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.

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\(^1\) 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.
Прочие языковые семьи

1. **tooth** *lVt*: Jaw. *let-mo* tooth, hook; May. *jit-me* tooth; MH.
3. **heart** *tVr*: Jaw. *tor* heart; May. *tut* heart; MH.
5. **good** *mak*: Jaw. *mak* good; May. *mak* good; EM, MH.
8. **body** *kuk*: Jaw. *kuk* body, dead body; May. *kuk* body; raw; EM, MH.
9. **head** *pam*: Jaw. *pam* head; May. *pam=para(?)* head (REST); MH.
10. **knee** *pat*: Jaw. *pat* knee; May. *pat* knee; EM, MH.
11. **rock, mountain** *pat*: Jaw. *pat* rock, hill, mountain, money; May. *pat* rock type in rock country; EM, MH.
12. **white ochre** *pim*: Jaw. *pim* white ochre; May. *pim* painting; MH.
13. **road** *por*: Jaw. *por* tracks; *pok* road; May. *pok* print, track (of any sort).
14. **oven** *poj*: Jaw. *poj* ground oven, pit; *po=pek=ke* id.; May. *poj* cooking stone, antheap; MH.
15. **moon** *tit*: Jaw. *tit* moon; May. *tit* moon; MH.
16. **spear** *lawk*: Jaw. *law* spear; May. *law* spear; lawk (E); MH.
17. **cloud** *ŋol*: Jaw. *ŋol* sky; *pam-ŋol* cloud; May. *ŋol* cloud (E, M); *ŋol=kimuk* big clouds; EM, MH.
18. **throat** *kVM*: Jaw. *kam* throat, neck; May. *kom* throat, nape; MH.
19. **camp** *ler*: Jaw. *ler* camp; May. *jet* nest; *ret* camp, home, nest (E); MH.
27. **food** *maj*: Jaw. maj vegetable food; May. maj? flesh food; maj?=maj? bird; me vegetable food; MH.

28. **leaf** *wor*: Jaw. mala=wor leaf; May. mala=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. ma-ta go rotten, sour; nor stench; May. nut stinking, rotten; pus; EM.

32. **saliva** *nun*: Jaw. nun saliva; May. nun saliva; EM, MH.

33. **name** *ŋej*: Jaw. ŋi name; May. ŋej name; EM, MH.

34. **belly** *wurk*: Jaw. la=wurk belly, stomach; May. wur=papaŋ have a sore stomach; wur=kan=W stomach (W).

35. **plains (country)** *polk*: Jaw. polk camp, country; May. polk plains (country).

36. **wing** *wel*: Jaw. wel wing; May. wel- wing; pel arm, wing; EM, MH.

37. **fire** *wurk*: Jaw. wark fire, firewood; May. wark grass fire, bush fire; wur=A id. (E); wukke to burn; wurŋ to light; MH.

38. **vein** *jil*: Jaw. jil large muscule 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** *tar*: Jaw. tar=tar-mi white; May. tar? bark of stringybark or woollybutt tree.

41. **cloud** *kul*: Jaw. kul cloud, rain; kulu=mara cloud; May. kul black cloud.

42. **hand** *kun*: Jaw. kun-wal right hand, kun-wal=wa id.; May. kun right hand, ku=kun right; MH.

43. **night** *ŋVk*: Jaw. ŋek night; May. ŋok=ta grow dark, become night (E, M); MH.

44. **rib** *ŋVrk*: Jaw. ŋurk-mo rib bones; May. ŋork 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; mēr? base of sternum; MH.

48. **wind** *maC*: Jaw. mac wind; May. majork wind; MH.

49. **fire, firewood** *ler*: Jaw. ma=lerŋ-ma=lerŋ kindling, small branches; cf. ca=jalŋ fire; May. jeryŋ firewood; rerŋ (E); ralernŋ fire (RESTR).

50. **backbone, spine** *pur / *por*: Jaw. pur=mula backbone, spine; May. pot=mē 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 *naT: Jaw. ηατ=κολεν waterfall; ηαικοκ=ηαικοκ small spring high up in escarpment; May. ηατ 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 *tun: Jaw. tun string, rope; May. tun cat’s cradle game, played with bush sting.
56. secret *mol: Jaw. mol=κ E? stealthily; May. mo=nic- stealthily.
57. dust *cul: Jaw. ca=culŋ dust; May. culŋ dust; EM, MH.
58. anus *tak: Jaw. tak-ŋaju anus; May. tak pelvis; EM.
59. floodplain *powk: Jaw. powk floodplain; powok plains (country); May. powok 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.
63. not *min: Jaw. minŋ not, without; May. minŋ not - declarative negative particle (W); EM.
64. pouch *ŋerŋ: Jaw. ŋerŋ pouch; May. ŋerŋ pouch (W); EM.
65. happy *jilk: Jaw. jilk=mak=ci feel good; jilk guts, spirit; May. jilk=mak be happy; EM.
66. spear, clitoris *tan: Jaw. tanŋ clitoris; tan=pu to spear; May. tanŋ 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 *man: Jaw. manŋ try; May. manŋ taste, fragrance; EM, MH.
71. new moon *lirk: Jaw. lirk-ciŋi- to become new month; May. lirk new moon.

(II)
72. sit *ni-: Jaw. ni-, niŋi- to sit; May. ni to sit, live.
### 73. stand

*ti-ː* Jaw. \(ci=ji\) stand; May. \(ti\) to stand.

### 74. see

*na-ː* Jaw. \(na\) see; May. \(na=n\) see, look at.

### 75. hit, kill

*pu-ː* Jaw. \(pu\) hit, strike; May. \(pu=n\) hit, kill.

### 76. push

*\(\text{tur}\)* / *\(\text{tur=k}\)* Jaw. \(\text{tur}\) hit, strike; May. \(\text{tur=k=me}\) snatch, tug, jerk; \(\text{tur=k=man}\) pull; EM.

### 77. lightning

*\(\text{maj}\)* Jaw. \(\text{majk}\) to flash (lightning); May. \(\text{maj}\) to flash (lightning); MH.

### 78. swallow

*\(\text{wvl}\)* / \(\text{wuk}\) to drink; May. \(\text{wuk=me}\) to swallow.

### 79. cut, circumcise

*\(\text{tan}\)* Jaw. \(\text{tan}\) to cut, snip; May. \(\text{tanc}\) (E, W); EM.

### 80. get, obtain

*\(\text{ma}\)* Jaw. \(\text{ma}\) get; May. \(\text{ma=ŋ}\) take, get.

### 81. sing curse at

*\(\text{war}\)* Jaw. \(\text{war}\) sing curse at; May. \(\text{wa=pu=n}\) to sing up; MH.

### 82. be hungry

*\(\text{mar}\)* Jaw. \(\text{mar}\) be hungry; May. \(\text{mar=wi}\) be hungry; EM, MH.

### 83. give

*\(\text{wo}\)* Jaw. \(\text{wo}\) give; May. \(\text{wo=n}\) give.

### 84. smell, itr.

*\(\text{pan}\)* Jaw. \(\text{pan}\) smell (good), give off an odour; May. \(\text{pan}\) smell (n.); MH.

### 85. ear

*\(\text{pe}\)* Jaw. \(\text{pe=ŋ}\) having to do with hearing; \(\text{pe=ŋ}\) hear; May. \(\text{pe=ŋ}\) ears, faculty of hearing and intelligence; \(\text{pe=ŋ}\) forget (E); \(\text{pe=war}\) crazy, stupid; EM, MH.

### 86. kick

*\(\text{tal}\)* Jaw. \(\text{tal}\) kick, hit; May. \(\text{tal=me}\) kick, punch; MH.

### 87. go hunting

*\(\text{caν}\)* Jaw. \(\text{caν}\) go hunting; May. \(\text{caν=ka=n}\) go hunting; EM, MH.

### 88. take, carry

*\(\text{kar}\)* Jaw. \(\text{kar}=\text{ka} , \text{kar}=\text{wu}=\text{ka}\) take, carry; May. \(\text{ka=n}\) take, carry, lead.

### 89. run, flow

*\(\text{lo}\)\* E?: Jaw. \(\text{low}=\text{ma}\) run, ooze, drip; May. \(\text{lop}=\text{me}\) run, flow, blow (wind), run away; EM.

### 90. swell up

*\(\text{lul}\)* Jaw. \(\text{lul}=\text{ma}\) swell up; May. \(\text{lul}=\text{me}\) swell up; MH.

### 91. open

*\(\text{mar}\)* Jaw. \(\text{mar}=\text{ma}\) open; May. \(\text{mar}=\text{maŋ}\) open; EM, MH.

### 92. make

*\(\text{maC}\)* Jaw. \(\text{mak}=\text{wo}\) make; May. \(\text{man}=\text{pu}\), \(\text{man}=\text{pu}\) make.

### 93. smell, tr.

*\(\text{no}\)* Jaw. \(\text{no}=\text{ma}\) smell something; May. \(\text{no}=\text{me}\) smell, tr. (W, M); EM, MH.

### 94. heart, breath

*\(\text{ηε}\)* Jaw. \(\text{ηε}=\text{ma}\) to have a spell, 'breather'; May. \(\text{ηε}\) breath, heartbeat; EM

### 95. die

*\(\text{wat}\)* Jaw. \(\text{wat}=\text{ma}\) to finish, terminate, end; May. \(\text{wat}=\text{me}\) (ceremony) finish up (E).
96. **vomit** *weʔ?: Jaw. *weʔ? vomit; May. *weʔ?-me, *weʔ=me (M, W), *re=me vomit; EM, MH.

97. **swim** *war-: Jaw. *war- ma- swim; May. *war-me swim; MH.

98. **hot** *wV-: Jaw. *wV- ma- swim; May. *wV- me swim; MH.


100. **swell up** *puC: Jaw. *puC ma- swell up; May. *puC me swell up; EM, MH.


102. **flow** *jow: Jaw. *jow ma- flow, or run (of water); May. *jow me to rise (of water) (W, M); MH.

103. **enter** *ŋV-: Jaw. *ŋV- ma- enter; May. *ŋV- me 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- me=n ask; MH, 364.

107. **get up** *tol: Jaw. *tol? me to surface in water; May. *tol me=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. **sneeze** *nuc: Jaw. *nuc ma- to snore, blow nose; May. *nuc 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 *nir?: Jaw. *nir=?ma dislike, be angry; May. *nir=?miwon criticize, hate; *nir=kke to make black (E); EM.
123. molest *nojʔ: Jaw. *nojʔ=ma molest, humbug, disturb; May. *nojʔ=me fuck, esp. from behind.
124. close, block *pal?: Jaw. *palʔ=ma shut up, close; May. *palʔ=me close, become closed; EM.
125. kiss *punʔ: Jaw. *punʔ=ma kiss; May. *punʔ=maŋ to kiss; EM.
126. burst *towʔ: Jaw. *towk=ma burst; May. *towk=me burst; EM.
127. drip, drop *cel(l): Jaw. *cep=ma- to drip, leak; *celʔ=cel=ma (NE); May. *celʔ=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 *terʔ: Jaw. *pam=terʔ short-necked turtle; May. *pam=tek short-necked turtle; MH.
131. lorikeet *tetʔ: Jaw. *tetʔ=tet varied lorikeet; May. *tetʔ=tet red-coloured lorikeet (E); MH.
132. witchetty grubs *morʔ: Jaw. *morʔ a fly; May. *morʔ small fly; *mol blow-fly; EM, MH.
133. tick *merk: Jaw. *merk tick (RESTRICTED?); May. *merk cattle tick; MH.
135. male black wallaroo *park: Jaw. *park male black wallaroo; May. *park male black wallaroo; MH.
136. bird sp. *ninʔ: Jaw. *ninʔ finch sp.; May. *ninʔ grass wren; EM.
137. tree, sp. *putʔ: Jaw. *putʔ=put Brachychiton diversifolium tree; May. *putʔ=put Kurrajong tree; EM.
139. lizard *lok=lok: Jaw. *lok=lok skink, sp.; May. *lok=lok skink sp.; EM.
140. ant *telʔ: Jaw. *tel=tel black ant; May. *tel=tel black ant (E, W); EM.
141. fly *mut=mutʔ: Jaw. *mut=mut blowfly; May. *mut=mut horse fly; EM.
142. owl *muk=muk: Jaw. *muk=muk barking owl; May. *muk=muk owl sp.; EM.
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152. **bird sp.** *ŋak=ŋak: Jaw. ŋak=ŋak grey-crowned babbler; May. ŋak=ŋak grey-crowned babbler.

153. **bee** *jalk: Jaw. jalk small garderre sugarbag; May. jalk, jal? bee sp.; EM.

154. **mushroom** *tam=tam: Jaw. tam=tam mushroom (any type); May. tam=tam mushroom (generic); EM.

155. **louse** *tof: Jaw. tof louse; May. tof louse; MH.

In some cases I cannot reconstruct the original syllabic structure of the comparisons:

156. **new, fresh** *kerŋ / *kerŋ: Jaw. kerŋ new, fresh; May. kerŋ new, fresh; EM, MH.

157. **scorpion** *cuwVc: Jaw. cuwoc scorpion; May. coc scorpion; MH.

158. **dry** *pur / *pur: Jaw. pur dry; May. puk dry (place), possible.

159. **hollow log** *lorok / *lork: Jaw. lorok=lorok hollow log; May. lork, rork hollow log; EM, MH.

160. **hair** *ŋa-: Jaw. ŋar hair; May. ŋarel hair; ŋapet (W), ŋapek hair; MH.

161. **heart** *ŋuluk / *ŋolek: Jaw. ŋuluk heart, wind, breath; May. ŋolek breath; pulse, heartbeat; cf. ŋul heart, solar plexus.

162. **possum** *wirik: Jaw. wirik possum (general); May. wurik possum, wirik 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** *taLa-: Jaw. tala- 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** *ŋur-: Jaw. ŋur-ma- to growl; May. ŋurul=me to thunder; ŋurul=me (E), ŋorou=me to rumble (thunder).

170. **dreaming (place)** *caran: Jaw. caran dreaming; May. can dreaming (place); EM.

171. **armpit** *wan-: Jaw. wancal armpit, underarm; May. wan armpit, underarm; wancal=muf armpit hair; EM, MH.

172. **bad** *perk / *perek: Jaw. perk bad, dangerous; May. perek death adder; perk (E); MH.
173. **sun** *cVrk*: Jaw. *cerk-ci-jī* to be high in the sky (of sun or moon); May. *cirkan* sun.


**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** *kantal-*: Jaw. *kantal=piru* female plains kangaroo; May. *kantal=ppuru* female plains kangaroo; EM.
   
2. **dove** *kolo=tok*: Jaw. *kolo=tok* peaceful dove; May. *ko̱lo̱tok, ko̱lotto=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** *poonka*: Jaw. *poonka* stone country goanna; May. *poonka* spiny tail monitor; EM, MH.

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

7. **honey** *cVkelip*: Jaw. *cok=paik* honey; May. *cok=paik* ant; EM.

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

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

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


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

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

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

15. **lorikeet** *welej*: Jaw. *welej* red-collared lori; May. *welej* red-winged parrot; MH.
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16. **leech** *palac:* Jaw. *palac* leech; May. *palac* leech; EM, MH.

17. **turtle** *puru=ṇanti:* Jaw. *puruṇanti* long-necked land turtle; May. *puruṇanti* stinking turtle; EM, MH.

18. **sand goanna** *talak:* Jaw. *talak* sand-ridge goanna; May. *talak* sand monitor; EM, MH.


20. **king brown snake** *caḷunj:* Jaw. *caḷunj* king brown snake; May. *caḷunj* king brown snake; EM, MH.


22. **sugar glider** *lampalk:* Jaw. *lampalk* sugar glider; May. *lampalk* sugar glider; EM, MH.

23. **bandicoot** *kaṇ?=ma:* Jaw. *kaṇ?=ma* big bandicoot; May. *kaṇ?=ma* northern brown bandicoot (big); EM.


25. **frog** *ca=titi:* Jaw. *cati* frog (generic); May. *catti* frog (generic) (Kune).

26. **mosquito** *piṇtu:* Jaw. *piṇtu* March fly; May. *piṇtu* mosquito; EM.

27. **tree, sp.** *ṭumuk:* Jaw. *cumuk* canthium attenuatum; May. *ṭumuk* native cherry; EM.

28. **tree, sp.** *ṭoroḥ:* Jaw. *ṭoroḥ* tree, sp.; May. *ṭoroḥ* Eucalyptus latifolia; EM.

29. **insect** *tini-:* Jaw. *tini=tini* insect which sends down spray of acidic excrement; May. *tini=tini* cicada; *tīna=tīna* (E); EM.

30. **fish** *timiN:* Jaw. *timi=timi* water insect; May. *timi=timi* small fish; EM.

31. **wax** *piṭi:* Jaw. *piṭi* beeswax; May. *piṭi* beeswax; EM.

32. **gecko** *pelerʔ:* Jaw. *pelerk* gecko sp.; May. *pelerʔ* gecko; EM.

33. **rat, cat** *para:* Jaw. *para* native cat; May. *para* brush-tailed rabbit rat; EM.

34. **white cockatoo** *ṇarac:* Jaw. *ṇarac* white cockatoo; May. *ṇarac* white cockatoo; EM, MH.

35. **plant sp.** *kalar.* Jaw. *kalar* Eucalyptus bleeseri; May. *kalar* Gum sp.; Eucalyptus bleeseri, (E:JD); Eucalyptus arnhemii, (E:JD); EM.

36. **shrub sp.** *lere-lere:* Jaw. *lere=lere* bosisiaeaeaeoides; May. *lere=lere* Crotalaria crassipes; EM.

37. **orchid** *ṇal=kan:* Jaw. *ṇalkan* ground orchid; May. *ṇalkan* tree orchid; EM.
38. tree sp. *mam=Tak: Jaw. mamtak=morakmo Canthium lucidum; May. mamțak Canthium lucidum; EM.
39. gum tree sp. *mał=pa: Jaw. mał=pa eucalyptus miniata; May. mał=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. nų=pa: leaf; May. nų=pa (E) restless; EM.
42. tree sp. *cat=uk: Jaw. car=uk Syzygium suborbiculare; May. cat=uk 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, cowok bird sp.; EM.
45. tree sp. *kaŋ=paŋ: Jaw. kaŋ=paŋ type of palm; May. kaŋ=paŋ 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=rŋ brain; kulu compounding element 'head'; May. koc=kulu brain ; EM.
48. leaf *maľa: Jaw. maľa=wor leaf; May. maľa=wor leaf; mare (E) hair; MH.
49. blood *kurac: Jaw. kurac blood; May. kurac (RESTR) blood; MH.
50. yamstick, boomerang *paľkV: Jaw. paľkan boomerang; May. paľku, paľ=pu yamstick.
51. father’s mother *ma=mam(ʔ): Jaw. mamam father’s mother; May. mamam? father’s mother; MH.
52. father *pa=pa: Jaw. papa elder sibling; May. pappa triangular kin term; pappin father’s mother and recip.; MH.
53. deep *Colok: Jaw. kaŋok 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 *periV-milk: Jaw. pere=melk shoulder blade; May. peri=mel? kangaroo’s shoulder blade; perekal? sternum; MH.
56. vagina *paleV: Jaw. pale vagina; May. pale vagina; EM, MH.
57. ripe, cooked *coleŋ: Jaw. coleŋ ripe, cooked; May. coleŋ 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. *kon=tapu* crotch; (?) +testicles; May. *tapu* egg; EM.
61. **doctor** *kuța*: Jaw. *kuța* doctor, curer; May. *kuța=ji* clever man; MH.
62. **long, tall** *kuja*: Jaw. *kuja* long, tall; May. *kuje* long, tall; EM, MH.
63. **throat, chin** *ŋar*: Jaw. *ca=ŋar* throat; May. *ca=ŋar* chin; MH.
64. **taboo, corpse** *mVn*: Jaw. *mon* poison, sorcery object; May. *man* spirit, corpse; MH.
65. **south** *walam*: Jaw. *walam* south; May. *walem* south, west, southwest; EM, MH.
66. **spirit** *waɾal*: Jaw. *waɾal, maɾal* spirit of a dead person; May. *waɾal* spirit, reflection; EM, MH.
67. **smoke** *pucci*: Jaw. *puc=me* to emit smoke.
68. **flat** *pVL*: Jaw. *pel=p=me* smooth and flat stones; May. *p=me* flat.
69. **mother** *kar*: Jaw. *kara* mother; May. *kara* mother (voc.); *kara* mother (ref.); MH.
70. **black** *kuțuk*: Jaw. *kurɾ=kurɾ* black; May. *kurɾ* black; MH.
71. **kin term** *moja*: Jaw. *moja* father's cross-cousin; May. *moja?* mother's older sister; 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=ŋiN* sweat; *ŋen* sweat; May. *kur=ŋiN* sweat; MH.
77. **woman** *kaTu*: Jaw. *kațu=kațu* woman; May. *kațu=kațu* many women (RESTRICT); EM.
78. **boss, owner** *welan*: Jaw. *welan* right, appropriate; *kun-welan* guilty one, perpetrator, also murderer; May. *welan* man responsible for killing game.
79. **scabies** *puru*: Jaw. *puru=puru* scabies; May. *puru=ppuru* scabies; EM.
I. Peiros, *My problems with Gunwinyguan*

80. **spear** *poko*: Jaw. *poko* bamboo spear; May. *pokko, pokkoʔ* type of hooked spear; EM.
81. **song** *lira*: Jaw. *lira* song style; May. *lira* initiation corroboree; EM.
82. **exchange ceremony** *mamurgy*: Jaw. *mamurgy* exchange ceremony; May. *mamurgy* exchange ceremony (M, E); EM.
83. **public fringe** *walʔpur*: Jaw. *walʔpur* possum hair cockrag; May. *walʔppur* public fringe; EM.
84. **leaves and branches used** ... *waralʔ*: Jaw. *waralʔ* leaves and branches used to purify body of a dead person; May. *waralʔa* leaves and branches used to purify body of a dead person; EM.
85. **bladder** *ceLaN*: Jaw. *ceLaN* bladder; May. *celan* bladder (M, W); EM.
86. **billy** *mampaʔ*: Jaw. *mampaʔ* billy can; May. *mampaʔ* billy (RESTR).

(VI)
89. **lick** *peleŋ*: Jaw. *peleŋ* lick lap (as water); May. *peleŋ=kme* lick up; EM, MH.
90. **jump** *worok*: Jaw. *worok-ma*-jump; May. *worok=kme*- hop, jump; MH.
91. **grow (as child)** *kar appré*: Jaw. *kar appré*- to grow; May. *kar=kme* get old.
92. **shoulder** *moŋa*: Jaw. *moŋa*- to carry on shoulder; *miŋi* shoulder; May. *moŋe=moŋ* to carry on shoulder (E, W); MH, 572.
93. **lightning** *maʔuʔ*: Jaw. *maʔuʔ-ma*- to flash (of lightning); May. *maʔuʔ=maʔu=kke* flash, flicker.
94. **dig** *karu*: Jaw. *karu*- to twirl firedrill; May. *karu=k* to dig; EM.
95. **cut, peel** *milu*: Jaw. *milu* to cut; May. *milu=k* 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 com-
parisons are also found in Yolngu and other neighboring languages, but
without a systematic analysis of these languages the direction of borrow-
ing 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. jaŋ language, word; Ngn. jaŋ speech, words,
sound, language.
4. mother’s brother Ngl. kaj=kka mother’s brother; Ngn. kaj=kkaj mo-
ther’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. ke=na
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. kun=muk night; Ngn. kun=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(ː)? good; Ngn. mak good; Rem. ma? good (NE); EM,
MH.
12. hand Ngl. mar=ci hand; Ngn. mar 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.
17. strong Ngl. ter?=ter strong; Ngn. ter?=ter strong.
18. thigh Ngl. tar=ppic leg, thigh; Ngn. tar=ppic thigh; Rem. tarama-na
leg.
19. **tongue** Ngl. celŋ tongue; Ngn. jenŋ tongue; Rem. tijalŋ-na tongue, language; EM, MH/377.
20. **liver** Ngl. ciw liver; Ngn. tiw liver; MH.
21. **dust** Ngl. cul dust; Rem. tulŋ dust; EM.
22. **armpit** Ngl. way=kol armpit; way=cat arm; Ngn. way, way=kol armpit; Rem. way-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. ŋej name; Ngn. ŋic- (in compounds) name; Rem. ŋe-na name; EM, MH.
26. **heart, breath** Ngl. ŋerʔ heart; to pant; ŋerʔ=parʔ be frightened; Ngn. ŋerʔ heart; Rem. ŋerʔ-na heart; EM.
27. **neck, nape** Ngl. ŋen neck, nape; Ngn. ŋin nape.
28. **shade, shelter** Ngl. cuŋ shade, bough shade; Rem. tuŋ shade.
29. **brain, head** Ngl. kal=ŋ or=ŋ=k brains; Ngn. kol=ŋ or=ŋ=k brain; EM.

(II)
30. **stand** Ngl. ca- to stand, be in place; Ngn. ca=kka; cap-ṭa- cause to stand.
31. **pass by** Ngl. colʔ to go past; Ngn. colʔ-tu- to go past; MH.
32. **peel** Ngl. cor-pee-ci to peel; Rem. cor=k-na skinned (tree or animal).
33. **defecate** Ngl. corʔ-tu- defecate; Ngn. corʔ-tu- defecate; MH.
34. **send** Ngl. cujʔ replace, let go, send; cu=cujʔ to push; Ngn. cujʔ-tu-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. kat- become stuck; Ngn. kat-tu become stuck.
38. **carry** Ngl. kor to load; Ngn. kor to put in(side); MH.
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. man (Pref.) taste, test; Ngn. man (in comp.) taste; EM, MH.
43. **follow** Ngl. munku- follow; Ngn. munku-tu- 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. *naw=k-* to talk, converse; Ngn. *naw=k-*tu- speak, talk.
48. **bite** Ngl. *pe-* bite; Ngn. *pa-* bite, sting; MH.
49. **hit** Ngl. *pacci-* infrequent suppletive stem for *bu-ji* 'hit'; Ngn. *pacc-* to hit; MH.
50. **smell (iter.)** Ngl. *pop* give off smell; *pop-n* *a-* smell, tr.; Ngn. *pop-t* *u-* give off smell.
51. **come out** Ngl. *polk-* come out; Ngn. *polk-t* *u-* come out, appear, be born.
53. **hit** Ngl. *pacci-* infrequent suppletive stem for *bu-ji* 'hit'; Ngn. *pacca-* to hit; MH.
54. **go, walk** Ngl. *rapo* to go, go along; Ngn. *ru=t* *u-* go, walk.
55. **clear v.** Ngl. *ror*ʔ to clean something; Rem. *ror*ʔ 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-t* *u-* to cut, circumcise; EM.
58. **dry** Ngl. *tar?* to dry out; Rem. *tar?* to dry self.
59. **tie up** Ngl. *terʔ=pa-ka* to tie something up; Ngn. *terp-tu-* to tie up.
60. **tie up** Ngl. *tuk-ca* to tie up something; Ngn. *tuk-tu* be tied up.
61. **catch fire** Ngl. *tulʔ* come alight; Ngn. *tulʔ-tu-* catch fire.
62. **sit down** Ngl. *tulʔ* sit down (event); Ngn. *tulʔ-tu-* sit down (event).
63. **chop down** Ngl. *co* to chop down; Ngn. *to-* to chop down.
64. **arrive** Ngl. *wal*k-* go in ,enter; Ngn. *wal*k-*tu-* arrive.
65. **sing curse at** Ngl. *war*ʔ to practise sorcery on someone, 'sing' someone; Ngn. *war-pu-* sing curse at; MH.
66. **vomit** Ngl. *werʔ* vomit; Ngn. *werʔ-tu-* vomit; EM, MH.
67. **whistle** Ngl. *wirʔ* to whistle; Ngn. *wirʔ-tu* to whistle.
69. **give** Ngl. *wu-* give; Ngn. *wo-* give.
70. **go up** Ngl. *nalʔ* go up, climb; Ngn. *nalʔ-tu-* go up; Rem. *nalʔ* climb (tree); HM-636.
71. **stand up, wake up** Ngl. *nejʔ* to stand up (event); *nejʔ-* to cause to stand up, to wake up; Ngn. *nejʔ-tu-* to get up, to arise; to leave a camp.

(III)
73. **fish** Ngl. *cen* fish; Ngn. *cen* fish; EM, MH.
74. **lorikeet** Ngl. *let*-*le* varied lorikeet; Ngn. *le*-*le* red-collored lorikeet; MH.
75. **louse** Ngl. *mic* louse; Ngn. *mic* louse; Rem. *mic* flea; EM, MH.
76. **witchetty grubs** Ngl. *mork* unidentified grub; Ngn. *mork* witchetty grubs; Rem. *mor*? fly type; EM, MH.

(IV)
77. **male black wallaroo** Ngn. *park* black wallaroo; Rem. *park* kangaroo, male black rock; MH.
78. **honey** Ngl. *ta*-*ta* wild honey; Rem. *ta*-*ta* sugar bag (generic), honey.
79. **crow** Ngl. *wa*-*wa* crow; Rem. *wa*-*wa*? crow; MH.
81. **kangaroo** Ngl. *kon* kangaroo; Rem. *kuwen* kangaroo (generic); EM.
82. **river** Ngl. *po* river; Ngn. *po*-*ŋ*o creek; Rem. *puwa-*na river, creek; MH.
83. **camp** Ngl. *rere* camp; Ngn. *rer* camp; MH.
84. **testicles** Ngn. *war*-*ŋ* testicles; Rem. *war*-*na* scrotum, testicles.
85. **guts** Ngl. *ŋo*-*ʔ* excrement, intestine; Ngn. *ŋuk* (loan?) guts, bowels, excrement; Rem. *ŋuwa*-*ʔ* guts, intestines, shit.
86. **beard** Ngl. *ca=*-*warak*-*na* whiskers; Ngn. *ta=*-*warak*-*na* whiskers, beard; Rem. *ta*=-*warak*-*na* whiskers; MH, 370.

(V)
87. **yamstick** Ngl. *cakka*-*ʔ* yamstick; Ngn. *cakka*-*ʔ* yamstick; Rem. *cakka*-*ʔ* digging stick; MH.
88. **oven** Ngn. *campal* native oven; Rem. *campal* stone oven.
89. **kinterm** Ngn. *capur* wife’s mother’s brother; Rem. *capur* cousin.
90. **urine** Ngl. *cele* urine; *cele-PU* urinate; Rem. *cała-*na urine, piss.
91. **beach** Ngn. *kerpper* beach; Rem. *kerpper-*na* bank of river.
92. **stone axe** Ngl. *celer* stone axe, tomahawk; Ngn. *celer* stone axe; MH.
93. **earth, ground** Ngl. *colkko* earth, ground; Ngn. *colkko* ground, dirt; Rem. *colkko* ground, earth; MH.
94. **above** Ngl. *kar=*-*kkara* on top, above; *kar=*-*kku* top, up; *kara* high up; Ngn. *kar=*-*kkala* on top, above.
95. **two** Ngl. *jappan*? two; Ngn. *jappan*? two.
93. **hole** Ngl. jele hole; Ngn. jele hole, jail.
94. **west** Ngl. kerin west; Rem. kariŋ west; EM, MH.
95. **dry** Ngl. kappurk dry; Ngn. kappurk dry.
96. **leg** Ngl. kanta 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. kal kal-ʔ boomerang; Ngn. kal kal-ʔ ordinary boomerang; Rem. kal kal-ʔ boomerang.
99. **ear** Ngl. kan kan; Ngn. kan kan; EM.
100. **doctor** Ngl. koloŋ doctor; Ngn. koloŋ doctor; MH.
101. **branch** Ngn. kon kon-ʔ branch (of tree or creek).
102. **mother’s mother** Ngl. konokko mother’s mother; Ngn. kokkok mother’s mother.
103. **few, many** Ngl. kul a=kul big; Ngn. kul=ppurʔ few; MH.
104. **skin** Ngl. kul a kul skin of body; Ngn. kul a kul skin, bark; Rem. kul a-ŋna skin, bark; EM, MH.
105. **cloud** Ngl. kun un cloud; Ngn. kun un cloud; Rem. kun un cloud.
106. **red ochre** Ngl. maj o o red ochre; Ngn. maj o o red ochre.
107. **neck** Ngl. maŋa neck; Ngn. maŋa neck.
108. **shoulder blade** Ngl. mele=pepeʔ shoulder blade; Ngn. melepepeʔ shoulder blade; miŋŋiʔ < Yoŋgu; Rem. mini-ŋna shoulder blade.
109. **father’s mother** Ngl. memem father’s mother; Ngn. memem father’s mother; Rem. mamami father’s mother; MH.
110. **blade, sharp point** Ngl. mereʔ sharp point; Ngn. mereʔ blade, sharp point, thorn.
111. **rib** Ngl. miŋ miŋ rib bones; Ngn. miŋ miŋ rib.
112. **night** Ngl. munun darkness; Ngn. munun dark (at night); EM.
113. **anus** Ngl. nim nim end, anus; Ngn. nim anus, buttocks; Rem. nimnimunja bum, tail part.
114. **grass** Ngl. nocco grass (general); Ngn. noŋŋoʔ grass.
115. **kinterm** Ngl. palak MoMoBrCh, MoMoBrSoSoCh; Rem. palak cousin masculine; ta=palak cousin feminine.
116. **string, rope** Ngl. palkku rope, string; Ngn. palkku, ma- rope, string; Rem. palkku rope, string.
117. **father** Ngl. pappa hypocoristic for ‘father’; Rem. pappa father; MH.
118. **chest** Ngl. pere bris ket, chest; Ngn. pere chest.
119. **shoulder blade** Ngl. pere=melk shoulder blade; Ngn. pere=melk shoulder blade; Rem. peteʔ shoulder; MH.
121. clapstick, tapstick Ngl. *pir=mir* clapstick; Ngn. *pil=mir* tapstick; *pil?=pil-\text{-}tu* to sing (with tapstick accompaniment).
122. nail Ngl. *piinning* (finger-, toe-)nail; Ngn. *piinning* fingernail, toenail; MH.
123. log, stick Ngl. *poluʔ* hollow log; Rem. *poluʔ* tree, stick, wood.
124. woomera Ngl. *pontok* woomera; Ngn. *pontok* flat woomera; Rem. *pontok* woomera; EM, MH.
125. ashes Ngl. *puluʔ* ashes; Ngn. *puluʔ* ashes.
126. song Ngn. *puŋkul* song, singing with tapsticks; Rem. *puŋkul* corroboree, song type.
127. yesterday Ngl. *ca=caparŋ* yesterday; Ngn. *fa=taparŋ* yesterday, afternoon; MH.
129. sand Ngl. *campur* sand; Ngn. *tampur* sand; MH.
130. tree, stick Ngl. *cantal* stick; Ngn. *tantal* tree; MH.
131. country Ngn. *tawal* country; Rem. *tawal-na* country, place.
132. meat Ngl. *canku* flesh food; Ngn. *tancu* meat, flesh; Rem. *tancu-na* meat, flesh; EM, MH.
133. sing Ngl. *culu-wa-* sing; Ngn. *tulu* a compounding element referring to corroboree; Rem. *culu-na* words (of song or of language); MH.
137. first, after that Ngn. *walaŋ-kara?* first; Rem. *walaŋ* then, next, after that.
139. sun Ngl. *waľir* hot weather; Ngn. *waľir* sun; Rem. *waľir* hot weather time.
140. track, footprints Ngn. *waŋta* track, footprints; Rem. *waŋta-na* track, footprints.
141. spirit Ngl. *waral* shade, spirit; Ngn. *waral* spirit, image; EM, MH.
142. one Ngl. *wankinʔ* one, same; Ngn. *wankinʔ* one.
143. belly Ngn. *wuru* abdomen; Rem. *wuru-na* belly, stomach.
144. spring (water) Ngl. *ŋaccal* spring (water); Ngn. *ŋaccal* spring (water); EM, MH.
145. **devil** Ngl. ṇaŋaŋ devil, white man; Ngn. ṇaŋaŋ devil, animated corpse; Rem. ṇaŋaŋ devil, dead person.
146. **lying, asleep** Ngl. ēre- sleep (n.); Ngn. ēre sleep (n.), rest.
147. **wind** Ngl. ṇonto wind; Ngn. ṇonto wind.
148. **flower** Ngl. ṇoro flower; Ngn. ṇoro flower.
149. **same** Ngl. ŋuncu same; Ngn. ŋuncu similar, equivalent.
150. **firestick** Ngl. ŋun ṭi- firestick; Ngn. ŋun ṭi- firestick; Rem. ŋun ṭi- tree type used to make firesticks.

(VI)
151. **operate firedrill** Ngl. caṭi- operate firedrill; Ngn. caṭa- operate firedrill; MH.
152. **make** Ngl. maŋiŋ? to make something; Ngn. maŋiŋ?-tu- to make, make properly.
153. **go across** Ngl. poṭop- to cross over; Ngn. poṭop-ğu- go across.
154. **pull** Ngl. toror- pull; Ngn. toror?-tu- pull.
155. **dry up (water)** Ngl. toro?-tu- dry up (water); Ngn. toro?-tu- dry up (water).
156. **go down, descend** Ngl. toṭo?-tu- go down, descend; Ngn. toṭo?-tu- go down, descend.
157. **return** Ngl. wake return; Ngn. waki- return.
158. **cook in ashes** Ngl. waṭat-pu- to bank up ashes; Ngn. waṭat-pu- cook in ashes.
159. **scratch** Ngl. wiri?-tu- to remove; Ngn. wiri?-tu- dig out of stone oven.
160. **jump** Ngl. worok- jump; Ngn. worok-ğu- jump; MH.
161. **dig (a hole)** Ngl. ụrume? dig (a hole); Ngn. ụrume?-tu- dig (a hole); ụrume?-tu- < Jolngu (?)).

(VII)
162. **grasshopper** Ngl. capputeŋ=teŋ grasshopper with long antennae; Ngn. capputeŋ=teŋ grasshopper with moderately long horns; Rem. capputeŋ=teŋ grasshopper.
163. **leech** Ngl. cimi? leech; Ngn. cimi? leech; MH.
165. **short-necked tortoise** Ngl. jalpu=jalpu short-necked tortoise; Ngn. jalpu=jalpu short-necked tortoise.
166. **turtle** Ngl. kaiwal long-necked tortoise; Rem. kaiwal 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. kow freshwater crocodile.
170. blue winged kookaburra Ngl. korp=korp kookaburra; Ngn. kow=korow blue winged kookaburra.
171. tawny frogmouth Ngl. kipit=kulic E? tawny frogmouth; Ngn. ku-kuluj tawny frogmouth; EM.
172. centipede, scorpion Ngl. mała centipede; Ngn. mała centipede; EM.
173. native cat Ngl. nulu plain cat; Ngn. nulu plain cat.
174. female euro Ngl. pajir female euro; Ngn. pajir female euro.
175. tree, sp. Ngl. pañar? marble tree, Owenia vernicosa; Ngn. pañar? marble tree, Owenia vernicosa; Rem. paña=paña E? turkey bush; EM.
176. march fly, mosquito Ngl. paṭṭi? march fly, mosquito; Ngn. paṭṭi? march fly; Rem. paṭṭo march fly, mosquito; NE.
177. green plum Ngn. perka?, pirkii? greenplum; Rem. pərka? green plum.
178. wax Ngn. piti beeswax; Rem. piti beewax; EM.
179. banyan tree Ngn. cañt?=pa banyan tree; Rem. cañt?=pa banyan tree.
180. goanna Ngl. ponna large rock goanna, V. glebopalma; Ngn. ponna 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. caša=pir red ant; Ngn. fala=put=pit small brown ant.
184. snake Ngn. naraç snake; Rem. naraç snake (generic).
185. fish, sp. Ngl. ɲatpan fish; Ngn. ɲatpan(?) archer fish.
186. cycad palm Ngn. ɲatụ cycad palm; Rem. ɲatụ cycad palm.

(VIII)
187. sandy wallaby, female Ngl. caruṭṭu? sandy wallaby, female; Ngn. caruṭṭu? sandy wallaby, female; Rem. caruṭṭu? sandy wallaby, female; MH.
188. yam Ngn. kankuriri? a long yams; Rem. kankuri? long yam.
189. dove Ngl. koloto=tok peaceful dove; Ngn. kolokɔ peaceful dove; EM, MH.
190. blue-tongued lizard Ngl. *kurmu*? blue-tongued lizard; Ngn. *kurmu*? blue-tongue lizard; Rem. *kurmu*? blue-tongue lizard; EM, MH.


194. file snake Ngl. *picciri* file snake; Ngn. *picciri* file snake; MH.


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. *terene*? plum tree.


199. goanna, Varanus gouldii Ngl. *waccun* old man, Varanus gouldii; Ngn. *waccun* goanna, Varanus gouldii; MH.


202. wallaby Ngl. *larpun* small rock wallaby; Ngn. *larpun* a mid-sized rock wallaby; MH.

203. cold (weather) Ngl. *maluwr* cold (weather); Ngn. *maluworo*-ti cold (weather); Rem. *maluwr* cold weather season.

204. sacred Ngl. *cappuru* sacred, dangerous; Ngn. *cappuru* sacred, dear.

205. knife Ngn. *cimin*? ‘nail’ spike of dugong harpoon; Rem. *cimin*? spear, fishwire; EM, MH.

206. white clay Ngn. *kamunu*? white clay; Rem. *kamunu*? white clay.

207. yellow ochre Ngl. *kolon*? yellow ochre; Ngn. *kolon*? yellow body paint; Rem. *kolon*? yellow ochre.

208. elope Ngl. *marampa*? wife stealer; Ngn. *marampa*? wife stealer; Rem. *marampa*? eloping couple; H-.


211. all, every Ngl. *waŋaman*? a lot, many; Ngn. *waŋaman*? all, every.
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212. **now, quickly** Ngn. warikku now; Rem. warikku quickly.
213. **club** Ngl. warikku nulla-nulla; Ngn. warikku nulla-nulla.
214. **long; dreaming** Ngl. wirici? long; ceremony; Ngn. wirici? dream- ing; totem; Rem. wirici? ceremony.
215. **old person** Ngl. wurʔ=wuruŋ old person; Ngn. wurʔ=wuruŋ old person; Rem. wurʔ=wuruŋ old person; wuruŋ-na brother.
216. **eye** Ngl. ñancula eye, seed; Ngn. ñancula eye, seed; MH.
217. **bone** Ngl. mäŋkka bone; Ngn. mäŋkka bone; mäŋkka leg; Rem. mäŋkka-na bone.
218. **wind** Ngl. picuṭu big wind; Ngn. picuṭu whirlwind; MH.

It is possible that quite a few of these comparisons are actually borrowings. 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. ninʔ=ninʔ finches; Ngn. nin finch sp.; EM. Rit. nin? (a local word).
3. *tet-*: May. tet=tet red-coloured lorikeet (E), Jaw. tet=tet varied lorikeet; Ngl. let=let varied lorikeet; Ngn. leʔ=leʔ 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. kēk; Ngn. karʔ spider's web; Rem. karʔ-na web; MH. Yol. *karʔ?
6. *mörk*: May. mörk small fly, Jaw. mörk a fly; Ngl. mörk unidentified grub; Ngn. mörk witchetty grubs; Rem. mör? fly type; EM, MH.
7. *wan*: May. wanŋ armpit, underarm; wanca=munŋ armpit hair, Jaw. wancal < ? *wanʔ=cal armpit, underarm, War. wanʔ=mili; Ngl. wanŋ=kol armpit; wan=cat arm; Ngn. wanŋ, wan=kol armpit; Rem. wanʔ-na armpit; EM, MH. Yol. *wanŋ (Gup.).


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. muʔ raw; Rem. mo-na knee.

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

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

15. *wurk: May. wurk grass fire, bush fire; wukke to burn; wurʔ 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. wurk=ɨka to burn.

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

17. *ner?: May. ner? breath, heartbeat, Jaw. nerʔ-ма- to have a spell, 'breather'; Ngl. nerʔ heart; to pant; nerʔ=parʔ be frightened; Ngn. nerʔ heart; Rem. nerʔ-na heart; EM. Yol. *parʔ-, Mara. nɨɾ to breathe.

18. *nej: May. nej name, Jaw. ni name, War. ni; Ngl. nej name; Ngn. nej- (in compounds) name; Rem. ne-na name; EM, MH. Yol. *naj- (Gup.).

19. *tar: May. tat leg, thigh, root, Jaw. car, cor leg; Ngl. tar=ppic leg, thigh; Ngn. tar=ppic thigh; Rem. tarana-na leg; Yol. *tarwa.

20. *ceŋ: May. cen fish, War. ci=pak; Ngl. cen fish; Ngn. cen fish; EM, MH.

21. *tiw: May. tiu liver, War. ci-; Ngl. ciw liver; Ngn. tiw liver; MH. Yir. ti(p), Yid. tipa.


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; watti=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=ŋ give, Jaw. wo give; Ngl. wo- give; Ngn. wo- give; Mara. wo-nari; Bur. wo; Tang. *wu*.


27. *na*: May. na=ŋ see, look at, Jaw. na- see; Ngl. na- see; Ngn. na- see; Yol. *na*; Bur. na-.

28. *war*: May. wa-pu=n see, look at, Jaw. war- see; Ngl. war-pu- see; Ngn. war-pu- see; MH. Bur. warpa.


33. *pal*: May. miŋ=pal=k-me climb up, go up, War. ṇal; Ngl. ṇal- go up, climb; Ngn. ṇal-íu- go up; Rem. ṇal? 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. ṇu=ŋa-N.

35. *man*: May. maŋ=pekkan try, Jaw. maŋ try; Ngl. maŋ (Pref.) taste, test; Ngn. maŋ (in comp.) taste; EM, MH. Rith. maŋ.


37. *wiC*: May. wi=me to whistle, Jaw. wi=na to whistle; Ngl. wiʔ to whistle, Ngn. wiʔ-tu to whistle, Mara. wiʔ.


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. *kaŋtal=ppuru; Mara. kaŋtalppuru. A local word.

40. May. ṇuj flower, Jaw. ṇawarak flower; Ngl. ṇoro flower; Ngn. ṇoro flower. A doubtful comparison.
41. *ponka: May. *ponka spiny tail monitor, Jaw. ponka stone country goanna; Ngl. ponka large rock goanna, V. glebopalma; Ngn. ponka large rock goanna, V. glebopalma; EM, MH.
43. *welejʔ?: May. welejʔ red-winged parrot, Jaw. welej red-collared lorikeet; Ngl. welec red-collared lorikeet; Ngn. werej=werej lorikeet; Rem. welE? small red parrot; welejʔ 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. A dubious comparison.
45. *panʔa=ca: May. panʔa=ca marble tree, fruit used as fish poison, Owenia vernicosa, Jaw. panʔa=ca Gardenia sp., panar Gardenia merasperma, Owenia vernicosa; Ngl. panʔa=ca marble tree, Owenia vernicosa; Ngn. panʔa=ca marble tree, Owenia vernicosa; Rem. panʔa=panʔa E? turkey bush; EM. Rit. H panʔar; War. ND panar. A local word.
46. *welVŋ: May. welVŋ man responsible for killing game, Jaw. welŋ right, appropriate; kun-welŋ guilty one, perpetrator, also murderer; Ngl. welŋ boss, master, one who has rights; Ngn. wel boss, owner.
47. *kulu: May. koc=kulu head (? brain), Jaw. kulu=r brain; kulu 'head' (compound element); Ngl. kal=ŋor or k=ŋor brains; Ngn. kol=ŋor or k=ŋor brain; EM. A dubious comparison.
48. *kutan: May. kutan=ji clever man, Jaw. kuraŋ doctor, curer; War. kudanji; Ngl. kolon doctor; Ngn. kolon doctor; MH. A dubious comparison.
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 walamama upriver.
51. *waral: May. waral spirit, reflection, Jaw. waral, maral spirit of a dead person; Ngl. waral shade, spirit; Ngn. waral spirit, image; EM, MH; Mara. waral.
52. *kanem: May. kanem ear, War. kanem; Ngl. kanem ear; Ngn. kanem ear; EM.
53. *piʔi: May. piʔi beeswax, Jaw. piʔi beeswax; Ngn. piʔi beeswax; Rem. piʔi beewax; EM.
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54. *kari: May. karı=kat west; karı=kat high country, Jaw. karı west; Ngh. keriŋ west; Rem. karı west; EM, MH.

55. *mamam(?): May. mamam father’s mother, Jaw. mamam father’s mother; Ngh. memem father’s mother; Ngh. memem father’s mother; Rem. mamam father’s mother; MH. Yol. *mum=mu.

56. *woro: May. worok=worok=me-hop, jump, Jaw. woro=k-ma-jump; Ngh. worok- jump; Ngh. worok- jump; MH. Rit. H warawok-u-. A local word.

57. *pele: May. peleŋ=me lick up, Jaw. peleŋ=ak E? lick lap (as water); War. pel-ŋʔ; Ngh. pel-ŋʔ lick; Ngh. pel-ŋʔ=t-ŋʔ u- < Yol. lick; EM, MH. Yol. *piləŋ-. A borrowing?

58. May. kun=soul, spirit, War. kun=soul; Ngh. kon=kangaroo; Rem. kwen=kangaroo (generic); EM.

59. *pinin: May. pinin man, War. pinin; Ngh. pi=kur man; Rem. pi=aboriginal person, man; MH.

60. May. munum (Dj) night, Jaw. muŋ=mun dark, dark night; Ngh. munun dark (at night); EM. Yol. *mum V night.

61. *ke: May. kep nose, Jaw. ke=mo nose, nose bone; kerolk nose peg; Ngh. ce- Eʔ nose; Ngh. kipəŋ nose; Rem. kij-na nose; EM.


63. *puruak: May. puk dry (place), possible, Jaw. puruk dry; Ngh. ka=puruk dry; Ngh. ka=puruk dry; Rit. H puruŋk. Possibly a borrowing.

64. *pa=pa: May. papa triangular kin term; pappin father’s mother and recip., Jaw. papa elder sibling, War. papa; Ngh. 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’; Ngh. po river; Ngh. po=ŋoti creek; Rem. puwa-na river, creek; MH.


67. *cimiNti: May. ciminti knife, Jaw. ciminti knife; Ngh. 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. ṭal=ṭak chin (E), cheek (W), Jaw. ṭalқ mouth; lid of container; Rem. ṭal=ṭa lower jar, chin. Tan. *ṭankV.
3. *tel: May. ṭel cloud (E, M); ṭel=κinə big clouds, Jaw. ṭel sky; pam-ṭel cloud, War. pam=ṭul; Rem. ṭel-na sky, cloud; EM, MH.
4. *ṭal-: May. ṭalĮ cliff; milʔ=ṭal eyebrow, Jaw. ṭalĮ=ŋayu slope, steep descenth, War. jm-rm; Rem. ṭalĮ=ŋa river bank.
5. *por: May. pok print, track (of any sort), Jaw. por=por-na tracks; purul road; Rem. por=por-na track.
7. *meJa: May. meJa=war leaf; mare (E) hair, Jaw. meJa=war leaf, War. mala, mara; Rem. moror < ? *mala=war hair; MH.
8. *pam=mo: May. pam=mo bud, Jaw. pam=mo seed; Rem. pam=mo E? purple flower from gum tree; MH.
9. *kVm: May. kom throat, nape, Jaw. kam throat, neck, War. kam nape; Rem. kuva=nu neck, nape; MH.
10. *ŋurk: May. ŋurk flank, Jaw. ŋurk=mo rib bones; Rem. ŋurk=mo rib cage; MH.
11. *caɾan̄: May. caɾan̄ dreaming (place), Jaw. caɾan̄ dreaming; Rem. caɾan̄ bad dreaming; EM.

(3) Jawoyn / Mayali - Ngandi

1. *ŋak=ŋak: May. ŋak=ŋak grey-crowned babbler, Jaw. ŋak=ŋak grey-crowned babbler; Ng. ŋak=ŋak white-breasted sea-eagle; EM.
2. *lok=lok: May. lok=lok skink sp., Jaw. lok=lok skink sp.; Ng. lok=lok dragon lizard; EM.
3. *cak: May. cak meat ant, Jaw. cak red ant; Ng. caʔ meat ant; MH.
5. *le(ʔ): May. je=me ashamed, Jaw. lir-IPA ashmamed; Ng. jeʔ ashamed, be shy.
6. *majʔ: May. majʔ=ke to flash (lightning), Jaw. majʔ=nu flashing (lightning); Ng. majʔ=ju to make lightning flash; MH. Yol. *maj=karaŋ.
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.).
10. May. kan=ma northern brown bandicoot (big), Jaw. kan=ma big bandicoot; Ngn. kan=purk small possum; EM. Rit. H kanpurk.
11. *karV: May. kare=men get old, Jaw. kara-jii- to grow; Ngn. kalak-ju-grow (as child); Mara. kal.
12. May. kuŋ sugarbag, honey, Jaw. karaŋ bee, honey bee; Ngn. kutaŋ bee, honey bee.
14. *jer(e): May. jere behind, Jaw. jere towards; Ngl. jere=kke E? bottom, inside, undeneath; Ngn. jiri behind; EM.
15. *woc-: May. wop lightweight; wompan=wompan lightweight; Ngn. wowk=wowk lightweight; MH.
17. May. kanta female antelopine wallaby, Jaw. kun Tul k female plains kangaroo; Ngn. kantuwalʔ rock wallaby; Rit. H kantuwalʔ rock wallaby.

(4) Jawoyn / Mayali - Ngalker

2. *lern: May. lern firewood, Jaw. ma=lern=ma=lern kindling, small branches; Ngl. ku=lern firewood; EM.
3. *nyuk: May. nyuk- (compounding n.) guts, shit, Jaw. nyuk guts, excrement, War. nyak; Ngl. nyak excrement, intestine; Ngn. nyuk (loan?) guts, bowels, excrement; Rem. nyawaʔ (loan?) guts, intestines, shit. Yol. *nyuk; Wrd. nyawun.
4. *maj: May. me vegetable food; majʔ flesh food, Jaw. maj vegetable food; Ngl. maj vegetable food; MH. Wrd. majaŋ.
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; Ngl. tun string.
8. *kureŋ: May. kureŋ sweat, Jaw. kureŋ sweat; Ngl. kureŋ 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; pel arm, wing, Jaw. wel wing; Ngl. wel wing; EM, MH.
12. *wul: May. wul=ca.
13. *caŋ: May. caŋ=ka=n go hunting, Jaw. caŋ=ka- go hunting; Ngl. caŋ-ka- go hunting; EM, MH.
15. *talak: May. talak sand monitor, Jaw. talak sand-ridge goanna; Ngl. talak goanna, Varanus gouldi; EM, MH.
16. *penuk: May. penuk shrub turkey, bustard, Jaw. penuk shrub turkey, bustard; Ngl. penuk shrub turkey, bustard; EM, MH.
18. *katu: May. katu=katu many woman (RESTR), Jaw. katu=katu woman; Ngl. kiti girl; EM.
19. *calun: May. calun king brown snake, Jaw. calun king brown snake, War. calun, caiun; Ngl. cal=mjal 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. *ku Vuŋ: May. kuŋ long, tall, Jaw. kuŋ long, tall; Ngl. ken=ken long, tall; EM, MH.
22. *kerpe: May. kerpe new, fresh, Jaw. kerpe new, fresh, War. ken; Ngl. kerpe alive; EM, MH.
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(5) Jawoyn - Ngandi / Ngalakan


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


6. Jaw. *ŋa-* listen to; Ngn. *ŋa-* hear; Rem. *ŋaw⁰* hear (NE); Yol. *ŋa:-* (Jap.)

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


10. Jaw. (koj-)malapar cold (season); Ngl. *maluwuru* cold (weather); Ngn. *maloworo-t⁰* cold (weather); Rem. *malwuru* cold weather season.


(6) Jawoyn - Rembarrnga

1. Jaw. *manŋak* hand, arm, branch, War. *manŋak* shoulder; Rem. *manŋak* 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*.


(8) Jawoyn - Ngalakan


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


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


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


14. Jaw. ɲorŋ small round ankle bone, War. ɲuru; Ngl. ɲot=koŋ ankle.
15. May. wok=wal, wope E? lungs, Jaw. wocal lungs; Ngl. woccal lungs; MH.
17. Jaw. mariŋ girl; Ngl. mariŋ girl, young woman; MH.
18. Jaw. camunŋ mother’s father (Harvey), War. camunŋ mother’s father, father’s mother; Ngl. caminŋ spouse; MH. Wrđ. ji-camunŋ.
20. Jaw. marinŋ girl; Ngl. marinŋ girl, young woman; MH.
21. Jaw. camunŋ mother’s father (Harvey), War. camunŋ mother’s father, father’s mother; Ngl. caminŋ spouse; MH. Wrđ. ji-camunŋ.
22. Jaw. cuwal shade, bough shelter; Ngl. cuwalin windbreak. Yol. *
23. May. wurʔ-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 / (Rembarrnga)

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. mucc.
3. *moL-. May. mo=nic- stealthily, Jaw. moḷ k E? stealthily; Ngl. mo=nic sneaking, on the sly; moloʔ to sneak away; Ngn. mo:nic secretly, in stealth; EM.
4. May. lerʔ=me vibrate, rattle (boomerangs) together; Ngl. lerʔ=ler to clap clapsticks or boomerangs; Ngn. lerʔ=ler-pu to clap boomerangs; EM.
5. May. te=kur=me to dry (v. i.); Ngl. tarʔ to dry out; Rem. tarʔ to dry self.
6. May. pel hand, wing, branch; Ngl. pelŋ leaves, foliage; Rem. pelʔ-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. pacce- infrequent suppletive stem for bu-ji ’hit’; Ngn. pacca- to hit; MH. Yol. *paj-.
9. May. co=ŋ defecate; Ngl. corʔ-ʧu- defecate; Ngn. corʔ-ʧu- defecate; MH. Yol. *furi 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=ʧu- go, walk.
12. May. \textit{cow=k=ke, cow?=ke} to cross; Ngl. \textit{colk} pass by; Ngn. \textit{colk-}tu- to go past; MH. Yol. *\textit{cul=k-}.

13. May. \textit{cur=ke} to wet OBJ; \textit{curk} strong current, running water; Ngl. \textit{cur-} to pour; Ngn. \textit{cur-}tu- to pour (liquid); \textit{cur?-}tu to plunge in (water). Rit. H \textit{cur?-mara} to soak.


15. May. \textit{to=ŋ} to strike (incl. lightning), hit; Ngl. \textit{co} to chop down; Ngn. \textit{to-} to chop down. Rit. H \textit{tu:}.

16. May. \textit{tu=kka=n} to tie up; Ngl. \textit{tuk-ca} to tie up something; Ngn. \textit{tuk-t} to be tied up.

17. May. \textit{mal} (KW) centipede; Ngl. \textit{mal} centipede; Ngn. \textit{mal} centipede; EM. Mara. \textit{mal=mal}.


19. May. \textit{pere} chest, rib (E); Ngl. \textit{pere} brisket, chest; Ngn. \textit{pere} chest; Yol. *\textit{piri} (Jin.).


23. May. \textit{murrinja} shovel spear; Ngl. \textit{murrinja} shovel spear; Ngn. \textit{murrinja} shovel spear; EM. Yol. *\textit{murrinja}.

24. May. \textit{tile} urine; \textit{tile=pun} urinate, piss; Ngl. \textit{cele} urine; \textit{cele-pu-} urinate; Rem. \textit{cala-na} urine, piss. Yol. *\textit{cal-} (Gup.).


27. May. \textit{muna} to send; \textit{mun=ke-kacuŋ} follow behind; Ngl. \textit{munku-} follow; Ngn. \textit{munku-}tu- follow; EM. Yol. *\textit{minku-} hunt. A borrowing?

28. May. \textit{wułe} first; Ngn. \textit{walaŋ=kara?} first; Rem. \textit{walaŋ} then, next, after that.


31. May. tarm mouth; Ngl. cala mouth; Ngn. ṝa: (< Yol.) mouth; Rem. tala-na mouth. Yol. *t[a-.
32. May. mir spine, spike, sharp object; Ngl. mere? sharp point; Ngn. mere? blade, sharp point, thorn.
33. May. tenge foot; Ngn. ten foot; Rem. caŋa foot, track. Yid. cina, Jiw. cina.
34. May. wurulku fighting stick; Ngl. warurku nulla-nulla; Ngn. warurku nulla-nulla. Mara. warurku.

(10) Mayali - Rembarrnga

1. May. work=ti full; Rem. wor? full (NE); EM.
3. May. ṭapuc hopping mouse; Ngn. ṭapuc E? kin term, including sister’s son’s child; Rem. ṭapuc wallaby type.
4. May. kulpa blood; Rem. kulpa blood (NE); EM.
5. May. ṭalay nail; Rem. ṭarian (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.
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. walaʔ wide, big, extensive; Ngn. wɛlɛkɛr wide. Yol. *wɛlɛkɛr (Jap.).


(12) Mayali - Ngalakan


2. May. *pen*=*pen* Ghost gum; Ngl. *pen*=*pereŋ* Ghost gum; EM.

3. May. *pol?* track; Ngl. *pol?* 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. *pur?*-*ŋ*—to know. Bur. *porwa* think about.


8. May. *pulųk* feather-down decoration stuck on body during ceremony; Ngl. *pulųk* feather; EM.


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 Rembarrnga 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EM</td>
<td>Etymologies by N. Evans (Evans 2003)</td>
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<tr>
<td>MH</td>
<td>Etymologies by M. Harvey (Harvey 2003)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E?</td>
<td>Doubtful etymology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REST</td>
<td>Word of restricted (avoidance) register</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bur</td>
<td>Burarra (Glasgow MS)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dj</td>
<td>Gundjeihmi dialect of Mayali</td>
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<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Kune dialect of Mayali</td>
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<td>Gup</td>
<td>Gupapuyungu (Lowe-Leeding MS)</td>
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<td>Jaw</td>
<td>Jawoyn (Merlan MS)</td>
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<td>Jin</td>
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<td>M</td>
<td>Manyallaluk dialect of Mayali</td>
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<td>May</td>
<td>Mayali (Evans 2003)</td>
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<td>Yoront (Alpher 1991)</td>
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<td>Yol</td>
<td>Proto-Yolngu</td>
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I. Peiros, *My problems with Gunwinyguan*

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