Bowern, Claire. n.d. On eels, dolphins, and echidnas: Nyulnyulan prehistory through the reconstruction of flora and fauna. Ms.

CB examines different types of correspondence of biotaxa nomenclature:

1. Widespred areal vocabulary: "There are Wonderwörter which are widespread in the Kimberley and cannot be reconstructed to Proto-Nyulnyulan with any confidence. Some of these words are also found in Kimberly English and it is not always clear whether they spread in pre-contact times or more recently" (11).

2. Reconstructions to Proto-Nyulnyulan which do not show semantic shift. These are generally generic terms or sprecies which are widespread in Australi.

3. Reconstructions to single branches: "The words correlate, perhaps unsurprisingly, with environment: for the Western Nyulnyulan languages we can construct sea terms which have no cognates in the (inland) Eastern languages, while in the Eastern languages there are more reconstructible terms for fresh-water and desert species."

4. Reconstructions with semantic shift: reconstructions to Proto-Nyulnyulan in form, but not in meaning.

5. Problem words: "[words that] resemble one another but are exceptions to established sound correspondences" (23–24). Also are words whose meaning is completely different in two languages.

In her discussion, CB notes the following:

* "There are few borrowings of flora and fauna terms between Bardi and the Worrorran langauges with which speakers were in contact" (27)
* In Eastern Nyulnyulan there is extensive borrowing from neighboring languages. Some borrowings date to Proto-Eastern Nyulnyulan. The loans appear to occur on in one direction: to Eastern Nyulnyulan. Thus suggests the tentative conclusion that "speakers of Eastern Nyulnyulan languages spread into an area already inhabited by speakers of Pama-Nyungan languages, and when they moved inland they encountered a new environment and borrowed the names for many new species from the previous inhabitants. In other cases they applied an old name to a new animal" (28).

Thus:

"Reconstructing Nyulnyulan flora and fauna terminology has provided some clues for tracing the history of speakers of the languages, and although more evidence is required, the distribution of loans is suggestive of a migration East and inland from the Dampier peninsula, rather than the reverse".