Ngn. *perke?*, *pirki?* greenplum; Rem. *perkka?* green plum.
178. **wax** Ngn. *piṭi* beeswax; Rem. *piṭi* beeswax; EM.
179. **banyan tree** Ngn. *caṇ?=pa* banyan tree; Rem. *caṇ?=pa* banyan tree.
180. **goanna** Ngl. *porṅka* large rock goanna, V. *glebopalma*; Ngn. *porṅka* large rock goanna, V. *glebopalma*; EM, MH.
181. **lily** Ngl. *purppa* lily; Ngn. *purppa?* water lily root; Rem. *purppa* water lily root.
182. **tree, sp.** Ngl. *tupal* Leichhardt tree; Ngn. *tupal* large tree with edible fruits; Rem. *tupal* plum tree.
183. **ant** Ngl. *cala=pir* red ant; Ngn. *ṭala=wuṭ=puṭ* small brown ant.
184. **snake** Ngn. *ṇarac* snake; Rem. *ṇarac* snake (generic).
185. **fish, sp.** Ngl. *ṇatpan* fish; Ngn. *ṇatpan(?)* archer fish.
186. **cycad palm** Ngn. *ṇaṭṭu* cycad palm; Rem. *ṇattu* cycad palm.

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187. **sandy wallaby, female** Ngl. *caruṭṭu?* sandy wallaby, female; Ngn. *caruṭṭu?* sandy wallaby, female; Rem. *caruṭṭu?* sandy wallaby, female; MH.
188. **yam** Ngn. *kankuṛi?* a long yams; Rem. *kankuṛi?* long yam.
189. **dove** Ngl. *koloto=tok* peaceful dove; Ngn. *kolotok* peaceful dove; EM, MH.

190. **blue-tongued lizard** Ngl. *kurmuļu?* blue-tongued lizard; Ngn. *kurmuļu?* blue-tongue lizard; Rem. *kurmuļu?* blue-tongue lizard; EM, MH.
191. **short-necked tortoise** Ngl. *kurupiļ* short-necked tortoise; Ngn. *kurupiļ* short-necked tortoise.
192. **echidna** Ngl. *manappuņ* echidna; Ngn. *manappuņ* echidna.
193. **salt-water crocodile** Ngl. *naņkuru* big salt-water crocodile; Ngn. *naņkuru* salt-water crocodile.
194. **file snake** Ngl. *picciri* file snake; Ngn. *picciri* file snake; MH.
195. **water python** Ngl. *puruṭ=ci* water python; Ngn. *puruṭ=ci* water python.
196. **eagle** Ngl. *tamala* wedge-tailed eagle (eaglehawk); Ngn. *tamala* wedge-tailed eagle (eaglehawk).
197. **wild apple** Ngl. *terene?* red apple; Ngn. *terene?* wild apple; Rem. *ṭerene?* plum tree.
198. **ring-tailed possum** Ngl. *tukuḷa?* ring-tailed possum; Ngn. *tukuḷa?* ring-tailed possum; *to?* brush-tailed p.
199. **goanna, Varanus gouldi** Ngl. *waccuṅtu* old man, Varanus gouldi; Ngn. *waccuṅtu* goanna, Varanus gouldi; MH.
200. **red gum** Ngl. *ṅolonko?* red river gum; Ngn. *ṅolonko?* red river gum.
201. **nail-tailed wallaby** Ngl. *ṅolomoro* nail-tailed wallaby; Ngn. *ṅolomoro* nail-tailed wallaby.
202. **wallaby** Ngl. *larpuṅiņ* small rock wallaby; Ngn. *lar=puṅiņ* a mid-sized rock wallaby; MH.
203. **cold (weather)** Ngl. *maḷuwru* cold (weather); Ngn. *maḷoworo-ṭi* cold (weather); Rem. *maḷuwru* cold weather season.
204. **sacred** Ngl. *cappuru* sacred, dangerous; Ngn. *cappuru* sacred, dear.
205. **knife** Ngn. *cimiṅṭi?* 'nail' spike of dugong harpoon; Rem. *cimiṅṭi?* spear, fishwire; EM, MH.
206. **white clay** Ngn. *kamunuṅku?* white clay; Rem. *kamunuṅku?* white clay.
207. **yellow ochre** Ngl. *koloṅor?* yellow ochre; Ngn. *koloṅor?* yellow body paint; Rem. *koloṅor?* yellow ochre.
208. **elope** Ngl. *marampa?* wife stealer; Ngn. *marampa?* wife stealer; Rem. *marampa?* eloping couple; H-.
209. **friend, companion** Ngl. *palppaṛa?* mate, companion; Ngn. *palppaṛa* friend, companion.
210. **circumcised boy** Ngl. *paṅtari* initiated young man; Ngn. *paṅtari* circumcised; Rem. *paṅtaṅ* true man.
211. **all, every** Ngl. *waḷaman?* a lot, many; Ngn. *waḷaman?* all, every.

212. **now, quickly** Ngn. *warikku* now; Rem. *warikku* quickly.
 213. **club** Ngl. *waṛurku* nulla-nulla; Ngn. *waṛurku* nulla-nulla.
 214. **long; dreaming** Ngl. *wirici?* long; ceremony; Ngn. *wirici?* dream-
 ing; totem; Rem. *wirici?* ceremony.
 215. **old person** Ngl. *wur?*=*wuruṇu* old person; Ngn. *wur?*=*wuruṇu* old
 person; Rem. *wur?*=*wuruṇu* old person; *wuruṇu-na* brother.
 216. **eye** Ngl. *ṇancuḷa* eye, seed; Ngn. *ṇancuḷa* eye, seed; MH.
 217. **bone** Ngl. *maṛakka* bone; Ngn. *ṇaṛakka* bone; *maṛakka* leg; Rem.
ṇaṛkka-na bone.
 218. **wind** Ngl. *picuṭu* big wind; Ngn. *picuṭu* whirlwind; MH.
- It is possible that quite a few of these comparisons are actually bor-
 rowings. So can we accept them as decisive evidence for a specific genetic
 relation between Ngalakan/Rembarrnga and Ngandi?

Jawoyn / Mayali and Ngalakan / Ngandi

A list of the comparisons between Jawoyn / Mayali and Ngalakan /
 Ngandi is given below.

(1) Jawoyn / Mayali - Ngalakan / Ngandi / (Rembarrnga)

1. **nin*: May. *nin* grass wren, Jaw. *nin* finch sp.; Ngl. *niṇ?*=*niṇ?* finches;
 Ngn. *nin?* finch sp.; EM. Rit. *ṇin?* (a local word).
2. **wak=wak*: May. *wak=wak* crow, Jaw. *wak=wak* crow; Ngn. *wa?*=*wa*
 crow; Rem. *wa?*=*wa?* crow; MH. Yol. **wa:k*.
3. **tet-*: May. *tet=tet* red-coloured lorikeet (E), Jaw. *tet=tet* varied lori-
 keet; Ngl. *leṭ=leṭ* varied lorikeet; Ngn. *leṭ=leṭ* red-coloured lorikeet; MH.
4. **park*: May. *park* male black wallaroo, Jaw. *park* male black wallaroo;
 Ngn. *park* black wallaroo; Rem. *park* kangaroo, male black rock; MH.
5. **kark*: May. *kark* spider web, War. *kek*; Ngn. *kar?* spider's web; Rem.
kar?-na web; MH. Yol. **ka:r?*.
6. **moṛk*: May. *mok* small fly, Jaw. *moṛk* a fly; Ngl. *moṛk* unidentified
 grub; Ngn. *moṛk* witchetty grubs; Rem. *moṛ?* fly type; EM, MH.
7. **waṇ*: May. *waṇ* armpit, underarm; *wanca=muṭ* armpit hair, Jaw.
wanca < ? **waṇ=cal* armpit, underarm, War. *waṇ=mili*; Ngl. *waṇ=kol* armpit;
waṇ=cat arm; Ngn. *waṇ*, *waṇ=kol* armpit; Rem. *waṇ-na* armpit; EM, MH. Yol.
**wa:ṇ* (Gup.).

8. **wurk*: May. *ca=wurk* whiskers, beard, Jaw. *ca=wurk* whiskers, War. *ki=ce=wek*; Ngn. *ʔa=wark* whiskers, beard; Rem. *ta=warak-na* whiskers; MH, 370. Yol. **ʔa=wark* cf. belly.

9. **piL-*: May. *piŋ=muruŋ* music sticks, clapsticks, Jaw. *piŋ=piŋ-ka-* to clap music sticks; Ngl. *piŋ=mir* clapstick; Ngn. *piŋ=mir* tapstick; *piŋʔ=piŋ-ʔu* to sing (with tapstick accompaniment). Yol. **piŋ=mV*.

10. **wurk*: May. *wur=papaŋ* have a sore stomach, Jaw. *la=wurk* belly, stomach; Ngl. *worʔ* belly; Ngn. *worʔ* belly. Cf. beard.

11. **kuk*: May. *kuk* body; raw, Jaw. *kuk* body, dead body, War. *kik*; Ngl. *kuʔ* raw; Rem. *kuʔ* raw, body; EM, MH.

12. **mo*: May. *rak-mo* hipbone, pelvis; *mo=palʔ* hip bone, Jaw. *mo* bone; War. *mu*; Ngl. *muʔu=ʔuʔ* E? on one's knees; Ngn. *mo*: knee; Rem. *mo-na* knee.

13. **ler*: May. *jet* nest; *ret* camp, home, nest (E), Jaw. *ler* camp, War. *le*; Ngl. *rere* camp; Ngn. *rer* camp; MH. Yol. **tiŋ* (JIN).

14. **culŋ*: May. *culŋ* dust, Jaw. *ca=culŋ* dust; Ngl. *cul* dust; Rem. *tulŋ* dust; EM. Yol. **tuŋkuL*.

15. **wurk*: May. *wurk* grass fire, bush fire; *wukke* to burn; *wuŋ* to light, Jaw. *wurk* fire, firewood, War. *wek* fire; Ngn. *wurk* small bush fire set by men; Rem. *wurk* fire lit in circle for hunting; MH. Mara. *wurk=malam*; Bur. *wurka=kka* to burn.

16. **mV*k: May. *mak* good, Jaw. *mak* good, War. *muk*; Ngl. *ma(:)ʔ* good; Ngn. *ma:k* good; Rem. *maʔ* good (NE); EM, MH. Yol. **maŋmak*.

17. **ŋerʔ*: May. *ŋerʔ* breath, heartbeat, Jaw. *ŋerʔ-ma-* to have a spell, 'breather'; Ngl. *ŋerʔ* heart; to pant; *ŋerʔ=parʔ* be frightened; Ngn. *ŋerʔ* heart; Rem. *ŋerʔ-na* heart; EM. Yol. **ŋarʔ-*, Mara. *ŋiŋ* to breathe.

18. **ŋej*: May. *ŋej* name, Jaw. *ŋi* name, War. *ŋi*; Ngl. *ŋej* name; Ngn. *ŋic-* (in compounds) name; Rem. *ŋe-na* name; EM, MH. Yol. **ŋaj-* (Gup.).

19. **ʔar*: May. *tat* leg, thigh, root, Jaw. *car*, *cor* leg; Ngl. *ʔar=ppic* leg, thigh; Ngn. *ʔar=ppic* thigh; Rem. *tarama-na* leg; Yol. **ʔarwa*.

20. **ce[ŋ]*: May. *ceŋ* fish, War. *ci=pak*; Ngl. *ceŋ* fish; Ngn. *ceŋ* fish; EM, MH.

21. **ʔiw*: May. *tiu* liver, War. *ci-*; Ngl. *ciw* liver; Ngn. *ʔiw* liver; MH. Yir. *ʔi(p)*, Yid. *ʔipa*.

22. **pV*: May. *paje* bite, Jaw. *pi-* drink, War. *pi-* drink; Ngl. *pe-* bite; Ngn. *pa-* bite, sting; MH. Tan. **pa*; Bur. *paj*.

23. **wat-*: May. *wat-me* (ceremony) finish up (E), Jaw. *wat-ma-* to finish, terminate, end; Ngl. *wat-* to finish; Ngn. *watti-* E? to die; *wati=wati* id.

24. **ma-*: May. *ma=ŋ* take, get, Jaw. *ma-* get; Ngl. *ma-* get, pick up; Ngn. *ma-* get, obtain, pick up; Yol. **ma-*.
25. **wo*: May. *wo=n* give, Jaw. *wo* give; Ngl. *wu-* give; Ngn. *wo-* give; Mara. *wa-nari*; Bur. *wu*; Tang. **wu-*.
26. **pu-*: May. *pu-n* hit, kill, Jaw. *pu-* hit, strike; Ngl. *pu-* hit, strike, kill; Ngn. *pu-* hit hard, kill; Yol. **pu-*.
27. **na-*: May. *na=n* see, look at, Jaw. *na-* see; Ngl. *na-* see; Ngn. *na-* see; Yol. **na-*; Bur. *na-*.
28. **waɾ-*: May. *wa=pu=n* to sing up, Jaw. *waɾ-wu* sing curse at; Ngl. *waɾ-pu-* to practise sorcery on someone; Ngn. *waɾ-pu-* sing curse at; MH. Bur. *waɾpa*.
29. **ni-*: May. *ni* to sit, live, Jaw. *ni-*, *niŋi-* to sit; Ngl. *na* sit, live; Ngn. *nu-* to sit; Yol. **ni=na-*; Bur. *niŋa*.
30. **ti-*: May. *ti* to stand, Jaw. *ci=ji* stand, War. *kuku-c-aŋ* E?; Ngn. *ti-* / *tu-* stand; Rem. *turu?*, *tija=na* (NE) to stand; Yol. **ta-* / **ti-*.
31. **kar*: May. *ka=n* take, carry, lead, Jaw. *kor-ka-*, *kar-wu-ka-* take, carry; Ngl. *ka-* take, carry; Ngn. *ka-* carry in hands. Yol. **ka-*.
32. May. *na=me* E? build, make, War. *nu-j*; Ngl. *ne-* burn, cook, Ngn. *na-* burn, cook. Yol. **na-*.
33. **ŋal?*: May. *miŋ=ŋal=k=me* climb up, go up, War. *ŋal?*; Ngl. *ŋal?*- go up, climb; Ngn. *ŋal?-tu-* go up; Rem. *ŋal?* climb (tree); MH. Yol. **ŋal?*.
34. **ju*: May. *jo* lie, sleep, War. *ju-ŋ*; Ngl. *jo-* to sleep; Ngn. *ju-* sleep; Bur. *ju=ŋa*; Yid. *wu=na-N*.
35. **maŋ*: May. *maŋ=pekkan* try, Jaw. *maŋ* try; Ngl. *maŋ* (Pref.) taste, test; Ngn. *maŋ* (in comp.) taste; EM, MH. Rith. *maŋ*.
36. **weɾ?*: May. *weɾ?-me-*, *we?=me* (M, W), *re?=me* vomit, Jaw. *weɾ?* vomit, War. *weɾ-*; Ngl. *weɾ?* vomit; Ngn. *weɾ?-tu-* vomit; EM, MH. Mara. *wi*.
37. **wiC-*: May. *wic=me* to whistle, Jaw. *wiɿ-ma* to whistle; Ngl. *wiɿ?* to whistle, Ngn. *wiɿ?-tu* to whistle. Mara. *wiɿ?*.
38. **kuri?*: May. *kuri?* blue-tongue lizard, Jaw. *kuri?* blue-tongue lizard; Ngl. *kurmuɻu?* blue-tongue lizard; Ngn. *kurmuɻu?* blue-tongue lizard; Rem. *kurmuɻu?* blue-tongue lizard; EM, MH. Rit. *kurmuɻu?*. A local word?
39. **kaŋtal-*: May. *kaŋtal=ppuru* female plains kangaroo, Jaw. *kaŋtal=piru* female plains kangaroo; Ngl. *kaŋtal=ppuru* female plains kangaroo; Ngn. *kaŋtal=ppuru* female plains kangaroo; EM. Yol. **kaŋtaɻ=ppuru*; Mara. *kaŋtaɻpuru*. A local word.
40. May. *ŋuj* flower, Jaw. *ŋawaɾak* flower; Ngl. *ŋoro* flower; Ngn. *ŋoro* flower. A doubtful comparison.

41. **poŋka*: May. *poŋka* spiny tail monitor, Jaw. *poŋka* stone country goanna; Ngl. *poŋka* large rock goanna, V. *glebopalma*; Ngn. *poŋka* large rock goanna, V. *glebopalma*; EM, MH.

42. **culu-kun*: May. *culukkuŋ* *Antidesma* sp. (W), Jaw. *culukuŋ* *Asclepidaceae*, "wild banana"; Ngl. *cuļu?* lancewood tree; Ngn. *cuļu?* lancewood tree; Rem. *cuļu?* lancewood tree. Rit. *cuļu?*. A local word?

43. **welej(?)*: May. *welej?* red-winged parrot, Jaw. *welej* red-collared lorikeet; Ngl. *welec* red-collared lorikeet; Ngn. *werej=werej* lorikeet; Rem. *welēŋ* small red parrot; *welej?* bird sp.; MH.

44. **kalar*: May. *kalar* Gum sp.; *Eucalyptus bleeseri*; *Eucalyptus arnhemensi*, Jaw. *kalar* *Eucalyptus bleeseri*; Ngn. *kalar* a chenopod plant; Rem. *kalar* bloodwood sp.; EM. Rit. H *kalaraj?* wattle tree. A local word?

45. **paŋa=ca*: May. *paŋa=ca* marble tree, fruit used as fish poison, *Owenia vernicosa*, Jaw. *paŋa=ca* *Gardenia* sp., *paŋar* *Gardenia merasperma*, *owenia vernicosa*; Ngl. *paŋar?* marble tree, *Owenia vernicosa*; Ngn. *paŋar?* marble tree, *Owenia vernicosa*; Rem. *paŋa=paŋa* E? turkey bush; EM. Rit. H *paŋar?*; War. ND *paŋar*. A local word.

46. **welVŋ*: May. *welēŋ* man responsible for killing game, Jaw. *welan* right, appropriate; *kun-welan* guilty one, perpetrator, also murderer; Ngl. *welēŋ* boss, master, one who has rights; Ngn. *wel* boss, owner.

47. **kulu*: May. *koc=kulu* head (? brain), Jaw. *kulu=ruŋ* brain; *kulu* 'head' (compound element); Ngl. *kal=ŋoŋk=ŋoŋk* brains; Ngn. *kol=ŋoŋk=ŋoŋk* brain; EM. A dubious comparison.

48. **kuŋaŋ*: May. *kuŋaŋ=ji* clever man, Jaw. *kuŋaŋ* doctor, curer; War. *kudaŋ(ji)*; Ngl. *kolon* doctor; Ngn. *kolon* doctor; MH. A dubious comparison

49. **peŋV-milk*: May. *peŋi=mel?* kangaroo's shoulder blade; *peŋekal?* sternum, Jaw. *peŋe=melk* shoulder blade, War. *pimek*; Ngl. *peŋe=melk* shoulder blade; Ngn. *peŋe=melk* shoulder blade; Rem. *peŋe?* shoulder; MH. Yol. **piŋi-* (Jin.); Bur. *piŋwera*. A local word.

50. **walam*: May. *walem* south, west, southwest, Jaw. *walam* south, War. *walam*, *walem*; Ngl. *walam* south; Ngn. *wali-* E? upriver; Rem. *walam* south; EM, MH. Rit. H *walama* upriver.

51. **waŋal*: May. *waŋal* spirit, reflection, Jaw. *waŋal*, *maŋal* spirit of a dead person; Ngl. *waŋal* shade, spirit; Ngn. *waŋal* spirit, image; EM, MH; Mara. *waŋal*.

52. **kanem*: May. *kanem* ear, War. *kanem*; Ngl. *kanam* ear; Ngn. *kanam* ear; EM.

53. **piŋi*: May. *piŋi* beeswax, Jaw. *piŋi* beeswax; Ngn. *piŋi* beeswax; Rem. *piŋi* beeswax; EM.

54. **kari*: May. *kari*=*kat* west; *kar*=*kat* high country, Jaw. *kari* west; Ngl. *keriŋ* west; Rem. *kariŋ* west; EM, MH.
55. **mamam*(?): May. *mamam*? father's mother, Jaw. *mamam* father's mother; Ngl. *memem* father's mother; Ngn. *memem* father's mother; Rem. *mamam*? father's mother; MH. Yol. **mu*:=*mu*.
56. **woro*:- May. *worowk*=*worowk*=*me*- hop, jump, Jaw. *woro*=*k-ma*- jump; Ngl. *worowk*- jump; Ngn. *worok-ŋu*- jump; MH. Rit. H *warawok-u*-. A local word.
57. **pelen*: May. *pelen*=*k*=*me* lick up, Jaw. *peŋak* E? lick lap (as water), War. *peŋeŋ*?; Ngl. *peŋeŋ*? lick; Ngn. *piŋaŋ*?-*ŋu*- < Yol. lick; EM, MH. Yol. **piŋaŋ*?-. A borrowing?
58. May. *kuŋ* (M, E) kangaroo, Jaw. *kuŋ* soul, spirit, War. *kuŋ* soul; Ngl. *koŋ* kangaroo; Rem. *kuweŋ* kangaroo (generic); EM.
59. **piniŋ*: May. *piniŋ* man, War. *piniŋ*; Ngl. *pi*=*kur* man; Rem. *pi* aboriginal person, man; MH.
60. May. *munum* (Dj) night, Jaw. *muŋ*=*muŋ* dark, dark night; Ngl. *muŋun* darkness; Ngn. *munun*? dark (at night); EM. Yol. **muŋ*V night.
61. **ke*:- May. *kep* nose, Jaw. *ke*=*mo* nose, nose bone; *keŋolk* nose peg; Ngl. *ce*- E?? nose; Ngn. *kipaŋ* nose; Rem. *kij-na* nose; EM.
62. **cen*: May. *cen* tongue, Jaw. *cen* tongue, War. *cen*; Ngl. *ceŋ* tongue; Ngn. *ŋeŋ* tongue; Rem. *tijaŋ-na* tongue, language; EM, MH/377. Yol. **ŋi:laŋ*.
63. **puŋak*: May. *puk* dry (place), passible, Jaw. *puŋak* dry; Ngl. *ka*=*ppuŋk* dry; Ngn. *ka*=*ppuŋk* dry; Rit. H *puŋk*. Possibly a borrowing.
64. **pa*=*pa*: May. *pappa* triangular kin term; *papin* father's mother and recip., Jaw. *papa* elder sibling, War. *pappa*; Ngl. *pappa* hypocoristic for 'father'; Rem. *pappa* father; MH. Yol. **pa*:*pa*; Bur. *pappa*. A local word.
65. **po*:- May. *po*- water (incorpor. noun); *ka*=*po* creek, river (W, E), Jaw. *poŋa*- compound form of 'water, liquid'; Ngl. *po* river; Ngn. *po*=*ŋoŋto* creek; Rem. *puwa-na* river, creek; MH.
66. **kolo*=*tok*: May. *koŋopok*, *koŋotto*=*tto* peaceful dove, diamond dove, Jaw. *koloto*=*tok* peaceful dove, War. *kolototok*; Ngl. *koloto*=*tok* peaceful dove; Ngn. *koŋotok* peaceful dove; EM, MH. Yol. **kuŋlutuk*.
67. **cimiNti*: May. *ciminti* knife, Jaw. *cimiŋti* knife; Ngn. *cimiŋti*? 'nail spike of dugong harpoon; Rem. *cimiŋti*? spear, fishwire; EM, MH. Yol. **cimiŋti*(?).

(2) Jawoyn / Mayali - Rembarrnga

1. **tel-*: May. *tel=tel* E, W black ant, Jaw. *tel=tel* black ant; Rem. *tel=tel* ant sp.; EM.
2. May. *ηal=pak* chin (E), cheek (W), Jaw. *ηalk* mouth; lid of container; Rem. *ηal=pak-na* lower jar, chin. Tan. **ηankV*.
3. **ηol*: May. *ηol* cloud (E, M); *ηol=kimuk* big clouds, Jaw. *ηol* sky; *pam-ηol* cloud, War. *pam=ηul*; Rem. *ηol-na* sky, cloud; EM, MH.
4. **ηaL-*: May. *ηalη* cliff; *mil?=ηalk* eyebrow, Jaw. *ηalk-ηayu* slope, steep descent, War. *jm-rm*; Rem. *ηalk-na* river bank.
5. **por̥k*: May. *pok* print, track (of any sort), Jaw. *por̥k(-ηayu)* tracks; *pur̥ul* road; Rem. *por=por-na* track.
6. **mele=mele*: May. *mele=mele* butterfly, Jaw. *mele=mele* butterfly; Rem. *mele=mele?* butterfly; EM, MH. Yol. **mi̯li=mi̯li* (Gup.); Bur. *me̯a=mi̯la*.
7. **ma̯la*: May. *ma̯la=wor* leaf; mare (E) hair, Jaw. *ma̯la=wor* leaf, War. *mala, ma̯a*; Rem. *moror* < ? **maLa-wor* hair; MH.
8. **pa=mo*: May. *pamo* bud, Jaw. *pamo* seed; Rem. *pamo-na* E? purple flower from gum tree; MH.
9. **kVm*: May. *kom* throat, nape, Jaw. *kam* throat, neck, War. *kum* nape; Rem. *kuwam-na* neck, nape; MH.
10. **ηVrk*: May. *ηork* flank, Jaw. *ηurk-mo* rib bones; Rem. *ηorok-na* rib cage; MH.
11. **ca̯ra̯η*: May. *ca̯η* dreaming (place), Jaw. *ca̯ra̯η* dreaming; Rem. *ca̯ra̯η* bad dreaming; EM.

(3) Jawoyn / Mayali - Ngandi

1. **ηak=ηak*: May. *ηak=ηak* grey-crowned babbler, Jaw. *ηak=ηak* grey-crowned babbler; Ngn. *ηak=ηak* white-breasted sea-eagle; EM.
2. **lok=lok*: May. *lok=lok* skink sp., Jaw. *lok=lok* skink sp.; Ngn. *lok=lok* dragon lizard; EM.
3. **cak*: May. *cak* meat ant, Jaw. *cak* red ant; Ngn. *ca?* meat ant; MH.
4. May. *ju:l* human, aborigine, Jaw. *jul* man, people (RESTR), War. *jul*; Ngn. *jul* human, aborigine. Yol. **ju:l=ηu*. A borrowing.
5. **le(r)*: May. *je=me* ashamed, Jaw. *lir-ma-* ashamed; Ngn. *jeɹ* ashamed, be shy.
6. **maj?*: May. *maj?=ke* to flash (lightning), Jaw. *majk-ma-*, *maj=maj?-ma-* to flash (lightning); Ngn. *maj?-tu-* to make lightning flash; MH. Yol. **maj=kara̯η*.

7. *pV?: May. *pu?-me-* to blow, War. *pi?*; Ngn. *pu?-tu-* to blow (e. g. to produce flame from sparks); MH. Yol. *pu:-.
8. *war-: May. *war-me* swim, Jaw. *war-ma-* swim; Ngn. *wor-tu* swim; MH. Yol. *war?- (Gup.).
9. *woR: May. *worpaŋ* E? stinking, Jaw. *wor* urine, War. *wul*; Ngn. *worɕ* urine; *worɕa* urinate; MH. Mara. *warɕ*.
10. May. *kaŋ=ma* northern brown bandicoot (big), Jaw. *kaŋ=ma* big bandicoot; Ngn. *kaŋ=purk* small possum; EM. Rit. H *kaŋpurk*.
11. *karV: May. *kaɾe=men* get old, Jaw. *kaɾa-ji-* to grow; Ngn. *kaɾak-tu-* grow (as child); Mara. *kal*.
12. May. *kuŋ* sugarbag, honey, Jaw. *kaɾaŋ* bee, honey bee; Ngn. *kuŋaŋ* bee, honey bee.
13. *warV: May. *ware* bad, War. *war*; Ngn. *war=cak* bad; MH. Bur. *wera*.
14. *jer(e): May. *jere* behind, Jaw. *jer* towards; Ngl. *jer=kke* E? bottom, inside, underneath; Ngn. *jiri* behind; EM.
15. *woC-: May. *wop* lightweight; *wope* lung (W), Jaw. *wompan=wompan* lightweight; Ngn. *wowk=wowk* lightweight; MH.
16. *puru=ŋanti: May. *puruŋanti* stinking turtle, Jaw. *puruŋanti* long-necked land turtle; Ngn. *puruŋanti?* smelly tortoise; EM, MH. Rit. H *puruŋanti?*; Mara. *puruŋanti*.
17. May. *kaŋta* female antelope wallaby, Jaw. *kuŋtuɭk* E? female plains kangaroo; Ngn. *kaŋtaɯul?* rock wallaby; Rit. H *kaŋtaɯul?* rock wallaby.

(4) Jawoyn / Mayali - Ngalakan

1. *meɾk: May. *meɾk* cattle tick, Jaw. *meɾk* tick (RESTR?); Ngl. *meɾk* tick; Ngn. *meɾer* E? eggs of lice; MH. Bur. *tal=muɾk* flea.
2. *leɾŋ: May. *jeɾŋ* firewood, Jaw. *ma=leɾŋ-ma=leɾŋ* kindling, small branches; Ngl. *ku=leɾŋ* firewood; EM.
3. *ŋuk: May. *ŋuk-* (compounding n.) guts, shit, Jaw. *ŋuk* guts, excrement, War. *ŋuk*; Ngl. *ŋo?* excrement, intestine; Ngn. *ŋuk* (loan?) guts, bowels, excrement; Rem. *ŋuwa?* (loan?) guts, intestines, shit. Yol. *ŋuk; Wrđ. *ŋuwun*.
4. *maj: May. *me* vegetable food; *maj?* flesh food, Jaw. *maj* vegetable food; Ngl. *maj* vegetable food; MH. Wrđ. *majin*.
5. *puN: May. *puŋ* ankle, Jaw. *puŋ* area behind knee; Ngl. *puŋ* kneecap, knee. Yol. *pu:n.

6. **ciŋ*: May. *ciŋ* stomach, guts, Jaw. *ciŋ* stomach, abdomen; Ngl. *ciŋ* stomach; EM, MH.
7. **tun*: May. *tun* cat's cradle game, played with bush sting, Jaw. *tun* string, rope; Ngl. *tun* string.
8. **kur=ŋiN*: May. *kur=ŋiŋ* sweat, Jaw. *kur=ŋiŋ* sweat; *ŋen* sweat; Ngl. *ku=puj* sweat; MH.
9. **jon*: May. *jon* back of knee, esp. muscle behind knee, Jaw. *jon* tendon, sinew; Ngl. *jon* vein; EM, MH.
10. **pim*: May. *pim* painting, Jaw. *pim* white ochre; Ngl. *pim* white ochre; MH.
11. **wel*: May. *wel-* wing; *peŋ* arm, wing, Jaw. *wel* wing; Ngl. *wel* wing; EM, MH.
12. **wVlk*: May. *wuk=me* to swallow, Jaw. *wolk=ma* to drink; Ngl. *wurk-* to swallow; Ngn. *wuŋŋ-tu-* (< Yol.?) swallow v. Yol. **wurk-* (Jap.); Bur. *wuŋ=ca*.
13. **caŋ-*: May. *caŋ=ka=n* go hunting, Jaw. *caŋ=ka-* go hunting; Ngl. *caŋ-ka-* go hunting; EM, MH.
14. **kuLu-*: May. *kuru=wiŋuk* curlew, Jaw. *kulu=wur* curlew; Ngl. *ku-weŋu?* curlew. Mara. *kuwiŋu*.
15. **talak*: May. *talak* sand monitor, Jaw. *talak* sand-ridge goanna; Ngl. *takaŋ* goanna, Varanus gouldi; EM, MH.
16. **penuk*: May. *penuk* shrub turkey, bustard, Jaw. *penuk* shrub turkey, bustard; Ngl. *penuk* shrub turkey, bustard; EM, MH.
17. **kurac*: May. *kurac* blood, Jaw. *kurac* blood, War. *kurac*; Ngl. *kurac* blood; MH. Yol. **kulaŋ*.
18. **kaŋu*: May. *kaŋu=kaŋu* many woman (RESTR), Jaw. *kaŋu=kaŋu* woman; Ngl. *kiŋi* girl; EM.
19. **caŋuŋ*: May. *caŋuŋ* king brown snake, Jaw. *caŋuŋ* king brown snake, War. *caŋuŋ*, *caŋum*; Ngl. *caŋ=mjaŋ* king brown snake; EM, MH.
20. **marV*: May. *mar=wi* be hungry, Jaw. *mari* be hungry; Ngl. *marawul* be hungry; EM, MH. Yol. **mar-*.
21. **kujVŋ*: May. *kujen* long, tall, Jaw. *kujan* long, tall; Ngl. *ken=ken* long, tall; EM, MH.
22. **kerne*: May. *kerne* new, fresh, Jaw. *kerne* new, fresh, War. *ken*; Ngl. *kerne* alive; EM, MH.
23. **moŋV*: May. *moŋe=maŋ* to carry on shoulder (E, W), Jaw. *moŋa-na-* to carry on shoulder; *miŋi* shoulder, War. *muncum* E?; Ngl. *muŋ=cum* shoulder; MH, 572. Rit. H *muŋ*.

24. May. *carici* ashes (RESTR), Jaw. *caric* charcoal; Ngl. *caric* charcoal, coal; MH.

25. **wVk*: May. *ce-wk* E? rain, rain season, Jaw. *wak* water, rain, War. *wik*; Ngl. *we?* water, rain; Ngn. *war?* to rain; MH.

26. **kul-*: Jaw. *kul=ppam* three, War. *kupam* lots; Ngl. *kuḷa=ka!* big; Ngn. *kuḷ=ppur?* few; MH. Yol. **kuḷ-*.

(5) Jawoyn - Ngandi / Ngalakan

1. Jaw. *kol* nest; Ngl. *kol=koṛo?* coolamon for a baby; Ngn. *kol* nest; MH. Bur. *kaḷa=kkala*.

2. Jaw. *pi!* spear, sharp point; Ngl. *pi!* sharp point; Ngn. *pi!* sharp point.

3. May. *kel=pi* E? crocodile's lair, Jaw. *kelk* river bank, cliff; Ngl. *kelk* river bank; Ngn. *kelk* side (of river or road); MH.

4. Jaw. *kor-ka-* to carry; Ngl. *koṛ* to load; Ngn. *koṛ* to put in(side); MH. Yol. **kuru=ka-*.

5. Jaw. *wa-* 'follow' (in comp.); Ngl. *wa-* to follow; Ngn. *-wa* come!. Yol. **wa:-*.

6. Jaw. *ḡa-* listen to; Ngn. *ḡa-* hear; Rem. *ḡawa?* hear (NE); Yol. **ḡa:-* (Jap.)

7. Jaw. *ler?* light (fire); Ngl. *ler?* light (fire); Rem. *ler?* to make fire; MH.

8. Jaw. *cuṛerk* bowerbird; Ngl. *cuṛer?* bowerbird; Ngn. *cuṛer?* great bowerbird; Rit. H *cuṛir?*; Mara. *cuṛir*.

9. Jaw. *maṛawḷ* friar bird; Ngl. *maṭaw?* friar bird; Ngn. *maṭawḷ* friar bird. Rit. H *ma:ṭawḷ*, *maṭawḷ*.

10. Jaw. (*koj-*)*malapar* cold (season); Ngl. *maḷuwuru* cold (weather); Ngn. *maḷoworo-ṭi* cold (weather); Rem. *maḷuwuru* cold weather season.

11. Jaw. *jara* lair, den, hole; Ngl. *jele* hole; Ngn. *jele* hole, jail; Yol. **jalu*.

12. Jaw. *koli* stony hill, loose stone; Ngl. *kala* mountain, high bank; Ngn. *kala* hill.

13. Jaw. *piṇiṇ* nail; Ngl. *piṇiṇ* (finger-, toe-)nail; Ngn. *piṇiṇ* fingernail, toenail; MH. Yol. **piṇiṇ*; Bur. *piṇiṇ*.

14. Jaw. *poṛu-* cross, cross over; Ngl. *poṭop-* to cross over; Ngn. *poṭop-ṭu* go across. Yol. **puṭa=p-*.

15. Jaw. *koj=mar* freshwater crocodile; Ngl. *kojo* freshwater crocodile; Ngn. *kojow* freshwater crocodile.

16. Jaw. *lu=ḡark* snake (generic); Ngn. *ḡarac* snake; Rem. *ḡarac* snake (generic). Rit. H *ra=ḡarac*.

17. Jaw. *loʔoʔ-mi-li* to submerge, be submerged; Ngl. *luʔ?* to dip up; Ngn. *luʔ-tu* to wade (in water).

18. Jaw. *ηuliri* Burdekin duck; Ngl. *ηuliri* black duck sp.; Ngn. *ηuliri* duck sp. War. ND *ηuliri*.

19. Jaw. *lar=poniη* type of wallaby; Ngl. *lar=puniη* small rock wallaby; Ngn. *lar=puniη* a mid-sized rock wallaby. MH.

(6) Jawoyn - Rembarrnga

1. Jaw. *maηak* hand, arm, branch, War. *muηak* shoulder; Rem. *maηak* upper arm; MH.

(7) Jawoyn - Ngandi

1. Jaw. *wark=wark* small black ants; Ngn. *wark=wark* ants (all species except those which have specific names); MH. Rit. H *wark=wark*.

2. Jaw. *paral* Acacia dimidiata; Ngn. *pałara?* Acacia torulosa. Bur. *palara* wattle.

(8) Jawoyn - Ngalakan

1. Jaw. *co=ηoj* bushfire; Ngl. *ηoj* fire; Rem. *ηuɾa?* (< Nun.?) fire. Nun. *ηuɾa*.

2. Jaw. *laj* meat, game, animal; Ngl. *raj* game, flesh food; MH. Wrđ. *la-jin*.

3. Jaw. *men* mind, thought; Ngl. *men* mind; *men=muk* to forget; *minci* to think about.

4. Jaw. *ηuj* sibling-in-law; Ngl. *ηoj* sibling-in-law; MH.

5. Jaw. *pal=p=mi* wide, numerous; Ngl. *pil=po* wide; Mara. *pil-man*.

6. May. *we* E?? throw, Jaw. *waɬ=waɬ-ma* throw; Ngl. *war?* throw; Tan. **waɾV* throw.

7. Jaw. *li* fall, be born, War. *li-*; Ngl. *ler-* fall.

8. Jaw. *woc-* hide; *woc-ma-* steal; Ngl. *woc-ma-* steal; MH.

9. Jaw. *campan* death adder (Harvey); Ngl. *campon* death adder; MH. Yol. **tampariη*.

10. Jaw. *paja* pelican; Ngl. *paja* pelican; MH.

11. Jaw. *lanka* billabong, War. *lanka*; Ngl. *lanka* billabong; MH.

12. Jaw. *kalal* ceremonial ground; Ngl. *kalal* ceremonial ground.

13. Jaw. *maɬu* deep coolamon; Ngl. *maɬu* paperbark sp.; MH.

14. Jaw. *ŋoŋo* small round ankle bone, War. *ŋuŋu*; Ngl. *ŋoŋo=koc* ankle.
 15. May. *wok=wal*, *wope* E? lungs, Jaw. *wocal* lungs; Ngl. *woccal* lungs; MH.
 16. Jaw. *cuŋkuŋ* single girl; Ngl. *cuŋ=kun* single girl, unmarried woman.
 17. Jaw. *marin* girl; Ngl. *marin* girl, young woman; MH.
 18. Jaw. *camuŋ* mother's father (Harvey), War. *camuŋ* mother's father, father's mother; Ngl. *camin* spouse; MH. Wrđ. *ji-camuŋ*.
 19. Jaw. *cuwuk* short; Ngl. *caŋuk* short.
 20. Jaw. *cala=la* wriggle, slither; Ngl. *cala=la* crawl; MH. Rit. H *calala-ju*.
 21. Jaw. *maŋ?*=*maŋu-ji* to be lame; *maler-ma* to limp, be crippled; Ngl. *maŋu?*=*maŋu?* to be lame.
 22. Jaw. *cuwal* shade, bough shelter; Ngl. *cuwalin* windbreak. Yol. **luwar* (Jin.).
 23. May. *wur?-ke* E? to lie to, fool, trick, Jaw. *warp-ma-* to tell a lie; *warik-ma-* id.; Ngl. *warp-* to tell a lie.

(9) Mayali - Ngalakan / Ngandi / (Rembarnga)

1. May. *pot* fly (n.) E; Ngl. *pot* bush fly; Ngn. *pot* bushflies, bees; EM. Rit. H *puwat*.
 2. May. *muc* rainbow serpent; Ngl. *muc* rainbow serpent; Ngn. *muc* rainbow, rainbow serpent; EM, MH. Rit. *mu:c*.
 3. **moL-*: May. *mo=nic-* stealthily, Jaw. *moŋ=k* E? stealthily; Ngl. *mo=nic* sneaking, on the sly; *molo?* to sneak away; Ngn. *mo:nic* secretly, in stealth; EM.
 4. May. *ler?=me* vibrate, rattle (boomerangs) together; Ngl. *ler?=ler* to clap clapsticks or boomerangs; Ngn. *ler?=ler-pu* to clap boomerangs; EM.
 5. May. *ta=kur=me* to dry (v. i.); Ngl. *taŋ?* to dry out; Rem. *taŋ?* to dry self.
 6. May. *peŋ* hand, wing, branch; Ngl. *peŋŋ?* leaves, foliage; Rem. *peŋ?-na* leaf (small, of non-food plant).
 7. May. *kol=kkol* new; Ngl. *kol=kkol* new; Ngn. *kol=kkol* new.
 8. May. *pacce* to punch; Ngl. *pacci-* infrequent suppletive stem for *bu-ji* 'hit'; Ngn. *pacca-* to hit; MH. Yol. **paj-*.
 9. May. *co=ŋ* defecate; Ngl. *cor?-tu-* defecate; Ngn. *cor?-tu-* defecate; MH. Yol. **turi* faeces (Jap.).
 10. May. *ŋu=n* eat; *po=ŋu-n* water; Ngl. *ŋu-* eat; Ngn. *ŋu-* eat.
 11. May. *re* go, come; Ngl. *rapo* to go, go along; Ngn. *ru=tu-* go, walk.

12. May. *cow=k=ke*, *cow?=ke* to cross; Ngl. *colk* pass by; Ngn. *colk-ʔu-* to go past; MH. Yol. **cuʔ=k-*.
13. May. *cur=ke* to wet OBJ; *curk* strong current, running water; Ngl. *cur-* to pour; Ngn. *cur-ʔu-* to pour (liquid); *curʔ-ʔu* to plunge in (water). Rit. H *curʔ-maʔa* to soak.
14. May. *kaʔ=me* get stuck; Ngl. *kaʔ-* become stuck; Ngn. *kaʔ-ʔu* become stuck. Yol. **kaʔ-*; Bur. *kaʔ=cca*.
15. May. *to=ŋ* to strike (incl. lightning), hit; Ngl. *co* to chop down; Ngn. *ʔo-* to chop down. Rit. H *ʔu*.
16. May. *tu=kka=n* to tie up; Ngl. *tuk-ca* to tie up something; Ngn. *tuk-ʔu* be tied up.
17. May. *maʔa* (KW) centipede; Ngl. *maʔa* centipede; Ngn. *maʔa* centipede; EM. Mara. *maʔa=maʔa*.
18. May. *kuluj=kuluj* (E) tawny frogmouth; Ngl. *kipiʔ=kulic* E? tawny frogmouth; Ngn. *kuluj=kkuluj* tawny frogmouth; EM. Rit. H *kulij=kkulij*.
19. May. *pere* chest, rib (E); Ngl. *pere* brisket, chest; Ngn. *pere* chest; Yol. **piʔi* (Jin.).
20. May. *palak* mother-in-law language, respect language; Ngl. *palak*; Rem. *palak* cousin masculine; *ta=palak* cousin feminine.
21. May. *ŋunce=kkan* copy, imitate, ape; Ngl. *ŋuncu* same; Ngn. *ŋuncu* similar, equivalent.
22. May. *kuʔaʔ* skin, hide; Ngl. *kuʔaʔ* skin of body; Ngn. *kuʔaʔ* skin, bark, *ʔa=kkuʔa* lip = mouth+skin; Rem. *kuʔaʔ-na* skin, bark; EM, MH. Rit. H *kuʔaʔ*.
23. May. *murŋiŋ* shovel spear; Ngl. *murŋiŋ* shovel spear; Ngn. *murŋiŋ* shovel spear; EM. Yol. **murŋiŋ*.
24. May. *tile* urine; *tile=pun* urinate, piss; Ngl. *cele* urine; *cele-pu-* urinate; Rem. *cala-na* urine, piss. Yol. **cal-* (Gup.).
25. May. *tumi* lower back; Ngl. *cumu* hipbone; Ngn. *ʔumu* waist; Rem. *tumu-na* small of back. Yol. **lami* hip; Lar. *tuma* back.
26. May. *poŋtok* flat woomera; Ngl. *poŋtok* woomera; Ngn. *poŋtok* flat woomera; Rem. *poŋtok* woomera. EM, MH. Yol. **puŋʔuk* (Jin.).
27. May. *mun=ke* to send; *mun=ke-kacuŋ* follow behind; Ngl. *munku-* follow; Ngn. *munku-ʔu-* follow; EM. Yol. **mi:ŋku-* hunt. A borrowing?
28. May. *wuʔe* first; Ngn. *walaŋ=karaʔ* first; Rem. *walaŋ* then, next, after that.
29. May. *wiri=wirik=me* scratch; Ngl. *wiriʔ* to remove; Ngn. *wiriʔ-ʔu-* dig out of stone oven. Yol. **wir-*; Bur. *wirkka*.
30. May. *ŋal* red-flowered gum; Ngl. *ŋolonkoʔ* river red gum; Ngn. *ŋolonkoʔ* river red gum. Rit. H *ŋalankaʔ*.

31. May. *taŋ* mouth; Ngl. *cala* mouth; Ngn. *ʔa:* (< Yol.) mouth; Rem. *tala-na* mouth. Yol. **ʔa-*.

32. May. *mir?* spine, spike, sharp object; Ngl. *mere?* sharp point; Ngn. *mere?* blade, sharp point, thorn.

33. May. *teŋe* foot; Ngn. *ʔeŋ* foot; Rem. *caŋa* foot, track. Yid. *cina*, Jiw. *cina*.

34. May. *wurulku* fighting stick; Ngl. *waʔurku* nulla-nulla; Ngn. *waʔurku* nulla-nulla. Mara. *waʔurku*.

(10) Mayali - Rembarrnga

1. May. *work=ti* full; Rem. *wor?* full (NE); EM.

2. May. *kin?=kin?* (E) star; Rem. *kin?=kin?* star.

3. May. *ŋapuc* hopping mouse; Ngn. *ŋapuc* E? kin term, including sister's son's child; Rem. *ŋapuc* wallaby type.

4. May. *kulpa* blood; Rem. *kulpa* blood (NE); EM.

5. May. *ŋalaŋ* nail; Rem. *ŋariŋ* (NE) nail; EM.

(11) Mayali - Ngandi

1. May. *kol=k=pun* to poison water with ichthyocide; Ngn. *kol=c* a tree used for poison; *kol=ca-* to poison fish.

2. May. *toj* wife's father; Ngn. *roŋ=toj* wife's father. Rit. H *ruŋ=ʔaj*.

3. **kol?*: May. *kol=k=me-* cut, Jaw. *kol?-ma-* E? to poke out, protrude, stick out.; Ngn. *kul=k-ʔu-* cut, cut through. Yol. **kul=k-* cut.

4. May. *pit=pun* climb up, Jaw. *peŋ?-ma-* E? climb up; Ngn. *pit-pu-* go up, ascend.

5. May. *wiŋi?=wiŋi?* galah; Ngn. *wiri=wiri* lorikeet. Yol. **wiŋiC=wīŋiC*; Bur. *wiŋi=wīŋa*.

6. May. *tec=molo* crotch (+ ? buttocks); Ngn. *mala* buttocks. Iwa. *muli* buttocks.

7. May. *pacan* mother's brother, mother; Ngn. *pica=ca* mother's father. Mara. *pica*.

8. May. *waŋa?* wide, big, extensive; Ngn. *waŋakkur* wide. Yol. **waŋakkur* (Jap.).

9. May. *paŋca* arm, Jaw. *paŋ* E? shaft, stalk of tree; Ngn. *paŋca* arm. Yol. **paŋca* arm.

10. May. *tal* paperbark tree; Ngn. *tila* coolamon; paperbark tree with bark suitable for coolamons. Rit. H *tila*.
11. May. *moʎe* (M) didgeridoo; Ngn. *molʔ* didgeridoo.
12. May. *murun* bone, skeleton; *murn* bone needle; Ngn. *murn* back-bone.
13. May. *kurn* wife's mother, daughter's husband; Ngn. *kurun* wife's mother. Rit. H *kurun*.

(12) Mayali - Ngalakan

1. May. *kot* paperbark tree; Ngl. *kot* paperbark tree; EM. Tan. **kuʔa* ti-tree.
2. May. *peŋ=peŋ* Ghost gum; Ngl. *peŋ=pereŋ* Ghost gum; EM.
3. May. *polʔ* track; Ngl. *polʔ* road; EM.
4. May. *ru=ŋ* burn (intr.), cook (M, E); Ngl. *ru-* burn, intr.; EM.
5. May. *pur=pun* to know; *purk=nan* recognize; Ngl. *purʔ-ŋ-* to know. Bur. *porwa* think about.
6. May. *par* to open; Ngl. *par* to open.
7. May. *puʔar(a)* Marten's water goanna, Jaw. *pulur* E? spiny-tailed goanna; Ngl. *paʔa=ŋari* Mitchell's water goanna. Mara. *paʔmunu*.
8. May. *puʔuk* feather-down decoration stuck on body during ceremony; Ngl. *puʔuk* feather; EM.
9. May. *makkaʔ* father's mother; Ngl. *markke* father's sister; Tan. **markaʔu*.
10. May. *cakku* left-side; Ngl. *pala-cakku* left-side; MH. Tan. **ʔaku*.
11. May. *palaʔ=no* tracks of crawling animal; Ngl. *pele-wa-* to track, follow. Yol. **piʔa* footprints.
12. May. *pawon* leave, Jaw. *pawu-* E? pass by; Ngl. *pawunʔ* to leave, abandon. Bur. *pawa*.
13. May. *wok* language, word; *wok-ti* speak; Ngl. *woka-* speak. Mara. *wuka* language.

It can be seen that the number of comparisons found in both language groups is quite limited. There are only 67 cases when the actual forms are represented in more than one language of each group. Thus no reliable set of phonological correspondences may be worked out.

Many of these comparisons are also known in languages not included in the Gunwinyguan hypothesis. Among these comparisons there are

cases when one can suspect borrowings (some kinterms, names of implements, etc.).

On the whole, this set of comparisons does not support the claim that the five languages form a specific genetic entity.

The following questions thus arise:

What are the reasons for postulating the Gunwinyguan family?²

Do we have enough evidence to claim that Jawoyn and Mayali belong to the same language group? What are the boundaries of this group? Can we assert that Ngalakan, Ngandi and Rembarnga are specifically related? What other languages are to be linked with them?

What are the relations between the five languages discussed above?

² Without well-established phonological correspondences and a detailed reconstruction of the morphological systems one cannot use grammatical evidence to support a claim of genetic relationship.

Abbreviations

EM	Etymologies by N. Evans (Evans 2003)
MH	Etymologies by M. Harvey (Harvey 2003)
E?	Doubtful etymology
REST	word of restricted (avoidance) register
Bur	Burarra (Glasgow MS)
Dj	Gundjeihmi dialect of Mayali
E	Kune dialect of Mayali
Gup	Gupapuyungu (Lowe-Leeding MS)
Jaw	Jawoyn (Merlan MS)
Jin	Jinang (Waters 1989)
M	Manyallaluk dialect of Mayali
May	Mayali (Evans 2003)
Ngl	Ngalakan (Merlan 1983)
Ngn	Ngandi (Heath 1978)
Rem	Rembarrnga
Rit	Ritharrngu (Heath 1980a)
Rit H	Ritharrngu (Harvey MS)
Tan	Proto-Tangkic
W	Kunwinjku dialect of Mayali
War	Warndarang (Heath 1980b)
Wrd	Wardaman (Merlan MSa)
Yid	Yidiny (Dixon 1991)
Yir	Yoront (Alpher 1991)
Yol	Proto-Yolngu

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