

## Appendix L: A comparative note on pronominal prefixes (Heath 1997)

Like Ngandi and Wubuy, but unlike other Gunwinyguan languages (Baker 2008: 4), Enindhilyakwa shows verb agreement for every noun class. Heath (1997) claims that the argument prefixes of these three languages are cognate<sup>15</sup>, although the Enindhilyakwa system is more opaque than the Wubuy system, while Ngandi is slightly simpler. He furthermore notes that these languages are characterised by non-zero third person minimal markers, consisting of either a masculine or feminine gender morpheme for humans, or a noun class morpheme for non-humans. Such morphemes occur in many other non-Pama-Nyungan languages, Heath claims, but only as prefixes to nouns. Table L.1 compares the 1/3m and 3m/1 combinations in Enindhilyakwa, Wubuy and Ngandi (the ‘Eastern Gunwinyguan languages’; Chapter 9), with data from BGW (Evans 2003a) and Ngalakgan (Baker 2008) for comparison.

	<b>Direct 1/3m</b>	<b>Inverse 3m/1</b>
Enindhilyakwa	<i>nvnge-n-</i> [1min-m] ~ <i>nge-n-</i>	<i>ngv-n-</i> [1min.O-m.S]
Wubuy	<i>nga-nu-</i> [1min-m]	<i>nga-[N]-ni-</i> [1min-Inv-m]
Ngandi	<i>nga-nu-</i> [1min-m]	<i>nga-ku-ni-</i> [1min-Inv-m]
BGW	<i>nga-</i> [1min.S]	<i>ngan-</i> [1sg.O]
Ngalakgan	<i>ngu-</i> [1min.S]	<i>ngun-</i> [1min.O]

Table L.1: Comparison of pronominal prefix combinations in selected GN languages

Third person masculine is represented by the masculine gender prefix *n-* in Enindhilyakwa, and *nu-* (Direct) and *ni-* (Inverse) in Wubuy and Ngandi. BGW and Ngalakgan have zero third person markers (as do the other Gunwinyguan languages). This strongly suggests, as Heath proposes, that Eastern Gunwinyguan has innovated by introducing such gender and class morphemes into the pronominal prefixes complexes to verbs, replacing an old zero ‘3’ marker.

As can also be seen from this Table, Wubuy and Ngandi have an Inverse morpheme that intervenes when the object morpheme precedes the subject morpheme. This is an underspecified nasal consonant *-N-* in Wubuy, and *-ku-* in Ngandi. BGW and Ngalakgan also have a nasal consonant that follows non-third person morphemes representing objects (*-n-* in Table L.1; in addition, Ngalakgan has *-ng-* in augmented forms). This suggests that a nasal consonant marking ‘inverse’ objects is an archaic feature.

<sup>15</sup> An exception is the Enindhilyakwa irrealis marker *k-*, which cannot be reconciled with the Wubuy irrealis marker *wan-* ~ *ban-*. Heath proposes instead that the Enindhilyakwa irrealis marker is related to the Wubuy epenthetic morpheme *-ngu-*, which descends from proto-WuEn *\*-ku-*. This form came to be reanalysed as an irrealis marker in Enindhilyakwa and quickly spread and replaced the old irrealis morpheme. Such systematic renewal is characteristic of languages with very rich morphology, Heath claims (1997: 226).

There is no such Inverse morpheme in Enindhilyakwa (section 4.2.2). However, Heath proposes that there is evidence for an historic Wubuy-like Inverse morpheme in Enindhilyakwa, which comes from the NEUT noun class verbal prefix *k-*. This prefix corresponds to the Wubuy NEUT prefix *wu-* ~ *ku-*, with the hardened variant occurring after a nasal or stop. The unspecified nasal Inverse morpheme *-N-* is such a hardening environment. Compare Wubuy 1/NEUT, expressed as *nga-wu-* [1-NEUT], with the inverse NEUT/1, expressed as *nga-ng-ku-* [1-Inv-NEUT]. The Inv nasal assimilates in place to the following stop (Heath 1984: 362).

The Enindhilyakwa NEUT marker, when phonetically realised, has only the variant *k-*. There is no lenited variant *w-*. Compare the following Enindhilyakwa and Wubuy inverse NEUT/3m and NEUT/12a prefix combinations; the Enindhilyakwa NEUT prefix is *k-* as usual, while the Wubuy NEUT prefix is the hardened variant.<sup>16</sup>

	<b>Enindhilyakwa</b>	<b>Wubuy</b>	<b>proto-WuEn</b>
NEUT/3m	<i>ne-na-k-</i> [?-m-NEUT]	<i>ni-ng-ku-</i> [m-Inv-NEUT]	* <i>ni-ng-ku-</i>
VEG/3m	<i>ne-na-m-</i> [?-m-VEG]	<i>ni-[N-]ma-</i> [m-Inv-VEG]	* <i>ni-[N-]ma-</i>
3m/VEG	<i>nv-ma-</i> [m-VEG]	<i>ni-ma-</i> [m-VEG]	* <i>ni-ma-</i>
NEUT/12a	<i>ngarra-k-</i> [12a-NEUT]	<i>ngarra-ng-ku-</i> [12a-Inv-NEUT]	* <i>ngVrrV-N-ku</i>
VEG/12a	<i>ngarra-m-</i> [12a-VEG]	<i>ngarra-[N-]ma-</i> [12a-Inv-VEG]	* <i>ngVrrV-N-ma-</i>
12a/VEG	<i>ngarrv-ma-</i> [12a-VEG]	<i>ngirri-ma-</i> [12a-VEG]	* <i>ngVrrV-ma-</i>

Table L.2: Comparison of Enindhilyakwa and Wubuy direct and inverse prefix combination

We ignore the word-initial *ne-* elements in the first two Enindhilyakwa examples for the moment (which Heath 1997 takes to be historical accretions).

Heath proposes that in Enindhilyakwa “the suspicious unwillingness of [the NEUT prefix \**ku-* in *ne-na-k-* and *ngarra-k-*] to undergo intervocalic lenition ... suggests that a stop or nasal once preceded [*\*ku-*] in these complexes. This immediately points to a connection with the [Wubuy] Inv morpheme *-N-*” (1997: 208-9). He thus reconstructs a proto-WuEn Inv morpheme \**-N-*, well-preserved in Wubuy, but preserved only indirectly in Enindhilyakwa by blocking lenition of the following /k/. Heath’s analysis implies the following Enindhilyakwa proto-forms and stages:

1. \**nV-N-k-*      \**nV-N-m-*      \**nga-rrV-N-k-*
2. \**na-N-k-*      \**nv-N-m-*      \**nga-rrV-k-*      (vowel preceding Inv *-N-* > *a* (see below))
3. \**ne-na-N-k-*      \**ne-na-N-m-*      \**nga-rrV-N-k-*      (addition of *ne-* segment)
4. *ne-na-Ø-k-*      *ne-na-Ø-m-*      *nga-rrV-Ø-k-*      (disappearance of Inv *-N-*)

The Wubuy Inv morpheme *-N-* is phonetically unrealised when the following morpheme starts with a nasal, such as the VEG prefix *ma-* (Heath 1984, 1997). The Wubuy *ngarra-ma-* ‘VEG/12a’ prefix in

<sup>16</sup> The first two examples are taken from Heath (1997), while the remaining examples, including the reconstructed proto-forms, are added by me. The Wubuy noun class labels have been adjusted to the Enindhilyakwa labels for ease of comparison.

Table L.2 is an example. Heath suggests that Enindhilyakwa generalised the surface absence of the nasal in some Wubuy forms, to all forms, leaving the unlenited *k-* “as a tell-tale trace of the nasal’s former presence” (1997: 209).

Another feature that the two languages have in common is the *a* vowel in some inverse complexes. Compare Enindhilyakwa inverse *ngarra-m-* [12a.O-VEG.S] with direct *ngarrv-ma-* [12a-VEG] in Table L.2: the inverse ‘12a’ object ends in /a/, which is absent in the direct order subject form. Heath argues that in Wubuy, the Inv nasal converts the vowel in certain preceding morphemes into *a* (rule P-38, Heath 1984). These morphemes include the ‘augmented’ marker *rrV-*, but not for example the ‘masculine’ prefix *ni-*. Now consider the *ngVrrV-* morpheme that occurs in several prefix complexes in Table L.2. It is composed of *ngV-* ‘12non-minimal’ plus *rrV-* ‘augmented’. The vowel of the latter is realised as *a* when followed by the nasal Inv morpheme in Wubuy, such as *ngarra-ng-ku-* [12a-Inv-NEUT]. The vowel of the preceding *ngV-* morpheme acquires its vocalism by regressive assimilation. The same happens for Wubuy *ngarra-[N-]ma-* [12a-Inv-VEG], though here the Inv morpheme is not phonetically realised, and the *a*-vocalism is the only surface manifestation of the Inv morpheme (Heath 1997: 210).

In Enindhilyakwa *all* inverse complexes with augmented number objects end in *a*, such as *ngarra-m-* [12non.minimal-augmented-VEG]. This vowel is absent in the direct complexes, such as *ngarrv-ma-* [12non.minimal-augmented-VEG] (see Appendices J and K for more examples). Heath proposes that this *a*-vocalism is a residue of the presence of the former Inv nasal morpheme. Whereas in Wubuy the Inv nasal induced *a*-vocalism on only a subset of preceding morphemes, in Enindhilyakwa this was extended to all third person number inverse complexes, as evidenced by *yinga-k-* [3f.O-NEUT.S] ‘NEUT/3f’ (cf. *yingv-ma-* [3f-VEG] ‘3f/VEG’) and *nenam-* [3m.O-VEG.S] ‘VEG/3m’ (cf. *nv-ma-* [3m-VEG] ‘3m/VEG’).

I agree with Heath that we can reconstruct a proto-WuEn Inv morpheme *\*<sup>a</sup>-N-*, the superscript indicating *a*-effect on (in Wubuy a subset of) preceding morphemes. The only traces left of the reconstructed nasal in Enindhilyakwa are preceding *a*-vocalism, and the resistance of the NEUT class marker *k-* to lenite intervocally. In Wubuy, by contrast, the Inv morpheme is well-preserved, except before nasal consonants, where it is unrealised.<sup>17</sup>

In sum, based on this brief investigation the Enindhilyakwa and Wubuy prefixes appear to be cognate, allowing for some morphological reshaping. It appears that the two languages have innovated in several respects, as proposed by Heath (1997): both have a non-zero third person marker (which is also shared with Ngandi), and a nasal inverse morpheme with concomitant *a*-vocalism can be reconstructed for both languages. These innovations suggest a close genetic

<sup>17</sup> The Ngandi Inv morpheme *-ku-* cannot be reconciled with proto-WuEn *\*<sup>a</sup>-N-*. Heath seeks its source in the Wubuy epenthetic morpheme *-ngu-* (1997: 210-8.)

relationship between the two languages, as advocated by Heath, and as concluded in Chapter 9 of this thesis.

## Appendix M: Evitative =*maka*

The term ‘evitative’ was coined based on Latin *evitare* ‘avoid’ (Heath 1984: 346), and it is used for an undesirable potential event that could or should be avoided (‘lest...’). In Enindhilyakwa it is expressed by the clitic =*maka* that attaches to the verb or other predicate, with the verb occurring in the Irrealis, as illustrated in (1a). In a negative Evitative the suffix is added to the NEGATOR particle *nara*, as in (1b).

- (1) a. *akv-ngekbvraka-jungu-na-ma ngarnv-m-awarruwalya ak-angbilyuwa-dhv-na=maka*  
IRR.12a-make-REFL-NP2-ma 12a.m-INALP-shadow IRR.12a-sickness-INCH-NP2=EVIT  
‘we should be careful of our shadow or we might get sick’ (GED p.142)
- b. *Nara=maka ki-yengbi-yengbi-nv-ma dh-akinu-wa nvng-ena.*  
NEG=EVIT IRR.1-RDP-speak-P2-ma 3f-that-ALL 1-this  
‘I wasn’t supposed to ever talk to her.’ (‘Old days’ x9)

According to Heath (n.d.), the Evitative can also be expressed in Enindhilyakwa by the Negative Non-Past construction without the Negative particle *nara*. The only example he gives is presented in (2); I have found no other instances of the Evitative expressed this way.

- (2) *a-lharrv-ma*  
NEGNP-fall-NP3  
‘or I might fall’ (JH tape 70 ex. 260)

The Evitative in Wubuy is expressed by the formally similar suffix *-maki*, which attaches to the predicate, or, for negative Evitatives, to the negative particle *yaki*. In addition, the verb takes a distinct Evitative inflectional suffix (this category is absent in Enindhilyakwa). However, the NP3 can also be used in combination with *-maki* to mark the Evitative in Wubuy, which is similar to the Enindhilyakwa construction in (2).

It is unusual for Gunwinyguan languages to encode TAM distinctions with suffixes or clitics such as =*maka* or *-maki*; normally they use a combination of prefixes and verb inflection. Hence, the Evitative could be an innovation unique to Wubuy and Enindhilyakwa.

## Appendix N: Incorporated body part and generic nominals

Roots are arranged alphabetically. Free forms that are formally similar to incorporated forms are underlined. Data come from Ansec1 and Ansec2 unless indicated otherwise.

generic	body part meaning	generic meaning	examples of corresponding free nominals	example
<i>abvrrak-</i> ~ <i>abvrangk-?</i>	‘bottom, behind’	‘tail, backside, flat shape’	<i>akba</i> ‘NEUT.bottom’; <i>mamvdhakba</i> ‘VEG.tail’; <i>angwarnda</i> ‘NEUT.stone’	<i>narr-abvrrak-ajikv-na</i> 3a/NEUT-back-lift-NP2 ‘raise tail’ (WD)
<i>abvrrvng-</i> ~ <i>ambvrr-</i>	‘body fluid’	‘fluid’	<i>engeemina</i> ‘NEUT.breast milk’; <i>merra</i> ‘VEG.blood’; <i>akungwa</i> ‘NEUT.water’	<i>n-abvrrvngki-lyuwaka-ju-wa</i> 3m/NEUT-fluid-circle- CAUS-P2 <i>diya</i> tea(NEUT) ‘he stirred the tea’ (JS2 p.130)
<i>adheng-</i>	‘face’	‘top of something’	<i>-mukurra</i> ‘face’; <i>bajikala</i> ‘billycan(NEUT)’	<i>ying-adheng+baja-nga</i> 3f/NEUT-top-hit-P2 <i>bajikala</i> tin(NEUT) ‘she hit the top of the tin’
<i>akbal-</i> ~ <i>ekbvl-</i>	‘stomach, flat part of hands and feet’	‘plain, flat ground, sky’	<i>akbalha</i> ‘NEUT.bladder’; <i>angalya</i> ‘NEUT.place’; <i>ajvrvngka</i> ‘NEUT.ground’ <i>mamvruckwa</i> ‘veg.road’	<i>ekbvlkv-makardv-mvrra</i> NEUT.plain-sea-PROP ‘mud flats’ (JW2 p.52)
<i>akvyarrk-</i> ~ <i>(a)kiyak-</i>	‘vein, calf, rib’	‘branching things’	<i>yeyerra</i> ‘MASC.vein’; <i>memerrba</i> ‘VEG.calf’ <i>memvrrkura</i> ‘VEG.rib’; <i>amarda</i> ‘NEUT.grass’; <i>adhalyvma</i> ‘NEUT.river’	<i>a-kiyarr-berrerra</i> NEUT-branching-?forked <i>adhalyvma</i> NEUT.river ‘well-branched river’
<i>alh-</i>	-	‘strips, long and thin things’	<i>merra</i> ‘VEG.ropes’; <i>amarda</i> ‘NEUT.grass’; <i>mamvngba</i> ‘VEG.hair’; <i>ayarrka</i> ‘NEUT.lower arm’	<i>m-al-jvrrvrra</i> VEG-long.and.thin-long <i>merra</i> VEG.ropes ‘long rope’ (VL1 p.154)
<i>amba-</i> ~ <i>angba-</i> ~ <i>ngamba-</i>	‘groin, pregnant belly?’	‘hollow u-shaped object’	<i>yingamba</i> ‘MASC.groin’; <i>malhamukwa</i> ‘VEG.canoe’; <i>bajikala</i> ‘billycan(NEUT)’	<i>m-ambaki-jiba</i> VEG-hollow-small <i>malhamukwa</i> VEG.canoe ‘narrow canoe’
<i>angbvrr-</i>	(cf. <i>-mangbvrr-</i> ‘lower back’)	‘blunt shape’	<i>bankilya</i> ‘axe, hammer(NEUT)’	<i>angbvrrk-ambilyvma</i> NEUT.blunt-two ‘two axes’
<i>ang-</i>	‘chin, nose?’	‘snake, ants?’	<i>angvrnda</i> ‘NEUT.chin’; <i>eminda</i> ‘NEUT.nose’; <i>yingarna</i> ‘MASC.snake’	<i>nvm-ang-kungku-dhaka</i> MASC/VEG-snake-water-burn.P2 ‘sea snake made a sparkling pathway as it glided over the sea’
<i>angkarr-</i>	‘hip’	‘smoke’	<i>anka</i> ~ <i>arrvngka</i> ‘NEUT.hip’; <i>angwarra</i> ‘NEUT.smoke’	<i>nuw-angkarrk-ayee-na</i> NEUT-smoke-go.up-NP2 ‘smoke rises up’ (WD)

<i>anjalh-</i>	-	‘cloth, dress’	<i>dhvmbala</i> ‘cloth(VEG, FEM)’	<i>dh-anjalk-awarriya dhvmbala</i> FEM-cloth-bad FEM.dress ‘ragged dress’ (Ansec2)
<i>arndvrr- ~ arnda(k)-</i>	‘edge/side of body, e.g. elbow, chin’ (VL: ‘scrotum’)	‘edge of things, esp. wooden things (trees, canoes)’	<i>arnda</i> ‘NEUT.elbow’; <i>eeka</i> ‘NEUT.tree’; <i>malhamukwa</i> ‘VEG.canoe’	<i>nvng-arnda-mardhv-na</i> 1-elbow-hurt-NP2 ‘my elbow is sore’
<i>arng- ~ rvng-</i>	‘eye, head’	‘house, place, time’	<i>arvngka</i> ‘NEUT.head’; <i>menba</i> ‘VEG.eye’; <i>alhkvra</i> ‘NEUT.house’; <i>angalya</i> ‘NEUT.place’	<i>a-rvngk-ambilyvma</i> NEUT-house-two <i>alhkvra</i> NEUT.house ‘two houses’
<i>arr-</i>	‘teeth’	‘small, round and many (e.g. animals, fruits, waves)’	<i>akarrnga</i> ‘NEUT.teeth’; <i>bajikala</i> ‘billycan(NEUT)’; <i>yunungwalya</i> ‘MASC.oysters’; <i>wurri-yukwayuwa</i> ‘3a-children’	<i>yirrv-mvrndak-</i> 1a/NEUT-many- -arrv- -small.and.round.and.many- -mvrndukwa-ma <i>bajikala</i> -gather.P2-ma tin(NEUT) ‘we gathered our billies’ (‘Awurukwa’ w36)
<i>ebing-</i>	‘(trunk of) body’	‘solid, round, body-shaped’	<i>-m-ebinga</i> ‘INALP-body’; <i>ebinga</i> ‘NEUT.anthill’; <i>menba</i> ‘VEG.eye’; <i>dhijinungkwa</i> ‘FEM.echidna’	<i>n-ebingki-dharrba</i> 3m-body-short ‘short man’
<i>embirr-</i>	‘kidney, round body parts’	‘round and flat things, sun, moon’	<i>andhvra</i> ‘NEUT.kidney’; <i>amamuwa</i> ‘NEUT.egg’; <i>angwarnda</i> ‘NEUT.stone, coin’, <i>mamawura</i> ‘VEG.sun’	<i>m-embirr-barri-ya!</i> IMP.2/VEG-round-split-NP1 ‘cut the orange in half!’
<i>engmvrr-</i>	‘nose’?	-	<i>eminda</i> ‘NEUT.nose’	<i>engmvrrk-awarriya</i> NEUT.nose-bad ‘ugly nose’
<i>enjerr-</i>	‘spirit’	-	<i>wurr-amukwa</i> ‘3a-spirits’	<i>wurr-enjerrk-ababvrna</i> 3a-spirit-many <i>wurr-amukwa</i> 3a-spirit ‘lots of spirits’
<i>enjirr- ~ anjirr-</i>	‘bottom’ ( <i>minjirr-</i> ‘skin’)	‘back/bottom side of things’	<i>akba</i> ‘NEUT.bottom’; <i>dvraka</i> ‘truck(VEG)’	<i>enjirr-k-awarriya</i> NEUT.bottom-bad <i>akba</i> NEUT.bottom ‘sore on bottom’
<i>ika-</i>	-	‘fire, light source, fire wood, Satan’	<i>eeka</i> ‘NEUT.tree’; <i>ekalhara</i> ‘NEUT.burnt off bush’, <i>angura</i> ‘NEUT.fire’	<i>narr-ika-lharrka-ja</i> 3a/NEUT-fire-send-NP2 ‘they light a fire’ (WD)
<i>ing-</i>	‘whatsit’	‘whatsit’		<i>n-ingkv-lharrv-na</i> 3m-whatsit-fall-P2 ‘he fell’ (Fieldnotes)

<i>jal-</i>	-	‘ground’	<i>ajvrvngka</i> ‘NEUT.ground’	<i>narri-jalki-yangbarrka</i> 3a/NEUT-ground-sweep ‘they were sweeping the ground’
<i>jirr-</i>	-	‘water, fluid’	<i>akungwa</i> ‘NEUT.fresh water’; <i>makarda</i> ‘VEG.salt water’; <i>awurukwa</i> ‘NEUT.billabong’	<i>a-jirr-kulyvmvdha</i> NEUT-water-big <i>awurukwa</i> NEUT.billabong ‘big billabong’
<i>kuwa- ~ kuw-</i>	‘stomach, large colon’	‘water, body of animals or things’	<i>mukukurnandha</i> ‘VEG.stomach, large colon’; <i>akwalya</i> ‘NEUT.fish’; <i>awurukwa</i> ‘NEUT.billabong’	<i>a-kuwakv-dharrba</i> NEUT-water-short ‘small swamp’ (VL1 p.156)
<i>kuly-</i>	-	‘shiny things’?	<i>-makulya</i> ‘skin’	<i>a-kuly-adhadha</i> NEUT-shiny-bright ‘bright white’
<i>kunvngb- ~ kun-</i>	‘whole body’	‘whole body of animals’	<i>-madhangkwa</i> ‘body, flesh’; <i>akwalya</i> ‘NEUT.fish’	<i>wu-kunvngb-arrnga</i> IMP.2/NEUT-body-cut.NP1 <i>akwalya</i> NEUT.fish ‘cut through the fish’
<i>lhabvrr-</i>	‘face, nose’	-	<i>-mukurra</i> ‘face’; <i>eminda</i> ‘NEUT.nose’	<i>nvngkv-lhabvrr-ngekbvrna</i> 2-face-good ‘you have a pretty face’
<i>lhakba-</i>	‘leg’	‘upright wooden objects’	<i>alhakba</i> ‘NEUT.leg’; <i>yikarba</i> ‘MASC.woomera’; <i>eeka</i> ‘NEUT.tree’; <i>yiraka</i> ‘MASC.didgeridoo’	<i>yi-lhakbak-ambilyvma</i> MASC-short.and.upright-two <i>yikarba</i> MASC.woomera ‘two woomeras standing up’
<i>lhandharr-</i>	‘leg’	?	<i>alhakba</i> ‘NEUT neut.leg’	<i>nv-lhandharrk-awarriya</i> 3m-leg-bad ‘he’s got a deformed leg’
<i>lharr-</i>	‘bones’	‘long and solid things’; ‘place’; ‘season’	<i>adhvdhvra</i> ‘NEUT.bone’; <i>angalya</i> ‘NEUT.place’; <i>eeka</i> ‘NEUT.tree’	<i>a-lharr-kulyvmvdha</i> NEUT-bones-big <i>adhvdhvra</i> NEUT.bone ‘skeleton’ (VL2 p.35)
<i>lharrngkw-</i>	-	‘inanimate things’	-	<i>a-lharrngk-ingma</i> NEUT-things-smelly ‘smelly things’ (VL1 p.154)
<i>lhvkarr- ~ lhukw-</i>	‘tracks’	‘road, canoe’	<i>alhvka</i> ‘NEUT.foot’; <i>mamvrukwa</i> ‘VEG.road’; <i>libaliba</i> ‘canoe(NEUT)’	<i>mu-lhukw-abiyarkarbiya</i> VEG-road-three <i>mamvrukwa</i> VEG.road ‘three roads’ (JS2 p.149)

<i>lhvnga- ~ lyinga- ~ lhang-</i>	‘body, torso, trunk’	‘long tall standing things, e.g. trees (bark)’	<i>eeka</i> ‘NEUT.tree’; <i>eminda</i> ‘NEUT.nose’; <i>yimendha</i> ‘MASC.turtle’	<i>nvngv-lhang-mardhv-na</i> 1-body-be.painful-NP2 ‘my body is cramping’
<i>lhung- ~ lyung-</i>	‘body hair’	‘leaves, foliage, trees, growing things’	<i>eeka</i> ‘NEUT.tree’	<i>a-lhungku-lhungku- wilyarra</i> NEUT-RDP-foliage-middle ‘middle of dense foliage’ (VL1 p.159)
<i>lhvrrng-</i>	‘heel, bottom’	‘backside’?	<i>amvlhvrrngwa</i> ‘NEUT.heel’; <i>akba</i> ‘NEUT.bottom’	<i>a-lhvrrngk-awarriya</i> NEUT-heel-bad <i>amvlhvrrngwa</i> NEUT.heel ‘heels out of shape’
<i>lya-</i>	‘ribs’	‘elongated solid’	<i>memvrrkura</i> ‘VEG.ribs’; <i>alyingba</i> ‘NEUT.clap sticks’; <i>angura</i> ‘NEUT.fire’	<i>narrv-lyaku-warde-na</i> 3a/NEUT-long.and.solid-hit-NP2 <i>alyingba</i> NEUT.clapsticks ‘they are clapping clapsticks’ (GED p.179)
<i>lyang- ~ lyeng- ~</i>	‘head (voice)’	‘hard round things’	<i>arvngka</i> ‘NEUT.head’; <i>ayakwa</i> ‘NEUT.speech’; <i>angwarnda</i> ‘NEUT.stone’; <i>mvnhvnga</i> ‘VEG.burrawang’	<i>narri-lyang-baju-wa</i> 3a/NEUT-hard.and.round-hit-P2 <i>angwarnda</i> NEUT.stone ‘they were hitting the stone’ (GED p.47)
<i>lyikarr- ~ lyingarr- ~ lhvrra-? ~ lhvkarr-?</i>	‘internal organs’	‘light and hollow things, hole- shaped’	<i>alyimbilyimbarrnga</i> ‘NEUT.lungs’; <i>arndvrnda</i> ‘NEUT.heart’; <i>awa</i> ‘NEUT.liver’; <i>angura</i> ‘NEUT.firewood’; <i>angwalha</i> ‘NEUT.mud crab’	<i>angura</i> NEUT.fire <i>a-lyikarr-barubara</i> NEUT-light+hollow-? ‘light and hollow firewood’ (JS2 p.136)
<i>lyimberr-</i>	‘group’	-	<i>warnvmamalya</i> ‘3a.people’	<i>wurri-lyimberr-kulyvmvdha</i> 3a-group-big <i>warnvmamalya</i> 3a.people ‘crowd, nation’ (WD)
<i>lyirrkvrr- ~ lyikvrr- ~ lyibvrr- ~ lyikb-</i>	‘lips’	‘thin edge’	<i>alyelyikba</i> ‘NEUT.lips’	<i>nvngv-nga-lyibvrrkv-rvbuku- na dvrija</i> P2 dress(FEM) ‘I hemmed the dress’(VL2 p.242)
<i>mangbvrr- ~ mamb- ~ man-</i>	‘hand, tailbone’	-	<i>mamangbvrra</i> ‘VEG.tailbone’; <i>ayarrka</i> ‘NEUT.hand’	<i>nv-mam-bvdha</i> 3m-hand-strong ‘he has a strong hand’
<i>mak-</i>	-	‘place, camp’	<i>angalya</i> ‘NEUT.place, camp’	<i>a-mak-eningaba angalya</i> NEUT-place-good NEUT.place ‘good place’

<i>marng-</i>	‘brain, spirit, mind’	-	<i>mangma</i> ‘VEG brain’	<i>ma-marngk-awarriya mangma</i> VEG-brain-bad VEG.brain ‘not thinking straight’
<i>marrang-</i>	‘hands’			<i>narrv-marrangbi+lyingi-na</i> 3a/NEUT-hand+hold-NP2 ‘they hold hands on hips’(WD)
<i>memvrr- ~ mvrr-</i>	‘back of neck’	-	<i>memvrrma</i> ‘VEG.back of neck’	<i>yingv-ma-mvrrk-alyvbalya</i> 3f-VEG-neck-eat.P1 <i>memvrrma</i> VEG.neck ‘mother cat grabbed a kitten by its neck’ (‘Bujikeda’ y37)
<i>merr-</i>	-	‘sun, full moon’	<i>mamawura</i> ‘VEG.sun’; <i>yimawura</i> ‘MASC.moon’	<i>nvma-merrkv-lharrv-na</i> VEG-round.celestial-fall-NP2 <i>mamawura</i> VEG.sun ‘sun is setting’ (WD)
<i>milyirr- ~ milying- ~ mvlharr- ~ milyarr-</i>	‘body fluids, taste’	‘fluids, soft and wet things, dough’	<i>enyirra</i> ‘NEUT.mucus’; <i>alyukwalya</i> ‘NEUT.spit’; <i>erra</i> ‘NEUT.vomit’; <i>damba</i> ‘damper(NEUT)’; <i>amvdhilya</i> ‘NEUT.cough’	<i>nara</i> NEG <i>a-milyirrk-wurrv-ma!</i> NEGNP-body.fluid-throw-NP3 ‘don’t spit!’
<i>minge- ~ mi-</i>	‘head, name’	‘place, night’	<i>arvngka</i> ‘NEUT.head’; <i>ekirra</i> ‘NEUT.name’; <i>angalya</i> ‘NEUT.place’	<i>narra-mingeki-ngamba-jina</i> 3a/3a-head-wet-CAUS-NP2 ‘they baptise them’ (WD)
<i>minjirr-</i>	‘skin, body’	‘bark, leaves, covers’	<i>nenungkwarba</i> ‘3m.man’	<i>wurrv-minjirr-mvrdha</i> 3a-skin-dark ‘black-skinned [people]’
<i>mungskurr- ~ mung-</i>	‘cheek, eye, fingers, toes’	‘soft and round things, heaps of small and round things’	<i>amungkurra</i> ‘NEUT.cheek’; <i>menba</i> ‘VEG.eyebrow’; <i>mvnhvnga</i> ‘VEG.burrawang’; <i>edhvrra</i> ‘NEUT.hole’	<i>ma-mungk-ababvrna</i> VEG-round.and.soft-many <i>mvnhvnga</i> VEG.burrawang ‘heaps of burrawang’
<i>mvk-</i>	-	‘source, things spreading out’	<i>mamawura</i> ‘VEG.sun’; <i>merra</i> ‘VEG.blood’ (cf. <i>amukwa</i> ‘NEUT.source’)	<i>kvrr-env-mvn-</i> 2a-3m-BENE- <i>-mvkv-lharri-ju-wa</i> -spread.out-fall-CAUS-P2 <i>merra</i> VEG.blood ‘he shed his blood for you’
<i>mvlh-</i>	‘hair, head, brains’	‘long and thin, hard and round’	<i>mvlha</i> ‘VEG.hairs in nostril’; <i>mamvngba</i> ‘VEG.hair’; <i>arvngka</i> ‘NEUT.head’; <i>amarda</i> ‘NEUT.grass’	<i>angkabvrna</i> who <i>bv-mvlk-arrngarnv-ma?</i> 3a/2-hair-cut-P2- <i>ma</i> ‘who cut your hair?’

<i>mvrarr- ~ mvra- ~</i>	‘neck, throat’	‘long and thin things’	<i>yambiya</i> ‘MASC.throat’; <i>yiraka</i> ‘MASC.didgeridoo’; <i>a-mayarrka</i> ‘NEUT-handle’	<i>narrv-mvraku-3a/NEUT-long.and.thin-warruku-na</i> -cross-NP2 ‘cross neck of land’ (WD)
<i>nga- ~ nvngka-</i>	‘thigh’	‘hill, sandbar, wavy shape’	<i>makarra</i> ‘VEG.thigh’; <i>mamvdhangkwa</i> ‘VEG.sand hill’	<i>narrv-ma-ngak-bvrrukwaji-na</i> 3a-VEG-hill-flatten-NP2 <i>mamvdhangkwa</i> VEG.sandhill ‘flatten sand hill’ (WD)
<i>ngarng-</i>	‘shoulder, collar bone’	‘hollow shape, container’	<i>amvrndha</i> ‘NEUT.shoulder’; <i>yinvngara</i> ‘MASC.collar bone’; <i>alhabvra</i> ‘NEUT.bark container’	<i>amvreba</i> NEUT.bark.sheet <i>ka-ngarm-bijangi-na</i> IRR.NEUT-hollow-jump-P2 <i>yelyukwa-manja</i> MASC.rain-LOC ‘the bark sheet sprang out in the rain’ (WD)
<i>ngarnvng-</i>	-	‘pointed things’	<i>enungkwa</i> ‘NEUT.spear’; <i>yibilyibilya</i> ‘MASC.lightning’	<i>yibilyibilya</i> MASC.lightning <i>nv-ngarnvng-mindhe-na</i> MASC-pointed-flash-NP2 ‘lightning is flashing’ (GED p.212)
<i>ngarr-</i>	‘ear, skin’	‘wrinkly-skinned animals (e.g. reptiles), bark’	<i>madha</i> ‘VEG.ear’; <i>-makulya</i> ‘skin’; <i>eeka</i> ‘NEUT.tree’	<i>mv-ngarrkv-lharrv-lharra</i> VEG-ear-RDP-?long <i>madha</i> VEG.ear ‘long ears (teasing)’
<i>ngeng- ~ ngiyang-</i>	‘breath, life, pulse, sensory side of body parts?’	‘wind, sharp-edged things’	<i>engengbilya</i> ‘NEUT.armpit’; <i>ayarrka</i> ‘NEUT.hand’; <i>arrvrra</i> ‘NEUT.wind’; <i>lyelyinga</i> ‘knife(NEUT)’	<i>arrvrra</i> NEUT.wind <i>engengk-envbuwakidha</i> NEUT.WIND-silly ‘wind blowing from all directions’
<i>ngina- ~ nginarr-</i>	‘joints’	-	<i>amvngina</i> ‘NEUT.knuckle’; <i>yina</i> ‘MASC.knee’; <i>arnda</i> ‘elbow’; <i>eminda</i> ‘NEUT.nose’	<i>aka-ngina-dhadhe-na</i> IRR.12a/3a-joints-poke-NP2 <i>yina-manja akwa</i> MASC.knee-LOC and <i>arnda-manja</i> NEUT.elbow-LOC ‘we poke their knees and elbows’ (GED p.138)
<i>ngvrndvrr- ~ ngvrndarr-</i>	‘chin, jaw’	-	<i>angvrnda</i> ‘NEUT.chin’	<i>nara a-ngvrndrrr-bajv-ma</i> NEG NEGNP-jaw-hit-NP3 ‘don’t hit him on the jaw’

<i>ngurndvrr-</i>	‘ankle’	?’ fruit’	<i>angurnda</i> ‘NEUT.ankle’	<i>nara ngu-ngurndvrrk-bajv-ma</i> NEG NEGNP-ankle-hit-NP3 <i>angurnda-manja!</i> NEUT.ankle-LOC ‘Don’t hit him on the ankle!’ (‘Children’ h17)
<i>ngurr-</i>	‘mouth’	‘hole’	<i>edhvrra</i> ‘NEUT.mouth, hole’	<i>aku-ngurrv-mungkudhe-na</i> IRR.12a/NEUT-mouth-clean-NP2 <i>edhvrra</i> NEUT.mouth (GED p.10) ‘we rinse our mouth’
<i>ngurrvng-</i>	-	‘food’	<i>damba</i> ‘damper(NEUT)’; <i>anhvnga</i> ‘NEUT.vegetable food’	<i>a-ngurrvn-dhvlhvdhvlha</i> NEUT-food-thick <i>damba</i> damper(NEUT) ‘thick damper’
<i>nya-</i>	‘chest’	‘strong, poisonous things’	<i>yukudhukudha</i> ‘MASC.chest’; <i>armbvlhvrra</i> ‘NEUT.jellyfish’	<i>ni-nyak-bvdha</i> 3m-chest-strong ‘he is brave’ (VL1 p.198)
<i>ra-</i>	‘wind pipe, nose’	‘round and hollow things’	<i>yiraka</i> ‘MASC.wind pipe, didgeridoo’; <i>bajikala</i> ‘billycan(NEUT)’; <i>jinaba</i> ‘gun(NEUT)’	<i>nv-raku-</i> 3m/NEUT-round.and.hollow- <i>wurra bajikala</i> discard.P1 tin(NEUT) ‘he threw the tin away’ (JS2 p.132)
<i>remberr-</i>	-	‘flat things’	<i>jurra</i> ‘book(NEUT)’; <i>damba</i> ‘damper(NEUT)’; <i>eeka</i> ‘NEUT.tree’	<i>yi-remberr-bvrra</i> MASC-flat-wide <i>yimangalha</i> MASC.woomera ‘wide flat woomera’
<i>rnarr- ~ narr-</i>	‘nail’	-	<i>yinhanha</i> ‘MASC.nail’	<i>yi-rnarrk-awarriya yinhanha</i> MASC-nail-bad MASC.nail ‘nails out of shape’
<i>rra-</i>	‘forehead’	‘short and fat sticking out things’	<i>arra</i> ‘NEUT.forehead’; <i>amukurra</i> ‘NEUT.point of land’; <i>yiningilya</i> ‘MASC.sand bar’	<i>nv-mv-rrakv-lharrv-na</i> VEG-sticking.out-fall-NP2 <i>malharra</i> VEG.rock ‘rock overhang’
<i>rre-</i>	‘intestines’	‘long and flexible coiled things’	<i>yingarna</i> ‘MASC.snake’; <i>merra</i> ‘VEG.ropes’	<i>mv-rrek-awarriya</i> VEG-long.and.flexible-bad <i>mvngarukwa</i> VEG.fishing.line ‘tangled up fishing line’
<i>rri-</i>	?	‘jungle’	<i>murungwena</i> ‘VEG.jungle’	<i>mv-rriku-wilyarra</i> VEG-jungle-middle <i>murungwenu-manja</i> VEG.jungle-LOC ‘in the middle of the jungle’ (JS2 p.104)
<i>rvbvrr- ~ rvrr-</i>	‘back’	‘back/top of things’	<i>mvrirrba</i> ‘VEG.back’; <i>mvrvnga</i> ‘VEG.back bone’	<i>a-rvbvrrk-awarriya ayarrka</i> NEUT-back-bad NEUT.hand ‘scar on back of hand’

<i>rukw-</i>	‘foot, body, footprints’	‘animals with feet, road’	<i>alhvka</i> ‘NEUT.foot’; <i>wurrajija</i> ‘COLL.bird’; <i>mamurukwa</i> ‘VEG.road’	<i>nara ngv-rukw-alyadhv-ma!</i> NEG NEGNP-foot-hang-NP3 ‘don’t hang your feet over the side!’
<i>wa-</i>	-	‘web, cocoon, dillybag’	<i>muwadha</i> ‘VEG.web, cocoon’; <i>kayuwa</i> ‘dillybag(NEUT, VEG)’	<i>mu-wak-eningaba</i> VEG-dillybag-good <i>kayuwa</i> dillybag(VEG) ‘good dillybag’
<i>werri- ~ we-</i>	‘chest, emotions’	-	<i>yukudhukudha</i> ‘MASC.chest’	<i>dhu-werrik-awarriya</i> 3f-chest-bad ‘she is sad’
<i>wilye-</i>	‘skin, body’	‘bark, body’	<i>-makulya</i> ‘skin’; <i>amvreba</i> ‘NEUT.bark sheet’	<i>a-wilyek-awarriya</i> NEUT-skin-bad ‘scaly skin’
<i>wura-</i>	‘nostrils, nose’	‘pipe’	<i>emedhvrra eminda</i> ‘NEUT.nostrils’; <i>yilyarra</i> ‘MASC.pipe’	<i>na-wurakv-mvrndadhv-na-ma</i> NEUT-nose-be.cold-NP2-ma ‘nostrils are cold’
<i>yak- ~ yakurr-</i>	-	‘river’	<i>adhalyvma</i> ‘NEUT.river’; <i>midhalyvma</i> ‘VEG.mouth of river’	<i>a-yaku-warra</i> NEUT-river-other.side ‘the other side of the river’ (‘Bujikeda’ y32)
<i>yalh-</i>	‘throat’	‘tubular things’	<i>yambiya</i> ‘MASC.throat’; <i>jurra</i> ‘paper(NEUT)’; <i>amarda</i> ‘NEUT.grass’	<i>ni-yalk-abvramukwa</i> 3m/NEUT-tubular-roll.P2 <i>jurra</i> paper(NEUT) ‘he rolled up the paper’
<i>yamvrrk-</i>	‘upper arm’	‘round things’	<i>ayarrmvrra</i> ‘NEUT.upper arm’	<i>nvngi-yamvrr-mardhv-na</i> 1-upper.arm-hurt-NP2 ‘my upper arm is cramping’
<i>yarr-</i>	‘words, speech’	‘song’	<i>ayakwa</i> ‘NEUT.words, speech’; <i>emeba</i> ‘NEUT.song’	<i>ni-yarr-baliju-wa</i> 3m/NEUT-word-spread-P2 <i>akina ayakwa</i> NEUT.that NEUT.word ‘he spread the word’
<i>yeng- ~ yang-</i>	‘voice, speech’		<i>ayakwa</i> ‘NEUT.words, speech’	<i>nvngi-yang-bvrrvdha-ngv-ma</i> 1-voice-shake-P2-ma ‘my voice was shaking’
<i>ying-</i>	‘hump-back’	‘hill’	<i>mvrirrba</i> ‘VEG.back’; <i>yinijirra</i> ‘MASC.rocky hill’	<i>ngv-ni-yinh-dhadha</i> 1-3m-back-poke.P2 <i>amuwara-mvrra</i> NEUT.spear-INSTR ‘he poked me in the back with a spear’