

Appendix P: Correspondences in Wubuy and other languages

(This list includes all attested correspondences, i.e. also loan words)

Sources:

Wubuy: Heath (1982, 1984)

Ngandi: Heath (1978a); Harvey 2003a

pGN: Harvey (2003a); AEH (2003)

Macassan: Evans (1992)

Noun class prefixes:

	<u>Enindhilyakwa</u> (fixed to the noun stem)	<u>Wubuy</u> (flexible, omitted in citation form)	
		Continuous	Punctual
MASC	<i>y-</i>	<i>na-</i>	<i>yii-</i>
FEM	<i>dh-</i>	<i>ngarra-</i>	<i>yii-</i>
COLL	<i>wurr-</i>	<i>warra-</i>	<i>waa- / __ C ~ warr- / __ V</i>
VEG	<i>m(a)-</i>	<i>mana-</i>	<i>ama-</i>
NEUT	<i>a- ~ e-</i>	<i>ana-</i>	<i>a-</i>

(Heath's labels)
(NA)
(NGARRA)
(WARRA)
(MANA)
(ANA)

Nominals: body parts

Enindhilyakwa	Wubuy	pGN
<i>arndvrnda</i> 'NEUT.heart' <i>andhvra</i> 'NEUT.kidney'	<i>andhiri</i> 'heart' (NEUT)	
<i>alhakba</i> 'NEUT.lower leg', <i>lhakba-</i> 'lower leg, tail'	<i>lhabak</i> 'feather' (NEUT)	
<i>lharr-</i> 'bone, long and solid things'	<i>lharrbij</i> 'leg' (VEG)	* <i>dharr</i> 'thigh, leg'
<i>-m+akulya</i> 'skin'	<i>makurlak</i> 'skin' (NEUT)	* <i>kurlak</i> 'skin'
<i>werri-</i> 'chest, emotions'	<i>kwurrij-</i> 'chest, feelings, emotions'	
<i>lyang-</i> 'head'	<i>rlaang</i> 'head' (NEUT)	* <i>L/rong</i> (Ngal <i>rong</i> 'chin, face'; Ngan <i>rlong</i> 'head')
<i>yeng-</i> 'voice'	<i>yaang</i> 'voice, sound' (NEUT)	* <i>yang</i> 'voice'
<i>amvrndha</i> 'NEUT.shoulder'	<i>muurn</i> 'shoulder' (NEUT)	* <i>mirni</i> 'shoulder' *- <i>mun/rncum</i> 'shoulder'
<i>arndak</i> 'NEUT.elbow' (- <i>arndaka-</i> 'throw spear')	<i>arnda</i> (NEUT) 'joint of front flipper (of turtle)'; <i>warndak</i> (MASC) 'woomera' <i>marnda</i> 'lower leg' (NEUT)	* <i>borndok</i> 'woomera'
<i>arndvrrk-</i> ~ - <i>arndak-</i> 'outside of sth, elbow'	<i>wurndirrik</i> 'lower arm' (NEUT)	
<i>mvrr-</i> 'face'? <i>engmvrr-</i> 'nose' <i>yamvrrk-</i> 'ball-shaped round solid'	<i>yimurrk</i> 'nose' (NEUT)	
<i>ayarrka</i> 'NEUT.hand, fin'	<i>yarrka</i> 'hand, fin' (NEUT)	?* <i>jarrkka</i> 'water goanna'

<i>mamvngba</i> ‘VEG.hair’	<i>muung</i> ‘hair’ (VEG)	
<i>yambiya</i> ‘MASC.throat’	<i>yambiya</i> ‘throat’ (MASC)	
<i>anka</i> ~ <i>arrvngka</i> ‘NEUT.hip’ <i>angkarr-</i> ‘hip’	<i>nangka</i> ‘hip’ (NEUT)	
<i>mulkwa</i> ‘VEG.stomach’	<i>murlku</i> ‘stomach’ (VEG)	
<i>akba</i> ‘NEUT.buttocks’ <i>akbvrraka-</i> ‘buttocks, tail’	<i>birlaj</i> ‘buttocks’ (VEG)	
<i>abvrang-</i> ~ <i>abvram-</i> ~ <i>abvran-</i> ~ <i>abvra-</i> ‘flat-shaped’	<i>bira</i> ‘anus, rear end’ (VEG)	
<i>m-envng-ala-kura</i> ‘navel’	<i>mala</i> ‘navel’ (COLL)	
<i>minjirr-</i> ‘skin, body, bark, leaves’	<i>manjarr</i> ‘leaves’ (NEUT)	* <i>manjarr</i> ‘leaf’
<i>mv+dhawu+dhawa</i> ‘VEG+tail of flying fox, echidna, etc., tailbone’	<i>dhawal</i> ‘tailbone’ (VEG)	
<i>yina</i> ‘MASC.knee’		pPN: * <i>jina</i> ‘foot’
<i>alhvka</i> ‘NEUT.foot’ <i>alhukwanja</i> ‘NEUT.dance’	<i>-wanja-</i> ~ <i>-kanja-</i> ‘to dance’ [A ₂]	Ri: <i>rluku</i> ‘foot’
<i>ngurr-</i> ‘mouth’	<i>-ngurrda-</i> ‘to groan’	
<i>marrang-</i> ‘hands’	<i>marang</i> ‘hands’ (NEUT)	
<i>lyak-</i> ‘elongated solid’	<i>rlaka</i> ‘lower leg’ (NEUT) <i>rlaaka</i> ‘stone spear’ (NEUT)	

Nominals: fauna

Enindhilyakwa	Wubuy	pGN / Macassan
<i>dherriba</i> ‘trepan(FEM)’ <i>yungula</i> ‘MASC.trepan’	<i>dha:rriba</i> (MASC) ‘trepan’ <i>yiningulu</i> (MASC) ‘young trepan’	Mac: <i>taripan</i>
<i>mandarra</i> ‘VEG.type of fish, hammer oyster’ <i>mandarra</i> ~ <i>marndarra</i> ‘VEG.tomahawk’	<i>mandarra</i> ‘butterfly fish’ (MASC)	
<i>dhuwalja</i> ‘FEM.water python’	<i>arlja</i> ‘water python’ (FEM)	
<i>yibvradha</i> ‘MASC.wallaby’	<i>yarrurdu</i> ‘female wallaby (FEM)	
<i>dharrawurukukwa</i> ‘FEM.dove’	<i>dharrawurukukuk</i> ~ <i>dhawurukuku</i> ‘peaceful dove’ (FEM)	
<i>yimadhuwaya</i> ‘MASC.stingray’	<i>yimadhuwayu</i> ‘stingray’ (MASC)	
<i>mandha</i> ‘VEG.great-billed heron’ <i>dhvmandha</i> ‘FEM.reef heron’	<i>maanha(k)</i> ‘heron’ (NEUT)	
<i>yukurrkwa</i> ‘MASC.frogmouth owl’ Tindale <i>yokoroko</i>	<i>yikurrku</i> ‘owl’ (NEUT)	
<i>enuwa</i> ‘NEUT.flatback turtle’	<i>anuwa</i> ‘flatback turtle’ (NEUT)	
<i>yilikarriba</i> ‘MASC.pearl oyster’	<i>yimarmba</i> ‘shellfish sp.’ (MASC)	
<i>yimvrnda</i> ‘MASC.lice’	<i>murndik</i> ‘flea, tick’ (COLL)	
<i>yiminjarra</i> ‘lowly trevally’	<i>yiminyjarra</i> ~ <i>yiminyarri</i> ‘small parrotfish or tuskfish’ (?)	
<i>yembvrrkwa</i> ‘MASC.tusk fish’	<i>yambirrku</i> ‘tusk fish’ (MASC)	
<i>yimvrrarra</i> ‘MASC.milkfish’	<i>yimirdaarri</i> ‘milkfish’ (MASC)	

<i>yirvmba</i> ‘MASC.seagull’ (children say <i>yijarra</i>)	<i>jarrak</i> ‘silver gull’ (MASC); <i>kurumburra</i> ‘silver gull (esp. young)’ (MASC)	* <i>karrakkarrak</i> ‘diver duck’; Ri <i>jarra</i> pPN * <i>cyarra</i> ‘sea gull’ (Alpher App p.415)
<i>dhvmakbvlha</i> ‘FEM.pelican’	<i>maabulhu</i> ‘young pelican’ (FEM)	
<i>wurrulhiyuwa</i> ‘COLL.wading birds’	<i>lhawuya</i> ‘spoonbill’ (COLL)	
<i>dhuwalya</i> ‘FEM.curlew’	<i>wuwarlurlu</i> ‘curlew’ (FEM)	* <i>kuwarlu</i> ‘curlew’
<i>yinikarrka</i> ‘MASC.hawk, kite, falcon’	<i>nikarrka</i> ‘small brownish hawk sp.’ (MASC) <i>karrkaj</i> ‘goshawk’ (VEG)	* <i>karrkkany</i> ‘goshawk’
<i>amarrvrla</i> ~ <i>amarrvla</i> ‘NEUT.egret’	<i>marraarla(k)</i> ‘egret’ (NEUT)	
<i>kuwaka</i> ‘koel(NEUT)’	<i>kuwak</i> ‘koel’ (NEUT)	* <i>jawok</i> ‘koel’
<i>wurruweba</i> ‘COLL.parrot’	<i>wurruwajba</i> ‘red-winged parrot’ (COLL)	* <i>wel/rrej/y</i> (Ngan <i>werreywerrey</i> ; Wa <i>welejban</i>)
<i>maminya</i> ‘VEG.firefly’	<i>aamuny</i> ‘common fly’ (MASC); <i>yaminyji</i> ‘lightning, gecko lizard’ (MASC)	
<i>dhvlhanda</i> ‘FEM.rock wallaby’	<i>lhaanda</i> ‘young kangaroo’ (NEUT)	
<i>bulukwa</i> ‘bullock’ (Eng)	<i>buluki</i> ‘bullock’ (Eng) (NEUT)	
<i>bujikeda</i> ‘cat’ (Eng)	<i>bujikan</i> ‘cat’ (Eng) (NEUT)	
<i>jarrangwa</i> ‘horse(FEM)’	<i>jarrangu</i> ‘horse’ (FEM)	Mac: <i>jaran</i> ‘horse’
<i>yukulbandha</i> ‘MASC.barramundi’	<i>yingkurlbandi</i> ‘barramundi’ (MASC)	
<i>dhvrrvrra</i> ‘FEM.batfish’	<i>dhirrirri</i> ~ <i>dhurrurru</i> ‘marine fish sp.’ (FEM)	
<i>alkvrra</i> ‘NEUT.herring’	<i>warlkarra</i> ‘herring’ (NEUT)	* <i>warlkkarra</i> ‘fish sp.’
<i>adhvka</i> ‘NEUT.anchovy’	<i>adhakak</i> ‘young bony bream fish’ (NEUT)	
<i>angalbiya</i> ‘NEUT.eel-tailed catfish’	(w) <i>arnngalbiya</i> ‘eel-tailed catfish’ (NEUT)	
<i>yimvdhvrrngwa</i> ‘MASC.fork- tailed catfish’	<i>midhurrungu</i> ‘fork-tailed catfish’ (COLL)	* <i>marrnguny</i> ‘catfish sp.’
<i>merrukurra</i> ‘VEG.long-tom’	<i>marrikkurru</i> ‘long-tom’ (VEG)	
<i>yilyangbilyangbadha</i> ‘MASC.greenback mullet’	<i>rlambarlambaadhu</i> ‘mullet’ (MASC)	
<i>yibarungkwa</i> ‘MASC.mullet’	<i>yibardungku</i> ‘mullet’ (MASC)	
<i>yulkwa</i> ‘MASC.toadfish’	<i>yirlku</i> ‘toadfish’ (COLL)	
<i>amadharrnga</i> ‘NEUT.large barracuda’	<i>amadharrngka</i> ‘barracuda’ (NEUT)	
<i>yimawura</i> ‘MASC.red emperor fish’	<i>yimawuru</i> ‘red emperor fish’ (MASC)	
<i>yarruwarra</i> ‘MASC.skinny fish’	<i>yarrwarri</i> ‘dart’ (MASC)	
<i>dhamabvrna</i> ‘FEM.coral cod, coral trout’	<i>dhumaabirna</i> ‘coral cod, coral trout’ (FEM)	
<i>yakarra</i> ‘MASC.sweetlips (big ones)’	<i>yakarri</i> ‘sweetlips’ (MASC)	
<i>arranda</i> ‘NEUT.sweetlips (small ones)’	<i>yarrandi</i> ~ <i>yarrandhi</i> ‘sweetlips’ (MASC)	

<i>karawarra</i> ‘long-nosed emperor(MASC)’	<i>karawarra</i> ‘spangled emperor’ (NEUT)	
<i>amungkwa</i> ‘NEUT.spangled emperor’	<i>amungku</i> ‘sweetlip emperor’ (NEUT)	
<i>kymbamvrra</i> ‘spinefoot, lancer(FEM)’	<i>kumbaamirri</i> ‘batfish’ (FEM)	
<i>yuwunbvrna</i> ‘MASC.bream’	<i>yiwunbirna</i> ‘sea-bream’ (MASC)	
<i>wurrabarja</i> ‘COLL.surf parrot-fish’	<i>wurrabardji</i> ‘parrot-fish’ (COLL)	
<i>yilyangmvlhvmlha</i> ‘MASC.stonefish’	<i>ramurrllhumurrllhu</i> ‘stonefish’ (MASC)	
<i>manjiwarra</i> ‘VEG.mouth almighty’	<i>nyuwarr</i> ‘mouth almighty’ (VEG)	
<i>aja</i> ‘NEUT.hark’ <i>maja</i> ‘VEG.black-tip shark’	<i>aja</i> ‘shark’ (NEUT)	
<i>amarbirra</i> ‘NEUT.cowtail stingray’	<i>marbidi</i> ‘small ray sp.’ (NEUT)	
<i>arrba</i> ‘NEUT.coachwhip stingray’; <i>dharrba</i> ‘FEM.young ones’	<i>yarrba</i> ‘ray sp.’ (COLL)	
<i>amarnvndhangwa</i> ‘NEUT.eagle ray’; <i>dhvmarnvndhangwa</i> ‘FEM.young ones’	<i>marnindhangu</i> ‘eagle ray’ (NEUT) <i>dhu-marnindhangu</i> ¹⁸ ‘young ones’ (NEUT)	
<i>amvrnrna</i> ‘NEUT.stingray’ <i>yimvrnrna</i> ‘MASC.young ones’	<i>marnirnik</i> ‘ray sp.’ (NEUT)	
<i>arimba</i> ‘NEUT.rough-skinned stingray’; <i>dhvrimba</i> ‘FEM.young ones’	<i>rduumbi</i> ‘ray sp.’ (FEM)	
<i>dhvngalhuwa</i> ‘FEM.hawksbill turtle’	<i>ngalhuwa</i> ‘hawksbill’ (FEM)	
<i>yijirakamvrra</i> ‘MASC.olive Ridley turtle’	<i>jardakaamirri</i> ‘Ridley’ (NEUT)	
<i>yimbalma</i> ‘MASC.turban shell’	<i>yurnbalmi</i> ‘snail-like shellfish living in mangroves’ (NEUT)	
<i>mvngawa</i> ‘VEG.top shell’	<i>mingaawu</i> ‘cone-shaped shellfish’ (VEG)	
<i>yilharda</i> ‘MASC.mud-whelk shell’	<i>lhaardu</i> ‘mud-whelk’ (COLL)	
<i>yarndvrrena</i> ‘MASC.Venus shell’	<i>yirndirrani</i> ‘small bivalve shellfish’ (MASC)	
<i>anganjinganjirrvra</i> ‘NEUT.sunset shell’	<i>ngarnji</i> ‘baler’ (COLL)	
<i>melhuwa</i> ‘VEG.razor clam shell’	<i>malhiwu</i> ‘shellfish sp.’ (VEG)	
<i>yuwalkurra</i> ~ <i>yuwarlkurra</i> ‘VEG.kneecap, Cyrene shell’	<i>warlkurrk</i> ‘clam’ (MASC)	
<i>yimvkvmykarra</i> ‘MASC.chiton’	<i>mikimikarri</i> ‘shellfish sp.’ (MASC)	
<i>dhvnginjabena</i> ‘FEM.dolphin’	<i>nanyjabana</i> ‘porpoise’ (FEM)	

¹⁸ Heath (1982: 21): “The *dhu-* is possibly an Anindhilyakwa noun class marker etymologically.”

<i>yabungurra</i> ‘MASC.sea wasp’	<i>yabungurru</i> ‘young sea wasp’ (COLL)	
<i>wurramalkwa</i> ‘COLL.black flying fox’	<i>malk-</i> ‘night sky, darkness at night’	
<i>dhvrrvkba</i> ‘FEM.plover’	<i>birrbirrk</i> ‘masked plover’ (COLL)	* <i>berrebberreb</i> ‘plover’
<i>yikba</i> ‘MASC.pheasant’	<i>wubuk</i> ‘swamp pheasant’ (VEG) young ones: <i>bubuk</i> ~ <i>bububuk</i>	* <i>bukbuk</i> ‘pheasant’
<i>ekbarra</i> ‘NEUT.drongo’	<i>dhabarrarrak</i> ‘green tree frog’ (COLL)	* <i>dhakbarrarraq</i> ‘green tree frog’
<i>wurvmilyija</i> ‘COLL.butterfly’	<i>murla</i> ‘mosquito’ (FEM)	* <i>merlemerle</i> ‘butterfly’
<i>muwalngara</i> ‘Cooktown salmon’ (VL1 p.277)	<i>walngari</i> ‘salmon’ (NEUT)	
<i>wujilhukwa</i> ‘Barred Long-tom’ (VL1 p.277)	<i>wurrjuluku</i> ‘Barred Long-tom’ (?)	
<i>bankija</i> ‘Whale shark’ (VL1 p.277)	<i>rlankij</i> ‘Whale shark’ (?)	

Nominals: flora

Enindhilyakwa	Wubuy	pGN
<i>amarda</i> ‘NEUT.grass’	<i>marda</i> ‘grass’ (NEUT)	
<i>yilyarra</i> ‘MASC.pipe, pipe bush’	<i>yilaarri</i> ‘smoking pipe, tree whose wood is used to make pipes’ (MASC)	
<i>yiniba</i> ‘MASC.red clay stone’	<i>yinibi</i> ‘particles (e.g. bits of dirt) inside nose’ (MASC)	
<i>kvriba</i> ‘wild passion fruit(NEUT)’ < <i>creeper</i>	<i>kiriba</i> ‘wild passion fruit’ (NEUT) (Eng)	
<i>mabvrrawilya</i> ‘VEG.beach convolvulus’	<i>mabarrawuray</i> ‘crawling vine’ (VEG)	
<i>marija</i> ‘VEG.tar vine’	<i>riija</i> ‘scrambling vine’ (VEG)	
<i>mawurrvra</i> ‘VEG.seagrass’	<i>wurruri</i> ‘seagrass’ (VEG)	
<i>alha</i> ‘NEUT.sponge, seaweed’	<i>alhilhi</i> ‘sea-sponge’ (MASC)	
<i>marmbarmbvrira</i> ‘VEG.banyan fig’	<i>marnbarnburru</i> ‘fig’ (VEG)	
<i>kunyarra</i> ‘swamp fig(NEUT)’ (VL1 p.278)	<i>kurninyarra</i> ‘swamp fig’ (VEG)	
<i>jungkulvra</i> ‘Carissa shrub(NEUT)’ (VL1 p.278)	<i>jingkurlirli</i> ‘Carissa shrub’ (VEG)	
<i>jangawula</i> ‘Red Ash(NEUT)’ (VL1 p.278)	<i>jangawili</i> ‘Red Ash’ (NEUT)	
<i>kalangarnda</i> ‘Flat Swamp Potato(NEUT)’ (VL p.278)	<i>wukalangernda</i> ‘Flat Swamp Potato’ (NEUT)	
<i>mangkarrkba</i> ‘VEG.wild plum’	<i>mangkarrabi</i> ‘sedge with edible roots’ (VEG)	
<i>mabanda</i> ‘VEG.yellow hibiscus tree’ (men made spears and woomeas from these trees)	<i>mabard</i> ‘tree whose wood is used to make spear shafts’ (VEG)	
<i>awaruwara</i> ‘NEUT.spear bush’	<i>wardawarda</i> ‘tree whose wood is used to make spear shafts’ (VEG)	

<i>mabalba</i> ‘VEG.peanut tree’	<i>barlbi</i> ‘tree similar to kurrajongs’ (VEG)	
<i>alhvmilya</i> ‘NEUT.bloodwood’	<i>lhumurluk</i> ‘bloodwood’ (NEUT)	* <i>dhumurluk</i> ‘bloodwood’
<i>mukumukwa</i> ‘VEG.deep sea’	<i>mukumuku</i> ‘open sea, far from land’ (VEG)	
<i>muwarraka</i> ‘VEG.whistling tree’	<i>arrakiny</i> ‘whistling tree’ (VEG)	
<i>mardvdharra</i> ‘VEG.ironwood’	<i>mirdardarri</i> ‘uncommon term for fruit of green plum’ (VEG)	
<i>jamba</i> ‘tamarind(NEUT)’	<i>jaamba</i> ‘tamarind’ (NEUT)	Mac: <i>jampa</i> ‘tamarind’
<i>anhvma</i> ‘NEUT.mangrove (tree)’	<i>anhuma</i> ‘seedpod of mangrove tree’ (NEUT)	
<i>amilyingkvngvramvrra</i> ~ <i>amilyingkvrara</i> ‘NEUT.sea anemone’	<i>arlinykirna</i> ‘sea anemone’ (NEUT)	
<i>mendheba</i> ‘VEG.mat rush’	<i>mandhabi</i> ~ <i>maandhabi</i> ~ <i>maandabi</i> ‘sedge sp.’ (VEG)	
<i>lhang-</i> ‘long tall standing things, e.g. trees’	<i>lhangki</i> ‘cocky apple tree’ (VEG)	* <i>dhangkiq</i> ‘tree sp.’
<i>yvrndvrnda</i> ~ <i>dhvrndvrnda</i> ‘MASC/FEM.strychnine tree’	<i>yirndi</i> ‘sandpaper-leaf fig tree’ (MASC)	
<i>yilherrkvrara</i> ‘MASC.black mangrove tree’	<i>lhalkurr</i> ‘mangrove tree’ (VEG)	
<i>erriberriba</i> ‘NEUT.bush’	<i>warrinybarriny</i> ‘dense scrub’ (NEUT)	
<i>dhilyabvrnda</i> ‘FEM.frog’		* <i>mulubbirndi</i> ‘tree sp.’
<i>dhvmakelya</i> ‘FEM.mistletoe’		* <i>makorlkorl</i> ‘plant sp.’

Nominals: environment and objects

Enindhilyakwa	Wubuy	pGN / Macassan
<i>wurrvbvrrkba</i> ~ <i>wurrvbvrrba</i> ~ <i>wurrvbvrrmba</i> ~ <i>bvrrvmbvrrnga</i> ‘COLL.seven sisters, Orion's belt’	<i>burrumburrunga</i> ‘galaxy’ (MASC)	
<i>miyeja</i> ‘VEG.paddle’ Tindale 1926:104: <i>miaja</i>	<i>miyaja</i> ‘paddle’ (VEG); ‘young sulphur-crested cockatoo’ (COLL)	
<i>alyakwa</i> ~ <i>yilyakwa</i> ‘NEUT/MASC.honey’	<i>rlaku</i> ‘wild honey’ (NEUT)	
<i>mabarrkwa</i> ‘VEG.fighting stick’ Tindale 1925:99 <i>mabarukwu</i>	<i>mabarrku</i> ‘nulla nulla (fighting stick)’ (VEG) Tindale: <i>mabaruko</i>	
<i>mamanjirrkuya</i> ‘VEG.digging stick’	<i>makujirnkuya</i> ‘sharp fighting stick’ (VEG)	
<i>angura</i> ‘NEUT.fire’	<i>ngura</i> ‘fire’ (NEUT)	
<i>enungkwa</i> ‘NEUT.spear’	<i>anungku</i> ‘stringybark spear’ (?)	
<i>wubvrrvkila</i> ‘COLL.shovel-nosed spear’	<i>wubirrkilin</i> ‘wooden shovel spear’ (NEUT)	
<i>dhinda</i> ‘bamboo shaft spear(NEUT)’	<i>dhiindi</i> ‘cane grass spear’ (NEUT)	

<i>dhvrrabada</i> ‘FEM.spear’	<i>dhurrabada</i> ~ <i>dhudabada</i> ‘wire spear’ (NEUT)	(GP /cutapata/ [JS1 p.164])
<i>yinibirra</i> ‘frigate bird’	<i>yinibirri</i> ‘hook spear’ (MASC)	
<i>lyak-</i> ‘elongated solid’	<i>rlaka</i> ‘lower leg’ (NEUT) <i>rlaaka</i> ‘stone spear’ (NEUT)	
<i>yimangala</i> ‘MASC.woomera’	<i>mangalng</i> ‘woomera’ ¹⁹ (MASC)	
<i>awurukwa</i> ‘NEUT.billabong’	<i>wurugu</i> ‘billabong’ (NEUT)	
<i>marnja</i> ‘VEG.bee brood’	<i>marn</i> ‘brood cells’ (?)	
<i>awulmarra</i> ‘NEUT.boomerang’	<i>wulmuwarri</i> ‘boomerang’ (NEUT)	
<i>baja</i> ‘nail(NEUT)’	<i>baaju</i> ‘spike, nail’ (NEUT)	Mac: <i>paso?</i> ‘peg, wedge, nail’
<i>lama</i> ‘shovel spear(NEUT)’	<i>rlama</i> ‘shovel spear’ (NEUT)	Mac: <i>laman?</i> ‘sabre’
<i>yiningilya</i> ‘MASC.sandbar’	<i>yiningira</i> ‘sandbar’ (MASC)	
<i>mamarika</i> ‘VEG.southeast wind’	<i>marika</i> ‘cold S to SE wind’ (VEG)	
<i>yiniyerrma</i> ‘MASC.SE wind’	<i>wirdiyarr</i> ‘strong E wind’ (VEG)	
<i>barra</i> ‘northwest wind(NEUT/MASC)’	<i>baarra</i> ‘northwest wind’ (MASC)	Mac: <i>bara?</i> ‘northwest wind’
<i>dhungwarra</i> ‘east wind(NEUT)’ (VL1 p.276)	<i>rlungkurrma</i> ‘northeast wind’ (NEUT)	Mac: <i>tun̄kara</i> ‘SE wind’
<i>lungkurrma</i> ‘northeast wind(?)’	<i>rlungkurrma</i> ‘northeast wind’ (NEUT)	Mac: <i>tun̄kara</i> ‘SE wind’
<i>arrvrra</i> ‘NEUT.wind’	<i>arrarra</i> ‘day, daytime’ (NEUT)	
<i>lharruwura</i> ‘afternoon’	<i>adharrwara</i> ‘late afternoon’ (NEUT)	
<i>marrvnga</i> ‘VEG.night, sleep, dark’		* <i>morr</i> ‘to be/get dark’
<i>barnvmbvrra</i> ‘morning star(FEM)’	<i>barnumbil</i> ‘morning star’ (FEM)	
<i>dvrvmala</i> ‘northeast wind(NEUT)’ (VL1 p.276) <i>dhvrrmala</i> ‘FEM.northeast wind’	<i>rdurvmala</i> ‘northeast wind’ (NEUT)	Mac: <i>turuŋ</i> ‘downwind’ (VLp.276: <i>timoro?</i> ‘NE wind’)
<i>dhvmbvrra</i> ~ <i>dhvmburru</i> ‘northeast wind(FEM)’	<i>dhimburru</i> ‘northeast wind’ (NEUT)	Mac: <i>timoro?</i> ‘east wind’
<i>dhaladha</i> ‘south wind(FEM)’	<i>dhaladha</i> ‘northeast wind’ (NEUT)	Mac: <i>sallatan?</i> ‘south wind’
<i>awiyerrvrda</i> ‘NEUT.cyclone’	<i>wuyarrirda</i> ‘cyclone’ (NEUT)	
<i>marrakwa</i> ‘VEG.whirlpool in sea’	<i>marraku</i> ‘twister’ (VEG)	
<i>angubina</i> ‘NEUT.cloud’ Tindale 1926: <i>aubina</i>	<i>ngubunung</i> ‘cloud’ (NEUT)	
<i>ebvrra</i> ‘NEUT.raincloud’ (VL1 p.44)	<i>-abirrarraki-</i> [I ₁] ‘to get light in the morning’	
<i>awija</i> ‘NEUT.mist’	<i>wuuji</i> ‘mist’ (NEUT)	
<i>mijiyelya</i> ~ <i>midhiyelya</i> ‘VEG.beach’	<i>madharlak</i> ‘beach’ (VEG)	

¹⁹ Heath (1982: 97) notes that this word looks like a derivative of *ngalng-* ‘spike on woomera’ with VEG (Mana) class prefix *ma-*, but this analysis is incompatible synchronically with MASC (Na) class marking, which he believes is due to synonymy with MASC (Na) class *warndak* ‘woomera’. The Enindhilyakwa correspondence is also MASC.

<i>adhalyvma</i> ‘NEUT.river’	<i>-rlami</i> ‘river’ (song style)	
<i>akvlharr-</i> ‘season’	<i>akalhal-</i> ‘season’ (cpd. initial)	
<i>alhamukwa</i> ‘NEUT.bark canoe’ <i>malhamukwa</i> ‘VEG.dugout canoe’	<i>lhamuku</i> ‘canoe’ (NEUT)	GP <i>dhamukku</i> (VL1 p.59)
<i>mijiyanga</i> ‘VEG.boat, ship’	<i>mijiyanga</i> ‘type of ship’ (VEG)	Mac: <i>?bisean</i> ‘boat’
<i>dhvlhingena</i> ‘FEM.salt’	<i>lhanganic</i> ‘salt’ (MASC)	
<i>jal-</i> ‘ground’		* <i>jolkko</i> ‘ground’
<i>arnduwarra</i> ‘NEUT.walking stick’	<i>warndulu</i> ‘walking stick’ (NEUT)	
<i>mvrngkvrre</i> ‘VEG.sinker’	<i>mirnkirra</i> ‘sinker’ (VEG)	
<i>amba(k)-</i> ‘hollow things, canoes’	<i>ramba-</i> ‘boat, canoe’	
<i>baliyerra</i> ‘sail(NEUT)’ Tindal 1926:104: <i>balyara</i>	<i>bakajalyarra</i> ‘mast’ (NEUT)	Mac: <i>pallayarran</i> ‘mast’
<i>kalikwa</i> ‘calico, tent(NEUT)’	<i>kaaliku</i> ‘canvas’ (VEG)	Eng: <i>calico</i>
<i>n-abalija</i> ‘3m-male owner’	<i>napalijang</i> ?	
<i>bajirlana</i> ‘fish hook, claw(NEUT)’	<i>bajirlang</i> ‘fish hook’ (FEM)	
<i>bikanga</i> ‘fish hook(NEUT)’ Tindale 1925:80 <i>bigangi</i>	<i>bikangi</i> ‘fish hook’ (NEUT)	Mac: <i>pekan</i> ‘fish hook’
<i>kaliwanga</i> ‘machete(NEUT)’	<i>kaliwanga</i> (NEUT)	Mac: <i>kalewang</i> ‘sabre’
<i>bajikala</i> ‘billycan(NEUT)’		Mac: <i>bassi kallij</i> (VL1 p.280) or <i>bassi kaleŋ</i> ?
<i>libaliba</i> ‘canoe(NEUT)’; Tindale 1926: <i>leva-leva</i>		Mac: <i>lepa-lepa</i> ‘canoe’
<i>kulvnga</i> ‘rudder(NEUT)’	<i>kulinga</i> (VEG)	Mac: <i>gulin</i> ‘rudder’
<i>dhvmbala</i> ‘cloth, sail(FEM, VEG)’ Tindale 1926:104: <i>tumbala</i>	<i>dhumbala</i> ‘sail, cloth’ (VEG)	Mac: <i>sombala?</i> ‘sail’
<i>bangkilya</i> ‘tomahawk(NEUT)’	<i>bangkilijina</i> ‘metal axe’ (NEUT)	Mac: <i>paŋkulu?</i> ‘axe’
<i>babvlvkena</i> ‘sheet iron(NEUT)’	<i>babirlikan</i> ‘iron, steel’ (NEUT)	Mac: ?
<i>badha</i> ‘box(NEUT)’	<i>baadhi</i> ‘box’ (NEUT)	Mac: <i>patti</i> ‘box’
<i>balangwa</i> ‘anchor(VEG)’	<i>balangu</i> ‘rope for sail or anchor’ (VEG)	Mac: <i>balano</i> ‘anchor’
<i>dhvdija</i> ‘iron(NEUT)’	<i>dhuduju</i> ‘anchor, crowbar’ (NEUT)	Mac: ?
<i>lyelyinga</i> ‘knife(NEUT)’ Tindale 1926:132: <i>lalingi</i>		Mac: <i>ladiŋ</i> ‘knife’
<i>anija</i> ‘beer(NEUT)’	<i>aniji</i> ‘type of liquor associated with Macassans’ (NEUT)	Mac: <i>anisi?</i> ‘alcohol, grog’
<i>libanga</i> ‘bait(NEUT)’	<i>libangi</i> ‘bait’ (NEUT)	Mac: <i>eppan</i> ‘bait’
<i>kalukwa</i> ‘coconut(NEUT)’		Mac: <i>kaluku</i>

Nominals: others

Enindhilyakwa	Wubuy	pGN / Mac
<i>marduwala</i> ‘VEG.circumcision ceremony’	<i>marndiwala</i> ‘circumcision ritual’ (VEG)	
<i>malvrra</i> ‘VEG.open circumcision ceremony’	<i>-marlmarla-</i> ‘to dance in circumcision’	* <i>molerreny</i> ~ * <i>morlerreny</i> ‘mortuary package of bones’
<i>mardayin</i> ‘VEG.ceremony’	<i>mardayin</i> ‘ceremony’ (NEUT)	* <i>mardayin</i>
<i>a+ma+lhawudhawarra</i> ‘NEUT.Dreaming’	<i>lhawadhawarra</i> ‘Dreaming’ (NEUT)	(Ngan <i>dhowo</i>)
<i>ruk</i> w- ‘body’; <i>-arukwa</i> ‘raw’	<i>rdiku</i> ‘raw’; <i>riku-</i> ~ <i>ruku-</i> ‘dead, unconscious’	
<i>-awura</i> ‘alone’	<i>wiriwiri</i> ~ <i>biriwiri</i> ‘alone’	
<i>-k-adhuwa</i> ‘new’; <i>adhuwaba</i> ‘today’	<i>kadhuwa</i> ‘young, new’	
<i>lyikarr-</i> ‘light and hollow’	<i>kakar</i> ‘light weight’	
<i>-mangkadhvrra</i> ‘introduced, Macassan, European’	<i>mangkaadhira</i> ‘Macassan’	
<i>bungkawa</i> ‘boss’	<i>bungkawa</i> ‘boss’	Mac: <i>pungawa</i> ‘boss’
<i>arakba</i> ‘completed action’	<i>bukak</i> ‘old’	
<i>ne-ni-yuwangkwa</i> ‘3m-m-old man’; <i>dha-dhi-yuwangkwa</i> ‘3f-f-old woman’	<i>yiwangku</i> ‘old (man)’	
<i>dhambakwa</i> ‘tobacco(NEUT)’	<i>dhamba(a)ku</i> ‘tobacco’ (NEUT)	Mac <i>tambako</i> pGN * <i>dhambakku</i> ~ * <i>jambakku</i>
<i>Lalara</i> ‘clan name’	<i>Rlarlarra</i> ‘clan name’	
<i>alvdha</i> ‘NEUT.paint, colour, ochre’	<i>wudhalak</i> ‘ochre’ (VEG)	(Ngan <i>budhdhalak</i> ‘ochre’)
<i>n-ebiba</i> ~ <i>n-ebbibba</i> ‘3m-mother’s brother’ (VL1 p.26)	<i>nabiba</i> ‘mother’s brother’	* <i>bibbi</i> ‘man’s child’
<i>kaku</i> ‘grandmother’	<i>kaaku</i> ‘MoMo’	* <i>ka(k)kak</i> ‘parallel grandparent (Ngan <i>kokkok</i>)
<i>mawilya</i> ‘VEG.pubic tassle’		* <i>warlbburr</i> ‘pubic tassle’
<i>-adhvrra</i> ‘some’	<i>adharra</i> ‘few’	
<i>yawa</i> ‘yes’	<i>yao</i> ‘yes’	
<i>-mvrrk+balya</i> ‘soft’	<i>warlayida</i> ~ <i>barlayida</i> ‘smooth’	
<i>malyarra</i> ‘VEG.pubic tassle’	<i>milyirr</i> (neut) ‘decoration’	
<i>narngkiyarrka</i> ‘my father-in-law’	<i>arnki</i> ‘FaMoBrCh’	
<i>amarmbarmbvna</i> ‘place name’ (VL1 p.67)	<i>amarnbarnbina</i>	

Verbs

Enindhilyakwa [I]	Wubuy [I]	pGN
- <i>angkarr</i> - ‘run, blow, coming in of tide’	- <i>angkarr</i> - ‘come in (of tide, saltwater)’	
- <i>dharrbv</i> - ‘move’	- <i>dhadharrbi</i> - ‘move’	
- <i>lyikbi</i> - ‘float’	- <i>rijbi</i> - ‘float’	
- <i>awiyabe</i> - ‘enter’	- <i>yabi</i> - ‘enter’	
- <i>mungk(w)adhv</i> - ‘dig’	- <i>wud-i</i> ~ - <i>kudi</i> - ‘dig’ - <i>kaadhi</i> - ‘dig in ground with hands’	
- <i>mebi</i> - ‘sing’	- <i>maya</i> - ‘sing’	
- <i>nyirr(ng)mV</i> - ‘blow nose’	- <i>nyirra</i> - ‘growl’ (dog)	*- <i>ngVrr(ng)</i> - ‘growl’ *- <i>jirrng</i> - ‘sneeze’
- <i>ngambe</i> - ‘bathe’	- <i>ngambi</i> - ‘bathe’	
- <i>ngare</i> - ‘howl, cry (of curlews)’	- <i>ngara</i> - ‘howl’ [intr., A ₂], some forms confusable with - <i>ngari</i> - ‘fade away’ [intr., I ₁]	
- <i>lharr</i> - ‘fall’	- <i>lharri</i> - ‘untie, release’	
- <i>arrk</i> - ‘pull’	- <i>arrki</i> - ‘pull’	
- <i>akvma</i> - ‘put’		*- <i>kutma</i> - ‘put down’
- <i>embirrar</i> - ~ - <i>embvlarr</i> - - <i>ambvdvdhv</i> - ‘be delayed’	- <i>ambunarri</i> - ‘wait’ (<i>narra</i> (tr., A ₂) ‘wait for’)	
- <i>errikerri</i> - ‘look back, look around’	- <i>karrini</i> - ‘look back over one’s shoulder’ (<i>karri</i> + REFL of <i>na</i> ‘see’); - <i>kaarriki</i> - ‘go/come back’	
- <i>yengbi</i> - ‘speak’	- <i>yambi</i> - ‘speak’	
- <i>balhv</i> - ‘be open’	- <i>wawalha</i> - ~ - <i>bawalha</i> - [intr., A ₂] ‘be wide open’	
- <i>errikirrik+arrnga</i> - ‘be tired, stretching, yawning’	- <i>wirr-kirrkirru-j</i> - ‘skinny, in poor physical condition’	
- <i>ambalk</i> - ‘pelt with stones’	- <i>warlka</i> - ~ - <i>barlka</i> - ‘pelt with stones’	
- <i>bvdhv</i> - ‘swell’	- <i>wuda</i> - ~ - <i>buda</i> - ‘swell’ (NGA ₁)	
- <i>bvlbee-yi</i> - ‘bubble, boil (of water)’	- <i>bulbayi</i> - ‘bubble, boil (of water)’	
- <i>barrku-dhv</i> - ‘go a long way, hike, walkabout’	<i>barri</i> - ‘hike, walkabout’ (NEUT)	
- <i>yardi-ji</i> - ‘carry’ (CAUS)	- <i>yari</i> - (I ₁) ‘to take away’ (tr.)	
- <i>jungwV</i> - ‘die’	- <i>ngawi</i> - ‘die’ [I ₁ ~ I ₂]	*- <i>dho(wi)</i> - ‘die’
- <i>miji</i> - ‘search’		*- <i>mij</i> - ‘?’ (Jawoyn - <i>mij-jo(yo)</i> - ‘to not know’, Warray - <i>mij-na</i> - ‘to know’

Enindhilyakwa [2A]	Wubuy [A₃]	pGN
(+)ma- ‘get, thematic’	(+)ma- ‘get, thematic’	*-ma- ‘get’
-lharrma- ‘chase’	-lharrma- ‘chase’	
-lhawulhawa- ‘be stretched out’	-wawalha- ‘be wide open’ [A ₂]	
-waruma- ‘rise, get up (sometimes with sense of want to get up and go)’	-ruma- [A ₁] ‘go’	

Enindhilyakwa [2B]	Wubuy [A₂]	pGN
+dha- ‘thematic’	+dha- ‘thematic’	
-ridha- ‘chop’	-lha- ‘chop’ [A]	
-warda- ‘hit’	-warda- ~ -barda- ‘knock, tap’	
-kura- ‘pull in fish’	-kurda- ‘catch fish’	
-jira- ‘push’	-jura- ‘push’	
+baja- ‘hit, punch’	-wadja- ~ -badja- ‘hit, kill’	*-badja- ‘punch’
-waja- ‘brush away’	-wadja- ~ -badja- ‘hit, kill’	
-rija- ‘scrape’	-ruja- ‘scrape’	
-arrikarra- ‘write, draw’	-arrarra- ‘draw’	Mac: <i>ukirri?</i> ‘write’
-arda- ‘yell’	-arda- ‘yell’	
-yengmidhadha- ‘be silent’	-murdardba- ‘be silent’	
-dhida- ‘shut’	-dhida- ‘shut’	
-arndvrra- ‘criticize’	-aandirra- ‘refuse to accept’	
-abvrra- ‘put down’	-burra- ‘put down’	
-aka(rr)da- ‘bark, hiss, howl, roar’	-ngada- ‘bark, yelp’	
-bula- ?‘push’ (intr.)	-bula- ‘emit smoke’	
-yardha ‘marry, emerge’	-yadha- ‘to claim (as future wife or man)’	
-jawudha ‘put into, onto’	-wudha- ~ -budha- ‘put up, suspend’	
-wurda- ‘climb’	-wirda- ~ -birda- ‘to go up’ [A ₁]	
-a(r)jirra- ‘wash’	-adjarra ‘clean shellfish’	
-kubarddha- ‘go for a walk, walkabout’	-kubadha- ‘go for a walk’	
-badha- ‘to dawn’	-badha- ‘to die down of wind’	
-a(r)dhvrra- ‘stab, spear’	-walharra- ~ -kalharra- ‘stab’ -ardharra ‘die down of wind’	
-ja- ‘eat’		*-ja(ra)- ‘eat’
-aya- ‘stand’	-lha- ‘stand’ [NGA ₂]	*-dha- ‘stand up’, *-dhi- ‘be standing’

Enindhilyakwa [3]	Wubuy [N]	pGN
+ka- ‘thematic’ -yika- ‘fetch’	+ka- ‘thematic’	*-ka- ‘carry’
-lhawurrka- ‘taste, try, test’	-lhawiwa- ‘ask, inquire’	*-ja-wa- ‘ask’
-walka- ‘sneak up on’	-waalka- ‘sneak up on’	
-lharrka- ‘send’	-lharrka- ‘send’	
-ngurrkwa- ‘hunt’	-ngurrka- ‘hunt’	
-ingkirrika- ‘hear’	-wawangki- ~ -kawangki- ‘listen’ [I ₁ ~ I ₂]	
-arndaka- ‘hunt’	warndak ‘woomera’	
-lhaba- ‘taste, try, test’	-lhawiwa- ‘enquire’	
-lhekba- ‘accuse, blame’	-lhajbu- ‘blame’ [MA ₁]	
-kwiyerr+bajja- ‘miss the mark’	-wajirr+badja- ~ -kajirr+badja- ‘miss with thrown object’ [A ₂]	

Enindhilyakwa [4]	Wubuy [A ₁]	pGN
-maka- ‘tell’	-maka- ‘tell’	(Ngan -makka- ‘tell’)
-adhukwa- ‘stab’	-adhuka- ‘stab’	
-rrvngka- ‘see’	-warrangka- ‘look’	
-wilyaka- ‘hold, take, carry’	-warnaka- ‘hold’; bilharka ‘seize, grab’	
-kwa- ‘give’	-yi- ~ -wu- ‘give’ (irregular)	*-wo- ‘give’
-(ya)ma- ‘do, say’	-yama- ‘do, say’; INCH -ma-	
-warrka- ‘sew’	-warrka- ~ barrka ‘mend’	
-mvrndukwa- ‘come together’	-murnduka- ‘be/become together’	
-yamarrka- ‘do what?’	-yamingkarri/yaminykarri- ‘do what?’ I ₂	
-beki- ‘drink’		*-bi- ‘drink’
-ba- ‘hit, argue’	(+)wu- ~ (+)bu- ‘hit, thematic’	*-bu- ‘hit’
-bukwa- ‘blow’		*-buq- ‘blow’
-anga- ~ -anga- ‘bite’ +wangv- ‘chew’ [1]	-wa- ~ -ba- ‘bite’	*-ba(ya)- ‘bite’

Enindhilyakwa [6]	Wubuy [NGA]	pGN
-mungskulha- ‘sleep’	-mungskulha- ‘lie down’ [NGA ₁]	
-murrkulha- ‘lie down’	-murrkulha- ‘lie down’ [NGA ₁]	
-arji(ya)- ‘stand’	-lha- ‘stand’ [NGA ₂]	*-dha- ‘stand up’; *-dhi- ‘be standing’
-lhalhv- ‘be upright’	-lha- ‘stand’ [NGA ₂]	*-dha- ‘stand up’; *-dhi- ‘be standing’
-ambarrv- ‘sit’	-burra- ‘sit’ [NGA ₁]	
-kirruwanji- ‘smell’	-wanyja- ‘emit smell’ (-arrawuj- ‘odour’)	
-abilyuwendha- ‘bend down’	-bilya- ‘be tilted’; -wudha-~- budha- ‘be up’	
-dhvrrvrnda- ‘descend’	-dhirrida- ‘descend’ [A ₂]	

Prepounds

Enindhilyakwa	Wubuy	pGN
-nyirr(ng)+ma- ‘blow nose’ (2)	-nyirra- (intr., A ₂) ‘emit long growl	*-NVrrngq- ‘snore’
-mungkv-dvrra-dhv- (INCH) ‘want to be with a person’	-daarra-ja ‘be anxious to get sth, yearn, lust for’ (tr., NGA ₁)	
-yerrerri+ka- ‘shake’ (tr., 4)	-jarrarra- ‘move, shift around’	
-errek+bi- ‘vomit’	warrkard ‘vomit’ (NEUT) warrkard-bu- ‘belch, burp’ (intr., MA ₁)	
-wurum+bi ‘cover’ (intr., 1)	-wurama- ~ -kurama- ‘move around person or thing’ (tr., A ₁)	
-akbi+janga ‘jump’ (4)	abi ‘jump’	
-marra- ‘shine of full moon’ (intr., 2)	-arrarraki- (intr., I ₁) ‘shine of full moon’ (arrarra ‘daytime’)	
-yarru+wa- (tr., 1) ‘go past without stopping’	-aarru- ‘leave, abandon’ [U ₂]	
-dhvrreng+mi- ‘explode, thunder’ (intr., 1)	dhirriirdak! ‘sound made by blowing into didjeridoo’	
-ngadhu+wa- ‘cry for’	-ngada- ‘bark, yelp’	(Ri: -ngaathi- ‘cry’; Ngayarda *-ngathi- ‘cry’ Alpher 2004: 110, fn23)

Suffixes

Enindhilyakwa	Wubuy	pGN
-jungwV- ‘REFL’ [1A]	-i- [I ₁] ‘REFL’	*-yi- ‘REFL’
-dhv- ‘INCH’ [1A]	-dhi- [I ₁] ‘INCH’	*-dhi- ‘INCH’
-yi- ~ -(n)ji- ‘RECP’ [1A]	-nji- ‘RECP’ [I ₂]	*-nji- ~ -ndhi- ‘RECP’
-ji- ‘CAUS’ [5]	CAUS -jka- [A ₁] ~ -jki- [I ₁]	
-ka- ~ -kwa- ‘FACT’ [4]	-wa- ~ -ka-, -ka- ‘FACT’ [A ₁]	
=wiya ‘pergressive’	wiya ‘that’s all’	
-mvrra INSTR/PROP/PRIV case	-mirri INSTR case	
-lhangwa ABL/POSS/DAT case and EMPH	-lhangu ‘emphatic pluraliser, intensifier’	
-wa ALL case (also has DAT use)	-wuy ~ -kuy ALL/DAT case	
-manja ‘LOC, if, when’ (JH: LOC -maja)	-majii ‘if, when’	
-aja ‘change of referent’	-ayung ‘contrastive’	
-lhangwiya ABL.PRG case	-walawaj ~ -kalawaj ABL.PRG	
-ambvlhangwa ‘in turn’	-abilhangu ‘sequential, in turn’	
-bidjina ‘beside’	birrina ‘on one side’	
-abakiya ‘alone, in isolation’ (VL p.332)	-wukij ~ -bukij ‘only, still, nothing but’ -waj-bukij ‘emphatic-only’	
nara ‘negator’	-ari ‘negative’	

Appendix Q: Pronominal prefixes and stem-initial *w*-

In terms of their initial segment there appear to be three different types of verb stem: (i) stems starting with a consonant; (ii) stems starting with [i]; and (iii) stems starting with [a] or [ɛ]. These stems take identical prefixes, except for the intransitive ‘3a, COLL’ and NEUT forms, and transitive forms with inanimate subjects and objects. Table Q.1 illustrates the three patterns for realis intransitive stems, with bolding of the relevant prefixes (recall that the vowel that occurs between two consonants of a prefix and a stem is epenthetic). The same pattern occurs in the irrealis (section 4.2.1).

	C-initial stems	[i]-initial stems	[a]- and [ɛ]-initial stems
1	(<i>nv</i>)ngv-lhvka	(<i>nv</i>)ng-ingkarrnga	(<i>nv</i>)ng-alyvbar
12	yv-lhvka	y-ingkarrnga	y-alyvbar
1a	yvrrv-lhvka	yvrr-ingkarrnga	yvrr-alyvbar
12a	ngarrv-lhvka	ngarr-ingkarrnga	ngarr-alyvbar
2	nvngkv-lhvka	nvngk-ingkarrnga	nvngk-alyvbar
2a	kvrrv-lhvka	kvrr-ingkarrnga	kvrr-alyvbar
3m / MASC	nv-lhvka	n-ingkarrnga	n-alyvbar
3f / FEM	yingv-lhvka	ying-ingkarrnga	ying-alyvbar
3a / COLL	na -lhvka	ne -ngkarrnga	nuw -alyvbar
VEG	nvmv-lhvka	nvm-ingkarrnga	nvm-alyvbar
NEUT	na -lhvka	ne -ngkarrnga	nuw -alyvbar

Table Q.1: Intransitive pronominal prefixes paradigms

For consonant-initial stems the ‘3a/COLL/NEUT’ prefix is *na-*, as in *na-lhvka-ja* [na_ɹɬəkaca] ‘they/it is/are going’. For *i*-initial stems the two vowels merge and become *e* (rule P-10), as in /na-ɪŋkaŋa/ [neŋkaŋa] ‘they/it broke’. For stems listed in the dictionary as starting with *a* or *e*, on the other hand, the prefix is *nuw-*, as in *nuw-alyvbarv-na* [nuwaɬəpaɹəna] ‘they/it is/are eating’, and *nuw-errekbi-na* [nuweɛ kɹpina] ‘they/it is/are vomiting’.

All previous work treats this variation as *na-* becoming *nuw-* before *a-* or *e-* initial stems, which I have followed in Chapter 4 (Leeding and Stokes/Waddy posit a simple variation, whereas Heath attempts to formulate a *w*-insertion rule). However, this is not a very satisfying solution, because no *w* appears before stems beginning with *i* (cf. **nuw-ingkarrnga* ‘they/it broke’). So we need an explanation for why a *w* is inserted before *a* and *e*, but not before *i*.

I propose that the stems that start with *a-* or *e-* and take the *nuw-* prefix historically start with *wa-* or *we-*. This *w* has disappeared word-initially and after prefixes that end in a consonant - that is, after all prefixes except ‘3a/COLL/NEUT’ *na-*. In this analysis, the stem for ‘eat’ is historically *-walyvbar-*, and we get *nu-walyvbar*, with retention of stem-initial *w* following a vowel, but *ying-alyvbarv-na* ‘she is eating’ and *alyvbara* ‘eat!’, with deletion of *w* following a consonant and

word-initially. The *a* vowel of the *na-* prefix then exceptionally assimilates to the following *w* and is realised as *u*: **na-w...* > *nu-w...*

The attested Wubuy correspondences support this hypothesis, as these have stem-initial *w*: Enindhilyakwa *-(w)arndaka-* ‘to hunt with spear’ : Wubuy *warndak* ‘woomera’; Enindhilyakwa *-(w)edhvrremi-* ‘to deny’ : Wubuy *-wadhaarimi-* ‘to say no’; Enindhilyakwa *-(w)anga-* ‘bite’ : Wubuy *-wa-nga-* ‘bite’.

Language-internal evidence for the presence of an historical stem-initial *w* comes from the nominaliser (NSR) prefix *k-* (section 3.4.6) and the alienable possession prefix *ng-* (section 3.4.5.3). Normally an epenthetic vowel is inserted between these prefixes and the stem when the stem starts with a consonant, as illustrated for the NSR *k-* (1a). But for stems that historically start with *w*, this is preserved and no vowel epenthesis occurs, as in (1b).

- (1) a. *warnv-ku-ngurrki=yadha anhvnga*
 3a.m-NSR-collect=PURP NEUT.food
 ‘for them to collect food’ (‘Ekalhara’ g56)
- b. *nen-akbvrranga yaraja warnu-k-walyubari=yadha wurr-akina*
 3a/MASC-catch.PST MASC.goanna 3a.m-NSR-eat=PURP 3a-that
 ‘they had caught goanna to eat’ (Fieldnotes DL, 12/2/2008)

The [u] quality of the vowel that precedes the NSR prefix in *warnu-k-walyubari=yadha* in (1b) points to the following consonant being labialised. Leeding (1989) and Waddy (n.d.) both assume that the NSR prefix randomly varies between *k-* ~ *kw-* for no apparent reason. I propose that the labialised variant is the result of an historical stem-initial *w*.

The derivational prefixes *ngw-* and *kw-* vary their unrounded forms in some instances:

- (2) a. *kv-me-na amarda, enung-werribirra amarda ...*
 IRR.1/NEUT-take-NP2 NEUT.grass NEUT.m.ALP-anyhow NEUT.grass
 ‘I would take some leaves...’ (JW p.70)
- b. *envng-erriberriba anhvnga*
 NEUT.m.ALP-bush NEUT.vegetable.food
 ‘bush tucker’ (Angurugu Linguistics)

The labialised ALP prefix *ngw-* in (2a) is assumed to be due to an historical initial *w* of *erriberriba* ‘NEUT.bush’ (Wubuy: *warrinybarriny* ‘dense scrub’ (NEUT), which may involve i-umlaut, cluster simplification and addition of final *-ba* in Enindhilyakwa: **warrinybarriny* > **werrinyberriny* > **werriberri* > *erriberriba*).

Further language-internal evidence for an historical stem-initial *w* comes from related dictionary entries that vary in the presence of *w*, as listed in Table Q.2. This table also offers Wubuy correspondences, which start in *w*.

Data with stem-initial <i>w</i> -	Data without stem-initial <i>w</i> -	Wubuy <i>w</i> -
<i>na-werrik-arrngv-na</i> 'taking last breath, be at point of dying'	<i>nuw-errikirrik-arrngina</i> 'be tired, stretching, yawning'	<i>-wirrkirrkirru-</i> ~ <i>-kirrkirrkirru-j-</i> 'in poor physical condition'
<i>awurrariya</i> 'bad, wrong, evil' INCH: <i>na-wurrariya-dhv-na</i> 'become bad'	<i>awarriya</i> 'bad' INCH: <i>nuw-arriyadhv-na</i> 'become bad, become spoilt'	
<i>na-werrik+angbvradhv-na</i> 'be disappointed' <i>werri-</i> 'chest'	<i>nuw-erri+bvrandhv-na</i> 'not want, be sick and tired of something'	
<i>na-warde+mi-na</i> 'cry out'	<i>nuw-arde-na</i> 'cry out'	(<i>-arda-</i> 'shout, yell')
<i>a-k-werrukulha</i> 'pity, mercy'	<i>nuw-errukulhv-na</i> 'feel sorry for'	<i>-warrngayu-</i> 'feel sorry'
<i>na-lyelyu+wangv-na</i> 'chew'	<i>-anga-</i> 'bite' RDP: <i>-angv-banga-</i>	<i>-wa-</i> ~ <i>-ba-</i> 'bite'

Table Q.2: Dictionary entries with varying presence of stem-initial *w*, and their Wubuy correspondences

These data suggest that stem-initial *w* may have been present at some stage, as it still is in Wubuy today, but has disappeared in Enindhilyakwa, only showing up in some lexicalised forms.

There is, however, a complicating factor: some Enindhilyakwa stems start with *w* on the surface, which behaves like any other consonant and never disappears. Here, the *na-* prefix stays *na-* and does not assimilate to *nu-*. Examples are *na-wurda-nga* 'they/it were/was climbing', and *na-warda-nga* 'it was hitting it', among many others. The Wubuy correspondences also start with *w*, which has a hardened variant *b* showing up after a stop or a nasal. Wubuy examples are *-wirda-* ~ *-birda-* 'climb' and *-warda-* ~ *-barda-* 'tap, knock'. When nominalised, these stems maintain their initial *w-*, and an epenthetic vowel may or may not be inserted between the NSR prefix and the stem, as in (3a) and (3b), respectively:

- (3) a. *n-env-ku-wardv-lhangwa nu-wurrawilya*
3m-m-NSR-kill-ABL 3m-Rainbow
' [he was thinking about] killing Rainbow' (VL1 p.421)
- b. *n-enu-k-wardi=yadha nu-wurrilyi-manja*
3m-m-NSR-kill=PURP 3m-Rainbow-LOC
' [that was the best spear] for killing Rainbow' (VL1 p.487)

It thus appears that we have two morpho-phonemically distinct historical stem-initial *w-* segments: one that has disappeared but shows up in some environments - such as when following a prefix that ends in a vowel - and one that is stable. This is an important observation, because Wubuy also has two distinct *w* morpho-phonemes, discussed in section 9.2.1.2.1: one that varies with *b* and one that varies with *k*. The *w* ~ *k* phoneme is frequently deleted word-initially, or when preceded by [a] or a non-nasal sonorants (Heath 1984: 50-2).

As suggested in section 9.2.1.2.1, Wubuy stem-initial *w* ~ *b* corresponds to Enindhilyakwa stable stem-initial *w* (which becomes *b* in certain frozen patterns), whereas Wubuy *w* ~ *k*

corresponds to the Enindhilyakwa historical stem-initial *w*, which has synchronically disappeared in certain environments - as it productively does in Wubuy.

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